



Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy

Research that Makes a Difference

BETWEEN THE GREAT MIGRATION AND GROWING EXODUS: THE FUTURE OF BLACK CHICAGO?

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OCTOBER 1939 - APRIL 1940

- LEGEND**
- SPARSELY BUILT UP (LOW DENSITY RESIDENTIAL)
 - INDUSTRIAL
 - COMMERCIAL
 - UNDEVELOPED OR FARMLAND (NO FUTURE VALUE WITHIN THE CITY)
 - IMPROVED RETAIL
 - IMPROVED RESIDENTIAL
- A FIRST GRADE
 - B SECOND GRADE
 - C THIRD GRADE
 - D FOURTH GRADE



Between the Great Migration and Growing Exodus: The Future of Black Chicago?

is dedicated to all in Chicago who strive daily to surmount the racial and ethnic injustice they face so that those who follow may travel in a more equitable and principled world.

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Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy

University of Illinois at Chicago

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- Eve Ewing, Assistant Professor in the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago
- Lisa Yun Lee, Director of the National Public Housing Museum and Associate Professor of Art History & Gender and Women’s Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago
- Alden Loury, Senior Editor in Race, Class and Communities at WBEZ
- Mary Pattillo, Harold Washington Professor in the Departments of Sociology & African American Studies at Northwestern University
- Barbara Ransby, Director of the Social Justice Initiative and Distinguished Professor in the Departments of History, African American Studies, & Gender and Women’s Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago
- Dave Stovall, Professor in the Departments of African American Studies & Criminology, Law, and Justice at the University of Illinois at Chicago
- Stacey Sutton, Assistant Professor in the Department of Urban Planning and Policy at the University of Illinois at Chicago

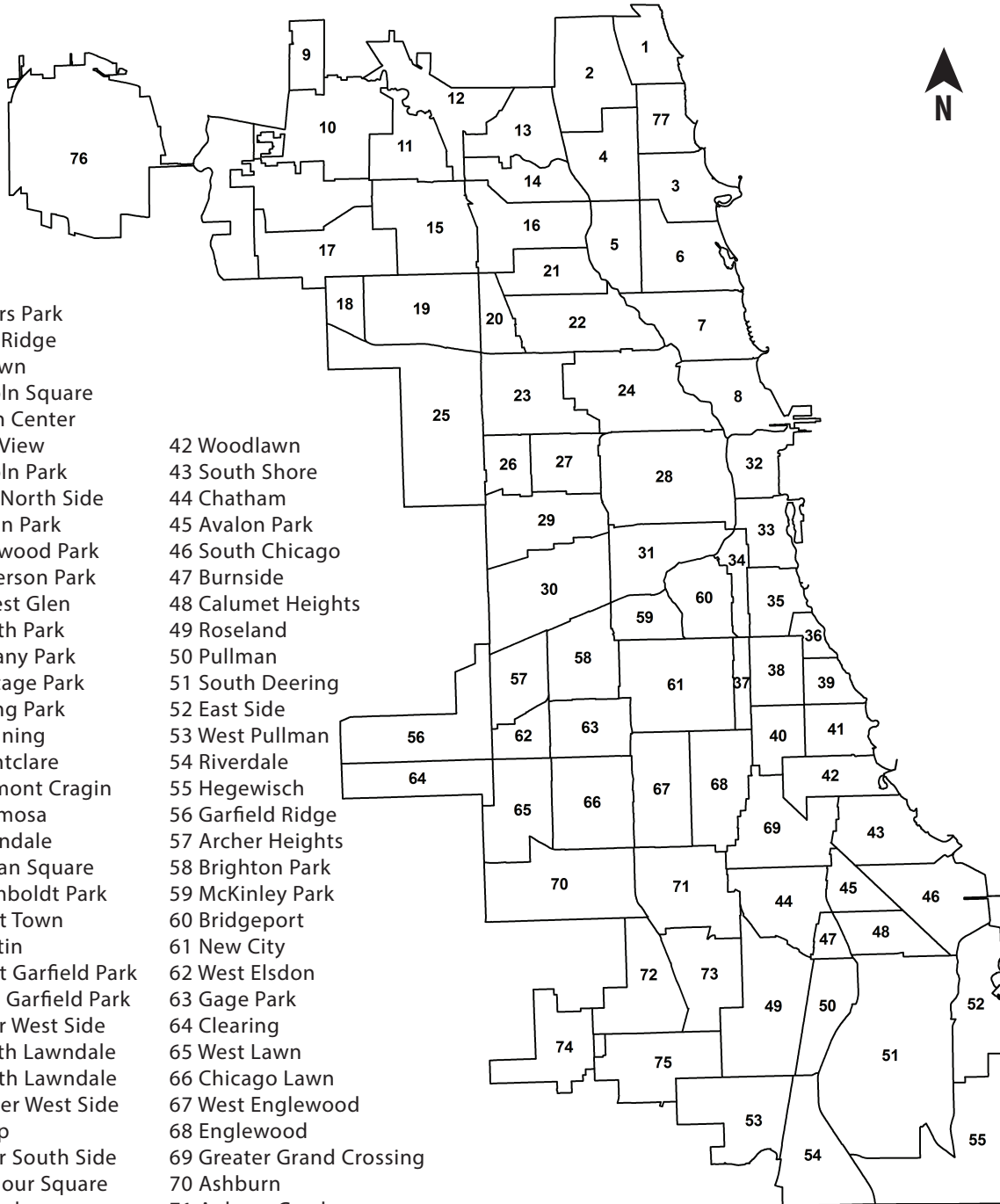
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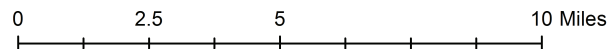
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CHICAGO COMMUNITY AREA MAP



- 1 Rogers Park
- 2 West Ridge
- 3 Uptown
- 4 Lincoln Square
- 5 North Center
- 6 Lake View
- 7 Lincoln Park
- 8 Near North Side
- 9 Edison Park
- 10 Norwood Park
- 11 Jefferson Park
- 12 Forest Glen
- 13 North Park
- 14 Albany Park
- 15 Portage Park
- 16 Irving Park
- 17 Dunning
- 18 Montclare
- 19 Belmont Cragin
- 20 Hermosa
- 21 Avondale
- 22 Logan Square
- 23 Humboldt Park
- 24 West Town
- 25 Austin
- 26 West Garfield Park
- 27 East Garfield Park
- 28 Near West Side
- 29 North Lawndale
- 30 South Lawndale
- 31 Lower West Side
- 32 Loop
- 33 Near South Side
- 34 Armour Square
- 35 Douglas
- 36 Oakland
- 37 Fuller Park
- 38 Grand Boulevard
- 39 Kenwood
- 40 Washington Park
- 41 Hyde Park
- 42 Woodlawn
- 43 South Shore
- 44 Chatham
- 45 Avalon Park
- 46 South Chicago
- 47 Burnside
- 48 Calumet Heights
- 49 Roseland
- 50 Pullman
- 51 South Deering
- 52 East Side
- 53 West Pullman
- 54 Riverdale
- 55 Hegewisch
- 56 Garfield Ridge
- 57 Archer Heights
- 58 Brighton Park
- 59 McKinley Park
- 60 Bridgeport
- 61 New City
- 62 West Elsdon
- 63 Gage Park
- 64 Clearing
- 65 West Lawn
- 66 Chicago Lawn
- 67 West Englewood
- 68 Englewood
- 69 Greater Grand Crossing
- 70 Ashburn
- 71 Auburn Gresham
- 72 Beverly
- 73 Washington Heights
- 74 Mount Greenwood
- 75 Morgan Park
- 76 O'Hare
- 77 Edgewater



INTRODUCTION

For most of the 20th century, Chicago was a major destination for African American migrants. As part of the Great Migration, millions of African Americans fled the Jim Crow South, moving to northern cities like Chicago and transforming their destinations in the process.¹ As the population expanded, black Chicago grew not just in size but also culturally and symbolically. From the nation-wide circulation of *The Chicago Defender*, one of the country's first and most influential black-owned newspapers, to the arts, music, and literature originating from Chicago's Black Renaissance, the Great Migration of African Americans to Chicago helped develop the city into the cultural, political, and economic center it is today. Indeed, while Louis Armstrong was born and raised in New Orleans, it was not until moving to Chicago in the midst of the Great Migration that he rose to prominence. Margaret Burroughs was born in Louisiana but was raised in Chicago where she developed her arts organizing and co-founded the DuSable Museum and South Side Community Arts Center. Fleeing violence in Memphis, Ida B. Wells-Barnett relocated to Chicago's Bronzeville neighborhood where she continued to publish influential articles and books on racial violence in the U.S. In countless ways, the Great Migration of African Americans to Chicago transformed not only the city, but also the nation as a whole.

While many continue to view Chicago as a "black mecca" that plays a central role in African American politics, culture, and economy,² recent population trends indicate that the city may be at risk of losing this status. Starting in 1980, Chicago's African American population growth not only halted, but reversed. By 2016, the population of black Chicagoans had decreased by 350,000 from its peak in 1980. These population trends have attracted significant media attention and speculation about why black Chicagoans are leaving the city. Some have argued this exodus is caused by violence in Chicago's predominantly black South and West sides.³ Others argue that black residents are moving to pursue better schools for their children⁴ or to find opportunity in more affordable cities.⁵

Given the complex intersecting dynamics that affect where people settle, this report is not intended to definitively answer whether black residents are being forcibly pushed out of the city or moving elsewhere to pursue other opportunities. Instead,

we set out to analyze what the data on population trends in Chicago can tell us about black migration into and out of the city. Specifically, we examine Chicago's demographic changes from three unique perspectives.

First, we contextualize recent population changes by placing current patterns within a longer historical context of shifts taking place over the past 100 years. Taking the long view helps us to see the more recent patterns as part of a long and evolving history. From this vantage point, we find that black population trends in Chicago are associated with trends in levels of racial inequality, as indicated by racial disparities in unemployment and wages. When inequality in Chicago was lower than many Southern cities during the mid-20th century, black migration to Chicago was very high. After 1980, however, racial inequality in Chicago became worse, both compared to historical levels within Chicago and in relation to other cities.⁶ At this point, Chicago's black population started to decline. Viewing these population dynamics over the past century allows us to see how inequities built into the fabric of Chicago during and after the Great Migration, particularly the segregation of black residents to the "black belt" and subsequent economic disinvestment from these communities, had enduring effects that would surface more prominently in the 1980s and beyond. While the contemporary exodus of Chicago's black residents is driven in part by the ongoing consequences of a long history of injustices, it is also driven by current, ongoing policy decisions that negatively affect Black Chicagoans.

Second, we zoom in to provide a more detailed analysis of population change across Chicago neighborhoods from 1990 to 2016 (dates for which data are available). Here, we find major variation across areas of the city with unique local dynamics. While some neighborhoods have had a rapid depopulation of black residents, others have had an increase in black residents. Comparing changes across race, we also find that white and black population growth are often inversely correlated. Neighborhoods that have had an increase in white population have generally had a decrease in black population, while areas with an increase in black residents have had a decline in white residents. Highlighting neighborhood trends sheds light on the complex array of factors contributing to city-wide population shifts. In some neighborhoods, gentrification appears to be a driving force. In others, the destruction of public housing played a more prominent role in population change. While some places have experienced economic disinvestment, other areas of the

city have experienced an economic boom. Policy that takes into consideration the specificity of local neighborhood histories and conditions will be best positioned to improve the wellbeing of all those who call Chicago home.

Third, we examine where Chicagoans who are leaving the city are going. Our analysis reveals that more than half of those leaving Cook County are not actually moving very far. While whites are more likely to move to the northern suburbs in Lake County, black movers are more likely to relocate to Northern Indiana. Among those leaving the region, whites are heading to coastal states while blacks are more likely to move South. These trends indicate that many of those who leave Chicago remain anchored to the region, whether through jobs, family, or just mere familiarity.

To help us make sense of these trends, we have invited several experts to write short commentaries. These commentaries provide a more in-depth perspective on factors related to the decline in Chicago's black population. Following this Introductory section, Stacey Sutton, Assistant Professor of Urban Planning and Policy at the University of Illinois at Chicago, writes our first expert commentary, raising an important question about why Chicago's black population loss has garnered attention at this particular time. As Dr. Sutton notes, while the legacy of structural racism has deep roots in Chicago, an effect of current policies is that the black population is shouldering what she terms "the economic burden of the punitive city" and this is fueling black dispossession and black exodus.

After our section on Chicago Population Trends Over the Last Century, the second commentary in this report centers on the role of economic abandonment in population decline and is written by Teresa Córdova, Director of the Great Cities Institute and Professor of Urban Planning and Policy at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Drawing from the voices of student activists protesting municipal neglect as well as empirical data presented in reports from both the Great Cities Institute and IRRPP, Dr. Córdova illustrates how cycles of economic disinvestment, job loss, and population decline are facilitated by the absence of government programs providing youth and young adults with employment opportunities and labor force development.

After our section on Chicago Population Trends by Neighborhood, the third commentary is by Mary Pattillo, Harold Washington Professor of Sociology and African American Studies at Northwestern University. Dr. Pattillo reminds us that,

despite massive population loss, “Black Chicago Ain’t Dead!” Chicago’s black population is one of the largest in the U.S. (second only to New York), and continues to be a major center of black political leadership, culture, and community. These assets make efforts towards a Black Chicago Revival all the more important – efforts where investments in black communities counter long-time government neglect and where protections such as rent control and community benefits agreements ensure that neighborhood change doesn’t happen at the expense of long-term residents (as has occurred through Chicago’s history).

Our fourth expert commentary is authored by Lisa Yun Lee, Executive Director at the National Public Housing Museum and Associate Professor of Art History and Gender and Women’s Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Drawing on the history of urban design in Chicago, Dr. Lee shows how outright neglect of Chicago’s low-income residents, coupled with racial discrimination in access to housing, created the conditions whereby plans for economic growth in Chicago were antithetical to social welfare, particularly for the city’s black residents.

After our section on Emigration Routes from Chicago, Eve Ewing, Assistant Professor in the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago, contributes our fifth expert commentary and expands our understanding of the factors contributing to inverse population shifts among Chicago’s black and white residents. Complicating agentic notions of “moving” as a personal choice, Dr. Ewing highlights the powerful structural factors pushing black residents from the city, such as poor schools, limited healthcare, inadequate transportation, and a lack of political accountability from city officials.

Our sixth expert commentary is by David Stovall, Professor of African American Studies and Criminology, Law, and Justice at the University of Illinois at Chicago, who describes how black population decline in Chicago is symptomatic of deeper, historically rooted, and ongoing practices of racial exclusion. Dr. Stovall explains how the privatization of public goods, decline of jobs, and increasing income inequality in the city constitute different aspects of “engineered conflict” systematically driving black residents from Chicago.

After our Conclusion, two additional expert commentaries offer insight on future change in Chicago. Our seventh expert commentary is by Barbara Ransby, Director of the Social Justice Initiative and a Distinguished Professor of History, Gender and

Women's Studies, and African American Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Highlighting the major presence of social activism in Chicago, Dr. Ransby comments on the importance of collective resistance in informing our approach to addressing the problems contributing to black population loss and in making Chicago a home for black residents.

Alden Loury, Senior Editor for Race, Class and Communities at WBEZ Chicago, closes the report with our last expert commentary. Synthesizing the many data points throughout this report, Loury highlights one over-arching take away: Black exodus in Chicago is a direct result of racial inequality in the city. With this understanding, Loury makes a call to action. Residents, business owners, and policymakers alike must adopt a lens of racial justice to better identify and address existing racial disparities. Inequitable access to public goods and economic opportunities must be immediately remedied, while continued consciousness of racial justice is necessary to ensure future changes in the city do not disproportionately disadvantage black residents.

Addressing rising concerns around population decline, this report focuses primarily on black Chicagoans because they are a group leaving the city at high rates. For example, we do not devote significant attention towards population dynamics among Chicago's Latinx community. These trends are documented extensively in previous reports highlighting racial disparities facing this group and the limited resources available in Latinx neighborhoods.⁷ While black and Latinx communities share some of the same challenges in Chicago, each have unique histories in the city that shape contemporary experiences, barriers, and opportunities. By specifically examining Chicago's black population, we provide a deeper analysis of the factors related to population shifts for this group.

Our aim in this report is to use available data to advance our understanding of racial/ethnic issues in Chicago so we may be better positioned to address the challenges facing our city. To this end, we adopt the provisional use of racial categories to identify disparities, divergent patterns, and inequities. We recognize that the use of racial categories in research is often an imprecise measure of personal identity and experience and can suggest that racialized categories are fixed and immutable. We draw upon decades of scholarship within the social sciences and ethnic studies that identify the social, political, and historical processes involved in the construction of racial/ethnic groups and that contribute to differential outcomes between these

groups. While race and ethnicity are social categories – they are not biological or permanent – they have material consequences and have played an important role in organizing social relations nationally and within the city of Chicago.

Our use of racial categories throughout this report is intended to shed light on how racial inequities emerge and their consequences for social life. One way we identify such patterns is through the analytic comparison of black and white Chicago residents in various outcomes (e.g., income, employment, and population shifts). This approach is not intended to re-affirm the black-white racial binary often used to characterize U.S. race relations. Racial diversity and dynamics in the U.S. are far more complex than such a binary would imply. The creation and evolution of racial hierarchies have always been relational processes that simultaneously benefit some to the detriment of others. Whites have generally benefited from the very systems of racial hierarchy, both nationally⁸ and in Chicago,⁹ that have harmed blacks. Thus, the comparison between white and black Chicagoans not only helps us identify the gap in social outcomes between the group most systematically advantaged in U.S. society – whites – and one of the groups most systematically disadvantaged – blacks – but also centers two groups whose experiences in Chicago have been inversely impacted by local, state, and federal policies. While this comparison allows us to examine the disparities between these two groups, the comparison is not intended to normalize the place of white society at the top of the racial hierarchy or how whites benefit from systematic advantages in our society. By highlighting disparities between white and black Chicago residents, we hope to inform policy that may reduce racial inequity, as well as provide a foundation for further research that may add detail to trends we uncover.

