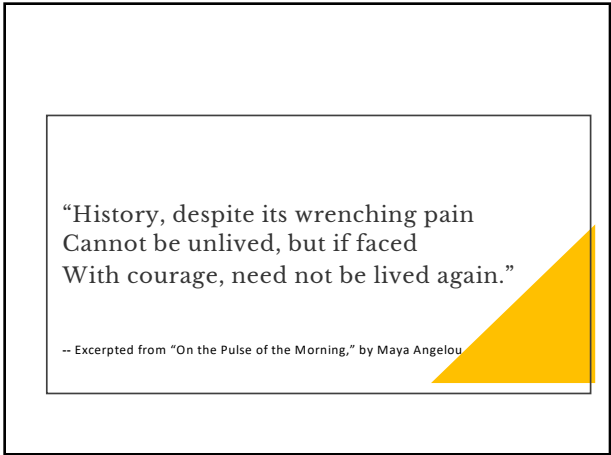




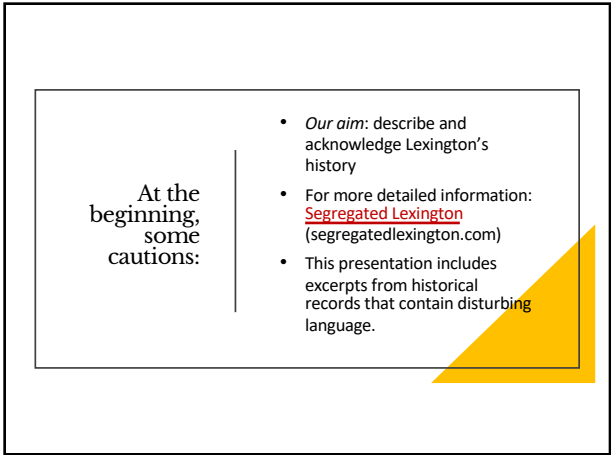
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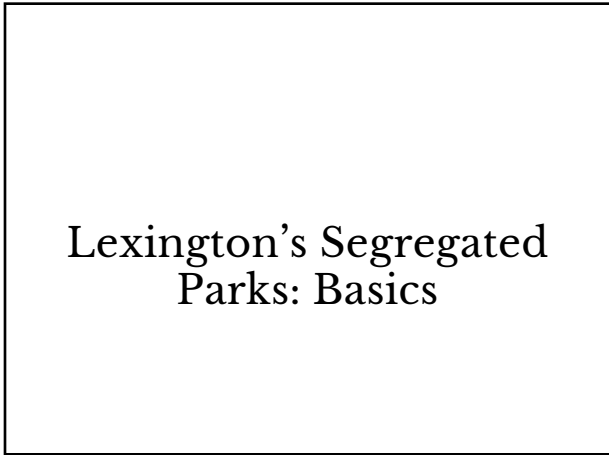
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6

Segregation in practice

- From the beginning, by custom, only Whites used Woodland Park, and Blacks used Douglass Park
- Many more White parks developed
- Charles Young Center, second main facility for African Americans, built in 1934-35

7

The wonder of Douglass Park

- Immensely popular
- Cherished for large gatherings, sports, family gatherings, being with friends
- Sunday afternoon band concerts: popular
- Known for its quality; noted in national publications

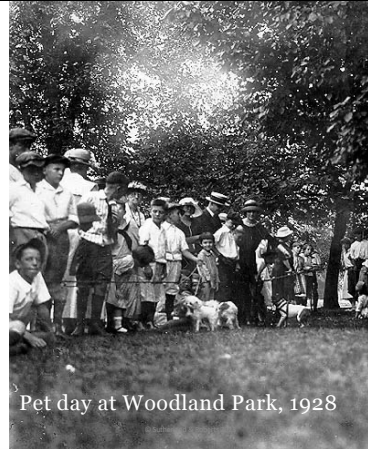
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Pet show at Douglass Park, 1920s

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Pet day at Woodland Park, 1928

