Milwaukee's History of Segregation and Development: A Biography of Four Neighborhoods

Jessie Paulson and Meghan Wierschke
University of Wisconsin, Madison
Fall 2016

I. Abstract

Today, Milwaukee, Wisconsin is the most highly segregated city in the United States. Though many try to pinpoint who or what to blame, one cannot understand Milwaukee's current or future without understanding the cities complex past. This paper will track the residential history of four distinct Milwaukee neighborhoods: The South Side, Bronzeville (on the North Side), Riverwest and the Third Ward (both downtown). In each of these four neighborhoods, we track the patterns of settlement, the drivers that molded them, and the processes of segregation and housing policies that affected how each of the neighborhoods were built and how it has continued to change over time. Using interviews, repeat photography, and collections of maps, we discover that each neighborhood is different in the uses of both pattern and process of segregating populations.

II. Introduction

Milwaukee has long been a city of immigrants. People who share a culture heritage often chose to live with other members of their own ethnic group, a residential pattern that often results from chain migration and subsequent formation of ethnic enclaves. Many African Americans from the southern US migrated to Milwaukee during the "Great Migration" (ca 1910-1970), particularly during the post-WWII "second wave" and settled in many vibrant middle class communities such as Bronzeville, located in the north-central Milwaukee adjacent to present day I-43. The recent arrival of Latino Americans and other ethnic groups have likewise transformed selected Milwaukee neighborhoods over the past few decades.

One consequence of Milwaukee's unique history is that it is one of the most segregated cities in the United States. Sometimes, those who share a cultural heritage chose to live with other members of their own ethnic group. Oftentimes, however, segregation is not a matter of choice. As we document in our research, the unequal distribution of wealth and opportunity, racial discrimination, hostile housing policies such as redlining, and highway construction severely limited residential mobility for many minorities, particularly for those who lived in Milwaukee's core. "White flight", the decline of manufacturing, and gentrification further contributed to racial and ethnic segregation in Milwaukee.

This paper will track the residential history of four distinct Milwaukee neighborhoods: The South Side, Bronzeville (on the North Side), Riverwest and the Third Ward (both downtown). Milwaukee was historically segregated by means of ethnic enclaves creating isolated and distinct population centers. As development progressed through the mid-20th century, this isolation was fostered by the transition of populace from the European settlers to the incoming minority groups. Our paper will detail how the South Side has been relatively unchanged by development and continues to be independently driven by ethnic enclaves. It will look at how population shifts and construction of the I-43 highway have continually changed the North Side of the city. Gentrification emerged as a rejuvenating force in Milwaukee neighborhoods such as the Riverwest and the Third Ward, which is being and which is already molded into commercial and upper middle class residential, respectively. Ultimately, the focus of this research paper is to detail the history of residential segregation, discrimination, and expression of ethnic enclaves from the first population movements, through the height of racial housing discrimination, and into the current state of gentrification and general divisions in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

III. South Side
A. History

In the book, Milwaukee's Old South Side, authors Jill Lackey and Rick Petrie, present the idea that Milwaukee's settlement by European immigrants of discrete populations created ethnic communities and laid neighborhood boundaries which allows for segregation to persist (Lackey & Petrie 2013, 89). The Historic South Side that we are referencing is bounded by Cleveland Ave. on the South, Mitchell Ave. on the North, and 1st and 27th streets on the East and West, respectively. This is one neighborhood where the importance of community, and workplace culture still shape the neighborhood in the same way as when the city was originally settled - a pattern referred to as ethnic enclaving.

The neighborhood was first settled in the late 1800s by polish immigrants. To this population, the Catholic Church was the binding factor that brought the community together. For that reason, the establishment of churches was very important to its members, and was treated as such. The sacrifices made by individual members to build these grand churches can best be seen in the Basilica of St. Josaphat. This church was built by the hands of unskilled parishioners and other local residents and paid for almost entirely by Pastor Wilhelm Grutza (Lackey & Petrie 2013, 55-56). This church, and the many others like it, served the Polish population throughout their residency in the South Side, and fluidly transitioned to incoming Latin American population in the late 20th century (Tolan 2003, 31). The transformation of populace moved near seamlessly as the original Polish population was able to move out of the inner city core to the suburban areas with increased accessibility by the construction of highways (Lackey & Petrie 2013, 85). This out flux of the working class that was able to make their money in the tanneries, move up in status, and ultimately move out, made room for the influx of Latinos looking for a similar opportunity (Jeske 2016). The churches embraced this transition, beginning with offering Sunday Mass services that were standing room only, eventually progressing to serve a majority of Latin American Parishioners (Lackey & Petrie 2013, 54).

The South Side is the most untouched by the continued development of Milwaukee. From its original Polish settlers to its current Latino inhabitants, the South Side is essentially disjoint from the rest of the city, being held together by strong community ties. Many of the historic Catholic Churches of Milwaukee, established by the Polish, welcomed the incoming Latino immigrants. The main factor that sets this area apart from the rest of Milwaukee is the close-knit social fabric that persists in the community. The importance of cultural traditions and family values creates a certain degree of self-segregation in the South Side (Tolan 2003, 33). However, it is important to consider the role of interstate construction in the persistence of these neighborhood boundaries. The area described above as the Historic South Side is now bounded by more than just prominent city streets, but by interstate 94 on the East and 794 on the North. It is our opinion that these boundaries, although limiting the potential for expansion, do not affect the present day South Side's lack of connectedness to the rest of the city, that rather it is driven by a community preference to self-segregate.

B. Ethnic Enclaving

Nineteenth and Twentieth Century European immigrants often formed ethnic enclaves in Milwaukee. In his paper, *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States,* Portes defines the ethnic enclave as consisting of "immigrant groups which concentrate in a distinct spatial location and organize a variety of enterprises serving their own ethnic market and/or the general population. Their basic characteristic is that a significant proportion of the

immigrant workforce works in enterprises owned by other immigrants" (Portes et al., 1981, 291). He also recognizes the pattern of enclaving stating that "we must also distinguish enclaves from immigrant neighborhoods. Most immigrant groups initially resettle in ethnically concentrated communities and generate a few small businesses to serve immediate, specialized consumption needs. Ethnic neighborhoods fulfill important social support functions, but lack the extensive division of labor of the enclave" (Portes and Bach 1985, 204-5). So, while self-segregated neighborhoods are present, it is these ethnic enclaves that continually strengthen communities ties that focus on the workplace. As seen in his paper, those who worked for immigrant bosses were doing better than those employed in white-owned firms. Portes and Bach also acknowledge that "ethnic ties suffuse an otherwise 'bare' class relationship with a sense of collective purpose...but the utilization of ethnic solidarity in lieu of enforced discipline also entails reciprocal obligations. If employers can profit from the willing self-exploitation of fellow immigrants, they are also obliged to reserve for them...supervisory positions...to train them...and to support their...move into self-employment" (Portes and Bach, 1985, 343).

In the South Side, ethnic enclaving occurred mostly after the Polish community had left and the Latino community could create their own community businesses. Latinos now make up over 70 percent of the population on the South Side with the next closest percentage of population being African Americans at only 11 percent. This is part of a broader shift as well (John Gurda 2013, 1). "In the single decade between 2000 and 2010, the metro area's Latino population surged a remarkable 56 percent — one of the largest proportional gains for any group in Milwaukee's history" (John Gurda 2013, 1). This is a significant shift since the 1920s Walker's Point neighborhood, the first Spanish-speaking neighborhood, annexed multiple blocks previously dominated by Polish families. Streets such as Mitchell Street, "once the shopping center of the Polish, is now lined with Hispanic businesses and community service agencies" and most business is completed in Spanish (Lackey & Petrie 2013, 89). Or an old house on 10th Street that once served as the Polish Army Veterans Home has been converted to La Casa Vieja night club or the bakery that once supplied... chrusciki and paczki — favorite Polish pastries — makes empanadas and churros under new ownership (John Gurd, 2013, 1). These changes are drastic but show the transition between the two communities but the ethnic enclaving with its family businesses and immigrant workforce, still remains through both the Polish and Latino generations of the South Side.

C. Construction of I-43

House in *Relocation of Families Displaced by Expressway Development: Milwaukee Case Study* conducted sample surveys in January 1968 and acquired data from the United States Census of Housing (1960) to analyze how the newly constructed North-South Expressway (I-43 Expressway) would ultimately tarnish northern and southern Milwaukee neighborhoods (House 1970, 75). Although streetcars graced most major boulevards and streets, freeway building and urban renewal programs proceeded without community input. (Geenen 2016) The conclusions are to be expected: the expressway ultimately relegated certain neighborhoods - particularly those that were most affected by the construction of the expressway - to minorities including African Americans and Mexican Americans. Many African American and Latino families could not find housing that would allow them to stay with ease, they had no choice but to stay in neighborhoods tarnished by freeways (House 1970, 76). Since fair housing legislation was not yet in effect until 1967, minorities had no choice but to rent or purchase whatever homes that

were available to them (Lackey & Petrie 2013, 7). One must also understand that this was the de facto policy instituted by many landlords in the 1960's.

White families, on the other hand, moved elsewhere further from the North-South Expressway because they were typically not refused access from renting or purchasing homes in other neighborhoods. Moreover, the construction of new suburbs coincided with the construction of freeways. As a result, many white families chose to move to newer homes further away that were previously considered inaccessible due to travel times (House 1970, 77). With respect to the Polish American community, hundreds of homes were removed in the Old South Side section of South Milwaukee, creating a severe housing shortage (Lackey & Petrie 2013, 7). This prompted some Polish Americans to leave their original neighborhoods for southern suburban neighborhoods, but also simultaneously invited more Latinos to rent or purchase homes in that neighborhood as the Polish Americans left (Ibid). To put it into numerical terms: "[minority] families moved shorter distances than white families 0.95 miles compared with 1.25 miles" (Ibid). The vast majority of minority families had no choice but to move into blocks with other minority families, as opposed to white families who could move further away, perhaps towards suburbia (House 1970, 77).

IV. Bronzeville
A. History

Bronzeville was a historically black neighborhood in the North Side of Milwaukee. The 12-block area was where nearly 21,000 African Americans settled in Milwaukee between 1900-1950. It is important to note that "Bronzeville" as a name typically applied to segregated black neighborhoods in many Northern cities which were created in response to the racial tensions or laws found in a city. In Milwaukee specifically, both tension and laws worked in tandem such that African Americans were forbidden from living in certain neighborhoods (McBridge et al. 2007, 4). Bronzeville flourished with offices, small businesses and other entertainment outlets that could cater black clientele which was crucial at this time because other businesses typically only served white clientele (Ibid).

When the African American population migrated from the South in the Push-Pull migration in the mid-20th Century, many settled in this North Division of Milwaukee. This specific inhabiting occurred because of the influence of redlining, the practice of denying housing to residents of certain areas based on the racial or ethnic identifiers, and previous composition of these areas. Through these migration flows mirroring the flows of power between classes, each migration historically has and continues to shape the current segregated state of Milwaukee. This idea about classism is detailed in two specific articles.

First, *From Mississippi to Milwaukee: A Case Study of the Southern Black Migration to Milwaukee* discusses the urban migration of the black population in America and how it was criticized by many social scientists at the time - calling it an "urban adjustment" (Geib 1998, 229). It specifically details how Milwaukee's black migrants who were part of "the late great migration" to the north in 1940-1970, did not fit into the northern lifestyle (Geib 1998, 231). These migrants did not fit in because, according to social scientists, they "simply did not have the skills or the education necessary to acquire jobs" (Geib 1998, 231). However, the saving grace for many new migrants were the black institutions which played a key role in resettlement.

Second, *Black Milwaukee's Challenge to the Cycle of Urban Miseducation: Milwaukee's African American Immersion Schools* talks about the reasons behind the formation of the "black ghetto" in Milwaukee (Span 2002, 613). Principally, this formation can be attributed to the

restricted job opportunities and housing discrimination but other additional factors such as limited financial equity contributed significantly as well (Span 2002, 614). The fact of the deindustrialization of the city and the relocation of well-paying jobs from the city also helped to create the downturned communities African-American found themselves in by the 1970s. And, as the downturn of black Milwaukee continued, others started looking for answers, questioning the effectiveness of schools and other institutions (Span 2002, 624).

Unfortunately, Bronzeville would come to see outright devastation following the construction of highways in the 1950's and 1960's that primarily demolished commercial zones, which served the community (McBridge et al. 2007, 5). The highway led to diminished property values and thus let urban decay overtake Bronzeville (Ibid). Milwaukee's Bronzeville is remembered particularly because of the abrupt end of such a vibrant neighborhood at the hands of expressways which were constructed for the benefit of typically white families migrating to suburbia (Ibid).

