INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ON RACE & PUBLIC POLICY

A Tale of Three Cities: The State of Racial Justice in Chicago Report

**Institute for Research on
Race and Public Policy**

Research that Makes a Difference

Chicago's racial / ethnic self-identification in 2010 U.S. Census.
Each dot represents 25 people. Dot-map created by William Rankin.

white ● black ●
hispanic ● asian ●
other ●

A Tale of Three Cities: The State of Racial Justice in Chicago is dedicated to all in Chicago who struggle daily to transform the hard realities of racial and ethnic inequalities in the service of more just futures.

report authored by Kasey Henricks, Amanda E. Lewis, Iván Arenas, and Deana G. Lewis
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Contributing Authors – Thanks to the colleagues who contributed to key sections of the report. We name them where their work is included but also offer acknowledgment of them here.

- Meredith K. Buchberg, MPH, Research Area Specialist, Senior, Department of Periodontics, University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio
- Louise Cainkar, Assistant Professor of Social and Cultural Sciences, Marquette University and Treasurer, Arab American Action Network.
- Teresa Córdova, Director of the Great Cities Institute and Professor of Urban Planning, University of Illinois at Chicago
- Faith Fletcher, Assistant Professor of Community Health Sciences, University of Illinois at Chicago
- Maria Krysan, Professor and Department Head of Sociology, University of Illinois at Chicago
- Brandon Lee, Communications and Research Coordinator, Asian Americans Advancing Justice
- Pauline Lipman, Professor of Educational Policy Studies and Director of the Collaborative for Equity and Justice in Education, University of Illinois at Chicago
- Barbara Ransby, Director of the Social Justice Initiative and Professor of Gender and Women's Studies, History, and African American Studies, University of Illinois at Chicago
- Beth Richie, Professor of Sociology, African American Studies, and Criminology, Law, and Justice, University of Illinois at Chicago
- Janet Smith, Co-Director of the Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement and Professor of Urban Planning, University of Illinois at Chicago
- Matthew D. Wilson, Economic Development Planner, Great Cities Institute, University of Illinois at Chicago

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Organizations

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- Social Justice Initiative, University of Illinois at Chicago
- Chicago Urban League

Individuals

- Cynthia Barnes-Boyd, Senior Director, Community Engagement & Neighborhood Health Partnerships, Office of the Vice Chancellor for Health Affairs & Senior Director Mile Square Health Center School Based Health Practice, University of Illinois Hospital and Health Science System
- Carol Caref, Education Policy Director, Chicago Teachers Union
- Constance Dallas, Associate Professor, College of Nursing, University of Illinois at Chicago
- Wesley Epplin, Director, Health Equity, Health & Medicine Policy Research Group
- Sara Hains, Research Facilitator, Chicago Teachers Union
- Nakisha Hobbs, Principal & Co-Founder, Village Leadership Academy
- Joseph Hoereth, Director, Institute for Civic Engagement
- Naomi Milstein, Executive Director, Chicago Freedom School
- Christopher Z. Mooney, Director, Institute of Government and Public Affairs
- Linda Rae Murray, MD, MPH, Chief Medical Officer, Cook County Health & Hospital System
- James R. Paul, Assistant Director, Institute of Government and Public Affairs
- Jesus Ramirez-Valles, Professor, Community Health Science, University of Illinois at Chicago
- Kathy M. H. Sullivan, Coordinator of Planning and Events, Institute of Government and Public Affairs
- Karriem Watson, Director of Recruitment, Retention and Community Engagement in Clinical Research, Cancer Center
- Robert Winn, Associate Vice Chancellor for Community Based Practice and Director, University of Illinois Cancer Center

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: STATE OF RACIAL JUSTICE IN CHICAGO¹

Chicago's largest racial and ethnic groups—blacks, Latinxs, and whites—each makes up roughly one-third of the city's population. As this report reveals, these groups generally live in separate neighborhoods and have divergent experiences when it comes to housing, economics, education, justice, and health. Capturing life in Chicago today is in many ways a tale of three cities.

The central finding of this report is that racial and ethnic inequities in Chicago remain *pervasive, persistent, and consequential*. These inequities affect the lives of Chicagoans in every neighborhood; they have not just spatial but also deep historical roots and are embedded in our social, economic, political, and cultural institutions; and they have powerful effects on the experiences and opportunities of all Chicagoans. The patterns described herein are stark, if not entirely surprising. Chicagoans of all racial and ethnic groups want to live in safe and healthy communities where they don't just subsist or survive but also thrive, but not all have equal access.

For example, in the realm of economic outcomes, we find that black and Latinx Chicagoans on average have far more precarious employment options, declining or stagnating wages, higher rates of unemployment and poverty, and fewer opportunities to generate wealth. Large racial and ethnic inequalities in resources persist at all class levels. For instance, education attainment does not alleviate racial inequalities in unemployment or income. While Chicago overall has enjoyed more prosperity over the past half century, much of this boon has been disproportionately distributed to whites, causing economic disparities among racial and ethnic groups to be wider today than in the Civil Rights Era. Over 30% of black Chicago families and around 25% of Latinx Chicago families live under the poverty line. Meanwhile, the city's poverty rate is less than 10% for white families.

There is no way to understand Chicago today without acknowledging our long collective racial history. That long history is reflected not only in patterns of homeownership and in the demographics of our neighborhoods, but in the placement of freeways and public housing, and in the organization of our schools and health care systems. Across the sections of the report, we discover again and again that present day challenges we face stem in part from our failure to address the long-term consequences of decades of formal and widespread private and public discrimination along with continuing forms of entrenched but subtle institutional and interpersonal forms of discrimination.

A Tale of Three Cities: The State of Racial Justice in Chicago attempts to step beyond the competing public narratives about Chicago to assess—in evidence-based, concrete terms—what the challenges and opportunities are for its residents today.

HOUSING

Key Point #1: *Today, nearly 50 years after the Fair Housing Act, Chicago remains among the most segregated cities in the nation and almost as segregated as it was a half-century ago.*

- Black, Latinx, and white Chicagoans live in distinct and distant communities.
- Black-white segregation levels persist even among the city's most affluent households. Black households earning over \$100,000 are just as likely as black households earning less than \$25,000 annually to be segregated from whites.
- Latinx-white segregation levels are significant, though not as extreme as black-white segregation, and those levels drop significantly as Latinx household income rises.

Key Point #2: *Historical housing policies combined with lending and real-estate practices have generated many of the patterns of neighborhood segregation that we see today. These discriminatory policies and practices also contribute to unequal rates of homeownership and home value in Chicago proper and the entire metro region.*

- A slight majority of white Chicagoans currently own their homes. Only 43% of Latinx and 35% of black Chicagoans are homeowners.
- The white-black homeownership gap in the larger metro area sits at nearly 2:1.
- Largely because of patterns of segregation, Chicagoans of color own homes that appreciate at slower rates and peak at lower values than their white counterparts.
- The typical white household in Chicago owns a home that is worth \$275,000. The typical black and Latinx households own homes worth \$145,000 and \$180,000 respectively.

Key Point #3: *Today's two-tiered lending market (prime vs. subprime) causes Chicagoans of color to pay more for less. Even when they possess equivalent measures of creditworthiness compared to whites, black and Latinx households are more likely to secure mortgages that have high interest rates, ballooning payment schedules, and numerous extra fees.*

- When applying for conventional loans in the Chicago metro area, whites have a 77% approval rate, Latinxs have a 67% rate, and blacks have a 59% rate.

- White home-seekers are approved for \$12.4 billion in total annual mortgages compared to \$1 billion for Latinx home-seekers and \$569 million for black home-seekers.
- Because home-seekers of color are often locked out of the prime lending market, they are more likely to turn to costlier alternatives. Black and Latinx home-seekers apply for home-purchase loans from the Federal Housing Authority, Farm Service Agency/Rural Housing Service, or Veterans Administration at 172% and 122% the rate that they apply for prime mortgages. White home-seekers apply for these mortgages at a third of the rate that they apply for prime mortgages.

Key Point #4: *Pervasive and persistent segregation, historical legacies of housing discrimination, and a two-tiered lending market set the preconditions for a mid-2000s housing collapse that was amplified along lines of race and ethnicity. Those communities most devastated were communities of color.*

- Between 2008 and 2015, 128,839 foreclosures were filed in Chicago. Most occurred in a handful of predominantly black and Latinx communities, especially Austin (5,746), Belmont Cragin (4,455), and West Lawn (4,065).
- Large portions of some minority neighborhoods have experienced long-term vacancies since the foreclosure crisis, with as much as 10-to-25% of housing stock being abandoned in places like Englewood and Riverdale.
- Between 2009 and 2013, 22,674 apartment buildings containing 68,300 units entered foreclosure. Of the 18 community areas that lost the high proportions of rental stock, 17 have black and/or Latinx populations of 85% or more.

Key Point #5: *The aftermath of the Great Recession, compounded with broader long-term shifts of economic restructuring and uneven urban development, has left many families in Chicago unable to afford housing in the city. Such a trend is pronounced among the city's black and Latinx residents.*

- About half the black and Latinx homeowners in the Chicago metro area are cost-burdened, spending 30% or more of their income on monthly housing costs. Only about one-third of white homeowners are cost-burdened.
- About two-thirds of black renters and more than half the Latinx renters are cost-burdened by monthly rental costs. The same is true for only about four in ten white renters.

ECONOMICS

Key Point #1: *Over the past half century, Chicago has transitioned from an industrial to service economy. This shift translates into the widespread loss of well-paying, semiskilled manufacturing jobs, and higher levels of underemployment and unemployment.*

- Latinx workers have been most severely impacted by the economic restructuring. About 56% of Latinxs worked manufacturing jobs in 1960 compared to only 16% in 2015.
- Though the national unemployment rate peaked at 10% during the Great Recession, the unemployment rate for black Chicagoans has not fallen below this threshold since at least 1960. Standing at nearly 20% today, the black unemployment rate is over four times the city's white unemployment rate. The unemployment rate for Chicago's Latinxs is about 10% or about double the white rate.
- Higher levels of education do not eliminate racial and ethnic disparities in joblessness. Even black Chicagoans with advanced degrees are more likely to be unemployed than whites who have only a bachelor's degree.

Key Point #2: *Levels of income inequality among blacks, Latinxs, and whites are worse in Chicago than in the nation overall, and they are worsening over time.*

- In Chicago, over 30% of black families and around 25% of Latinx families live below the poverty line. The poverty rate is less than 10% for white families.
- About one-half of Latinx workers and one-third of black workers do not earn a living wage, defined as earning at least \$15 per hour. This is true for only 15% of white workers.
- Chicago's median family income is \$36,720 for blacks, \$47,308 for Latinxs, and \$81,702 for whites.
- Whereas the typical white family earned 1.6 and 1.4 times more income than the typical black and Latinx family in 1960, today the typical white family earns 2.2 and 1.7 times more income than the typical black and Latinx families.

Key Point #3: *Racial and ethnic gaps in wealth are more dramatic than racial and ethnic gaps in income. Even when black and Latinx households have assets, the amounts are often minuscule and not enough to weather financial instability.*

- Nationally the black-white gap is 1:20, while the Latinx-white gap is 1:18.
- One-third of Chicago's black and Latinx households possess either zero or negative net worth compared to only 15% of white households.

- For those households that do possess wealth, 48% and 42% of black and Latinx households are asset poor. This means that they lack sufficient net worth to subsist above poverty for at least three months without income. Only 20% of white households fall under this threshold.

Key Point #4: *Not only do Chicagoans of color face higher levels of unemployment and poverty as well as have less income and wealth than their white peers, but they are geographically removed from the city's job centers and have fewer transit options.*

- Black Chicagoans have the longest commute-to-work times in the city. On average, it takes them 38 minutes to get to work compared to 34 minutes for Latinxs and 32 minutes for whites.

EDUCATION

Key Point #1: *Chicago's schools have gone through a dramatic demographic change over the past forty years. White student enrollment in the city's public schools has dropped dramatically since 1970 mainly due to suburbanization and enrollment shifts to private schools.*

- Chicago public schools today are a majority Latinx (46.6%) and black (37.8%). White students comprise less than 10% of the district enrollment. Nearly half of all CPS schools (309 of 676) have student bodies that are at least 85% black or 85% Latinx.
- CPS schools are segregated by race and ethnicity as well as poverty. About 91% of black students and 89% of Latinx students attend schools where 75% or more of the student population are eligible for free or reduced lunch.

Key Point #2: *Educational opportunities and resources in Chicago's public schools are unevenly distributed along lines of race and ethnicity. Struggling schools are concentrated in communities of color, while white students are overrepresented in the district's most advantaged educational environments.*

- CPS schools with 85% or more black students are just as likely to be on academic probation as they are in good standing. Black CPS students comprise over 60% of students at schools that do not offer AP/IB, Calculus, and/or Physics. They are also nearly seven times more likely than other groups to attend a school without art or music classes.
- White students comprise a quarter of all students at selective enrollment high schools. They are overrepresented in the district's advanced courses and gifted programs. They make up anywhere from 32% to 40% of the student body at the district's top five nationally ranked high schools even though they comprise less than 10% of the CPS student body.

- Of the \$650 million put toward new schools or school additions by CPS during the past six years, about three-fourths has gone toward schools where white students are overrepresented by at least twice their representation in the district overall.

Key Point #3: *Racial and ethnic disparity in the quality of educational experiences defines the schools not only within the district but between CPS, surrounding districts, and the state.*

- In terms of teacher qualifications, CPS has fewer high school teachers with a Master's degree or higher (60%) than surrounding districts in Cook County as well as the state overall.
- The average class size in CPS (25 students) is larger than surrounding districts in Cook County and 25% higher than the state average.
- State investment in education has an inverse relationship with poverty. The poorest districts like CPS get nearly \$2,500 less per pupil from the state than do the state's wealthiest districts.

Key Point #4: *CPS students lack teachers who look like them. With recent school closures concentrated in communities of color, this disparity has deepened over time.*

- Only 17% of CPS teachers are Latinx even though Latinx youth comprise about half the district's enrollment. Only one of every five teachers are black even though black students make up more than a third of all CPS students.
- Between 1980 and 2015, more than 250 CPS schools closed their doors. The lion's share of closures has been concentrated in the city's South and West Sides.
- In 2013, 35 of the 43 public school closings occurred in neighborhoods with majority-black or majority-Latinx residents. Only seven were located in white-majority areas. Taken together, nearly 47,000 youth were impacted. About 90% of these students were black.
- Black teachers accounted for 51% of mass layoffs in 2012 and another 29% in 2015.

Key Point #5: *A large majority of CPS 9th graders say they want a college degree (75%), but obstacles and barriers prevent them from achieving this goal.*

- About 62% of CPS alumni enroll in a 2- or 4-year college within 12 months of their high school graduation.
- Of the nearly 4,000 CPS high school graduates that annually enroll in an Illinois community college, about 70% cannot begin with entry-level coursework and must take at least one remedial course.
- Only 14 out of 100 CPS 9th graders graduate college within ten years of beginning high school. Of these college graduates, 36% are white women, 27% are white men, 16% are Latinx women, 13% are black women, 11% are Latino men, and 6% are black men.

Key Point #6: *Rates of school punishment—which include actions such as suspension, expulsion, and police notification—among CPS students are generally on the decline. However, deep racial and ethnic differences remain in student discipline.*

- Far fewer youth are suspended today than were suspended five years ago, 55,270 compared to 101,174.
- Black students are suspended, both in school (24.2 per 100 students) and out of school (16.1 per 100 students), at double the district rate.
- Black students are expelled at four times the rate of Latinxs and twenty-three times the rate of whites.
- Black youth are more likely to have student misconduct escalated to the attention of the Chicago Police Department. For every 2.1 police notifications black youth receive per 100 students, their Latinx and white counterparts receive 0.7 and 0.3 notifications.

JUSTICE

Key Point #1: *Stories about rampant crime and violence in Chicago have taken center stage in national media. These stories provide a narrative of a violent Chicago that is not in line with the data.*

- Aside from the exceptional year of 2016, Chicago's homicide rates have generally declined over the past two decades. At its high-water mark, Chicago had 924 murders in 1994.
- Similar to national trends, both violent (e.g., aggravated assault, robbery) and property (e.g., burglary, larceny-theft) crimes in Chicago have been on the decline for the past thirty years, with both crime rates at their lowest points since 1985.

Key Point #2: *Crime has gone down, but incarceration has boomed. Incarceration rates have skyrocketed due to a variety of “tough on crime” policy shifts, including the “War on Drugs,” aggressive policing strategies, and mandatory minimum sentencing.*

- Imprisonment rates in the State of Illinois have grown by 450% since 1980.
- With an imprisonment rate of 1,533 per 100,000, black Illinois residents are nine times more likely than whites to go to prison. Latinxs are more than one-and-a-half times more likely than whites to be imprisoned.
- Illinois prisons are operating at 150% their maximum capacity, and the state has among the most overcrowded prison systems in the nation.
- At the local level, about two-thirds of all those admitted to the Cook County Jail are black. Over half of them are from majority black neighborhoods, with one in three coming from South Side neighborhoods and one in five from the West Side.

Key Point #3: *The prison boom is expensive. As the Illinois prison population has grown, so have corrections costs.*

- Currently the state spends \$1.35 billion annually on direct expenditures on corrections—a growth rate of 232% since 1977. In addition, \$411 million annually is spent on police and protection, and \$375 million is annually spent on judicial courts.
- The state spending growth rate on corrections between 1977 and 2012 is 2.5 times higher than the growth rate of state spending on higher education.
- For every \$1 annually spent on libraries, the state spends \$224 on corrections.
- At the local level, spending on incarceration is densely concentrated among Chicago’s black and Latinx neighborhoods. The mostly black neighborhood of Austin accounts for about \$110 million in state imprisonment spending per year.

Key Point #4: *Mass incarceration and the geographic distribution of state prisons has consequences for political districting in the State of Illinois. Because most state prisoners are from Cook County but are enumerated as residents in the county where their prisons are located, the population counts of certain districts are inflated and, by extension, so is their voting power.*

- About 60% of prisoners in Illinois are from Cook County, and about 90% of all state prisoners are incarcerated downstate.
- About 95% of state prison cells are located in districts that are predominantly white.
- Nearly a quarter of the residents counted towards the 4th District’s population (Lee County) are in prison. This permits every 75 residents in this district to have voting power equivalent to 100 residents in other districts.

Key Point #5: *Because of aggressive policing strategies and the implicit biases that undergird them, Chicagoans of color are subject to considerably more police surveillance, suspicion, and intervention than their white counterparts.*

- Prior to the formal end of “stop-and-frisk” in 2016, black Chicagoans accounted for 72% of all police stops even though they comprise only one-third of the city’s population.
- Police stops are concentrated geographically, with predominantly black police districts like Englewood logging 226 stops per 1,000 residents. In comparison, the predominantly white police district of Lincoln has five times fewer stops (43 per 1,000 residents).

- Black Chicagoans are more likely to be stopped even in predominantly white neighborhoods. In the Town Hall district, for instance, blacks make up only 6.6% of the population but account for 51% of all police stops.
- Blacks and Latinxs are more likely to be searched during vehicular stops. Although blacks and Latinx are searched at four times the rate of their white counterparts, they are half as likely to be in possession of illegal contraband or a controlled substance.

Key Point #6: *Even though Chicagoans of color bore the brunt of police misconduct and use of force, they are less likely than white Chicagoans to have their complaints against CPD officers sustained. This remains true even as the city has the highest number of fatal police-involved-shootings in the nation and has doubled its police misconduct payouts over the past ten years.*

- Black Chicagoans are subjected to 76% of all use-of-force incidents documented by the CPD. They are nine-and-a-half times more likely than their white counterparts to experience the use of force. Of use-of-force incidents that involve the CPD and Chicago youth, 83% of the children are black and 14% are Latinx.
- Chicago leads the nation in fatal police-involved-shootings. Between 2010 and 2014, a total of 70 deaths resulted from CPD shootings. Two-thirds of these involved black residents.
- Less than 2% of all filed complaints against CPD Officers result in disciplinary action. About 30% of complaints are filed against just 10% of the police force. Black Chicagoans file 61% of all complaints but see only a quarter of these sustained. Whites file 21% of all complaints but see 58% of these sustained.
- Over the last decade, financial compensation for cases of police misconduct, including false arrest, injuries from police car chases or shootings, police brutality, excessive use of force, and wrongful death has cost Chicago taxpayers \$424,574,589.

HEALTH

Key Point #1: *Health outcomes are improving across Chicago, but inequalities between blacks and whites are either stagnant or widening on major indicators of mortality like heart disease, stroke, and mortality in general.*

- During the past three decades, the black mortality rate has been 130% times the white rate. Black Chicagoans die younger too. Because many of these deaths are preventable, health experts refer to them as “premature.” The black premature mortality rate is 13,642 years of potential life lost per 100,000 residents, three times the white rate of 5,698.

- Seventeen community areas have mortality rates of over 1,000 deaths per 100,000 residents. Of these communities, all have majority black populations and 16 have black populations of 85% or greater.
- Heart disease and stroke are number one and number three on the list of causes of death in Chicago. Black residents are 2.9 times more likely to die from stroke than their white counterparts and 2.1 times as likely to die from heart disease.
- Though black women die from breast cancer at higher rates than their white counterparts, they have lower rates of incidence than white women (155.2 diagnoses per 100,000 residents versus 166.5 diagnoses per 100,000 residents).

Key Point #2: *Whereas Latinx Chicagoans tend to be positioned in the middle or bottom on many measures of the racial and ethnic inequity, they fare better than both whites and blacks on measures like mortality rates and incidence of certain cancers. That said, Latinxs are uninsured at twice the rate of their black and white counterparts and may be underreported in some areas.*

- About 8.6% of Latinx Chicagoans have been diagnosed with diabetes compared to 12.3% of blacks and 8.6% of whites.
- About 32.1% of Latinx Chicagoans have been diagnosed with obesity compared to 37.8% of blacks and 23.7% of whites.
- Latinxs die from heart disease and stroke at 50% and 70% the rate of their white peers, with a heart disease mortality rate of 549 deaths per 100,000 people and a stroke mortality rate of 84 deaths per 100,000 people.
- While Latinxs are among the least likely of Chicago's three main racial and ethnic groups to die from cancer, they are actually faring worse today than in the past for some cancer types like female breast cancer. Breast cancer mortality rates have declined for black (14%) and white (27%) women over the past decade. They have increased for Latinas by 33%.

Key Point #3: *Healthcare providers and pharmacies are dispersed throughout the city in patterns that mirror Chicago's segregation, being concentrated in the city center and white neighborhoods but sparse in black and Latinx neighborhoods.*

- Those living on the North Side of Chicago, or in the Loop, routinely have about ten times as many health care provider options located in or adjacent to their neighborhood than do predominantly black communities of the Far South Side.

- As many as 1 million residents on Chicago's South and West Sides live in areas without a drug store within a half-mile radius.
- Chicago's food deserts cluster in almost exclusively black census tracts. As many as 183,200 Chicagoans live in a low-income census tract that is at least one mile away from a supermarket or large grocery store.

Key Point #4: *Health inequalities begin at birth in Chicago. Racial and ethnic disparities persist in infant mortality and low birthweight, two outcomes often associated with socioeconomic status and access to prenatal care.*

- The number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births is almost three times higher for black Chicagoans than white Chicagoans (11.6 versus 4.3). The mortality rate for Latinx infants is 1.4 times higher than for white infants (5.9 versus 4.3).
- Three neighborhoods, South Chicago, Washington Park, and Grand Boulevard, with black populations of 90% or more suffer infant mortality rates more than two or more times the city rate.
- About 15% of black infants in Chicago are considered to have low birthweight, or less than 5 lbs., 8 oz. (or <2,500 grams). This is more than double the rates for white and Latinx infants.
- In 13 of Chicago's 77 community areas, at least 15% of all infants are born with low birthweights. All of these 13 communities have black populations of 90% or higher.

ENDNOTE

- 1 Complete references and citations are available in the full report. Unless otherwise specified, all evidence-driven references in the Executive Summary draw from recent data collected between 2010 and 2016.

CHICAGO COMMUNITY AREA MAP

INTRODUCTION

Over the years, Chicago has had many nicknames:

The Windy City

The City of Big Shoulders (via Carl Sandburg)

The Second City

“Chicago: a city that works.”

Today a more accurate label might be “Chicago: A city that works. . . for some.”

In fact, trying to make sense of the different realities of people’s lives in Chicago today can feel like a tale of three cities. There is not one Chicago. New high-rise luxury condo and apartment buildings rise throughout downtown, the west loop, and along the riverfront. On sunny days, the magnificent mile teems with visitors and locals moving through shops and restaurants. The lakefront nearly sparkles with runners, bikers, walkers, tourists on Segways, boats, swimmers, and jet skis moving through the water while cars stream by on Lake Shore Drive. And yet, local and national news stories document dramatic rates of gun violence, with headlines suggesting, for example, that trauma room medical personnel see so much gun violence that they suffer from “compassion fatigue” having become almost numb to the consequences.¹

Even within communities, the realities of Chicagoans’ daily lives are far more complex than the picture of supposedly violent communities described in national news stories. In every neighborhood, we find friends and families barbequing, hard-working young people trudging off to school with heavy backpacks, and parks filled with residents walking, playing, and exercising. We find communities full of immigrants working overtime to make ends meet.

A Tale of Three Cities: The State of Racial Justice in Chicago attempts to step beyond the competing public narratives about Chicago to assess—in evidence-based, concrete terms—what the challenges and opportunities are for its residents today. Specifically, we examine a wide range of indicators within the domains of housing, economics, education, justice, and health to provide a snapshot of how conditions vary for Chicago residents along racial and ethnic lines.

ABOUT THE REPORT

As the Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy, one of our central aims is to increase our knowledge about the experiences and conditions of racial and ethnic groups nationally, but especially locally, in the City of Chicago. We undertook this project in part to fill a need we identified in our own search for recent, comprehensive data on the conditions of different groups in the city. When we looked, we found that many centers, scholars, or other policy organizations had produced important work on specific aspects of inequality. However, nowhere could we find a source that brought together information about multiple dimensions of inequality in one place. Working with limited resources, we tried not to duplicate efforts that researchers and colleagues had already completed. Thus, we cite that important work throughout the report. Where information was not readily available, we committed ourselves to a challenging but necessarily limited agenda: we would not collect new data but instead would draw on available secondary sources. In doing so, we pursued a dual goal of locating information about racial and ethnic inequality on multiple indicators in one central place and making this information as accessible as possible.

While we recognize there is much diversity of experience and social standing within each racial and ethnic group, our analysis primarily documents between-group differences among blacks, Latinxs, and whites. We are building on decades of scholarship within the social sciences that recognizes race and ethnicity to be categories of social life that fundamentally shape our identities, interactions, and experiences in the world. Race and ethnicity are social categories—they are not biological or permanent—that have played an important role in organizing social relations nationally and within the city of Chicago for a long time.

We began the task of bringing together wide-ranging information by seeking out the counsel of a number of experts at the University of Illinois at Chicago, across the city of Chicago, and around the country asking, “What are the key indicators that capture the conditions of racial and ethnic groups today and what is the best available data on these indicators?” The answers we received form a list that serves as the backbone of our report. While we successfully managed to find high quality data on many of these indicators, we recognize some shortcomings in the data available, some gaps in knowledge that we were not able to fill and some clear drawbacks in a solely quantitative exploration of conditions of social life. In the section that follows we acknowledge in detail the scope and limitations of this report.

Despite some limitations, the report provides a far-reaching picture of the changing conditions of racial and ethnic groups in Chicago during the last half century. It offers data and analysis on how racial and ethnic groups in Chicago

are faring in relation to housing, economics, education, justice, and health. In highlighting intersections between these thematic areas, we hope to encourage public officials, policy makers, philanthropists, advocates, organizers, direct service providers, and residents to work beyond their particular domains—for example, to see that the challenges of housing impact educational opportunities; that justice and health are inextricably linked; and that economic constraints permeate the social lives of Chicagoans of different racial and ethnic groups in ways both obvious and subtle. Understanding these and many other intersections is key to addressing the disparities that adversely affect so many in our divided city and society.

**“Not everything
that is faced can be
changed, but nothing
can be changed until
it is faced.”**

— James Baldwin

Our audience for this report is not just other policy makers, philanthropists, scholars, public officials, non-profit organizations, or community organizers but any and all Chicagoans who are concerned about the state of our city and concerned that young people growing up here are facing such dramatically different odds of success. We do not imagine that the data in this report will serve as a revelation. The facts are not new, but we have made the effort to collect them here because they are necessary. These are not easy truths. As James Baldwin once said, “Not everything that is faced can be changed, but nothing can be changed until it is faced.”²

HOW INEQUALITIES ENDURE

While we do not have space in this report to detail the history of racial dynamics in the city (and that work is done brilliantly elsewhere)³, there is no way to understand where we are today without acknowledging that history. Segregated communities emerged in the 20th century as a result of federal, state, and local policies. As Richard Rothstein, author of the new book *The Color of Law*, recently put it, segregation is not “the unintended effect of benign policies. It was an explicit, racially purposeful policy that was pursued at all levels of government.”⁴ “Redlining” is just one oft-cited example which had the consequence, in practice, of making black neighborhoods ineligible for FHA (Federal Housing Administration) loans (along with private mortgages and insurance) at precisely the time that the federal government was making the largest push in history to make homeownership possible for working Americans. Consequently, black Americans were for all practical purposes “locked out of the greatest mass-based opportunity for wealth accumulation in American history.”⁵

That long history is embedded not only in patterns of homeownership and in the demographics of our neighborhoods, but in the placement of freeways and public housing, and in the organization of our schools and health care systems. Across the sections of the report, we discover again and again that present day challenges we face stem in part from our failure to address the long-term consequences of decades of formal and widespread private and public discrimination. Inequity is not merely an inherited legacy of the past, however. We still contend with many forms of entrenched but subtle institutional and interpersonal forms of discrimination.

The central finding in this report is that racial and ethnic inequities in Chicago remain pervasive, persistent, and consequential: these inequities affect the lives of Chicagoans in every neighborhood; they have not just spatial but also deep historical roots and are embedded in our social institutions;⁶ and they have powerful effects on the lived experiences and opportunities of all Chicagoans. While it is impossible to ignore the devastating impact of gun violence, the other hard truth we must face is that far more Chicagoans die early today from the effects of structural violence than they do from interpersonal violence. As health scholar Paul Farmer and his colleagues describe:

The central finding in this report is that racial and ethnic inequities in Chicago remain pervasive, persistent, and consequential.

“The term ‘structural violence’ is one way of describing social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm’s way. The arrangements are *structural* because they are embedded in the political and economic organization of our social world; they are *violent* because they cause injury to people (typically, not those responsible for perpetuating such inequalities).”⁷

When we consider the deep levels of Chicago’s segregation, we are concerned because where people live shapes their proximity to quality public education, the availability and variety of public amenities, their access to quality healthcare facilities and social services, their exposure to or insulation from pollutants and other environmental hazards, and their immediate access to jobs, among other factors associated with well-being and social mobility. Advantages or disadvantages people have in one area often translate into parallel advantages or disadvantages in another. Chicagoans of all racial and ethnic groups want to live in safe and healthy communities where they don’t just subsist or survive but also thrive, but not all have equal access.