10



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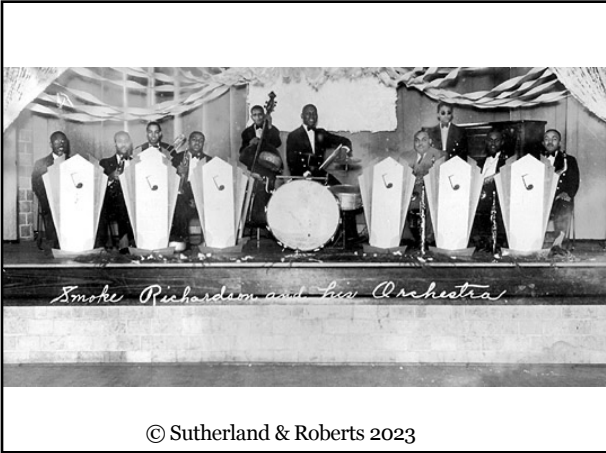
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Charles Young Center

- Built 1934-35 for \$37,341
- Community center and gym
- Concerts and dances
- Important indoor facility for African Americans
- Playground

14



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White parks

During the years of segregation, White parks included at least these:

- Woodland Park
- Clifton Park
- Stoll Field
- Castlewood Park
- Gratz Park
- Burley Park
- Bluegrass Park
- Lincoln Community Center

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Park Laws & Governance

1906 KY Law: Boards of Park Commissioners, no mention of race

Civic League operated until 1931, then city took over

Racially separate commission and boards through the 1930s

20

Parks Laws & Governance

1940: KY law required racially separate park boards

1955: Supreme Court: no more public parks segregation

1956 KY law disbanded separate parks boards

21

Residential segregation contributes to a lot of unjust situations.

- Unequal home ownership patterns and opportunities
- Black-White wealth gap
- Inequities in nearly every facet of daily life
- Parks and public spaces, too

22

18 minutes of national context

- *Segregated By Design* is based on *The Color of Law* by Richard Rothstein
- Anyone can watch the video at <https://www.seggregatedbydesign.com/>
- After a short time for reflection on the video, we offer our findings about how it applies to Lexington

23

Does *Segregated By Design* apply to Lexington? Yes.

Here in Lexington, government and private interests used:

- Racially Restrictive Deed Covenants
- Redlining
- Realtor Steering
- Certain Planning & Zoning Practices
- Urban Renewal
- Segregated Parks

25

Racially Restrictive Covenants

For a period of 30 years from this date no part of the property hereby conveyed shall be sold or leased to any negro or any organization or association of negroes, nor to any corporation having negroes as stockholders, nor shall any negro be permitted to occupy said property, provided that this stipulation shall not forbid any owners or lessees from having their negro servants remain or reside on the premises.

26

Racially restrictive covenants, late 1800s–1948

- Restricted the race of people who could legally own, rent, or live on a given property
- Created and maintained Whites-only neighborhoods
- Remained legal through much of the suburban development surge; ended in 1948

27

A restrictive covenant on Goodrich Avenue

(2) That said property or any portion of same shall never be sold or leased to any negro or any association of negroes nor shall any negro or association of negroes be permitted to occupy said property but this shall not inhibit any owner or lessee from having their negro servants remain on said property.

28

Racial restrictions often applied to entire subdivisions.

From Beechland Subdivision, later part of Kenwick:
 Lots fronting on main Street and Victory Avenue shall not be used for any business purpose whatsoever or for any purpose other than residence purposes for a period of twenty years from date of sale. No lot in said subdivision shall ever be sold or leased to a negro or any person of African decent.

29

Restrictive covenants were common in Lexington until the mid-20th century.

- We examined deeds for homes in selected neighborhoods
 - Affordable at that time
 - Possibly appealing to Black working families.
- EVERY neighborhood we studied kept Black families out using racially restrictive covenants.

30

Does a racially restrictive covenant apply to your house or neighborhood? Possibly, if it was built by the first half or the 20th century.