Population decline among black residents suggests that Chicago may no longer be viewed as a place of opportunity for this segment of the population. Throughout this report, we shed light on some of the antecedents of these trends while also paying attention to how they play out across neighborhoods in more recent decades. By taking a data-driven approach to document population trends and their association with other markers of inequity, we expand current conversations that interrogate the decline of Chicago's black population. Our goal is that the information provided in this report will inform policies that create a more welcoming and equitable city for all residents.

Black Chicagoans are *Still* Leaving the City

By Stacey Sutton

Reading this report and the trends detailed herein raises an important question, why is Chicago's black exodus currently garnering popular and political attention?

In January 2018, at a campaign press conference held in North Lawndale, a predominately black neighborhood experiencing significant population loss, Illinois gubernatorial candidate Chris Kennedy amplified what many community residents, organizers, and advocates have been proclaiming for decades. Kennedy accused Mayor Emanuel, and Mayor Daley before him, of deliberately orchestrating Chicago's "black flight." Kennedy avowed that "black people are being pushed out of Chicago intentionally by a strategy that involves disinvestment in communities being implemented by the city administration."

Prolific headlines since 2018 such as "Is Chicago's legacy of segregation causing a reverse Great Migration," "Black flight out of Chicago," and "Hard times are driving African-Americans away from Chicago" are partially accurate but seem to suggest that the trend is new or unprecedented. However, as this report shows, Chicago's black population has been incessantly declining since 1980. In fact, a record 181,000 black residents fled Chicago between 2000 and 2010, substantially more than other major cities in the United States barring Detroit which lost a comparable number of black residents that decade.

The good news is, if demographic trends keep pace, by 2020 Chicago will have lost significantly *fewer* black residents than the prior decade. Nevertheless, multidecade population decline is indeed worrisome for any city. It signals widespread disinvestment and structural inequities visible in the shuttering of public schools, health facilities, and inadequate provisioning of essential services; outmoded infrastructures; inept municipal financial management; downwardly mobile economic opportunities; unfettered predatory lending practices; and yawning social and spatial inequalities. Chicago's response is also worrisome.

To combat the stigma of urban decline and disinvestment, since the 1990s Chicago city leaders have embraced low-road development policies by categorically adopting free market governance rather than sustainable equitable development. Consequently, Chicago has earned the unenviable position of being the most aggressive instigator in privatizing the public sphere.¹⁰ Under the ruse of fiscal austerity, Chicago Mayors have negotiated appalling infrastructure leases – such as the street parking meters, underground parking garages, and Chicago Skyway – and unethical if not illegal patronage contracts in automated ticket cameras, garbage collection and recycling, janitorial services and more.

Chicago has also topped the list for its excessive use of tax increment financing districts (TIFs). TIF funds were intended to incentivize economic development in so called "blighted" communities where private investment has fled; thus, public money is required to stimulate development projects that would not occur 'but for' the incentive. Unfortunately, Chicago Aldermen and Mayors have often used TIFs as a vehicle to

transfer billions of dollars in tax breaks and subsidies to property entrepreneurs for downtown megaproject developments that arguably would have happened in lieu of TIF.

For example, the Lincoln Yards TIF, a 55-acre former manufacturing district wedged between Lincoln Park, Bucktown, and Wicker Park should hardly qualify as “blighted.” Yet, Mayor Emanuel and his Aldermanic cronies pushed through \$1.3 billion in tax subsidies for Sterling Bay to develop millions of square feet of class A commercial space, luxury residential and hotel towers, retail, and entertainment space. Although it’s too early to implicate the Lincoln Yards TIF, the preponderance of evidence from TIF supported megaprojects shows that they fail to deliver on promises of economic development. Despite the size and scope of the developments, they tend to relocate economic activity in and around the Loop rather than stimulate new economic opportunities for the most marginalized Chicagoans.

The degree to which TIFs *directly* contribute to Chicago’s black exodus is inconclusive. What is clear is that the stewards of Chicago’s collective wealth, i.e., taxes, uphold TIFs despite common knowledge that it extracts valuable resources from underfunded public entities – public schools, city services, parks, libraries, and city colleges – and transfers resources to private developers. While residents leaving Chicago may not blame TIFs, explicitly, they are keenly aware of its *indirect* effects, namely, underfunded public schools, neighborhood libraries with bankers’ hours, the dearth of accessible neighborhood retail amenities, and promises of jobs that never materialize. On top of the absence of neighborhood investment, Chicago’s black communities have felt the brunt of efforts to raise money through punitive fines and fees.

While TIFs are an abstract and elusive financing tool, Chicago’s vigorously enforced labyrinth of punitive policies, including vehicle ticketing, towing, booting, doubling ticket fines for non-payment, barring scofflaws from working for the city or driving rideshare, are omnipresent. The city’s sundry fines and fees have been found to disproportionately burden black residents. As such, they are unjustly shouldering the economic burden of the punitive city. Many are forced into bankruptcy. Once again, Chicago has risen to the top of an unenviable list as the nationwide leader in Chapter 13 bankruptcies.

It is not surprising that Chicago has become untenable for so many black and poor residents. What’s curious, however, is why media and political discourses seem to treat Chicago’s black exodus as a new phenomenon. Perhaps what I am inferring from public commentary about Chicago’s changing racial geography is not motivated by new demographic knowledge. Instead, it springs from a new license within mainstream discourses for frank articulations of Chicago’s legacy of structural racism, underlying policies, and contemporary manifestations. The Movement for Black Lives – and the black freedom fighters upon whose shoulders they stand – deserve the credit for widely connecting black lived experiences; racialized policies, practices and representations; and the health of our cities. Perhaps this gave Chris Kennedy, a member of the Kennedy Dynasty, license to engage in political theatre by accusing the administration of pushing black people out of Chicago and orchestrating a “strategic gentrification plan” for shrinking the city and making it “whiter.” That is indeed novel.

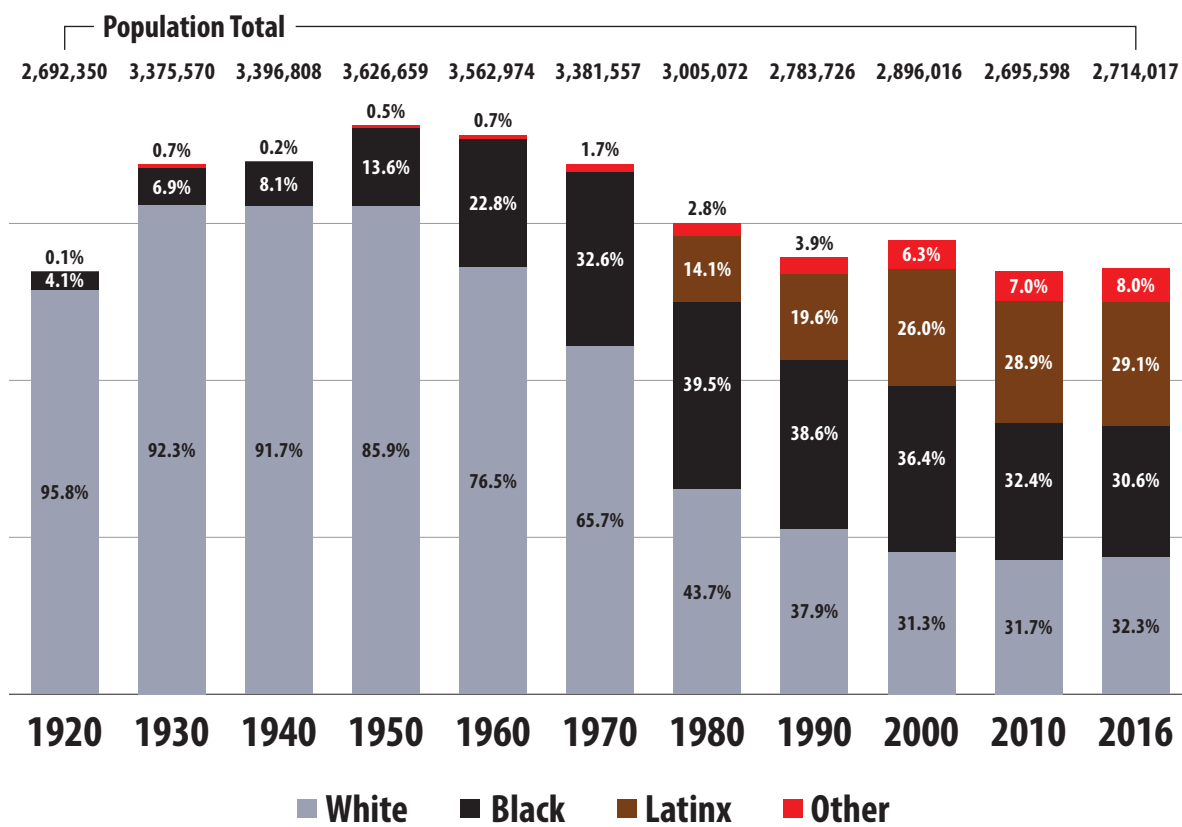
CHICAGO POPULATION TRENDS OVER THE LAST CENTURY

Chicago's overall population has fluctuated dramatically over the past century. Between 1920 and 1950, the city's population grew by nearly one million to a peak of 3.6 million residents before decreasing by a similar amount between 1950 and 1990. Within these broad city-wide trends, however, exist distinct population shifts among racial groups. The population of whites in Chicago peaked in 1930 and declined sharply after 1950.¹¹ Meanwhile the population of black Chicagoans was very low in 1920, but grew steadily with each decade through 1980. While Chicago's white and black populations have generally decreased since 1980, the Latinx population has grown substantially in recent decades. Moreover, Asian Americans are still a small group in the city but are currently the fastest growing.¹² One group that is not represented in our tables, but has resided in Chicago longer than any other, are Native Americans.¹³ Prior to the incorporation of Chicago in 1837, local Native American tribes were the primary residents of the area. Yet, land appropriation and forced removal by the U.S. government largely excluded the area's Native Americans from the early growth of the city of Chicago. While the population of Native Americans in Chicago has increased in recent decades, they remain one of the city's smallest racial/ethnic groups.

These racially divergent population trends resonate with broader patterns of differentiation across racial and ethnic groups in the city.¹⁴ As with other features of social life, population trends across the city's three largest racial/ethnic groups portray a "tale of three cities." A closer examination of these patterns reveals, in fact, that while these groups have had quite different experiences in the city, their histories and demographic patterns are intertwined. Most importantly, educational, economic, and social opportunities for some populations often came at the expense of other groups, resulting in persistent racial disparities that characterized the historical structure of race relations in Chicago and are reproduced into the present day.

As extensively documented elsewhere, blacks left the U.S. South in high numbers starting in the early 1900s to escape racial violence and to pursue economic opportunities in booming Northern cities where jobs were more readily available.¹⁵ These trends are reflected in the Chicago-based data presented here. In only a twenty-year period between 1950 and 1970, the population of black residents in Chicago grew by over 600,000.

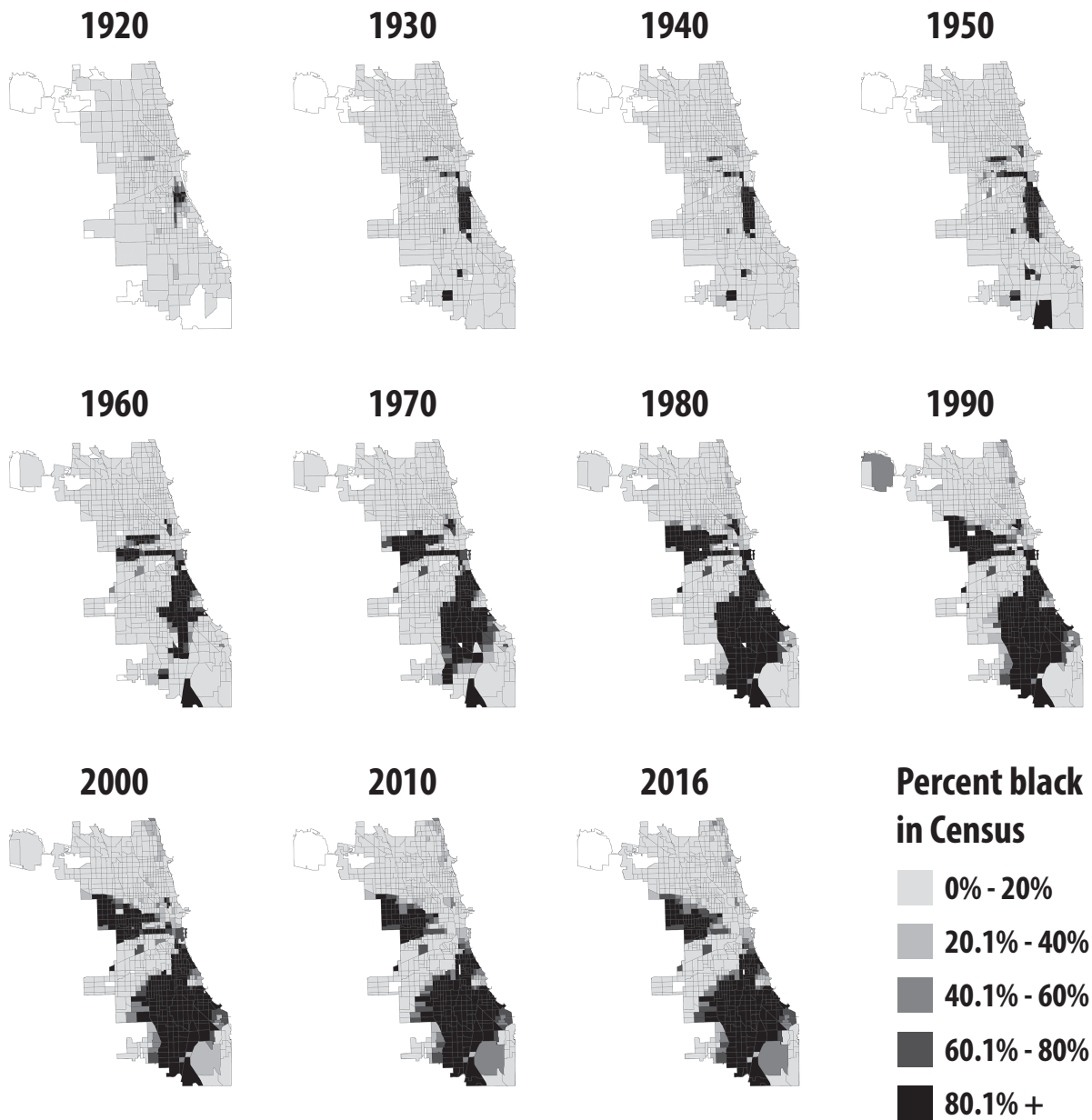
CHICAGO RACIAL DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS, 1920 - 2016



Source: 1920 through 2010 data are from the decennial U.S. Census.⁵⁸ 2016 data is from the 2016 American Community Survey five-year sample.⁵⁸ Latinx population estimates are only available from 1980 onward. Prior to 1980, black, white, and other population estimates include Latinxs. To account for changes in Chicago city boundaries, we matched census tracts within or intersecting contemporary city borders to ensure changes over time reflect accurate population changes and not the increasing geographic size of Chicago as city limits grew. As a result, population estimates reported here may differ slightly from estimates that do not aggregate from census tracts.

While many African Americans left the South to escape Jim Crow laws and practices that enforced racial segregation, the Northern cities they relocated to were not racial utopias. Racism in Chicago was visible and virulent in all parts of city life. One particularly harmful form was in the organized, state-sanctioned segregation of African American migrants into separate parts of the city from whites.¹⁶ This occurred through at least two mechanisms. Prior to the Fair Housing Act of 1968, a wide range of public and private practices (e.g., redlining in lending, reinvestment, contract sales, discrimination by realtors and landlords, restrictive covenants, blockbusting, organized white resistance) segregated arriving African Americans into a small, densely populated segment of Chicago known as the “black belt.”¹⁷ After the Fair Housing Act banned formal and explicit practices such as restrictive housing covenants, the geographic

SEGREGATION OF CHICAGO'S BLACK RESIDENTS, 1920 TO 2016

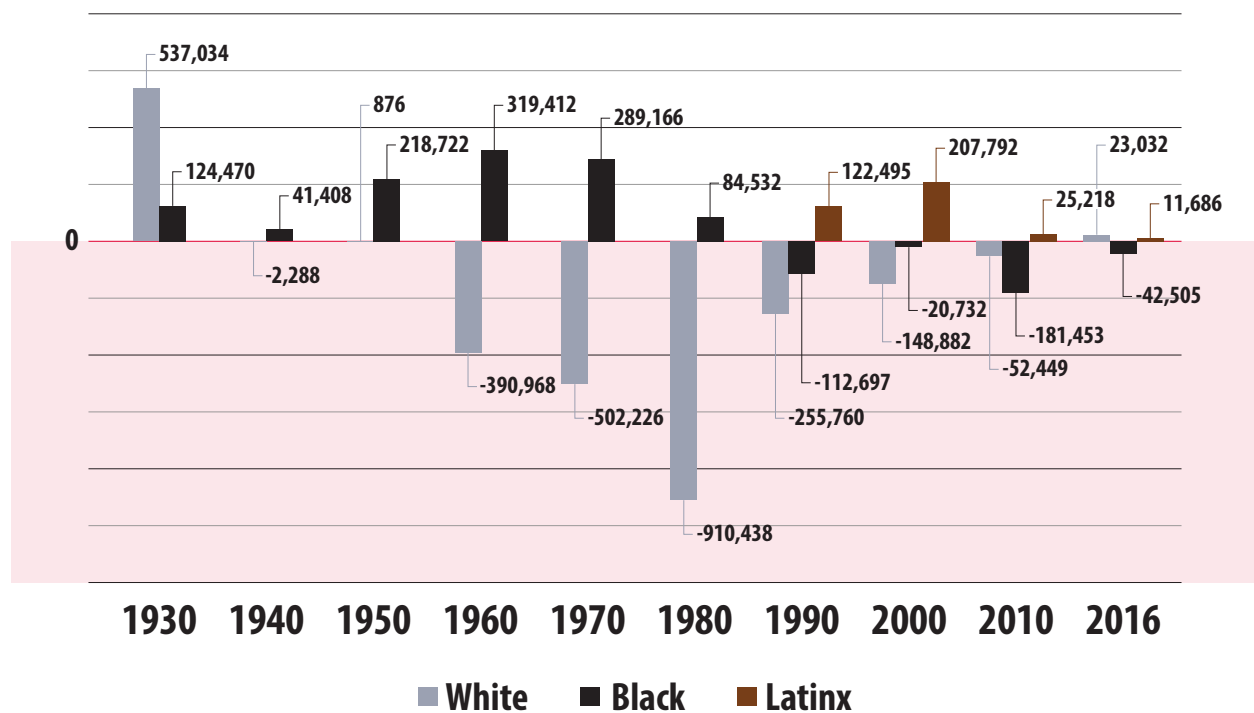


Source: 1920 through 2010 data are from the decennial U.S. Census. 2016 data is from the 2016 American Community Survey five-year sample.⁵⁸

spread of Chicago's black population expanded, but remained largely segregated from whites.¹⁸ Illegal, but highly consequential, forms of racial discrimination that included racial steering and rent/loan discrimination continued to segregate black Chicagoans into areas surrounding the historical black belt.¹⁹ As black neighborhoods expanded on the South and West Sides, many white residents in these communities moved to the suburbs or neighborhoods in Chicago's North Side instead of residing in what would have been racially integrated neighborhoods.²⁰

