

IS *BLADE RUNNER* IN OUR FUTURE: THE PERSISTENCE OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

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In the past century the United States has transformed from a rural society to that of a highly concentrated population in urban areas. In this process of urbanization, segregation of the races has been an unfortunate side effect. Today a significant percentage of African Americans are considered to live in "hyper-segregated" conditions, also commonly referred to as a ghetto. This study will use a theoretical framework encompassing the process of residential segregation and its effects and then compare it to a work of fiction, Blade Runner, to explore the possibility of a revolt from the underclass in America. Drawing upon the numerous similarities that exist in both situations, the study finds that a revolt is a likely situation if current conditions persist much longer. Thus, a change in the present climate of racial relations is pertinent to the social cohesion of this country.

Segregation of the underclass continues to be a shameful attribute of American society. African Americans have suffered greatly from the effects of segregation, disenfranchisement, and discrimination throughout the history of the United States. Whether it was overt slavery, lynching, or residential segregation, African Americans have endured abuse and battery, creating ramifications still being uncovered. Although for the most part the practice of slavery and lynching has ended, residential segregation continues to yield fruit from the poisoned tree that furthers the cycle of poverty, encompassing the livelihood of African Americans in urban areas. However, when a majority of a population lives in such a state of substandard living, as it was in the Pre-French Revolution,¹ the targeted culture is obliged² to embrace violence and revolt. Ridley Scott depicts a similar situation in the movie *Blade Runner*:³ the androids that make up the underclass are subjected to live in substandard segregated living conditions, a reduced term of life, and a general disregard for their life. Although African Americans are not androids, in many regards they

are treated in a comparable fashion to the androids of *Blade Runner*. African Americans are residentially segregated, thus, they inherit substandard levels of living, a stronger inclination towards violence, and a higher mortality rate. Therefore, the continued treatment of the underclass in regards to residential segregation will likely lead to the reaction seen in *Blade Runner*, in which the oppressed resort to violence and revolt against their substandard living conditions.

In opposition to this conclusion there are a number of studies that cite conditions and relations as slowly improving. These studies argue that African Americans often choose to stay segregated because they acquire the desire to be surrounded by their own race due to similar cultural ideologies. These studies synthesize that the phenomenon of forced residential segregation by the dominant group does not exist, let alone have much of an effect on African Americans. Although most scholars wholeheartedly accept the concept of residential segregation and understand that underprivileged peoples often have an inclination to act violently, they argue that slowly improving relations will ultimately lead to full integration; therefore, dissipating the conditions that would incite a revolt.

Despite the arguments against the effects of residential segregation, it should be obvious that sufficient evidence exists that points towards revolt, should conditions continue in the same fashion. The subject of residential segregation, its current and future effects, is a matter of extreme importance. Should it be left alone and attempts to solve the problem halted, the same patterns of inequality and discrimination will be perpetual. In the past ten to twenty years, residential segregation and its ramifications have been widely studied. Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, two of the primary researchers, have made advances in understanding residential segregation's beginning, as well as its effect on the underclass. Just recently studies have been released that show even after almost sixty years of open housing regulations, residential segregation still appears to be alive and well in urban America.

This paper will research the past of residential segregation by embracing the conceptual framework set up by Massey and Denton. The paper will begin by examining the basic structure of residential segregation. After the structure is laid out, the paper will proceed to explain the causal factors behind the construction of residential segregation. Furthermore, the cultural and physical effects will be examined in some detail, which will provide the reader with some example side effects of ghettoization.⁴ The paper will also entertain its own antithesis: the topic of whether or not African Americans simply prefer to live with themselves as well as declining segregation numbers will be examined. Violence and aggressive tendencies will be discussed at great length, which will help draw the

conclusion that a revolt of the underclass is viable. Lastly, the paper will conclude its analysis with a comparison with historical revolts as well as direct correlations with *Blade Runner*, including its implications.