B. Redlining and Blockbusting

In the literature and law, there are many examples of not only how the practice of redlining was implemented underhandedly, but how it was explicitly written into the law until the mid-20th Century and beyond. Reports, such as *Redlining: Teaching about racial residential segregation and Milwaukee: A Tale of Three Cities*, define and give background to redlining and the housing discrimination that happened in Milwaukee and other cities around the US. First, '*Redlining*', discusses the fact that despite America becoming more and more diverse, our society is very segregated, especially on the community level (Pearcy 2015, 40). The article uses Milwaukee as a perfect example of how community segregation was purposeful and how the practice of "exclusionary zoning" had major consequences on specific neighborhoods (Pearcy 2015, 41). Redlining is defined as the practice of using "maps which demarked which areas of a given city were considered worthy of financial investment by banks and lenders" which led to "denial of housing assistance to African Americans" especially in the mid-20th Century (Pearcy 2015, 42). But, there are solutions and values that can come from many avenues. One avenue that is especially important is teaching residential segregation in schools. Teaching is so important because if students learn to recognize and discuss the impact of "race, racism, and discrimination in US History" they will learn not to ignore the fact that many cities that they recognize as those often with conflict and in poverty (Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Baltimore) are the other cities that have suffered from the practice of redlining (Pearcy 2015, 48).

The book chapter, *Milwaukee: A Tale of Three Cities,* details how quickly the demographic changes happened. It also talks about the African American communities' impact on the city throughout time and the history of investment in particular neighborhoods. The chapter details the history of investment groups and banks that were introduced as an answer to the poverty. It gives a background to how redlining was introduced in the cities before racist language was added to Codes of Ethics and Housing Regulations. First, the independent banks and Mortgage Opportunity Plans that tried to open and provide an answer, or at least an outlet, for those who were denied a loan due to redlining or discrimination (Squires 1992, 151). Then came the reinvestment movement in 1984-1990 when banks were bought by different, non-local companies (Squires 1992, 156). Discrimination among loans and non-local banking discrimination was proven through the Fair Lending Action Committee and their report on how

mortgage lending was disproportionately low in predominantly black neighborhoods (Squires 1992, 163).

Another significant factor that drove away white families included a tactic called "blockbusting", primarily in the 1970's. This is a process in which real estate agents would use phone calls, for-sale signs, in-person visits, or pamphlet distribution to inspire fear in white families (primarily those who had an aversion to living in integrated neighborhoods) and thus convince them to move out (Valent et al. 1998, 122). Real estate agents possessed an ulterior motive; they knew that white families would typically sell homes well below market value, fearing racially integrated neighborhoods. Agents would then sell recently sold homes to families of color at or above market value, making a significant profit (Ibid). The degradation or outright demolition of services, including local institutions and amenities, and highly unscrupulous tactics employed by private institutions - real estate firms - has had a significant impact in the neighborhood. Also known as white flight, all previously mentioned processes effectively "pulled" white families away from the neighborhood - characterized by older and less spacious housing stocks - towards "new" suburban Milwaukee (Valent et al. 1998, 110). These reasons partly explain why northern Milwaukee is so hyper segregated.

C. Code of Ethics

The best evidence for redlining is the explicit language written into codes such as the Realtor Code of Ethics used from 1920-1954 and the laws that had been passed to correct this discrimination. The Realtor Code of Ethics was very specific in its discriminatory housing practices. In Article 34, the code states "A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood" (Code of Ethics 1928, 7). This directed language toward immigrants and migrants helped white, American families keep out those they did not want to infiltrate their areas. In 1950, due to the Supreme Court decision in Shelley v. Kraemer, which struck down protective covenants like the one above, the Realtor Code of Ethics was amended as follows: "A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or use which will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood" (Code of Ethics 1950, 209). And again, in 1955, "Article 34" was renumbered as "Article 5", but the language remained essentially identical (Code of Ethics 1955, 2). However, these small changes did not make a large difference in how it was implemented because lawyers could easily argue (to white judges) that a new African American family's household was "a character of property" that was not welcome and detrimental to the overall neighborhood (Huttman 1991, 246).

At this point, circa 1950s, other laws were passed to supplement the small changes introduced to the regulations and codes. Two specific laws that were introduced for this purpose were the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and the 1974 Equal Credit Opportunity Act (Huttman 1991, 245). Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (Fair Housing Act) "prohibits discrimination in the sale, rental, and financing of dwellings, and in other housing-related transactions, based on race, color, national origin, religion, sex, familial status (including children under the age of 18 living with parents or legal custodians, pregnant women, and people securing custody of children under the age of 18), and disability" (Civil Rights Act of 1968). And, the Equal Credit Opportunity Act disallows creditors from discriminating against applicants on the "basis of race, color, religion, national origin, sex, marital status, age, because an applicant receives income

from a public assistance program, or because an applicant has in good faith exercised any right under the Consumer Credit Protection Act" (Equal Credit Opportunity Act).

V. River West
A. History

Author Tom Tolan depicts the European arrival in Milwaukee in his book *Riverwest: A Community History*. Like much of Milwaukee, the driving force for the original development of the area now known as Riverwest was small industry. The first development on the west bank of the Milwaukee River came in the early 1800s with the intent to create a canal to connect Milwaukee to the Rock River in Jefferson County, WI, and by extension, the Mississippi River (Tolan 2003, 4). Shortly after groundbreaking, this project reached a standstill due to lack of funding. The progress made in the expansion of what was to be the mouth of the canal was utilized in the beginning of industry in Milwaukee - water powered mills and factories. However, these factories were small in comparison for what was to come for the city, and their expansion was inhibited by annual flood damage. Near the end of the 19th century, the rise in railways caused a decline in the necessity of water-based industry. This eventually lead to the city filling in the canal, creating what is today Commerce Street, and visually erasing the project from the landscape history.

The second wave of development for the land west of the river came in the form of residential buildings.With the influx of available transportation with the railway system, the previously isolated industrial development became suitable for residential settlement. The majority of the population that moved into this area was second generation Polish. The Poles, whose settlement was discussed in detail on the South Side, were a rapidly growing population, which drove their expansion into the newly available area (Tolan 2003, 37). In order to make the neighborhood affordable for the working class, the large plots of land were divided and sold. However, cheap land for housing development attracted more than just the expanding Polish population. The housing availability in the area now known as Riverwest led to a culturally assimilated community by the 1920s - an attribute which the neighborhood would fight to protect in the face of modern development.

B. Neighborhood Activism

The west bank of the Milwaukee river was fluid in its development, both residentially and in the small industry that remained, but didn't claim an independent identity until the early 20th century. In the article *The Practices and Process of Neighborhood: the (Re)Production of Riverwest, Milwaukee, Wisconsin*, Deanna Schmidt supplies a brief history on how modern Riverwest was formed as a community by activists promoting equal rights to fair housing. The organization known as the East Side Housing Action Coalition (ESHAC) was at the forefront of the project in the 1970s, with the primary goal to "improve the quality of life for all moderate-income people" (Schmidt 2008, 480-481). ESHAC was formed on the University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee campus with a focus on translating the anti-war activism at the time into a movement for the working class (Tolan 2003, 127). Schmidt presents the idea that activism comes in two forms: professional organization with community building initiatives, and as a grassroots organization built directly by community members (Schmidt 2008, 476). However, she goes on to explain that these operations are not exclusive; in the case of Riverwest, it is a combination of both. ESHAC organized the neighborhood in an approach similar to the professional community building strategy, but they became members of the community during development, which

transformed the project into a grassroots initiative (Schmidt 2008, 478). Throughout the 1970s, ESHAC took on neighborhood issues, in doing so they built the community of Riverwest. The catalyst of this involvement came in 1974, when a local grocery store publically announced plans to close its doors. In response, individual activists who were members of ESHAC decided to buy the store and run it as the Gordon Park Food Co-op, and make ESHAC the controlling partner (Tolan 2003, 130). This action initiated further investment in the neighborhood in the form of credit unions, supply stores, and a neighborhood business association.

The organization continued to thrive, and activists took on more projects to better the neighborhood for its community members. Local interest and action in response to ESHAC's campaign against the Milwaukee Department of City Development's designation of parts of the neighborhood as "faltering" in its Relative Residential Status (RRS) evaluation in 1978. The RRS initiative categorized and mapped neighborhoods based on quality, stability, and potential for deterioration of housing. The scale for this evaluation had five assignment values that made up three categories: healthy (RRS I and II), transitional (RRS III), and faltering (RRS IV and V); of which Riverwest received ratings of both RRS III and IV (Schmidt 2008, 486). Neighborhoods labeled as faltering were strongly correlated with minority populations and changing racial demographics, and saw a decline in investment both from the government and the private sector. ESHAC actively protested Riverwest's assignment through fliers, petitions and research. The campaign had extensive community support, the petition receiving over 700 signatures and attendance of more than 80 people at a public hearing in City Hall. In this hearing, ESHAC demanded the city change the classification of all of Riverwest from RSS III and RSS IV to a unified RSS VII, a new category which they defined as Neighborhood Improvement Area (Schmidt 2008, 487). This project was yet another success for community activism in Riverwest, and publically established the neighborhood as not only being accepting of, but uniting in, diversity.

C. Redevelopment

In the midst of modern social and economic development, Riverwest's values of community engagement and diversity still remain. Although many of the original activist groups, such as the East Side Housing Action Coalition (ESHAC) have disappeared, their vision is carried on by the Riverwest Neighborhood Association (RNA), which was established in the early 2000s in order to judge incoming projects on whether they promoted diversity, (Tolan 2003, 164). The RNA has made strides that measure up to that of its predecessor, ESHAC. In 2003, when racist leaflets were distributed in the neighborhood, the RNA organized a yard sign campaign with the slogan "Diversity Is Our Strength" (Schmidt 2008, 490). It is clear that Riverwest has maintained the core values that fostered the community identity that created it. However, there are possible threats to its characteristic diversity. Investment continues to rise in Riverwest and it is receiving more interest from the upper-middle class as a safe place to live and experience the energy of downtown. In response to this, the RNA was defensive and sought financial support to create a bike path as an alternative land use to the proposed condominium development, as the community believed rich people to be a threat to their diversity (Tolan 2003, 164,165). The interest in developing has not subsided, rather, Riverwest is using the redevelopment of Milwaukee to become more socially diverse and to continue to serve its community.

Modern development of Riverwest is appearing many forms, from housing, to art, and breweries. This redevelopment is contributing to a thriving Riverwest. A former member of

ESHAC is working with Johnson Controls to clean and develop environmentally contaminated lands left behind by the industry that left the neighborhood. This project will bring 28 new homes on land that would otherwise lay vacant due to lack of funds to clean it up independently (Sean 2005, 1). This residential addition will introduce new members and energy to the neighborhood. Another community organization is the Riverwest Artists Association (RAA), that defines themselves as "diverse collection of individuals who share the common belief that everyone should have the opportunity and support for expressing, experiencing, and sharing their ideas, visions, and talents" (Riverwest Artist Association 2016, 1). The group originally formed to revive the Riverwest Artist Studios Walking Tour, which was an biennial showcase for local art that ran from 1979-1983. Since it's revival by the RAA, the showcase has run on the first weekend of October annually. Events like this further community ties, but also offer an opportunity for tourism as a public attraction. Other attractions that bring tourists to the neighborhood are the growing popularity of craft breweries. One such brewery, Lakefront Brewery, was founded by two brothers in Riverwest in 1987. Just one year later, they were able to move their production from the small commercial building to an old industrial building in the increasingly popular Commerce Street, and are presently undergoing an expansion (Tolan 2003, 165). In Riverwest, the community is benefitting from the neighborhood's redevelopment, while staying true to its community ties. Members of the community remain active in organizations and businesses whose success helps to keep jobs in the neighborhood and bring in both new residents and visitors.

VI. Third Ward
A. History

"The Historic Third Ward District" was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1984 when 70 buildings along 10 blocks were accepted to the Register (Historic Third Ward Association 2013, 1). This designation, however, would not have been believed to be possible when the District was settled during the early years of Milwaukee. The first immigrants to come to the newly drained swampy land of the Ward were Irish immigrants. Houses covered the east side while factories and warehouses were built along the River. The Ward continued to develop and establish itself as an industrialized area during the mid-19th Century, especially with the addition of the first railroad which enabled Milwaukee to be linked to the Mississippi River (Historic Third Ward Association 2013, 1). This railroad not only opened up access to necessary items for migrants settling in the West but established Milwaukee as a rail hub where many goods were received from and sent downstream. However, the Ward was struck by tragedy when a fire broke out in the Water Street Union Oil and Pain Co. What made this fire so damaging was the strong winds that spread the blaze across buildings in the Ward within a short time. When the fire was finally controlled, over 400 buildings had been destroyed in only a few hours and thousands of residents were left homeless (Historic Third Ward Association 2013, 1).

