

# Segregation in the Suburbanization of African Americans Under Exclusionary Zoning Statues

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## ABSTRACT

The two great black migrations and the rapid development of industry resulted in rapid population growth, which quickly exposed the problems in the allocation of housing resources. However, due to the segregation of blacks and whites, the housing problem cannot be solved very well, so there is a more acute problem of housing segregation. Soon, this kind of residential isolation developed into a spontaneous isolation behavior. Government policies fueled the flames, among them, the exclusive zoning bill is more typical. This paper explores the plight of blacks due to the plundering of resources by policies, and the impact of central and local government housing policies on the promotion of the bill and residential segregation. Consequently, it made unpredictable social impact in the United States which deteriorated the problem of racial discrimination and social impact in the United States. Racial discrimination and residential segregation in the United States are not formed overnight, nor can it be promoted by just a bill. The impact of the exclusionary zoning act on American society is more harmful than beneficial. It has done indelible harm to blacks, that is, ethnic minorities. The elimination of racial discrimination in the United States still has a long way to go.

**Keywords:** *Exclusionary Zoning Act, African American Residential Segregation, Racial Discrimination*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the 20th century, with the rapid development of industry and the rapid increase of population, housing resources became more and more tense. The growing exclusion between black and white people has led to housing segregation. In the process of urbanization, housing segregation has increased rapidly. Soon, with the progress of suburbanization, it was really helpful to alleviate the racial problem between black and white people at first. However, this suburbanization quickly evolved into a large-scale migration across the country. The trend of high concentration of blacks has continued unabated. The process of suburbanization caused a large population flow, had an impact on all classes of society, and further worsened racial and residential segregation. It is found that the causes of black housing segregation are related to economic foundation, cultural differences, government policies, institutional segregation and social market. It is considered that the contradiction between federal and local government policies, the compromise of the federal government to monopoly capital, the injustice of housing subsidy policy, and the discrimination in public

housing location and construction lead to the difficulty of realizing fair housing. These reasons led to the emergence and strengthening of the exclusive zoning method.

At present, some scholars have put forward many research directions for the issue of apartheid and residential segregation. For example, some Chinese scholars, represented by the research of Han Ling and Sun Qunlang, believe that the segregation policy of some financial institutions in the United States has led to the phenomenon of segregation [1]. Now, more scholars focus on the reasons for the formation of apartheid and residential segregation, while there are few descriptions of the difficult situation of black people in the process of segregation. In addition, there is still a lack of inquiry into the bill that promotes and forms segregation. The government's housing policy is inconsistent with the actual living conditions of black slums. Therefore, this article will start from the changes in the situation of blacks in the process of isolation and enumerate typical cases of urban government housing bills. Systematic analysis of the influence of the exclusive zoning bill on the isolation of black and white

people to explore the harm and failure of the public policy of the exclusive zoning bill.

## **2. THE CURRENT SITUATION CAUSED BY SUBURBAN ISOLATION**

Segregation has existed since the beginning of urbanization. When the white middle class moved out of the city to the suburbs, a huge influx of blacks, primarily from the south, arrived to take their place. The core city's black population grew steadily, the central city became darker and darker, while the suburbs became whiter and whiter. The majority of blacks who relocate to cities are impoverished. They lack the financial means to maintain their homes, resulting in a rapid degradation of metropolitan areas' environments and a drop in property values. When whites realize they can't stop the black invasion, they will quit their original town and seek for a white neighborhood, a phenomenon known as "white flight" [1].

In American cities, the geographical disparity between blacks and whites has resulted in a significant degree of apartheid. Suburbanization, on the other hand, does not appear to have had a major influence on the degree of racial segregation between blacks and whites since its inception. The suburbanization of blacks undoubtedly intensified the situation of apartheid in the suburbs, which is also a manifestation of residential segregation [2].