The reverberations of our collective racial history, along with persistent patterns of racism today, yield stark patterns of inequity we cannot ignore. In many ways, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s description of racial dynamics fifty years ago remains as relevant today as they did during the years of struggle for civil rights:

“Of the good things in life, the Negro has approximately one-half those of whites; of the bad things of life, he has twice those of whites. Thus, half of all Negroes live in substandard housing, and Negroes have half the income of whites. When we turn to the negative experiences of life, the Negro has a double share. There are twice as many unemployed; the rate of infant mortality (widely accepted as an accurate index of general health) among Negroes is double that of whites.”⁸

This was Chicago in 1967. This is Chicago in 2017. Black and Latinx Chicagoans tend to be overrepresented on the bottom-end of most every indicator of inequality available while white Chicagoans tend to be overrepresented at the top. To be sure, considerable changes have transpired in the city's racial and ethnic landscape over the past half-century, from the election of Chicago's first black mayor to major demographic transformations to recent affirmations of being a “sanctuary city,” but levels of inequality among Chicago's major racial and ethnic groups remain pervasive, persistent, and consequential. It begs the question, in this city of broad shoulders, why are some shouldering a far greater burden than others?

We can all do better. And, in fact, it will take significant effort by many of us to make real headway on the challenges described herein. Good intentions are not enough, apathy is not an option.⁹ We all need to feel a much greater collective sense of responsibility and take action to ensure that our neighbors near and far have the opportunity to live full, healthy, and dignified lives.

ENDNOTES

- 1 More on the subject is available in "Inundated with gunshot victims, Chicago doctors and nurses face 'compassion fatigue'" by Marwa Eltagouri.
- 2 Baldwin, James. 1962. "As Much Truth As One Can Bear." *The New York Times Book Review*. BR:11
- 3 There are too many examples to name them all but just a few include: Moore, Natalie. 2016. *Southside: A Portrait of Chicago and American Segregation*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press; Hirsch, Arnold. 1998. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago 1940-1960*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press; Drake, St. Claire and Horace Cayton. [1945] 2015. *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press; Wilkerson, Isabel. 2010. *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration*. New York, NY: Random House.
- 4 Rothstein, Richard. 2017. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York, NY: Liveright Publishing. See also "Historian Says Don't 'Sanitize' How Our Government Created Ghettos" by Terry Gross.
- 5 Oliver, Melvin and Thomas Shapiro. 1995. *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- 6 Reskin, Barbara. 2012. "The Race Discrimination System." *Annual Review of Sociology* 38:17-35; see also Feagin, Joe R. and Douglas Lee Eckberg. 1980. "Discrimination: Motivation, Action, Effects, and Context." *Annual Review of Sociology* 6:1-20.
- 7 Farmer, Paul E., Bruce Nizeye, Sara Stulac, and Salmaan Keshavjee. 2006. "Structural Violence and Clinical Medicine." *PLoS Medicine* 3(10):1686-1691.
- 8 King, Jr., Martin Luther. 1967. *Where Do We Go from Here? Chaos or Community?* Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- 9 Forman, Tyrone A. 2004. "Color-Blind Racism and Racial Indifference: The Role of Racial Apathy in Facilitating Enduring Inequalities." Pp. 43-66 in *The Changing Terrain of Race and Ethnicity*, edited by Maria Krysan and Amanda E. Lewis. New York, NY: Russell Sage.

SCOPE OF THE REPORT

While we strove to make *A Tale of Three Cities* as comprehensive as possible, we had to limit its scope because of constraints in available data and resources. We list some of the resulting shortcomings here in the spirit of encouraging ourselves and others to continue the effort and fill in the gaps.

First, we were surprised to discover how many gaps there are in existing data. As we discuss more fully in the methodological appendix, we regularly came up against important limitations in *how* data are currently collected, organized, and/or tallied. One example is that racial and ethnic categories are not consistent across datasets. This makes some comparisons challenging and also raised questions about what racial/ethnic labels to use and whether to allow variation or impose consistency in our use. Racial and ethnic categories are inherently social and political. And they change over time. As we discuss more fully in the methodological appendix, the labels we use are themselves subject to much debate (e.g., Hispanic vs. Latinx) and vary across datasets.

We also were challenged by gaps in *what kinds* of data are readily available. For instance, when we began to pull together existing data on educational experiences in the city, we found extensive research and data on educational *outcomes* but not as much on differences in educational *inputs* within and across schools in the city. Researchers in other cities and states urged us to include measures of educational equity used in their localities (e.g., data on the availability of textbooks and supplies, teacher preparation, etc.). But these data were not readily available for the city of Chicago. Similarly, with regard to health data, we found ourselves challenged about how to address gaps between the extensive data available on *illness* and *death* but the lack of available indicators that tap into opportunities for *wellness* (e.g., community access to affordable health and fitness programs).

We also recognize that the report is not truly a report on the conditions of all racial and ethnic groups in the City of Chicago. Having to rely upon secondary sources meant that data across many indicators was either unreliable or unavailable for numerically smaller but important communities within the city: Asians, Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, and Arab Americans. To this end, we hope that the report can be used (by us and others) as a spur for new research. To at least partially fill this gap, we have included short qualitative commentaries by scholars in their areas of expertise that capture some of the key challenges facing some of these communities today.

**We hope
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Another important limitation in the report stems from the fact that any effort to understand how life experiences vary along racial and ethnic lines will, by its nature, be incomplete. What we are capturing here are meaningful but inherently limited average differences between groups. However, it is important to remember the small scope of such averages—not every white family in the city is thriving just as not every black family is struggling. We also recognize that we are much more than just our racial/ethnic identity. Race/ethnicity always intersects with other categories of human difference (e.g., class, religion, sexuality, gender). Data limitations, and the scope of this report, make it impossible to fully attend to these intersections. We do not, for example, disaggregate data by ethnicity or nationality within categories; and we only attend to gender differences in limited ways. While we incorporate class variation where possible, we give almost no attention to sexuality or religious differences.

Another constraint of the report stems from the kind of data we are drawing upon. This report is quantitative, not qualitative—therefore we necessarily miss some of the nuances of how the disparities revealed by numerical differences affect how people experience these disparities. The kinds of quantitative data we draw on are crucial for capturing social patterns but miss the different ways people have organized their families, neighborhoods, and communities to not only survive but hopefully overcome these challenges and thrive. Chicago is full of stories of engaged people organizing to improve their communities, provide better education to their young people, make streets and parks safer, build new businesses and expand job opportunities, and provide healthcare to all.

KEY TAKEAWAYS FROM THIS SECTION

- Today, nearly 50 years after the Fair Housing Act, Chicago remains among the most segregated cities in the nation and almost as segregated as it was a half-century ago.
- Historical housing policies combined with lending and real-estate practices have generated many of the patterns of neighborhood segregation that we see today. These discriminatory policies and practices also contribute to unequal rates of homeownership and home value in Chicago proper and the entire metro region.
- Today's two-tiered lending market (prime vs. subprime) causes Chicagoans of color to pay more for less. Even when they possess equivalent measures of creditworthiness compared to whites, black and Latinx households are more likely to secure mortgages that have high interest rates, ballooning payment schedules, and numerous extra fees.
- Pervasive and persistent segregation, historical legacies of housing discrimination, and a two-tiered lending market set the preconditions for a mid-2000s housing collapse that was amplified along lines of race and ethnicity. Those communities most devastated were communities of color.
- The aftermath of the Great Recession, compounded with broader long-term shifts of economic restructuring and uneven urban development, has left many families in Chicago unable to afford housing in the city. Such a trend is pronounced among the city's black and Latinx residents.

WHAT DOES HOUSING EQUITY LOOK LIKE IN CHICAGO?

co-authored with Janet Smith

Central to any discussion about housing dynamics in the city of Chicago has to be its long history of deep and pervasive segregation.¹ Why is segregation important? It is important because it comes with widespread spatial inequality. One could argue that there is not one Chicago but many, with different communities having access to vastly different services and resources, and residents of different neighborhoods living vastly different life experiences.

A recent report by the Metropolitan Planning Council and the Urban Institute captures many of the deep economic costs of segregation.² Rather than seeing the problem as an isolated one that pertains only to Chicagoans of color, the report reframes the issue to show how segregation affects all Chicagoans—black, brown, white, poor, and rich. Segregation comes at a real cost. According to the report, it lowers the region's Gross Domestic Product. It depresses what wages workers can earn. It is even linked to increased rates of homicide. In short, segregation costs lives, income, and potential.

By almost any measure, segregation is a key factor in the region's persistent racial inequity. Just how segregated is Chicago, though? Race and ethnicity dot maps illustrate just how segregated the city is today, with very few areas where different groups are in spatial proximity. Whites live primarily on the North Side, in and surrounding downtown, and in a few communities on the edge of the city, while blacks are concentrated south and west and Latinxs southwest and northwest. Although Asians constitute a much smaller group, they are concentrated primarily in the Chinatown area (southwest) and in Koreatown (north along Lawrence Avenue).

**Just how segregated
is Chicago?**

A striking takeaway from the race and ethnicity dot map is that while some black Chicagoans reside in predominantly white neighborhoods, virtually no white Chicagoans live in black neighborhoods. Consider Lincoln Park. Although one of the city's most predominantly white communities, it does have a black population of about 5%. At the other end of that spectrum is Englewood, a community that until the 1960s was composed of white immigrants. This South Side community now has a black population of 98.5%, with whites and Latinxs making up only about half a percent apiece.

THE RACIAL AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF CHICAGOLAND, 2010

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

The 10 Most Segregated Major Cities in America

Black-White Segregation

Chicago	82.5
New York	81.4
Miami	75.5
Ft. Lauderdale	74.2
Atlanta	74.1
Dayton	74.0
Philadelphia	73.4
Washington D.C.	72.2
Newark	71.2
Milwaukee	70.1

Latinx-White Segregation

Oakland	66.9
New York	65.8
Los Angeles	65.2
Philadelphia	62.0
Dallas	61.1
Chicago	60.9
Richmond	60.8
Milwaukee	60.7
Houston	60.4
Detroit	59.4

Black-Latinx Segregation

Detroit	82.2
Chicago	80.8
Milwaukee	78.8
Miami	77.2
Cleveland	74.4
Philadelphia	64.4
Newark	63.4
Buffalo	63.0
Baltimore	62.6
Omaha	62.2

Source: Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences at Brown University. Data: Census 2010

Based on 2010 Census data, Chicago ranks among the most segregated cities in the country—a ranking that has remained virtually unchanged for decades. One tool researchers have used since the 1950s to measure levels of segregation is the dissimilarity index.³ It gauges how uniformly populations are distributed throughout a geographic area. For example, if a fictitious *Capitaltown* had a population of one million residents, half black and half white, the dissimilarity index would tell us about the evenness of the distribution of those black residents and white residents across neighborhoods throughout the city.⁴

In the case of *Capitaltown*, the black-white dissimilarity score would specify what percentage of the black or white population would have to move for each neighborhood of *Capitaltown* to have the same demographics as the city overall (half black and half white). The score calculated is a value between 0 (completely integrated) and 100 (completely segregated). A value of 0 indicates that every neighborhood has the same percentage of whites and blacks as the city overall. A value of 100 indicates that all neighborhoods are either 100% black or 100% white. Generally speaking, social scientists agree that a value of 60 or more is considered very highly segregated.

According to data from the 2010 Census, 82.5% of all blacks or whites would have to move to have an even distribution across the city of Chicago. While this figure has dropped slightly since 1980, when the dissimilarity score was 90.6, black-white segregation in Chicago remains extremely high. Similar trends hold true for segregation between blacks and Latinxs. In 1980, their dissimilarity score was 88.8. In 2010, it was 80.8. Meanwhile, segregation among whites and Latinxs has remained constant. The white-Latinx dissimilarity score was 61.4 in 1980 and 60.9 in 2010.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

How Segregated is Chicago by Race and Ethnicity? A Look at Dissimilarity Scores since 1980

	1980	1990	2000	2010
Black-White	90.6	87.4	85.0	82.5
Latinx-White	61.4	59.6	59.2	60.9
Black-Latinx	88.8	86.0	84.2	80.8

Source: Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences at Brown University.
Data: Census, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010

WHY DOES SEGREGATION PERSIST INTO THE 21ST CENTURY?

Why do high levels of racial segregation persist nearly 50 years after the passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968?⁵ One commonly cited explanation is that segregation stems from group differences in economic resources. The “it’s really economics” theory suggests that segregation is really about class differences and if people of color had the means to do so, they would live in the same communities as whites do. As we highlight in the Economics Section, it is certainly true that on average blacks and Latinxs have higher levels of poverty, are more likely to be unemployed, generally earn less money, and have less wealth than their white counterparts—even when they have the same level of education. One way of testing this “it’s really economics” idea is to look at whether segregation levels decline as income levels rise.⁶

When we broaden our analysis to consider racial segregation patterns at different income levels among blacks and Latinxs, we find that economics explains racial segregation trends partially for Latinx households but not for black households.⁷ That is, segregation from whites declines somewhat for Latinx households as they earn more money. Whereas the Latinx-white dissimilarity score for households earning less than \$25,000 was 55.7, it was 40.9 for those earning \$100,000 or more. For black households across the income spectrum, however, segregation from whites drops only slightly. Approximately 80.2% of black households earning less than \$25,000 would need to move to achieve an even distribution with whites. Meanwhile, about 75.6% of black households earning \$100,000 or more would need to move to be evenly distributed with whites.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

Dissimilarity Levels of Blacks and Latinxs from Whites by Household Income in Cook County, 2010 - 2015

	Black	Latinx
\$24,999 or less	80.2	55.7
\$25,000 to \$49,999	78.1	54.7
\$50,000 to \$74,999	77.8	52.1
\$75,000 to \$99,999	77.1	50.3
\$100,000 or more	75.6	40.9

Data: American Community Survey

Thus, regardless of income level, comparable patterns of segregation persist among black households. What makes this observation even more meaningful is that income segregation in the U.S. has increased to its highest level in four decades.⁸ That is, the poor and the rich tend to live in isolation from one another more now than in the past. In the Chicagoland area, however, levels of black segregation from whites persist above and beyond national trends of income segregation. Affluent black households are almost as likely as poor ones to be segregated from whites.

Beyond the “it’s economics” hypothesis, some say the persistence of racial and ethnic segregation in Chicago has less to do with income and more to do with each group’s desire to live amongst people like them. Researchers call this homophily—the idea that members of one group prefer to live amongst other members of the same group (i.e., “birds of a feather flock together”). While the research in this area is vast and complicated, one consistent finding is that black and Latinx residents do not prefer to live in segregated minority communities. When asked, most respondents list diverse neighborhoods as their preferred housing destination.⁹ Even white respondents often express support, in the abstract, for living in far more diverse neighborhoods than is true of the communities they actually end up in.

Levels of black segregation from whites in Chicago persist above and beyond national trends of income segregation.

Recent research on Chicago gives us some insight into this seeming contradiction. Sociologists Esther Havekes, Michael Bader, and Maria Krysan examined the inconsistencies between what Chicagoans say and do—particularly among whites.¹⁰ They found that though white Chicagoans express an abstract desire to live in diverse neighborhoods, their actions suggest otherwise. In the study, when each group was asked to indicate their ideal neighborhood demographics all report preferring a diverse community. White Chicagoans say they wanted to live in a neighborhood that was about half white, while blacks and Latinxs expressed a desire to be in a neighborhood that is about one-third their group.

However, when these groups actually go through the process of searching for and finding a place to live, the neighborhoods they end up selecting have quite different makeups than their abstract “ideals.” For example, white Chicagoans on average actually end up *looking* in neighborhoods that have large white majorities (68%) and end up *living* in a neighborhood that is almost three-fourths white (as opposed to their stated preference of 46%). Black and Latinx Chicagoans search for housing in neighborhoods that are more or less consistent with their stated desire for diversity, but on average, end up *living* in neighborhoods that are 66% black and 51% Latinx (as opposed to their stated preferences of 37% black and 32% Latinx).

Note: This graphic was adapted from a Research Spotlight written by Maria Krysan, "Racial Residential Segregation and the Housing Search Process," published by UIC's Institute of Government & Public Affairs.
Source: Havekes, Bader, and Krysan 2016. Data: Chicago Area Study

In other research completed by Krysan and Bader, they suggest that community blind spots could be the reason for the mismatch between what Chicagoans say and do.¹¹ White Chicagoans tend to search for places to live using what they know from personal experience, knowledge from racially exclusive social networks, suggestions from realtors who have track records of racial steering, and sensationalized media representations. Thus, one reason many white Chicagoans do not seek out integrated neighborhoods reflective of their ideal makeup may be that they simply do not know about these neighborhoods or what they do know is faulty and inaccurate.

Finally, the last major explanation for why segregation persists is discrimination. These explanations focus on both the origins of current neighborhood patterns and the current practices that sustain them. For example, these explanations point out that the segregation we have today results in part from a long history of public policies and private practices that forced generations of migrants from the south into urban black belts in large cities like Chicago.¹² While many of the most explicit discriminatory policies and practices that formed the foundation of Chicago real estate patterns formally ended decades ago, national and local studies continue to find subtle but consequential discrimination throughout the housing industry. This sort of inequity can include seemingly nonracial actions that result in differences in who is shown available housing units, what neighborhoods are recommended to renters and buyers, as well as which groups are offered prime loans or premium rents and which are steered toward costlier alternatives.¹³ Legacies of discriminatory policies and practices continue alongside newer challenges in the housing market.

While many of the most explicit discriminatory policies and practices that formed the foundation of Chicago real estate patterns formally ended decades ago, national and local studies continue to find subtle but consequential discrimination throughout the housing industry.

A BACKSTORY OF SEGREGATION IN THE “MOST AMERICAN OF AMERICA’S CITIES”

How and why residents of the city are distributed geographically in the way that they are is one important story with regard to housing. Pathways to homeownership are another. For many Americans, not only does homeownership represent the culmination of middle-class aspirations, but their home is *the* central asset in their wealth portfolio.¹⁴ For those in the bottom 80% of America’s wealth distribution, it is often their only major asset and thus their most prized possession.

The rise of homeownership generally, as well as the rise of housing as a means to wealth accumulation, did not occur until after the Great Depression. Census data show us that fewer than half of Americans owned their home in 1930. By 1970, that number had increased to almost two-thirds of all households. How did this shift come about? Before the federal policies of the New Deal, home-seekers were required to pay nearly half their mortgage up front and turn over the rest soon after that. Things like low down payments and 15- or 30-year amortization schedules did not exist. Under the newly created Federal Housing Authority (FHA), and later the Veteran’s Administration (VA), federal policy in the 1930s reconfigured the basic structure of home mortgages.¹⁵

After New Deal policy shifts, home loans could be obtained with small down payments. They came with low-interest rates. And they included extended finance schedules so that debt could be repaid over many years. In effect, these changes made homeownership more broadly affordable. Records show that three out of every four homes purchased between the 1930s and 1959 were financed through the FHA.¹⁶ Of those mortgages that were secured through private lending companies, a majority followed the same underwriting guidelines that were set forth by the federal government.¹⁷ These new lending practices gave rise to an unprecedented trend in which more Americans than ever before could become homeowners.

In addition to bringing about new lending practices, New Deal policies established the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC). Its stated purpose was to formalize a nationwide property appraisal system so that creditworthiness and neighborhood quality could be assessed in an unbiased, uniform way.¹⁸ What the HOLC actually created was a valuation formula that followed explicitly racial (and class) criteria. This practice is commonly referred to as "redlining" because a red line literally marked off those neighborhoods labeled "undesirable."

Consider an excerpt from the 1939 Underwriting Manual provided by the Federal Housing Authority:

"If a neighborhood is to retain stability it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes. A change in social or racial occupancy generally leads to instability and a reduction in values" (Part II, 233-235).

Properties with high appraisal values were those located in virtually all-white neighborhoods. Properties with low appraisal values were those located in virtually all-black neighborhoods. Meanwhile, properties in diverse neighborhoods fell somewhere in between. (Historical HOLC maps of Chicago illustrate this valuation system.)

Taken together, the consequences of these FHA lending practices and the HOLC appraisal system combined to limit black access to homeownership and negatively impact the value of homes in black neighborhoods.¹⁹ Between 1930 and 1960, for example, fewer than 1% of all mortgages issued went to black families.²⁰ The same policies that made homeownership newly possible for millions of white Americans closed the door on black opportunity. According to estimates from sociologists Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, New Deal initiatives also were a key facilitator of suburbanization, assisting 28 million families in moving from urban to suburban spaces.²¹ About 27 million of those families were white.

Homeownership gaps created by federal policies were exacerbated by widespread practices of racial bias throughout the housing industry.²² For example, realtors discouraged white families from moving into racially mixed city neighborhoods and actively steered them from the city to the suburbs. White neighborhood associations and homeowners also engaged in organized opposition and violence when black families attempted to move into white neighborhoods.

REDLINING IN NEW DEAL CHICAGO: A 1939 MAP BY THE HOME OWNER'S LOAN CORPORATION

WHO OWNS THEIR HOME IN CHICAGO AND HOW MUCH IS IT WORTH?

We are only one generation removed from the public policies and private practices that created Chicago's extreme levels of segregation and vast inequalities in housing wealth. Thus, consequences that stem from these policies and practices can still be seen in patterns of racial and ethnic inequality today.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

5-Year Estimates of Homeownership Rates, 2010 - 2014

	City of Chicago	Cook County	Chicago Metro	United States
Black	34.5%	40.5%	40.6%	43.0%
Latinx	43.0%	48.7%	52.8%	46.3%
White	53.5%	69.0%	75.5%	71.9%
All Owners	44.7%	57.6%	65.2%	64.4%

Data: American Community Survey

Data from the American Community Survey show nearly a 20-point gap in homeownership rates between black and white Chicagoans, with 34.5% of blacks owning their homes compared to 53.5% of whites. This disparity only gets larger when we look beyond Chicago's city limits to the metropolitan area that includes many predominantly white suburbs. There, the white-black homeownership gap is a nearly 2:1 ratio: Whereas the black homeownership rate is 40.6%, the white rate is 75.5%.

It is not just that people of color are less likely than whites to own their home, however. Layered on top of this disparity are large and growing differences in the value of property that people own. Homes in predominantly black communities appreciate in value at slower rates and have lower peak values than homes in majority-white neighborhoods.²³ And those living in these homes are less likely to accumulate comparable levels of equity over time.²⁴

When we compare the median property values of each group to the median property values of the city overall we find large differences.²⁵ Inside Chicago, the typical black home is worth \$145,000, while the typical Chicago home (all races included) is worth \$225,700, a difference of \$80,000. The typical Latinx home is worth \$45,700 less than the Chicago median. Meanwhile, the typical white family owns a home that is worth \$50,000 more than the Chicago median.

There is a 20-point gap in homeownership rates between black and white Chicagoans.

5-YEAR ESTIMATES OF MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD PROPERTY VALUES IN CHICAGO, 2010 - 2014 (2014 DOLLARS)

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

5-Year Estimates of Median Household Property Values, 2010 - 2014 (2014 dollars)

	City of Chicago	Cook County	Chicago Metro	United States
Black	\$145,000	\$140,000	\$140,000	\$127,056
Latinx	\$180,000	\$175,000	\$160,000	\$152,636
White	\$275,000	\$250,000	\$225,000	\$182,946
All Owners	\$225,700	\$222,200	\$217,300	\$175,700

Data: American Community Survey

FROM EXPLICIT EXCLUSION TO PREDATORY INCLUSION

Compared to the pre-1960s era, housing discrimination today does not look the same. Legislation like the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and various antidiscrimination laws (e.g., 1974 Equal Credit Opportunity Act; 1975 Home Mortgage Disclosure Act; 1975 Community Reinvestment; 1992 Financial Sound and Safety Act) banned formal practices of exclusion (e.g., outlawing racially restrictive covenants).²⁶ While these laws were able to eliminate many of the most explicit discriminatory practices in the housing industry, they did not eliminate all forms.

Recent research suggests that housing discrimination today is less about formal exclusion sanctioned by the state and more about predatory inclusion perpetrated by the market.²⁷ When more lenders, banks especially, were mandated by law to serve communities of color, the housing economy was also deregulated in ways that allowed a two-tier, subprime lending market to emerge. For those who are denied mortgages from mainstream lenders, a stratified lending market provides more expensive alternatives.²⁸ These include reverse redlining practices, which occur when lenders subject minority borrowers in predominantly minority communities to unconventional loans that come with more fees, adjustable rates, “balloon” payment schedules, high interest, and prepayment penalties.²⁹

Housing discrimination today is less about formal exclusion sanctioned by the state and more about predatory inclusion perpetrated by the market.

In a suit against Wells Fargo (see *Illinois v. Wells Fargo & Co.* 9 CH 26434), Illinois Attorney General Lisa Madigan alleged that lending practices were incentivized in ways that steered minorities toward high-cost loans that not only generated more money for Wells Fargo but awarded its employees higher commissions.³⁰ The state’s investigation found that even those borrowers who qualified for prime loans were funneled away from them. Black households earning over \$300,000 per year were more likely to obtain subprime loans than were Asian, Latinx, and white households with incomes of less than \$40,000 (see also see *Illinois v. Wells Fargo & Co.* 9 CH 26434).

Compared to their white counterparts, people of color with similar socioeconomic status and creditworthiness are more likely to be either denied mortgages or steered towards high-cost ones.

Looking to 2007 data from the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act Loan Application Register, we find that black borrowers were 14 times more likely than white ones to receive a high-cost loan from Wells Fargo. These findings are consistent with other academic studies. Compared to their white counterparts, people of color with similar socioeconomic status and creditworthiness are more likely to be either denied mortgages or steered towards high-cost ones.³¹ For these reasons, among others, Chicago has frequently recorded among the highest volume of subprime mortgages in the country. A total of 60,568 were approved during 2007 alone (a peak moment of the housing bubble's dramatic run-up).

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

5-Year Estimates of Owner-Occupied Units Spending at Least 30% of their Income on Monthly Owner Costs, 2010 - 2014 (in percentages)

	City of Chicago	Cook County	Chicago Metro	United States
Black	50.7	48.8	47.5	42.4
Latinx	57.7	54.5	52.7	44.0
White	35.7	37.9	35.5	29.4
All Owners	44.3	43.2	39.5	34.2

Data: American Community Survey

The consequences of stratified lending practices are many. One important measure is related to the percentage of a household's income being spent on housing. In fact, in households of color, residents generally pay larger shares of their income to be a homeowner. These households are what scholars refer to as cost-burdened homeowners, meaning the residents of owner-occupied units are spending 30% or more of their household income on owner costs (e.g., mortgage, taxes, utilities). Data from the American Community Survey show us that only one in every three white-occupied units in Chicago falls into this category, compared with 50.7% of black-occupied units and 57.7% of Latinx-occupied units.

5-YEAR ESTIMATES OF CHICAGO OWNER-OCCUPIED UNITS SPENDING AT LEAST 30% OF THEIR INCOME ON MONTHLY OWNER COSTS, 2010 - 2014

HOW HAS LENDING CHANGED TEN YEARS AFTER THE HOUSING MARKET MELTDOWN?

Nearly a decade after the housing crisis, people of color within the Chicago metropolitan area remain locked out of conventional loans at disproportionate rates compared to whites. In 2015, for example, data from the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act Loan Application Register show that only 58.5% of black applicants and 67.0% of Latinx applicants saw their conventional loan applications approved and money dispersed. The rate is considerably higher for white applicants, with more than three of every four applicants approved. What makes these disparate outcomes all the more disheartening is the sheer number of black (3,459) and Latinx (6,592) home seekers in comparison to their white counterparts (58,539). In large part, as we elaborate in detail in the Economics Section, this is because poverty, unemployment, financial hardship, and debt are racialized. Many people of color are simply not well off enough to consider a home purchase.

For those locked out of the prime lending market, a mortgage through the Federal Housing Authority, Farm Service Agency/Rural Housing Service, or Veterans Administration is an option. Based on the volume of these loans, in fact,

these are the second-best option available to secure an affordable home. These types of loans typically require smaller down payments, and they are available to those with lower credit scores. What makes these loans different, however, is that they cost more over the long haul compared to conventional loans (e.g., higher interest rates, longer amortization schedules).

The approval rates for FHA, FSA/RHS, and VA home-purchase loans among blacks, Latinxs, and whites in Chicago generally mirror the conventional market. Whites' approval rates are lower than they are in the prime market, but the overall racial gap remains. Perhaps what is more troubling, however, is the fact that homebuyers of color are more likely to apply for these kinds of loans than they are for conventional ones. In 2015, for example, blacks and Latinxs completed 10,051 applications for a conventional loan. For these government-sponsored, more costly alternative loans, the number of applications was 13,969.

That households of color are more likely to turn to government-sponsored mortgages over prime ones says something larger about the housing market in Chicago. Homeowners of color still disproportionately obtain loans that are costlier than those obtained by their white counterparts.

LAST IN, FIRST OUT: THE FORECLOSURE AFTERMATH

Despite all the barriers to housing, some people of color turn to homeownership as a primary means for wealth accumulation.³² In fact, before the housing market collapsed, owning a home comprised anywhere from one-half to two-thirds of all assets for black and Latinx homeowners.³³ In contrast, whites had a more diversified portfolio. A majority of their assets were spread across other investments like IRA and Keogh accounts, stocks and mutual funds, 401(k), and thrift accounts, allowing them to buffer investment risk and insulate their assets from the housing meltdown. These portfolio differences had profound implications for how racial and ethnic groups differentially experienced the foreclosure crisis.

FORECLOSURE FILINGS BY CHICAGO COMMUNITY AREA, 2008-2015

Persisting trends of segregation, compounded by the fact that nearly half of all growth in minority homeownership was facilitated through subprime lending practices,³⁴ set the preconditions for an economic fallout that has been amplified along racial lines. In Chicago, data from the County Recorder of Deeds show that 128,839 foreclosures have been filed between 2008 and 2015. Most occurred in a handful of minority communities, with neighborhoods like Austin (5,746), Belmont Cragin (4,455), and West Lawn (4,065) having experienced the highest volume of foreclosures.

Source: Institute for Housing Studies. Data: Cook County Assessor's Office

Individual households may be the ones to suffer foreclosures, but the fact that they cluster in space has devastating effects at the community level.³⁵ The spatial concentration of foreclosure has resulted in large portions of neighborhoods being left abandoned, and the longer a home remains vacant the greater the odds of blight. Housing stock in two of Chicago's communities, in particular, have long-term vacancy rates in the double-digits. According to data from the Institute for Housing Studies, 25.3% of Riverdale's housing and 11.1% of Englewood's housing have been vacant for two years or more. Both communities have black populations of over 95%. In fact, the five communities with the highest levels of long-term vacancy are predominantly black. Not only does leaving property vacant lead to community deterioration but it reduces the values of nearby homes and diminishes the odds of future investment.

Individual households may be the ones to suffer foreclosures, but the fact that they cluster in space has devastating effects at the community level.