The fire had further impacts as well. Not only were hundreds of new commercial structures designed and built within the following years but the Italian immigrants replaced the Irish as the prominent residents of the Ward. As the Italians created their Ward, they became active in "warehouse businesses, establishing the grocery commission houses that came to be known as Commission Row" (Historic Third Ward Association 2013, 1). And, by 1915, there were "5 Italian groceries, 29 Italian saloons, two spaghetti factories and an Italian bank in the Ward" (Historic Third Ward Association 2013, 1). After the Great Depression and World War II, rail was replaced with the new large-scale trucking industry. This new industry, plus the growth

of the suburbs and construction of the new freeway systems displaced the Italian community which contributed to the sharp decline of industry within the Ward. In the 1970s, the rejection of a "red light" district in the Third Ward helped to renew the interest in the district and commercial industry (Historic Third Ward Association 2013, 1). This energy then fueled the revitalization of the Ward with the help of local government, private investors and historic preservationists. The Ward was able to continue this revitalization of the district to create the Third Ward that many Milwaukee residents understand today (Historic Third Ward Association 2013, 1).

B. De-Industrialization

"Milwaukee's future is inescapably linked to its past" states Donald Carter in the book *Remaking Post-Industrial Cities*. He continues to describe the hustling and bustling city that once was Milwaukee. In 1901, Milwaukee was celebrated in an iconic poster (seen in Appendix II, Figure 17) that read that Milwaukee "feeds and supplies" the world. By 1910, Milwaukee was "America's 12th largest city and had the 2nd largest percentage of its work force engaged in manufacturing, next to Detroit" (Avella 2015, 1047). Even in the shadow of the Great Depression, Milwaukee was a very strong industrial city throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Milwaukee has always been considered one of the biggest hubs of manufacturing and commercial industries. However, after World War II, the city started to suffer from economic divestment and was then fractured due to the 1960s ideas of urban renewal. As a result of the 1950s and 1960s construction of highways and freeways within the city of Milwaukee, industry became less of a backbone of the city. Many of the outer suburbs grew and population loss created heavy declines in heavy industry and skilled workers within the city. The relocation of factories then followed because of the availability of cheap land and subsidies in these open new growth areas. As Witzling shows in his tables of shifting place of work for residents in the city, the uptick in 'Outside Metro Area' from 2.1 percent of residents in 1970 to 11.3 percent of residents in 2011, reflects this relocation problem. By the 1980s, "Milwaukee's power and prominence was diminished" (Witzling 2000,70).

This deindustrialization hit the Third Ward especially hard. The Third Ward, having been a warehouse district with prominent rail and truck commerce, fell hard and fast onto challenging times. The toxic combination of the disappearing large industrial core with the construction of new freeway systems, drew the newly displaced communities to the suburbs which created a void of industrialization and manufacturing that Milwaukee has not been able to replace. However, not all was lost in the the late 20th-Century deindustrialization of the Third Ward. As Witzling states "today, Milwaukee's industrial activity might be better characterized as 'reindustrialization' rather than 'post-industrialization'" (Witzling 2000, 76). There are many ways in which he proves this point, he goes onto say this new reindustrialization does not disprove the deindustrialization that Milwaukee went through in the 20th-Century, since this revitalization of the Ward is not dependent on "Milwaukee's accessible ports and railroads which dominated" back then (Witzling 2000, 76). Instead, now the Third Ward is full of destination industrialized zones that "constitute a system of urban forms that about, but rarely intertwine with residential neighborhoods" (Witzling 2000, 76).

C. Gentrification

Milwaukee was a city originally rooted in the manufacturing business, but when deindustrialization struck the city, the poverty rate skyrocketed, nearly doubling after the 70s. This economic relapse called to attention the need for a city-wide restructuring. To achieve

what was necessary for Milwaukee to thrive again would be to re-invent the city; to put the industrial foundation in its past, and reintroduce it as something entirely new. The rejuvenation of Milwaukee is an idea tackled in *From Brew Town to Cool Town*. The article tells that the Third Ward has fully embraced the 'cool town' persona of the new Milwaukee, and as a result has experienced a reduction in diversity by targeting the privileged population. Author Rebecca Kleinman describes the Third Ward as Milwaukee's gentrification success story in her article *Brewing to Boutiques: Milwaukee's Style Evolves*. Here, the Third Ward is depicted as a breakaway from Milwaukee's blue-collar roots; where brand-name trends can be found with single item ticket prices in the range of hundreds of dollars (Kleinman 2004, 10). This area is using the results of gentrification to create a shopping destination for the privileged. This newly described "super creative core" is the new class which includes scientists, poets, entertainers, etc. make up some 30 percent of the workforce in the US. Milwaukee has remade their image in this light (Zimmerman 2008, 232).

Milwaukee started building new blocks in the city to form a new creation headquarters in the States. New ideas such as the "We Choose Milwaukee" advertisements displayed new, hip people who had chosen to come and thrive within the new arts culture which Milwaukee now offered (Zimmerman 2008, 234). However, even this good idea of remaking and re-introducing of Milwaukee has very negative side effects. The article details that this new conversion of downtown Milwaukee into an arts and culture focused district. (Zimmerman 2008, 241). The reintroduction of arts, music and culture into the downtown has allowed for the removal, either forcefully or not, of the previous communities which lived and worked in the area for decades. This is what gentrification looks like.

In many ways, gentrification can be a good thing by triggering an economic upswing in poor neighborhoods, but in many ways, gentrification can have a negative effect as upper-class folks transition out the urban poor populations. In Milwaukee, the problem of gentrification within the city is just as important as how policy has not responded to these problems in the correct manner. In *The Geography of Gentrification* the author, Lees, offers background into what gentrification is and how it manifests itself in different cities. Gentrification is a perfect example of how policy has and has not responded correctly to these problems in US cities. One must grasp both "the spatial and the temporal dimensions of gentrification" to fully understand the process (Lees 2011, 1). Moreover, the study needs to include the new debates on comparative urbanism, which aims to develop understanding between all cities' urban segregation problem versus only seeking explanation about one city at a specific time in history (Lees 2011, 4). Gentrification also needs to be discussed within the spheres of urban violence and how to respond to these problems with accountable policies. Additionally, the people need to learn how to resist gentrification by resisting dominant paradigms of neoliberalism while being sensitive to the complexities of policies within it.

VII. Methods of Research

This study examines how racial segregation became socio-economic segregation in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. This paper details the history of housing segregation from the first population movements and the Great Migration of southern African Americans through the height of racial housing discrimination to the current state of gentrification and general socio-economic segregation in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. To do build this story, many interviews, photography, and archival maps were used.

A. Interviews

As Dunn says, the "interview is a data-gathering method where there is a spoken exchange of information" (Hay 1991, 101). In this way, this research paper's story relied on interviews from past and present lawmakers, historians, professors, and many others to build a story by this exchange of information. In every interview, the group prepared an overall map of topics and questions which we needed to cover in the conversation, but also allowed for the interviewee to share his or her stories as well. Interviews are important this way. Unlike a survey or questionnaire which, as Flowerdew and Martin point out, are "standardized...not tailored to individual's' circumstances", interviews allowed the interviewee to lead the conversation to other facts or anecdotes from their own experiences or research that continued to shape our thesis and overall paper (Flowerdew et al. 2005, 110).

Field Work for Human Geography states, "Historically, social science research has marginalized, inadequately represented, and even completely excluded the experiences of many sections of the population" (Phillips, R., Johns, J. 2012, 147). This is why we conducted in-person interviews with those who have experienced all types of impacts from housing segregation. From those who felt impacts of white flight, to those who have felt housing discrimination, to lawmakers who have had to defend and change these laws. We continually tried to mirror the sentiment to "represent previously unheard voices" so as to make sure that those marginalized by segregation or discrimination as well as the perpetrators felt they could share their stories .

We also incorporated experts in redlining and housing segregation as well as those focused on the topics of modern practices of racial violence and less blatant racism within government and other established systems. These experts were from both the Wisconsin system and elsewhere as well as policy makers, civil rights lawyers, urban geographers, sociologists, and others. The experts were important because, not only did the paper require individual and group stories, it also required the knowledge of the current state of Milwaukee, especially on the changes the city has seen over time. One specific example of this was our interview conducted with Pastor Jeske, a Lutheran Minister, who told us more about how the church brought together the Polish and Latino communities in the South Side. Jeske was able to tell us more about how the church created a foundation of trust, not contempt, between the two immigrant populations because they worshipped together (Jeske 2016).

B. Photographs

Throughout this paper we continually compare specific neighborhoods over time to show the transformation of the populace from the historical settlement, through the process of gentrification, and into the current state. Our approach to obtaining these images was to consult historical archives, observe the urban landscape, and visual analysis. The importance of using historic archival images as a secondary method for our research in Milwaukee is very closely paralleled in James Hanlon's article *Spaces of Interpretation: Archival Research and the Cultural Landscape* on Adamstown, KY. In this case, as is the case of various Milwaukee neighborhoods such as Bronzeville and the Third Ward, development of the modern landscape has overwritten that what existed before (Hanlon 2001, 16). Archived images are useful for gaining insight on the landscape that existed prior to today.

In order to address the impacts of development on the social fabric of Milwaukee, which is a key topic of our research, we took and analyzed our own photography of Milwaukee, as it exists today, to use as a primary source for landscape comparison. Peirce K. Lewis wrote an

article: *Some Guides to the American Scene,* which embodies numerous cultural features that impact landscape that we aim to capture in our photography. Lewis presents these features as 'axioms' which he describes as "essential ideas that underlie the reading of America's cultural landscape" (Lewis 1979, 3). We have a special interest in the first five axioms he presents: Landscape as a Clue to Culture, Corollary of Cultural Change, Regional Corollary, Corollary of Convergence, and Corollary of Diffusion. The common thread amongst these axioms is that they address the idea that 'landscape' is not one in the same with nature. Landscape is a built environment, something that can be influenced and fluidly changed. It is for this reason that our research cannot simply compare photographs, but that we must analyze them.

Author Don Mitchell provides insight on how to interpret our collected images under Lewis' axioms by elaborating on each in his chapter titled *New Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Paying attention to Political Economy and Social Justice* of the book *Political Economies of Landscape Change.* This chapter emphasizes the influence of history, society and individuals on the built environments known as landscape both in their structure and in value, often to a greater extent that alluded to by Lewis (Mitchell 2008, 34-36). Mitchell's inference of landscape is applicable to our research in Milwaukee since our main interest is in the relationships between economic change and specific neighborhood inhabitants.

C. Maps

A multitude of maps detailing Milwaukee neighborhoods from the start of the 20th century was found from the UW-Milwaukee campus and, we used sources like Google Maps street view and United States Geological Survey (USGS) for recent ground and aerial photography. In Exploring Human Geography with Maps, Pearce and Dwyer specifically note that there are several types of maps that can be incorporated into a research analysis. These include map scales (large-scale or small-scale maps) and map perspective (plan view or oblique/bird's eye view or profile view). A large-scale map is defined as a map that covers a "small surface area in high detail … [including] local roads, building footprints, vegetation, or elevation" (Pearce et al. 2009, 14). On the other hand, a small-scale map is defined as a map that covers a "large surface area in low detail ... [and] would show major highways as lines, towns and cities as points" (Ibid.). Pearce acknowledges that a large surface map has benefits because it has the potential to identify specific characteristics, including modern or traditional architecture (Pearce et al. 2009, 15).

To that end, we used documentation acquired from the contemporary Census Bureau and Milwaukee City Hall maps of specific neighborhoods and contrasted those with older Seaborne maps of certain neighborhoods. A small-scale map provided very little benefit for the purposes of our research, but still was handy in helping identify the neighborhoods studied relative to the entire Milwaukee area. Moreover, although three different map perspectives exist (plan, bird's eye and profile view), we prioritized and utilized the plan view (such as the USGS maps and Seaborn Maps) over others. The bird's eye view only presents the landscape as if an individual were looking down at Milwaukee from an angle (Pearce et al. 2009, 18). A profile view offers a vista of the landscape as if an individual were standing above it, at eye-level (Ibid). Both approaches are hampered by the fact that blind spots exist, preventing us from reaching an effective conclusion. This is where the street view function from Google maps came into play.

We were partial to certain methods for the purposes of maps because Baker in *The Dead Don't Answer Questionnaires* notes that it is most effective to "select one major source" (Baker, 1997, 236). In this case, we are choosing to favor the small-scale map and plan views because

they are most readily available and can show how construction of freeways have altered innumerable Milwaukee neighborhoods for the worse. However, because Baker notes that having a diverse range of sources can also strengthen an argument, we are also choosing to incorporate street view maps from Google and street photographs from earlier decades to also show how Milwaukee has changed (Ibid). Likewise, to use only contemporary sources would be foolhardy; we would never be able to effectively draw conclusions about the characteristics of historic Milwaukee.

VIII. Results by Neighborhood

Many interviews, photographs, and maps were used to build the biography of the four important neighborhoods. Each of which were collected for specific reasons and used as primary and secondary sources throughout, to strengthen the paper.