### **2.1. The Current Black Social Security Dilemma**

The racial discrimination and housing segregation between black and white people largely demonstrate the inequality in the United States. These black and white communities with obvious separation boundaries have very different living environments. Poor population, unemployment rate, lack of welfare, housing environment, unmarried mothers, crimes are flooding African-American communities (Hogan & Kitagawa 1985; LaVeist 1989, 1992; Massey 1990; Massey, Condran & Denton 1987) [14]. The social security and crime issues in residential areas are closely related to the black violence of racial segregation. In short, the root cause of the high crime rate of blacks is racial housing segregation.

Residential segregation means separating African Americans from mainstream society. On the one hand, the isolated communities often lack protection by the police. On the other hand, these communities lack the resources and measures to prevent and resist crime, and they lack the understanding of crime knowledge. This is also caused by the lack of financial support, and in the final analysis is due to apartheid [14]. It is not difficult to know that once a community lacks the conditions and resources to be protected, these communities will soon

no longer have legitimacy, thereby increasing crime and deviant behavior.

### **2.2. The Current Black Economic Dilemma**

The economic imbalance is also a manifestation of apartheid and housing segregation. Housing for blacks is not just a private issue. The Federal Housing Administration has proposed segregation regulations in related bills. Housing for blacks is not just a private issue. The Federal Housing Administration has proposed segregation regulations in related bills. The most serious of these is the "Urban Renewal Program" plan [18]. This plan aims to eliminate the slums around the white residential areas, which are the black housing areas. The government bought the dilapidated slum land, and then profited from it by transferring it to a private construction company for luxury residential construction. The result of this is that after the original black residential area is rebuilt into a luxury residence, the price of his house may be dozens of times more than before. This is by no means something an ordinary black family can afford. Undoubtedly, this has rapidly worsened the economic plight of crude oil families and made the living environment in black clusters even worse.

### **2.3. Current Education Dilemma**

The southern city had explicitly stipulated that blacks were prohibited from attending white schools before 1954, and this regulation was soon eliminated by a court ruling that abolished segregation in public schools. However, this ruling did not affect the school system in the north. There is still a serious apartheid residential pattern in the north, which has created a system of apartheid in schools. In 1960, black students in 22 of the 125 middle schools in the city accounted for more than 85 percent of the students in the school [18]. It cannot be denied that education in segregated schools is destined to not be equal. Various studies have proved that the education level of blacks is very different from that of whites. There was a three-year gap between the performance levels of black and white middle school graduates in the 1960s [18].

In addition, the low quality of black education is also caused by the shortage of education funds. More than half of them are almost entirely from property taxes. The financial gap in various regions has led to a gap in school equipment and educational resources, and this gap will only continue to widen.

### **2.4. Influencing Factors of Residential Segregation**

The reasons for this phenomenon can be summarized into three points: (1) People's living habits and ways of living. Economist Thomas C. Schelling

proposed the "Schelling Model" in 1971 and believed that the cause of residential segregation was not caused by racism, but by individuals [12]. People are unwilling to become a minority in a certain community or collective, and it is this mentality that leads to residential segregation [1]. (2) Economic gap and status. Individual income largely determines the place and community where one can live, William AV Clark proposed that economic factors accounted for 30% to 70% of the percentage of residential isolation [1]. Although middle-class blacks have been recognized by some whites in the process of black suburbanization, in fact, black suburbanization has not alleviated the phenomenon of apartheid. Most blacks belong to the poor and they have no money to repair and maintain. Houses, leading to a sharp decline in the community environment. Not only that, a family's assets, housing net worth, different demographic structures and different expenditure patterns are all causes of housing segregation. (3) Racial discrimination. In the book *American Apartheid, Segregation and the Making the Underclass*, Douglas Messie and Nancy Denton believe that race is an important factor leading to segregation of residence [3]. In the 1970s, no matter how black people change their income level, race The degree of isolation has not diminished. It is not only the racial discrimination and segregation between people, but to a large extent government policies and the promotion of private enterprises have also caused the situation of residential segregation [11].