LONG-TERM VACANCY (24+ MONTHS) OF HOUSING STOCK BY CHICAGO COMMUNITY AREA, 2014

Data: Institute for Housing Studies

According to the excellent work of The Woodstock Institute, a collateral consequence of concentrated foreclosure has led to the rise of “zombie properties” in predominantly black neighborhoods.³⁶ These refer to properties in which a foreclosure claim has been filed but not resolved within three years. Among all the foreclosures filed between 2008 and 2010, 8.7% meet this definition. That adds up to 11,700 properties. Because neither the lender nor the homeowner has control over the property going through the foreclosure process, both lack clear incentive to invest in the property, fulfill the tax obligations associated with it, or, at the very least, maintain the home. These homes are often left behind, along with the withering infrastructure that no longer has a tax base to support it, to suffer a state of blight or urban decay.

WHOSE KIND OF TOWN? THOSE WHO CAN AFFORD IT

All Chicagoans	48% Owners	52% Renters
	1,270,301	1,390,122

Data: American Community Survey

Up to this point, much of our discussion has focused on the dynamics of segregation and homeownership. However, renters are perhaps an even more important focus in a discussion of race and housing in Chicago. This is because, while the majority of whites own their homes rather than rent them, a majority of Chicagoans of color are renters rather than homeowners—a disparity that has grown in recent years.

Chicago has historically been a city of renters, with many families renting the same apartment for long periods of time. This picture began changing somewhat in the 1990s with the increase of new condominiums as well as the conversion of multifamily housing from renter- to owner-occupied. Today, while the majority of owners in Chicago are white, and a majority of whites are owners, nearly twice as many blacks rent (66%) as own their homes, and Latinxs (57%) are also predominantly renters.

A focus on renting is important also because rental costs are the single largest expense for most in Chicago, and many face rents that are beyond their means—especially low-income families of color. Looking at the rent

burdened household, which is defined as renter-occupied units that require at least 30% of household income for rent and utilities, the most burdened are renters who identify as black. Whereas about two out of every three black renter-occupied units are cost-burdened, the same is true of just over four in ten white renter-occupied units. What makes these figures stand out is that black Chicagoans are considerably more cost-burdened by rent than black Americans are as a whole (Chicago rate = 62.9; National rate = 57.7). In contrast, white Chicagoans are considerably better off than white Americans as a whole (Chicago rate = 41.6; national rate = 46.5).

While the majority of owners in Chicago are white, and a majority of whites are owners, nearly twice as many blacks rent as own their homes, and Latinxs are also predominantly renters.

**5-YEAR ESTIMATE OF CHICAGO RENTER-OCCUPIED UNITS SPENDING
AT LEAST 30% OF THEIR INCOME ON RENT AND UTILITIES, 2010 - 2014**

In the post-recession era, affordable housing is harder to come by. Not only did the foreclosure crisis unevenly impact homeowners of color, but the fallout impacted many foreclosed-upon apartment complexes that black and Latinx renters called home. Between 2009 and 2013, for example, 22,674 apartment buildings, which contained about 68,300 units, entered foreclosure. According to the Lawyers' Committee for Better Housing, 17 of the 18 communities that lost the highest proportions of their rental housing stock had black and/or Latinx populations of 85% or more.³⁷ Each of these communities lost about one-fifth or greater of their rental housing stock.

Why are the stakes of affordability so high? Money spent on rent takes away from money spent elsewhere. The lack of affordable housing makes life much more precarious, with some finding it difficult to satisfy their housing needs even when working full-time. As the report's next section on economics points to, disproportionate levels of poverty, unemployment, and low incomes among people of color, in addition to differential payoffs for education attainment, only compound these problems further.

PERCENT OF RENTAL HOUSING STOCK LOST AFTER THE RECESSION BY CHICAGO COMMUNITY AREA, 2009-2013

Source: Lawyers' Committee for Better Housing

EXPERT COMMENTARY: HOUSING³⁸

Maria Krysan is a Professor in the Sociology Department at the University of Illinois at Chicago and a faculty member in the Institute of Government and Public Affairs. Her research focuses on racial residential segregation and racial attitudes. Her investigations of these substantive issues often connects to methodological questions about how to study this sensitive area of social life. She is co-author of the book *Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretations* and co-editor of *The Changing Terrain of Race and Ethnicity*. Her work has appeared in numerous journals.

Chicago is often touted as a “city of neighborhoods.” Tourists are encouraged to explore the world by exploring our neighborhoods, with an ability to experience cultural and culinary diversity for the price of an L train ticket or a Divvy bike ride. Missing from that characterization, however, is that although one can experience diversity *across* the city, one can seldom discover diversity *within* a neighborhood.³⁹ Rather, racial residential segregation is a defining feature of Chicago; indeed, it is regularly in the top five most segregated cities in America.⁴⁰ At a time when *some* cities and metropolitan areas are seeing steady declines in segregation—so much so that some observers have declared segregation a thing of the past⁴¹—Chicago remains stubbornly and deeply segregated. The data in this housing section give one both the picture and the numbers to confirm this.

The consequences of residential segregation are pervasive. So much of what we do—where we work, go to school, get healthcare, shop for groceries, have fun, attend church—is shaped by where we live. And so much of what happens to us—how much crime we are exposed to, the level of pollution we experience, our access to outdoor space

and exercise facilities, accessibility to public transportation, health outcomes, the ability to accumulate wealth from our homes, and so on—are shaped by the kind of neighborhoods in which we live. Because all neighborhoods are not equal, the quality of those lived experiences therefore differs substantially. And in a city as racially and ethnically segregated as Chicago, this means there are “divergent social worlds”⁴² experienced by whites, blacks, Latinxs, and Asians. In fact, the substantial inequality of experiences across neighborhoods that flows from racial segregation is so comprehensive that some call segregation the structural “linchpin” of persistent racial inequality in America today.⁴³ Each of the domains of social and economic life covered in this report in one way or another can be seen to flow from, or contribute to, racial residential segregation.

In order to dismantle this system of segregation, we need to understand how it came to be. First and foremost, as this report section outlines, in terms of segregation in Chicago, the stage was set through deliberate discriminatory practices and policies at the individual, local, state, and federal level over decades both before and since the 1968 Fair Housing Act declared housing discrimination to be illegal. Housing discrimination does persist, and as the data reported in this report section show, it often looks different than it did in the past: where previously mortgage loans were denied altogether to African Americans, now, people of color are steered into riskier and more expensive loans than their white counterparts. Indeed, while segregation in America in general, and Chicago in particular, was created out of a series of conscious efforts to ensure separation of the races, it is now maintained not just by overt segregationist efforts, socioeconomic differences, and racial preferences, but also by the social and economic repercussions of segregation itself. These repercussions shape economic outcomes that influence where people can afford to live; they mold people’s preferences to live in certain kinds of neighborhoods to escape racial discrimination; they inform people’s perceptions and knowledge of communities that keep certain neighborhoods entirely off people’s radar screens when they are looking for a place to live. Each of these things is racialized—and all of them help shape the residential mobility and immobility patterns that, in the aggregate, perpetuate segregation.

Thus, even if discrimination ended tomorrow, segregation would not disappear. Nor would the housing inequality that comes with it—and is captured in different ways in the data reported in this section— disappear. Just as deliberate efforts were taken to create segregation, deliberate efforts to end it are necessary. Enforcement of the Fair Housing Act is an obvious need. But it is by no means the only one. Once a more complicated picture of the drivers of segregation is appreciated, it becomes obvious that efforts to dismantle it must be multi-pronged. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has recently taken steps in this direction by creating new rules that advance the 1968 Fair Housing Law’s mandate to affirmatively *further* fair housing—not simply ensure that discrimination does not exist—and have given communities the tools to better-understand the barriers to integration in their locality. To break down these barriers means to address racial blind spots such as those described in this report; to market all kinds of communities to all kinds of people; to overcome the challenges of uneven information about opportunities that can be circumscribed because our lived experiences, social networks, and media exposure are racially distinct; to build affordable housing in opportunity areas; and to reinvest in communities so that we disrupt the reality of racial inequality across neighborhoods. Breaking the cycle is not easy, but given how many of the racial inequalities we experience in Chicago flow from unequal and separate neighborhoods, doing so is essential.

It has been almost 50 years since the 1968 Fair Housing Act was passed; part of the testimony in support of that legislation was a powerful report by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.⁴⁴ In it, the authors captured the essence of the cycle of segregation:

“The ghetto is self-perpetuating, for by separating the white child from the Negro child we hand on to both our own dear delusions of race. We are now trapped in a situation where we must push for a miscellany of tortuous techniques, from pairing to busing, designed to integrate schools which serve segregated neighborhoods, both black and white. These schools must pretend that Americans live in one world and not two, but the children know better because they know their neighborhoods. The bus from the Negro ghetto in Evanston, Illinois, comes every morning to Lincolnwood Elementary School, and the white children on the playground shout, ‘Here comes the colored bus!’

Neighborhood segregation is thus the sour grapes that sets each new generation's teeth on edge. Right now we are creating another generation of Americans committed in their bones to segregation, not because we are formally teaching it (in many homes and schools we are teaching just the opposite) but because we are living it."

The data provided in this report in general, and this section in particular, illustrate that although the specifics of the policies have changed, though the terminology is new, and while some of the communities look different, the basic sentiment continues to ring true five decades later.

ENDNOTES

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ECONOMICS

KEY TAKEAWAYS FROM THIS SECTION

- Over the past half century, Chicago has transitioned from an industrial to service economy. This shift translates into the widespread loss of well-paying, semiskilled manufacturing jobs, and higher levels of underemployment and unemployment.
- Levels of income inequality among blacks, Latinxs, and whites are worse in Chicago than in the nation overall, and they are worsening over time.
- Racial and ethnic gaps in wealth are more dramatic than racial and ethnic gaps in income. Even when black and Latinx households have assets, the amounts are often minuscule and not enough to weather financial instability.
- Not only do Chicagoans of color face higher levels of unemployment and poverty as well as have less income and wealth than their white peers, but they are geographically removed from the city's job centers and have fewer transit options.

WHAT DO ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES LOOK LIKE IN CHICAGO?

co-authored with Matthew D. Wilson and Teresa Córdova

Work in Chicago today does not look like it did just a few decades ago. The broad economic restructuring of the economy due to automation in manufacturing, exporting of jobs to other regions of the U.S. and overseas, and the rise of an economy driven by services and retail trade have transitioned the city away from its history of goods-making industries.¹ Between 1960 and 2015, for example, the proportion of Chicago's workers employed in manufacturing decreased 76%. The reconfiguring of Chicago's occupational structure is all the more significant when we consider that manufacturing jobs have historically provided many, especially those lacking a college degree, with high wages, health benefits, a retirement plan, and overall security.²

Today's breakdown of employment by industry suggests that these occupational shifts have been differentially experienced across color lines. The widespread elimination of well-paying, semiskilled manufacturing jobs may have declined for all Chicagoans from 1960 to 2015, but Latinx workers have been most severely impacted by this industrial shift. In 1960, 56% of Latinxs were employed in manufacturing compared to 16.4% by 2015. Meanwhile, the share of black and white workers employed by manufacturing jobs also dropped substantially.

Work in Chicago today does not look like it did just a few decades ago.

Similar to the changing industrial mix of Chicago's economy, the occupation of workers shifted considerably from 1960 to 2015. Today, people are more likely to be working in professional and high-end (e.g., high-tech) service occupations. This is especially true for white Chicagoans, almost 40% of whom are employed in this sector. In contrast, more black and Latinx workers are finding employment in the retail industry, with almost a quarter of both groups in professional and related service occupations. These shifts are consistent with an economy that produces fewer goods and more services.

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY: THE CHANGING PROPORTION OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS EMPLOYED IN SELECT INDUSTRIES, 1960 AND 2015 (IN PERCENTAGES)

Data: 1960 Census, American Community Survey, public use files; Tabulations by Great Cities Institute, UIC

EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION: THE CHANGING PROPORTION OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS EMPLOYED IN SELECT OCCUPATIONS, 1960 AND 2015 (IN PERCENTAGES)

Data: 1960 Census, American Community Survey, public use files; Tabulations by Great Cities Institute, UIC

UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE WAKE OF ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING

Economic restructuring since 1960 has meant more than changes in the occupational structure. It has meant a growing imbalance between the supply and demand for labor. For some Chicagoans, this imbalance has translated into unemployment. Being without a job is detrimental to both the individual and to the economy in general because it represents lost wages and productivity. It represents interrupted career trajectories that have long-term effects on future job prospects and earnings. It represents a diminishment of purchasing power and a corresponding decline in consumer demand.

CHICAGO UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, 1980-2015

Data: 1980 Census, 1990 Census, 2000 Census, 2010 Census, and American Community Survey

Officially defined by the federal government, the unemployment rate refers to the number of jobless people who have actively sought work during the preceding four weeks.³ When the national unemployment rate hit 10% in October 2009, policymakers and media figures alike labeled it as an event of catastrophic proportion. This was the highest the national unemployment rate had been since the double-dip recession of the early 1980s and more than double the rate experienced during the economic boom of the late 1990s. The high-water threshold of national unemployment signaled to some that the Great Recession was not over as the official news had declared.

Chicago's black unemployment rate has not fallen below 10% for at least the past 35 years.

Ironically, if the black unemployment rate hit 10% in Chicago, it would likely be embraced with celebration and as a milestone of achievement. This is because Chicago's black unemployment rate has not fallen below 10% for at least the past 35 years. Whereas it was 15.7% in 1980, it grew to 18.8% by 2015 after having peaked at 25.2% in 2010. Comparing unemployment among racial groups, black unemployment levels in 2015 were over 4 times the rate for white workers. In fact, at every point in time over the past three-and-a-half decades the black unemployment rate has been about 3 times the size of the white unemployment rate—if not more. Many black Chicagoans have been frozen in a perpetual state of recession for decades, a dire economic experience that persists regardless of boom or bust cycles.

While not as severe a problem as black unemployment, Chicago's Latinx workers are also disproportionately affected by unemployment, with unemployment rates historically double the rate for whites. Their unemployment rate has hovered around 10% over the past 35 years, slightly decreasing from 11.9% to 9.3% between 1980 and 2015 after having peaked at 14.8% in 2010.

EDUCATION DOES NOT RESOLVE INEQUALITIES IN UNEMPLOYMENT

Conventional wisdom might have us believe that attaining higher levels of education would alleviate unemployment rates and level off disparities in joblessness. Higher levels of education translate broadly into lower levels of unemployment. However, no matter how many degrees blacks and Latinxs obtain, they face higher rates of unemployment than their white counterparts with the same level of education.

5-YEAR ESTIMATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN CHICAGO BY
EDUCATION ATTAINMENT AND RACE AND ETHNICITY, 2011 - 2015

Data: American Community Survey

In Chicago, similarly credentialed blacks and whites have markedly different experiences of unemployment across the education spectrum. The black-white unemployment gap is smallest among those with a doctoral degree, but blacks with doctorates are still unemployed at almost twice the rate of their white counterparts. The black-white unemployment gap is highest among those with a professional degree. Black professionals have an unemployment rate that is 3 times the rate of white professionals. In fact, the unemployment rate for black professionals, which is 5.6%, is closer to the unemployment rate of whites with only some college than it is to whites who have a bachelor's, professional, or doctoral degree.⁴ Comparing Latinxs and whites with similar education levels, we see inequalities persist there as well in all categories except for those with doctoral degrees.

In Chicago, similarly credentialed blacks and whites have markedly different experiences of unemployment.

RISING INCOME INEQUALITY

Even though many “good manufacturing jobs” have been lost and unemployment levels persist, the American economy, and Chicago’s too, has enjoyed considerable growth since 1960 (for some).⁵ Why? Because workers have become ever more productive. The annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which measures a nation’s value of all finished goods and services, has grown virtually every year since at least 1960. Measured as a dollar amount, the output of the American worker has increased from \$69,903 to \$103,659 over the past three decades alone—an improvement of 48.3%.⁶

Although the nation has achieved unprecedented prosperity, pay has not kept pace with production for low- and middle-wage workers.⁷ Rather than being compensated accordingly, their incomes have more or less stagnated, or at least grown at slower rates, while the fruits of their labor have been distributed upward.⁸ This is an American story of contemporary class inequality over the past three-and-a-half decades, but if one were to dig a bit deeper, there is an American story of racial and ethnic inequality as well.

The black-white wage gap is larger today than it was in 1960.

The black-white wage gap is larger today than it was in 1960. This means that while wages have generally flattened for all low- and middle-class workers, people of color have been hit hardest by slow growth and/or stagnation. This is especially true in Chicago. Whereas the typical white family earned 1.6 and 1.4 times more income than the typical black and Latinx families in 1960, today the typical white family earns 2.2 and 1.7 times more income than the typical black and Latinx families. These inequalities are worse than wage gaps at the national level. In real dollars, Chicago's median family income is \$36,720 for blacks, \$47,308 for Latinxs, and \$81,702 for whites.

Some of the racial and ethnic wage gap can be attributed to other factors but even when we look at individuals with the same levels of education, work experiences, metropolitan status, and region of residence, we see that race gaps persist. For example, research by the Economic Policy Institute shows that holding all these factors equal, on average black men make 22.0% less than their white counterparts.⁹ For black women, the rate is 11.7% less than their white counterparts. What these trends mean is that racial and ethnic groups receive differential returns for education and work experience.

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME: A COMPARISON BETWEEN CHICAGO AND THE U.S., 1960 AND 2015 (IN 2016 DOLLARS)

Data: 1960 Census, American Community Survey, public use files;
Tabulations by Great Cities Institute, UIC

When it comes to Chicago, wage differences among racial and ethnic groups are worse than the national record, and the gaps are growing. The median income for a black family was \$37,121 in 1960 and \$36,720 in 2015, amounting to a decline of 1.1%. Meanwhile, the median income for a Latinx family was \$41,942 in 1960 and \$47,308 in 2015, amounting to an increase of 12.8% over the same five-and-a-half decades. Chicago used to be a place where black and Latinx workers thrived, at least in comparison to the rest of the country; now the median family income levels of black Chicagoans are worse than their counterparts at the national level while Latinx median family income levels are marginally better than their national counterparts.

**Chicago's
median family
income is
\$36,720 for
blacks, \$47,308
for Latinxs, and
\$81,702 for
whites.**

In contrast, Chicago's typical white family has seen their income continually increase since 1960. These trends combine to create the largest wage gaps between these groups in 55 years. \$34,394: that is how much money separates the typical white and Latinx families. \$44,982: that is how much money separates the typical white and black families.

Economists often refer to patterns like these as "lost decades."¹⁰ The idea is that in a healthy economy, growth in living standards will be shared evenly among most families. With income inequality increasing among Chicago's blacks, Latinxs, and whites, the typical white family now earns 223% more than their black counterpart and 173% more than their Latinx counterpart.

EDUCATION DOES NOT FLATTEN INCOME INEQUALITY

Similar to the story about unemployment, even when comparing those with similar levels of education, we see that education does not flatten income inequalities among racial and ethnic groups. Higher levels of education may correspond with higher levels of income, but they do so in uneven ways that benefit some groups more than others. Looking at Chicago's racial and ethnic income distribution for those holding a bachelor's degree, we see that college pays dividends to whites generally more than it does blacks or Latinxs. Slightly more than 40% of black and Latinx college graduates earn \$30,000 or less compared to only 30% of their white peers. Meanwhile, 11% of white college graduates earn \$120,001 or more, compared to only 2% and 3% of their black and Latinx peers.

27% of black PhDs and 28% of Latinx PhDs earn \$30,000 or less a year.

Obtaining a degree beyond the bachelor's does not alleviate income inequality in Chicago either. More than a quarter of the doctorate holders who are black—27% of them—earn \$30,000 or less a year. A similar pattern exists for Latinx holders of doctorates—28% of them earn \$30,000 or less a year. Meanwhile, more white doctorate holders fall in the “\$120,001 or more” income bracket than in any other category. About 30% of them earn \$120,001 or more a year. Similar to the relationship between education and unemployment, income disparities persist for blacks and Latinxs no matter how many degrees they accumulate.

5-YEAR ESTIMATES OF THE RACIAL AND ETHNIC INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN CHICAGO BY EDUCATION ATTAINMENT, 2011 - 2015

Data: American Community Survey

HAVING A JOB BUT NOT GETTING BY

Workers are more productive today than in the past, laboring longer hours and more weeks in a year.¹¹ The nation has become wealthier for it. Because the enrichment has been disproportionately distributed upward, however, those at the bottom of the wage structure have not shared in the prosperity from this economic growth. Wages have more or less stagnated for low-wage workers over the past four decades, and thus poverty has stubbornly persisted. In fact, poverty rates have become non-responsive to economic growth. Compared to other “developed” nations in the world, the U.S. has among the highest poverty rates.¹²

A COMPARISON OF CHICAGO FAMILIES WITH INCOME LEVELS UNDER THE FEDERAL POVERTY LINE BETWEEN 1980 AND 2015

Data: American Community Survey

The federal government defines people as poor if their income falls below the amount that equals three times a basic food budget.¹³ In 2015, the federal poverty line for a single person under 65 years of age amounted to \$11,770. The official poverty line for a family of four was \$24,250. Because people of color are more likely to be unemployed and earn less income than their white counterparts (among other reasons) they are disproportionately more likely to be impoverished. Over 3 out of 10 black families in Chicago live in poverty—higher than the national rate for blacks and over 3 times the rate for white Chicagoans. Approximately one quarter of Latinx families in Chicago live in poverty, more than twice the rate for whites.

As urgent as these poverty statistics are, they are likely understating the degree to which poverty affects Chicago’s communities of color. The federal definition

of poverty has problems. It does not account for regional variation in cost of living expenses and how living in a place like Chicago is more expensive than places like Tupelo, Mississippi. It places a premium on food costs and neglects other key expenses like housing, transportation, childcare, and healthcare. It determines poverty thresholds by a simple household headcount without fully considering the depths of an individual's or a household's economic need.

For reasons like these, it is important to consider alternative measures of poverty. One alternative is a calculation of how many earn a living wage.¹⁴ This can be defined as a theoretical subsistence wage, one where no more than 30% of earnings are spent on housing and the remainder is enough to afford food and other basic necessities. Important work at the National Equity Atlas defines a living wage as earning at least \$15 per hour.¹⁵

According to the National Equity Atlas, the percentage of Chicagoans earning a living wage has declined over time. Whereas only about 27% earned below the living wage threshold in 1980, by 2014 this figure grew to 30%. A disproportionate amount of these were black and Latinx workers. About 1 of every 3 black workers does not currently earn a living wage, while about 1 out of every 2 Latinx workers does not earn a living wage. In contrast, white workers are more than 2 to 3 times less likely than blacks and Latinxs, respectively, to earn below the living wage threshold. Because a growing number of jobs available in post-2009 recession Chicago are low-wage retail or service jobs, a growing percentage of Chicago's workers are unable to satisfy basic household needs.

SHARE OF WORKERS EARNING LESS THAN \$15/HOUR, 2000 AND 2010 - 2014

* Inflation is held constant. Currency is reported in 2014 dollars.

Source: National Equity Atlas. Data: 1980 Census and American Community Survey

EVEN MORE DRAMATIC INEQUALITY: CHICAGO'S WEALTH GAP

As somber as the data on income, poverty, and unemployment inequalities are, social scientists and analysts generally agree that wealth inequalities are both larger and more consequential.¹⁶ The aftermath of the mid-2000s economic collapse made historically large wealth inequalities even larger. Growth in the early 2000s was fueled by a housing bubble, one built upon a two-tiered, subprime lending market that was artificially inflated by a deregulated economy.¹⁷ The housing market took a turn for the worse during the first quarter of 2006, and between then and the first quarter of 2009, home prices fell by 35.7% only to drop another 11.1% by the first quarter of 2012.¹⁸

In addition to sending the globe into a worldwide recession, the meltdown evaporated many families' accumulated wealth. The Great Recession officially ended in June 2009, but its reverberations have left today's wealth gaps at the worst levels ever recorded.¹⁹ No one is spared when an economic downturn occurs, but why did whites' wealth decline only slightly while minorities' wealth became decimated? Part of the answer can be found in the diversification of wealth.

The work of the Center for Global Policy Solutions shows that black and Latinx households are more likely to accumulate wealth through homeownership as opposed to other avenues of investment (e.g., stocks, bonds).²⁰ For historic reasons, some of which we touch upon in the Housing Section of this report, whites have had more time and opportunity to accumulate assets.²¹ Consequently, the already small portfolios of black and Latinx investors are not as diverse as those of their white counterparts. When the housing storm of the mid-2000s came rolling in, minority families were hit especially hard.²²

**About one-third of black and Latinx households
had either zero or negative net worth.**

At the national level, the racial and ethnic wealth gaps almost doubled. Whereas the white-black and white-Latinx wealth gaps were both about 10:1 in the early 1990s, by 2009 the white-black gap grew to 20:1 and the white-Latinx gap grew to 18:1.²³ This means that the typical white household had just about \$20 of net worth for every \$1 held by the typical black or Latinx household.

By net worth, we mean the total amount of assets a household owns (e.g., savings accounts, stocks and bonds, 401k and retirement accounts, an owned home) minus all their liabilities (e.g., student loans, home

mortgages, outstanding medical bills, credit card debt) at a single point in time. In Chicago, the exceptional work of the Corporation for Enterprise Development shows us that about 1 in every 4 households reported either a net worth of zero or a negative net worth in 2011.²⁴ Comparing rates of zero or negative net worth by race and ethnicity, about one-third of black and Latinx households had either zero growth or negative net worth, whereas only 14.7% of white households were without any assets.

It is not just that black and Latinx households in Chicago are more likely to be without wealth than their white counterparts. Even when black and Latinx households do hold wealth, the levels are often miniscule and are not enough to weather financial instability.²⁵ This is to say that they are asset poor—lacking sufficient net worth to subsist above poverty for at least three months without any income. About half of black households meet this definition, compared to more than 40% of Latinx households and less than 20% of white households. Qualitatively, what these figures mean is that some households are far better positioned than others for hard times like sudden joblessness, loss of a family member, or medical emergency.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

The Racial and Ethnic Wealth Gap in Chicago and the United States, 2011 (in percentages)

	Chicago Households with Zero Net Worth	U.S. Households with Zero Net Worth
Black	33.3	30.4
Latinx	27.0	26.4
White	14.7	11.9
All Residents	23.3	17.0

Estimates of the wealth gap in Chicago should be interpreted with caution. They are local estimates that derive from samples of less than 50,000 households.

Source: Corporation for Enterprise Development.

Data: Survey of Income and Program Participation

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

The Racial and Ethnic Wealth Gap in Chicago and the United States, 2011 (in percentages)

City of Chicago

	Asset Poverty Rate	Liquid Asset Poverty Rate
Black	48.2	66.6
Latinx	42.2	70.8
White	18.5	27.7
All Chicagoans	33.2	49.4

United States

	Asset Poverty Rate	Liquid Asset Poverty Rate
Black	43.5	43.5
Latinx	40.8	68.5
White	16.7	31.7
All Americans	25.4	64.9

Estimates of the wealth gap in Chicago should be interpreted with caution. They are local estimates that derive from samples of less than 50,000 households.

Source: Corporation for Enterprise Development.
Data: Survey of Income and Program Participation

The amount of assets is one important measure. The type of asset is another. Because blacks and Latinxs are more likely to have their wealth tied to homeownership, they are less likely to have liquid assets such as stocks, bonds, and money market funds that can be quickly converted to cash. If we consider only those assets that are liquid, the asset poverty gap between blacks, Latinxs, and whites is much wider. Over 70% of Latinx households and about two-thirds of black households are liquid-asset poor whereas only one-third of white households are liquid-asset poor.

Because wealth buys crucial advantages, from education to capital for business investment to a safety net during difficult times, its disproportionate absence among black and Latinx households contributes to an enduring gulf between those with resources and those without. The sobering work of William Elliott III shows that regardless of a family's effort and ability, its monetary assets are key determinants in translating educational attainment into higher earnings, stable employment, and greater levels of wealth that can then be passed along to future generations.²⁶

The absence of wealth is not merely an intergenerational problem that harms black and Latinx families, it poses problems that undermine the integrity of the entire economy. Every \$1 in housing wealth alone generates between 6-8 cents of yearly consumption,²⁷ meaning further business investment, plants and equipment, and peoples' livelihood generally. This 6-8 cents adds up in other words. Given that the housing meltdown wiped away nearly \$7 trillion in American household wealth, a collateral consequence of this disaster meant that another \$500 billion was lost in annual consumption.

The absence of wealth is not merely an intergenerational problem harming black and Latinx families, it undermines the integrity of the entire economy.

COMMUTE TIMES AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF GETTING TO WORK

Chicagoans of color face longer commute times to work.

Stacked on top of higher unemployment rates, lower levels of income, and disproportionate levels of poverty, Chicagoans of color face longer commute times to work thanks to fewer transit options and the location of the city's job centers.

Commute times matter because they often indicate how much economic opportunity is nearby. Considering all modes of transit, black residents have the longest commute times in the city. It takes them, on average, 38 minutes to get to work compared to about 34 minutes for Latinxs and 32 minutes for whites. While 4 to 6 minutes may seem like a trivial amount of time, it accumulates to 8-12 minutes per day, 40-60 minutes per workweek, and 2.5-4 hours per month. At the end of the year, it adds up to about one extra workweek that could be spent on other activities like being with family, serving the community, or general leisure.

Source: National Equity Atlas. Data: American Community Survey

A big part of why it takes some Chicagoans longer to get to work than others has to do with where work is located in relation to public transit. Looking to data from Access Across America: Transit 2014, most jobs located within a 30-minute commute via public transit are located in the Loop or on the North Side. The data show that anywhere from 200,000 to 700,000 jobs are located within a 30-minute train or bus ride in these areas, spaces more convenient to predominantly white neighborhoods like Lincoln Park and Lakeview. In contrast, residents living in the majority of neighborhoods on the far South Side can access fewer than 50,000 jobs in a 30-minute commute via public transit.

SMALL BUSINESS INVESTMENT IN BLACK AND WHITE

Access to capital is among the preconditions for economic growth. It allows businesses to increase employment opportunities, expand their operations, invest in the future, and generally speaking, provide elements of sustainability to the community. Since the Great Recession formally ended, lenders have been reluctant to offer small business loans.²⁸

Research from The Woodstock Institute shows that although businesses in majority-minority census tracts comprised about 15.2% of all business in the Chicago metro area between 2012 and 2014, they received only 8.2% of small business loans (under \$100,000) and only 6.7% of the total amount of such loans.²⁹ These are the kinds of loans typically obtained not by corporate giants but by small businesses that are locally based. Had these small-business loans been distributed with respect to the proportion of business in those areas, businesses within those communities of color would have obtained approximately 23,000 additional loans amounting to more than \$335 million.

The lack of small-business investment in Chicago’s minority communities corresponds directly with the average value of black- and brown-owned business. In 2012, the average sales or receipts earned by a black-owned business was \$47,246. For a Latinx-owned business, the average was \$153,244. Meanwhile, the average white-owned business had sales or receipts totaling \$571,419. Their valuation was over 12 times as much as their black counterparts and about 3.4 times as much as their Latinx counterparts.