Basic Structure of Residential Segregation

An important aspect behind the economic disarray of many African Americans is residential segregation. The basic structure of residential segregation provides a conceptual framework in which one can draw inferences. Furthermore, this framework will show that the residential segregation causes the impoverishment of African Americans. The impoverishment related to residential segregation is severe enough that there is sufficient evidence to support the conclusion that if things do not change, a revolt is likely. Massey and Denton even went as far as to call residential segregation “the missing link” in explaining the current plight of the underclass, namely African Americans.⁵ Residential segregation created “structural conditions for the emergence of an oppositional culture that devalues work, schooling, and marriage,” the so-called “culture of segregation.”⁶ Through this culture of segregation, many African Americans are subjected to a vicious cycle of poverty that traps them by limiting social and spatial mobility, thus, continuing the ghettoization of African Americans.

Evidence shows that African Americans lived in relatively close proximity to whites before 1900; however, the decades that followed proved to alter cities and created separate and unequal locales based on race.⁷ Although there were certainly areas of town that constituted more African Americans, as was the same with whites, differences greatly increased with the onset of the world wars. The “Great Migrations,” as they are rightfully called, showed a large-scale movement of African Americans from their traditional home, the South, to seek better employment and greater cultural acceptance in the North and West. However, when African Americans reached their respective destinations, they met a different kind of segregation: unspoken. Lyndon Baines Johnson recognized that “the Northern style of discrimination – subtle, unpublicized, and deep rooted,” was in fact harder to combat.⁸ This discrimination was so rigid that Johnson was unable to successfully defeat it despite the passage of the Civil Rights Act (1964), Voting Rights Act (1968), and the Fair Housing Act (1968).

Even with the passing and creation of laws, such as Executive Order 8802, and the various rulings of Supreme Court cases, namely *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948),⁹ residential segregation was common practice throughout the nation. The radical 1960s barely caused residential segregation to flinch: almost all major metropolitan areas during the period of 1970-1980 experienced little or no reduction in segregation levels with some areas

even rising.¹⁰ Optimism that racial segregation would be significantly reduced were destroyed when the 1980 census was examined. In particular, the census showed that sixteen metropolitan areas, which held over one-third of the overall African American population, could have been described as in a state of “hypersegregation” in which African Americans were severely isolated.¹¹ These hypersegregated areas, according to Massey and Denton, created an atmosphere in which African Americans “are unlikely to have any direct contact with the larger society unless they work outside the ghetto.”¹² Furthermore, Massey and Denton also show that at best fifty percent have a tie to the labor force, thus, making it extremely hard to network. The lack of networking perpetuates the poor conditions of African Americans since they are destined to never leave the ghetto; thereby enhancing their opportunity to never advance economically.¹³ These conditions of hypersegregation, therefore, create a cycle of poverty that would be difficult to break. The poor living conditions these people are born into are the conditions they will most likely always live in. This cycle of poverty creates frustration, and with frustration comes violence.¹⁴ This violence and frustration will eventually create an environment in which revolt is not only a possible outcome, but also a probable one.

The Forces Behind Residential Segregation

Residential segregation did not create itself; it was a combination of housing restrictions, discriminatory employment practices, and racist attacks from some whites against African Americans. These forces helped rectify the institutions of residential segregation in which they were successful enough to secure its life. Every step of residential segregation was championed by a number of factors. For example, in the case of the “Great Migrations,” it was often the fear that African Americans would take white jobs while the soldiers, who were predominantly white males, were fighting overseas. This fear was exacerbated when whites returned from the wars to find that African Americans had attained jobs that were previously restricted to whites. Therefore, when whites returned, African Americans were forced out of their new jobs and forced to live in the ghetto because of insufficient funds. The “Great Migrations” are one example, however, residential segregation was a widespread movement that has remnants today and could create violent reactions in the future. Residential segregation is so entrenched into urban America that it will continue to flourish into the future, and eventually it will inspire a revolt from the underclass.

No other force had more effect on the implementation of residential segregation than housing restrictions. In the beginning of suburban expansion the law said nothing about housing covenants.¹⁵ Housing covenants were used to successfully keep African Americans away from

mostly white neighborhoods, forcing them to buy housing in predominantly African American areas. In the case of Detroit, Sugrue describes the city of having plenty of blue-collar housing available; however, housing covenants often were pushed by realtors, which successfully kept African Americans from owning homes and yielded a pretty profit for those selling the dilapidated property.¹⁶ However, the *Shelley v. Kraemer* decision effectively declared housing covenants unconstitutional. Despite this setback, residential segregation continued. Homeowners banded together to create homeowners associations, effectively finding a Constitutional way to prevent African Americans from moving in.¹⁷ A common tactic they would implore would be to have the association given the option to buy the property for sale should they not approve of the buyer. This rendered the adequately affluent African Americans helpless to leave the ghetto.