### **3. ZONING ACT: A CULPRIT OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION**

What caused the change of residential mode? The exclusive zoning act operates as a local act. The local autonomy in the United States has a long history. However, with the progress of industrialization, the autonomy of some places has gradually been manipulated by the government, which has hindered urban development. After a series of reforms, local power was relatively released in the hands of the government in the early 20th century. However, when formulating local regulations, some suburban governments are using the name of local autonomy to formulate a system of exclusionary zoning in the suburbs, forming a residential segregation that is not only economic but also racially man-made [6].

From the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, people were mostly a spontaneous awareness of economic disparity and residential segregation formed by different races. But in the same period, under the influence of local autonomy, people gradually began to learn to use zoning laws and autonomy to restrict some facilities and projects that were unfriendly to the local people [7]. For instance, in Chicago's Hyde Park area, a relatively wealthy

middle-class residential area in its southern suburbs, after soliciting the signatures of local residents, the local "Hyde Park Conservation Society" simply put pressure on the Chicago City Council to force them in 1894. Some laws prohibit the opening of taverns and other places. These middle class began to consciously "purify" their living territories and make changes to the development status of some metropolises. In fact, in Hyde Park, the local population of 65,000 is only 21. Taverns. In the Saitokiyad district, although there are 120,000 inhabitants, there are more than 500 taverns in the area [7].

On the surface, the zoning bill implemented by the Americans is indeed a measure by the locals and some middle-class people to rationally use the land and improve the local living standards. But in fact, it was the prejudices of the U.S. on the housing model at the time, and these prejudices made the segregation of residence and apartheid worse. In order to cater to the preferences of the owners, the real estate business has added many restrictions on the housing purchase terms, such as prohibiting the rent and sale of houses to blacks, Jews and other races that will cause disharmony to the community.

## **4. HOW THE EXCLUSIONARY ZONING ACT WORKS**

The original land zoning system was a system for rationally planning and distributing land, and refined the use of land in each district for construction and development within the region. The earliest zoning bill appeared in New York City in 1916. Mainly divided according to density, high density is to build apartment buildings, low density is mostly independent houses and townhouses. This kind of zoning is indeed a good promotion of the rational division and use of land, but the biggest reason for its existence is to prevent and restrict the power and behavior of people of color, and this is the first "exclusive zoning". Restricting low-income people from entering the housing area, this kind of economic zoning has brought about deep segregation of race and residence. Among them, the role of the federal government, courts and local enterprises has a great influence on it.

### **4.1. Local Government's Influence**

In many cities, especially in the north, apartheid has always had a profound impact. Compared to participating in urban public housing renewal projects, northern states and local governments are more inclined to support real estate developers to build slum renewal land into commercial land or high-level independent residential areas [6].

The local government uses this method to ensure that the main local population is the white middle class,

and to further expand the government's fiscal revenue. This may be a benefit that is dozens of times more than the tax collected from the previous slums. In the eyes of local governments and regional real estate developers, it seems that interests are the first priority. Only more business opportunities and a more stable white middle class position can create greater benefits for local taxation and economic development.

This approach of the local government is undoubtedly a kind of promotion of housing isolation, which can be said to be a manifestation of social corruption in disguise. They support the profiteering behavior of real estate developers' land rebuilding. In fact, the ultimate gainers still have a share of the local government. This makes housing segregation more segregated, and exclusion intensifies.

#### **4.2. The Influence of the Authority on the Bill**

The development of the zoning system is inextricably linked with the promotion of the federal government. For example, the Arlington Village case in 1977 (*Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Corporation*) [7]. Although there have been many voices who believe that the exclusive zoning law is to some extent discrimination and prejudice against minorities, the Federal Supreme Court still supports this law. What made people feel powerless at the time was that this decree received constitutional protection as constitutional. The Arlington case is an intangible affirmation of this bill.