A. South Side
  I. Interviews
Our first interview was with Author Paul Geenen (seen in Appendix I.A). Our questions were mostly in reference to his many books published about Civil Rights and the South Side of Milwaukee. First, we asked him to further detail his book *Civil Rights Activism in Milwaukee: South Side Struggles in the 60s and 70s* which discusses the South Side peaceful population transition as well as the joint activism of Latinos and African Americans. In his detailing, he talked on the fact that the South Side of Milwaukee had a very different history than the North Side. He discussed the little evidence of redlining on the South Side between the Latinos and Polish because of both communities' ties to the Catholic Church. Geenen also talked about the joint efforts to act against discrimination in Milwaukee between the African American and Latino communities and how this relationship has continued to work for both parties because they never got in each other's way. Both communities helped each other win fights for their own communities' concerns: African Americans in Milwaukee are more concerned about jobs, education, and crime while the Latinos are more concerned about documentation and living in the shadows.

We also had the chance to sit down with Pastor Jeske. In our interview with Pastor Jeske, he talked about the Latinos in the South Side who were first brought into work in the tanneries which was awful work, but it was a job and it paid. But, as soon as they had the skills or could afford to do better, more desirable work, they would.. Pastor Jeske told about how as Latino numbers increased, the Latino population expanded into the receding Polish community. However, even though both the Polish and Latinos were Catholic, the Latinos were not always welcome in the original church so they had to worship in basements/houses. The big draw for Latinos in the South Side was to have the church services in Spanish, which created a close-knit community. Eventually though, the Latinos took over the existing Catholic Church buildings, and the Polish community's houses as the Polish moved out of the city.

  II. Photography
The grand scale of Catholic Churches in the old photographs of the South Side reflects the importance of religion to this community. Since the South Side was a population of working-class poor, the building of these grand churches meant financial sacrifices for the community, but nonetheless it was one that they were eager to make. In present day photography, the fact that these same churches are still prominent features of the landscape

speaks to two characteristics of the neighborhood. First, it showcases the role of the church as the binding factor for ethnic enclaving for both the founding Polish population and the transition to the present day Latinos. Secondly, it suggests that, apart from population change, the South Side has structurally remained unchanged and that the sense of community that brought it into being remains strong (Appendix II, Figures 2a and 2b). This reluctance to assimilate in the midst of a changing Milwaukee was not for lack of opportunity, but one of choice. The outreach for integration can be seen in the Father Groppi Unity Bridge, built after the joining of the South and North Sides against housing injustice. The bridge connects the South Side's Cesar Chavez Drive to the inner city of Milwaukee as an overpass of the interstate system that serves as a boundary of the community (Appendix II, Figure 4). However, it has been allowed to lie scarcely used which exhibits the ethnic enclaving.

   III. Maps
        The construction of the I-43 highway has undoubtedly scarred South Milwaukee; residential buildings and neighborhoods were ripped apart which created both a housing shortage by the 70s and forced many Polish Americans to move away from the neighborhood (Lackey & Petrie 2013, 85). Yet closer analysis using both Sanborn Maps and Google Maps reveal that the neighborhood as a whole has maintained many original residential and commercial buildings (Appendix III, Figure 17, 18, 19, and 20). In one striking subsection of South Milwaukee, commercial institutions have actually increased along South Cesar E. Chavez Drive (Appendix III, Figure 17 and 18). This is tangible evidence that South Milwaukee has maintained economic activity and population growth. It is important to note that because many of the original Polish American inhabitants have been replaced with Latino residents, businesses and street names have been updated or renamed, respectively, to best reflect this ethnic change. One prominent avenue, previously termed 11th Avenue in 1949, has been renamed as South Cesar E. Chavez Drive (Appendix III, Figure 17 and 18).
        The stark contrast between those of Polish descent from 1940 to 2010 is seen in Appendix III, Figures 5 and 6. In Figure 5, one can see the Polish born population is concentrated heavily in South Milwaukee, although pockets of the Polish population are found on the North Side as well. By 2010, as seen in Appendix III, Figure 6, the majority of Polish born population has moved out to southern suburban neighborhoods, although a few remain in southern Milwaukee. On the other hand, the boom of the Latino population is very evident in Appendix III, Figure 9 and 10. In Appendix III, Figure 9, the 1940 census offers no data for Latino only populations, instead we used statistics for all "other populations" which incorporate all races except for whites and African Americans. Census Tract 115 (on the South Side) denotes that "other" populations only accounted for 1.1% of the total population in 1940. This implies that Latinos represented a very small minority at that time. However, in Appendix III, Figure 10, modern day Milwaukee shows a substantial increase in the Latino population on the South Side. Many census tracts even show that Latinos constitute the majority population in those areas in 2010. This showcases the pattern of ethnic enclaving as the South Side as the population transitioned from the Polish community to the present day Latino enclave.

B. North Side
   I. Interviews
        As seen in Appendix I.A., Mr. Paul Geenen discussed how the African American migration to Milwaukee varied during the early 20th century; from the first ten-thousand migrants

being accepted and integrated into Jewish and German communities to the mass migration that started in mid-century when there were many more segregated laws that disallowed African Americans to settle in certain areas. Geenen defined the factors that drove the African Americans out of the South as Push-Pull Factors: pushing the African Americans out of the South was the segregation and hateful violence and pulling the African Americans to Milwaukee was because of the salaries at the industrial sectors which could be more than four times as much as what they were making in the South. He talked about the unwritten Three-Block Rule that stated that any new church could not be built within three blocks of another church. This rule meant that the African American community grew by three block increments for a long time.

In our interview with Representative Evan Goyke (seen in Appendix I.C.), he talked about how the individual acts and community organization have been the best advocates for fair housing in the city. He talked about how these same advocates were those who were bargaining with other movements such as today's Black Lives Matter movement so to raise awareness for the fair housing as not only a problem facing segregated cities but that it was a multi-faceted problem with many causes and effects on the larger population. Rep. Goyke also discussed his story and how it fit into his work at the Capital. He reflected on the time when he had first moved into his home and needed homeowners' insurance but many insurers refused him because he lived in a "high-crime" area. The first homeowners' insurance he purchased did not work out. He received a 90-day cure notice for peeling paint in January which is almost impossible to deal with because Milwaukee is in winter and painters do not paint in winter. This story affirmed his points on how insurance companies use creative policies to discontinue insurance and how it helps fuels segregation.

   II. Photography

The photographs of the early to mid 20th century capture the lively and vibrant character that was the Bronzeville of Milwaukee, WI. However, the images from more recent times lack that livelihood. In fact, the neighborhood no longer exists. The area that once made up Bronzeville now has little to no residential buildings, instead, they have been replaced gas stations or vacant plots of land to aid the highway development that came through the area (Appendix II, Figures 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b). This lack of character speaks to the detrimental impact of development, in the form of interstate construction, had on the neighborhood.

   III. Maps

Closer analysis from income inequality and income segregation reveals that income levels in northern Milwaukee are generally lower than all other parts of Milwaukee. Segregation remains rampant in Milwaukee because those that live on the North Side cannot afford to rent or buy homes in other neighborhoods (Reardon, et al. 2011, 1097). This inequality can be seen in the Household Median Income map of 2010 in Appendix III Figure 12. Additionally, when this is cross-referenced with the total black population map from 2010 in Appendix III Figure 2, we can see that there is a strong correlation between the lower income and minority populations. Another thing to note in the presence of the black population map from 1940 (Appendix III Figure 1) is the striking appearance of Bronzeville as nearly the only population of blacks in Milwaukee.

As industries move away from Milwaukee, those that live in northern neighborhoods are exposed to a negative feedback loop that further prevents them from moving out of their neighborhood (Rast 2009, 409). This is ironically attributed to Milwaukee City Hall's choice to

prioritize industrial growth by marketing sites which could potentially host industrial parks in the 1970s and 1980s (Rast 2009, 411). That tactic proved to be highly ineffective because this policy came at a time when private industries were looking at shifting from secondary economic sectors (industries) to tertiary and quaternary economic sectors (commercial and research & development) (Rast 2009, 412). The Milwaukee redevelopment plan that was instituted had only a minimal effect on the working population and ultimately had no significant or detrimental impacts on Milwaukee's working population and economy. Therefore, this prevents the formation of integrated neighborhoods in which African American families who could have had the economic potential (through employment opportunities) to live in more affluent neighborhoods.

C. River West
    I. Interviews
        We also talked with Representative Goyke about the development initiatives implemented in Milwaukee. He talked about how development offers a potential path to decent income for the marginal populations, as he said, "redevelopment offers an opportunity to talk about the realities of Milwaukee". He mentioned that obviously there has been failures in redevelopment from the lack of transportation infrastructure but that he is hopeful for the new Milwaukee Bucks stadium to provide jobs. Finally, he noted that there is "no singular bullet" to solve these problems. Locations where communities organize are where one can see different redevelopment strategies work best and can see changes in quality of life in that neighborhood.
        We also had an interview with UW-Madison Professor Sarah Moore (seen in Appendix I.D.). In her interview we dove into specifics on city size and the reinvention of certain areas of Milwaukee. When we asked about city limits, she talked to us about the differences between annexation and incorporation of cities as this was important in Milwaukee growing in the way it did. With annexation, it is when incorporated towns expand their boundaries by annexing unincorporated land nearby. While, with incorporation, it is the small towns that try to become their own government entity so cities can't take them over. This was important in Milwaukee because if suburbs tried to incorporate, they were trying to reach independence financially and socially over things like education, especially during the time of integration.

    II. Photography
        Opposite of the photo evidence of the North side, Riverwest has a somewhat lacking collection of older documentation, but a full portfolio of its later development as well as re-purposing of older buildings. This can be reasonably be deduced to be a result of the lacking identity of the neighborhood prior to the presence of activists groups that established it in the late 20th century. Repeat photography does reveal that parts of its industrial history remain, but have been repurposed to serve the commercial agenda of the neighborhood (Appendix II, Figures 8a, 8b, 8c) . Whereas other aspects have been entirely replaced to make room for the erection of high rise residential complexes (Appendix II, Figures 9a, 9b, 10a, 10b). The importance of community is also displayed through repeat photography, in the continued traditions of community events (Appendix II, Figures 11a and 11b).

    III. Maps
        Riverwest is another neighborhood that has improved over time. Although industry and the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific railroad line have left the neighborhood, the

neighborhood has prevailed against all odds and redeveloped itself (Google Maps, 2016). Because certain railroads in Milwaukee were primarily used for industrial purposes, there was no significant benefit to Riverwest (Moore 2016). To that end, parks and apartment buildings were built, increasing both the desirability and population of the neighborhood (Google Maps, 2016). Also, note that commercial zones present in the days of Sanborn maps continue to thrive , although business institutions have changed (Sanborn Maps, 1949).

When looking at the the social explorer maps of Median Household Income in 2010 (Appendix III Figure 12) and the change in white population between 1940 and 2010 (Appendix III Figures 3 and 4), we can see the efforts to promote diversity in Riverwest. The change in populace is evident in the first two maps, as it shows a reduction from at 95-100% white population in 1940 to around 75% in 2010. Looking at the median household income of Riverwest in 2010 we see that it lies right around the center of the scale, $35,000 - $40,000. Both of these maps go to show how Riverwest has been working to identify itself as a community that is accepting of members from diverse backgrounds.

D. Third Ward
    I. Interviews
        With Professor Moore we also talked specifically about development and the problems concerning the Third Ward's new development. Explicitly, we talked about the problems with the Third Ward and how a lot of the businesses aren't local. There has been a homogenization of shops on side streets all along the Third Ward but although it's filled with shops, many are not local shops which means there usually is little incentive for businesses to reach out into the community. The other problem with the Third Ward that we discussed is that many of the people who live in the Third Ward say that they wouldn't go anywhere else in the city so though they are living downtown, this nonmoving capital and population is only creating pockets of growth. Finally, we discussed the Rent Gap Theory which is when there is high potential for rents in which rents are low now and the difference between potential rent income versus the rent currently. We discussed this because it is in these Rent Gap areas where investment in the city usually happens.

        When talking with Pastor Jeske, he also discussed how the Third Ward has changed over time. He argues that freeways tore apart the city because as the churches, which were what held the community together, were torn down, everyone left with them. The only things left in the Third Ward after I-794 destroyed the remaining houses were the commercial businesses. Jeske continues his argument stating that the current look of the Third Ward was not planned when this happened. Instead, the Third Ward today is the result of when a natural resource gets noticed and leaders catch wind of the potential. The Third Ward had all the great views of the river, it was close to downtown, and still had beautiful old buildings so it became the new vision of the Third Ward. Moreover, it worked because at the present there are tens of thousands of people that live in the area. In our discussion, Pastor Jeske also talked on gentrification, stating that gentrification today is over politicized and asserted that gentrification is the market at work. Jeske finished by stating that in the end, gentrification only means new energy and rejuvenation to create a new, liveable, vibrant community for residents.