Discrimination in employment also perpetuated the “cycle of ghettoization.” The cycle of ghettoization is a pattern in which African Americans cannot escape the life of the ghetto due to institutional factors. One of the institutional factors that have kept African Americans in the cycle of ghettoization are discriminatory hiring practices. “African Americans were the last to be hired and the first to be fired.”¹⁸ During World War II when white males went off to war African Americans obtained jobs they were not able to get before the war. Thus, when white soldiers returned from the war in combination with the onset of deindustrialization, African Americans were financially ruined when they were laid off. The loss of higher paying jobs effectively rendered African Americans helpless in their pursuit of better housing. Even when African Americans were making higher wages during the war, covenants and restrictions limited their housing choices. Now that jobs were scarce in many cities, the likelihood of African Americans improving their living situations were slim.

Despite the best efforts of some whites, some African Americans became affluent. However, these whites reacted by terrorizing many African American who tried to move into a white neighborhood. These bombardments and scare tactics aimed at African Americans helped further the creation of ghettos and residential segregation. In one Detroit case, Sugrue exemplifies the base of the problem. When one African American family moved into a predominantly white residential area, some whites relentlessly pursued the family until they decided to leave.¹⁹ The attacks became so horrendous that a doctor warned the family that their son may “become afflicted of permanent mental injury” if they did not remove him from that environment.²⁰ This is just one case in Detroit; however, cases of these sorts were widespread and well documented.²¹

The forces that championed residential segregation were relentless. Whether it was simple lawful or unlawful housing covenants and restrictions, discriminatory practices in hiring, or racial violence, all left a lasting impression on African Americans. African Americans were effectively trapped into the inner city, where realtors proceeded to reap the benefits of overpricing. The carnage even continued with projects of urban renewal. These projects, sometimes called “a handy device for razing slums,” were directly aimed at African Americans and effectively reduced their already meager housing.²² African Americans became spatially segregated and a structure for keeping them segregated was born. This structure created a cycle in which African Americans will continue to experience negative repercussions until a revolt against the cycle breaks it.

Cultural and Physical Effects of Residential Segregation

Residential segregation and the creation of the ghetto have had socio-economical, cultural, and physical ramifications that are alarming. The conditions in the ghettos are generally poor, and a number of problems arise: mortality rates are high, there is a lack of education, and there is an absence of opportunity. These factors, many times a combination thereof, help create a bleak outlook for the resident of the ghetto. These effects create a situation in which standards of living become so diminished that violence, and an almost certain revolt is likely to be fostered.

Mortality rates, which will be discussed thoroughly later, are attributed to many factors. However, the one factor that this section focuses on is lack of medical infrastructure and poor living conditions. First and foremost the African American ghettos are poverty stricken. This creates an inequality in the tax base, thus, reducing the amount of infrastructure like hospitals.²³ Without hospitals, adequate health care is not available. Residents tend not to make regular doctor visits; when a visit does occur the condition of the patient is poor.²⁴ Furthermore, since residents of the ghetto are typically impoverished, with many of them not holding a stable job, health insurance is a scarce commodity. Therefore, even if African Americans were willing to leave their segregated domicile most of them would not be able to obtain proper treatment due to lack of health insurance.²⁵

Furthermore, since the tax base is so low, services rendered by the city also lag. The city receives very few tax dollars from segregated areas and is less inclined to provide adequate services, namely garbage collection and street cleaning. This equates to reduced cleanliness in which hazardous materials and infectious waste linger on a daily basis.²⁶ It is commonplace to see young children playing in the streets and alleys that can be described as cesspools for disease.²⁷ Furthermore, the level of

destitution has reached levels that create a homeless population required to scarp for food. Often the only place to satisfy their hunger, such as a waste container, can contribute to illness and ill health in general.²⁸ This creates a cycle of poor health, which can help explain why African Americans have higher mortality rate than any other ethnic group in America.