We are sure about these neighborhoods or streets:

- Liberty Heights
- Kenwick
- Mentelle Park
- Hollywood Terrace
- Forest Park
- Suburban Court
- Goodrich
- Rosemill – not yet developed when map was made.

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Responsibility for restrictive covenants' injustices

Federal, state, and local government:

- FHA required restrictive covenants as a condition of loans
- Property records offices kept plats and deeds
- Court system enforced restrictive covenants

Private institutions and citizens:

- Landowners
- Developers
- Real estate agents
- Banks and other lenders
- Lawyers
- Home sellers and buyers

32

Seven decades after the Supreme Court ruled them unenforceable, racially restrictive covenants still matter.

Segregation continues. We have all lost experience in creating a welcoming community.

White families bought deed-restricted homes up to 1948, and beyond. Those homes' values continued to increase and build equity after that.

Black families could not buy similar homes, and had fewer housing choices. They could not build equity.

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Redlining

Redlining: national government policy, implemented here

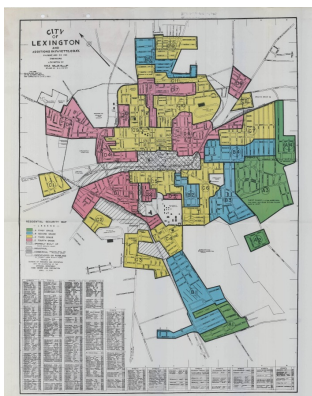
- Main actor: The Federal Housing Administration (FHA)
- Used race to deny home loans in particular neighborhoods

34

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The Lexington FHA map might have looked a lot like this

- LEGEND
- A FIRST GRADE
 - B SECOND GRADE
 - C THIRD GRADE
 - D FOURTH GRADE



36

937. *Quality of Neighboring Development.* The quality of neighboring development is a significant, inasmuch as unsubstantial... **"invaded by such groups"**... hasten...
 is whose properties present freakish... gns...
 will be adversely affected if the neighboring development...
 old, obsolete dwellings. The presence of such a condition...
 derimprovement in the neighborhood... a condition...
 may adversely affect the value of the property... Areas surrounding...
 to determine whether incompatible...
 groups are present, for the purpose of making...
 regarding the probability of the location being invaded...
 to retain stability, it is necessary...
"incompatible racial and social groups"...
"same social and racial classes"...
 classes. A change in social...
 rally...

37

FHA financing conferred great benefits, only for Whites.

FHA-insured loans offered:

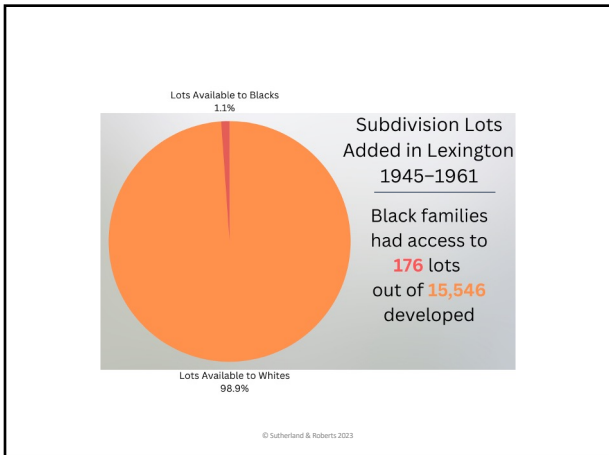
- Low down payments
- Long-term mortgages

38

The FHA subsidized new White suburbs

- FHA approved funding for entire new developments
- Subdivision expansion picked up speed in the late 1940s
- The *Underwriting Manual*: no integrated neighborhoods

39



40

The continuing impacts of redlining

- Generational wealth for White families
- Whopping wealth gap: 12 cents (Black) for every \$1 (White)
- Most of our neighborhoods remain segregated

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Planning and Zoning

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Early planning and zoning didn't protect all neighborhoods equally