    II. Photography
        The Third Ward's first identity as a residential settlement of European immigrants is poorly documented, and cannot be seen in present landscapes because of the fire that swept it

away (Appendix II, Figure 14a). However, the large industrial buildings that came after received ample attention, and can still be seen today. These buildings have been repurposed into the high end retail and residential properties that make up the neighborhood now. Although their functionality has changed, their structure has largely remained the same, to preserve their historical integrity (Appendix II, Figures 15a, 15b, 15c). The street structure of the neighborhood has notably changed to accommodate its newest identity. The Third Ward has been modified to be a pedestrian friendly environment. This can be identified in the parking availability that divides the North-South traffic on the street, which decreases drivability, promoting foot traffic and window shopping (Appendix II, Figures 15a and 15b).

    III. Maps

Sanborn Maps portray the Historic Third Ward as an industrial neighborhood with few residential and commercial buildings (Sanborn Maps, 1949). While the East-West Freeway has demolished all industrial buildings between E St. Paul Avenue and E Clybourn Street, the Third Ward today is a thriving neighborhood with mostly commercial stores and apartment buildings (Google Maps, 2016). Its proximity to downtown Milwaukee and deindustrialization, which depressed prices in the Third Ward are arguably major factors that helped the neighborhood develop (Moore 2016). Moreover, the East-West freeway actually encouraged development of commercial zones because it provides easy access to the neighborhood for all points in Milwaukee and suburbanites (Ibid). The impacts of this new development in the Third Ward can be seen fairly dramatically in the Social Explorer map of Median Household Income in Appendix III Figure 12. This map shows that the Third Ward's median household income is much higher than that of the surrounding central core of downtown, in the highest category on the scale and comparable with that of the northern lakeshore drive and Whitefish Bay, where the upper class - elite of Milwaukee reside.

IX. Analysis
A. Processes

There are four main processes at play in these four neighborhoods: Construction, Redlining, Neighborhood Activism and Gentrification. Construction is countered with the term development and is regarded as a negative process which has the potential to permanently disfigure neighborhoods. With respect to Bronzeville, construction did not necessarily imply development. The I-43 highway construction necessitated the destruction of many homes, which led to displaced families and invited urban blight to the neighborhood. Although highways were supposed to "unify" Milwaukee, construction is blamed for permanently dividing inner-city neighborhoods. Redlining is the process by which certain neighborhoods, particularly those with high minority populations, are refused financial investments because of underlying prejudices. The process invites urban blight and maintains a dichotomy between neighborhoods that are redlined and those that are not. Redlining perpetuates segregation in northern Milwaukee neighborhoods because it quickly encouraged white families to participate in "white flight" towards suburbs while simultaneously enabling black families to find homes. Neighborhood Activism plays the role of a process by challenging imposed social standards of the neighborhood. As a process, it is a conscious choice brought to strength in numbers, to provide an alternative to an existing pattern. This process is important in Riverwest because it forms the identity that the community has become known for, and allows for it to remain diverse in the

U.S.' most segregated city. Gentrification was first coined by the British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 when she used the term to describe some new and distinct process of urban change that affected inner London stating " one by one, many of the working class...have been invaded by the middle classes--upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages...have been taken over when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences" (Lees et al., 2008, 4). Using this definition we can see this process used in the displacement of working class renters to make way for the Third Ward upper class residences and businesses.

B. Pattern

The South Side differs from other neighborhoods of the city, in that the persistent boundaries keeping the Latino population localized in the South Side is not imposed on them, as was the case in the redlining of the North Side, but is rather a voluntary action. This factor in combination with the fact that the influx of Latino immigrants to Milwaukee is continuing to this day sets the South Side in a separate stage of the development cycle, when compared to other neighborhoods of Milwaukee. This apparent stall in the development cycle is due to the continual pattern of forming ethnic enclaves, which manifests in self-segregation. Since there was no process that forced the South Side to change course, the pattern of ethnic enclaving continued, even through the changes from the Polish community to the Latino population today. There has been little to no processes that have affected the community stimulated changes. As Pastor Jeske emphasized our talk with him, the Latino immigrant really started in a typical immigration pattern - the oldest and the most beat up houses on the block became available for newcomers - but soon they started to then take over multiple blocks at a time. In the South Side repeat photography, Appendix II Figures 1a and 1b, it can be seen that other than business turnover from Polish to the Latino businesses and restaurants, the overall infrastructure has remained. The Church and the infrastructure of large churches can also take responsibility for the enduring infrastructure and neighborhood isolation. Even though the construction of I-43 came through the South Side, it only strengthened the existing barrier which the enclave could not expand out of. If anything, the one-sided barrier created a stronger community that live within a tighter space. And, as seen in Appendix III Figures 19 and 20, the North-South Freeway demolished many residential and commercial buildings, which stimulated some Polish Americans to migrate to the suburbs without being subjected to discriminatory regulation. Appendix III Figure 6, denotes the percentage of Polish Born Populations of 2010 and shows that percentages are highest in southern neighborhoods. Yet Appendix III Figures 17 and 18 portray a different reality in which commercial zones have come to proliferate along S Cesar E. Chavez Drive. Although some residential buildings have disappeared, Figure 18 implies that the South Side is a thriving primarily Latino neighborhood, while marginally retaining its original Polish roots.

With respect to Bronzeville, construction did not imply development. Construction is countered with the term development and, for this paper, is regarded as a negative process which has the potential to permanently disfigure neighborhoods. The I-43 construction necessitated the destruction of many homes which led to displaced families and invited urban blight to the neighborhood. This destruction can be see in the repeat photography produced in Appendix II, Figures 5a and 5b, where thriving business were demolished to make room for the on ramps to the interstate system; as well as in Appendix II, Figures 7a and 7b, where business were simply removed and the plots of land lie vacant. Although highways were supposed to "unify"

Milwaukee, construction is blamed for permanently dividing inner-city neighborhoods. Redlining is the process by which certain neighborhoods, particularly those with high minority populations, are refused financial investments because of underlying prejudices. The process invites urban blight and maintains a dichotomy between neighborhoods that are redlined and those that are not. Redlining perpetuates segregation in northern Milwaukee neighborhoods because it quickly encouraged white families to participate in "white flight" towards suburbs while simultaneously enabling black families to find homes.

Segregation is different than ethnic enclaving because segregation is forced whereas ethnic enclaving is a choice of those immigrating to live in a particular area. The North Side is especially affected by segregation because of the impact of redlining. The process of redlining allowed for the refusal of financial investments to primarily African Americans because of underlying prejudice. As detailed above, this redlining aspect is particularly interesting to think about in relation to the Realtor Code of Ethics which until 1955, specifically told these realtors to not introduce a new "character of property or use which will clearly be detrimental to property values into a neighborhood" (Code of Ethics 1950, 209). This is shocking because of how specific it is laid out to those realtors who were somewhat accomplices in creating these segregated neighborhoods. However, what is more shocking is the fact that these processes have not gone far away. In the interview with Representative Evan Goyke, he told of his particular struggle with the new insurance companies' policies which do not give insurance to high-minority or what they call "high-crime" areas. And, as seen in Appendix III Figures 2 and 4, redlining and white flight has resulted in substantially higher African American populations in northern Milwaukee while white populations have moved away to surrounding suburbs. Moreover as seen in Appendix III Figure 8, the construction of the North South Expressways and therefore deconstruction of homes in Bronzeville have resulted in significantly lower population densities in all neighborhoods where highways pass. To put it into numerical terms, population densities in 2010 were at approximately 8,300 people per square mile in northern neighborhoods compared to 24,430 people per square mile in 1940.

The City of Milwaukee had laid the groundwork to impose the pattern of segregation by means of the Relative Residential Status evaluations of the neighborhoods in Milwaukee. Although it was similar in practice and intended outcome of the Code of Ethics used in the North Side to disallow African Americans from obtaining housing, the neighborhood activist group East Side Housing Action Coalition (ESHAC) was able to reverse its ruling on the neighborhood by taking a public stance to defend their mission for a united neighborhood (Appendix II, Figure 13). Another opportunity to ESHAC to show its strength over expected norms came when blockbusting again tried to introduce segregation to the neighborhood. They accomplished this by launching a lawn sign campaign that embraced their diversity and rang out much louder than the racially discriminatory pamphlets. Author Tom Tolan summarizes the effect neighborhood activism has on the Riverwest neighborhood in his book *Riverwest: A Community History*, when he says:

"Almost every neighborhood, at almost any time, shows signs of what it has been and what it will become. So the people who live west of the river today have a mixture of skin colors, income levels, ethnic backgrounds, and beliefs - some of them evidence of what life in the neighborhood was like years ago, some of them signs of what may lie ahead" (Tolan 2003, 27).

It is evident that Riverwest still embodies the mission to achieve and protect diversity as it did in its founding through neighborhood activism. This activism is still practiced in the neighborhood today, and shares this same goal. Although the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific railroad line cuts through certain subsections of the neighborhood, Riverwest is a prospering neighborhood that incorporates all residential, commercial and industrial zones in the 1940s, as seen in Appendix III Figure 23. Appendix III, Figure 24, a map of the neighborhood in 2016, shows that Riverwest has proliferated and replaced its industrial zones with commercial zones and additional residential structures. Although the railroad line has disappeared, Professor Moore emphasized that because this line primarily served industrial zones, there has been no net loss to Riverwest (Moore 2016).

While continual redevelopment and rejuvenation would have been the natural pattern for the Third Ward, the process of gentrification transformed the Third Ward into a new place completely. By our definition of gentrification, where gentrification is a process where there is displacement of working class renters to make way for upper class residences and businesses, the Third Ward has epitomized each element. With redevelopment there is a progression of housing becoming more modern with usual rebuilding rate and of businesses having regular turnover due to clientele or overall trend changes. However, with gentrification, it is easy to pick out the completely new apartments and clientele that have radically changed the business and restaurant appearance. The Third Ward, as stated by Professor Moore, has attracted more out of town businesses that have little or no attachment to the community and contribute very little to the tax base of the Ward (Moore 2016). The Third Ward, instead of becoming a revitalized neighborhood, has become a destination for people to visit for the day or at night (Ibid). Also contributing to the destination reality of the Ward is the rising housing prices which have now not only out-priced lower and middle class folks but also have started to out-price many upper-middle class people as well (Ibid). As seen in Appendix III Figure 25, in the 1940s, the Third Ward is first and foremost an industrial neighborhood with limited quantities of residential buildings. The perseverance and re-purposing of these old industrial buildings through the multiple identities of the ward can be seen in a series of repeat photography in Appendix II, Figures 15a, 15b, and 15c. Although the East-West Freeway now cuts through the northern section of the Third Ward - as seen in Figure 26 - the highway unifies by making the Third Ward more accessible as a destination to those coming into the city. As previously mentioned, the neighborhood is now characterized by commercial institutions which have replaced most industries.

X. Further Research

Even assuming we have unlimited access to time and money, our paper would still come to very similar conclusions. However, there are areas in our methods section that require further analysis, particularly in our interview, photography, general observation and maps sections. Specifically, with respect to our interview section, we would derive further information from inhabitants in the form of surveys and more interviews. We would specifically target stakeholders impacted by redlining and those forced to move out due to construction of highways to gauge public perception to strengthen our argument. Moreover, although we were able to find more recent pictures of Milwaukee with ease, finding pictures from the 1950's and 1960's proved to be a challenge. If we had access to more resources and time, we would hire an additional participant who would be tasked solely to search for older photographs. On a similar

note, we would also make an effort to add general observations of various neighborhood's atmospheres in our paper. Like the interview section, this would undoubtedly enhance our analysis because staying in and getting a feel of various neighborhoods has the potential to change our vaguer conclusions. Our maps could also be improved significantly; the streets grids provided in our Sanborn and Google Maps are not "flush" or internally consistent. Although neighborhood boundaries are delineated through the inclusion of text-boxes that denote street names, our current maps still have the potential to confuse readers. To minimize confusion, we would use ArcGIS using data (e.g. buildings) derived from Sanborn and Google Maps to provide consistent maps.

   The following proposals are significantly more expensive and may require more time to acquire. However, we believe that incorporating "undisclosed" or "private" data could enrich our paper and maybe even reveal new conclusions. To that end, if we had more money we would contact insurance companies and buy contemporary insurance maps that specify what homes are currently being redlined or refused access to services offered by them. Alternatively, we could rent homes in neighborhoods we suspect are still under the influence of redlining and see if we could insure them. Ultimately our goal here is to see if private corporations are also complicit in the segregation that sharply divides Milwaukee today. We would also be in talks with various development companies and property management companies and try to acquire business models and projections of the Third Ward. The goal here is to see where, why and how gentrification is shaping the Third Ward or redevelopment in Riverwest.

XI. Conclusion

   Throughout the 20th and 21st Centuries there has been a continual change in where housing segregation can be found and who is directly affected by codes, law, migration patterns, construction, and reinvestment in many cities including Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In these four neighborhoods: South Side, Bronzeville, Riverwest, and Third Ward, we have found that though there were two similar patterns - enclaving and development - the different processes disrupted the usual patterns. In the course of this research paper, it highlighted the best and the worst in the history of residential segregation, discrimination, and expression of ethnic enclaves from the first population movements, through the height of racial housing discrimination, and into the current state of gentrification and general divisions in Milwaukee. In all, Milwaukee, Wisconsin consists of a diverse collection of independent communities that remain separate but share a similar path to establish identity.