For the 600,000-plus black residents that moved to Chicago between 1950 and 1970, this latter-phase of the Great Migration coincided with increased organizing nationally to dismantle the formal and informal mechanisms of Jim Crow and to challenge racist policies and practices across domains and industries throughout the United States. Cities around the country experienced great tumult as black demands for full rights were met with white violence, resistance, and eventually white flight from cities to suburbs.²¹ From 1950 to 1970 – a period of time when the population of blacks in Chicago more than doubled – the population of whites decreased by nearly 900,000. Just as local, state, and federal governments played a substantial role in the segregation of black communities in cities, white suburbanization was similarly highly subsidized by public policies at the federal, state, and local level which facilitated their exodus, transforming farmland beyond the city's borders into

CHICAGO POPULATION CHANGE PER DECADE, 1930 - 2016

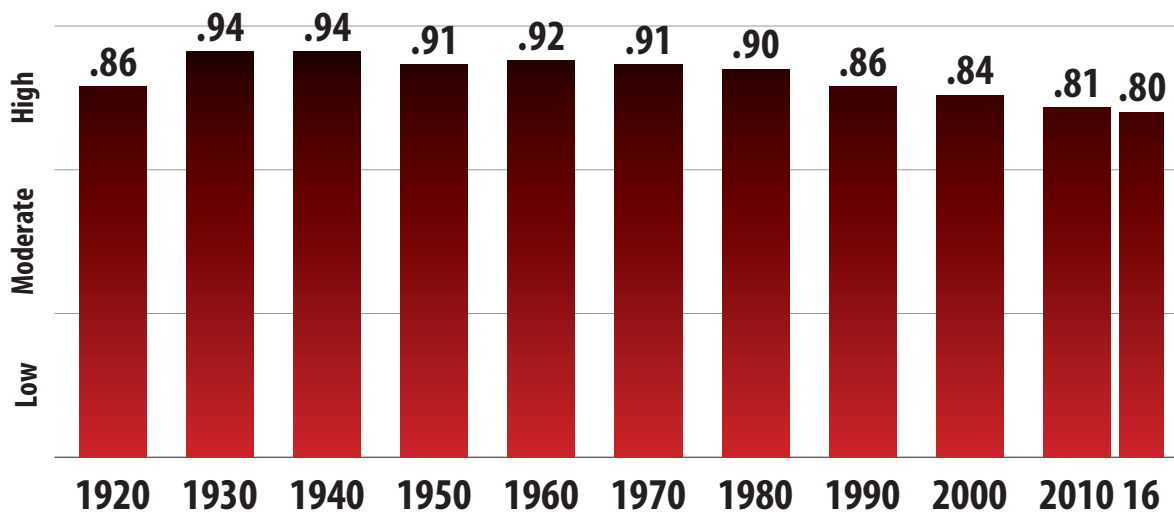


Source: 1920 through 2010 data are from the decennial U.S. Census.⁵⁸ 2016 data is from the 2016 American Community Survey five-year sample.⁵⁸ Latinx population estimates are only available from 1980 onward. Prior to 1980, black, white, and other population estimates include Latinxs. To account for changes in Chicago city boundaries, we matched census tracts within or intersecting contemporary city borders to ensure changes over time reflect accurate population changes and not the increasing geographic size of Chicago as city limits grew. As a result, population estimates reported here may differ slightly from estimates that do not aggregate from census tracts.

subdivisions.²² White flight took place throughout many Northern urban centers like Chicago, New York, and Baltimore.²³ In all these contexts, black and white population trends have been deeply intertwined.

Segregation was not just about physical separation. As white residents moved out, investment also declined. Banks were less willing to give loans for businesses in predominantly black neighborhoods, government policies rolled back community investment, and new infrastructure projects (such as the construction of highways and railroads) actively undermined incentives for business development.²⁴ Disinvestment from black communities meant fewer jobs in these areas and a greater reliance on manufacturing for employment. While Chicago's factories in the South and West Sides provided employment opportunities for black communities during the mid-20th century, the lack of other economic activity meant that Chicago's black residents were particularly vulnerable when factories closed during periods of de-industrialization.²⁵ This vulnerability surfaced in the late 1970s through the 1980s when an economic recession resulted in major job losses in the manufacturing sector. In the course of only one year between June 1979 and July 1980, for example, over 1.4 million manufacturing jobs were lost throughout the U.S.²⁶ Midwest cities, such as Chicago, that had built their post-war economies on manufacturing, were the hardest hit.

BLACK AND WHITE SEGREGATION IN CHICAGO, 1920 - 2016



Source: 1920 through 2010 data are from the decennial U.S. Census. 2016 data is from the 2016 American Community Survey five-year sample.⁵⁸

While service, retail, and information sector jobs replaced lost manufacturing employment in many North Side neighborhoods, these developments did not occur to a similar extent in the South and West Sides of the city.²⁷ Because major manufacturing companies served as anchors of employment and indirectly supported local neighborhood economies, many majority black neighborhoods in the city declined as jobs and economic opportunities continued to vanish. Black communities contending with the plunder of resources through extractive practices such as predatory contract leasing and exorbitant rents were hard pressed to contend with the loss of a key employment base. A report by the Nathalie Voorhees Center and Samuel DuBois Cook Center estimates that, between 1950 and 1960, the amount of wealth that was extracted from Chicago's black communities through predatory housing practices reached upwards of 3.2 to 4.0 *billion* dollars.²⁸

Today, the consequences of economic neglect, disinvestment, and predatory extraction from Chicago's South and West Sides can be observed in the concentration of jobs in other parts of the city. A recent analysis by the Metropolitan Planning Council revealed that the number of jobs located in or around downtown increased from approximately 650,000 to 715,000 between 2010 and 2015 while jobs in the city's majority-black communities suffered a loss from 76,900 to 75,400.²⁹ As documented in a previous IRRPP report, approximately 700,000 jobs are based within a 30 minute commute from downtown and the North Side, while only 50,000 jobs are within 30 minutes of the city's South Side.³⁰ Relatedly, black residents in Chicago have the longest commute times in the city – traveling farther and taking more time to reach work.

When viewed in the context of historical population shifts and residential segregation, contemporary economic challenges in Chicago's predominantly black South and West Sides can be traced to economic exclusion stemming from disinvestment from these areas during the mid-20th century when black migration to Chicago was at its peak and white residents left neighborhoods that would have otherwise become racially integrated. When deindustrialization led to massive job loss throughout Chicago, disinvestment from black neighborhoods limited the extent to which new industry could replace these lost opportunities. Historical antecedents such as these created the foundation for many of the challenges facing Chicago today.

Moreover, recent policies have disproportionately adversely affected black communities, such as municipal investment in hyper-policing and mass incarceration alongside public school and health clinic closings, the redirection of TIF resources

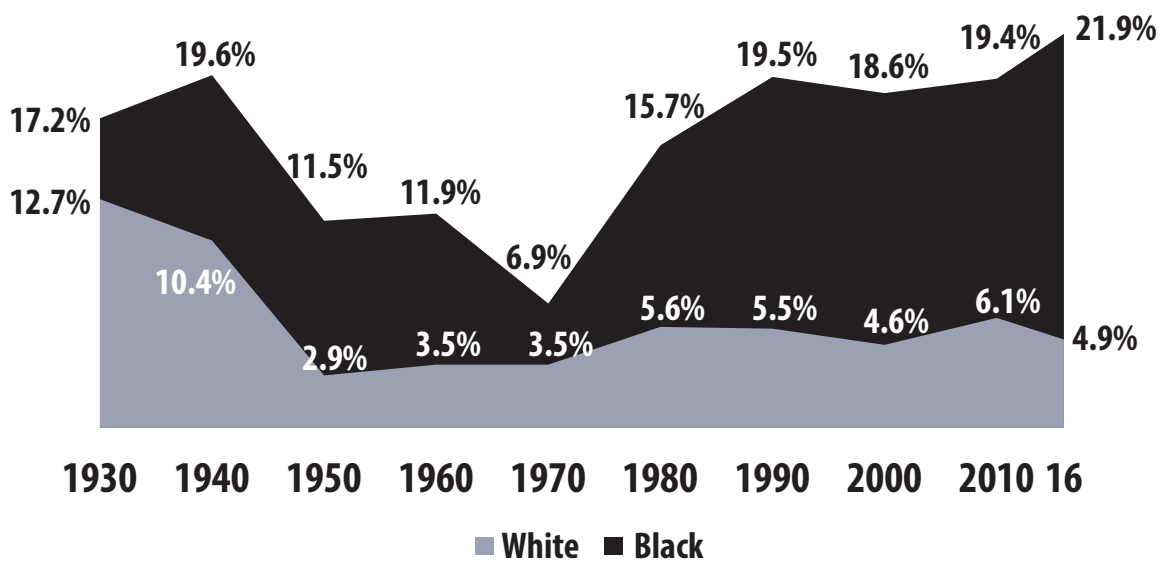
to affluent communities, while disproportionately targeting black and brown communities with fines and fees, and steering black families towards sub-prime home loans that put them at risk for foreclosure. The loss of employment in black neighborhoods on the South and West Sides has meant the loss of a stable tax base for those communities, increased housing instability, and a more precarious customer base for black businesses in those neighborhoods. This has caused many black residents to leave the city in pursuit of more favorable conditions.

Population Shifts and Economic Conditions

Unemployment

Throughout the past century, Chicago’s economy has boomed at times and struggled at others. Due to the legacy of racial exclusion and disinvestment from black communities in Chicago, the city’s black residents have been the most impacted when the economy declines and the last to recover during periods of growth. These trends are apparent in rates of unemployment among black and white Chicago residents from 1930 to 2016 (years for which data are available).

BLACK AND WHITE CHICAGO UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, 1930 - 2016



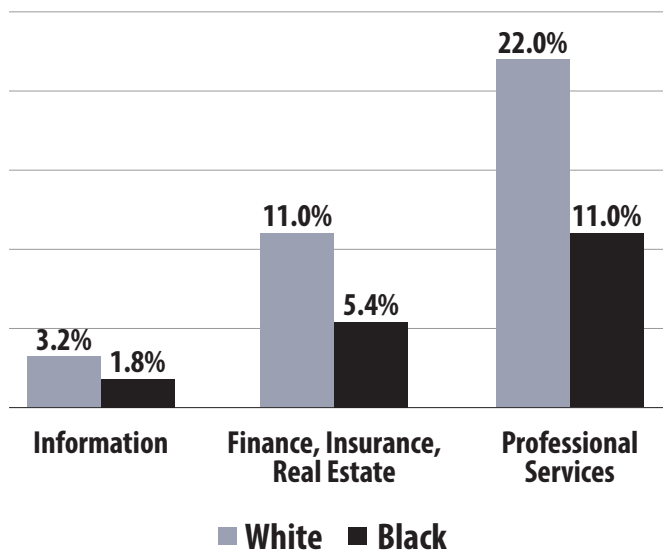
Source: Data points are recorded for each decade and 2016. Data for years 1930-1960 and 1980-2000 come from individual-level U.S. Census microdata obtained from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS).³¹ Data for 1970 come from the U.S. Census, access through Social Explorer. Data for 2010 and 2016 come from the American Community Survey 5-year estimates obtained through IPUMS.³¹

Looking at the numbers, black unemployment in Chicago has always been two to three times as much as white unemployment, even in the best of times. In 1950, just as black migration to Chicago surged, unemployment in the city was at historic lows, with black unemployment at 11.5% and white unemployment at 2.8%. Between 1950 and 1980, the black population continued to increase, peaking in 1980 as deindustrialization took hold and the manufacturing sector, which was a major source of employment in cities like Chicago, began a decades-long decline.

The harmful consequences of deindustrialization were particularly felt by black Chicagoans. After 1980, unemployment spiked for black residents, but stabilized among whites. While the recession of the early 1980s officially ended in 1982,³² black Chicagoans never fully recovered. In 2016, black unemployment in Chicago was worse than it was during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

In contrast to the worsening economic conditions for black residents in Chicago, unemployment trends for whites in the city stabilized following 1980 and have remained around 5 percent since then. From 1990 through 2016, unemployment rates for black residents were around four times as high as unemployment rates among whites in Chicago.

PERCENT OF BLACK AND WHITE CHICAGOANS EMPLOYED IN WELL-PAYING SERVICE INDUSTRIES, 2016



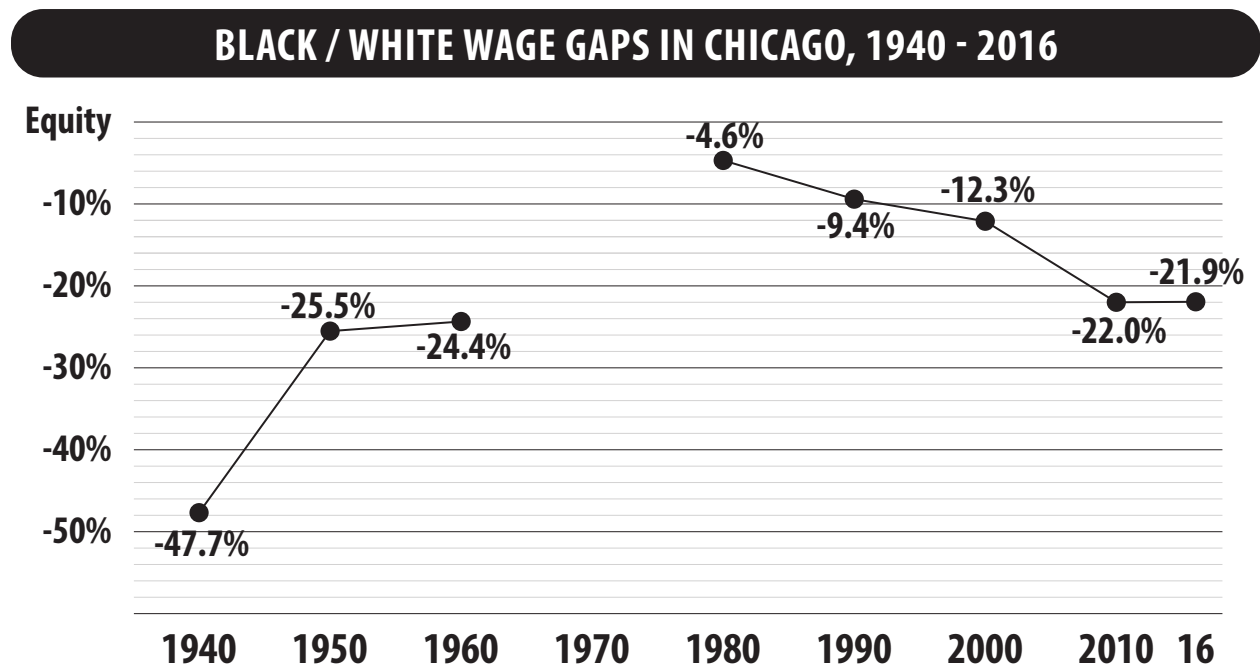
These stark differences in unemployment illustrate the longstanding consequences of the legacy of racism that began with segregation and disinvestment and have been sustained through economic exclusion and policy neglect. The history of segregation isolated black residents in Chicago not only geographically, but also economically, creating a disconnect between where black residents worked and where jobs were available. The deindustrialization of the late 1970s and 1980s led to the loss

Source: American Community Survey.⁵⁸

of many manufacturing jobs in Chicago’s South and West Sides. While the decline in manufacturing precipitated the rise of service and information sectors, newly created jobs were often located downtown, on the North Side, or in the suburbs.³³ As a result, few jobs replaced those that were lost in formerly manufacturing-based centers of the city. Disparities across the economic sector, which we discuss further below, have been and continue to be consequential for Chicagoans’ economic outcomes. These disparities persist today, where white Chicago residents are twice as likely to work in the information, financial, and professional services industries than black Chicagoans.