A COMPARISON OF THE AVERAGE SALES OR RECEIPTS EARNED PER FIRM (IN 2012 DOLLARS)

Data: Survey of Business Owners

EXPERT COMMENTARY: ECONOMICS

Teresa Córdova is Director of the Great Cities Institute (GCI) and Professor of Urban Planning and Policy in the College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois at Chicago. As an applied theorist and community-based planner, Professor Córdova approaches her work as a *scholarship of engagement* in which research, pedagogy, and service are integrated. Her analysis of global/local dynamics, including impacts of globalization on communities, informs her publications in Community Development and Latino Studies. Most recently, Córdova co-authored GCI reports on joblessness among young people including, “Abandoned in their Neighborhoods: Youth Joblessness amidst the Flight of Industry and Opportunity.”

Economic disparities based on race have long existed, but the stage of economic restructuring that began in the mid-1970s has exacerbated race-based economic discrimination and has further entrenched economic disparities. Data in this report provides evidence that in Chicago, economic disparities among racial groups has widened with blacks and Latinxs bearing the heaviest burden from the impacts of occupational shifts, job elimination, expanded wage gaps, and increased poverty levels. Beyond the numbers are tales of frustration, desperation and sometimes hopelessness, particularly for blacks in Chicago where the intersection of race and economics is so stark. Communities of color, nonetheless, are replete with assets and strengths that if built upon, can be the basis for strategies that renew opportunities for employment, wealth creation, and the benefits that accompany the power and dignity of livable wage employment with pathways for advancement.

In an economy with the imperative to devalue labor for the purpose of boosting profits, an extended period of economic restructuring, characterized by what Nobel Prize winning economist Joseph Stiglitz terms “market fundamentalism,” has accelerated patterns of economic inequality, particularly those based on race. Coupled with moves to withdraw public

sector commitments and dismantle social safety nets, the disproportionate economic burdens for blacks and Latinxs translate into distressed households and neighborhoods with individuals that struggle to find employment, food, healthcare, housing, access to quality education, and the ability to purchase other essentials. Meanwhile, the cost of most goods and services has soared while debt bondage deepens.

Wealth creation is difficult for Latinxs but even more so for blacks, whose neighborhood disinvestment began decades earlier with patterns of redlining and white flight. Small business ownership in Latinx communities, particularly Mexican, aids wealth accumulation, while black neighborhoods suffer more from cuts in federal programs, which took a steep downward dip starting in the 1980s.

The criminalization of poverty makes bad problems worse when individuals are in jail because they do not have the money to pay tickets and fines. Economic reasons are often behind illegal activities and a family member serving time in jail adds to difficulties for that family. The psychological and health impacts of economic distress are often severe at a time when austerity measures strip expenditures for public goods and services and reduce grants to non-profit direct service agencies.

At a time of economic abandonment, the most vulnerable are blamed for conditions that have less to do with individual behavior and more to do with a restructured economy that sacrificed jobs for skyrocketing stockholder profits. In an era where so-called economic prosperity promulgates concentrated wealth at the top and concentrated poverty at the bottom, poor people are told they have only themselves to blame—or “immigrants that are stealing their jobs”—and that they should be denied any government assistance such as public housing because it fosters “dependence.”³⁰

Manufacturing jobs of the past paid higher wages than retail and service sector jobs today³¹ and provided both social stability and avenues for social mobility. In Chicago, the decline of manufacturing in a region that depended heavily on this sector resulted in the widespread loss of jobs and the erosion of surrounding social fabrics.³² For communities whose labor force was largely employed in manufacturing, the hit was that much more dramatic. We know from previous research that there is an “interface between [labor] segmentation and racial processes.”³³ For populations whose labor is largely segmented and “limited to certain occupations with lower pay and fewer opportunities to advance”³⁴ obstacles are more difficult to overcome. This was particularly true for Latinxs in Chicago,

as was identified in the early stages of this restructuring process³⁵ and confirmed with the data in this report.

Deindustrialization and the formation of the “rust belt” cities³⁶ were part of a much larger set of forces that ushered changes as significant as the Industrial Revolution. As another replaces one economic stage, technological advances shape what is possible, resulting in shifts in the structure of occupations, the nature of work, and the functioning of other economic activities. This, combined with the imperative to maximize profits, led to the massive restructuring whose byproduct was the destruction of jobs.

Restructured economies also resulted in restructured cities and, in turn, neighborhoods. With deindustrialization came disinvestment and the abandonment of capital from once thriving neighborhoods, resulting in the further loss of jobs and anchor institutions. Other neighborhoods become sites of gentrification, displacing lower income residents. Continuing previous conditions, black and Latinx neighborhoods continue to face the disproportionate impacts of toxic contamination, degradation of natural resources, and declining health.

Economic inequalities based on race have become both persistent and entrenched. The biggest issue that should be of concern to us is that current economic trends are reinforcing an economy that creates joblessness, poverty, and obstacles to wealth creation for an increasing proportion of the population; destroying the middle classes; and deepening conditions of poverty for the poorest of the poor. Blacks and Latinxs are hardest hit. The social impacts of these conditions will continue to worsen as these trends continue, as the data suggests they will.

Despite the entrenchment of these dynamics, there is always reason for hope, as more attention is given to the numbers and the stories behind them. The January 2017 report from the Great Cities Institute on youth joblessness suggests several strategies to create opportunities for work.³⁷ One key avenue is to connect the available jobs in the growing advanced manufacturing sector with those in need of employment opportunities. It is then the case that meaningful work force training is a worthy investment for both the public and the private sector. Manufacturing in the region has changed, but it is not dead and can provide a viable avenue for rewarding and lucrative employment for blacks and Latinxs seeking opportunities in this sector. Education, though it does not erase disparities based on race, as seen in this report, does improve the possibilities and opportunities for advancement and is worthy of public commitment and investment.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Wilson, William Julius. 1996. *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.
- 2 Schmitt, John and Janelle Jones. 2012. *Where Have All the Good Jobs Gone?* Washington, D.C. Center for Economic and Policy Research.
- 3 The definition of the unemployment rate does not offer a full picture of joblessness because it only accounts for those who were actively seeking work within the previous four weeks. This picture systematically excludes many people who are otherwise out of work. To gain a fuller sense of the state of joblessness, one might consider a composite of measures like the employment rate, labor force participation rate, employment-population ratio, and out-of-work rate. A timely report that looks at all these indicators, as well as a few others that go unmentioned, was completed by the Great Cities Institute. See Córdova, Teresa L. and Matthew D. Wilson. 2016. *Lost: The Crisis of Jobless and Out of School Teens and Young Adults in Chicago, Illinois and the U.S.* Chicago, IL: University of Illinois at Chicago, Great Cities Institute.
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- 6 Schmitt and Jones 2012.
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- 10 Lawrence, Mishel, Josh Bivens, Elise Gould, and Heidi Shierholz. [1988] 2012. *The State of Working America*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.
- 11 Fischer and Hout 2006.
- 12 Mishel et al. [1988] 2012.

- 13 The federal definition of poverty was created in 1965, and it draws from Mollie Orshansky's work for the U.S. Department of Agriculture. She was tasked to devise an "economic food plan" that would provide adequate nutrition at the lowest possible cost, assuming affordable food is available, one is cooking at home, has food storage capacity, and no extravagancies or guests.
- 14 Another metric researchers sometimes use to measure poverty is the "twice poverty rate," which is literally double the conservatively drawn federal poverty line.
- 15 The National Equity Atlas is a data-driven research tool that ambitiously provides racial and socioeconomic measures for all 50 states and 150 of the nation's largest regions.
- 16 Kochhar, Rakesh, Richard Fry, and Paul Taylor. 2011. *Twenty-to-One: Wealth Gaps Rise to Record Highs between Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research; Oliver, Melvin L. and Thomas M. Shapiro. [1995] 2006. *Black Wealth / White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- 17 Ashton, Philip. 2009. "An Appetite for Yield: The Anatomy of the Subprime Mortgage Crisis." *Environment & Planning* 41(6):1420-1441.
- 18 Mishel et al. [1988] 2012.
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A TALE UNTOLD: ARAB AMERICANS IN CHICAGO

Louise Cainkar is an Associate Professor of Sociology & Social Welfare and Justice and Director of Peace Studies at Marquette University. She currently serves as President of the Arab American Studies Association and treasurer of the Association for Middle East Women's Studies. Cainkar has published dozens of articles and book chapters on Arab Americans and Muslim Americans. Her 2009 book, *Homeland Insecurity: The Arab American and Muslim American Experience after 9/11* received an award from the Arab American National Museum.

Arab Americans living in the Chicago metro area face a wide range of racial justice issues. This should come as no surprise: on social distance scales measuring a group's level of acceptance in American society, Arabs were ranked the lowest of 30 groups in 2001; they moved one rank higher in 2011, above only Muslims, who are also heavily Arab American. Highly negative attitudes towards Arab Americans are openly promoted in the mainstream American media, contributing to the poor treatment of Arab Americans on the ground.

Qualitative research consistently shows that Arab American children are bullied and beaten at school, as early as age 7. Teachers frequently ask Arab American students to explain the thinking behind events occurring across the globe, as if all Arabs think alike. Arab American parents are often treated with disrespect by school staff, who deploy stereotypes to make assumptions about their parenting skills. Many children have reported being followed home from school by strangers shouting racist threats. Whether in schools or in the streets, Arab Americans across the board are held responsible for any and every negative act committed by an Arab anywhere in the world. This type of thinking is a hallmark of racism.

The hypervisibility of Arab Americans when it comes to experiences of surveillance contrasts with their invisibility when it comes to documenting the experiences of this community. For example, one recent study showed that the needs of Arab American college students in the Chicago area are largely ignored at higher education institutions, mainly because schools are not required to provide them with resources, because they are officially “white.” Their careers through college are unmonitored, their retention is of little concern, and their extra-curricular experiences, good and bad, remain undocumented. This pattern occurs even where Arab Americans are a substantial part of the student body.

The hypervisibility of Arab Americans when it comes to experiences of surveillance contrasts with their invisibility when it comes to documenting the experiences of this community.

It is well-documented by researchers and civil rights organizations that Arab American women face public assaults in their neighborhoods, which are usually accompanied by calls to “go back to your country.” These encounters are often not documented on police reports because Arab is not a category of person.

Mirroring the problems in education, there are no data on Arab American health issues, whether physical or psychological, because no one is keeping track. What we do know is that Arab Americans face barriers of access to a whole range of social institutions and public programs.

Arab American institutions, whether community centers, churches, or mosques, have been defiled and threatened over the past 15 years, a pattern that has shown no signs of weakening. Indeed, national hate crime reports show a significant increase over the past two years in such attacks, and Chicago is no different.

Due to federal government delays and bans on processing immigration papers for the close relatives of Arab Americans, their ability to reunify families has been seriously hampered and their anxieties over visiting family back home have increased. Even travel within the U.S. is anxiety provoking as Arab Americans face extra security checks at airports, children have reported being strip-searched, and Arab Americans have been removed from airplanes because other passengers reported “feeling uncomfortable.”

Arab American communities spend a substantial proportion of their time and resources defending themselves against media portrayals as terrorists and protecting community members against the attacks these bring on. Instead of investing in the futures of their children, community organizations are forced to invest in security apparatuses. Furthermore, Arab Americans know that they are profiled by police departments, monitored by the FBI, and subjected to FBI provocateurs trying to encourage vulnerable community members to join in violent plots. When a community lives under such a microscope, life cannot be normal. When you place this hostile environment in the larger context of calls for a Muslim Registry by the highest levels of government (something that Arab Americans already endured between 2002 – 2004 with the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System [NSEERS]), one cannot but conclude that Arab Americans conduct their daily lives in a world of racial injustice.

The racial justice struggles of Arab Americans have been around for a long time, but have been ignored by many because they have different dimensions to them than historic American racism. They emerge from a global context in which U.S. empire and the war on terror rely upon fomenting anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism to achieve their goals. They count on constructing a monolithic, negative image of the Arab, the Muslim, and the female so that no one will be concerned about them, whether in countries where the U.S. is at war or at home in the U.S. Attempts to address racial justice for Arab Americans that ignore this global context will fail because a mighty military machine is behind them.

KEY TAKEAWAYS FROM THIS SECTION

- Chicago's schools have gone through a dramatic demographic change over the past forty years. White student enrollment in the city's public schools has dropped dramatically since 1970 mainly due to suburbanization and enrollment shifts to private schools.
- Educational opportunities and resources in Chicago's public schools are unevenly distributed along lines of race and ethnicity. Struggling schools are concentrated in communities of color, while white students are overrepresented in the district's most advantaged educational environments.
- Racial and ethnic disparity in the quality of educational experiences defines the schools not only within the district but between CPS, surrounding districts, and the state.
- CPS students lack teachers who look like them. With recent school closures concentrated in communities of color, this disparity has deepened over time.
- A large majority of CPS 9th graders say they want a college degree (75%), but obstacles and barrier prevent them from achieving this goal.
- Rates of school punishment—which include actions such as suspension, expulsion, and police notification—among CPS students are generally on the decline. However, deep racial and ethnic differences remain in student discipline.

WHAT DOES EDUCATIONAL EQUITY LOOK LIKE IN CHICAGO?

By many measures, Chicago is about as diverse as a city can be. Racially and ethnically speaking, it is divided into near-equal thirds among blacks, Latinxs, and whites. Chicago Public Schools (CPS), however, is another story. Enrolling a student population of about 380,000 youth, CPS data show that enrollment is not evenly divided among the city's three major groups. White students are far underrepresented, comprising less than 10% of enrollment, while black and Latinx students make up about 39% and 46% of the student body respectively.

CPS STUDENT ENROLLMENT, SCHOOL YEAR 2015 - 2016

Data: Chicago Public Schools

In a not-so-distant past, CPS enrollment looked decidedly different. For starters, more white children attended—both in numerical and proportional terms. Data from the US2010 Project show that in 1970 elementary school enrollment alone was well over 400,000 youth and more than one in every three CPS students was white. In contrast, slightly over half were black and about one in ten were Latinx.

In a not-so-distant past, CPS enrollment looked decidedly different.

What happened to white enrollment in CPS between now and 1970? Much of the story is about suburbanization and enrollment shifts to private school. Like many major cities throughout the U.S., battles around school desegregation in Chicago came to a head in the 1960s. Desegregation efforts crystallized in 1963, a year in which Chicago experienced one of the largest demonstrations in its history, when a one-day boycott led by local black leaders kept 200,000 students at home rather than in the classroom.¹

Black Chicagoans were protesting “Willis Wagons,” a pejorative label named after then-Superintendent Benjamin Willis. Willis Wagons were the superintendent’s response to demands for desegregation and to even out enrollments among over- and under-populated schools. At the time, predominantly white schools were well-funded and had many open seats. Meanwhile, predominantly black schools were sites of concentrated poverty and overcrowding.

Rather than move black children into predominantly white schools, Willis installed 625 aluminum trailers to serve as additional classroom space for schools located on the South and West Sides. When these aluminum units were still not enough to accommodate enrollment at predominately black schools, the superintendent pursued double-shift schedules, expansions of school construction, and rented commercial space.² Willis defended Chicago's neighborhood school policy, stating that his stance had less to do with race-conscious decision-making and more to do with requiring children to attend schools nearby where they lived. De facto segregation patterns across Chicago's neighborhoods, however, meant that a neighborhood school policy produced de facto patterns of segregated education.

Willis was succeeded in 1966 by a superintendent more committed to integration: James Redmond. However, in an era of desegregation court battles taking place across the country, when Redmond attempted to compel Chicago's schools to desegregate, he was met with opposition from white Chicagoans.³ In fact, the number of white students exiting public schools in the years immediately following was dramatic. Between 1970 and 1980, white enrollment in the district dropped by more than half. Looking to only primary student enrollment, for example, white youth comprised about 37% of all CPS students in 1970 but only 17% by 1980. With more and more white families opting to send their children to private school, white student enrollment among CPS schools has continued to shrink across the decades.⁴

In CPS schools today, black and Latinx enrollments are about four times the size of white enrollment. These numbers flip, however, when we look at private schools. According to census data, about half of the city's school-age white youth attend private school, compared to 11% for black youth and 13% for Latinx youth.

THE CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS OF BLACK, LATINX, AND WHITE CPS ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, 1970 - 2016

Data: Chicago Public Schools; The US2010 Project

SEGREGATION BY RACIAL OR ETHNIC GROUP IN CPS SCHOOLS, 2015 - 2016

Out of 676 schools

PRIMARY OR SECONDARY SCHOOLS WITH HIGH SEGREGATION (70% OR MORE)

PRIMARY OR SECONDARY SCHOOLS WITH EXTREME SEGREGATION (85% OR MORE)

Data: Chicago Public Schools

SEGREGATION WITHIN CPS

CPS is now what many educational scholars refer to as a “majority minority” district. This means that the numerical majority of those attending public schools in Chicago are students of color. Even within the parameters of these overall demographics, however, schools within the district remain highly segregated.

One important measure of segregation is racial isolation, and by most criteria, the district has high levels of it. Many black and Latinx students attend schools with almost all members of their own group.⁵ For example, just under half of all CPS schools (or 309 of 676) had student enrollments during the 2015-2016 academic year that were at least 85% black or 85% Latinx.

In fact, racial isolation is prevalent in schools not only in Chicago but across Illinois. The Civil Rights Project has consistently found Illinois to be among the states with the highest levels of black and Latinx segregation.⁶ It ranks 2nd highest in the proportion of black students (59.6%) and 5th highest in the proportion of Latinx students (44.9%) attending schools that are 90-100% nonwhite.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

An Overview of Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Illinois Schools from 2013 - 2014

Percent of Black Students in 90 - 100% Non-White Schools		Percent of Latinx Students in 90 - 100% Non-White Schools	
New York	65.8	New York	56.8
Illinois	59.6	California	56.5
Maryland	53.7	Texas	53.7
New Jersey	49.2	Rhode Island	49.5
Michigan	48.7	Illinois	44.9
Illinois Percentage of Black Enrollment		Illinois Percentage of Latinx Enrollment	
17.4		24.7	

Data: The Civil Rights Project / Proyecto Derechos Civiles

Another way to measure levels of school segregation is to look at the “dissimilarity index.” Similar to the dissimilarity index used in understanding patterns of residential segregation, this index is an indicator of how many students would need to move for each school in the district to mirror the racial and ethnic makeup of the district overall (i.e., a uniform distribution). The dissimilarity index measures the evenness of the spread of two groups at a time, ranging on a scale of 0 to 100 with 100 meaning absolute segregation.⁷ Generally speaking, social scientists agree that values of 60 or more represent high levels of segregation.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

The Dissimilarity Index for Elementary Student Segregation in CPS, 1970 - 2010

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Black-White	93.7	89.9	84.2	87.7	87.4
Latinx-White	65.5	64.4	57.1	59.6	68.7
Black-Latinx	91.1	89.9	83.8	84.5	85.0

Source: The US2010 Project

Dissimilarity levels in Chicago schools are among the highest in the nation, and they have remained so since at least 1970.⁸ Between black and white elementary students in CPS, the 2010 dissimilarity score was 87.4. This means that about 9 in 10 black students would need to move to be evenly distributed with white students. Between Latinx and white students, the 2010 dissimilarity score was 68.7, meaning about 7 in every 10 Latinx students would need to move to be evenly distributed with white students. Between black and Latinx students, the 2010 dissimilarity score was 85.0, meaning about 9 in every 10 black students would need to move to be evenly distributed with Latinx students. Comparing these school dissimilarity scores with the already high dissimilarity scores in housing from 2010, what you find is that students in CPS are even more segregated in their schools than they are in their neighborhoods.

Students in CPS are even more segregated in their schools than they are in their neighborhoods.

SEGREGATION IN K-12 SCHOOLS IN CHICAGO AND OUTLYING SUBURBS, 1990 AND 2010

Source: WBEZ

Maps of racial change created by WBEZ capture school demographic patterns between 1990 and 2010 visually. The maps show either persistent or deepening levels of segregation. They capture how the patterns of school segregation continue to map along the same lines as neighborhood segregation, and they show the relatively low numbers of “integrated” schools. Were there an even distribution of students throughout city schools, the maps would fade from concentrations of blue and red to an even dispersion of gray, where every school would be diversely comprised by groups who call the metro area home.

In 2014, 91.1% of black students and 88.7% of Latinx students attended CPS schools where more than 75% of the student population were eligible for free or reduced price lunch.

Research on school segregation by the Civil Rights Project has found that black and Latinx students in the U.S. not only attend public schools that are highly segregated by race but also by class. This pattern of racial and economic segregation has increased in the last two decades. Nationally, blacks and Latinxs are more likely to attend a school where a majority of students are low-income.⁹ In 2014 in Chicago, 91.1% of black students and 88.7% of Latinx students attended CPS schools where more than 75% of the student population were eligible for free or reduced price lunch.

Of great concern is that such schools are not only highly segregated but also inequitable.¹⁰ The most recent report by the Civil Rights Project concludes that,

“The consensus of nearly sixty years of social science research on the harms of school segregation is clear: separate remains extremely unequal. Schools of concentrated poverty and segregated minority schools are strongly related to an array of factors that limit educational opportunities and outcomes. These include less experienced and less qualified teachers, high levels of teacher turnover, less successful peer groups and inadequate facilities and learning materials.”

* School poverty is defined by the share of students in the school eligible for free or reduced price lunch. High poverty levels are defined as 75% or more students.

Source: National Equity Atlas. Data: National Center for Education Statistics

High levels of segregation and isolation limit educational opportunities and outcomes. They raise challenges for intergroup contact—many students simply do not have the opportunity to have positive, sustained experiences with members of other racial and ethnic groups—and, perhaps even more importantly, segregation translates into worse schooling experiences and outcomes for students.¹¹

Many resources are unequally distributed within the district. This unequal allocation has a wide range of consequences, such as disproportionately excluding black youth from programmatic funding for subjects like arts and music. Black students are nearly 7 times more likely than other groups to attend a school that offers neither arts nor music.¹²

CPS SCHOOLS ON PROBATION, 2015 - 2016

Data: Chicago Public Schools

* "Intensive support" refers to non- or under-performing schools that require remedial measures.

† "Provisional support" refers to for nonperforming schools that meet the lowest levels of academic performance.

Struggling schools are also clustered in black and Latinx neighborhoods. Within the district, schools with the lowest levels of academic proficiency are officially on "probation." In Chicago, about three in every four of the 185 schools on probation have black and Latinx student enrollments that consist of 70% or more of either group. For schools with black student enrollments of at least 70%, as many are on probation (88 schools) as are in good standing (87 schools).

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

How does CPS Enrollment Differ by High School Type?

	Black	Latinx	White
Selective Enrollment	29.6%	31.0%	24.7%
All High Schools	40.7%	43.2%	9.6%

Data: Chicago Public Schools

Not only are black and Latinx students overrepresented in struggling schools but conversely, the white students that remain within CPS tend to be concentrated in the most advantaged educational environments.¹³

High levels of segregation and isolation limit educational opportunities and outcomes.

These include elite schools like Northside College Prep. Not only does this high school have less than half the student poverty rate of CPS on the whole (38% compared to 84%), but it graduates 99% of its student body, has a 100% subject proficiency in English and Mathematics, scores among the highest percentiles for the college readiness index, and is ranked the 39th best high school in America by U.S. News and World Report. The white student enrollment of Northside College Prep is about 40%, a figure that is four times the size of the district’s white student enrollment. Other elite schools in CPS follow a similar profile.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

White Enrollment in the Top 5 CPS High Schools as Ranked by U.S. News and World Report, 2016

	National Rank	Percent White
Northside College Prep	39	40
Payton College Prep	41	40
Young Magnet	120	30
Jones College Prep	130	32
Lane Technical	172	32

Data: The Illinois Report Card; U.S. News & World Report

EDUCATIONAL INPUTS – OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN

There are many ways to try to measure the quality of educational experiences provided to CPS students. As opposed to judging schools and districts solely by looking at their outcomes (e.g., test scores), some scholars have started to focus on trying to measure the inputs—what are the opportunities to learn? For example, the Institute for Democracy, Education and Access at UCLA created an opportunity to learn (OPT) index. It measures access to “quality teachers, clean and safe facilities, up to date books and quality learning materials, high-quality coursework and school conditions that provide students a fair and equal opportunity to learn and achieve knowledge and skills.”¹⁴

Unfortunately, many measures of OPT are not readily available locally. However, what is available suggests troubling patterns for students in CPS. For example, we can compare Chicago to other high school districts in the surrounding county on one key measure of teacher quality—the percentage of teachers with Master’s degrees or higher. The range for all Cook County high school districts is from 60-95%. The city of Chicago is at the bottom, at 60%, below even the statewide average of 61%. Chicago’s number is especially low here in part because it includes both high schools and elementary schools (where teachers are somewhat less likely to have an MA). Yet, even taking this into account CPS is still far behind most other nearby districts.

Another key measure we can look at is average class size in the district. Here again, Chicago numbers are troubling. The CPS average of 25 is not only the highest among comparative high school districts in Cook County, but it is far above the state average. According to data from the Illinois Report Card, the average class size in CPS classrooms during the 2015-2016 academic year was about 25% higher than for the state

The average class-size in CPS during the 2015 - 2016 academic year was about 25% higher than for the state overall.

overall. Larger classes mean bigger teacher-to-student ratios where individualized instruction time with students is much more difficult. Smaller class sizes and individualized instruction matter because they improve many measures of student achievement. They also permit teachers to tailor their practices, drop traditional style-lectures where appropriate, and diversify interactions with students in ways that facilitate constant feedback and engagement.¹⁵

Beyond the importance of class size, studies have shown that the race and ethnicity of teachers makes a difference for learning outcomes in the classroom, especially for students of color. Reading, math, and graduation rates improve for black and Latinx students when they are in classrooms with teachers of the same race and ethnicity.¹⁶ Youth of color in Chicago are unlikely to have teachers of the same racial or ethnic background, however. During the 2015-2016 academic year, for example, only 17% of teachers within the CPS system were Latinx even though Latinx youth comprised just under half the district's student enrollment. Only one out of every five teachers was black even though black students make up more than a third of all CPS students. This is a sharp departure from a decade ago (2006-2007) when one out of every three CPS teachers was black.¹⁷

THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF CPS CLASSROOMS, 2015-2016

THERE IS ONE FULL-TIME LATINX TEACHER FOR EVERY 54 LATINX STUDENTS

THERE IS ONE FULL-TIME BLACK TEACHER FOR EVERY 34 BLACK STUDENTS

Data: The Illinois Report Card

What happened to all the black teachers? Many of them are no longer with CPS because they were laid off. The district routinely faces budgetary shortfalls that amount to hundreds of millions of dollars. To cut costs, it cuts jobs. Not just anyone receives a pink slip, however. Black teachers were disproportionately laid off in 2011, accounting for about 40% of all lost educators in CPS. They accounted for 51% of all layoffs in 2012 and another 29% in 2015.

Having teachers representative of the student body is one thing. Having clean and safe facilities for teachers to teach in and students to learn in is another. While detailed data systematically

comparing the quality of school facilities in Chicago are hard to come by, we have several ways of looking at the question. About 20 years ago, the Government Accounting Office conducted a study of the state of public school buildings in the country. It suggested that Chicago would need to spend “\$2.9 Billion to put schools in good overall condition.”¹⁸ More recently, the district reported over \$3 billion dollars of needed repairs.¹⁹

Why does deferring needed maintenance matter? It matters because some of the district’s buildings have crumbling infrastructures. Others are filled with toxins and chemicals that are harmful to health and development. In fact, one report found that over 180 Chicago public schools had dangerous levels of asbestos.²⁰ Meanwhile, of the 327 Chicago public schools whose water was tested for lead, 113, or a third, had lead levels exceeding the maximum set by the federal Environmental Protection Agency.²¹

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

An Overview of the Number of Black and Latinx CPS Teachers from 2006 - 2007 to 2015 - 2016

	Percent Black	Change	Percent Latinx	Change
2006 - 2007	33	7,317	15	3,326
2007 - 2008	32		15	
2008 - 2009	31		15	
2009 - 2010	30		15	
2010 - 2011	20		14	
2011 - 2012	25		15	
2012 - 2013	24		15	
2013 - 2014	23		16	
2014 - 2015	22		16	
2015 - 2016	22	4,452	16	3,329
	Decrease of 2,865		Increase of 3	

Data: The Illinois Report Card

There are 2,865 fewer black teachers in CPS today than at the start of the 2006-2007 school year.

Existing inequalities in infrastructure spending are exacerbated by the fact that, unlike some nearby states, the state of Illinois invests fewer resources in districts like Chicago with high levels of poverty. A recent report by the Center for Tax and Budget Accountability demonstrated that the state investment in education has an inverse relationship to the level of poverty, with Illinois' poorest districts having "nearly \$2,500 less per-pupil to invest in education than do the wealthiest districts."²² CPS has far higher levels of students who are low-income than Illinois schools generally. When compared to the state, CPS students therefore have higher levels of disadvantage both outside of schools and within them.

CPS students have higher levels of disadvantage both outside of schools and within them.

Recent investigations by reporters at WBEZ found that, of the \$650 million that has been put toward new schools or school additions by CPS during the past six years, about three-fourths have gone toward schools where white students are overrepresented by at least twice their representation in the district overall.²³ The report concluded that, "This new construction is disproportionately going to schools that serve the white, middle class, sometimes ignoring opportunities to create more diverse schools."

In general, this mirrors an overall pattern in the district where the most advantaged educational spaces have high overrepresentations of white students. For example, Chicago's public schools have significant racial disparities regarding access to and enrollment in advanced-level coursework and gifted programs. Despite the vast underrepresentation of white students in CPS as a whole, a 2016 report by One Chance Illinois found that in CPS's Gifted and Talented (G/T) programs, nearly 25.2% of students were white, while 36.2% of G/T students were black and 25.5% were Latinx.²⁴

Part of this results from the process through which students are admitted into elite academic programs in the district. The One Chance Illinois report assessed disparities in how groups are identified for gifted and talented education in the city. The authors write,

“We hypothesize that these disparities occur because CPS parents must opt to have their child tested for entrance into gifted programs. That barrier, combined with the dense application process, inhibits disadvantaged families, who often have less time and institutional knowledge, from seeking admissions to gifted options.”²⁵

The inconsistencies and disparities in the identification process were something the authors experienced as part of their own data collection,

“It seems likely that nobody actually knows the total demographic makeup of CPS’ gifted schools and programs. Moreover, specific aptitude and comprehensive gifted admissions are determined by assessments that may vary from school to school.”²⁶

Similarly, data from the Office for Civil Rights show inconsistencies and disparities in enrollment in advanced coursework at the middle and high school level such as Advanced Placement (AP) and International Baccalaureate Program (IB) courses. White students are overrepresented in high level math and science courses such as 7th/8th grade Algebra, Calculus, and Physics. Black students, on the other hand, are underrepresented in each of the programs and courses. Perhaps more telling than how many students enroll in advanced courses and gifted programs, is the measurement of who attends schools where these programs and courses are even offered. Districtwide, black students are far more likely to attend a school without gifted programs or advanced courses than white or Latinx students. In fact, the disparity in high school is so great that black students comprise over 60% of students at schools that do not offer AP/IB, Calculus, and/or Physics.