Since education is a component of society that hinges on tax dollars, ghettos are severely lacking adequate educational facilities. With little tax revenue being collected from the ghettos, the city government will often cut corners on education. The first programs to be cut from school funding are the auxiliary programs like music, art, health and sexual education.²⁹ This lack of quality in education leads to a number of problems. One of the most notable is that we see a rise of single mothers.³⁰ Single mothers are then forced to take jobs instead of providing parental supervision that most families enjoy. The lack of parental supervision makes it so young children explore on their own. Therefore, children gain a premature sense of independence, which increases the likelihood that they will drop out of school or become involved in drugs and gangs.³¹ A lack of health education may explain why African Americans have poor health habits, especially with regard to the use of tobacco and illegal drugs. The solution to these problems appears to be simple: throw money at the problem and everything will solve itself. However, the problem is so deeply embedded that money may not be sufficient to solve them. Furthermore, the tax base is so low that there is almost a complete absence of political power.³² Without political participation and representation, African Americans living in the ghetto are easily passed over by politicians, who regard them as having no political clout. This furthers the cycle of ghettoization because African Americans are not yielded the proper tools to change their situation through political means.

Lastly, ghettos experience a lack of connections outside of their respective spatial area. This idea of spatial segregation means that there is almost no opportunity to break free from the cycle of residential segregation and poverty. As Massey and Denton state, the lack of opportunity and connections in the work force only perpetuate the problems of the ghetto and are a galvanized reason why the ghetto continues to exist. This reason may single handedly explain the “persistence of an urban underclass that is disproportionately African American.”³³ However, the past section has shown the various effects and attributes of the cycle of ghettoization. African Americans are almost helpless to change their situation because they have no tax base, receive little political support, are spatially segregated causing limited outside contacts, and are victims of inadequate schools and public services. All of these factors help contribute to the relative inability to change their situation. Therefore the cycle of ghettoization will continue to perpetuate until the segregated

class becomes so disgruntled that it resorts to revolt in order to cut the ties that bind them to their unfortunate existence.

Who Is Segregating Whom?

Integration of African Americans and whites appear to be moving at a snails pace. The recent 2000 Census provides preliminary data that “suggest only small declines in black-white segregation.”³⁴ The slow process of integration has previously been attributed to white disdain for African Americans.³⁵ However, studies show that “whites who entered and completed school after the civil rights revolution typically subscribe to more egalitarian attitudes than those before them.”³⁶ With many researchers finding these responses in their surveys, research has turned towards African Americans’ sentiments about integration. A number of research projects have found that the driving force behind continued segregation falls on the hands of African Americans more so than whites. Although African Americans may be reluctant to integrate, there is good cause to believe that integration will eventually occur. If these accounts and predictions are true then it is also fair to infer that the situation of African Americans will greatly improve, thus making the need for a revolt unnecessary.

A case has been made that African Americans are now the main reason why the races have not integrated as much as expected. Clark theorizes that all groups wish to live around those of their own race.³⁷ Furthermore, a recent study also claimed that African Americans had the strongest preferences to live with their own race.³⁸ To be sure, whites also prefer to live with their own race, however, their disdain for African Americans and other minorities integrating with whites has reduced since the 1960s.³⁹ African Americans, in some respects, overwhelmingly prefer to live with their own race.⁴⁰ Despite these sentiments among African Americans, integration has been increasing at low rates. The views of whites have changed to a degree that their openness to substantial amounts of racial integration ranked fairly high.⁴¹ Therefore, the levels of residential segregation are contingent on the sentiments that African Americans simply prefer to live among other African Americans.

The preferred neighborhood of African Americans has a fifty-fifty ratio of African Americans to whites.⁴² However, this neighborhood is largely fictional and at best abnormal. Furthermore, “research on white preferences [show] that few whites will tolerate such neighborhoods.”⁴³ Secondly, African Americans still suffer from a fear that they will be harassed in predominantly white neighborhoods. African Americans also perceive that institutional barriers still exist which would effectively keep them from moving into white neighborhoods.⁴⁴ Other responses to integration from African Americans cited issues that there would be too

many whites, the loss of culture, and concept of “white overload” in which their current neighborhoods provide a release from working with whites.⁴⁵

Although many whites seemed open to integration on a large scale, many of those same whites answered questions that showed prejudice and negative attitudes towards African Americans.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the same studies showed that whites are willing to pay a significant amount more to avoid racial integration.⁴⁷ Even though some whites answered in support of integration the subjective responses were contradictory. Both studies conclude that there is a chance for increased integration; however the overall outlook is bleak. Although there is a case for eventual integration, the evidence that supports the continued prejudice towards African Americans from whites show its survival well into the future. Therefore, it is not as simple as African Americans changing their views on integration since barriers still exist. The evidence to support integration is weak and residential segregation is likely to continue until the situation becomes too hostile and destitute that African Americans are left with no choice but to revolt.