The Metropolitan Housing Corporation intended to build a new housing complex in the early 1970s. Apartment homes are being built in Arlington Heights, a suburb of Chicago, with low-income minorities in mind. Arlington is mostly populated by white proletarians. Except for their unwillingness to live among minorities, they are adamantly opposed to the initiative. They are adamantly opposed to the idea, save that they are reluctant to coexist with ethnic minorities. They are also concerned about the influence of ethnic minorities' immigration on property prices. The metropolitan housing development business submitted a report to the local district committee for the project's construction. After the District Council refused to re-plan the property, the metropolitan residential development company sued the members of the District Committee. The rationale for this was that their judgment was in violation of the constitution's equal protection clause. The dispute was eventually taken to the Federal Supreme Court, which issued a decision in 1977, only the state's discrimination was a violation of the protection clause [7]. The metropolitan housing development company failed to produce evidence to prove that the discrimination in the District Committee's decision was a motive factor, and the metropolitan housing development company lost the lawsuit. Forty years later, Arlington village is still

dominated by white residents, and the number of blacks is less than 1000 [7].

The exclusionary zoning act has reduced the number of ethnic minorities in the region and exacerbated apartheid.

### **5. WHY DOES EXCLUSION EXACERBATE APARTHEID?**

The root cause of the formation of residential segregation is racial discrimination. The U.S. government plays an important role as a "pushing hand" among them, and it is mainly reflected in its disregard for ethnic minorities, which makes the housing problem a serious state.

Not only that, the exclusionary zoning bill increases the cost of living for people living outside of work and life, and restricts the activities and behaviors of the poor and ethnic minorities. This phenomenon continues, and the children of these families are also affected by society. Being isolated, the right to education is restricted or even deprived. Due to the poor growth environment, children from these families can only go to school in shabby schools and have no opportunity to receive good educational resources and communicate with children from middle-to-high-income families. In this way, the inner thoughts of the children have been constrained under poverty and restriction, creating a vicious cycle of generations. Isolation is always accompanied by poverty, and the negative effect of exclusive zoning is obvious.

Regarding the impact of the exclusive zoning bill on the social structure of the United States. It can be said that the exclusive zoning bill separates commercial and residential areas and greatly increases the cost of living in the suburbs. As the zoning law divides the land for construction, some multi-storey apartment buildings that could have been built into high-density are now divided into the construction of independent houses. This has caused house prices to rise, not only increasing land prices and construction costs, but also making other infrastructure and the cost of transportation construction near the residence has increased significantly. These measures are not only unaffordable for the original black families, but also for some low-income white families. This creates a unique structural feature of residential isolation called "neighboring syndrome." This structure forced those households to spend 30% of other households' expenditures on housing, which made the household poorer and poorer [7]. At the same time, some workers have to commute to work long distances due to the distance between the residential area and the place of employment, which has caused traffic jams, environmental pollution, public security and social conflicts in American metropolises to become increasingly acute.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The exclusionary zoning bill is a double-edged sword. Although the land construction is planned reasonably, it has intensified racial conflicts and deepened apartheid and residential segregation. It has deepened the economic and housing suffering of blacks in slums. This bill is not being implemented by an individual or a certain group, and part of its widespread dissemination and far-reaching influence is directly promoted by the central authority. The federal government, the Supreme Court, local governments, and private companies are all carrying out segregation. The disparity between blacks and whites is increasing. The gathering places of blacks are taken back by the government for rebuilding. The high housing costs make black families even more serious. In need, the blacks became poorer and poorer. In an accusation report issued by the U.S. Department of Housing in 1991, it was pointed out that the exclusionary, discriminatory, and unnecessary regulations of governments at all levels restricted the satisfaction of the desire to buy houses at a low price, and at the same time reduced the government's effectiveness in housing subsidies [7].

### ***6.1. The Residency Segregation Policy Exacerbates the Social Life Dilemma of Black Americans***

It can be said that the exclusive zoning method is a misfortune for most people. So it was protested by some trade unions, religious organizations, and real estate agents. Since the 1960s, a large number of lawsuits have been submitted to courts at all levels for trial, which has indeed overturned some local governments' bills that exclude low- and middle-income families from moving to the local area [7]. However, it cannot be ignored that the effectiveness of the rulings made by some courts has not achieved the same remarkable results in other areas of discrimination. Some suburban families are not aware of the disadvantaged groups in the housing problem.