Districtwide, black students are far more likely to attend a school without gifted programs or advanced courses than white or Latinx students.

EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES – PERSISTENT RACIAL DISPARITIES

Shifting towards looking at school outcomes suggests similar reasons for concern, with Chicago having the 2nd lowest percentage of high school 9th graders on track to graduate in Cook County and only 30% of graduating seniors designated as “college ready.”²⁷

For students to be on track, they must have completed at least five full-year course credits, or 10 semester hours, without receiving an “F” in a core subject like English, math, science, or social science. Educators often use this metric of being “on track” as a predictor of high school completion, as it is highly interrelated with graduation rates, but they also use this indicator when deciding on intervention strategies of tutoring or additional instruction for those students who need it. Comparing Chicago to Illinois, almost 20% fewer CPS students are on track.

Within CPS, a large gap also separates black, Latinx, and white students when it comes to standardized test performance. Consider the racial and ethnic breakdown of standardized test scores from the Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PAARC).²⁸

MATH AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERACY STANDARDIZED TEST SCORES FROM THE PARTNERSHIP FOR ASSESSMENT OF READINESS FOR COLLEGE & CAREERS (PAARC), 2015 - 2016

Data: The Illinois Report Card

For the math section of this test, 40.1% of white students at all tested grade levels within CPS were on pace to be college-ready. In comparison, only 11.4% of black students and only 18.7% of Latinx students within CPS were at grade level and on pace to be college-ready. Scores from the English language and literacy portion of the test tell a similar story. Only 17.5% of black students were on pace to be college-ready, compared to 45.5% of whites and 25.7% of Latinxs.

With all the disparity between CPS and the state and within CPS, one might expect to see persisting trends of inequality with graduation rates. This simply is not the case.

District trends indicate that 5-year graduation rates went from 47% in 1999 to 81.0% in 2016.

District trends indicate that 5-year graduation rates went from 47% in 1999 to 81.0% in 2016. To offer some context, the 5-year graduation rate for the state is 88%. This means that in under two decades, CPS students went from having a 50-50 chance of graduation to being four times more likely to graduate than drop out.

How did the change come about? Some suggest that the change came about from cohort differences between students today and those of the past, particularly with regard to demographic composition and incoming levels of achievement.²⁹ Another part of the change has to do with the new emphasis on intervention at crucial transitional points in education. More specifically, research shows that those who avoid an “F” during their freshman year are as much as four times more likely to graduate within four-to-five years. Therefore, monitoring students at the beginning of high school in real-time with monthly evaluation reports has become all the more essential to ensure that students stay on track.³⁰

Why are high school graduation rates so important? These rates are important because they are more or less a precondition for social mobility. They have ramifications for other important indicators of economic well-being, like measures of employment and earnings.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

Value of Education at the National Level: Earnings and Unemployment by Level of Degree Attainment, 2015

	Median Weekly Earnings	Unemployment Rate
Doctoral Degree	1,623	1.7
Professional Degree	1,730	1.5
Master's Degree	1,341	2.4
Bachelor's Degree	1,137	2.8
Associate's Degree	798	3.8
Some College, No Degree	738	5.0
High School Diploma	678	5.4
No High School Diploma	493	8.0
All Workers	860	4.3

Data: Current Population Survey

Looking to national-level data, those without a high school diploma have nearly double the unemployment rate compared to the entire pool of workers (8% compared to 4.3%) and their median weekly earnings are just above half the median for all workers (\$493 compared to \$860). Being without a high school diploma translates into greater odds of earning less money, being unemployed, and generally speaking, being without opportunity.³¹

While upward trends in graduation rates represent good news, substantial graduation gaps between racial and ethnic groups persist. Whereas 88% of white CPS students graduate high school within five years, the rate is 83% for their Latinx counterparts and 75% for their black peers. Graduation rates are on the rise, but progress remains to be made on closing gaps in graduation rates.

While upward trends in graduation rates represent good news, substantial graduation gaps between racial and ethnic groups persist.

CPS GRADUATION RATES BY RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP, 2015 - 2016

Data: The Illinois Report Card

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN CPS GRADUATES ENROLL IN COLLEGE

3 out of 4: That is how many CPS 9th graders say they want a college degree.³²

62 out of 100: Data from the National Student Clearinghouse show us that this is how many CPS alumni actually enroll in a 2- or 4-year college in the U.S. within 12 months of their high school graduation. This is slightly less than the rate of college enrollment for the state of Illinois (66%).

COLLEGE ASPIRATIONS OF CPS 9TH GRADE STUDENTS

Source: Healey, Nagaoka, and Michelman 2014

Having high school graduates enroll in college is a good start, but data suggest that for those CPS alumni that enter college, many are starting without adequate preparation. Therefore, they do not begin college able to proficiently complete entry-level coursework. Of those CPS graduates from the Class of 2014 that enrolled in an Illinois community college, a total of 3,899, or 70%, required some remedial training. Mathematics was the subject students struggled with most, followed by Communications and then Reading.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

Unequal Outcomes: How Graduates from the Majority Minority District Compare to the State of Illinois, 2016

	CPS	Illinois
Post-Secondary Enrollment within 12 Months of High School Graduation	62%	68%
High School Graduates Attending Community Colleges in Illinois	26%	32%
Overall Remedial Enrollment in Community College	70%	49%
Remedial Enrollment in Community College for Mathematics	56%	41%
Remedial Enrollment in Community College for Communications	42%	22%
Remedial Enrollment in Community College for Reading	39%	17%

Data: National Student Clearinghouse; The Illinois Report Card

Only 14 out of 100 CPS 9th graders go on to graduate college within 10 years.

Remedial courses cost tuition and time, but they do not count toward college credit. This is money and time that might otherwise be spent on completing the bachelor's, causing some students delays in their time-to-degree completion. For reasons such as these, only 14 out of 100 CPS 9th graders go on to graduate college within 10 years.³³

These figures look worse when broken down by race and ethnicity. Black men who graduate from CPS are least likely to earn a college degree ten years after entering high school. Only 6% of them accomplish this feat. Latinos are behind them (11%) followed by black women (13%). Meanwhile, about 27% of white male CPS graduates and 36% of white female graduates finish college within a decade of entering high school.

Rates of college enrollment and attainment matter because never before in American history has there been a greater disparity in economic outcomes between those with a high school diploma and those with a college degree.³⁴ Although wide income differences remain between black, Latinx, and white individuals who have the same education (as discussed in the Economics Section), higher levels of educational attainment nonetheless pay symbolic and concrete dividends, from personal earnings to full time employment to job satisfaction. For most Americans, the cost of not finishing college is simply too high.

WHICH CPS STUDENTS COMPLETE THEIR BACHELOR'S DEGREE WITHIN 10-YEARS AFTER ENTERING 9TH GRADE? AN OVERVIEW FROM 2014

Source: Healey, Nagaoka, and Michelman 2014

CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOL CLOSINGS, 1980 - 2015

Data: Chicago Teachers Union

SCHOOL CLOSURES

While many white students in CPS tend to be concentrated among the most advantaged educational environments, many minority communities are struggling to keep schools open in their neighborhood. Critics have seen these closures as another blow to already disadvantaged, predominantly black communities whose infrastructure has long been neglected.³⁵ In effect, shutting their local schools down translates into community members traveling further distances, at times without reliable transportation or convenient public transit, just to have their children receive an education.

Between 1980 and 2015, more than 250 CPS schools have closed their doors. Most of this closure activity has transpired in recent years. Data from the Chicago Teachers Union show that only 19 schools were closed during the 1980s. This number rose to 135 during the 2000s. Through 2015, the district has closed an additional 79 schools in the current decade.

The lion's share of school closings has been concentrated in the city's South and West Sides.³⁶ In 2013, for example, 35 of the 43 public school closings occurred in neighborhoods with majority-black or majority-Latinx residents.³⁷ Only 7 were located in white-majority areas. Taken together, nearly 47,000 youth were impacted.³⁸ About 90% of these students were black.³⁹

CPS SCHOOL CLOSURES SINCE 1980

Data: Chicago Teachers Union

Rather than repurpose these buildings for other community services, many have been left vacant and are tangible markers of disinvestment. Left behind with those vacant schoolhouses are reduced home values, jobless communities, diminished odds of future investment, and a withering property tax base.⁴⁰

Not all neighborhood schools that are shut down are left vacant, however. Many have been repurposed as privately-controlled charter schools. Charter school expansion in the district continues despite the fact that statistics show that, in general, charter schools do not perform better academically than traditional CPS schools.⁴¹ As of the 2015-2016 school year, there are 125 charter schools in the district.

Of the school closure properties from 2013 that have been sold, the city generated about \$24 million in revenue.⁴² These monies were not earmarked for reinvestment in the communities from which they came. Nor were they designated toward a repurposing fund. Instead, the funds were directed to the district's general budget for discretionary spending.

THE PUNISHMENT GAP

Beyond the dollars and cents of education and its contextual circumstances, race and ethnicity color the experiences of students within schools—disciplinary actions such as suspension and expulsion included. At a minimum, patterns of inequality in these areas are of concern because student success is hampered when students are not in school.⁴³

Whether we are talking about poverty, segregation, or public finance, one could argue that schools have little to no control over the many circumstances of inequality they face. Matters of suspension and expulsion, however, are different. Teachers and administrators wield much discretion over these disciplinary practices.⁴⁴ They decide whether discipline is imposed, what kind of penalties will be faced, and which students will suffer the punishment.

On the whole, the district has made concerted efforts to reduce suspensions over the past five years to record lows.⁴⁵ CPS teachers and administrators imposed a total of 101,174 suspensions during the 2011-2012 academic year but only 55,270 during the 2015-2016 academic year. Despite the reduction in overall suspensions, racial and ethnic disparities have remained a constant feature over this same time span.

Black students were suspended at double the district rate during the 2015-2016 academic year, both for in school suspensions and out of school suspensions. Whereas the in school suspension rate for black youth was 24.2 suspensions per 100 students, this was nearly four times the rate of Latinxs (6.4 suspensions per 100 students) and about 10 times the rate of whites (2.5 suspensions per 100 students). For out of school suspensions, black youth were suspended (16.1 suspensions per 100 students) at four times the rate of their Latinx peers (4.3 suspensions per 100 students) and eight times the rate of their white peers (2.1 suspensions per 100 students).

CPS IN SCHOOL SUSPENSIONS, PER 100 STUDENTS, 2011 - 2016

CPS OUT OF SCHOOL SUSPENSIONS, PER 100 STUDENTS, 2011 - 2016

Data: Chicago Public Schools

CPS EXPULSIONS, PER 100 STUDENTS, 2011 - 2016

Transitioning from suspension to expulsion, black students accounted for 76.9% of all expulsions (253 out of 329) in CPS during 2015-2016 even though they accounted for only 38.9% of student enrollment. Black students were so disproportionately punished that their expulsion rate was about four times the rate of Latinxs and 23 times the rate of whites.

Not only were black youth more likely to be expelled from CPS, but they were more likely to have their student misconduct escalated to the attention of the Chicago Police Department. Black youth received 2.1 police notifications per 100 students, whereas their Latinx and white counterparts received 0.7 and 0.3 notifications, respectively.

CPS POLICE NOTIFICATIONS, PER 100 STUDENTS, 2011 - 2016

Data: Chicago Public Schools

Scholars have talked about the increased contact between students and the criminal justice system as the school-to-prison pipeline. This school-to-prison pipeline disproportionately affects black and Latinx students, greatly increasing their likelihood of becoming incarcerated in one of the state's overcrowded jails and prisons.

And, in fact, black and Latinx children in Illinois are disproportionately processed through the state's juvenile justice system. With over 1,600 youth in custody of the state, the black juvenile custody rate is 388 per 100,000 compared to 166 for Latinxs and 65 for whites.

Inequalities like these are important because they say something about the district's broader sociocultural context.⁴⁶ They say something about the skin color of those presumed to be rule-breakers as well as the face of innocence. They say something about the norms of academic achievement and dueling priorities of education versus punishment. They say something about who belongs in CPS schools and who does not.

EXPERT COMMENTARY: EDUCATION

Pauline Lipman is Professor of Educational Policy Studies and Director of the Collaborative for Equity and Justice in Education (CEJE) at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Her interdisciplinary research focuses on race and class inequality in education, globalization, and political economy of urban education. She is a member of the leadership body of Teachers for Social Justice–Chicago and is active in coalitions of teachers and community organizations. She is a co-director of the Data and Democracy Project and has co-led various collaborations with community organizations to produce policy reports that bring to light educational injustices and community-driven programs to transform urban schools.

The state of public education is one of the most contentious issues in the U.S. Over the past two decades, Chicago has been a laboratory for neoliberal education “reform” focused on top-down accountability, school closings, privatization, and punitive and exclusionary disciplinary practices. These policies have disproportionately affected students of color, especially black students. Opposition to these policies has also made Chicago a focal point of grassroots resistance by an alliance of parents, teachers, and students that is pressing for alternatives. The deep and persistent racial disparities that permeate students’ educational experiences and outcomes are at the center of this contention. This section of the report provides data that illuminate some of these systemic racial inequities and injustices.

The report makes clear that any accounting of the current state of racial justice in education in Chicago has to begin with Chicago Public Schools’ (CPS) history of racial discrimination and segregation. As the report shows, Chicago’s public schools have historically been separate and unequal. It took concerted struggles by black parents and students, culminating in the historic 1963 boycott and 1968 black student walk outs, to eliminate the most egregious injustices—Willis Wagons, overcrowded and under-

resourced segregated schools, lack of black principals, and racist curricula.⁴⁷ It took the organized protest of Puerto Rican and other Latinx parents to draw attention to the high dropout rate and lack of attention to the educational concerns of Latinx students. And it took the grassroots organizing of parents, primarily parents of color, to bring a measure of democracy and local control to schools through state legislation in 1988 establishing elected local school councils in every Chicago public school.

But the policies CPS began implementing in 1995 after the Illinois State Legislature gave the mayor control of the school district have actually widened racial gaps in educational experiences and outcomes and created an even more inequitable school district. The mayor's appointed Board of Education and CEO of CPS launched a system of top-down accountability based on high stakes standardized tests and punishments for "failure." The schools most affected by these policies served black, Latinx, and other low-income students of color. In the early years of mayoral control, CPS put over 100 schools on probation under direct control of central administration and outside contractors, taking away whatever local control black and Latinx parents had gained over their schools. CPS required thousands of children, mainly African American, to attend basic-skills summer schools and retained in grade thousands of mainly black and Latinx children, prompting a racial discrimination complaint filed in 1999 by Parents United for Responsible Education. Some schools were required to replace their curriculum with scripted instruction, and teaching was geared to drilling for tests. The annual public display of test scores branded teachers, students, parents, and schools—especially in black communities—as "failing."

Coupled with these policies, in the late 1990s, CPS began to create a tiered system of schools framed as "education options." It is hard to miss the racial disparities of these "options." CPS has expanded the upper tier of selective enrollment schools that serve a disproportionately white and middle class student body. When CPS began mass school closings in 2004, they were also concentrated in black and some Latinx communities. As the Board has closed nearly 160 schools, it has authorized an almost equal number of privately-run, publicly-funded charter schools, mostly in low-income black and Latinx communities. As this report points out, school closings and charter expansion resulted in CPS's black teaching force declining dramatically. Despite their challenges, many of the schools that

were closed were community institutions that had educated multiple generations of families. They were centers of community life and stability in neighborhoods that had been subjected to decades of public and private disinvestment in housing, economic development, resources, and public services.

Two decades later, almost three times as many schools are on probation as when the policy began, and as this report documents, racial gaps in educational outcomes remain high. Eighty-seven percent of the students affected by school closings have been black, and most have not transferred to schools that are significantly better. Some black communities have almost no neighborhood schools left while the proliferation of charter schools, which primarily serve black and Latinx students, has not improved their education overall.

But the racial injustice of these policies cannot be fully conveyed by these measures. Numbers can only hint at the human costs of diminished education and life opportunities, loss of committed teachers (particularly black teachers), trauma of criminalization, and the culture of punishment and shaming visited on primarily black schools, teachers, students, and their communities.⁴⁸ Nor do they capture the social costs and collective trauma to families and communities of shuttering public schools that were community anchors.⁴⁹ These injustices are at the root of the outpouring of protest against school closings and widespread support for an elected school board, demonstrated by two city-wide advisory referenda which passed by nearly 90%.⁵⁰

This report paints a multi-faceted picture of the state of racial justice in Chicago. When reading this section, it's important to put education policies in the context of other dimensions of racial injustice discussed in the report. It should be clear that education is deeply connected with housing, criminal justice, economic wellbeing, access to healthy food and health care, and more, and that racial injustice in education cannot be remedied separate from a challenge to racial injustice in the city overall.

ENDNOTES

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- 27 College readiness captures "the percentage of graduating seniors who achieved a combined score of at least 21 on any ACT assessment, taken prior to graduating, and therefore are classified as being Ready for College Coursework."
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- 42 See Karp and Vevea 2016.
- 43 Morris, Edward W. and Brea L. Perry. 2016. "The Punishment Gap: Suspension and Racial Disparities in Achievement." *Social Problems* 63(1):68-86. See also Welch, Kelly and Allison Ann Payne. 2010. "Racial Threat and Punitive School Discipline." *Social Problems* 57(1):25-48.
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- 45 A decline in suspensions (and expulsions) reflects, in part, a shift in CPS policy. The district has adopted a more liberal orientation toward discipline where teachers and administrators seek out alternatives to suspension. More explanation behind the shift is offered in a press release by CPS: "CPS Suspension and Expulsion Rates Reach Record Low".
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KEY TAKEAWAYS FROM THIS SECTION

- Stories about rampant crime and violence in Chicago have taken center stage in national media. These stories provide a narrative of a violent Chicago that is not in line with the data.
- Crime has gone down, but incarceration has boomed. Incarceration rates have skyrocketed due to a variety of “tough on crime” policy shifts, including the “War on Drugs,” aggressive policing strategies, and mandatory minimum sentencing.
- The prison boom is expensive. As the Illinois prison population has grown, so have corrections costs.
- Mass incarceration and the geographic distribution of state prisons has consequences for political districting in the State of Illinois. Because most state prisoners are from Cook County but are enumerated as residents in the county where their prisons are located, the population counts of certain districts are inflated and, by extension, so is their voting power.
- Because of aggressive policing strategies and the implicit biases that undergird them, Chicagoans of color are subject to considerably more police surveillance, suspicion, and intervention than their white counterparts.
- Even though Chicagoans of color bore the brunt of police misconduct and use of force, they are less likely than white Chicagoans to have their complaints against CPD officers sustained. This remains true even as the city has the highest number of fatal police-involved-shootings in the nation and has doubled its police misconduct payouts over the past ten years.

WHAT DOES JUSTICE LOOK LIKE IN CHICAGO?

Is Chicago America's crime capital? In 2016 alone, 762 Chicagoans were murdered. Citing statistics such as these, recent news coverage has characterized Chicago as lawless and "out of control." Looking at crime trends over time, however, offers a quite different narrative. Similar to the rates in other major cities like New York and Los Angeles, Chicago's murder rate and its general crime rates have both dropped significantly over the last several decades.

At its high-water mark in 1994, Chicago had 928 murders. Aside from the exceptional year of 2016, the number of murders per year in Chicago has hovered around 500 throughout most of the last decade-and-a-half and is generally on the decline.

HOW DOES CHICAGO'S MURDER RATE COMPARE?

Source: Fessenden and Park 2016

In fact, media headlines notwithstanding, Chicago is not America's murder capital. After controlling for population, the city's murder rate is nowhere near that of smaller cities like Richmond, Virginia; Birmingham, Alabama; or Flint, Michigan, where murder rates are routinely 1.5 times or greater than Chicago's.

NUMBER OF VIOLENT AND PROPERTY CRIMES, 1985 - 2012

Data: Uniform Crime Reports

Nor is murder the only crime decreasing in Chicago. The rates of both general violent crime (such as robbery and aggravated assault) and property crime (burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft) are at their lowest points since 1985.

Crime patterns in Chicago are not so different from those in the rest of the nation, and the city is safer than “out-of-control” narratives would have one believe. As in many other cities, crime trends are generally at 30-year lows and are consistent with what some scholars call “the great American crime decline.”¹ Despite these trends, however, there is reason to be cautious about romanticizing news on the crime front.

Crime trends are generally at 30-year lows and are consistent with what some scholars call “the great American crime decline.”

AN OVERVIEW OF CHICAGO HOMICIDES, ASSAULTS, AND ROBBERIES BY COMMUNITY AREA, 2009

Data: Chicago Police Department

While crime in the city is generally decreasing, a handful of communities, mostly on the South and West Sides, experience a large majority of the reported violent crime. In 2009, for example, Austin, a segregated black community with high levels of concentrated poverty, had nearly six times (1,251) the city average (205) of robberies and nearly five times (1,064) the city average (204) of assaults. Neighborhood maps of crime in Chicago demonstrate the wide disparities in crime and their disproportionate concentration in South Side and West Side neighborhoods.

THE PRISON POPULATION OF ILLINOIS, 1980 - 2014

Data: U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics

CRIME IS DOWN, INCARCERATION IS UP

Despite consistent drops in crime over the last 30 years, incarceration rates have been rising. And it is not because high levels of imprisonment have lessened crime.² Thirty states across the U.S. have witnessed declining crime rates and declines in incarceration. That pattern does not hold for Illinois, though.

Imprisonment in Illinois has continued to climb even as crime has dropped. The prison population has grown nearly 450% since 1980, with almost 50,000 imprisoned as of 2014. More than another 153,000 are either on probation or parole. These high levels of incarceration have had a particularly significant impact on the Chicagoland area. Census data tell us that three out of five people in Illinois state prison are from Cook County.

To be sure, Illinois is not leading the national trend of mass incarceration.³ Whereas the national imprisonment rate for all states is 471 per 100,000 residents, that rate is 375 per 100,000 for the state of Illinois (about at the median). That said, the state tops the nation when it comes to prison over-crowdedness.

Currently, Illinois prisons are incarcerating at one-and-a-half times their maximum capacity. What does this figure mean? It means the state has over 16,000 more people in prison than it officially has bed

space for. At over 150% of capacity, this number far exceeds the overpopulation of other state prisons. Ohio is the second-worst state on the list of prison over-crowdedness, with an occupancy rate of 131.9%, nearly 20 points below Illinois' rate.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

The 10 Most Overcrowded State Prison Systems, 2014

	% of Capacity
Illinois	150.4
Ohio	131.9
Massachusetts	130.1
Nebraska	127.7
Delaware	119.1
Colorado	115.1
Iowa	112.8
Hawaii	112.4
Idaho	106.9
Kansas	103.3

Data: U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics

Not just anyone fills the Illinois prisons. With an imprisonment rate of 1,533 per 100,000 residents, black Illinois residents are nine times more likely than whites to go to prison. Latinxs are more than one-and-a-half times more likely than whites to be imprisoned.

Part of a national imprisonment boom that began in the 1970s, the massive expansion in imprisonment in states like Illinois marked a shift in policy more than a shift in crime. A conglomeration of legal changes connected to the War on Drugs and the movement to “get tough on crime” (e.g., three-strikes laws, mandatory minimum

sentencing, shifts in drug sentencing) has meant an explosion in the rates of imprisonment of nonviolent drug offenders. Defined by scholars as “mass incarceration,” as we elaborate below, the brunt of these policy changes has not been felt evenly, with dramatic consequences for the communities most affected.⁴

Over the last fifty years a number of policy changes in the criminal justice system have driven the expansion of incarceration (often at the same time as crime was declining), and have hit communities of color particularly hard. An obvious question arises from these patterns: aren’t incarceration rates just a mirror of different rates of crime? As noted in a recent report by Ashley Nellis at the Sentencing Project, “racial disparities in prison cannot be explained by criminal offending.”⁵ An abundance of research has studied the issue in recent decades and identified three primary dynamics driving these disparities: shifts in criminal justice policy, discrimination (e.g. implicit bias) in the adjudication system, and “structural disadvantages in communities of color which are associated with high rates of offending and arrest.”⁶

In Illinois, black residents are nine times more likely than whites to go to prison. Latinxs are more than one-and-a-half times more likely than whites to be imprisoned.

Over the last fifty years a number of policy changes in the criminal justice system have driven the expansion of incarceration and have hit communities of color particularly hard.

Drug laws are one area in which we can see all of these dynamics play out and in which racial disparities are particularly large. Policy shifts since the 1970s have sent more people to prison for drug related crimes and for much longer sentences. The War on Drugs changed not only laws but also policing tactics, leading to more aggressive policing in some communities than in others. This was not a result of communities having much higher rates of drug use. As Nellis of The Sentencing Project summarizes in *The Color of Justice*:

“Blacks are nearly four times as likely as whites to be arrested for drug offenses and 2.5 times as likely to be arrested for drug possession. This is despite the evidence that whites and blacks use drugs at roughly the same rate. From 1995 to 2005, African Americans comprised approximately 13 percent of drug users but 36% of drug arrests and 46% of those convicted for drug offenses.”⁷

**Racial disparities
are part of every
stage of the criminal
justice system.**

Racial disparities are part of every stage of the criminal justice system. Moreover, as captured in previous sections, the kinds of economic disadvantage that contribute to higher crime rates exist in some communities in Chicago at much higher levels. High crime rates become another side effect of policies that have led to the kinds of concentrated poverty and structural disadvantage pervasive on the South and West Sides of Chicago.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

An Overview of Criminal Justice in Illinois

Incarcerated Population in 2014

Prison Population	48,278
Jail Population	20,600
Total	68,878

Probation or Parole in 2014

Probation Population	123,862
Parole Population	29,586

Imprisonment Rates by Race & Ethnicity (per 100,000) in 2014

Black	1,533
Latinx	282
White	174

Racial & Ethnic Disparity in Imprisonment in 2014

Black-White Ratio	8.8
Latinx-White Ratio	1.6

Juveniles in Custody in 2013

Committed	873
Detained	741
Diverted	3
Total	1,617

Juvenile Custody Rates by Race & Ethnicity (per 100,000) in 2013

Black	388
Latinx	116
White	65

Data: U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics;
U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Program

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE COOK COUNTY JAIL

When we shift our focus from the state level to the local level, we see similar patterns. About two-thirds of all those admitted to the Cook County Jail are black.⁸ Over half of those admitted into the jail are from majority black neighborhoods, with 1 in 3 coming from South Side neighborhoods and 1 in 5 from the West Side.

Rather than return home to await trial, many inmates at the Cook County Jail are either too poor to make bail or do not have bond as an option. The median time in Cook County Jail is 12 days. However, the average length of stay in Cook County Jail is 54.1 days. This tells us that wait times are quite skewed, with a small group of individuals remaining in jail removed from their daily life and community awaiting trial for months (plural) at a time.

It is not just that most of those admitted to the Cook County Jail are black. Most of those who are convicted of a crime are black too, coming from a handful of highly segregated, majority black neighborhoods. Only eight community areas in Chicago have conviction rates higher than 100 per 1,000 residents. Seven of the eight neighborhoods have black populations of 85% or higher.⁹ In North Lawndale, as many as 70% of black men between 18 and 54 years old have been processed through some part of the criminal justice system.¹⁰

About two-thirds of all those admitted to the Cook County Jail are black.

While those incarcerated in Cook County are overwhelmingly black and brown, the people convicting them are predominantly white.

While those incarcerated in Cook County, and the state of Illinois generally, are overwhelmingly black and brown, the people who are convicting them are predominantly white. This is true throughout the Illinois court system but is especially the case in Cook County, where 84% of state attorneys, 69% of public defenders, and 74% of trial judges are white.¹¹

The fact that the majority of people incarcerated in Cook County are black and that the vast majority of criminal justice system employees are white matters for how minorities are treated within the spaces of the criminal justice system. When black people visit the courthouse, for example, they are frequently mistaken for defendants or low-level staff, reinforcing the racial boundaries of what many Chicagoans refer to as the “White Castle.”¹² On the one hand, this nickname refers to the fast food or “drive-thru” justice of an adjudication process where procedural speed and efficiency are prioritized ahead of justice. On the other hand, this nickname references the status of the court as a fortress of racial disparity. And fortresses can be expensive.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

**Community Areas in Cook County
with the Highest Rates of Conviction, 2005 – 2009**

Community Area	Number of Convictions	Convictions per 1,000	Percent Black
West Garfield Park	4,697	243	96.2
East Garfield Park	3,399	171	90.9
North Lawndale	5,001	142	91.4
Austin	12,998	131	85.1
West Englewood	4,737	122	96.3
Humboldt Park	6,190	114	40.9
Englewood	3,687	112	96.3
Washington Park	1,088	104	97.0

Source: Census 2010; “Smart Chicago” 2014

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

State of Illinois Direct Expenditures: How Criminal Justice Spending Compares to Other Social Services (in thousands of 2012 dollars)

Direct Expenditures on Criminal Justice

	1977	2012	% Change
Corrections	407,110	1,350,538	232
Police & Protection	226,509	411,301	82
Judicial	155,633	374,989	141

Direct Expenditures Social Services and Public Works

	1977	2012	% Change
Higher Education	3,336,913	6,399,427	92
Health	406,633	2,284,818	462
Hospitals	1,766,072	1,339,012	-24
Highways	3,352,941	4,181,171	25
Libraries	28,323	6,030	-79
Parks & Recreation	104,195	73,706	-29

Data: Survey of State and Local Finances

With the exception of healthcare, the growth of money spent on corrections outpaces every other major expense of the state.

THE ECONOMIC COSTS OF INCARCERATION

\$1.35 billion: that is the annual amount of direct expenditures the State of Illinois spends on corrections. Another \$411 million is spent on police and protection, and some \$375 million is spent on the judicial courts. At the state level alone, that comes to roughly \$2.1 billion.

How does state spending on criminal justice compare to other expenditures on social services and public works? With the exception of healthcare expenditures, which have increased 462% between 1977 and 2012, the growth of money spent on corrections outpaces every other major expense of the state. Increasing spending trends on prisons stand in contrast to a decline in funding for public works and social services. More money is spent on criminal justice than on parks and recreation, libraries, and hospitals. Since the late 1970s, corrections spending has grown by 232%, a growth rate that is over two and a half times that of higher education.

Spending rates for incarceration are densely concentrated among black and Latinx communities in Chicago. To capture the significance of this concentration, scholars Laura Kurgan and Eric Cadora recently created a new measure—"million dollar blocks"—to identify those areas where the state government is spending an excess of a million dollars over a 5-year span to imprison residents of a single census block.¹³ Between 2005 and 2009, there were 851 "million dollar blocks" in Cook County.¹⁴ By itself, the mostly black neighborhood of Austin accounted for \$550 million in state imprisonment spending.

CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOOD SPENDING ON INCARCERATION BETWEEN 2005 - 2009

That \$550 million dollars represents a major investment of public funds that are thus not available to be spent elsewhere, like on Austin's four schools that were closed in 2013 or on the neighborhood's lack of Level I trauma centers.¹⁵ Looking at direct expenditures, the state of Illinois spends about \$224 on corrections for every \$1 spent on libraries. In neighborhoods where this much money is spent on incarcerating its residents as opposed to infrastructure, social services, and public works, for some children prison seems like a more realistic future than going to college. It looms as inevitable for others.¹⁶

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL COSTS OF INCARCERATION

Dollar figures spent on incarceration are important, but they do not speak to the pain, strain, and suffering of black and brown communities caught under the weight of mass imprisonment. Families are broken apart when individuals are physically removed from their families. Even after re-entry from jails or prisons, things are not the same. Not only do those marked as "ex-cons" have fewer job prospects because few employers want to hire someone with a criminal record, but they are now ineligible for numerous federally-funded social supports like public housing, subsidized loans for education, and nutritional assistance programs.¹⁷ Having someone sent off to prison comes with collateral consequences for that person's parents, siblings, and extended relatives, from the practical challenges of trying to maintain a family to economic and emotional hardships.¹⁸ That is, whole communities are being punished.

Whole communities are being punished.

Prisons have political consequences too. The enumeration of those incarcerated has consequences for legislative districting at the state level as well as for counties and county boards.¹⁹ Are those in prison residents of their hometown? Or should they be considered residents where their prison is located? The methodology used by the U.S. Census Bureau says the latter. Every 10 years it takes a population count that does not enumerate prisoners by their residential home but by where their prison is located.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

A Factsheet of Enumeration Without Representation in the Districting Process of Illinois

Illinois State Prisons

- All state prisons built after 1941 are more than 100 miles from Chicago
- The average distance from Chicago to a state prison is more than 200 miles

Prison Population

- 60% of state prisoners are from Cook County
- 65% of all state prisoners are black
- 90% of all state prisoners are incarcerated downstate

The Districts

- 95% of state prison cells are located in house districts that are predominantly white
- 11 districts of the state legislature have at least 2% of their population incarcerated

Source: Blank and Wagner 2010

While three in five of those who are a part of the Illinois prison population are from Cook County, about 90% of them are enumerated by the census as though they are residents of downstate Illinois.

Thus, while three in five of those who are a part of the Illinois prison population are from Cook County, about 90% of them are enumerated by the census as though they are residents of downstate Illinois—a region where the majority of state prisons are located. Since 1941, for example, every prison that has been constructed in the state is at least 100 miles away from Chicago.

When the incarcerated are counted as downstate residents rather than residents of Cook County, electoral mapping can be drawn in such a way that it skews the state's demographic profile.²⁰ Housing large-population prisons in remote rural spaces allows those communities to claim more residents. More residents means more political influence, given that federal law requires districts to be drawn on the basis of equal numbers (i.e., the “one person, one vote” rule). This process of counting dilutes the electoral power of residents in Cook County in favor of downstate communities. These include downstate communities just like the 4th District of the state legislature (Lee County).

Nearly a quarter of the residents counted towards the 4th District's population are institutionalized in prison. However, those incarcerated in places like Lee County are barred from voting. Nonetheless, their enumeration permits every 75 residents in this district to have voting power that is equivalent to 100 residents in other districts. Given that minorities disproportionately fill the prisons and 95% of state prison cells are located in districts that are disproportionately white, these practices sort out along racial and spatial lines. The political influence of downstate residents who are predominantly white is artificially inflated by how state and local governments count the population, and subsequently, the political influence of the predominantly minority districts where prison populations come from are substantially weakened.

State law prohibits voting for those who have felony convictions and are currently in prison.²¹ These rights can be restored after a sentence is complete. Nonetheless, the current law means that about 50,000 Illinois residents do not have suffrage. It is a fraction (0.5%) of the voting-age population in Illinois on the whole, but the rate is four times that amount for black prisoners (2%). While this number may seem trivial, recent analyses have shown that such felony disenfranchisement policies have had big consequences for close elections.²² They have altered the outcomes.

CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT PRACTICES: WHO IS SERVED, WHOM DO THEY PROTECT?

For years, scholars have raised important questions about the fairness of the criminal justice system writ large. At every point in the criminal justice process, whether it involves policing, adjudication, incarceration and corrections, or something else, race and ethnicity can become salient.²³ Recent events have focused national attention on racially disparate patterns in Chicago's policing. Following national coverage of police violence, the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice conducted an investigation of the Chicago Police Department (CPD). In its January 13 report, the Department of Justice (DOJ) determined that the CPD had engaged in "a pattern or practice of unreasonable force—including deadly force—in violation of the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution."²⁴ The report further documents how "the prevalence of racially discriminatory conduct" permeates CPD training, supervision, accountability, and practices.

One of these practices regards “stop-and-frisk,” a policing strategy that allows officers to stop individuals on the basis of “reasonable suspicion.”²⁵ Here, “reasonable suspicion” refers to an officer’s expectation that someone has, or will in the near future, engage in criminal activity. Once an individual has been stopped, an officer can proceed with a search, or “frisk,” if s/he has reasonable suspicion that the person under surveillance is dangerous or possesses a weapon.

Stop-and-frisk is often associated with the New York Police Department, but it has been practiced in Chicago for decades. This policing strategy was introduced during the 1960s in Chicago under Superintendent

Orlando Winfield Wilson as a “preventive policing strategy” to deter crime before it began.²⁶ The policy shifted the focus from reactive to proactive policing. Officers no longer simply responded to crimes already committed. They were expected to aggressively stop potential crime by confronting suspects while on patrol. Until the policy was halted in 2016, communities of color throughout the city were those most affected by stop-and-frisk strategies.

Between May and August of 2014, the American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois found that black Chicagoans sustained 72% of all police stops even though they comprised only one-third of the city’s population.²⁷ Many of these stops were concentrated geographically, with predominantly black police districts like Englewood logging 226 stops per 1,000 residents. To put this into perspective, the predominantly white police district of Lincoln had five times fewer stops, with 43 per 1,000 residents. However, disproportionate rates of minority surveillance and suspicion are found not only in predominantly minority communities.

Black Chicagoans sustained 72% of all police stops between May and August of 2014 even though they comprised only one-third of the city's population.

People of color are subjected to higher rates of stop-and-frisk in Chicago's predominantly white neighborhoods too. In the Town Hall district, for example, the black population makes up only 6.6% of the population, but black residents accounted for 51% of all police stops. Latinxs made up 10% of the population in this district but were involved in 16% of all stops. Meanwhile, whites comprised 75% of the population but were subjected to 29% of all stops.

Though stop-and-frisk disproportionately subjected people of color to surveillance and suspicion, these police practices were not effective as a law enforcement tool.²⁸ Blacks and Latinxs were searched at four times the rate of their white counterparts during vehicle stops. It was whites, however, who were nearly twice as likely to possess illegal contraband or to be in possession of a controlled substance. Locally and nationally, stop-and-frisk policies have deepened distrust between the police and black and brown residents while failing at their ostensible purpose—preventing crime.

POLICE MISCONDUCT AND A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE

The DOJ report found that the CPD's "pattern or practice of unreasonable force disproportionately burdens minority communities." The report documents that in the months between January 2011 and April 2016, black Chicagoans accounted for 76% of the CPD's documented use-of-force incidents, while white Chicagoans accounted for only 8% of these incidents. Although black residents and white residents account for about one-third of the city's population apiece, black residents were nine-and-a-half times more likely to experience CPD use of force. Also noted in the report, black residents accounted for 80% of CPD firearm use and 81% of all Taser use during that same period. Moreover, in CPD use-of-force incidents involving youth, 83% of the children were black, and 14% were Latinx.

RACE AND ETHNICITY OF VICTIM IN CPD USE OF FORCE INCIDENTS, JANUARY 2011 - APRIL 2016

Source: Department of Justice Report 2017

**RACE AND ETHNICITY OF VICTIM IN CPD USE OF FORCE
INCIDENTS INVOLVING YOUTH, JANUARY 2011 - APRIL 2016**

The DOJ's report concluded not only that police officers use force unnecessarily, thereby endangering themselves and the community, but also that they use force unconstitutionally, disproportionately violating the rights of black and brown Chicagoans. These residents have responded to rights violations and the CPD's disproportionate use of force against them by talking to the media, by protesting, and by filing complaints.

Despite the great number of complaints against the Chicago Police Department, few have resulted in any disciplinary action. According to the work of the Citizens Police Data Project, less than 2% of the 28,567 cases filed against the CPD between March of 2011 and September of 2015 resulted in disciplinary action.²⁹ Some officers received more complaints than others.

About 30% of the complaints were filed against just 10% of the police force. Of those who were disciplined, 580 police officers faced reprimand, 787 were suspended for less than a week, and only 33 were fired. The DOJ report outlines systemic deficiencies in accountability and a high tolerance for racially discriminatory practices by the Independent Police Review Authority tasked with reviewing actions of the CPD.

Confidence in the police amongst black and brown communities is further eroded by the fact that the race of the person filing a complaint against the CPD is highly consequential in determining whether or not a complaint will be sustained. Data reviewed by the DOJ found that complaints filed by whites were over three-and-a-half-times more likely (3.7x) to be sustained than if filed by a black person, and almost three-times more likely (2.8x) to be sustained than if filed by a Latinx individual. Put in other terms, though black Chicagoans filed 61% of all complaints, these complaints comprised only a quarter of those that were sustained. Latinx Chicagoans filed 12% of all complaints and accounted for 15% of those sustained. Contrast those figures with those of white Chicagoans. Whereas whites filed 21% of all complaints, these complaints comprised 58% of those that were sustained.

Less than 2% of the 28,567 cases filed against the CPD between March of 2011 and September of 2015 resulted in disciplinary action.

When complaints are sustained, the disciplinary penalty that officers are charged with is often less serious than the complaint filed against them. From 2013 to 2015, the Department of Justice found that almost 65% of sustained cases underwent some form of mediation, or a plea bargain process, resulting in officers agreeing to lesser disciplinary penalties but avoiding more serious misconduct charges.

As the report concludes, the mediation process is “misleading the public into thinking that accountability has been achieved.” The mediation process fails to hold officers fully accountable for practices that are often racially discriminatory.

While the Independent Police Review Authority has been ineffective in curbing bias in policing practices, public protests responding to police killings of black youth have generated more attention to this problem. One of these incidents involved Rekia Boyd, a 22-year-old unarmed Chicago woman who was shot by an off-duty Chicago police detective. This officer claimed he mistook a cell phone for a gun. Public protests against her killing resulted in the first trial of a Chicago police officer for manslaughter in 17 years. However, the police detective was acquitted and cleared of all charges.

In another instance, widespread protests followed the videotaped killing of 17-year-old Laquan McDonald by a Chicago police officer who fired 16 rounds into his body. This case represents the first time in over three decades that a Chicago police officer has been charged with first-degree murder for an on-duty fatality.

Public pressure resulting from these protests led the mayor’s office to fire Police Superintendent Gary McCarthy. Criticism and public protests over the 13-month delay in charging the officer in the Laquan McDonald case also contributed to Cook County State Attorney Anita Alvarez losing her reelection bid. Moreover, although McDonald’s family had not filed a wrongful-death lawsuit, the City of Chicago settled a \$5 million-dollar payout to his family. Public outcry over these and other cases ultimately led to the DOJ’s civil rights investigation.

CPD COMPLAINTS FILED VERSUS SUSTAINED BY RACE AND ETHNICITY OF COMPLAINANT, MARCH 2011 - SEPTEMBER 2015

Data: Citizens Police Data Project

THE COST OF CHICAGO'S SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

The cost of police violence and misconduct is high. On the one hand, there is the unnecessary loss of life, traumatization, and complete erosion of confidence in police within communities of color. There have been 70 deaths and 240 Chicagoans wounded as a result of police-involved shootings between 2010 and 2014.³⁰ The 70 deaths resulting from CPD shootings was the most in the nation during that time.³¹ Two-thirds of those shootings—a total of 46—involved black residents. Most of these fatal shootings clustered in majority black neighborhoods like Calumet, Deering, Englewood, Grand Crossing, Auburn Gresham, and Morgan Park.

The cost of police violence and misconduct is high.

TOP 10 U.S. CITIES FOR FATAL POLICE-INVOLVED SHOOTINGS, 2010 - 2014

Source: Fessenden and Park 2016

On the other hand, while the collective trauma and emotional toll of police violence primarily affects Chicago's black and brown communities, financial compensation for police misconduct is something that affects all Chicagoans. Between 2004 and 2013, financial compensation for cases of police misconduct, including false arrest, injuries from police car chases or shootings, police brutality, excessive use of force, and wrongful death, cost the City of Chicago nearly half a billion dollars—\$424,574,589 to be exact.³² While public services such as education, mental health clinics, and violence prevention programs have seen their budgets slashed by the city, and in some cases cut altogether by the state government,³³ payments for police misconduct are trending in the opposite direction.

Chicago Police Department payments to injured parties more than doubled since 2004, when the city paid out \$25.6 million-dollars, and 2013, when the figure was \$84.6 million-dollars.³⁴ The City of Chicago's budget sets aside funds for police misconduct payouts, recognizing that this issue is not hypothetical but a real problem to be anticipated. However, given that the \$84.6 million-dollar figure in 2013 was three times the amount the city had projected that it would need, and that another 500 or more lawsuits remained pending, it is also clear that the city of Chicago has not been able to adjust adequately for the severity of this problem.

The city often has resorted to issuing municipal bonds to cover the cost of payouts for police misconduct. A recent magazine article reported that Chicago issued close to \$100 million in bonds during 2014 to pay the legal costs from 2013's litigation. The majority of these costs were called for by verdicts in police misconduct cases.³⁵

CITY OF CHICAGO PAYMENTS FOR CPD MISCONDUCT, 2004 - 2013

Data: City of Chicago *The Fees and Costs figures exclude costs outside of attorneys who defend the city in matters related to police misconduct

Local taxpayers are on the hook to return not only the principal raised from these municipal bonds but also the interest that accumulates on the bonds. This interest can be as high as the principal itself, making these payments twice as costly to city taxpayers. Because bonds are critical for Chicago's credit rating, paying the interest and principal on these municipal bonds takes priority over funding social services.

The full impact of the costs of the criminal justice system in the state comes into view when we put them in the context of the state fiscal crisis overall. The State Comptroller reported that as of fall 2016, Illinois has nearly \$10 billion in unpaid bills. Yet, Illinois expends billions every year to incarcerate. Located in Chicago, the Cook County Jail alone has an operating budget of nearly \$300 million, 85% of which goes toward the salaries of its 3,600 or so staff.³⁶ The remainder goes toward maintaining the buildings and equipment of this 96-acre jail complex and toward the sustenance of its nearly 10,000 inmates.

A disproportionate share of the scarce resources of Chicago and Illinois are being spent on the criminal justice system. The impact of a shift in government policies and funding priorities towards a law and order agenda have disproportionately affected Chicago's communities of color both in incarceration rates and dearth of funds available for community development. The cumulative impact of lower economic, housing, and educational opportunities, coupled with higher rates of policing and incarceration, disproportionately affect the livelihoods, learning, and quality of life of black and Latinx individuals and communities. As the next section highlights, the resulting trauma of racial and ethnic disparities across these domains are also disproportionately affecting the health of black and Latinx individuals and communities.

A disproportionate share of the scarce resources of Chicago and Illinois are being spent on the criminal justice system.

EXPERT COMMENTARY: JUSTICE

Beth Richie is a Professor of African American Studies & Criminology, Law, and Justice and holds an affiliation with Gender and Women's Studies and Sociology at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Her scholarly and activist work focuses on the ways that race, ethnicity, and class affect women's experience of violence and incarceration, focusing on the experiences of battered black women and sexual assault survivors. Dr. Richie is a recipient of numerous awards for her scholarship, advocacy, and activist work and, in 2013, she received an honorary Juris Doctor degree from the CUNY School of Law. Dr. Richie is a founding member of INCITE!: Women of Color Against Violence.

There are few places in the U.S. landscape where racial disparities are as profoundly evident as in the criminal legal system. One must only look over the wall of a jail or prison or inside the offices of probation or parole services to see the obvious concentration of black and brown people in these carceral spaces. A visit to any courtroom for bail hearings or to the holding pens in any urban police station is enough to see evidence of the racialized pattern; black and brown women, men, and children held in confinement and incapacitated at alarming rates. The over-representation of black and brown bodies in the population of people who are affected by the impermeable web of pernicious new laws, legal policies, administrative practices, and subsequent confinement in government run “correctional” institutions profoundly illustrates the injustice of the so-called criminal “justice” system. The quantitative data in this report clearly makes this point; despite decreasing crime rates, our country’s ideological and economic commitment to punishment through incarceration remains steadfast, and this commitment has profoundly shaped the lives of black and brown communities for generations.

At the most basic quantitative level, the number of black and Latinx people who are questioned, arrested, detained, charged, tried, found guilty, sentenced, incarcerated and then, when released from confinement, unfairly burdened by state supervision is highly disproportionate and uniquely destructive to life in communities of color. The individuals who are institutionalized by the criminal legal system face the most serious consequences where the cumulative effect amounts to what scholars such as Loïc Wacquant have called “civic death.”³⁷ Less obvious are the ways that families suffer as well when their loved ones are held for long sentences in obsolete and dangerous facilities that are far away from their homes and where health and human services are almost non-existent. Relationships are shattered, neighborhood ties are weakened, and communities are depleted when people are removed and resources are diverted into the political project known as the prison industrial complex. The number of black and Latinx people in Chicago whose lives have been literally destroyed by the rigid, harsh retributive justice system and the carceral logic that upholds it makes it obvious that the data presented in this section of the report is critical to any discussion of the state of racial justice.

This report shows that the impact of the criminal legal system on racial injustice is both profound and persistent. This point is best made with the data in this section is considered alongside other sections of the report. Readers will see how the economic, social, and political conditions in black and Latinx communities, especially those in low-income urban neighborhoods, serve to create concentrated disadvantage, or what Ruth Wilson Gilmore calls “organized abandonment,” which leaves communities vulnerable to the insidious apparatus of the racially-motivated carceral state.³⁸ These conditions include things specific to the criminal legal system like new laws, more aggressive policing, fewer prevention or diversion programs, under-funded and over-worked public defender offices as well as broader trends like harsh school discipline policies, changes in administrative rules that criminalize violations of public assistance regulations, and the creation of protocols that stiffen penalties for norm violations related to sexuality. A close look at the various aspects of a law and order agenda reveals the pervasive racial bias implicit in micro and macro processes, from the War on Drugs to hot-spot policing.

It is important for readers to consider several dimensions of the current political context when attempting to make sense of this section of the report. It must be noted that the movement for a more just criminal legal system has resulted in some important changes over the past ten years. The work against wrongful convictions and for justice for police torture survivors, the elimination of juvenile life without the possibility of parole, and the economic analyses that have pointed to the waste associated with long term incarceration for low level drug offending is noteworthy. The growing concern about police using excessive force, the restoration of voting rights for some citizens returning to their community, the revision of penalties associated with marijuana use, and the challenges to mandatory minimum sentences are other examples of progressive legal reforms. These local changes must be understood as part of a broader national movement around racial justice that challenges the role that the criminal legal system has in perpetuating persistent and profound inequality. That same analysis must be brought to understanding new and insidious ways that racial injustice will be promulgated through the criminal legal system under the new federal administration. We must be vigilant about the racially biased impact of stop-and-frisk processes, immigration policies, and the control of sexual freedom. Now, more than ever, racial justice policy makers, scholars, and activists need to pay attention to the ways that proposed “Blue Lives Matter legislation,” a re-commitment to stand your ground laws and investment in law enforcement instead of funding community-based services, will further racial inequality through the criminal legal system. The data in this section of the report provides important motivation for continuing mobilization at both the local, state, and national level.

ENDNOTES

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- 2 Beckett, Katherine. 1997. *Making Crime Pay: Law and Order in Contemporary American Politics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. See also Mauer, Marc. [1999] 2006. *Race to Incarcerate*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- 3 State imprisonment rates refer to the number of people incarcerated in state prisons per 100,000 residents.
- 4 For more timely work on mass incarceration, including detailed information at the national and state levels, visit The Sentencing Project. See also "The Pew Center on the States." 2008. *One in 100: Behind Bars in America 2008*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research.
- 5 Nellis, Ashley. 2016. *The Color of Justice: Racial and Ethnic Disparity in State Prisons*. Washington D.C.: The Sentencing Project.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Olson, David E. and Sema Taheri. 2012. "Population Dynamics and the Characteristics of Inmates in the Cook County Jail." Chicago, IL: Loyola University Chicago.
- 9 Of the eight community areas with the highest conviction rates, the only one that is not majority black is Humboldt Park. It is a predominantly Latinx community with a sizable black population of 41%.
- 10 McKean, Lise and Jody Raphael. 2002. *Drugs, Crime, and Consequences: Arrests and Incarceration in North Lawndale*. Chicago, IL: Center for Impact Research.
- 11 Bogira, Steve. 2005. *Courtroom 302: A Year Behind the Scenes in an American Criminal Courthouse*. New York, NY: Random House.
- 12 Van Cleve, Nicole Gonzalez. 2016. *Cook County: Racism and Injustice in America's Largest Criminal Court*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- 13 More on the subject is available in "How Mass Incarceration Creates 'Million Dollar Blocks' in Poor Neighborhoods" by Emily Badger. Also, the Million Dollar Block project is an open source and offers an interactive map.
- 14 Estimates for Chicago's "million dollar blocks" follows several key assumptions: 1) the Illinois Department of Corrections spends about \$22,000 per year for each inmate, 2) those who serve life sentences will experience a life course that mirrors life expectancy rates, 3) only minimum sentences will be served, 4) multiple offenses will be prorated to the sentence with the most severe (minimum) punishment, and 5) court and policing costs are omitted. Taken together, these assumptions make the calculations conservative.

- 15 It is worth noting that while Austin has a lack of Level I trauma centers in the area, residents who live in predominantly white neighborhoods tend to have multiple options. Consider Lincoln Park for example. A total of four Level I trauma centers are located within 3.5 miles of the neighborhood's center.
- 16 Pettit, Becky and Bruce Western. 2004. "Mass Imprisonment and the Life Course: Race and Class Inequality in U.S. Incarceration." *American Sociological Review* 69(2):151-169.
- 17 Pager, Devah. 2007. *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- 18 Mauer [1999] 2006.
- 19 Blank, Brett and Peter Wagner. 2010. *Importing Constituents: Prisoners and Political Clout in Illinois*. Northampton, MA: Prison Policy Initiative.
- 20 A majority of districts in Illinois enumerate their population in this way, but it is worth noting that 19 counties and cities adjust their data to exclude prison population before revising their political boundaries. At the county level, this includes Bond Christian, Crawford, Fayette, Fulton, Jefferson, Lawrence, Lee Livingston, Logan, Montgomery, Rock Island, and Will. At the city level, this includes Canton, Crest Hill, Danville, Galesburg, Pontiac, and Vandalia.
- 21 Disenfranchisement law in Illinois is unlike other states where those convicted of a felony are permanently barred from the vote.
- 22 Uggen, Christopher and Jeff Manza. 2002. "Democratic Contraction? Political Consequences of Felon Disenfranchisement in the United States." *American Sociological Review* 67(6):777-803.
- 23 Mauer [1999] 2006.
- 24 The Fourth Amendment reads as follows: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."
- 25 Further rationale for "stop-and-frisk" policing is elaborated in the U.S. Supreme Court in *Terry v. Ohio*, 392 (1968) 1.
- 26 More on the subject is available in "Chicago's History with Stop-and-Frisk Laws is a Warning" by Simon Balto.
- 27 "American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois." 2015. *Stop and Frisk in Chicago*. Chicago, IL: American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois. Similar results are offered in the DOJ Report: "United States Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division." 2017. *Investigation of the Chicago Police Department*. Washington, D.C.: Department of Justice.
- 28 See also Harris, David A. 2002. *Profiles of Injustice: Why Racial Profiling Cannot Work*. New York, NY: New Press.

- 29 The Citizens Police Data Project is a publicly assessable database of police misconduct allegations against members of the CPD. It includes original data compiled from the CPD as well as spatial data from the census and other information obtained by journalists through Freedom of Information Act requests.
- 30 More on the subject is available in “Fatal Shootings by Chicago Police: Tops Among Biggest U.S. Cities” by Andrew Schroedter.
- 31 Estimates of these fatal shootings were acquired through audits performed by the Better Business Association according to the Freedom of Information Act. It is worth noting that no national dataset tracks these fatal shootings in a longitudinal way. This makes the task of monitoring these trends and comparing how each city fares all the more difficult.
- 32 These estimates for the cost of police misconduct are conservative. They do not include other associated costs like insurance premiums, in-house investigations, and the cost of correctional overhead (e.g., housing the wrongfully accused). Furthermore, these estimates do not account for the emotional toll and trauma police misconduct inflicts upon communities of color and the negative impacts this has for their health and livelihood.
- 33 Vargas, Robert. 2016. *Wounded City: Violent Turf Wars in a Chicago Barrio*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- 34 See Schroedter 2014.
- 35 More on the subject is available in “Chicago Has Spent Half a Billion Dollars on Police Brutality Cases—And It’s Impoverishing the Victims’ Communities” by Carrie Sloan and Johnaé Strong.
- 36 Olson and Taheri 2012.
- 37 Wacquant, Loïc. 2001. “Deadly Symbiosis: When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh.” *Punishment & Society* 3(1):95-133.
- 38 “Organized abandonment,” as Ruth Wilson Gilmore applies it to the racially-motivated carceral state, is an extension of David Harvey’s earlier work on the concept. See Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. 2008. “Forgotten Places and the Seeds of Grassroots Planning.” Pp. 31-61 in *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics, and Methods of Activist Scholarship*, edited by Charles R. Hale. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; Harvey, David. 1982. *The Limits to Capital*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

A TALE UNTOLD: ASIAN AMERICANS IN CHICAGO

Brandon Lee is the Communications and Research Coordinator at Asian Americans Advancing Justice–Chicago, which is an organization established in 1992 to empower the Asian American community through advocacy by utilizing education, research, and coalition-building. Mr Lee collects and analyzes data on Asian Americans to better understand the community in Chicago, the Midwest, and the nation. He also crafts and implements messaging, press, and digital strategies for the Asian Americans Advancing Justice–Chicago.

The Asian American community has deep roots in Chicago, dating back to the late-1800s when Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino Americans first moved to the city. The population saw a boom after the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, ushering in a wave of Korean, South Asian, and Southeast Asian immigrants and refugees to Chicago. Today, Asian Americans make up 5.5% of Chicago’s population, with concentrations in Chinatown, Rogers Park, Albany Park, and Uptown. In recent decades the Asian American population has started to spread to the suburbs, with substantial growth in suburban Cook, DuPage, Lake, McHenry, and Kane counties. Across the state of Illinois, the number of Asian Americans exceeds 700,000, with most of that population living in the Chicagoland area. Across the nation, Asian Americans are the fastest growing racial group.

We know this basic demographic data about Asian Americans in Chicago and across Illinois, but a lack of additional data, and in particular a lack of disaggregated data, means that we often do not get a complete picture of the Asian American community. This, combined with the popular, often dueling “model minority” and “perpetual foreigner” stereotypes, means that the narrative around the Asian American community is not only incomplete, it is also often incorrect.

For example, the lack of disaggregated data, in conjunction with the “model minority” stereotype that Asian Americans across the board have attained high levels of education, masks the challenges faced by Southeast Asians (Laotian, Vietnamese), who frequently lag behind the total population in high school attainment. This lack of data and re-enforcement of stereotypes of success means that Pakistani, Pacific Islander, and Southeast Asian Americans who live in low-income households are often ignored by state and local programs that would typically assist those families. Additionally, the statistics we do have show that 25% of Korean seniors and 20% of Chinese seniors live below the poverty line, which counters the “model minority” myth. (More data on Asian Americans in the Chicago area can be found in the Asian Americans Advancing Justice 2012 report, *A Community of Contrasts: Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in the Midwest*.)

Deeper analysis of the “model minority” stereotype means making an important distinction: Asian Americans have historically been presented as the “model” minority group in opposition to black and Latinx communities who are *not* the “model.” Asian Americans have started to become wise to their status as a wedge thanks in part to decades of organizing and education, but also thanks to recent local events involving Asian American community members who have been victims of police brutality.

Asian Americans have historically been presented as the “model” minority group in opposition to black and Latinx communities who are not the “model.”

In 2013, Jianqing “Jessica” Klyzek, a tanning salon employee and naturalized citizen, was beaten by Chicago police during a raid and was told she would be put in a UPS box and be “sent back to wherever the f--- [she] came from.” The case of David Dao, who was physically dragged off a United Airlines flight at O’Hare airport in 2017 by Chicago Aviation Police is another example. When incidents such as these come to light, Asian Americans have become galvanized to rally for their community members and drawn connections to the broader movement for justice in Chicago and beyond.

Asian Americans in Chicago and across Illinois have begun to speak out on justice issues, particularly those that intersect with broader immigrant rights issues. Asian Americans led a campaign to amend Chicago’s Welcoming City ordinance after the Jessica Klyzek incident, and that campaign later evolved into an ongoing movement to extend the Welcoming City protections to all residents. They have led

campaigns to separate local law enforcement from Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to protect undocumented residents and oppose religious-based registries pave the way for Illinois to be welcoming for all communities, not only immigrants. Asian Americans are active in campaigns to establish sanctuary schools in CPS and to mandate culturally relevant curriculum and services in schools that will make the school district more inclusive for all students. Asian American communities have been engaged in a long-term campaign to pass a strong language access law that will make essential services accessible for all Illinois residents.

Years of community activism and organizing have also begun to yield political power. The 2016 election in Illinois represented a wave where Asian Americans now hold elected office at the statewide, Congressional, General Assembly, and local levels. Asian American political participation has been on the rise, and in many ways this wave is a culmination of years of community organizing, but it is not an end in itself—the community will continue to mobilize and hold elected officials accountable in order to pass policies that support not only Asian Americans, but all communities in Chicago and across Illinois. Asian Americans are an integral part of the fabric of Chicago, and the community's impact will only become greater as it continues to make a mark on the city of Chicago through arts, culture, activism, and coalition-building.

KEY TAKEAWAYS FROM THIS SECTION

- Health outcomes are improving across Chicago, but inequalities between blacks and whites are either stagnant or widening on major indicators of mortality like heart disease, stroke, and mortality in general.
- Whereas Latinx Chicagoans tend to be positioned in the middle or bottom on many measures of the racial and ethnic inequity, they fare better than both whites and blacks on measures like mortality rates and incidence of certain cancers. That said, Latinxs are uninsured at twice the rate of their black and white counterparts and may be underreported in some areas.
- Healthcare providers and pharmacies are dispersed throughout the city in patterns that mirror Chicago's segregation, being concentrated in the city center and white neighborhoods but sparse in black and Latinx neighborhoods.
- Health inequalities begin at birth in Chicago. Racial and ethnic disparities persist in infant mortality and low birthweight, two outcomes often associated with socioeconomic status and access to prenatal care.