Wage Gaps

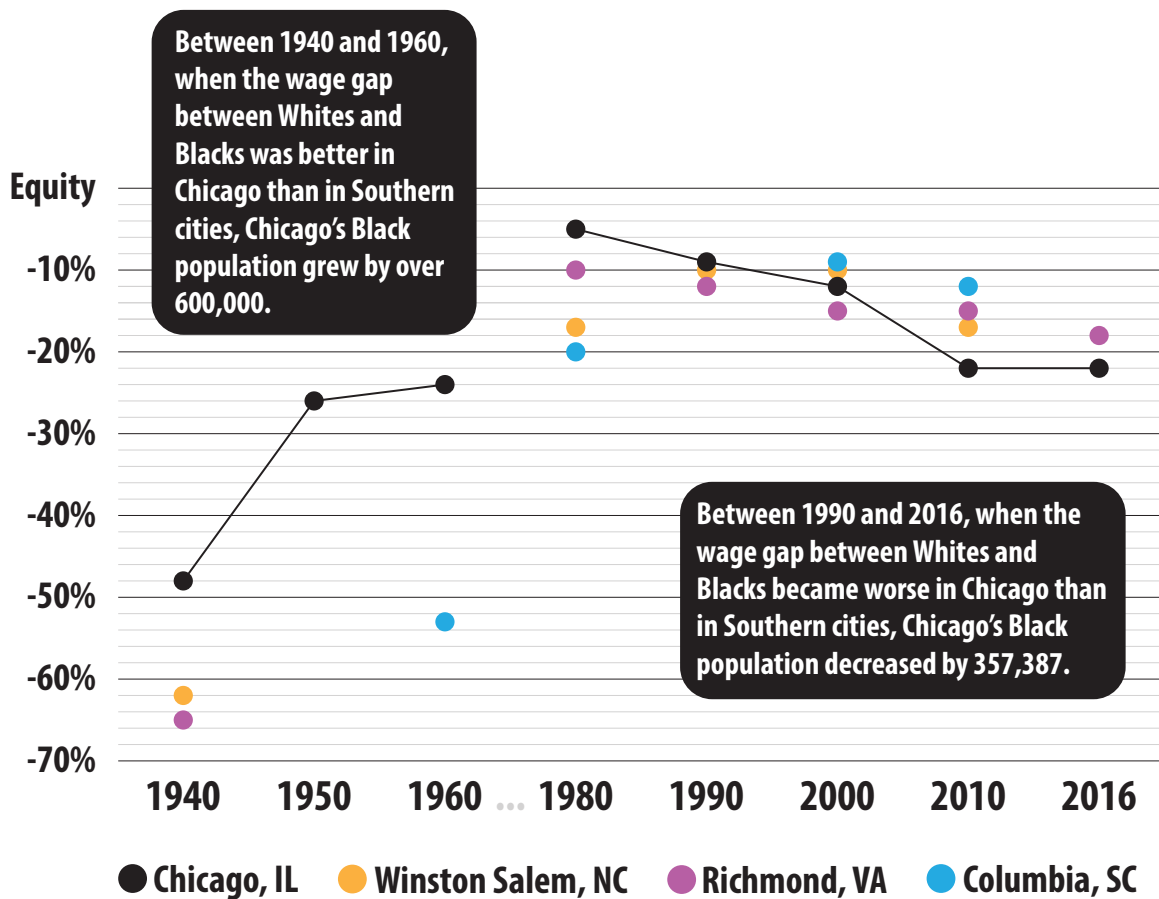
An examination of wage gaps³⁴ between blacks and whites reveals another pattern of declining economic opportunity for blacks in the city. Wage gaps refer to the percentage difference in hourly wages after accounting for characteristics such as education, age, family attributes (marital status, number of children), gender, and whether an individual works full or part time. Scholars have generally identified discrimination as the remaining cause for differences in wages after accounting for



Source: Wage gaps represent the conditional difference in logged wages between white and black Chicago residents, calculated with regression models controlling for gender, education, marital status, age, age squared, number of children, foreign born status, and full or part time work status. Individual-level Census (years 1940, 1950, 1960, 1980, 1990, 2000) and American Community Survey 5-year sample (2010 and 2016) data were obtained from IPUMS and used for these estimates.³¹ Wage gap estimates are not available for 1970 because city of residence was not recorded in the public data used here for that particular year.

these characteristics.³⁵ Examining trends in the racial wage gap over the past 80 years, wage discrimination for blacks in Chicago decreased from 1940 until 1980 when the black population peaked. In 1980, black Chicagoans were paid 5% less than white Chicagoans. This small, but still statistically significant wage gap was the lowest in the history of Chicago. After 1980, however, racial wage gaps worsened with each decade. By 2010, black workers' wages were 22% less than whites. This level of wage discrimination is comparable to that observed in 1950 – fourteen years prior to the Civil Rights Act. Increasing wage discrimination and limited access to economic opportunities represent another growing racial divide in Chicago.

COMPARISON OF BLACK / WHITE WAGE GAPS BETWEEN CHICAGO AND OTHER SOUTHERN CITIES, 1940 - 2010



Source: Only years with at least 100 black and 100 white respondents in each city were included. Wage gaps were calculated with regression models predicting logged hourly wages with race (black/white), controlling for gender, education, marital status, age, age squared, number of children, foreign born status, and full or part time work status. Individual-level Census (years 1940, 1950, 1960, 1980, 1990, 2000) and American Community Survey 5-year sample (2010 and 2016) data were obtained from IPUMS and used for these estimates.³¹ Wage gap estimates are not available for 1970 because city of residence was not recorded in the public data used here for that particular year.

Comparing black/white wage gaps in Chicago and three Southern cities from where a large number of blacks emigrated in the mid-20th century, wage discrimination in Chicago was much lower than in comparable Southern cities from 1940 through 1980. This is consistent with the pervasive narrative that blacks were moving away from the discriminatory South to the North, where economic opportunities were more readily available and racism was less prevalent.³⁶ After 1980, however, racial wage gaps in Chicago worsened, becoming similar to many Southern cities in 1990 and 2000, and then worse than many Southern cities in 2010 and 2016. In 2010, for example, the black/white wage gap in Chicago, at 22%, was ten percentage points worse than the wage gap in Columbia, South Carolina, at 12%.

Looking at the past century of migration trends in Chicago, there is a correlation between patterns of racial inequity in economic opportunity and demographic trends. In the mid-20th century, Chicago had much lower levels of racial inequity in economic indicators than the South and offered, relatively, a context of opportunity for African Americans. Though racial discrimination existed in Chicago and was evident in employment and housing trends, economic outcomes were better in Chicago and instances of violent racism were less common compared to cities in the Southern U.S.³⁷ Lower levels of racial discrimination and greater economic opportunity drew black migrants from the South, leading to a major population boom in Chicago. As blacks moved to Chicago, existing Northern forms of racism became more apparent through residential racial segregation, economic segmentation, and wage discrimination.

Our analysis of wage gaps suggests that racial inequity has worsened since 1980 and has coincided with a decline in Chicago's black population. Worsening indicators of conditions for the city's black residents unfolded along with other troubling trends. Indeed, previous research has shown that many institutional changes have exacerbated the challenges facing Chicago's black community. For example, Illinois's prison population has increased 450% since 1980,³⁸ with the majority of this growth occurring through the incarceration of black residents who make up nearly 60% of the state's 50,000 prisoners.³⁹ Black students have also been disproportionately negatively affected by CPS school closings over the past two decades. According to a report by WBEZ, the ratio of CPS students impacted by a school closing is greater than eighty-two black students for every one white student affected.⁴⁰

By focusing on population shifts over the past century, this section sheds light on the longstanding history of residential racial segregation in Chicago, as well as the relationship of levels of racial inequalities to levels of black population growth or decline. The patterns we highlight show the historical antecedents to Chicago's present conditions along with the ongoing failure of public policy to address these disparities. Many key indicators of racial disparities in Chicago worsened in recent history, and this has coincided with the exodus of over 350,000 black residents since 1980.

Severe Hardships for Young People Left Behind When Others Leave

By Teresa Córdova

At a May 3, 2019 rally at the State of Illinois Thompson Center in downtown Chicago, students from Alternative Schools Network (ASN) gathered with a message: *No More! No Mas! Our Youth Should Grow Old, Not Die Young!* In the four weeks prior to the rally, three ASN students had been murdered and fifty shootings had occurred in Chicago. Concurrently, ASN released figures produced by the Great Cities Institute (GCI) showing that in Chicago, the percentage of black men between the ages of 20 to 24 that were out of school and out of work was on the rise again, at upwards of 45 percent.⁴¹

Students demanded increased funding for summer and year-round job programs, job training and a renewal of educational programs that had been proven successful in the past. In a series of hearings and rallies held by the ASN over the last few years, young people have been clear: if you want to solve the problem of violence, provide more educational and employment opportunities.

Young people see the connection between high rates of violence and what GCI labels *chronic and concentrated joblessness*. Chronic because the problem has persisted for four decades, made worse by the 2008 recession, and concentrated because the conditions are worse in neighborhoods with concentrations of blacks. These are also the neighborhoods where we see high rates of population loss.

Between 1980 and 2013-2017, for example, Englewood and West Englewood had a population loss of 34,326 (59 percent drop) and 33,242 (55 percent drop) respectively.⁴² In Englewood, according to 2013-2017 American Community Survey data, the joblessness figure⁴³ for 20 to 24 year olds was 57.4 percent and for individuals 16 to 64, the rate was 60.4 percent. In West Englewood, those numbers were even higher with 65 percent of the population of 20 to 24 year olds without a job and 57 percent of individuals 16 to 64.

In other words, many young people in these neighborhoods are living without jobs, surrounded by a large percentage of adults who are not working, high rates of violence, and neighbors moving out – aptly described as *Abandoned in their Neighborhoods*.⁴⁴

For decades, manufacturing was a significant part of Chicago's economy and the spur for the region's economic and population growth. According to data compiled by the Great Cities Institute, in 1947, at the peak of manufacturing employment in Chicago, there were 667,407 manufacturing jobs. By 2014, the number dropped to 110,445.⁴⁵ As has been highlighted in this IRRPP report, population loss coincided with the loss in manufacturing jobs, a factor affecting both rates of youth joblessness and access to higher wages.

In 1960, for example, 29.6 percent of black (non-Hispanic or Latino) 20-24 year olds were employed in manufacturing, but by 2015, only 2.9 percent of black 20-24 year olds were employed in the sector.⁴⁶ It

is also significant that employment in manufacturing paid higher wages for 20-24 year olds in 1960 than did retail and professional services in 2015.⁴⁷ Yet, as mapped in the 2017 GCI report, jobs have emptied out of neighborhoods and are concentrated in the downtown area.⁴⁸ With the loss of economic base jobs, retail declined and anchor institutions left.

Applying a hardship index comprised of six variables (unemployment, education, per capita income, poverty, crowded housing, and dependency), GCI assessed Chicago's seventy-seven community areas on a scale of 0 to 100. Not surprisingly, Chicago's abandoned neighborhoods ranked high on the hardship index, scoring as high as 74 in comparison to the loop's score of 8.6 and Lakeview at 9.6.⁴⁹

And so, *amidst the flight of industry and opportunity – and neighbors* – many young blacks are living in neighborhoods where they have been abandoned by the economic and spatial reconfiguration of Chicago and where they are experiencing conditions of severe hardship.

Decades of intentionally discriminatory policies and practices, e.g., redlining and blockbusting, contribute to an entrenched and forced segregation with concentrated and isolated conditions of disintegrated neighborhoods and fractured social capital. Children and young people that are left behind when others leave bear the greatest burden.

When global economic restructuring gave rise to hard hitting deindustrialization in cities like Chicago, very little effort was made through government or corporate policies to incorporate workers and sustain neighborhoods that were once integral. It was the making of an exclusive economy, the effects of which are still felt in Chicago's abandoned neighborhoods. The solution, of course, as economic restructuring continues, is to insist on an inclusive economy and the rebuilding of neighborhoods to sustain the populations that have been so critical to Chicago's economic and cultural vibrancy.

Education must be a priority – the kind of education that builds upon and enhances the creative, intelligent and innovative spirits of young people. Analytical and critical thinking, problem solving and collaborative learning are the essential skills for building tomorrow's economy and neighborhoods, enabling Chicago's young people to grow old.

Many young blacks are living in neighborhoods where they have been abandoned by the economic and spatial reconfiguration of Chicago.

CHICAGO POPULATION TRENDS BY NEIGHBORHOOD

Examining population trends by neighborhood provides more detail on the racialized nature of Chicago's demographic changes. Analyzing neighborhood change from 1990 to 2016 reveals that, irrespective of race, Chicago's population loss has not been spread evenly throughout the city but instead has been concentrated in specific neighborhoods. In fact, some neighborhoods have experienced a population boom. For example, the population of the Near North Side has grown by over 23,500 since 1990, while Englewood has experienced an equally large population decline, with a net loss of over 22,000 residents since 1990.

Looking at patterns of neighborhood population growth more closely, we see that growth has generally been driven by increasing numbers of a single racial group, whether white, black, or Latinx; in only rare cases have both white and black populations grown within the same neighborhood (see below). The majority of neighborhoods experiencing growth are located Downtown, in the North Side, or in the South West Side. Neighborhoods where the population has declined are predominantly in Chicago's South, Far South, and West Side (with the exception of the Near West Side).

Breaking down neighborhood population change by race from 1990 to 2016 reveals an inverse relationship between white and black population growth. Neighborhoods that experienced an increase in white residents saw a decrease in black residents and neighborhoods that experienced an increase in black residents saw a decrease in white residents. In the Near North Side, for example, the population of whites increased by over 17,000 while the population of blacks decreased by more than 7,000. In this particular neighborhood, a clear driver of demographic change was the demolition of Cabrini Green as part of the Chicago Housing Authority's Plan for Transformation. The predominantly black public housing complex was torn down and replaced with mixed income and market rate housing. The area around the former public housing development, proximate to the Gold Coast and Downtown, was then rebranded and marketed to predominantly white middle/upper class residents.⁵⁰ Another neighborhood where the Plan for Transformation may be related to black population loss is Grand Boulevard, where the demolition of public housing in the State Street Corridor, which included the Robert Taylor Homes, took place during a period of time when the black population decreased by over 14,000.⁵¹

The inverse relationship between black and white population growth is also observed in many other neighborhoods. In Lake View, the population of whites grew by over 10,000 while the population of black residents decreased by 2,255. West Town had the largest increase in white residents of any neighborhood in Chicago, with over 25,000 new white residents since 1990. Meanwhile, the population of black residents in this community decreased by nearly 1,400 while the Latinx population fell drastically by almost 32,000. These major population shifts occurred alongside sharply increasing property values in this neighborhood. A report by the Voorhees Center found that, between 1990 and 2000, the average property in West Town rose in value by 83%.⁵² These trends raise important questions about how gentrification may be driving population shifts in certain neighborhoods throughout the city.

The trend of white population growth and black population decline is not confined only to North Side neighborhoods. In Woodlawn, the population of blacks decreased by nearly 7,000 since 1990, while the population of whites increased by just over 1,000. These changes in Woodlawn have occurred alongside the expansion of the University of Chicago as well as the solidification of plans for the Obama Presidential Library. A report by the Voorhees Center analyzing the increasing housing pressures on Woodlawn and other areas surrounding the Obama Presidential Library site noted sharply rising rents and a 7% increase in evictions between 2010 and 2017, making evictions in Woodlawn 54% greater than the city average.⁵³ The declining black population in this historically African American community suggests that many concerns about the Presidential Library's impact on displacement may be well placed.⁵⁴

There were a few neighborhoods in the city where the black population grew. West Ridge, Ashburn, and Chicago Lawn all experienced a large increase in both black and Latinx populations. All three of these neighborhoods also had a significant decrease in their white population. It is notable that each of these neighborhoods are located near the city's borders.⁵⁵

Across Chicago, white population growth was concentrated in the North Side and Downtown, while black population growth, in the few neighborhoods where it occurred, took place in the South Side. In only two neighborhoods, the Loop and the Lower West Side, did the population of both blacks and whites increase. These

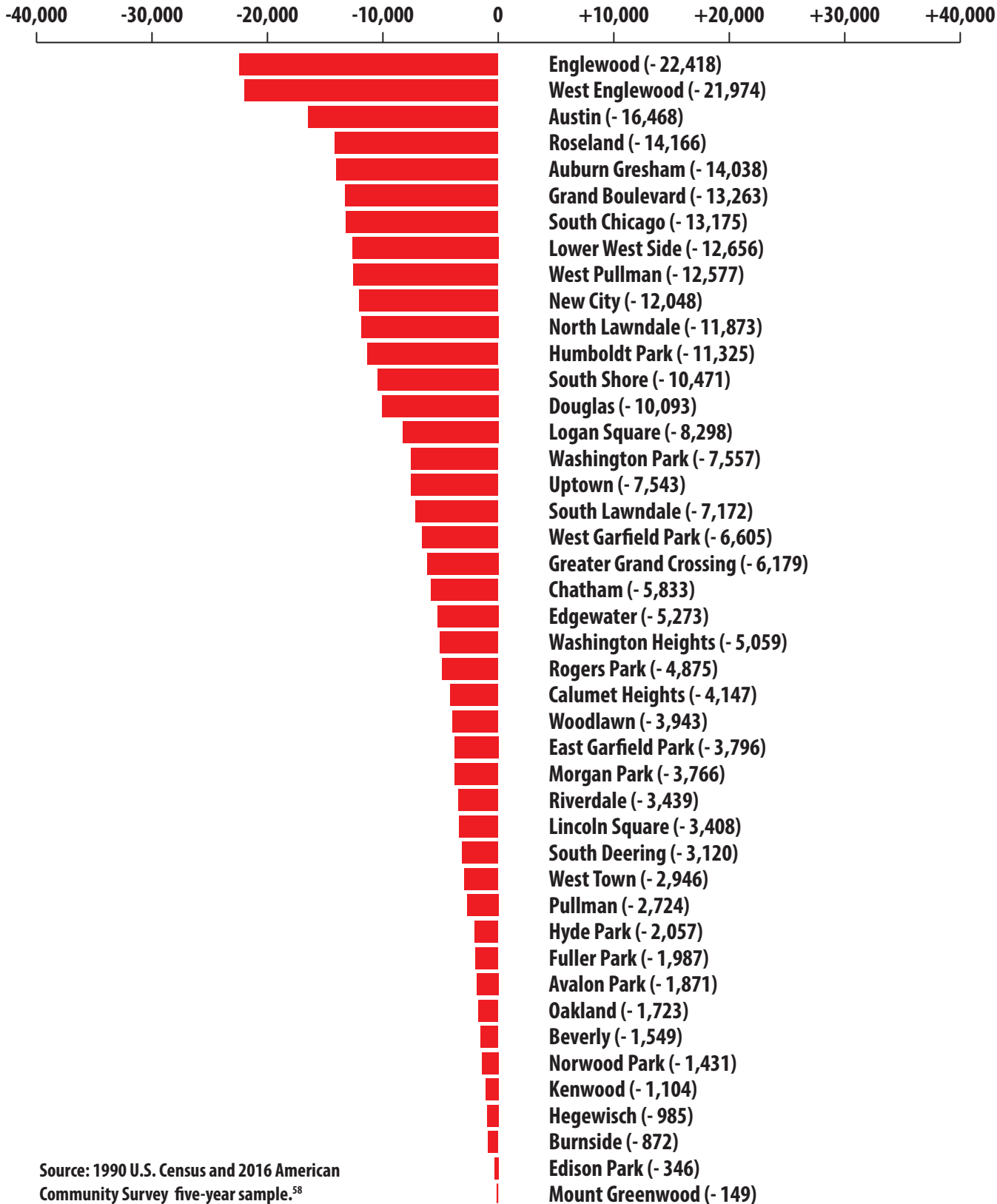
two neighborhoods have had some of the largest levels of economic growth in previous decades, drawing young professionals from around the city and country. In 22 neighborhoods, the population of whites and blacks each decreased. In the remaining 53 neighborhoods, the population of whites and blacks moved in opposite directions.