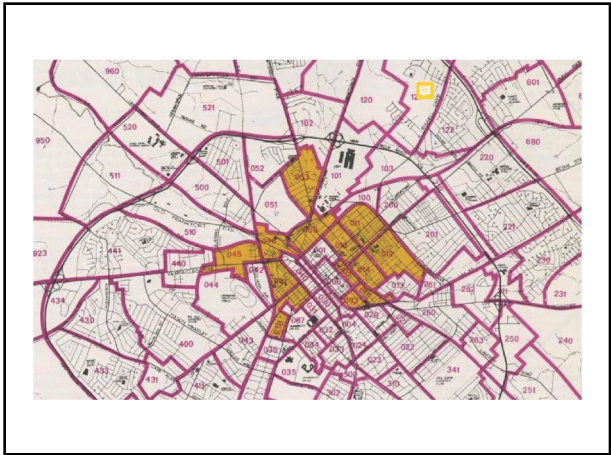
1930: Lexington's first zoning ordinance purpose includes "promoting the public health, safety, morals, or the general welfare."
For Black and low income Lexingtonians, our city failed to carry out this purpose.

43

How early zoning failed to protect Black and low-income neighborhoods

- Grandfathered in unhealthy uses near some post-Civil-War settlements
- Created industrial zones near some African American and low-income neighborhoods

44



45

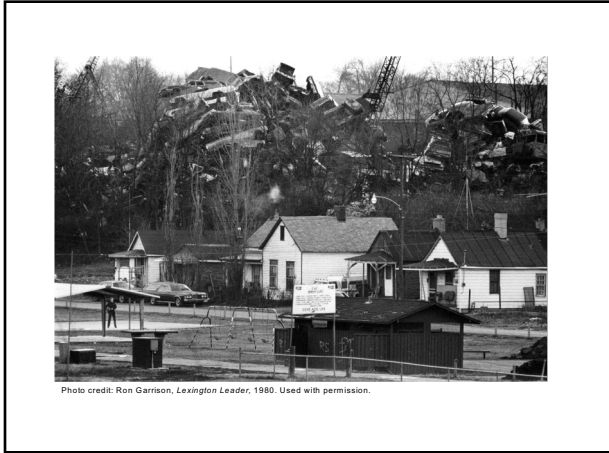


Photo credit: Ron Garrison, Lexington Leader, 1980. Used with permission.

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Residential zoning regulations have always worked to reduce diversity in Lexington neighborhoods

- Separation of *homes* of different size and density
- Separation of *people* of different incomes, family size, and other life circumstances

47

Planning is happening today. Decisions can support or hinder racial equity in Lexington.

- Active phase of 2045 Comprehensive Plan
- **Public input May 9, 5 PM, at city hall**
- Theme A: Growing & Sustaining Successful Neighborhoods: opportunities for improvement

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Race-based Steering by Realtors

49

Steering was national Realtor policy

Realtors' national ethics code *required* steering:

"A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood ... members of any race or nationality... whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood." *

Lexington realtors followed this policy.

* National Assn. of Real Estate Boards Code of Ethics 1924, rev. 1928

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The 1968 Fair Housing Act made racial steering illegal. Improvement has been gradual.

Steering declines to 38.3%. Black testers were shown fewer houses than Whites, offered fewer houses as serious possibilities, and asked to inspect fewer houses.

Steering becomes illegal (Fair Housing Act)

1968 1978 1987

In 2 out of every 3 cases, "blacks and whites seeking homes or apartments in Fayette County were given racially discriminatory information" about availability, prices and requirements.

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Progress: NAR revises its code and apologizes

"What REALTORS® did was an outrage to our morals and our ideals. It was a betrayal of our commitment to fairness and equality. We are sorry."

Charlie Oppler
NAR President, 2020

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The long-term impact of realtor steering in Lexington

- Huge homeownership gap*:
65% of White households
31% of Black households
- Ongoing segregation

"Mapping the Black Homeownership Gap" Urban Institute, 2018.