XII. Bibliography

Avella, S.M. and Jablonsky, T. 2015. Milwaukee Catholicism Intersects with Deindustrialization and White Flight, 1950-1990. In The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices and Politics, 1047-1066. Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press.

Baker, A.R.H. 1997. *The Dead Don't Answer Questionnaires.* Journal Of Geography In Higher Education 21 (2): 236.

Booth, W.C., Colomb, G.G., Williams, J.M. 2008. Craft of Research. 3rd Edition., London, UK & Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Code of Ethics 1928. rev. 1950, 1955. National Association of Real Estate Boards.

Department of City Development: Milwaukee, WI. 2003. Milwaukee Urban Atlas: 10-14.

Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D.M. (eds) 2005. Methods in Human Geography: a Guide for Students Doing A Research Project. Pearson.

Geenen, Paul. In-person Interview. October 30, 2016.

Geib, P. 1998. From Mississippi to Milwaukee: A Case Study of the Southern Black Migration to Milwaukee. The Journal of Negro History 83 (4): 229–248.

Glabere, M. L. 1992. Milwaukee: A Tale of Three Cities. In Redlining to Reinvestment , 149–168. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Google Maps. 2016. Milwaukee, WI. Google. Web.

Google Streetview. 2015. Milwaukee, WI. Google. Web.

Goyke, Evan. In-person Interview. November 13, 2016.

Gurda, John. 2013. Milwaukee's Historic South Side: Poles Then, Latinos Now. Milwaukee-Online Journal Sentinel, 1.

Hanlon, J. 2001. Spaces of Interpretation: Archival Research and the Cultural Landscape. Historical Geography 29: 14-25.

Hay, Iain. 1991. Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography. 3rd ed., Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Historic Third Ward Association. 2015. About the Historic Third Ward, www.historicthirdward.org/about/aboutthethirdward.php: 1.

House, P. A. 1970. Relocation of Families Displaced by Expressway Development: Milwaukee Case Study. Land Economics 46 (1): 75–78.

Huttman, E. D., et al.1991. Housing Segregation in the Urban Black Population of the Midwest. In Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States, 243-271. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Jeske, Mark. In-person Interview. November 22, 2016.

Kenny, J. 2012. Picturing Milwaukee's Neighborhoods, 1. Milwaukee, WI: Digital Collections UW-Milwaukee.

Kleinman, R. 2004. Brewing to Boutiques: Milwaukee's Style Evolves. Women's Wear Daily: 10-11.

Lackey, J. F., and R. Petrie. 2013. Milwaukee's Old South Side, 7, 53-72, 81-92. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub.

Lees, L. 2011. The geography of gentrification: Thinking through comparative urbanism. Progress in Human Geography: 1-17.

Lewis, P. 1979. Some Guides to the American Scene. Axioms for Reading the Landscape: 1-12.

McBride, G. G., and S. R. Byers. 2007. The First Mayor of Black Milwaukee: J. Anthony Josey. Wisconsin Historical Society 91 (2): 2–15.

Milwaukee Public Library. Digital Collections: Milwaukee Historic Photos.

Mitchell, D. 2008. New Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Paying attention to Political Economy and Social Justice. In Political Economies of Landscape Change: Places of Integrative Power. 29-50.

Moore, Sarah. In-person Interview. November 21, 2016.

Pearce, M. W., and Dwyer, O.J. 2009. Exploring Human Geography With Maps. learn@uw. W. H. Freeman.

Pearcy, M. 2015. Redlining: Teaching about racial residential segregation. Virginia Social Science Journal 50: 40–50.

Phillips, R. and Johns, J. 2012. Interviewing for Fieldwork. In Fieldwork for Human Geography, 143-165. London, UK: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Rast, J. 2009. Critical Junctures, Long-Term Processes: Urban Redevelopment in Chicago and Milwaukee, 1945-1980. Social Science History 33 (4): 393–426.

Reardon, S. F., and K. Bischoff. 2011. Income Inequality and Income Segregation. American Journal of Sociology 116 (4): 1092–1153.

Riverwest Artist Association. 2016. http://www.riverwestart.org : 1.

Sanborn Maps. 1949. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (1). Photograph.

Sanborn Maps. 1949. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (2). Photograph.

Sanborn Maps. 1949. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (7). Photograph.

Sanborn Maps. 1949. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (8). Photograph.

Sean, R. 2005 Chicago company to redevelop a blighted block in Milwaukee's Riverwest neighborhood. The Daily Reporter: Milwaukee, Wisconsin: 1.

Schmidt, D. H. 2008. The Practices and Process of Neighborhood: the (Re)Production of Riverwest, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Urban Geography, 29: 5, 473-490.

Span, C. M. 2002. Black Milwaukee's Challenge to the Cycle of Urban Miseducation: Milwaukee's African American Immersion Schools. Urban Education 37 (5): 610–630.

Squires, G. 1992. Milwaukee: A Tale of Three Cities. In Redlining to Reinvestment , 149–168. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Tolan, T. 2003. Riverwest: A Community History, 1-62; 117-191. Milwaukee, WI: Past Press.

United States Code 15, 2011 Edition. TITLE 15 - Commerce and Trade. In SUBCHAPTER IV - Equal Credit Opportunity. In CHAPTER 41 - Consumer Credit Protection.

United States. Cong. Fair Housing 1968: An Interpretation of Title VIII (fair Housing) of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Cong. Bill. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, 1968. Print.

Valent, E., and G. Squires. 1998. Chapter 6: Sherman Park, Milwaukee. Cityscape 4 (2):105–130.

Witzling, L.P. 2000. Chapter 4: Milwaukee Case Study in Remaking Post-Industrial Cities: Lessons from North America and Europe, 66-84. New York, NY: Routledge.

Zimmerman, J. 2008. From brew town to cool town: Neoliberalism and the creative city development strategy in Milwaukee. Cities 25 (4):230–242.

XIII. Original Graphic
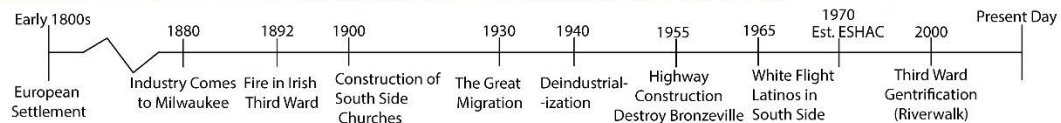
Appendix I: Interviews

A. Interview with Author Paul Geenen

This interview was done on October 30th, 2016 at a Starbucks in the Whitefish Bay area of Milwaukee. Meghan asked questions while Gabe and Jessie took notes. We talked with Mr. Geenan because he authored multiple books on the South Side and Bronzeville.

First Questions
1. Your book *Civil Rights Activism in Milwaukee: South Side Struggles in the 60s and 70s* references a joint effort between Latinos and African Americans to act against discrimination. Do you think that that partnership paved the way for multiculturalism in Milwaukee?
2. Could you detail the history of segregation following laws introduced in early 1900s and 1950s and how segregation at the present day is a by-product of socioeconomics/what factors in modern times allow for segregation to happen?
3. Segregation has always been a problem in Milwaukee, but what features of that still persist?

The history of black migration to Milwaukee
- 1900s African Americans start migrating to Milwaukee and were integrated into Jewish and German communities and were not seen as a big threat
  - Approximately 8-10,000 African Americans amongst Germans and Italians
- Only in the 50s and 60s where huge migration from the south forces African Americans into segregated areas

Bronzeville
- Push and pull factors at play
  - Push factors: Violence in the segregated south (lynchings), whites were pushing them out of entire counties.
    Pull factors: Salaries attracted them to foundaries, meatpacking/industrial sectors, as much as 4x more than previous salaries.
- Hourly salaries as much as four times higher than salaries in the south
- Peak of black employment in 1976, but soon tapered off (following the deindustrialization of Milwaukee).
  - You could get a family sustaining job right out school. Since then it has scaled off and industries have moved out.
- In the 1960s and 1970s, FHA loans weren't given to African Americans so all the white folks moved the suburbs while others could not. This was a large part of the redlining effort.
- Interstates in the 1960s was the time where the federal government had anti-poverty movement so housing in Milwaukee was dreadful—higher than other places. Built hillside housing complex wiping out African American communities.
  - Interstates were routed right down to the African American communities. Tore at the fabric of the community.

- o Bronzeville was a very closed society, churches etc. was all part of the integration of migrants. The community was forever changed by the freeways and the construction of subsidized housing.
- Housing was very tight.
  - o African American communities grew by 3 block rule: any church cannot create new church within 3 blocks of another church so city grew in 3 block sections.
- West MKE really resisted African Americans being able to settle and get jobs there.
  - o Didn't provide transportation to the suburbs so that African American community members couldn't get there. No bus lines from the city to the suburbs so the African American communities
    - ▪ Light rail was opposed each time. Kept saying "they'll be coming out here" which created the subtle pressure that keeps the African American community in the city.
  - o When the community members had the money to get better housing, redlining had come in and changed where housing was available.

Suburban efforts to prevent African American employment/perpetuating segregation
- Wauwatosa and Waukesha counties resist African Americans—both employment and residential opportunities—through deliberate choices
- Wauwatosa and Waukesha lack buses or railroads that connect Milwaukee to suburban neighborhoods with ease
  - o Prevents employment
  - o Subtle pressure to keep all African Americans in Milwaukee

Milwaukee's infrastructural history and politics
- Redevelopment:
  - o Downtown development is good.
  - o Ex. Waulnut Way and 17th. Example of how downtown and central city can benefit from each other:
    - ▪ The city has done a lot of development work with the neighborhoods, they have own peach orchard, bee hives, lots of programs for youth and good involvement with schools.
    - ▪ Came up with the idea of opening restaurant on Fon du Lac Avenue –idea went nowhere.
      - • But someone did announce recently a new restaurant coming soon on Fon du Lac. Farm to table type restaurant which will attract lunch crowd from downtown.
  - o Another possibility area is old Bronzeville at 3rd and N. There's a freeway exit at 7th and look to the north. Rejuvenating efforts on that area would help the community there—some on their way:
    - ▪ Pete's Market (from the South Side) is going to open on North Ave soon.
  - o Someone cannot say that none of the wealth from the city center isn't being spent outside the center.
    - ▪ Seeing some transfer outside downtown but for a lot of people, some signs of vitality is starting to have impact in central city.

Transportation
- In 1950s Milwaukee had great transportation—streetcar transportation (25c) and every person living in the city could get to any job within the city within 30mins.
    - But ultimately dismantled following privatization and replaced with "**bustitution**"
    - Buses as the successor the streetcar, but invokes the question how useful buses are over streetcars
- Interstates built in the 1960s with help from the federal government at a time when anti-poverty programs were simultaneously being implemented.
    - Problem came when they took out communities with interstates only to put in other communities.
        - Ex. Hillside housing complex wiped out African American communities
        - Freeways also wiped out African American communities
- Tore the fabric of the close-knit community
- In 1980, they wanted to run streetcar down Sherman Boulevard and turn it into a track, but it was opposed and never happened. It was the closest as MKE ever got to rebuilding the rail system.
    - The mayor in NW said it would become a barrier, but instead if it would've happened, Sherman park might have evolved much differently.
- Once jobs started leaving the downtown area, there wasn't provided transportation to the suburbs so that African American community members couldn't get there.
    - No bus lines from the city to the suburbs so the African American communities.
- In modern day Milwaukee, this is still seen really in transportation and how that limits those who don't have own car.
    - Big controversy about light rail system in downtown right now. The fed government gave MKE money for transportation but everyone had to agree on an answer to where to put the money.
        - But overtime, these federal grants never were used and ended up as less money and now is going to be used for only an 8 block streetcar
    - Taking 2 buses and walking to just get to work is not uncommon.
        - WisDOT is always looking to cut lines for example common ground. Right now, people sued the DPT and got 16 million dollars over design over the freeways that funds bus line to go out to Waukesha. No money to replace that—so talking about to replace that.
- Effects: Milwaukee missed out transit oriented development.
    - Because streetcars are more difficult to dismantle—embedded tracks and electrified wires—thus, would have been good incentivizes for businesses and developers to invest in streets close to "dedicated" transit lines (as opposed to bus lines which are constantly in flux).