While we are unable to discern whether these trends are due to internal migration – individuals moving to different neighborhoods within Chicago – or due to flows of migration in-and-out of Chicago, the patterns presented here indicate that residential racial segregation is only getting worse in Chicago. Not only do whites and blacks rarely live near one another, but the factors associated with population growth for one group relate to population decline for the other. Averaging across all neighborhoods in the city, an increase of ten additional white residents in a neighborhood between 1990 and 2016 was associated with a loss of three black residents.

These patterns generate important questions about the source of population growth or decline across Chicago's neighborhoods. Our analysis suggests that the factors leading to white population growth have negative effects on the population of black residents. One such factor warranting further investigation is the role of public policy related to housing and economic investment. In particular, the destruction of the city's majority black public housing developments during the 1990s and early 2000s is undoubtedly a factor contributing to black population decline in communities such as the Near North Side and Grand Boulevard. While the intention of policies like the Plan for Transformation were to replace large public housing complexes with mixed-income communities, its effect has been major population decline among black residents in many of the neighborhoods where this program was implemented.⁵⁶

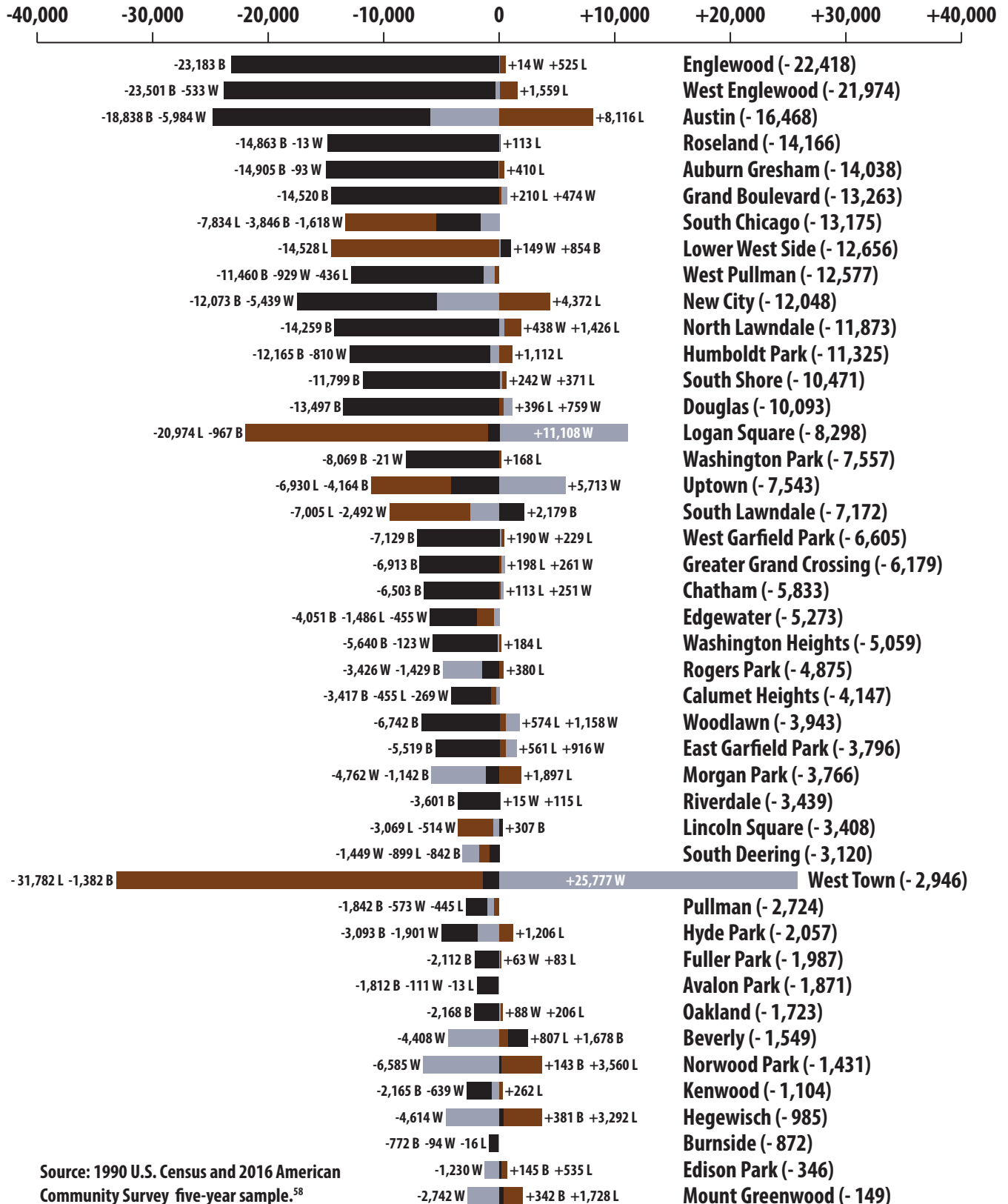
Another contributor to black population decline in Chicago are policies related to mass incarceration. In 2014, roughly 20,000 black Cook County residents were serving time in a state prison.⁵⁷ Not only does this involuntary exit from Chicago contribute to population decline, but it also affects families who remain. The loss of working age women and men to incarceration can be particularly challenging for communities suffering from general disinvestment. Related practices of hyper-policing and troubling patterns of police abuse across different communities also are possible contributors to residents' neighborhood experiences and potential pressure points contributing to black out-migration.

NET POPULATION DECREASE, 1990 TO 2016, BY COMMUNITY AREA



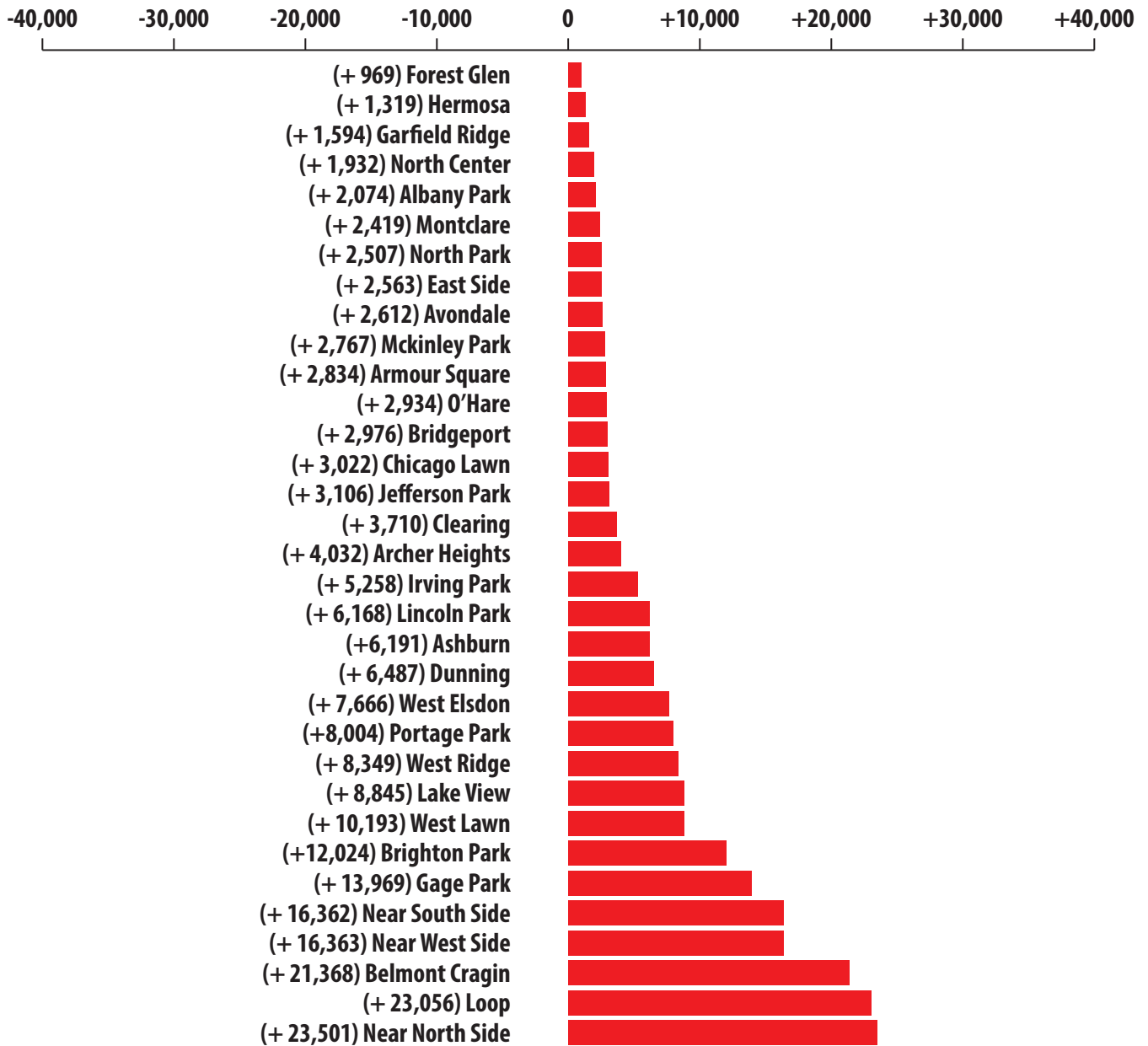
Source: 1990 U.S. Census and 2016 American Community Survey five-year sample.⁵⁸

NET POPULATION DECREASE, 1990 TO 2016, BY COMMUNITY AREA



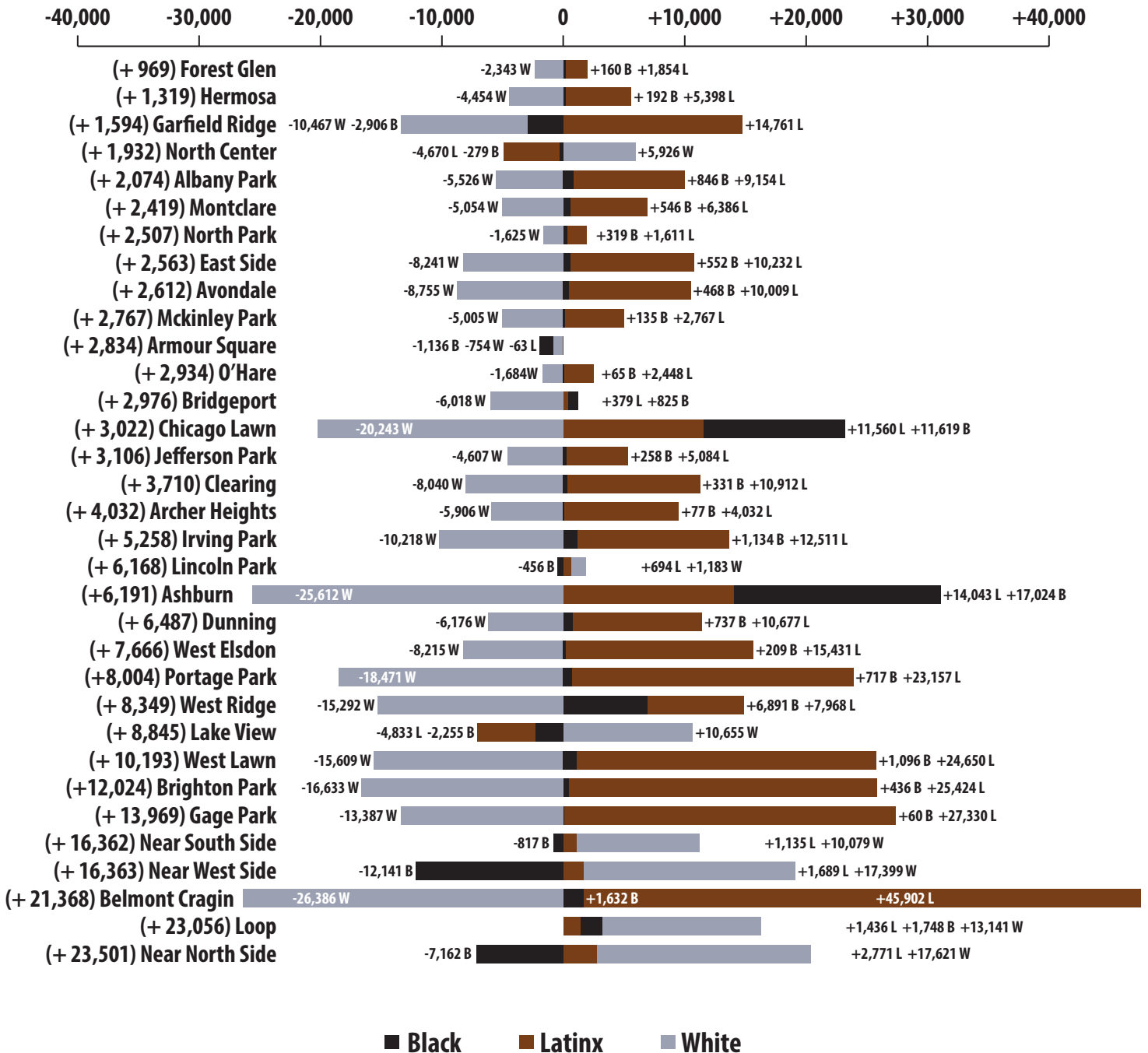
Source: 1990 U.S. Census and 2016 American Community Survey five-year sample.⁵⁸

NET POPULATION INCREASE, 1990 TO 2016, BY COMMUNITY AREA



Source: 1990 U.S. Census and 2016 American Community Survey five-year sample.⁵⁸

NET POPULATION INCREASE, 1990 TO 2016, BY COMMUNITY AREA



Source: 1990 U.S. Census and 2016 American Community Survey five-year sample.⁵⁸

Neighborhoods experiencing population decline are also affected by broader economic and housing trends in the city. Austin, for example, which lost over 16,000 residents between 1990 and 2016, had one of the highest foreclosure rates in the nation during the recession, with 5,746 homes going into foreclosure between 2008 and 2015.⁵⁹ High rates of foreclosure not only decrease the available housing and rental properties in a community, they also increase the odds of home vacancy and abandonment. In 2014, over three percent of Austin's housing stock had been vacant for more than two years, diminishing the odds of future investment and depressing home values in the community. Austin also has particularly felt the brunt of state policies of mass incarceration. As a DataMade analysis revealed, between 2005 and 2009, Austin accounted for \$550 million in state imprisonment expenditures.⁶⁰ At the same time as Austin had to contend with a housing crisis and sky-high incarceration, the community also had to contend with multiple school closures (four CPS schools closed in that neighborhood in 2013).

Our analysis also suggests that greater attention should be directed toward the relationship of rising housing costs and gentrification to black population decline. It is notable that the neighborhoods with the largest increase in whites and the largest decrease in blacks are all located near downtown (Near North Side, Near South Side, Near West Side) or with direct access to downtown through public transportation via L trains (West Town, Logan Square, Lake View, Uptown). As housing has become more expensive in these desirable locations, long-time residents are replaced by those with the financial means to cover high housing costs. Increasing property taxes, moreover, contribute to the pushout of long-term residents in these and other neighborhoods even when residents own their own homes.⁶¹ Researchers have demonstrated that the dynamics of gentrification are as much about class as they are about race and how these interact differs from neighborhood to neighborhood.⁶²

For example, reporting by Natalie Moore and WBEZ further indicates that, in the last decade, majority-black communities on the South and West Sides have seen a 24% increase in the number of residents with Section 8 housing vouchers while there has been a corresponding 25% decrease in voucher holders in the majority-white communities around the city center and North Side.⁶³ Although Section 8 vouchers are meant to subsidize lower-income families renting in more affluent communities, WBEZ's reporting provides evidence that black and low-income residents face rental

discrimination. Indeed, a 2018 fair housing test by the Chicago Lawyer’s Committee for Civil Rights concluded that, despite Chicago’s Fair Housing Ordinance and the federal Fair Housing Act, “historic practices of housing discrimination by race and source of income have not become extinct, but rather persist and continue to serve as barriers to housing opportunity to African Americans and low-income households across Chicago.”⁶⁴

Another critical factor that should be considered in the steep loss of black Chicagoans is the status of public schooling for African American students. As we noted in a previous report,⁶⁵ data from 1970 through 2010 demonstrate that students in CPS are even more segregated racially in their schools than they are in their neighborhoods. As we point out, students in CPS schools are not only highly segregated by race but also by class. Moreover, resources are unequally distributed within the district and favor schools where white students are overrepresented. High levels of segregation and disparate resource allocation translate into limited educational opportunities for black CPS students.

In 2017, the Metropolitan Planning Council noted that the number of black students in CPS has fallen each year since 1998 and cited education concerns as a factor in black population loss in Chicago.⁶⁶ At the same time as schools in black neighborhoods are struggling, they are also closing. Reporting by WBEZ documents that 44,700 black students have experienced a school closing since 2002, while only 533 white students have had a similar experience during this time.⁶⁷ These dynamics reflect a major facet of disinvestment from black communities in Chicago. Not only do parents and children lose a school, but neighborhoods lose a local anchor that may provide a sense of community and belonging.⁶⁸ Municipal decisions to close public schools send the message to many black residents that the city is not supportive of their communities.