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Segregation in Lexington 1950-2010

Year	White/Black Dissimilarity
1950	54%
1960	62%
1970	74%
1980	66%
1990	56%
2000	48%
2010	42%

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Lexington segregation increased 2010 to 2017

2020-2024 Commonwealth of Kentucky Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice
Change in Dissimilarity Index, 2010-2017

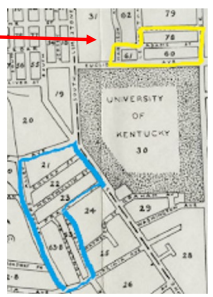
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Urban Renewal

56

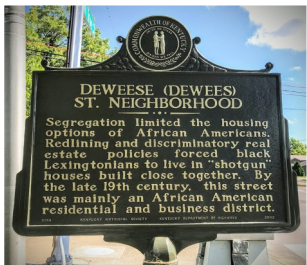
Adamstown
 From 1939-1943 the University destroyed the entire neighborhood to build Memorial Coliseum. *Status: Neighborhood demolished*

Pralltown
 In the 1960s the city planned to remove nearly all the homes and families, to provide land for private industry, higher ed expansion. *Status: Project defeated*



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East End



In 1960 the city planned to demolish buildings in a 76-acre section.

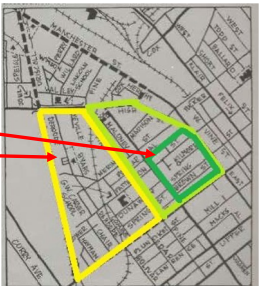
Organized East End residents stopped the project.
Status: Project defeated

1980s project carried out with no known opposition.

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South Hill
 In the 1970s three blocks of homes were razed to build a parking lot. All of the residents had to move. *Status: Neighborhood demolished*

Davistown
 For decades, plans for Newtown Pike extension discouraged neighborhood improvement. Finished in 2017, the extension changed the neighborhood forever. *Status: Neighborhood demolished and rebuilt with fundamental changes*



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Impact of Urban Renewal and Slum Clearance

- Reduced living spaces for African American families.
- Forced many families out of neighborhoods, severing community ties
- Required prodigious energy and time from residents to preserve their communities

60

Lexington Park Equity Accelerator

61

How does early new knowledge help with LPEA's goals?

- There are good touchstones to build on. Good parks, like Douglass, make a huge positive difference

62

How does early new knowledge help with LPEA's goals?

- Acknowledgement of the truth, as it can be figured out, is always a good foundation for making improvements.
- The truth with regard to segregated parks includes significant inequities. That's facts.

63

How does early new knowledge help with LPEA's goals?

Project Goals 3 and 4 point to improving parks equity using the good sense, good judgment and good guidance of people who have lived without fair and equitable access to parks and public space.

64

Conclusions:

Lexington was segregated by design.

Both segregation and its impacts continue to make a big difference today.

65

Explicit legal segregation ended in 1968. Its impacts continue.

- Ongoing segregation
- Ongoing race-based wealth gap
- Ongoing race-based home ownership gap

66

"Undoing the effects of *de jure* segregation will be incomparably difficult. To make a start, we will first have to contemplate what we have collectively done and, on behalf of our government, accept responsibility to fix it."

–*Segregated by Design*

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One practical approach


- Form a small work group.
- Identify specific improvements that can be implemented through policy changes.
- Identify 2 – 3 members of Urban County Council who care about this policy.
- Work together to develop specific aims and language, and to identify where the policy change should be carried out; within the administration or by council resolution or ordinance
- Engage more Council members and/or members of the administration as supporters for the policy chaes.
- Develop and carry out actions that will support committed Council members in getting the policy implemented.

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Thank you for your participation.

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Questions and Conversation

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For example:

- What information in the presentation was new to you?
- How would you describe segregation in Lexington today?
- In what ways do you experience parks in Lexington to be inequitable today?
- In what ways do you consider parks in Lexington to be equitable today?
- What is your reaction to this presentation and information?
- What aspects of this presentation are most important to you?

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