New Highway Proposals
- I-94 heading west from downtown/Marquette to the zoo interchange. Six to eight blocks where the freeway bends off to the stadium to the north, there's a discussion about replacing a 50-year-old highway.
    - It's not central city and it's a middle class neighbourhood.
    - Proposals:
        - 1. Double decker $800 million (abuts a cemetery)

- Widen six lanes, takes out a bunch of houses
- Leave it the way it is and have a very narrow third lane.
  - 2. Keep it the same
    - Quality of life worse
    - Less traffic
    - Less commercial strips, less small trips

Acts against Discrimination and Todays Multiculturalism in MKE

- Partnerships between Latinos and African Americans were formed in joint efforts to act against discrimination and paved way for multiculturalism in MKE today.
  - The point in the *Civil Rights Activism in Milwaukee: South Side Struggles in the 60s and 70s* book is that the while the African Americans marched for housing on the South Side for 220 days, the Latinos supported them.
    - They used and adopted what the Fair Housing marches did to advocate for "the great boycott", when Chavez and United Farm Workers to not buy grapes until the farm workers got proper pay.
      - Chavez asked MKE Latinos because Wisconsin was biggest consumer of Brandies and grapes.
      - Chicon use same things that the youth workers did—go to grocery stores and ask to not buy the brandy or grapes, organized around the schools to fight for bilingual schools with same techniques.
  - The two groups also came together to marched all together with Father Grapé (who had more to do with social justice in MKE than anyone else ever)
    - They also took over the state assembly in Madison for Mothers.

South Side Transition: Polish to Latino

- The Polish to Latino transition is a completely different issue from the North Side issues.
  - Redlining not the same experience here. In general, there is not really evidence of redlining in community.
    - Latinos and Polish are both Catholic so they went to the same church community. Good way of bonding.
      - Hispanic and Latinos worship in the basement, but part of the same religion so makes the transition easier.
    - Wholly different because there are not many churches that have African Americans and whites attending.
- The big issue on the south side is immigration
  - Today, you see Fonterra and the work they are doing—fighting for the undocumented.
    - They have done demonstrations in front of Paul Ryan's office.
  - Dreamers: people who are citizens but parents aren't. Latinos and African Americans are not totally concerned about the same things today: African Americans are more concerned about jobs, education, crime while the Latinos are more concerned about documentation and living in the shadows

B. Interview with Representative Evan Goyke

This interview was done on November 15th, 2016 in his legislative office in the Madison Capitol. Jessie asked questions while Gabe and Meghan took notes. We talked with Rep. Goyke because he is a resident of and one of the prominent lawmaker for the North Side.

1. Who do you believe is the biggest advocate for fair housing in Milwaukee?
- Fair housing council
- Community advocates
- Legal stop for tenants (reclaiming your security deposit)
  - No individual name, Erin Zapinsky/foreclosure
- Foreclosure and fallout from bad predatory loans has impacted Milwaukee
  - Blank spaces, rehabilitated homes but it's also moved people
- Aldermanic district/Willy Heinz: city lost 15% of the population because homes were torn down and neighbourhoods lost people
  - Displaced through foreclosure

A. What have been the most effective tactics for raising awareness about discriminatory housing practices in Milwaukee?
- Bringing people to Milwaukee, we need a human face. Housing policy: It needs to be more visible.
  - Doesn't draw the majority of the crowd and it's just not an emotional topic
  - Somehow it hasn't been introduced into as tenet for movements such as Black Lives Matter, etc.
- Flaw in Milwaukee system is that you have to experience in order really be moved to act on the issue. Stats are great, but to trigger action people need to see the effects. With housing you can see it and set a face to it.

B. Do you have to change your message, the way you talk, and/or your mannerisms when talking to different audiences about race relations?
- Yes of course, Molding our presentation to the audience we have to.
- "We mold our presentation to the audience"

C. What actions have you participated in?
- Introduced a number of bills
  - Focus in office is on foreclosures and reconciliation of neighborhoods
  - Hold lenders accountable
- Zombie houses "They're crime magnets"
  - Zombie foreclosures: lenders hold their judgment of foreclosure, they don't own it, but until it's actually sold
  - One vacant house reduces every other property on the block by $7,000

D. What results are you particularly proud of?
- Optimistic for good results on a bill that "goes after slum lords that buy properties in Milwaukee".
  - This would try to fix the problem of slumlords in MKE.
    - These slumlords buy houses from the government cheap and rent out to those who can't pay, get caught, don't pay, buy another.
      - So first, buy properties through cash in a sheriff sale.

- Then, they rent them month to month to people with convictions or those who have difficulty in renting in the traditional market.
- Then they don't offer repairs, and they do not pay property taxes paid so offer no benefit to the community. Once they get paid and get fines assessed, they walk away from the property.
- This is all accomplished by creating a LLC and putting somebody else's name on the paper.

2. Do you know anyone who has experienced residential segregation or discriminatory housing in Milwaukee?

    A. Have you at any point faced discrimination from condos/co-ops/neighbourhood associations? Can you describe this?

- Problems are huge. Yes, I do know many who have been refused access but there are different codes now. It's not blatant or open as it used to be 50 years ago.
    - They used things like credit history, criminal record, eviction record, or government assistance to refused people. But, these things have the same discriminatory history.

    B. Can you remember any key terms/language that were used if you were refused access to a home?

- Housing discrimination is not as blatantly obvious as it was in the days of redlining, they use hidden codes to screen tenants as means of discrimination
- Hard to get home owners insurance in 'high crime neighborhoods' which is essentially the same area as the redlining area.
    - They set unattainable cure notices in order for you to keep your insurance policy.
        - Ex. Goyke: Needed home owners insurance when he first moved in. But, the issue was the neighborhood. Difficult to get insurance because of high crimes. received a 90 day cure notice for peeling paint in January which is almost impossible to deal with in January-March because Milwaukee is in the middle of winter. This notice said that the home owner's insurance wouldn't be renewed.
        - Correlation b/w high crime neighborhoods and class/race relations.
            - Insurance companies use creative policies and it fuels segregation (hard to get loans, insurance/required elements of housing, pushing people in and out of certain neighborhoods).
- Home owners in bad neighborhoods: Held hostage by market values
    - No new construction because the value of the end product is lower than the final cost

3. What would you consider as the city's greatest failure within the sphere of housing discrimination (restrictive covenants, redlining, etc) ?

- Greatest Failure: restrictive covenants and redlining -"set the city on a segregated track that is incredibly difficult to break"
  - Large scale public policy that kept Milwaukee segregated
  - Segregated track that made the city incredibly difficult to recover
- Public policy as the base for the design of the segregation in Milwaukee, "we are unacceptably divided"

4. How do you perceive the impacts of redlining in MKE?
- redlining led to more segregation and it makes it harder to uplift, and then it's really hard for others to move in. housing policies put us on a track that is hard to get off of.
- Redlining: race based design to segregate races in Milwaukee
  - Perceived impacts daily
  - The impact is the intense segregation that the city still experiences

5. How has redevelopment in Milwaukee made strides to correct racial inequality?
   A. Or…how has redevelopment in MKE simply widened the societal gap and furthered segregation?
- Development offers the potential to offer a path to decent income for the marginal populations – to break segregation people need a sustained income – money to be inherited by future generations
- In some neighborhoods if there is some development it might be good—It would take a lot to gentrify some neighborhoods.
   i. Where has it worked? Where has it fallen short?
   - We built things to come and visit not for people—flawed a bit. I want the big thing, I want the stadium, the 3rd ward, river walkways. Caution—don't recreate the article, should we go build a stadium.
     - What do we do there what do we want there? Easy to point and say that not good enough, not so easy to plan what they need. What's the alternative?
   - I don't think you can just come in and build new houses throughout city, because it will fall apart.
   - If there is a community building about the people who buy the houses than who buys house. Public housing projects can be unsuccessful.
   ii. How do cities thrive? What is a thriving city?
   - Milwaukee isn't a thriving city because of concentrated wealth vs concentrated non-wealthy. Milwaukee is a thriving city because it has a healthy downtown.
   - Cities need capital and investment that can be returned to neighborhoods.
     - You are not going to find thriving city without a thriving downtown and big tax money coming in. It is difficult to plot a course for 53206 without downtown.
     - Approximately downtown is: 18% of taxes with only 5% of land area.

- Definite proponent of downtown development. Not going to say its magic wand but MKE cannot tackle problems without people, people come back with development—you have to be growing.

6. How do you feel that socio-economic problems affects segregation in the inner city?
- Money is segregation. Socioeconomic is segregation because you get trapped in the system. If you are dependent on family that is failing. How can you move, if grandma is failing a block away?
  - Money matters—if you get it, you get going. Whether your white, black etc. you get going—your preferences matter only when deciding where you go.
  - Most people from my district don't have intentions to stay if they have money. If they can get out they do. Everyone does it. Just good decision making. Not because of redlining, etc. Largely it's because it's people and money.
- Think about this: In 1960, 750,000 people in Milwaukee. By 2000 the city of Milwaukee had lost a 150,000 people, not to the scale of Detroit, but we lost income and people.
  - 150,000 people is the size of Green Bay—Milwaukee lost an entire Green Bay in 40 years.

7. How does living in the vicinity of the interstates (plus construction) impact your quality of life? (Noise pollution, walkability of your neighborhood)
   A. To what extent does the government attempt to improve the quality of life around the interstates?
- Interstates suck! Government only seeks to only build up mega-freeways. Tons of community.
  - For example: Hwy 175/hwy 41—dumps into Washington park. Used to be way to bypass I-94. New construction of new Amelia's. But, they never built the freeway—the city tore everything down but never built the
- The 10-year dream is to have boulevard versus a highway.
- The biggest problem of interstates is that it means citizen are in more in charge of their own transportation.
  - The buses cannot get on the major freeways so it is hard for those relying on the buses to get out of town to get to the manufacturing jobs that have moved out of downtown.

8. Milwaukee is redeveloping, how does it do you feel that this re-development impacts the US population/other visitors/politicians' interest level in Milwaukee?
   A. Do you view the reinvented Milwaukee is more a social destination rather than a liveable area? Visit for the day or live in?
- "Redevelopment offers an opportunity to talk about the realities of Milwuaukee."
  - Take hundreds of lives and bring them into a better life
- River west—maybe use gentrification bc it really is an almost all white place. Yea they still have art bar, public house but that neighborhood is gentrifying but is it bad?

- o Where do people like me (white, mid-30s, married guy) go? Do we go to east and put self in an all-white neighbourhood or go to west side and be labelled a gentrifier?
- Is the development coming in and gentrifying the area bad?
  - o Ex. 30th and Wells—is this where you want to raise your kids? No one says 'I'm home' there. So is changing what is there bad? There is a way to do it the right way and the wrong way.
  - o Is redevelopment where there was nothing there before good then?

B. We talk about gentrification? What is your definition of gentrification?

- Gentrification definition: gentrification has bad connotation. Gentrification involves displacement.
  - o It is not a change in River West, its development not RE-development.
  - o For ex: River West just happened—it grew and becoming more and more white.
    - In 10 years gentrification might happen because the population there now might be priced out. River West didn't develop with incentives, now incentives are coming in.
    - There are very little commercial incentives from government other than TIF's (True Incremental Financing).

9. Is there any one solution that you can think of that would make a difference in your district?

- No, there is not a single bullet, not just one law we can change to make a huge different. But, there are promises and solutions that can be seen in some areas. It's a product of generation and it'll take just as long, if not longer to get rid of.
  - o In areas where communities are in power and organized you can see really important changes in quality of life.
    - Ex. 2 neighborhoods:
      - 1. Washington Park Partners—burn grant over 3 yrs got to organize. 30% reduction of crime. Habitat has been solely focused on too. Life got better by investment.
      - 2. Amanni—centered around Camping Outdoor America (COA) and Dominican Center of Women (sister Patricia)
        - o Crime is down 30% because they are there and they are organized. Once crime is down, quality of life goes up because kids aren't moving as much and are not fearful.
  - o There isn't a law that says organize in community.
    - But, if a neighborhood organizes, one can see progress—best progress is in neighborhoods that have organizing themselves.
    - Psychological more than anything else.
  - o Progress happens when people are plugged in and engaged in their communities.

C. Interview with Professor Sarah Moore

This interview was done on November 22nd, 2016 in her office in Science Hall. Jessie asked questions while Gabe and Meghan took notes. We talked with Professor Moore because she has done extensive research concerning of city structure and development in the United States.

1. What would you consider as Milwaukee's greatest failure within the sphere of housing discrimination (restrictive covenants, redlining, etc)?

- Milwaukee is interesting case, for longer time than Chicago, Milwaukee was a place of white ethnic enclaves.
  - Population that was in Chicago came a little bit later. The African American population did increase but it didn't boom until the 1960s.
    - People moved into cities with deteriorating jobs, redlining into the 60's, no established middle class/elite black class
    - The city itself was also resistant to building affordable housing in the suburbs or even in the cities.
  - Racial segregation characterizes the city

2. How do you perceive the impacts of redlining in MKE?

- There was a combination of history and redlining problems plus the FHA still had resistance in the particular ethnic enclaves to moving other people in.
  - The other problem was that at a local level, white power ruled.
    - Persistent impacts of redlining lead to continued educational segregation, overexposure to the police (high incarceration rates), and unequal education systems to name a few.
  - There was no access to quality institutions, private or public.
    - Redlining kind of trapped the late comers because they couldn't afford to move out now.