Economic inequities are also of critical importance to the rising exodus of the city’s black residents. Our analysis of unemployment rates from 1980 to 2015 shows that black unemployment has been consistently between 3 to 4 times higher than white unemployment. During that same time period, the percentage of black families with income levels under the federal poverty line in Chicago has barely improved, going from 31.2% in 1980 to 30.5% in 2015. Moreover, we found that even though

higher levels of education translate broadly into lower levels of unemployment for black Chicagoans, nonetheless they continue to face higher rates of unemployment compared to white Chicagoans at all levels of educational attainment.

When employed, moreover, 35% of black Chicagoans in 2014 earned less than \$15 an hour. Additionally, the number of black Chicagoans earning less than a living wage increased 8% between 2000 and 2014. At the same time that there are more black Chicagoans today who are not earning a living wage, the black middle-class is rapidly evaporating and, in point of fact, Chicago's middle-class more generally is disappearing across the board. As highlighted by WBEZ, in 1970, 50% of city residents were middle-class whereas, by 2017, that number was down to 16%.⁶⁹ Furthermore, at the highest end of the economic spectrum, Nielsen reported that Chicago was in 7th place for top 10 Metro areas for African American households earning over \$100,000 in the year 2000, but by 2015 Chicago (and Detroit) had fallen out of the top 10 while Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Columbus, Georgia, and Augusta, Georgia, had joined the top 10.⁷⁰

Financial pressures are also a driving factor in the population decline of low-income black Chicagoans. Between 2010 and 2015, the Metropolitan Planning Council noted that the city lost almost 56,000 low-income black residents.⁷¹ Not only are Chicago's black neighborhoods marginalized from many economic opportunities, but they also shoulder what UIC scholar Stacey Sutton has termed "the economic burden of the punitive city." Black communities struggling to contend with fewer economic opportunities are also disproportionately affected by city fines and tickets. According to a 2018 report by ProPublica, eight of the ten neighborhoods with the highest ticket debt per adult were majority black.⁷² Chicago Mayor Lori Lightfoot's recent policy initiatives to forgive city sticker debt and to eliminate overdue library fines are important starting points in reducing the economic burden of the punitive city.

Healthcare is another important factor to consider alongside the impact of public housing, unemployment, gentrification, school closings, and economic pressures on black communities. In 2016, the first year that the Chicago Department of Public Health obtained information on the race of opioid overdose deaths, they reported that 48.4% of the people that overdosed in the city were black.⁷³ Moreover, as we have documented in an earlier report,⁷⁴ neighborhoods on the city's South and West

Sides are healthcare provider deserts. The lack of available or accessible options for healthcare providers and pharmacies in predominantly black neighborhoods on the city's South and West Sides has important health implications. Health data document that these communities have the highest rates of heart disease and stroke in the city as well as the highest mortality rates in Chicago.

Neighborhood-level population shifts from 1990 through 2016 shed light on three important points. First, there is major variation across neighborhoods in population growth or decline. While Chicago as a whole has experienced population decline over the past several decades, this is not true for all parts of the city. Neighborhoods located mostly near downtown and in the North Side have experienced a population boom, while South and West Side neighborhoods have had a major exodus. Second, black and white population change are inversely correlated. Population growth for one group is related to population decline in another. This suggests that the forces drawing one group in are pushing another group out. These findings shed light on this section's third point – that although economic, housing, education, and criminal justice dynamics are driving population changes in the city as a whole, the factors contributing to population change are often specific to the histories of particular neighborhoods. In some areas, the destruction of public housing precipitated population decline. In others, gentrification has played a major role, while some parts of the city have had school closures take place alongside ongoing declines in population. Other neighborhoods face a lack of healthcare options or do not have adequate grocery stores.

While city-wide policies and investments in affordable housing, public education, employment, and healthcare matter, the specificity of each neighborhood's dynamics also need to be taken into consideration. As Rick Mattoon, a senior economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago stated when discussing the city's shrinking middle-class and affordable housing, Chicago needs to generate "neighborhood economic development rather than a broad city economic development plan."⁷⁵ Paying attention to these localized issues provides important context to the factors surrounding population change across the city.

Black Chicago Ain't Dead

By Mary Pattillo

Chicago has lost more Black people since 1980 (357,387) than currently live in the city of Washington D.C. (325,939). But as this report shows, 829,781 Black people still call Chicago home. That number is second only to New York City, and greater than the Black populations of the cities of Atlanta, St. Louis, and Los Angeles, combined.⁷⁶ That's a lot of Black people. That's why Chicago is still a Black Metropolis.⁷⁷

Of course numbers alone don't make Black Chicago a Black Metropolis. That distinction comes from the 78,010 Black-owned businesses in Chicago;⁷⁸ 18 (out of 50) Black Aldermen/women and dozens of state and U.S. representatives; 395 Black churches;⁷⁹ 305 majority Black public schools;⁸⁰ 40 chapters of Black Greek-Letter organizations in the National Pan-Hellenic Council's Chicago Chapter (and the national headquarters of Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority); 4 Predominately Black (Higher Education) Institutions; 2 Black-owned radio stations; 1 Black bank; the annual Bud Billiken Day Parade; public housing reunion picnics despite the buildings being demolished over a decade ago;⁸¹ and around 24,000 Twitter followers each for @AssataDaughters and @BLMChi, 155,000 for @eveewing, and 8.2M for Black Chicago hometown hero @chancetherapper. And, of course, let's not forget the Black Mayor and Black Cook County Board president.

With the constant barrage of bad news – the Chiraq label, Trump's targeted attacks, the perennial top 5 ranking for most racially segregated cities, the selling of *The Chicago Defender*, *Ebony* and *Jet* (still to Black owners, just not Chicago-based), 653 homicides in 2017, and Black population decline, just to name a few – it is not easy to celebrate Black Chicago, especially without sounding blind to the real hardships and suffering that many Black Chicagoans endure. But just as Robert Abbott called for the Great Northern Drive in 1917, in a racial atmosphere combustible enough to spark the 1919 Race Riots just a few years later, we can and must still be boosters of Black Chicago despite its defects.

The rationale for insisting on a *Black Chicago Revival* is to counter the important finding of this report that "white and black population growth are inversely correlated." A repeated story of Black migration is arriving a day late and a dollar short. Black folks arrived in Northern cities in the second wave of the Great Migration just as urban deindustrialization was dawning.⁸² Factories were falling apart after wartime production and looking to rebuild anew in the suburbs and overseas. Accordingly, White suburbanization took off in the 1950s, while Black suburbanization lagged more than twenty years, picking up just as the suburban housing stock was aging and the inner-ring suburbs in particular were shedding jobs. Now, White people are moving back to the city, and Black people are moving out.

Of course it has not just *happened* that Black people's moves have been too late to take advantage of the most plentiful opportunities and investments. Instead, Black people were systematically excluded from advantageous places, until they pushed their way in; once they did, White people (supported by politicians, employers, real estate professionals, and others) often took their spoils and moved elsewhere. Calling for a

Black Chicago Revival is about standing our ground as the city becomes prime real estate again. It is about recognizing these racist cycles of possession and dispossession, hoarding and exclusion, exodus and return and intervening through Black creativity, demand, and rootedness.

Black creativity refers not just to the arts – although that is surely a part of it – but rather to the *creation* of a future Black Chicago that arrests the conditions of unemployment, school closures, and over-policing documented in this report. Black creativity is manifest in the plethora of Black service-providers, teachers, investors, coaches, ministers, mentors, neighborhood moms/dads/elders, philanthropists, advocates, gardeners and farmers, block club members, and political activists, working both within Black organizations and with collaborators to heal wounds and cultivate assets so that Black Chicago can flourish. Black people do this work wherever we live.⁸³ Doing it in Chicago builds on the legacy of previous generations of Black Chicagoans, and refuses to let the fruits of that labor be capitalized upon without Black people's participation and cultural, spiritual, and economic profit.

Many of those same people and organizations are also undertaking the important work of Black demand. The lie of White wealth and advantage is that it is totally self-generated. The reality is that the public and private sectors have greased the wheels of White success. Black demand is about recognizing that centuries-long history, and redressing it with investments that benefit Black Chicagoans. A recent report on housing discrimination in Chicago found that “between 75 percent and 95 percent of the homes sold to black families during the 1950s and 60s were sold on contract [...]. The amount of wealth land sales contracts expropriated from Chicago's black community was between 3.2 and 4.0 billion dollars”.⁸⁴ The authors continue: “contract selling enjoyed the backing of the very banks that turned down black homebuyers and of investment syndicates comprised of white Chicago lawyers, doctors, downtown business leaders, and city government officials, all of whom profited handsomely by exploiting a separate and unequal housing market to the profound disadvantage of black families”.⁸⁵ Those actors owe Black Chicagoans for that plunder, both in the form of monetary reparations and preferential access to opportunities that enhance wealth and well-being. The recently introduced City Council resolution on reparations is an important step in that direction.

Finally, Black rootedness. While being “stuck” in disadvantaged places has had negative repercussions for generations of Black people,⁸⁶ staying in a place as it improves is a good thing. The problem is, just as a place starts to get better, Black people get the boot. The statistic that \$1.7 billion in city investments is concentrated “where gentrification has resulted in a decline in the black population and an increase in the white population” suggests that the order might also be the reverse: Black erasure is a pre-requisite for White investment.⁸⁷ Countering the forces of Black removal is not at all easy, but making visible the cycle is the first step to insisting on policies and efforts that protect Black people and Black neighborhoods. Such policies include affordable housing preservation and construction, property tax relief, community land trusts, emergency rental assistance, community benefits agreements, rent control, and preferential housing vouchers, among other things. But these are stopgap measures for when a neighborhood gets hot.

What's also needed are ongoing and robust public investments in schools, parks, libraries, health centers, air quality, food systems, and the arts, particularly where families are least able to pay for these things privately. Such improvements will allow Black families who want to stay rooted to do so.

These investments are the anchors of healthy places, and putting them where Black people *already are* – rather than driving people away in search of them, or providing them once Black people have left – requires the combination of Black creativity, demand, and rootedness. As this report shows, Black population loss in Chicago has not occurred in a historical or structural vacuum. Interrupting these forces requires acknowledging the racist cycles of urban change and committing to new ways of operating that recognize the profound value and mighty and persistent *presence* of Black Chicago.

Chicago, A Place to Call Home?

By Lisa Lee

The following anecdote underscores the infuriating lack of attention paid to affordable housing by urban planners. When Daniel Burnham was just about finished with the *1909 Plan of Chicago*, the cocky urban master plan he co-authored with Edward H. Bennett and illustrator Jules Guérin, he visited the well-known social reformer and peace activist Jane Addams at the Hull-House Settlement on the corner of Halsted and Polk Street. Now the site of the University of Illinois at Chicago, it was at that time the heart of Chicago's working class and immigrant populations. With the stink of the Stockyards directly to the west, the area was also surrounded by the most overcrowded and dangerous tenements that were clustered around factories with the most abusive labor practices and horrifically dangerous sweatshops. Burnham traversed to the near West Side of Chicago to ask the single unanswered question about his perfectly laid out city: "Where do the poor people live?"⁸⁸ Bewilderingly as it may be, there were no provisions for housing – absolutely none – in this ambitious effort to "Make no little plans." His efforts to reimagine a rapidly growing city, after all, was a proposal to beautify and improve efficiency in business and commercial enterprises.

In 2000, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) launched an even more ambitious effort called the Plan for Transformation. With a massive 1.6 billion dollar budget funded for the most part by the federal government's HOPE VI program (an acronym for Homeownership Opportunities for People Everywhere), the plan proposed a "fundamentally new approach to public housing in Chicago." One of the first actions was the bulldozing of 11 high-rise public housing developments that when demolished represented the largest net loss of affordable housing in the history of the United States.

Say Their Names. Robert Taylor Homes, Cabrini-Green, Stateway Gardens, Ida B. Wells Homes, Jane Addams Homes, Harold Ickes Homes, Grace Abbott Homes, Henry Horner Homes, Randolph Towers, Loomis Courts. The names of the projects conjure feelings and thoughts in the popular imagination – usually not of the

vibrant communities that lived there, nor the people who formed imaginative and complex networks of support and long-lasting friendships while facing myriad struggles that included: police acting with impunity and brutality, disinvestment in neighborhoods due to urban renewal policies that privileged some communities while negatively impacting others, and crumbling buildings due to deferred maintenance, stereotypes of what it means to be poor and black in America. Due to a long and deeply racialized history, public housing and the people who live there have been regarded with deep suspicion and resentment. More than 40 years ago, at a campaign rally in 1976, Ronald Reagan introduced the term “welfare queen” into the public conversation about poverty, and this pernicious caricature has persisted. The mythical figure of someone living large and benefiting from government handouts has frequently eclipsed the glaring reality of actual families deeply in need of support, living in poverty due to misfortune, the injustices of capitalism, and the long-term effects of racism and the legacy of slavery.

In the prevailing ahistorical mainstream narrative that is largely built on myth, public housing is a failed social policy much like welfare. Scholars like Richard Rothstein in *The Color of Law*, Rhonda Williams in *The Politics of Public Housing: Black Women’s Struggles Against Urban Inequality*, and Roberta Feldman in *The Dignity of Resistance*, have provided counter narratives and the analyses for us to understand the differences between the resilience and resistance of the people of public housing from the systems of racial and economic injustice that informed failed policies. A brief history reveals that public housing, initially a program under the Public Works Administration, was formally established in the first National Housing Act of 1937 that gave federal loans to state and local authorities to build subsidized housing for millions of Americans devastated by the Great Depression. It was understood, expected and a proud and an important part of the US government’s mandate to provide “a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family” – the exact words in the National Housing Act of 1949. And in the beginning, public housing was for all. But even then, explicit government policies at the local, state and federal levels worked to ensure the separation of African Americans from whites. And eventually policies like redlining, racially exclusionary mortgage policies, and inequities and injustices around education, health, labor and policing, all contributed to the creation of an almost exclusive African American population in public housing in Chicago, and in most cities in the US.

The Plan for Transformation sought to deliberately disrupt entrenched patterns of segregation and concentrated poverty, with an ambitious experiment of social engineering called “mixed income housing” that integrated public housing residents into the larger social, economic, and physical fabric of Chicago. It is not evident why or how the idea of people living in poverty – living next door to people with money – became the programmatic solution to actually alleviating and addressing the root causes of poverty. But it is unambiguous that by creating mixed-income family units in developments that included but were not dominated by public housing, and creating a voucher system for apartments under long-term rent subsidy contracts in privately owned developments, the city intentionally shifted much responsibility for

housing to the private sector. Private developers now own and manage a substantial proportion of CHA's portfolio, and private landlords also benefit from the voucher-based programs. Historian Larry Vale has emphasized that the history of public housing is as much about housing as it is about our relationship to the idea of the public, and our shifting and listless commitment to the public sphere, as a place where we can all make claims and thrive.⁸⁹ The democratic commitment to housing as a basic necessity understood as a public good that is part of a commonwealth, versus the understanding of housing as a commodity in a vibrant market economy in the private sector, and an opportunity to make bank. These notions are deeply at odds with one another. Adding historical insult to injury, most of the razed housing projects commemorated Progressive Era reformers who had committed their lives to demanding that the state be responsible for the welfare of its people, working in solidarity for racial and economic justice.

What does all of this have to do with migration? The fundamental focus of almost all urban master plans are on places, not people. In fact, people are too often in the way of redeveloping places, and so people become the collateral damage in the planning process. Yet the human consequences of these plans are devastating: people are scattered, displaced, forced to migrate, and dislocated from the places they call home. While short term studies show that there are residents now living in better and safer buildings than they used to live,⁹⁰ studies have also shown that the Plan has devastatingly contributed to the so-called "great reverse migration" of African-Americans leaving the city. Some public housing residents remain unaccounted for and have simply disappeared from the CHA rosters, and for others, the psychological, somatic, and social stress that public housing residents suffer after they lost their homes cannot be underestimated. The psychologist Marc Fried has documented the intense overwhelming feelings of grief, helplessness, continued longing, and trauma related to relocation.⁹¹ This is a pattern that has been pathologically repeated all too often, over and again, as in the 1960s, when "urban renewal" displaced tens of thousands of families in cities across the country. These plans always disproportionately impact black and brown communities and benefit white and wealthier neighborhoods. As the author James Baldwin astutely and painfully observed, "Urban renewal means Negro removal."⁹²

Housing insecurity continues to be one of the most persistent and urgent challenges for the majority of city dwellers. Next year, the National Public Housing Museum will open in the last remaining building of the Jane Addams Homes. Public housing residents profoundly understood the power of place and memory, tenaciously demanding a museum that would serve as a place to preserve, promote, and propel the right of all people to a place where they can live and prosper – a place to call home. They mobilized and organized to save the building from demolition, and joined by scholars, activists, preservationists and many others, we collectively believe in this cultural institution that is a site of conscience and a site of resistance against erasure and forgetting, a place to bridge creativity and storytelling with innovative public policy that responds to lived experiences, and a place to forge a collective future that is better for all of us.