Violence, Crime, and Mortality Rates

The disparity between African American’s mortality rate and that of other ethnic groups are cause for alarm. African Americans are disproportionately responsible for the number of murders and robberies that occur in the United States. Residential segregation can be cited as one of the driving factors behind this phenomenon. The documentation on the effects of residential segregation and violent responses and deviant behavior is a well noted issue. Although the majority of the crime that is initiated by African Americans is directed towards other African Americans there is substantial reason to believe that the violent response will soon turn towards society as a whole. How long can we expect African Americans to continue killing each other before they turn violent towards the oppressive force? If residential segregation continues in the same pattern it is projected to follow, it is plausible to assume that the violent side effect of segregation will turn into a revolt.

The conditions inside of impoverished areas are a sweltering hotbed for violence. The characteristics of the ghetto, namely quality of neighborhoods and psychological stress, have an impact on the amount of violence and high mortality that exists.⁴⁸ Lethal violence reports have shown that homicide rates of African Americans compared to whites reach levels of nine to one.⁴⁹ Furthermore, African Americans only comprise about twelve percent of the population; however, fifty percent of murders and two-thirds of robberies are committed by African Americans.⁵⁰ These statistics provide a staggering look at homicide and

crime in general for African Americans, yet they explain why African Americans experience such a low life expectancy and average age.⁵¹

These statistics are not completely befuddling when put into context. African Americans overwhelmingly experience lower incomes than whites. The reduced economic means as well as spatial segregation contribute to the “feelings of frustration and alienation that are reflected in criminal and deviant patterns.”⁵² When race is the cause of economic and social deprivation, which is the case within residential segregation, violent responses are an increased reaction to the situation.⁵³ In order to reduce the homicide rates associated with African Americans, residential segregation must be reduced; however, “residential segregation is entrenched... especially in some of the large metropolitan areas where a very sizable portion of African Americans reside.”⁵⁴

Solving the problem of violence, and increased mortality rates relating to violence has no easy answer. Trying to end residential segregation may help alleviate the problem. However, ending residential segregation would take time, and a movement to end residential segregation would be met with extreme opposition. The aspect of higher mortality rates and disproportionate violence only feeds into the cycle of ghettoization. The effects of violence and the underclass are two fold: for one, the lethal violence of African Americans reduces the chances for African Americans to gain economically; secondly, lethal violence and high mortality rates breed frustration and hatred toward society from which they chose to disengage. This increased hostility and frustration bred from residential segregation will eventually turn on the society that oppresses them, further supporting the likelihood of a revolt.

Precedence of Revolts and the *Blade Runner* Connection

History shows that oppressed peoples sometime resort to a revolt. Precedence shows that people who are severely oppressed and forced to live in substandard living situations reach a point at which revolt or revolution occurs. Understanding and analyzing the past can help predict what reactions we are likely to expect from America’s oppressed and segregated peoples. If the treatment of African Americans continues along the same lines as they have for over the past sixty years, we can expect African Americans to react accordingly.

Revolts in the past have been a common reaction to oppressive forces. The American Revolution started as a small revolt that protested lack of political input. Lack of political input was previously cited as an aspect of the cycle of ghettoization that could lead to revolt of the underclass. In the case of the aforementioned French Revolution, the economic and social conditions of the working class were so foul that it led to a

revolution. What started out as a revolt quickly picked up speed, and King Louis XVI was deposed and beheaded in a timely fashion. African Americans currently suffer from a similar situation in which they are socially segregated and despised. Furthermore, African Americans suffer from prolonged economic distress that seems to have no end. However, the signs of discontent from African Americans have already been voiced. The race riots of the 1960s accompanied by the Black Power movements of the 1960s and 1970s clearly rectify the possibility of revolt. Although these movements have been relatively moderate in force, the seeds of discontent are planted and have been gestating for decades. Ignoring the problems of residential segregation based on the assumption that a revolt of the underclass will not happen is a grave mistake: the likelihood that a revolt will occur increases exponentially over time.