WHAT DOES HEALTH EQUITY LOOK LIKE IN CHICAGO?

with Faith E. Fletcher and Meredith Buchberg

Widespread health disparities persist across the country and locally in Chicago. Importantly, while most of the nation has made some progress toward the reduction of health inequalities among racial and ethnic groups, these inequalities are actually growing worse in Chicago.¹ In 2014, the Chicago Department of Health (CDPH) launched the first Healthy Chicago Survey to gain a better understanding of health behaviors, health outcomes, and access to health services among Chicago residents.² Results from the survey indicate that black and Latinx Chicagoans are less

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

A Comparison of the Leading Causes of Death by Race / Ethnicity in the U.S. and Chicago

United States				City of Chicago			
All Persons	Black	Latinx	White	All Persons	Black	Latinx	White
1 Heart Disease	Heart Disease	Cancer	Heart Disease	1 Heart Disease	Heart Disease	Cancer	Heart Disease
2 Cancer	Cancer	Heart Disease	Cancer	2 Cancer	Cancer	Heart Disease	Cancer
3 Chronic Lower Respiratory Diseases	Stroke	Accidents	Stroke	3 Stroke	Stroke	Accidents	Stroke
4 Accidents	Accidents	Stroke	Accidents	4 Accidents	Accidents	Diabetes	Chronic Lower Respiratory Diseases
5 Stroke	Homicide	Diabetes	Pulmonary Diseases	5 Chronic Lower Respiratory Diseases	Homicide	Stroke	Accidents
6 Alzheimers	Conditions Originating in Perinatal Period	Liver Disease	Influenza and Pneumonia	6 Diabetes	Diabetes	Homicide	Influenza and Pneumonia
7 Diabetes	Influenza and Pneumonia	Alzheimers	Diabetes	7 Kidney Disease	Chronic Lower Respiratory Diseases	Chronic Lower Respiratory Diseases	Diabetes
8 Influenza and Pneumonia	Diabetes	Chronic Lower Respiratory Diseases	Atherosclerosis	8 Septicemia	Kidney Disease	Kidney Disease	Septicemia
9 Kidney Disease	Liver Disease	Influenza and Pneumonia	Liver Disease	9 Influenza and Pneumonia	Septicemia	Septicemia	Alzheimers
10 Suicide	Kidney Disease	Kidney Disease	Suicide	10 Homicide	Influenza and Pneumonia	Influenza and Pneumonia	Kidney Disease

Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; Chicago Department of Public Health

likely than white Chicagoans to have health insurance, more likely to be current cigarette smokers, and less likely to meet recommendations for physical activity as well as for fruit and vegetable consumption.³ Further, data from the CDPH indicate that significant health disparities exist with regards to disease prevalence in Chicago, with black and Latinx Chicagoans having higher rates of heart disease, cancer, stroke, diabetes, and homicide as compared their white counterparts.

**Latinx Chicagoans
are twice as likely as
blacks or whites to
be uninsured.**

Access to and availability of high-quality education, nutritious food, safe and affordable housing, affordable and reliable public transportation, health care providers and adequate insurance, as well as clean water and air are important for health outcomes and have been and continue to be distributed unequally in Chicago.¹⁶ For example, despite reductions in the number of uninsured individuals in Chicago, due largely in part to the Affordable Care Act, data from the American Community Survey show that Latinx Chicagoans are twice as likely as blacks or whites to be uninsured.

5-YEAR ESTIMATES OF UNINSURED CHICAGOANS BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, 2010 - 2015

Data: American Community Survey

Elsewhere, data from the Primary Care Service Area Project show us that the availability of healthcare providers, from OB-GYN physicians to primary care doctors to specialist physicians, are dispersed throughout the city in ways that mirror the city's patterns of segregation. Most doctors are concentrated in the city center and in neighborhoods that are predominantly white. Meanwhile, many black neighborhoods located on the city's South and West Sides can be considered "healthcare provider deserts." That is, many cannot access healthcare conveniently due to location and the dearth of options in their communities.

HEALTHCARE PROVIDER RATES PER 1,000 RESIDENTS BY COMMUNITY AREA, 2010

Data: Primary Care Service Area Project

A lack of options extends beyond medical providers and includes pharmacy options too. More than 1 million people on the South and West Sides live in "pharmacy deserts."⁴ That is, they have no drug store within a half-mile radius of their communities—communities that are often low income and cannot access convenient transportation. Perhaps what makes this trend all the more disturbing is that as many as 70% of Americans have at least one medical prescription. Consequently, this likely means that many people of color are not getting the medicine they need simply because of where they live.

More than 1 million people on the South and West Sides live in pharmacy deserts.

MORBIDITY, MORTALITY, AND PREMATURE DEATH

According to CDPH data, age-adjusted all-cause mortality in the city has declined by about 20% over the past decade to our current rate of about 800 deaths per 100,000 residents. The decline has not, however, translated into parity among racial and ethnic groups. Black Chicagoans are dying at rates that outpace those of their white peers. During the past three decades, for example, the black mortality rate has hovered around 130% of the white rate.⁵

Looking at mortality rates by neighborhood, one can see that these racial disparities in mortality map directly onto Chicago's patterns of segregation, with predominantly black neighborhoods on the South and West Sides suffering the highest death rates in the city. In fact, 17 community areas have mortality rates of over 1,000 deaths per 100,000 residents. Of these communities, all have black majorities and 16 have black populations of 85% or greater. Studying Chicago recently, Bijou Hunt and colleagues found a statistically significant negative correlation between the proportion of black residents in a community and life expectancy.⁶

Data: Chicago Department of Public Health

Not only do black Chicagoans die at higher rates, but they tend to die at younger ages. Because many of these deaths are preventable, health experts refer to them as premature. Premature deaths simply refer to deaths that occur before someone reaches 75 years of age, and the premature mortality rate is calculated by the number of potential years of life lost.⁷ As of 2011, Chicago's premature mortality rate was 7,720 years of potential life lost per 100,000 residents.⁸ Breaking these numbers down by racial and ethnic group, the black premature mortality rate was 13,642 years of potential life lost. The Latinx rate was 4,513 years. And the white rate was 5,698. This means that black Chicagoans are suffering premature death at 2.4 to 3 times the rate of whites and Latinxs.

Not only do black Chicagoans die at higher rates, but they tend to die at younger ages.

Interestingly, premature deaths for Chicago's Latinxs have declined between 2000 and 2011 at similar rates as for whites (28.7% versus 25.1%). Given that Latinxs fare worse than whites on many indicators of inequality, this finding may seem counterintuitive. Researchers dubbing this phenomenon as the "Hispanic Paradox" have suggested several explanations: first, that Latinxs who immigrate are more likely to remain in better health than those who do not; second, that Latinx immigrants who are in poor health may not contribute to the death rate because they return to their home country before death;⁹ and third, that Latinxs smoke at lower rates than other groups.¹⁰

COMPARE: PREMATURE MORTALITY RATES PER 100,000 RESIDENTS, 2000 - 2011

While the deaths of individuals over age 75 can largely be attributed to chronic conditions associated with aging, deaths of individuals under 75 are more likely to be attributed to preventable causes. Scholars recently have written about the role that the persistent and cumulative effects of discrimination and other upstream factors can play in premature death.¹¹ Allostatic load, for instance, which refers to the physiological effects one experiences due to the accumulation

Data: Chicago Department of Public Health

of chronic life stressors, has been shown to partially explain racial disparities in mortality (independent of socioeconomic status and individual health behaviors).¹² In Chicago, these disparities persist in mortality rates for cardiovascular disease, cancer, homicide, diabetes, and infant mortality.

CARDIOVASCULAR DISEASE AND STROKE

Deaths from heart disease and stroke have declined significantly over the last 30 years due to advances in medications and treatments, lower rates of smoking, and increased awareness and education about risk factors.¹³ However, heart disease and stroke are still the number one and number three causes of death for Chicago residents. Together, they account for over one-third of all the city's deaths. Significant black-white disparities persist here too. Black Chicagoans are about 2.9 times more likely to die from stroke and 2.1 times as likely to die from heart disease compared to white Chicagoans.

HEART DISEASE MORTALITY PER 100,000 RESIDENTS (AGE-ADJUSTED), 2011

Data: Chicago Department of Public Health

STROKE MORTALITY PER 100,000 RESIDENTS (AGE-ADJUSTED), 2011

Data: Chicago Department of Public Health

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION IN CHICAGO DIAGNOSED WITH HEART DISEASE OR STROKE IN 2014 BY CENSUS TRACT

Data: 500 Cities: Local Data for Better Health

Again, those communities suffering most from heart disease and stroke are located in predominantly black neighborhoods on the South and West Sides of the city. Looking at the dataset “500 Cities: Local Data for Better Health,” we see that some of these communities have over 10 times the rate of heart disease and stroke as the surrounding neighborhoods. The communities hardest hit have populations where over 10% of their entire population has been diagnosed with heart disease or experienced a stroke; 9 census tracts in the city surpass this threshold.

Compared to white Chicagoans, their black and Latinx counterparts exhibit substantially higher rates of important risk factors for heart disease, including hypertension, obesity, lack of physical activity, smoking, and diabetes. For example, the rate of hypertension is almost twice as high for blacks than for whites (39.3% versus 23.6%).¹⁴

OBESITY RATES IN CHICAGO BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, 2014

Data: Healthy Chicago Survey

Looking at the prevalence of diabetes among Chicago's racial and ethnic groups, about 12.3% of black residents have been diagnosed with it compared to 8.6% of Latinxs and 5.8% of whites. This means that the prevalence of diabetes is about 210% higher for blacks than whites and about 150% higher for Latinxs than whites. What are some of the factors that contribute to these racial and ethnic disparities in disease rates?

PREVALENCE OF DIABETES, 2014

Black - White Disparity 2.1 : 1
Latinx - White Disparity 1.5 : 1

The prevalence of diabetes is about 210% higher for blacks than whites and about 150% higher for Latinxs than whites.

Data: Chicago Department of Public Health

LOW-INCOME COOK COUNTY CENSUS TRACTS LOCATED 0.5-TO-1 MILE FROM A SUPERMARKET, 2015

Data: Food Access Research Atlas

black Chicagoans were most disadvantaged among their options for balanced food choices.¹⁸ More specifically, their findings show that poor black folks traveled farther to any type of grocery store compared to other Chicagoans and that food deserts cluster, in a strikingly obvious fashion, in exclusively black communities.¹⁹ This important study remains relevant still today as food deserts continue to disproportionately impact these same communities.²⁰

FOOD DESERTS IN COOK COUNTY

One contributing factor to higher diabetes rates, as well as other disparate health outcomes among people of color, is “food deserts.”¹⁵ Food deserts, as defined by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, refer to census tracts where a significant share of residents have either no or low access to a supermarket or large grocery store.¹⁶ By this definition, corner stores that often sell processed foods, which are high in sugar and low in nutritional value, are systematically omitted. Remaining are the Jewel-Oscos and Mariano’s of Cook County, places that offer fuller sections of fresh produce and have their own delis. Census tracts qualify as “low access” if they have at least 500 residents or one-third of their population living more than one mile from a supermarket or large grocery store.¹⁷

Over a decade ago, the Mari Gallagher Research and Consulting Group found that low-income

Food deserts continue to disproportionately impact black communities.

Data from the Food Access Research Atlas show that 183,200 Chicagoans live within a low-income census tract that is located at least one mile away from a supermarket or large grocery store. That adds up to 44 low-income census tracts. By “low-income,” we borrow the U.S. Department of Agriculture’s definition to mean those tracts that have either: 1) 20% or more of their families with incomes at or below the federal poverty line or, 2) 80% or more of families with a median income that is at or below the surrounding area’s median income. The vast majority of these food deserts are located in segregated black neighborhoods on the South and West Sides.

When we look at those low-income tracts that are located at least a half mile from a supermarket or large grocery store, the number of communities grows exponentially to 302 census tracts. That is 1,176,894 Chicagoans in total. While this half-mile threshold falls under the distance of what constitutes a food desert, let us point out that half a mile to a supermarket or large grocery store is still a sizeable distance—one that may require traveling through concentrated areas of crime or spaces underserved by public transit. Most of these low-income tracts also cluster in segregated black neighborhoods.

CANCER MORTALITY AND INCIDENCE

Even though Chicago’s cancer mortality rates have declined by 19% over the past decade, cancer still accounts for 1 in 4 deaths among Chicagoans. Black Chicagoans, in particular, are vulnerable. With a cancer mortality rate of 2,264 deaths per 100,000, they are 1.3 times more likely than white Chicagoans to die from cancer. Meanwhile, white Chicagoans are twice as likely as their Latinx counterparts to die from cancer. While Latinxs are the least likely of Chicago’s three main racial and ethnic groups to die from cancer, it is worth noting that they are actually faring worse now than in the past for some cancer types.

CANCER MORTALITY PER 100,000 RESIDENTS (AGE-ADJUSTED), 2011

Data: Chicago Department of Public Health

BREAST CANCER INCIDENCE PER 100,000 RESIDENTS, 2011

Consider mortality rates for female breast cancer in Chicago. During the 2000s, data from the Illinois Department of Public Health show that the breast cancer mortality rate declined for black and white women by 14.0% and 26.5%, respectively.²¹ Meanwhile, the breast cancer mortality rate for Latinas trended in the opposite direction, increasing by 33.3% over the same timeline.

In Chicago, the female breast cancer mortality rate is 1.5 times higher for black women than for white women.²² The rate for black women is 37 deaths per 100,000 residents. Though black women die at higher rates than their white counterparts, it is worth noting that they have lower rates of incidence than white women (155.2 diagnoses per 100,000 residents versus 166.5 diagnoses per 100,000 residents). That is, white women have higher incidence but lower mortality than their black counterparts, suggesting that many black women in Chicago are not getting a breast cancer diagnosis in time to save their life.

As with other disease patterns, Chicagoan's breast cancer mortality rates have a spatial dimension to it also, with mortality rates much higher in some neighborhoods than others. Four out of the five worst-off neighborhoods are comprised of populations that are 90% or more black residents. The highest mortality rates are in Pullman (51.5), West Garfield Park (49.7), Washington Heights (48.5), North Lawndale (43.4), and Beverly (41.4). Scholars argue that these kinds of disparities result from a myriad of barriers that minorities face, including poverty, lack of access to health care, lack of health insurance, language and literacy barriers, and poor expectations about the results of cancer treatments and the healthcare system.²³

In Chicago, the female breast cancer mortality rate is 1.5 times higher for black women than for white women.

**5-YEAR ESTIMATES OF FEMALE BREAST CANCER MORTALITY RATES PER 100,000
RESIDENTS BY CHICAGO COMMUNITY AREA, 2006-2010 (AGE-ADJUSTED)**

Data: Chicago Department of Public Health

INFANT MORTALITY AND LOW BIRTHWEIGHT

INFANT MORTALITY RATE PER 1,000 BIRTHS, 2010

Percent Change 2000 - 2010 - 30%

Chicago - U.S. Disparity 1 : 1

Chicago Black - White Disparity 2.7 : 1

Chicago Latinx - White Disparity 1.4 : 1

Data: Chicago Department of Public Health

Although infant mortality rates in Chicago have decreased approximately 30% since 2000, they are markedly different between racial and ethnic groups. The infant mortality rate, defined as the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births,²⁴ is almost 3 times higher for black Chicagoans than white Chicagoans (11.6 versus 4.3). Meanwhile, the mortality rate for Latinx infants is 1.4 times higher as compared to Whites (5.9 versus 4.3).

In Chicago, three predominantly black neighborhoods suffer infant mortality rates that are about 2 or more times greater than the city rate (9.0 infant deaths per 1,000 live births). In fact, their infant mortality rates are on par with nation-states often thought of as “developing.”

Low birthweight is one of the most significant risk factors for infant mortality. By low birthweight, we mean less than 5 pounds, 8 ounces (< 2,500 grams). In Chicago, about 15% of black infants are considered low birthweight.²⁵ This is more than double the white and Latinx rates, both of which are 7%. In fact, 13 of Chicago’s 77 community areas have at least 15% of all infants being born with a low birthweight. All of these community areas have black populations of 90% or more.

A COMPARISON OF INTERNATIONAL INFANT MORTALITY RATES PER 1,000 BIRTHS TO CHICAGO COMMUNITY AREA RATES AND THEIR RACIAL AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION, 2010

Data: Chicago Department of Public Health; CIA World Factbook

5-YEAR ESTIMATES OF THE PERCENT OF INFANTS BORN WITH LOW-BIRTHWEIGHT AND PERCENT BLACK BY COMMUNITY AREA, 2005-2009

Data: Chicago Department of Public Health

In understanding how these unequal outcomes occur, Michael Lu and Neal Hafon call for a “life course” approach.²⁶ They suggest that birth outcomes like low birthweight are associated with the entire life course of the mother and the cumulative effect of her experiences, not only the months that she is pregnant. For example, black mothers in Chicago are less likely to be insured, and they disproportionately lack access to prenatal healthcare.²⁷ About 92% of white women receive prenatal care compared to 88.6% and 77.5% of Latina and black women, respectively. While low birthweight is largely preventable with proper prenatal care, structural barriers stand in the way of resolving this social problem.

WHO RECEIVED PRENATAL CARE IN 2008?

Although infant mortality rates in Chicago have decreased about 30% since 2000, they are markedly different between racial and ethnic groups.

Data: Chicago Department of Public Health

THE SEGREGATION OF LEAD EXPOSURE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

That elevated lead levels in Chicago map onto the city's patterns of segregation means that more communities of color are exposed. They are exposed to a toxin linked to a reduction in intellectual ability and to worse academic performance.²⁸ Even the smallest amounts of exposure can leave permanent scarring, meaning that racial and ethnic inequality for minority students comes with exposure to an element so toxic it invades the body and destroys brain development.²⁹ Recent studies have even linked exposure to lead toxicity with community problems of higher crime, violence in general, and homicide in particular.³⁰

ESTIMATED PERCENT OF CHILDREN BETWEEN 0 - 6 YEARS WITH ELEVATED BLOOD LEAD LEVELS BY CHICAGO COMMUNITY AREA, 2013

Data: Chicago Department of Public Health

In the average community area of Chicago, data from the Chicago Department of Public Health show that 0.7% of children between 0-6 years of age have elevated blood lead levels. Eight predominantly black neighborhoods have percentages at two times the city average or greater: Fuller Park (2.8%), Burnside (2.4%), Avalon Park (2.2%), Woodlawn (2%), Austin (1.6%), Roseland (1.4%), Englewood (1.4%), and Auburn Gresham (1.4%). In contrast, predominantly white neighborhoods like North Center (0.1%) and Lincoln Park (0.1%) have lead exposure levels of near zero.

EXPERT COMMENTARY: HEALTH

Faith Fletcher, PhD is an Assistant Professor in Community Health Sciences and a faculty member with the Center of Excellence in Maternal and Child Health at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC). Her primary areas of research focus on disparities in cervical cancer screening, smoking cessation, and reproductive health among HIV-positive women with attention to the ethics of research on stigmatized populations. Dr. Fletcher is a UIC Building Interdisciplinary Research Careers in Women's Health K12 Fellow.

Meredith Buchberg is a Senior Research Area Specialist at the University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio. She has worked as a research coordinator and consultant for numerous research studies investigating health disparities, minority health outcomes, smoking cessation, oral health and health behaviors among people living with HIV/AIDS.

“Every seven minutes, a black person dies prematurely in the United States. That is, over 200 black people die every single day who would not die if the health of blacks and whites were equal.”³¹ Here, David Williams, renowned Harvard public health scholar, is capturing in lay terms what public health scholars typically characterized as “health disparities.”

In a 1966 speech to the Medical Committee for Human Rights, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. declared such inequalities and disparities in health and health care as “most shocking and inhuman.” He declared access to healthcare as a civil rights issue, and purported that structural racism and poverty contributed to staggering health disparities among African Americans in particular. Over five decades later, we continue to grapple with understanding and addressing the role and complexity of the “interrelated set of individual, provider, health

system, societal, and environmental factors that lead to disparities in health and health care,” particularly, among communities of color.³²

The National Institutes of Health defines “health disparities” as “differences in the incidence, prevalence, mortality, and burden of diseases and other adverse health conditions that exist among specific population groups in the United States.”³³ What we know from decades of well-documented research and reporting is that despite noteworthy advances in medicine, medical care, and public health in the U.S., significant health disparities persist, with racial/ethnic minority populations shouldering a greater burden of morbidity, mortality and “unequal treatment” across the board.

As described in the 2015 *Kelly Report: Health Disparities in America*:

“America cannot truly be a healthy nation until we cure our nation of health disparities and address the underlying social determinants that cause them. Many of the gaps that exist in public health are shaped by generations of cultural bias, injustice, and inequality.”³⁴

The disparities between groups in Chicago are, similarly, vast and consequential, and are shaped by multiple influences, including historic injustice. Although health disparities data tell us important information about dimensions of disease and “adverse health conditions” between groups, we are attempting to understand more deeply how and why race and ethnicity are so consequential for health outcomes—how they are related to racial/ethnic differences in access to medical care, in equality of treatment within medical settings,³⁵ as well as to all the social, economic, and/or environmental resource differences captured in other sections of this report.³⁶

Scholars are mapping out in ever more detail the multiple dimensions of how racial and ethnic dynamics today shape our access to medical facilities, our experience with medical personnel, our level of stress, the safety of our community, the amount of toxins in our air and water, how much we have to pay for health clubs or organic food, and so on. This scholarly discourse is not new. In his classic 1899 book, *The Philadelphia Negro*, W.E.B. Du Bois described stark disparities in health stating that “bad ventilation, lack of outdoor life for women and children, poor protection against dampness and cold are undoubtedly the chief causes of the excessive death rate.”³⁷ In this way, the health outcomes documented here for Chicago residents are deeply connected to the parameters and, in fact, exacerbated by the historical and current racial and ethnic inequality discussed in previous sections of this report.

While this section on health focuses primarily on the kinds of health outcomes recognized as key measures of health disparities within the field of public health, it is important to emphasize that these disease and mortality rates are connected to what health professionals call the “social determinants of health.” Examples of social determinants include: access to educational, economic, and employment opportunities; access to health care services; social support; residential segregation; literacy; exposure to crime and violence; and discrimination. These factors directly or indirectly influence the accessibility, availability, and affordability of the conditions for optimal health.³⁸ That is, health outcomes are shaped not only by personal behavior and one’s immediate access to medical care but also by the environmental conditions of one’s neighborhood (e.g., air quality), the exposure to important stressors (e.g., discrimination), and access to wellness (e.g., availability of fresh fruit and vegetables, availability and affordability of exercise and wellness facilities). Recognizing that health outcomes are contextually influenced by the complex interplay between environmental, social, personal, and behavioral factors involves a shift in focus in where we locate the source of health problems.³⁹ Although downstream determinants such as medical care and personal behaviors have a direct impact on health, these determinants themselves are shaped by upstream determinants such as living and working conditions as well as economic and social opportunities and resources.

In recent years, health equity has gained new attention and support. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Service’s Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion introduced the Healthy People initiative to provide evidence-based priorities, objectives, and benchmarks for the country.⁴⁰ Healthy People 2000 set forth goals to reduce health disparities, while Healthy People 2010 sought to eliminate health disparities. Healthy People 2020’s priority is to move one-step further to not only eliminate health disparities, but to achieve health equity for all individuals in the U.S.—“the highest level of health for all individuals.”⁴¹ The report recognized that achieving health equity requires implementing systemic and ongoing community, institutional, and public policy strategies to address “inequalities, historical and contemporary injustices, and the elimination of health and health care disparities.”⁴² Thus, reducing health disparities will require turning our attention beyond individual decision-making or behavior to the contexts and constraints of those choices as well as to the availability of resources and opportunities for health. As stated by Kathleen G. Sebelius, former U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services, “it is time to refocus, reinforce, and repeat the message that health disparities exist and that health equity benefits everyone.”

ENDNOTES

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- 13 See the American Heart Association's "Heart Disease Death Rates Continue to Drop."

- 14 "Chicago Department of Public Health" 2015.
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- 17 For rural areas, in order to qualify as "low access," the census tract must be located more than 10 miles from a supermarket or large grocery store.
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- 40 Updated every 10 years, Healthy People is intended to increase the public's awareness of important social determinants of health, provide measurable objectives, and encourage collaboration among local, state, and national groups. See Healthy People 2020's About Healthy People.
- 41 See Healthy People 2020's Disparities.
- 42 Ibid.

AFTERWORD

Barbara Ransby is Director of the Social Justice Initiative and Professor of African American Studies, Gender and Women's Studies, & History at the University of Illinois at Chicago. She is a historian, author and longtime activist. She is author of the acclaimed biography, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* and *Eslanda: The Large and Unconventional Life of Mrs. Paul Robeson*. Dr. Ransby is the Editor-in-Chief of *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture and Society*. She has authored articles on black politics and social movements for numerous publications. She is author of a forthcoming book on the Black Lives Matter Movement. In 2016 she was elected President of the National Women's Studies Association.

This IRRPP Report on Racial Justice in Chicago paints a disturbing picture of persistent inequality and systemic discrimination in the school system, in police and court practices, in the economy, and in the areas of housing and health. Moreover, this study documents in painstaking detail the ways in which race and racism continue to be a critical determining factor in the quality of life, and life chances, for hundreds of thousands of Chicagoans. This disturbing local reality mirrors the national one. However, beyond the statistics on poverty, prisons, housing, unemployment and biased educational policies is the story of collective resistance and creative solution-making.

As the beloved Black Freedom Movement leader Vincent Harding once remarked, those who think things have not changed, do not know how things were before. So, even as the sobering portrait of racial injustice painted by the IRRPP report is cause for alarm and action, we should not mistakenly interpret its conclusions as an indication of a static racial landscape. Racial politics have indeed changed. And, in fact, some things have improved. However, racism has endured, morphed, and manifests in new ways both subtle and obvious. Chicago remains one of the most segregated cities in the nation. For generations it has been both the epicenter for ill-fated reforms and at the same time the center of powerful protests and community organizing. Therefore, the results of IRRPP's research have implications far beyond the Windy City.

What are the problems we face in Chicago in 2017 according to the data IRRPP has amassed? While we can divide the answer to this question into segments, the overriding message of the report is that the problems faced by communities of color, and by inference, the solutions, are inextricably related. The statistics on Chicago's black community are particularly troubling. In every metric, black Chicagoans seem to be doing worse than everyone else, with Latinx communities not far behind.

Where we live is a critical determinant of many things: from access to jobs and services, to the quality of our schools, to the degree to which law enforcement "serves and protects" as opposed to "corrals and controls" us. Home ownership has also been traditionally a stepping stone to middle class status. Chicagoans still live in segregated neighborhoods with a "dissimilarity index" of roughly 80, meaning that 80% of the population would have to relocate in order to have a fully integrated city. Moreover, fewer black and Latinx families own their own homes, and when they do, the homes are worth less. The culprits are the legacy of redlining, predatory lending, and the value-deflating stigma of predominantly black neighborhoods. The 2008 foreclosure crisis wreaked havoc on the fragile economic status of thousands of black families in Chicago, most of whom had their wealth concentrated in modest real estate holdings. For renters, the problem is even more dire, as they scramble to find decent housing in the face of unchecked condo development, shrinkage of public housing, and gentrification.

The report cites the work of William Elliott III who connects the dots between different structures of inequality, pointing out that "family assets are key determinants of translating educational attainment into higher earnings and greater levels of wealth." On some level, poor and working class people know these truths. They see the impact of inherited wealth and privilege all around them, evidenced by who gets jobs, who is best primed to do well on standardized tests, who gets lighter sentences in court, and who is able to escape the deepening debt trap by virtue of family resources. Still the study offers invaluable documentation that bolsters the everyday truths that many Chicagoans of color already know.

Layered on top of the crisis of affordable housing, and deeply connected to it, are the issues of health and education. Black and Latinx children have higher infant mortality rates, higher instances of lead poisoning, and less access to early healthcare interventions and healthy food choices. As Professor

Pauline Lipman points out, Chicago Public Schools (CPS) have been ground zero for neoliberal experimentation which has meant the erosion of neighborhood schools, the undercutting of unionized teaching staff, and the emergence black and brown investment in privately-run selective charter schools. And schools are as segregated as neighborhoods by both race and income, and it has gotten worse over time. Only 9.6% of CPS students are white, while more than 50% of white school-age students are enrolled in private schools. This gulf has widened over the last four decades. For white students that remain in CPS, they are disproportionately represented in the selective magnet schools and then over-represented in the gifted programs. While black and Latinx students are more likely to be punished, suspended or expelled. Simultaneously, students are being treated more like criminals than like children. In 2015-2016, black students were suspended from school at ten times the rate of white students and Chicago police were more likely to be called in cases where black students were disciplined in school versus similar incidents with white students. Relying on extensive scholarship and data, the report names these problems as the “punishment gap,” which results in an unequal “opportunity to learn.”

Professor Beth Richie offers biting commentary to the report’s “justice” section, giving readers a bigger context in which to view the other sections of the document. Even though murder rates are down overall, and Chicago, despite hyped media coverage, is not the most violent city, per capita, in the nation, heavy-handed and biased policing and stiff racially skewed sentencing persists. The prison population in Illinois has grown by a whopping 450% since 1980. Three in five of the inmates in Illinois state prisons are from Cook County, and they are disproportionately black and Latinx people. Those individuals are excluded from the political process entirely during their incarceration and suffer what one researcher refers to as “civic death” after their release, with many restrictions on their full participation in society.

Finally, economic inequality and wealth disparity is intimately bound up with and closely correlated to race, influencing housing, health, education, and carceral structures and outcomes. In other words, the economic injustice is color-coded, not absolutely but in large measure, and is both shaped by and helped to shape the realities of racialized communities in Chicago. Some black and Latinx Chicagoans have acquired wealth over time but they are the exceptions. The overwhelming

majority have less, earn less, and suffer more than their white counterparts. Even middle class blacks continue to experience discrimination and fare worse than whites with comparable education and income. This is significant when we think of which way forward. The facts are stark. The typical white household earns 237% more than the typical black household and 175% more than the typical Latinx household. More black and Latinx workers earn below a living wage and 30% of blacks and 23% of Latinx Chicagoans, as opposed to 9% of whites, live in poverty as of 2015.

The statistics in this report tell a powerful and troubling story but the organizing, coalition-building, and cross-movement strategizing that is ongoing in neighborhoods throughout the city point toward a more hopeful future. There have been five areas of pivotal and innovative community organizing in response to shifting patterns of racial injustice in the past ten to twelve years: immigrant rights organizing which took off in 2006; resistance to police violence, mass incarceration and the criminalization of black and brown youth; fights around schools and access to education; low-wage worker organizing; and edgy new electoral campaigns.

Primarily Latinx organizations took to the streets throughout the country in 2006 to demand immigration reform. Chicago was the epicenter of that storm of protest. And the organizing continues with grassroots organizations like Organized Communities Against Deportations (OCAD) and others. The leaders of many of these groups are brave and bold undocumented residents who are redefining the meaning of Chicago politics and the politics of Sanctuary community, which OCAD is calling expanded sanctuary, as they and their broad base of supporters call for Chicago to be a truly “welcoming city” for all.