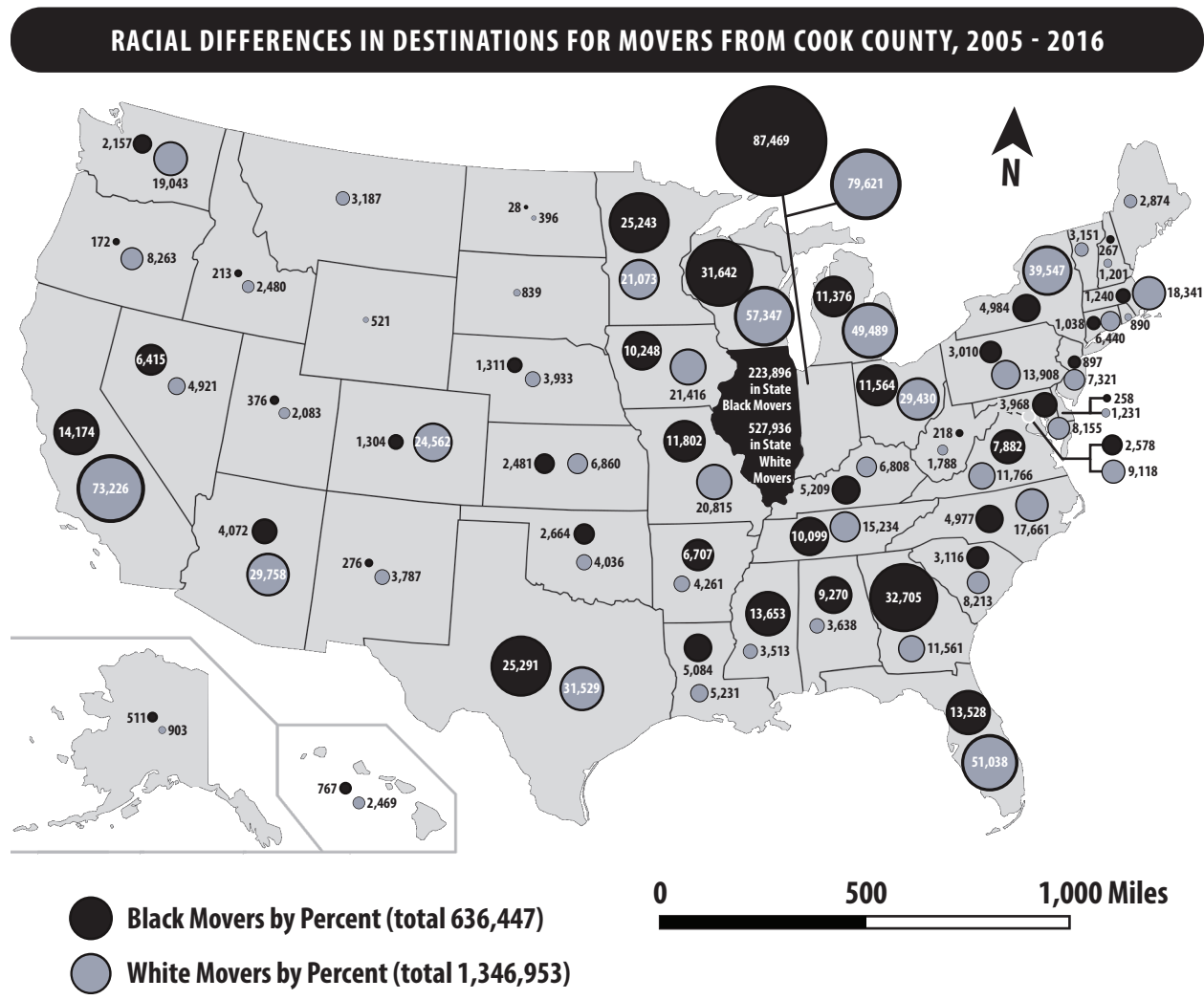
EMIGRATION ROUTES FROM CHICAGO

Despite population growth in a few neighborhoods, Chicago's black population has declined dramatically since 1980. In this section of the report, we explore where these individuals are heading after leaving Chicago. We also examine whether whites and blacks who are leaving the city have different destinations. To explore these questions, we analyzed data from the American Community Survey for 2005 through 2016⁹³ because this data enables us to identify whether emigration routes differed by race. One limitation of these data, however, is that we can only identify whether individuals moved from Cook County, instead of specifying their origin as being from the city of Chicago. Therefore, here we present trends for those leaving Cook County, which includes Chicago and the immediate suburbs. Because the suburban population has a higher proportion of whites than the city, the estimates presented here report higher population counts for whites than one would expect if analyzing only the city of Chicago.

Over half of all black and white residents leaving Cook County relocated within the state of Illinois or to the bordering states of Indiana and Wisconsin. The most common destination for both blacks and whites were in the outlying suburbs of Will, Grundy, Kane, and McHenry Counties.⁹⁴ The next most common destination for black residents was in Hammond, Indiana, followed by Gary, Indiana. A similar number (around 25,000) of both black and white residents relocated to North-West, Illinois (including Moline, Illinois). In contrast to claims that Chicago's declining black population is driven by a return migration to the South, we find that over half of those that have left Cook County are relocating within the region.

Moreover, while many black and white residents leaving Chicago are relocating to the same areas outside the city, there are some important differences. White migrants were half as likely as black migrants to move to Indiana. Nearly 60,000 blacks moved to Gary or Hammond, Indiana, compared to only about 17,000 whites. A much more common destination for whites was Lake County, Illinois, one of the most affluent counties in the U.S.⁹⁵ While about 85,000 whites relocated to Lake County, only approximately 10,000 black residents did.

Black residents are leaving the city at unprecedented numbers. But the majority are not moving very far. Instead, the most common destination for relocation is just outside Cook County. This means that many residents leave Chicago, but not the metro area. Family ties, employment, and social networks may continue to offer anchors to the region, despite the challenges that exist. Yet, the fact that a growing number are residing immediately outside Chicago, rather than within it, suggest that there is something specific about the city causing black residents and families to leave. Under-resourced or closing schools, rising rents, violence, and few economic opportunities characterize the conditions in many majority black neighborhoods in the city's South and West Sides and are contributing to the exodus of residents and families from these communities.⁹⁶



Source: Data are from the 2005 - 2016 American Community Survey Pooled 1-year Samples.³¹

Greater divergences between where black and white Chicagoans are moving are observed in destinations outside of the region. Whites were over twice as likely than blacks to move to California, New York, Arizona, and Florida. Meanwhile, blacks were over seven times more likely to move to Mississippi and six times more likely to move to Georgia. Whites leaving the region are generally going to the Coasts and the Southwest, while blacks are moving to the South, with the exception of a sizable number moving to Minnesota.

Because of wage discrimination, limits to occupational mobility, and fewer community assets, black residents in Chicago have, on average, fewer economic resources to relocate to affluent areas while white Chicagoans have benefited from racial inequities and have greater resources. White movers are most likely to relocate to states experiencing an economic boom such as New York or California, or areas that are highly affluent, such as Lake County, Illinois. Meanwhile, black movers relocate to more affordable areas with less economic activity, such as Gary, Indiana, Southern Illinois, or Mississippi.

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

Top State Destinations Among Black and White Residents Leaving Cook County, 2005 through 2016

Black Movers			
Rank	Destination	% of Movers in Destination	Number Moving to Destination
1	Illinois	36.9%	223,896
2	Indiana	14.4%	87,469
3	Georgia	5.4%	32,705
4	Wisconsin	5.2%	31,642
5	Texas	4.2%	25,291
6	Minnesota	4.2%	25,243
7	California	2.3%	14,174
8	Mississippi	2.3%	13,653
9	Florida	2.2%	13,528
10	Missouri	1.9%	11,802

White Movers			
Rank	Destination	% of Movers in Destination	Number Moving to Destination
1	Illinois	41.2%	527,936
2	Indiana	6.2%	79,621
3	California	5.7%	73,226
4	Wisconsin	4.5%	57,347
5	Florida	4.0%	51,038
6	Michigan	3.9%	49,489
7	New York	3.1%	39,547
8	Texas	2.5%	31,529
9	Arizona	2.3%	29,758
10	Ohio	2.3%	29,430

Note: Detailed destinations are defined as the most precise geographic marker, public use microdata areas (PUMAs) that are available in these data. PUMAs correspond to cities in urban areas, counties in suburban areas, and county groups or state regions in rural areas. Greater detail in geographical location is unavailable to protect respondents privacy.

Source: American Community Survey PUMS.³¹

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

Top Area Destinations Among Black and White Residents Leaving Cook County, 2005 through 2016

Black Movers			
Rank	Destination	% of Movers in Destination	Number Moving to Destination
1	Will, Grundy, Kendall, Kane, McHenry Counties, IL	6.7%	40,675
2	Hammond, IN	5.1%	31,188
3	Gary, IN	4.6%	27,929
4	North-West, IL	4.2%	25,211
5	Northern DuPage County, IL	2.4%	14,515
6	Central Illinois (Springfield)	2.4%	14,443
7	Atlanta, GA	2.0%	12,047
8	Central/Northern Mississippi	1.8%	10,850
9	Southeast IL (St. Louis Suburbs)	1.7%	10,545
10	Lake County, IL	1.6%	9,963

White Movers			
Rank	Destination	% of Movers in Destination	Number Moving to Destination
1	Will, Grundy, Kendall, Kane, McHenry Counties, IL	12.0%	153,871
2	Lake County, IL	6.6%	84,992
3	Northern DuPage County, IL	4.5%	57,792
4	Southeast DuPage County, IL	2.3%	29,795
5	North-West, IL	2.1%	27,028
6	Champaign County, IL	2.0%	25,310
7	East DuPage County, IL	1.6%	20,502
8	McLean County (Bloomington), IL	1.3%	16,906
9	Southwest Arizona (Phoenix)	1.2%	15,857
10	Southern DuPage County, IL	1.1%	14,394

Note: Detailed destinations are defined as the most precise geographic marker, public use microdata areas (PUMAs) that are available in these data. PUMAs correspond to cities in urban areas, counties in suburban areas, and county groups or state regions in rural areas. Greater detail in geographical location is unavailable to protect respondents privacy.

Source: American Community Survey PUMS.³¹

On average, when compared to whites leaving Cook County, blacks are relocating to areas with lower educational attainment, higher unemployment, and lower earnings (see table on next page). The effects of longstanding racial inequities in Chicago mean that the city's white residents are poised to move to opportunity while black residents are relocating to less advantaged areas.

While black residents leaving Cook County are moving to less advantaged areas than white residents leaving Cook County, both black and white movers are relocating to areas with lower racial disparities, as measured by differences in wages, unemployment, and college attainment between whites and blacks. The racial wage gap, for example, is about four percentage points less in residents' new areas than in Cook County. Racial differences in educational attainment and wages are slightly more equitable in the areas that black residents relocate to than the areas where white residents move to, supporting the notion that black Chicagoans are leaving the city for areas with higher levels of racial equity. As a 2017 analysis by the

CHICAGO NUMBERS THAT COUNT

Average Characteristics of Relocation Destinations for Movers from Cook County, 2012 - 2016

	Black Movers	White Movers	Cook County Characteristics
% Black in Destination	16.40%	9.33%	23.60%
% White in Destination	63.94%	68.29%	42.87%
Educational Attainment (% with College Degree)	29.05%	37.02%	48.98%
Unemployment	7.77%	6.73%	9.75%
Median Hourly Wages	\$17.53	\$19.53	\$20.32
Median Household Income	\$55,102.23	\$64,834.85	\$59,132.77

Indicators of Racial Equality

Racial Wage Gap	-12.72%	-13.16%	-17.16%
Difference in Unemployment (White - Black Unemployment Rate)	-8.37%	-6.86%	-14.45%
Difference in Educational Attainment (White College Degree Holders - Black College Degree Holders)	13.78%	15.99%	27.72%

Source: Destination and Cook County characteristics calculated with data from the 2016 American Community Survey 5-Year Sample microdata obtained through IPUMS.³¹

Metropolitan Planning Council noted, the “top three relocation choices outside metro Chicago for African Americans and Latinos leaving Cook County all have lower levels of racial segregation than metro Chicago.”⁹⁷

Although migration trajectories are dynamic and complicated, the trends presented above suggest a few possible push/pull factors informing the destinations families choose when leaving Cook County. First, Chicago and Cook County continue to exert a strong “pull,” even among those who decide to relocate or for whom moving is a necessity. Over half of all of those who moved from Cook County relocated within Illinois or in the nearby states of Indiana and Wisconsin. Family ties, jobs, and economic investments keep many families in the region, even if they decide to leave Chicago or are forced to relocate. For others, economic constraints such as the cost of a long-distance move and the uncertainty of employment opportunities in a new city prevent them from relocating too far away.

Second, among those leaving the region, whites tend to relocate to coastal regions while blacks are moving to Southern states such as Georgia and Mississippi or inland states such as Minnesota and Ohio. Some have observed this flow of black Chicagoans to Southern states as a “return migration” where families move back to the areas they (or their parents/grandparents) departed when heading to Northern states in the early-to-mid-20th century. While our analysis confirms that a meaningful number of Chicago’s black residents are moving to the South, we also found that this constitutes an overall small proportion of those departing the city.

Complicating Our Notions of “Moving”

By Eve L. Ewing

By moving beyond headlines and top-level citywide observations to a more nuanced understanding of demographic changes in individual Chicago communities, this report establishes a very helpful foundation for what will need to be a continued series of in-depth, mixed-methods inquiries to better understand these trends. In this brief commentary, I will first suggest a more in-depth study of “moving” and what that means as one area of qualitative research that might prove especially fruitful for future study; subsequently, I will briefly discuss the phenomenon of White evasion and how it should inform our understanding of these findings.

In the United States, a common understanding of the notion of “moving” often implies complete freedom of choice. This rhetoric may be informed by a number of factors, including the landmark Moving to Opportunity study, or the prevalence of the broader free market language of “choice” that has come to influence the education sector and the world of housing – both private and public – which is so intimately linked to education. That is, as parents are expected to behave as ideal consumers in the school “market,” choosing a school from among a “portfolio” of options,⁹⁸ so too is it assumed that individuals make informed decisions about where they would like to move based on a variety of personal preferences. What is obscured in this view of moving is the set of circumstances described in this report – circumstances defined by systems of exclusion and constraint. On one hand, Black Chicagoans contend with multiple decades of malfeasance at the hands of virtually every public service ostensibly dedicated to serving them, from policing to health care, from housing to education, from transportation to political accountability.

Combined, this continued institutional failure – operating at times via outright exclusion, and at times via poor or non-existent service quality – serves to make the city functionally unlivable for many Black residents. These trends, simultaneously insult and injury, are compounded by steadily rising property taxes. Further, a 2018 study found that Chicago’s property taxes were deeply regressive, operating under a formula that spared the city’s wealthiest homeowners a cumulative \$1 billion in taxes at the expense of low-income homeowners.⁹⁹ On the other hand, these same exclusions foster an environment of constraint, where those Black individuals and families who would like to relocate contend with limitations in social, financial, and human capital. Thus, although there is a way in which headlines about Chicagoans “moving” could be viewed through an agentive lens reflective of White middle-class social norms and material circumstances, these trends are better understood as widespread displacement. That is, it is arguable that Black Chicagoans are not so much *moving* as *being moved*. To build our understanding of individuals’ everyday lived experiences of exclusion and constraint, researchers compelled by this issue should take up an agenda of more in-depth qualitative work to complement the overview presented here.

A second observation I would like to make pertains to the phenomenon of what I will refer to as White evasion: the tendency of many White Americans to presume that any physical or social space inhabited by a critical mass of Black people is either dangerous and/or degenerate in quality, and therefore must be avoided at all costs. The authors of this report note that there is an inverse relationship between White and Black population trends when we examine Chicago's demographic shifts on a neighborhood-by-neighborhood basis, and suggest that this pattern works bidirectionally: White residents flee places where Black people are, and simultaneously, the same policy decisions that make neighborhoods desirable and accessible for new White residents to move in also render these same neighborhoods inaccessible for Black residents. These trends reflect what we understand from the sociological literature regarding White residents' behavior and perceptions when they choose where to live. We know, for instance, that White residents tend to overestimate their risk of being victimized by robbery or burglary based on the proportion of Black residents in an area.¹⁰⁰ In another study, when White participants were shown videos of neighborhoods and told that they were identical in every way other than racial composition, they rated the Black neighborhoods as more dangerous, more likely to lose property value, and likely to have poor-quality schools.¹⁰¹ Dramatist and cultural critic Frank Wilderson describes White evasion thusly: "There's the fantasy of a Black as a phobic object, an object that will destroy you and you don't even know how it will destroy you, just an anxious threat." If White Chicagoans see the presence of Black people as a proxy for inferiority, policy efforts that aim toward a more just and equitable Chicago but do not acknowledge deep-seated anti-Blackness and the propensity for White evasion are unlikely to ever succeed.

It is arguable that Black Chicagoans are not so much moving as being moved.

Chicago's Population Loss and the Engineering of Conflict

By David Stovall

We have to come to grips with an undeniable truth: *Chicago is purging itself of Black people.* Through the process of obstruction and failure at the government/administrative level, the city's recent and historical maneuvers in education, housing, and law enforcement operate as rationales for the continued containment, marginalization, and removal of large groupings of African-American (Black) residents on the South and West Sides of the city. As forms of state-sanctioned violence, we should understand that this is not a condition of happenstance. Instead, it requires us to examine the realities of state-sanctioned violence on the lives of Black people in the city.

Given Chicago's efforts to privatize goods and services traditionally offered in the public sector (i.e., schools, social services, parking meters, toll roads, sanitation services, etc.), many Black residents find themselves in a perpetual fight for recognition and existence. Once a city steeped in living wage industrial labor, the shift to a service sector economy has unearthed the logics of the free market economy, utilizing the rhetoric of "choice" as the façade by which to blame people for existing in unhealthy conditions. Missing from this analysis is the fact that Chicago, as a city steeped in political corruption in the form of patronage, restrictive covenants, and numerous iterations of racketeering, perpetually finds itself rationalizing the gratuitous punishment placed on Black bodies. In so doing, those on the margins find themselves rationalized as those who have made "poor choices" and are deserving of their lots in society. The contradiction however, is that the schools, housing, and services in the areas with the largest masses of people in this predicament have been eroded or eliminated not due to the "bad choices" of the residents. Instead, their situations are largely rooted in actions sanctioned by the state to permanently dislodge people from being able to maintain the infrastructure and other life-sustaining entities that create viable living conditions.

Similar to San Francisco's and New York City's unlivable costs for daily sustenance, Chicago is in a situation where those who historically have the least are left with even less. When people are pressed under these conditions, it makes for a space where tensions can run high and conflict is inevitable. Yet when conflict occurs, the blame is solely placed on the individual who has engaged in a violent act. Instead of considering people who are in conflict with one another as "bad actors," life as a Black Chicagoan pushes me to grapple with the idea that we need to consider that much of this conflict is *engineered*.