Although predicting the future is still out of reach for human technology, *Blade Runner* offers a vision of its own. The movie depicts its own version of residential segregation of the underclass. The segregated androids, or Replicants as they are called, lead a revolt against humankind. Although the apparent story line has nothing to do with African American residential segregation, metaphorically speaking, there are a number of correlations that offer a stern warning.

One of the first things we learn in the movie is that Replicants are forced to live in a segregated environment. Replicants are practically unidentifiable as automatons except through rigorous testing. However, the underlying fear that humans believe is that the Replicants may become equals, or even worse, better than humans. To prevent this from happening, they are sent to the off-world colonies where they are forced to do the most undesirable jobs. Furthermore, in order to make sure that the Replicants cannot surpass humans in intelligence or any other aspect they are built with an "Incept Date." This incept date makes it so the Replicants can only live for four years before they are automatically terminated. Some Replicants discover their built in dying date and come to full realization that they are being oppressed, and a revolt ensues on the off-world colony. The human captors are overthrown and the Replicants set course for Earth. Although only a handful make it to Earth, the Replicants proceed to create havoc for humans. Ultimately the Replicants are defeated, but the sum of four Replicants created more than their share of trouble.

Similar to the Replicants in *Blade Runner*, African Americans exist in a segregated environment. However, African Americans are humans, and the issue deals more with skin color than one's chemical makeup. In this case, skin color is much more obvious to detect than the Replicants' flaw. Similar to the Replicants, whites often fear that African Americans could steal their jobs, gain social status and become wealthier than whites. To

prevent this, whites constructed a system of residential segregation in which African Americans would be prevented from advancing. Furthermore, many of the jobs African Americans can obtain, if they can obtain one at all, are low-paying jobs that nobody wishes to do. Although African Americans do not have a set death date, with the disproportionately high mortality rate much of the concept is the same. All of these similarities raise one question: what keeps African Americans from revolting? Furthermore, if a revolt were to occur it would not have the same ending as *Blade Runner*: there are far more African Americans than Replicants and should a revolt happen the results would be devastating.

Concluding Remarks

At this point in time we are faced with a number of challenges as residential segregation persists. African Americans have received the brunt of the effects of disenfranchisement and segregation for over sixty years. To be sure, slavery is partially responsible for the current condition of African Americans. However, more responsibility falls on the institutions surrounding residential segregation, which have caused the continued socio-economic misfortune of African Americans. Furthermore, residential segregation has created grossly substandard living conditions and education, inadequate health care, weak infrastructure, the absence of political clout, and a high mortality rate. Residential segregation has also helped foster feelings of frustration and anger towards society from African Americans. The cycle of ghettoization will continue to hold African Americans in a chokehold in which their socio-economical situation cannot be improved short of a revolt.

Although there is some evidence that supports the idea that segregation is slowly dissipating, the claim at this juncture is widely unfounded. Although statistics show that the level of white and African American segregation is slowly being reduced, those studies also admit that prejudice is alive and well. Furthermore, evidence supporting the theory that African Americans choose to remain segregated is strong, and the evidence points to the continuing trend that whites will go to great lengths to avoid integration. All hopes for an easy and self-repairing solution are misplaced. Residential segregation will exist until radical changes occur or until the oppressed underclass revolts.

Endnotes

¹ The time period before the French Revolution is often described as some of the worst economic times of France. Furthermore, the working class was severely oppressed, which directly parallels the current

situation of African Americans. The Pre-French Revolution conditions were so dire that after years of depression, topped by Marie Antoinette's famous "Let them eat cake," the French working class revolted.

² Here I chose to use the word "obliged" instead of "pushed." The wording here is based on John Locke's theories of inequality in which he states that an oppressed people not only should revolt, but that it is their duty.

³ *Blade Runner*, 1982, Warner Bros. Motion Pictures.