In society, these exclusions will continue to affect generation after generation. When a poor child in a community school is separated from him and the education and quality gap between him and the white child reaches a certain height, many middle-class families, especially white middle-class families, will choose to move out of the community [7]. The result of this is that the school is more isolated and poorer than other schools.

At the same time, the deterioration of the environment in black gathering areas has led to the intensification of many original social problems. Such as employment issues, social security issues are emerging one after another. As a result, the family structure of some black families has changed. Black men cannot find employment opportunities and run

away from home, so that their wives and children can qualify for the "support for helpless children" or have the opportunity and conditions to receive other assistance resources [18]. According to statistics, in 1996, black single-parent families accounted for 23.7%, while whites accounted for only a quarter of blacks. In this kind of environment in which they try to rely on relief to survive [18]. Their children will not get a good education, or even an education. Therefore, it is harder for them to find a job from generation to generation.

The more serious result of apartheid and housing segregation is that it indirectly threatens the lives of black people. In black population areas, the mortality and disease infection rate of newborn black infants far exceeds that of whites. The same is true for adults. The segregation bill carried out by the government has made the living environment in black gathering areas worse and worse. People don't have money to treat diseases, so the gathering areas become the high-risk areas of diseases, and the incidence rate is five or six times that of whites [18].

Although blacks and other isolated minorities have carried out liberation movements for nearly a century, the concept of racial discrimination has a long history and has become a deep-rooted idea in the hearts of Americans. This cannot be eliminated by several campaigns and amendments to the bill. Even if there is a place to live outside the quarantine area, it is difficult for blacks to obtain it. Economy and class make them helpless. We cannot provide children with a healthy education and living environment, nor can we participate equally in the country's economic environment and life. Being separated from whites and people of other colors can bring feelings of alienation, rejection, and abandonment to blacks [16]. Coupled with economic exclusion, blacks have become increasingly hostile to whites. Conversely, the white police's violent enforcement of blacks also directly deepened the segregation and racial discrimination between the two races. It seems that the white police's enforcement is no longer to maintain the public security environment and order in the community, but to consolidate white rule, suppress and strengthen the expulsion and isolation of blacks.

### ***6.2. The Low Social Status of Black Americans Stereotype the Racial Discrimination***

Regarding the long-standing racial and ethnic issues in the United States, there are contradictions and conflicts formed by the convergence of various political, economic and other factors. This is related to whether society can develop steadily. There are structural inequalities among various ethnic groups in American society. People of all races live in different communities, social status, and economic level. They have different views, understandings and corresponding attitudes

towards society. It is embodied in the industry, degree of urbanization, education level, employment opportunities and occupation.

In addition, the racial problem in the United States in modern society can also be said to be the inequality between various races and ethnic groups. In addition, the racial problem in the United States in modern society can also be said to be the inequality between various races and nationalities. The racial struggle between blacks and whites has never stopped. Both racial discrimination and the resistance of blacks have dealt a heavy blow to the American society and economy, and harmed social stability. According to statistics from the U.S. Council of Economic Advisors in 1962, the total cost of racial discrimination was approximately \$17.3 billion, accounting for 3.2% of the GDP [19]. People's lives have also been mutilated. In 1965, in a race riot in the Watts area of Los Angeles, 34 people were killed and 1032 were injured [19].

Faced with such a complicated situation, although the United States has banned racial discrimination from the federal law level, it still has reservations in the local laws and regulations of various regions. There are even some whites who try to prove to the outside world that blacks are indeed inferior in intelligence to whites through some books or media. Such behavior just confirms that racial discrimination is still widespread and entrenched in people's consciousness [19]. Therefore, ethnic minorities should strengthen mutual communication and unity. From this perspective, the road to racial equality in the United States is still long.

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