From the outset, the first question offered is "*engineered by whom and for what purpose?*" As a Chicagoan, my initial response is "*the city of Chicago to instill in its Black population that few will be accepted and most will be removed because they have been deemed disposable.*" If access to housing, education, healthcare, and employment are structurally denied to Black Chicagoans and they are simultaneously experiencing this displacement as individuals while living amongst others who are going through the same displacement,

the probability for tension is high. If this is repeated for a period of over twenty years, it provides us a lens to understand long-term wealth disparity and upticks in crime. As a result of state-sanctioned violence, the engineering of conflict greatly impacts population loss.

In addition to this historical and contemporary displacement and the removal of life-sustaining infrastructure, gentrification in Chicago, as a local and global phenomenon is a loaded, complex and layered phenomenon that contributes to the loss of Black Chicagoans. Simply understood as one group of wealthier, usually whiter people moving in and another group of poorer, people of color being moved out, the layers of the process aren't always as simple as what they may appear to be. As the report states, even though the concept is broad, it is place-driven, meaning that it can be highly dependent on the local political, social, economic, and racial realities of the city. A commonly shared joke with people of color experiencing gentrification is that you know it's happening when White people feel comfortable enough to jog in the neighborhood or sunbathe in the local park. The trendy independent or commercial cafes, hipster bars and retail boutiques come later or simultaneously. In other iterations the White artists come first, due to cheap rents for loft space that could double for exhibition and living quarters. Once the White artists populate the area, they are removed by more affluent White families that "lay roots" in the neighborhood and repopulate the neighborhood public school. Sometimes these families may find the city too "challenging to navigate" and eventually move to wealthy White suburbs that they feel more "comfortable with." As a native Chicagoan, being "more comfortable" counts as a racial dog whistle that is reflective of the fact that some make the decision to move because they could no longer tolerate proximity to significant groupings of people of color.

Chicago remains a city comprised of 77 neighborhoods, 50 political wards and 25 police districts. Many refer to Chicago as a tale of two cities, one abundantly wealthy, while the other has been isolated and disinvested. This can serve as a broad descriptor for Chicago to those unfamiliar with the city, but to a person living in Chicago for an elongated period of time the city quickly becomes 77 universes, with 50 nonsensical gerrymandered political districts contained by 25 militarized police zones. It is in these places that the majority of public schools have been closed, public housing has been demolished, and certain forms of violence are exceptionally high. At the same time, there are Black Chicagoans who have maintained and joined the resistance to state-sanctioned violence in our city. Their demands for self-determination in the form of equitable housing, quality education, and an end to wrongful persecution by police will not go unnoticed.

Chicago is in a situation where those who historically have the least are left with even less.

CONCLUSION: A CHICAGO FOR WHOM?

In this report, we have analyzed three separate aspects pertaining to black population decline in Chicago. First, we examined long-term population trends in Chicago spanning the past one-hundred years. We illustrated growth in Chicago's black population during the great migration of the early- to mid-20th century followed by black population decline after 1980. We also showed how these population trends were correlated with levels of racial inequity. Black population growth surged in 1950 when racial inequity was at historical lows in Chicago. The economic recession and deindustrialization of the late 1970s and early 1980s coincided with worsening levels of racial equity in Chicago, with black residents particularly affected by these economic conditions. Since 1980, the black population has declined with each decade. By 2016, the population had fallen by over 350,000.

Second, we provided a more detailed look at population shifts occurring within Chicago's neighborhoods from 1990 through 2016. We found that population decline has primarily occurred in Chicago's South, Far South, and West Sides, while several neighborhoods in the North and North West Sides have had major population growth. We also discovered a striking inverse relationship between black and white population change where population growth for one group in a neighborhood is associated with population decline in another. This trend is found throughout the city, but is most evident in the massive changes taking place in neighborhoods like Ashburn (black population increase of 17,024, white population decrease of 25,612) and the Near West Side (black population decrease of 12,141, white population increase of 17,399). These patterns suggest that the already high level of racial segregation between blacks and whites in Chicago is only getting worse.

Third, we examined the destinations for those leaving Cook County. While much discussion has focused on the migration of black residents from Chicago to the South (e.g. a "return migration"), we found that this applies to only a portion of all those leaving Cook County. Instead, the majority of those leaving (both black and white) remain within Illinois or the surrounding states. Yet, there are important differences within this intraregional relocation. Whites are more likely to move to affluent areas such as Lake County, Illinois, while blacks more commonly relocate to places with fewer economic resources such as Gary or Hammond, Indiana.

By reporting on these three components of Chicago's population dynamics, we aim to inform ongoing discussions about the future of Chicago and the people who call the city home. Our analysis was not designed to directly investigate why people leave the city. We did not interview former Chicago residents to ask why they left or conduct a study tracking families throughout their departure from the city. These would be valuable approaches for future research examining the determinants of emigration from Chicago. Instead, our analysis provides an over-arching review to uncover broad population trends and their correlation with other aspects of equity and wellbeing. Mapping these general trends has directed our attention to a number of possible factors contributing to black population decline.

At a very broad level, we believe racial inequities in Chicago are pushing black residents out. The history of racial segregation and economic exclusion in the city are reproduced in the present moment through ongoing practices that marginalize the interests of Chicago's black community in the name of attracting investment and generating growth. Much research has documented the relationship of political neglect and disinvestment of black neighborhoods that has preceded population decline.¹⁰²

At the time of writing this report, Chicago's city government is planning to provide \$1.7 billion in subsidies for developments around downtown.¹⁰³ Each of the proposed development sites are located in a neighborhood where gentrification has resulted in a decline in the black population and an increase in the white population. Meanwhile, four high schools in the city's South Side are slated to close.¹⁰⁴ Viewed against the backdrop of Chicago's high levels of racial inequity, such funding decisions reflect and reproduce the city's institutional commitment to white residents and the neglect of its black residents.

At the same time that we consider city-wide processes, our findings also call attention to the particularities of neighborhoods as contributors to racial population dynamics. In some places, the decimation of public housing precipitated massive population decline. In others, gentrification has forced long-term residents out. Several communities have lost schools or health clinics, and many more have been affected by high rates of crime and/or police violence. Across the city, there are dynamic changes within neighborhoods that draw certain groups in and push others out. Aldermen and community leaders must be cognizant of these changes and design inclusive policies to ensure neighborhoods are welcoming and livable places for residents of all backgrounds. In gentrifying neighborhoods, this will

require ensuring affordable housing. In economically depressed areas, incentives and small business grants may help stimulate economic activity.

When looking more broadly at population trends in the Chicago Metropolitan region, what stands out is that the region has lost a significant number of people since the Great Recession. As a 2019 Chicago Tribune article pointed out, in the past eight years that characterize the recovery from the Great Recession, the collar counties have grown by a total of 38,273. For comparison, in the eight years before 2007 and the start of the Great Recession, the collar counties grew by 428,954 residents.¹⁰⁵

The Chicagoland region, in other words, seems a less favorable destination than it did a decade ago. With employment in the region at its highest levels since the Great Recession and the city of Chicago increasing the number of households making \$100,000 or more, perhaps it is more accurate to say that, for those with means, Chicago offers opportunities to thrive. Indeed, it is precisely because of measures such as these that Chicago was one of only four U.S. cities on the latest PricewaterhouseCoopers list of "Cities of Opportunity."¹⁰⁶ For middle and lower-class households, however, rather than opportunity, Chicago poses significant barriers to upward mobility and is an increasingly unequal and unwelcoming city when compared to other cities and regions.

The aim of this report is to shed light on population trends as one consequence as well as indicator of racial inequity in Chicago. We believe that it is imperative that political leaders and institutions generate equitable policies to reverse the loss of Chicago's black population and that doing so will improve the lives of all Chicagoans. After all, the decrease in Chicago's population is an issue that affects all of us; the population of the city determines how state and federal dollars are distributed, the number of representatives in the federal government, the strength of the labor market, school enrollment and resource allocation for education, and the size of the tax base.

As policymakers debate the future of the city, it is crucial that they recognize racial inequity as a central issue shaping the lives of Chicagoans. From the history of residential and economic exclusion to the more recent destruction of public housing, school closings, and the gentrification of neighborhoods, Chicago has always struggled to provide an inclusive home for all individuals. A policy framework that centers racial equity will make Chicago a more desirable place to live not just for current and future black residents but for all Chicagoans.

Black Chicago's Future Depends, in Part, on Black Community Organizing

By Barbara Ransby

Home is a precious ideal. We romanticize “home” as a place where we are accepted, recognized, comfortable and affirmed. While most homes don’t do all that, we hope they will. At a basic level, home is where we have a sense of belonging. Chicago was once a mecca for Black people fleeing Jim Crow segregation and racial violence in the Southern states. It was never the ideal that many had hoped and dreamed it would be, but to hundreds of thousands, it was indeed home. It was where people raised their families, created neighborhoods, incubated new cultural and art forms, worshiped, protested, and contested for place and power. While some people have packed up and headed to places where they feel they have a better shot at a decent life, others have stayed – fighting to make Chicago a place they can live in and thrive in.

Health, housing, schools, and jobs are the bread and butter issues that make a city livable for its residents, or not. In Chicago, the cost of housing has skyrocketed, schools and services feel out of reach or only for the few, and surveillance and police violence make some neighborhoods feel under siege even as street level violence, fueled by economic factors, continues to destabilize where poor and working-class Black people live. This report helps to map this trend, and to diagnose some of its causes. Yet, people have not only fled the growing inequality and injustice in the city, but have confronted and resisted it.

Community and labor activists have fought hard to make Chicago a more equitable city where everyone has access to good schools, jobs, health, and affordable housing. That fight has occurred on picket lines, in street demonstrations, in City Council chambers, and at the ballot box. The 2019 mayoral race was a testament to movement organizing as the top two contenders leaned into a progressive set of campaign promises in direct response to grassroots organizing in the city.

Three key campaigns have been critical variables in the struggle for who will or will not have a home in the City of Chicago. One is the campaign against gentrification and displacement. The new Obama Presidential Center has been heralded as a feather in the city’s cap but the terms of the deal to build the new multi-million dollar institution on the city’s Southside is key. The project is a partnership between the Obama Foundation, the City, and the University of Chicago. However, the Obama Community Benefits Coalition has been fighting for a community benefits agreement under the banner “push back against being pushed out.” The goal is to insure that inflated rents don’t make the area around the new center unaffordable to current low-income residents, and that new jobs that are created actually benefit those same residents, who are disproportionately Black.

The campaign for quality community schools is another longstanding fight that seeks to make Chicago a livable and comfortable home for working and middle class Black families. When in 2013 then Mayor

Rahm Emmanuel closed an unprecedented 50 Chicago public schools, located primarily in Black and Brown neighborhoods, activists went into action redoubling their efforts to defend public education for all of Chicago's children. Some were affiliates of the national Alliance to Reclaim our Schools (AROS) and other national and local coalitions. It's not surprising that the recent Chicago Teachers Union strike that included issues of wraparound services for Chicago students had strong parent and youth support. The group hunger strike to keep the predominately Black Dyett High School open was another watershed moment in the campaign for educational equity in the city. Not surprisingly, one of the hunger strikers, local parent and activist Jeanette Taylor, was later elected to City Council from the 20th ward on a progressive and anti-racist campaign platform.

Access to healthcare is a third critical issue for Black Chicagoans. Groups like the faith-based organizers in SOUL (South-siders Organizing for Unity and Leadership) have pushed to re-open closed mental health centers, another example of depleted services, a reality that chases poor Black people out of the city. A coalition of groups including STOP (South-Siders Together Organizing for Power), Kenwood Oakland Community Organization (KOCO) and Fearless Leading by the Youth (FLY) allied with labor groups like the National Nurses Union, joined together to fight for an adult trauma center on the South Side. In 2016 they won that fight. This center will save lives of Black trauma victims that no longer have to be shuttled to the North-Side of the city for care. So, while progress is slow, some victories have been won. Numerous demonstrations, City Hall sit-ins, street takeovers, and other direct actions have forced the city to address issues of police accountability. Still, much needs to be done.

Finally, in addition to petitions, protests, and public hearings, a vibrant arts community is also the heart of Black Chicago life. The Black Arts Movement, the Wall of Respect project, the South-Side Community Art Center, the art-infused Bronzeville neighborhood, and Third World Press are all historic examples of the richness of Chicago's Black cultural eco-system. Today, life-affirming Black music, spoken word poetry, theater, and dance are still alive and well, but in need of resources and more support.

Chicago's Black community organizations and leaders, in collaboration with other activists, artists, and advocates in the city, have inched the needle forward in terms of the future prospects for Black Chicagoans. The degree to which community-based organizers remain activated and in motion is the degree to which a brighter future can be realized.

People have not only fled the growing inequality and injustice in the city, but have confronted and resisted it.

In Pursuit Of Equity

By Alden Loury

I'm hopeful that this report's detailed and comprehensive analysis of the black population decline in Chicago over the past 40 years will broaden the ways in which we understand this phenomenon – and shape public policy to address it.

While we may never know the wide array of explicit reasons why hundreds of thousands of black Chicagoans over the past few decades have decided to no longer make Chicago home, the report makes a rather strong suggestion of the bucket into which we can toss that multitude of individual choices: racial inequality.

As the report notes, when racial inequality in Chicago was lower than many Southern cities in the U.S., black folks flocked to Chicago. And after 1980, when racial inequality in Chicago surpassed its levels in those Southern cities, the black population here began to decline.

Researchers and policymakers looking for deeper answers and possible remedies for the city's steep decline in black population should set their sights on racial inequality. And the report's framing of that inequality in wages and unemployment provide an even clearer target.

The report offers a sobering reminder that Chicago is simply a different place for its black residents and black communities on the South and West Sides than it is for its white residents and North Side white communities.

It's a fact that can't be lost on those who set public policy and others who influence it.

In an inequitable city, we can't presume that rising tides will lift all boats. The report references research that Chicago's impressive downtown job growth hasn't produced a net gain in employment among South and West Side communities. The report also highlights that the use of tax subsidies to spur development haven't been equally applied throughout the city.

The end result has been that black residents and black communities haven't fully benefited from Chicago's expanding economic base. And while policymakers and civic leaders can stand firm that they haven't sought to exclude anyone, their benign neglect to the realities of an inequitable city have proven to produce just as much harm.

At its worst, Chicago has become a hostile environment for black people – and public policy has played a role. The report highlights clear examples including the city's massive transformation of public housing, its punitive onslaught of fines and fees, overly aggressive policing, and sweeping closures of public schools. For decades, in some cases, these policies have exacted a great toll on the residents of Chicago's black communities.

While those measures were offered as prescriptions to uplift the poor, fill budget holes, prevent crime, and improve education, the disparate impact of those policies on black communities should have been clear. And for that reason, policymakers should've treaded lightly.

In the case of the city's Plan for Transformation, its impact on black population loss is dramatic and undeniable. To illustrate that point on a granular level, using data from the U.S. Census Bureau, I analyzed black population change for all census tracts in the nation from 1980 to 2010. The analysis showed that Chicago was home to six of the eight most severe cases of black population loss in the nation during that span. And four of those six Chicago census tracts were home to public housing communities. The black population declined by more than 5,000 in each of those public housing census tracts, which included portions of the Robert Taylor, Ida B. Wells, Stateway Gardens, and Rockwell Gardens developments.

Disparate impact on black communities should always serve as a stop sign for policymakers. When private sector actions lead to disparate impact, it's a sign for policymakers to investigate and to possibly intervene. And when public policy itself can have a disparate impact, policymakers should pause and consider the possible ramifications of their actions.

Even the best of intentions can lead to profound and unintended impact. For the ever-blowing winds of structural racism are strong and often invisible. And black communities seem to be downwind most often. Those winds can serve as an accelerant, breathing oxygen into a spreading fire that can grow beyond our ability to control or contain it – no matter how well-intended our actions may be.

The explicitly racist policies of redlining, restrictive covenants, and contract buying of the past have given way to the disinvestment, gentrification, and subprime lending of today. Even without an explicit aim to discriminate, the actions of government and the private sector often do just that.

The group Chicago United for Equity (CUE) has long advocated that the city's policymakers apply a racial equity lens to all of their major decisions. This report's connection of racial inequality to the growing exodus of black folks from Chicago should serve as a wake-up call to political, business, and civic leaders.

The time to act is now.

Researchers and policymakers looking for deeper answers and possible remedies for the city's steep decline in black population should set their sights on racial equity.

EXPERT COMMENTARY AUTHOR BIOS



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Alden Loury is a Chicago native and senior editor of the Race, Class and Communities desk at WBEZ. Prior to WBEZ, Alden served as Director of Research and Evaluation for the Metropolitan Planning Council where he examined and wrote about population loss, demographic shifts, job trends, and racial segregation. He was also an investigator and policy analyst for the Better Government Association, where he documented abuses with legislative scholarships, campaign finance expenditures, and ward remapping and lobbied for reforms to increase government transparency, efficiency, and accountability. Prior to the BGA, Alden spent 12 years at *The Chicago Reporter* where he worked on more than 50 investigative projects.



Mary Pattillo is the Harold Washington Professor of Sociology & African American Studies at Northwestern University. Her path-breaking research on Chicago explores the entanglements of racial, ethnic, and class inequities as these intersect with urban space and gentrification, the criminal justice system, youth socialization, and economic politics and policy. Dr. Pattillo's current research projects include the effect of college match on racial and class stratification and the impact of monetary sanction in the Illinois criminal justice system. She has authored two award-winning books, *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril among the Black Middle Class* and *Black on the Block: The Politics of Race and Class in the City*.



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Stacey Sutton is Assistant Professor of Urban Planning and Policy at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Her research focuses on worker cooperatives, economic democracy, equitable development, and the racially disparate effects of place-based policy and planning. In the forthcoming *Cooperative Cities*, Dr. Sutton examines how municipal leaders create enabling environments for worker-owned cooperatives and the limitations of the local state in the cooperative movement. Another body of work, "Punitive Cities," examines the disparate impact of urban policies and place-based initiatives such as business improvement districts for small businesses in NYC and red light and speeding camera tickets on drivers in Chicago.



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

- white
- hispanic
- other
- black
- asian