⁴ Ghettoization is the process in which a particular race is systematically subjected to extreme poverty, thus, creating a severe lack of public and private services.

⁵ Douglas S. Massey, and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 8.

⁶ *Ibid*, 8.

⁷ *Ibid*, 17-20.

⁸ Bruce J. Shulman, *Lyndon B. Johnson and American Liberalism*, (Cranbury, New Jersey: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1995), 113.

⁹ *Shelley v. Kraemer* is a landmark Supreme Court decision that effectively ended housing covenants that restricted neighborhoods by class.

¹⁰ Massey and Denton, 64-65.

¹¹ Lawrence Bobo, and Camille L. Zubrinsky. "Attitudes on Residential Integration: Perceived Status Difference, Mere In-Group Preference, or Racial Prejudice?" *Social Forces* 73(4) (1996):883.

¹² Massey and Denton, 81.

¹³ *Ibid*, 81.

¹⁴ An explanation of this connection will be thoroughly explained in the latter portions of this paper.

¹⁵ A housing covenant was a contract written up between realtors and residents, or sometimes just between residents, that effectively

excluded African Americans from being able to move into that particular neighborhood.

¹⁶ Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), 34.

¹⁷ Ibid, 209-211.

¹⁸ Professor Chris Parker, *Political Science 162*, Spring 2002 UCSB, Lecture 4-18-2002.

¹⁹ Sugrue, 232.

²⁰ Ibid, 233.

²¹ One can easily find such cases in residential areas, such as Detroit or Los Angeles. This practice is very well known.

²² Sugrue, 47.

²³ P. Lobmayer and R. G. Wilkinson, "Inequality, Residential Segregation by Income, and Mortality in US Cities," *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health* 56(3) (2002): 185.

²⁴ Lobmayer, P., 185.

²⁵ Herbert W. Nickens, "The Health Status of Minority Populations in the United States," *The Western Journal of Medicine* 155 (1) (1991): 30.

²⁶ Lobmayer and Wilkinson, 185-186.

²⁷ This is a common account that Massey and Denton speak of, as well as a number of journal articles.

²⁸ Felicia B. LeClere, Richard G. Rogers, and Kimberley D. Peters, "Ethnicity and Mortality in the United States: Individual and Community Correlates," *Social Forces* 76 (1) (1997): 174.

²⁹ Michele Moser, and Ross Rubenstein, "The Equality of Public School District Funding in the United States: a National Status Report," *Public Administration Review* 62 (1) (2002): 68-71.

³⁰ James M. Quane and Bruce H. Rankin, "Neighborhood Poverty, Family Characteristics, and Commitment to Mainstream Goals: The Case of African American Adolescents in the Inner City" *Journal of Family Issues* 19 (1) (1998): 69-74.

- ³¹ LeClere, Rogers, and Peters, 174.
- ³² Lobmayer and Wilkinson, 185-186.
- ³³ Bobo and Zubrinsky, 885.
- ³⁴ Maria Krysan and Reynolds Farley, "The Residential Preferences of Blacks: Do They Explain Persistent Segregation?," *Social Forces* 80 (3) (2002): 966.
- ³⁵ Bobo and Zubrinsky, 900.
- ³⁶ Krysan and Farley, 942.
- ³⁷ Bobo and Zubrinsky, 893.
- ³⁸ Ibid, 893.
- ³⁹ Krysan and Farley, 944.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid, 939.
- ⁴¹ Bobo and Zubrinsky, 901.
- ⁴² Krysan and Farley, 941.
- ⁴³ Ibid, 941.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid, 943.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid, 959.
- ⁴⁶ Bobo and Zubrinsky, 888.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid, 886.
- ⁴⁸ LeClere, Rogers, and Peters, 171.
- ⁴⁹ Ruth D. Peterson and Lauren J. Krivo, "Racial Segregation and Black Urban Homicide," *Social Forces* 71 (4) (1993): 1001.
- ⁵⁰ Edward S. Shihadeh and Nicole Flynn, "Segregation and Crime: The Effect of Black Social Isolation on the Rates of Black Urban Violence," *Social Forces* 74(4) (1996): 1325.

⁵¹ Peterson and Krivo, 1001-1006.

⁵² Ibid, 1002.

⁵³ Ibid, 1002-1006.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 1017.

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