Police violence and police accountability have also been critical issues around which Chicagoans have organized intensely in the past few years. The delayed release of a video showing the police shooting of unarmed teenager Laquan MacDonald and the Christmas day shooting of Antonio LeGreir and Bettie Jones in 2015 added to the demands for greater accountability from police and the State’s Attorney office. Many observers credit these protests with the ouster of the police chief and the electoral defeat of the sitting State’s Attorney. Groups like byp100 (Black Youth Project 100), Assata’s Daughters, Black Lives Matter-Chi, and the CPAC, have all been important community actors in the movement to combat police violence.

The citywide Chicago teachers' strike in 2012 and the 2016 Dyett High School hunger strike, a tactic taken by community residents to try to keep the school open, were two flashpoints in the ongoing struggle over access to public education in the city. The decision by the Mayor's Office to close fifty neighborhood schools in 2013, disproportionately impacting black and Latinx students and ongoing tensions between City Hall and the Chicago Teachers' Union, have only added to the problem. In response, grassroots groups from AROS (Alliance to Reclaim our Schools) to GEM (Grassroots Education Movement), both with Chicago-based organizers, have helped to build bridges between parents, teachers, and students. The long-established KOCO (Kenwood Oakland Community Organization) has been a critically important voice in the demand for school reform and educational equality.

The statistics tell a powerful and troubling story but the organizing, coalition-building and cross-movement strategizing that is ongoing point toward a more hopeful future.

The Fight for 15 is a nationwide campaign focused largely on the service sector and woefully underpaid fast food workers. The Chicago Fight for 15 organization, The Workers' Organizing Committee of Chicago (WOCC), has been critical in building coalition with a range of anti-racist, social justice, and worker groups in the city. It was a prominent force in the 2017 May Day coalition, and has made low-wage workers a political force to be contended with.

Increasingly, Chicago is the site of creative electoral strategies that transcend traditional partisan politics and that express a deep dissatisfaction with the status quo. Chuy Garcia's 2015 mayoral bid was historic, even though ultimately not victorious. He won 34% of the primary vote, forcing an unprecedented run off. A diverse progressive coalition supported the campaign, although black voters were divided. Still, it was a major pivot in City Hall politics. Former State's Attorney Anita Alvarez was accused by activists of conspiring to cover up and stall the Laquan MacDonald shooting video. A very aggressive grassroots campaign, #ByeAnita, was instrumental in defeating her bid for re-election. Significantly, the activists did not endorse any of her opponents. Their logic was they did not have to embrace one of her rivals in order to oust Alvarez. So rather than a campaign for a particular candidate, it was a campaign against an incumbent, sending a clear message to the prospective victor in any case.

This report is being issued in the year that marks the 50th anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous "Beyond Vietnam" speech. In that speech, he calls for a "radical revolution in values" that puts human needs before profit and that offers a counter to the values of militarism, materialism, and racism. This report also calls for a "radical revolution in values," implicitly in every chart and every statistic, it diagnoses a set of deep-seeded problems that can only be reckoned with through a comprehensive and protracted racial justice agenda. We can put it on a shelf or we can embrace it as a call to action.

METHODS

In line with the Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy's commitment to knowledge in the service of transformation, the goals of the *State of Racial Justice in Chicago Report* are to create a comprehensive picture of the conditions of racial and ethnic groups in Chicago and to generate new conversations on how to address these widespread inequalities.¹ The report provides accessible data and analysis on Chicago's racial and ethnic groups across several important domains including the following themes:

1. Housing
2. Economics
3. Education
4. Justice
5. Health

The choice to divide the report into these sections reflects the social and academic compartmentalization of different areas of life that are, both empirically and conceptually speaking, deeply interconnected. Key indicators placed in one section could easily have been placed in another. As the report overall attempts to show, these various dimensions of inequality overlap in the data as they do in the world. Nevertheless, in highlighting multiple domains of inequality simultaneously, the report captures some of the most persistent and pervasive problems facing Chicagoans when it comes to matters of race and ethnicity. It also places these problems within a context that identifies how inequalities in housing, economics, education, justice, and health overlap and interact in complex ways.

Admittedly, a report that addresses the systemic persistence of racial and ethnic inequality could address many more areas than the five we have selected. For instance, the important racialized areas of gender, disability, environment, media, family, religion, and technology could be sections of their own. While some of these topics are addressed in the report, none of them receive sustained attention here. This is a limitation of the report.

Throughout the report, comparisons of racial and ethnic inequalities in Chicago involve non-Latinx blacks (henceforth blacks), Latinxs, and non-Latinx whites (henceforth whites).² This decision to focus on black, Latinx, and whites was motivated less by a desire to narrow our analysis to the city's three largest groups and more by limitations of the data.

Having to rely upon secondary sources means that, in several cases, data were either unreliable or unavailable for Asians, Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans or for other important groups in the city such as Arab Americans. Therefore, a major limitation of the report is that disparities facing many communities of color outside of blacks and Latinxs are left unaddressed with the depth and care they deserve.

The report draws upon current information from existing secondary data sources. (An exhaustive list of the datasets consulted, as well as their corresponding indicators, is provided at the end of the section.) Much of the data were extracted from federal agencies such as the Census Bureau, the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Bureau of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and so on. In addition to datasets available at the national level, data were drawn from local sources like the Illinois State Board of Education, the Chicago Department of Public Health, the Chicago Public Schools, the Chicago Teachers Union, the Citizens Police Data Project, and the City of Chicago, among others. Taken together, these datasets are among the most robust sources of information available to document the conditions of racial and ethnic groups in Chicago.

Each section contains approximately 15-25 indicators that reflect the current state of Chicago's racial and ethnic inequality. These indicators were selected in consultation and collaboration with others during the initial stages of the project. More specifically, we consulted faculty experts in each respective area at the University of Illinois of Chicago as well as community stakeholders and local "think tanks." They offered their input on which indicators of racial and ethnic inequality are the most important and which measures are the most relevant to the current state of affairs in Chicago. The final presentation of the data and the indicators of inequality draw from their recommendations.

The use of secondary datasets is neither an approval nor an endorsement of their underlying methodologies. In completing this report, we encountered a number of limitations that qualify the findings we are able to present throughout. For the sake of transparency and rigor, we itemize several of these below and further elaborate concerns for each. Most limitations clustered around the issues of availability, validity, and standardization. One of the goals of the report, and a hope driving this section, is that it prompts conversations on how to overcome data limitations that create blind spots in our understanding of current racial and ethnic conditions for all Chicagoans. In this way, this methodological appendix is a call for better data, and more of it, so that the full breadth and substance of racial and ethnic inequality can be better understood and addressed.

This is a call for better data, and more of it, so that the full breadth and substance of racial and ethnic inequality can be better understood and addressed.

LIMITATIONS OF THE DATA

Racial Labels and Classification. Because racial and ethnic categories are not rooted in essential differences of biology but are social constructs connected to concrete struggles over material resources, they can and do change over time.³ The first racial categories of the 1790 Census were free white males, free white females, all other free persons, and slaves. After Emancipation, the 1870 Census shifted its labels to include the categories of white, black, mulatto, and Indian. The categories of Chinese and Japanese were later added to the 1880 Census after considerable migration from these groups. For the 1890 Census, racial categories expanded under the rubric of eugenics and racial mixing. Blackness was subdivided “by blood”: black ($3/4^{\text{th}}$ or more “black blood”), mulatto ($3/8^{\text{th}}$ to $5/8^{\text{th}}$ “black blood”), quadroon ($1/4^{\text{th}}$ “black blood”), and octoroon ($1/8^{\text{th}}$ or any trace of “black blood”). The category of “Mexican” was added in 1930. By 1970, the census introduced an “origin of descent” question and asked respondents if they identified with the pan-ethnic label “Hispanic.” For the first time in 2000, the census permitted people to select more than one race.

As we write these words, more changes in census categories are under consideration. The 2020 Census may distinguish people of North African and Middle Eastern descent from the “white” category and further disaggregate data on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders with more precision. Today’s changes are attempts to make census data better reflect the complexities of race in the U.S. and how it shapes what resources, circumstances, and opportunities are available to people.⁴ The fluidity of these categories also reflects the historic imprecision in their boundaries and the diversity of those included within them. All present substantive challenges, especially for longitudinal analyses such as our own.

Lack of uniformity and standardization across datasets. A major challenge that comes with attempting to synthesize a variety of secondary sources regards standardization and uniformity. Each of the datasets consulted follows its own convention. Some conventions overlapped. Others did not. For example, consider the simplistic issue of question format and wording. Sometimes the data highlighted in this report draw from questionnaires that combine the question of a person’s race and whether someone is of “Hispanic origin.” At other times, these questions were separated with one being asked before the other. Though the placement of a survey item in a questionnaire may seem like a trivial matter, it has dramatic consequences for what kinds of data are collected and how groups go about self-identification. Response rates for “Hispanic” are higher when the ethnic origin question is asked ahead of race (e.g., Census 2000), while fewer people identify as such when the race and ethnicity questions are combined (e.g., Current Population Survey).⁵ This inconsistency is one of many that researchers confront when combining data from multiple sources. While we cannot resolve the problems these issues pose, at the very least we recognize their existence and acknowledge they pose

problems of reliability and validity among the data. Despite this critical problem, we believe the aggregate picture of racial and ethnic disparities that the report highlights is important and consequential. These data allow us to describe crucial differences affecting the lived conditions of Chicagoans that require political and social attention and solutions.

Fluid constructs, static categories. Statistical data provide important information that helps capture patterns in experience, and thus they help to quantify the extent of existing racial and ethnic inequality. However, race and ethnicity are socially constructed. Therefore, they are fluid and changing categories that intersect with, and are lived in, different ways depending on one's gender, age, class, religion, zip code, etc. Therefore, race and ethnicity cannot be reduced to statistical data which consist of static, fixed categories.

"Race is about who we are, what we do, how we interact. It shapes where we live, whom we interact with, how we understand ourselves and others. But it does so in specific ways based on our social and historical location."⁶

In this way, the concepts of race and ethnicity are much more dynamic than what is captured by statistics.⁷ They entail social processes that "move" through meaning-making processes and are transmitted through interpersonal relationships. More than simple categories, race and ethnicity are collective achievements with a deep history in this country shaped by slavery, colonialism, and Jim Crow. And these meanings are something we confer upon one another, as well as modify, during social exchanges. They are something people *do* in socialization processes.

Some data have not been historically collected. Data on racial and ethnic differences in select areas simply are unavailable. Within the area of health, for example, much of the national mortality data for Latinxs is missing because "Hispanic origin" was not added to the U.S. standard death certificate until 1989. To add another layer of imprecision to these data, the convention of including "Hispanic origin" was not adopted by every state until 1997. At the local level, missing data may be even more pervasive for Latinxs. The Chicago Department of Public Health did not begin collecting general health information (not only mortality rates) on Latinxs until 1989. Therefore, many of the historicized problems facing these communities are under-documented and understudied.⁸ For reasons like these, at times our analysis narrows its attention to black-white disparities.

Inconsistent definitions between the local and national. Contrasting inequalities between Chicago and other places is not always possible due to inconsistencies of definition. For instance, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Chicago Police Department (CPD) have historically followed unique definitions of rape and sexual assault. Whereas the FBI has long defined rape as limited to "carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will,"⁹ the

CPD follows an Illinois criminal assault definition that is much broader. Its definition contains a longer list of sexual offenses, and it includes offenses directed at a person regardless of sex category. A consequence of this discrepancy is that national levels of violence, of which rape and sexual assault help define, cannot be compared to Chicago's reported levels of violence because these rates summarize different forms of criminal activity. Throughout the report, we tailor the presentation and analysis of data accordingly. Where data permit, and Chicago's levels of inequality depart from the nation's, such comparisons are made and brought to the attention of the reader.

Uneven geographic scales. Throughout the report, we rely upon varying levels of geographic measurement due to varying strategies of research design. On some measures like education finance, for instance, data are gathered at the school district level. On other measures like low birthweight, data are gathered at the neighborhood level. Differing rationales motivate these uneven scales of measurement, from a desire to make district-level assessments to a desire to protect a person's confidentiality. In some cases we had to use what was available even as we recognized it was not ideal (e.g., important differences in resources between schools within the City of Chicago are not readily available). Where possible, we include uniform levels of measurement for the sake of comparing how racial and ethnic groups fare across consistent spatial indicators of inequality. The principal geographies examined in this report focus on census tracts, community areas, or the city of Chicago itself. Where these data are unavailable or in places where broader comparison is warranted, measures of inequality are also included for Cook County, the six-county suburban area (Cook, DuPage, Lake, Kane, McHenry, and Will), and the federally-defined Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area which includes 13 counties and 3 states.

Indirect measures. Individual-level data are not always available in order to protect a person's sensitive information. Instead, these data are organized at higher levels of measurement. Portions of the data, for example, are aggregated spatially at the census tract or community area level. Because Chicago remains among the most segregated cities in the nation, generally space is a de facto proxy measure for race and ethnicity. This means that some measures of racial and ethnic groups are not directly observed. This is problematic in terms of inference given the fact that no Chicago community is comprised by only one group. We are willing to live with this limitation, however, on at least two counts. One, data alternatives are unavailable. And two, the city's level of hyper-segregation means that the many of Chicago's communities are comprised mainly by only one group—especially when it comes to its black residents. When we directly compare mixed neighborhoods such as Humboldt Park (53.3% Latinx, 40.9% black) or Beverly (58.8% white, 34.1% black), we provide their racial and ethnic composition.

HOUSING SECTION

Data Measure	Measure Description	Dataset and/or Source
Racial and Ethnic Dot Map	Spatial distribution of where racial and ethnic groups live	Census 2010; William Rankin n.d.
U.S. Segregation by Dissimilarity	How uniformly a population is spatially distributed throughout a geographic area by race and ethnicity	Census 2010; Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences
Index of Dissimilarity by Race and Ethnicity	How uniformly a population is spatially distributed throughout a geographic area by race and ethnicity	Census 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010; Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences
Index of Dissimilarity by Race, Ethnicity, and Income	How uniformly minority groups are spatially distributed from whites by household income levels throughout a geographic area	American Community Survey
Neighborhood Preference	Ideal racial and ethnic composition of a neighborhood one desires to live in versus the actual racial and ethnic composition of the neighborhoods actually searched	Chicago Area Study; Havekes, Bader, and Krysan 2016
Redlining	Valuation formula of the 1930s-1960s applied during mortgage application processes to determine “(un)desirable” neighborhoods	Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America
Homeownership Rate	Percentage of racial and ethnic group members who own their home	American Community Survey
Median Home Value	Home value in the middle of the distribution for all property values by race and ethnicity	American Community Survey
Cost-Burdened Homeowner Rate	Percentage of homeowners who spend at least 30% of their household income on owner costs (e.g. mortgage, taxes, utilities)	American Community Survey
Conventional Home Purchase Loans	Number of applications for conventional home loans versus number of home loans originated; dollar amount requested versus approved	Home Mortgage Disclosure Act Loan Application Register
FHA, FSA/RHS, and VA Home Purchase Loans	Number of applications for FHA, FSA/RHS, and VA home loans versus number of home loans originated; dollar amount requested versus approved	Home Mortgage Disclosure Act Loan Application Register
Foreclosure Filings after the Housing Meltdown	Number of foreclosure filings in Chicago from 2008 to 2015 by Chicago community area	Cook County Assessor's Office; Institute for Housing Studies
Long-term Vacancy of Housing Stock	Percentage of housing stock left vacant for two years or more by Chicago community area	Institute for Housing Studies; United States Postal Service
Homeowners and Renters in Chicago	Number and percentage of racial and ethnic group members that own and rent their home	American Community Survey
Cost-Burdened Renter Rate	Percentage of renters who spend at least 30% of their household income on rent and utilities	American Community Survey
Rental Housing Stock Lost after the Recession	Percentage of foreclosed housing stock from 2009 to 2013 by Chicago community area	Lawyers' Committee for Better Housing

ECONOMICS SECTION

Data Measure	Measure Description	Dataset and/or Source
Changing Employment in Select Industries	Spatial distribution of where racial and ethnic groups live	1960 Census; American Community Survey
Changing Employment in Select Occupations	Percentage of racial and ethnic groups employed in select occupations in 1960 and 2015	1960 Census; American Community Survey
Unemployment Rate	Unemployment rate by race and ethnicity	1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 Census; American Community Survey
Unemployment Rate by Education Attainment	Unemployment rate by race and ethnicity as well as education attainment levels	American Community Survey
Median Family Income	Family income in the middle of the distribution of all family incomes by race and ethnicity	1960 Census; American Community Survey
Income by Education Attainment	Number and percentage of each racial and ethnic group in each income bracket sorted by education attainment	American Community Survey
Education Attainment by Race and Ethnicity	Percentage of each racial and ethnic group sorted by education attainment	American Community Survey
Poverty Rate	Percentage of racial and ethnic groups living in poverty	American Community Survey
Living Wage Rate	Percentage of workers earning at least \$15/hour by race and ethnicity	1980 Census; American Community Survey; National Equity Atlas
Zero Net Worth Rate	Percentage of households by race and ethnicity with either a negative net worth or a net worth of zero (net worth equals all assets minus liabilities at a single point in time)	Corporation for Enterprise Development; Survey of Income and Program Participation
Asset Poverty Rate	Percentage of households by race and ethnicity that are asset poor, meaning a household lacks sufficient net worth to subsist above poverty for at least three months without any income	Corporation for Enterprise Development; Survey of Income and Program Participation
Liquid Asset Poverty Rate	Percentage of households by race and ethnicity that are liquid asset poor, meaning a household lacks assets that can be converted to currency	Corporation for Enterprise Development; Survey of Income and Program Participation
Commute Time	Average travel time (in minutes) to work for racial and ethnic groups sorted by mode of transit	American Community Survey; National Equity Atlas
Business Values	Average sales or receipts earned (in 2012 dollars) per business firm by race and ethnicity in Chicago and the United States	Survey of Business Owners

EDUCATION SECTION

Data Measure	Measure Description	Dataset and/or Source
School Enrollment in CPS	Number of students enrolled in Chicago Public Schools in 2015-2016	Chicago Public Schools
Changing Demographics of CPS Elementary Enrollment	Number and percentage of elementary students enrolled in Chicago Public Schools between 1970 and 2016	The US2010 Project and Chicago Public Schools
Homogeneous CPS Schools	Number of CPS schools comprised by 70% or more of one racial or ethnic group and number of CPS schools comprised by 85% or more of one racial or ethnic group	Chicago Public Schools
An Interstate Comparison of Schools Comprised Predominantly by Minorities	Percentage of schools for states with the highest proportions of black students attending schools that are 90-100% non-white or Latinx students attending schools that are 90-100% non-white	The Civil Rights Project / Proyecto Derechos Civiles
Index of Dissimilarity among CPS Elementary Students	How uniformly elementary students are spatially distributed throughout a geographic area by race and ethnicity	The US2010 Project
Persisting Segregation in Public Schools across the Chicago Metro	Spatial distribution of public schools in the Chicago Metropolitan Area, marked by each school's majority racial or ethnic group, in 1990 and 2010	WBEZ: Chicago Public Media
Low-income Student Enrollment among Public Schools	Percentage of low-income students enrolled in public schools in 2013	National Center for Education Statistics; National Equity Atlas
Schools on Probation	Number of CPS schools on probationary status by racial and ethnic profiles of student enrollment	Chicago Public Schools
Enrollment by High School Type	Percentage of CPS students by race and ethnicity attending selective enrollment high schools and all high schools	Chicago Public Schools
Enrollment in the Top 5 CPS High Schools	Percentage of white student enrollment among the top five schools in CPS, as ranked for academic performance by the U.S. News and World Report	The Illinois Report Card; U.S. News and World Report
Teacher-to-Student Ratios	Ratio of Latinx teachers to Latinx students in CPS; ratio of black teachers to black students in CPS	The Illinois Report Card
Changing Profile of Full-time Teachers Employed	Number and percentage of black and Latinx teachers employed by CPS from 2006 to 2016	The Illinois Report Card
College Readiness Rates	Percentage of CPS students by race and ethnicity on pace to be ready for college, measured by proficiency in mathematics and in English language and literacy on the Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PARC) standardized tests	The Illinois Report Card
Median Weekly Earnings and Unemployment Rate	Median weekly earnings and unemployment rate, sorted by education attainment level	Current Population Survey
High School Graduation Rates	Percentage of CPS students by race and ethnicity who graduate within 4 years and within 5 years.	The Illinois Report Card
College Aspirations	Percentage of 9th grade students in CPS who want a college degree, enroll in college, and graduate college within 10 years of 9th grade	Healey, Nagaoka, and Michelman 2014
A District-State Comparison of Post-Secondary Enrollment and Remedial College Coursework	Percentage of CPS high school graduates compared to graduates throughout the state of Illinois who enroll in college or vocational school and remedial coursework in college	The Illinois Report Card; National Student Clearing House
Bachelor's Degree Attainment within 10 Years of 9th Grade	Percentage of CPS alumni by race, ethnicity, and gender who completed a bachelor's degree within 10 years of graduating high school	Healey, Nagaoka, and Michelman 2014
School Closings over Time	Number of CPS school closings from 1980 to 2015	Chicago Teachers Union
Map of School Closings over Time	Spatial distribution of CPS school closings by decade	Chicago Teachers Union
In-School Suspension Rates over Time	Rate (per 100) of CPS in-school suspensions by race and ethnicity from 2011 to 2016	Chicago Public Schools
Out-of-School Suspension Rates over Time	Rate (per 100) of CPS in-school suspensions by race and ethnicity from 2011 to 2016	Chicago Public Schools
Expulsion Rates over Time	Rate (per 100) of CPS expulsions by race and ethnicity from 2011 to 2016	Chicago Public Schools
Police Notification Rates over Time	Rate (per 100) of police notifications of CPS students by race and ethnicity from 2011 to 2016	Chicago Public Schools

JUSTICE SECTION

Data Measure	Measure Description	Dataset and/or Source
Homicide Rates among the Three Largest U.S. Cities over Time	Rate (per 100,000) of homicides from 1985 to 2015	Fessenden and Park 2016
Total Violent and Property Crimes	Number of violent and property crimes—which include larceny and theft, burglary, motor vehicle theft, robbery, and aggravated assault—in Chicago from 1985 to 2015	Uniform Crime Reports
Spatial Distribution of Violent Crime	Number of homicides, assaults, and robberies by Chicago community area	Chicago Police Department
Prison Population of Illinois over Time	Number of people incarcerated in Illinois prisons from 1980 to 2013	U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics
Most Overcrowded State Prison Systems	10 states with the highest rates of over-crowded prisons, as defined by the percentage of those incarcerated by the state versus the total state capacity for incarceration	U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics
Characteristics of the State's Criminal Justice System	Number of imprisoned and jailed persons; number of persons on probation or parole; imprisonment rates (per 100,000) by race and ethnicity; race and ethnic imprisonment disparities	U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics
Characteristics of the State's Juvenile Justice System	Number of juveniles in custody; juvenile custody rates (per 100,000) by race and ethnicity	U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Program
Community Areas with the Highest Conviction Levels	Number and rate (per 100,000) of convictions by Chicago community area along with its corresponding percent black population	2010 Census; Smart Chicago
State Expenditures over Time	Appropriations on criminal justice and select social public works in 1977 and 2012	Survey of State and Local Finances
Spatial Distribution of Incarceration Spending	Estimated 5-year spending costs on incarceration by Chicago community area	DataMade
Prison Gerrymandering	An overview of how census enumeration of prison populations shapes the state process of drawing political districts	Blank and Wagner 2010
"Stop-and-Frisk"	Proportional breakdown by race and ethnicity of "stops" by Chicago Police Department Officers	American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois 2015
Police Stop Rates in the Three Most Predominantly White Police Districts	Proportional breakdown by race and ethnicity of "stops" by Chicago Police Department Officers in the city's three most predominantly white police districts	American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois 2015
Use of Force Incidents	Number of use of force incidents by race and ethnicity among Chicago Police Department Officers	Department of Justice Report 2017
Use of Force Incidents Involving Youth	Number of use of force incidents involving youth by race and ethnicity among Chicago Police Department Officers	Department of Justice Report 2017
Complaints Filed Versus Sustained	Percentage of complaints filed versus sustained by race and ethnicity against Chicago Police Department Officers	Citizens Police Data Project
Top 10 US Cities for Fatal Police-Involved Shootings	Number of fatal police-involved-shootings among the top 10 cities with the most incidents	Fessenden and Park 2016
Police Department Payments	Amount of compensation awarded due to misconduct of Chicago Police Department Officers, including false arrest, injuries from police car chases or shooting, police brutality, excessive use of force, and wrongful death	City of Chicago

HEALTH SECTION

Data Measure	Measure Description	Dataset and/or Source
Leading Causes of Death	Top ten causes of death in the United States and Chicago by race and ethnicity	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; Chicago Department of Public Health
Health Insurance Rates over Time	Percentage by race and ethnicity of those with health insurance in 2010 and 2015	American Community Survey
Spatial Distribution of Healthcare Providers	Healthcare provider rates (per 1,000) of primary care physicians, OB-GYN physicians, and specialist physicians by Chicago community area	Primary Care Service Area Project
Premature Mortality	Rate (per 100,000) of years of potential life lost before turning 75 years of age by race and ethnicity	Chicago Department of Public Health
Heart Disease Mortality over Time	Percent of deaths from heart disease; percent change from 2000 to 2011; age-adjusted mortality rates (per 100,000) by race and ethnicity; mortality rate disparities by race and ethnicity	Chicago Department of Public Health
Stroke Mortality over Time	Percent of deaths from stroke; percent change from 2000 to 2011; age-adjusted mortality rates (per 100,000) by race and ethnicity; mortality rate disparities by race and ethnicity	Chicago Department of Public Health
Spatial Distribution of Heart Disease and Stroke Prevalence	Percentage of population having been diagnosed with heart disease or having experienced a stroke by census tract	500 Cities: Local Data for Better Health
Prevalence of Smoking	Percentage of population by race and ethnicity who are current smokers	Healthy Chicago Survey
Prevalence of Obesity	Percentage of population by race and ethnicity who have been diagnosed with obesity	Healthy Chicago Survey
Prevalence of Diabetes	Percentage of population by race and ethnicity who have been diagnosed with diabetes; prevalence disparities by race and ethnicity	Chicago Department of Public Health
Spatial Distribution of Food Deserts	Low-income census tracts located ½ to 1 mile from a supermarket or large grocery store in Cook County	Food Access Research Atlas
Cancer Mortality over Time	Percent of age-adjusted deaths from cancer; percent change from 2000 to 2011; mortality rates (per 100,000) by race and ethnicity; mortality rate disparities by race and ethnicity	Chicago Department of Public Health
Breast Cancer Mortality	Age-adjusted mortality rate (per 100,000) of breast cancer; mortality rates by race and ethnicity; mortality rate disparities by race and ethnicity	Chicago Department of Public Health
Spatial Distribution of Breast Cancer Mortality	Breast cancer mortality rates (per 100,000) by Chicago community area	Chicago Department of Public Health
Infant Mortality over Time	Mortality rate (per 1,000) of infant births; mortality rates by race and ethnicity; mortality rate disparities by race and ethnicity	Chicago Department of Public Health
A Chicago-Impoverished Nation Comparison of Infant Mortality Rates	Mortality rate (per 1,000) of infant births by Chicago community area compared to infant mortality rates of Jamaica, West Bank, Columbia, and Vietnam.	Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook; Chicago Department of Public Health
Infants Born with Low Birthweight	Percent of infants born weighing less than 5 pounds, 8 ounces (<2,500 grams) by Chicago community area and percent black composition	Chicago Department of Public Health
Incidence of Prenatal Care	Percentage of expecting mothers by race and ethnicity receiving prenatal care	Chicago Department of Public Health
Spatial Distribution of Lead Exposure among Youth	Percent of youth between 0 and 6 years of age with elevated blood lead levels that surpass the CDC cautionary standard by Chicago community area	Chicago Department of Public Health

ENDNOTES

- 1 Racial groups are commonly defined by phenotypical or physical characteristics like skin tone, eye shape, and hair texture. Ethnic groups are typically defined by cultural markers like language spoken, religious affiliation, and place of origin. Race and ethnicity are not mutually exclusive, and both are social constructs (i.e., they are defined by loose consensus agreements).
- 2 We have purposefully chosen to use the term “Latinx” over “Hispanic,” and we have purposefully replaced the “o” with an “x” for sake of gender inclusivity and to move beyond the sex category binary of male/female. The labels Latino and Hispanic are used inconsistently among secondary datasets, with some preferring the former over the latter and vice versa. Other datasets use the two labels as though they are interchangeable. Throughout the report, we avoid the pan-ethnic label of Hispanic for two reasons. One, it refers to those of Spanish origin but is broadly imposed onto anyone of Latin American ancestry. And two, the term can be considered a symbolic imposition with roots that trace back to conquest and colonization. See Sáenz, Rogelio and Aurelia Lorena Murga. 2011. *Latino Issues: A Reference Handbook*. San Diego, CA: ABC-CLIO Publishers.
- 3 Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. [1986] 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- 4 Prewitt, Kenneth. 2013. *What is Your Race? The Census and Our Flawed Efforts to Classify Americans*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- 5 Anderson, Margo and Stephen E. Fienberg. 2000. “Race and Ethnicity and the Controversy over the U.S. Census.” *Current Sociology* 48(3):87-110; Martin, Elizabeth, Theresa J. DeMaio, and Pamela C. Campanelli. 1990. “Contest Effects for Census Measure of Race and Hispanic Origin.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 54(4):551-566; Tucker, Clyde and Brian Kojetin. 1996. “Testing Racial and Ethnic Origin Questions in the CPS Supplement.” *Monthly Labor Review* 119(September):3-7.
- 6 See page 7 of Lewis, Amanda E. 2003. *Race in the Schoolyard: Negotiating the Color Line in Classrooms and Communities*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. See also Lewis, Amanda E. 2004. “What Group?: Studying Whites and Whiteness in the Era of ‘Color-Blindness.’” *Sociological Theory* 22(4):623-646.
- 7 Zuberi, Tukufu. 2001. *Thicker than Blood: How Racial Statistics Lie*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- 8 Silva, Abigail, Steven Whitman, Helen Margellos, and David Ansell. 2001. “Evaluating Chicago’s Success in Reaching the Healthy People 2000 Goal of Reducing Health Disparities.” *Public Health Review* 116(5):484-494.
- 9 Between 1929 and 2014, the FBI followed this narrow definition of rape. Consequently, some of Chicago’s reported crimes have been omitted from the Uniform Crime Reporting program for decades. Only recently has the definition been revised to include more offenses like those that more closely correspond to Chicago’s definition.

IRRPP STAFF

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Kasey Henricks

Kathy Stauffer

Jose Acosta

Amanda E. Lewis

Ryan Vilorio

Melanie Brooks

Deana G. Lewis

Delaina Washington

Caleb Butler

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Institute for Research on Race & Public Policy (MC 347)
University of Illinois at Chicago
412 S. Peoria St., Room 322
Chicago, IL 60607

312 996 6339
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