3. How do you feel that socio-economic problems affects (i.e. perpetuate) segregation in the inner city?

    A. What would arguably be the defining reason behind segregation that characterizes Milwaukee today?

- There is still a lack of access to education, to lawyers (minor criminal records that can't get them access to many goods/services), to transportation, and housing.
  - Though laws can't discriminate, it still happens and socio-economic problems perpetuate it.
- History of ethnic enclaves, when African Americans moved in, they were disallowed to move certain places by law.

4. To what extent do interstates (plus construction/modernization projects) impact quality of life of communities that surround highways? (Noise pollution, walkability of neighborhoods)

- Increasing isolation—common in many US cities—but also drew a circle in neighborhoods with highways
  - Milwaukee becomes a car city, poor infrastructure development

  A. To what extent does the government attempt to improve the quality of life around the interstates (e.g. through demolition of highways)?

  B. Many community institutions (e.g. baseball parks) were destroyed following the construction of various interstates. To what extent has Milwaukee aimed to mitigate the loss of community institutions that fostered community ties?

- Milwaukee itself is not a poor city, but it's unequally distributed so people are living in some places but not other places.
    - For example, the Riverwalk and Third Ward are more for tourists because they aren't affordable by many standards
  - Strong history of religious industries

5. Milwaukee is redeveloping, how does it do you feel that this re-development impacts the US population/other visitors/politicians' interest level in Milwaukee?

  A. Do you view the reinvented Milwaukee is more a social destination rather than a liveable area? Visit for the day or live in?

- Milwaukee is undoubtedly a well off city (riverwalk, Third Ward developed over the past twenty years)
  - Who benefits and who loses?
- Things like Milwaukee Bucks' arena are attractive
  - Hard to tell if stadium jobs are beneficial.

6. Why were cities forbidden from extending beyond city limits? The city of Milwaukee continuously grew, but a 1960 law made it difficult for cities to grow physically annex or incorporate smaller towns.

- Annexing: taking the locality into cities (so they become a part of Milwaukee(
- Incorporate: We're on our entity so we're gonna govern ourselves. Preserve independence financially, education
  - There are a lot of reasons that places like suburbs further away (cities not financially doing as well, education is another huge one.
    - while integration of public school within Milwaukee itself integrated towns couldn't be integrated across district lines.

7. What would you consider to be the defining factor that ultimately contributed to suburbanization in Milwaukee? Was it the GI Bill, highways, the New Deal or a different act altogether?

- Perpetuation of the history—all came together to create what is now a very segregated city because of the white flight to the suburbs.

- o Lack of transportation which meant that those who could leave, did but the others were trapped in city.

8. Did suburbanization happen in conjunction with highway development? Or was it always happening?

- A highway is more of a tool to get from cities to cities (states and cities trying to compete for investment) but being a car dependent city where investment wasn't made in public transportation and income levels are so unequal
- Railroads in Milwaukee (predominant before the 50's)
  - o Developed in conjunction with highways
- Highway system is slightly different bc it's between city to city and within city. Public investment that was competed for
  - o Being a car dependent city where subsequent investment was made. huge factor in the continuing
  - o Rail—most is freight. Once industrial manu is out of the city, it eliminates the need for the rail.
- Promote biking
  - o Were gonna stay in our cars, while you are in your bikes

9. To what extent does gentrification perpetuate the status quo that is segregation? Or is it too early at present to draw any conclusions with respect to Milwaukee specifically?

- Revitalizing a downtown, new development isn't necessarily a bad thing
  - o Depends on public/private expenditure
  - o Many businesses aren't local; homogenization of the landscape
    - No regional/international business need to build social ties (enhance the reputation of the area, make it a safe and friendly place to be), generally no commitment to increasing social ties.
- Third Ward: isolated growth of neighborhoods not ideal
  - o Entirely discrete from the rest of the city
  - o A lot of the businesses aren't local.
    - Homogenization of everything, little incentive for business to reach out to the communities
    - Need balance of local/non-local businesses to see community work.
  - o Lots of people who live in the Third Ward wouldn't go anywhere else in Milwaukee. It's not creating ties between the pockets of growth and the rest of the city
    - The residence may be seeing some, but a lot of these corporations don't give money back
- Rent gap theory—where investment happens is when there is high potential for rents where rents are low now.
  - o Where the land is cheap but land has high potential.

D. Interview with Pastor Mark Jeske

This interview was done on November 23rd, 2016 in his office at St. Marcus Lutheran Church in Milwaukee. Meghan asked questions and took notes. We talked with Pastor Jeske because as a Pastor, he knew the role of the Church in the city and has expressed that he has completed personal research in the history of Milwaukee.

Why did immigrants settle where they did?

- Realtors steered them there, first wave of immigrants were huddled together. This created the pattern that can be perceived as segregation, but it's really an ethnic enclaving.
- There was racism in the white homeowners that didn't what blacks living on their block
  - Threatening others to not sell to blacks – "block busting"
  - Partly out of fear, didn't want their block to look like the crumbling post-depression.

On the South Side, can you illustrate the transition between the Polish and the Latino communities?

- The Polish came in such great numbers and settled south of greenfield ave.
- It's a typical immigration pattern—It's the oldest and the most beat up housing that is available for new comers.
- The first Latinos were brought into work in the tanneries which was awful work, but it was a job and it paid.
  - But, as soon as you had the skills or could afford to do better, more desirable work, you would.
  - South side thought of as a start-up:
    - As Latino numbers increased, the Latino population expanded into the receding Polish community
- Latinos weren't always welcome in the original church so they had to worship in basements/houses.
  - Big draw was to have services in Spanish, which created close-knit community
  - Eventually, they took over the existing Catholic Church buildings, and the Polish communities houses as the Polish moved out of the city.
- Black followed the retreating Germans on the north side (Like Latinos on the South Side)
  - The great black migration was during the big industrial push in Milwaukee and when white men were headed off to war so jobs became available

How did these migrants/immigrants get stuck?

- The impacts of global competition and declining industry made it so many couldn't make decent money working without further education.
- Initially the unions didn't want African Americans in their membership.

- When manufacturing jobs started to decline, only partially was the black community able to pivot to the knowledge economy/ market economy/ money economy which was what took over in MKE.

Development and displacement - Bronzeville
- Prior to World War 2, African Americans were very concentrated, forced to stay in their "zone" (around walnut street).
    o Germans were moving up to bigger and better neighborhoods which eased pressure for concentrated living. This made houses available on the north side.
- There were a number of forces that disrupted Bronzeville such as the freeway that blew a hole through Bronzeville and served as a wall.

What made Bronzeville target for development

- Urban renewal!
    o There was so much poverty in the great depression, and Milwaukee had so many wood houses no one could afford to keep up so these houses became massive slums
    o Post WW2 there was money and building materials again, so the city bulldozed the run down houses that were predominantly where African Americans lived – communities like Bronzeville.
- The African Americans love Milwaukee, if they didn't they'd leave.
    o A great amount kept moving in because the problems here were deemed less than the problems from where they were coming from.
- Bronzeville would have moved regardless to the I-43 construction because of the growing availability on the north.
- Bronzeville was cool because of the community that was there (nightclubs, jazz music, close knit), but the houses were run down and north side was upward and onward for them.
    o As you move more north it wasn't as concentrated like it was in Bronzeville.
    o The loss of Bronzeville was sad because there was a real community feel, but that's part of growing up and moving on.

Third Ward Development

- The third ward is on its fourth personality – Irish Settlers – big fire (remember, Milwaukee's mostly wood) – industry/Warehouse
- Freeways tore apart the city – churches were torn down.
    o Populations that were present move because churches overall were what held the community together.
- I-794 destroyed the remaining houses in the Third Ward.
    o What was left was the commercial businesses – there was nothing there - no one lived there.
        ▪ At maximum there were 200 people who lived in the Third Ward.

- o The current look of the Third Ward was not planned when this happened—it was not done by design.
  - ▪ This is what happens when a natural resource gets noticed and leaders catch wind of the potential and things sprout up – they have a vision and make it happen.
  - ▪ The great views of the river, close to down town, really beautiful old buildings this was the vision of the new Third Ward.
    - • And, it worked—now there are tens of thousands of people that live in the area.
  - o The city facilitated the transition, but mostly it was market driven.
    - ▪ It's now gotten so pricey that the rent gap goes the other way that the originals can't afford to live there – still choice not imposed on them
  - o opportunity to ride the wave to upper class living, or can choose to move
- • But…now thinking in the future is the Fifth Ward (walker's point) the new third ward?
  - o Old commercial buildings becoming hot button restaurants

How do you define gentrification? What is its impact on displacement?

- • Gentrification is the market at work.
  - o Today, gentrification is so politicized.
  - o Any time there are demographic changes racism it is assumed that it is gentrification, but is that true?
    - ▪ If you're renting, you are at the mercy of the owner – that's a renter's life. You have to move more often. If you want to stay put, buy a house, not rent.
    - ▪ Many African Americans that bought houses were able to cash out, they make 4-5 times what they spent on it.
- • Some use gentrification has a hate word – like it's something used to push people about, but I just don't see that happening.
  - o Instead it is "rehabbing without a racial agenda".
  - o "If you were racist or didn't like African Americans you wouldn't move here in the first place"
- • Gentrification means new energy, rejuvenation, turning a dump into a livable neighborhood, and creates a vibrant community

Do you see socio-economic segregation as the new discrimination?

- • Yes. Sometime housing today are choices such as the south side but many are constrained by money.
  - o "A lot of what passes for racism is the clashing of economic classes"

How did redlining affect Milwaukee segregated housing (esp. North Side)?

- The government leaned in too hard to give loans to people that were not adequately capitalized which created pressure on lenders to break their underwriting skills.
    - Obviously, there were racist policies that made it hard for African Americans to get housing insurance, but the melt down was caused by the over lending of banks, not based on race of the early 1900s.
    - in the height of the boom banks were making a ton of money giving loans to people they shouldn't have and they got away with it for a few years.
        - But then there were people who where stuck with loans they couldn't pay for and they walked away from them.
    - The banks are supposed to be the adults in the room, they need to keep track of the credibility of individuals.
        - But, it is also the government that gives them the platform to do so.
- Housing got way too politicized
    - Home ownership in not for everybody. There are reasons to say no to somebody for loans.
    - Because of guilt of racism of the past, people overcompensate and try to do too much. And give them loans that they are not ready for or that are out of their budget.
        - This creates situations were banks are oversold.

Do you believe the GI Bill helped the housing situation?

- The GI bill over compensated many for their time and service in war.
- African Americans did not know how to participate on the state level and therefore didn't utilize the accommodations of the bill.

Appendix II: Photography

    A. South Side

The Allen-Bradley clock tower is notable feature in Milwaukee's South Side skyline, and has been known to be called the 'Polish Moon' due to its placement in the historic Polish neighborhood and four sided white clock face. This monument holds the Guinness Book of World Records for the largest four faced clock, each face with more than a 40 ft diameter.

Figure 1a

This photograph of the Allen-Bradley clock tower was taken in 1969, just a few years after its dedication in 1962, as the lettering was being added (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 1b

This photograph of the clock tower was taken on Oct. 30, 2016 as Meghan, Jessie and Gabe explored the city of Milwaukee. The clock tower remains a prominent feature on the South Side, and still serves the neighborhood as a functioning time piece (Paulson 2016)

The Catholic churches built by the Polish in the establishment of the South Side remain central figures for the community. Both the churches themselves, and they buildings surrounding them are scarcely changed from their original forms from decades earlier.

Figure 2a

This photograph of St. Josaphat's Basilica from the intersection of 6th Street and Lincoln Ave. in 1960 shows how central church was to the community. It is surrounded by residential buildings and a restaurant with a slavic name (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 2b

This same intersection, accessed via Google Streetview's Oct. 2015 collection, shows how the South Side's transition from Polish to Latino has altered the target population, but not much else. The same building that once served slavic cuisine now serves Mexican food, but the buildings themselves have not changed. (Google 2015)

Figure 3a

This 1977 photograph of the construction of an apartment complex also on 6th Street, between Mitchell St. and Lapham Blvd., depicts the twin clock towers on St. Stanislaus Catholic Church (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 3b

What appears to be the same apartment complex, with an updated roof, is seen this image accessed via Google Streetview's 2015 collection. The twin clock towers can still be seen just behind the complex on the righthand side of the image. This articulates the point that the South Side is still highly Church focused and the need to identify itself otherwise through further construction is not a priority (Google 2015).

Figure 4

The sign in the upper left hand corner of this image reads "James E. Groppi Unity Bridge". Father Groppi was the unifying force behind a collaborative effort between the African American North Side and the Latino South Side against Housing Discrimination in Milwaukee. The bridge serves as an overpass for I-794, to connect the South Side to the center of downtown. However, the bridge lies mostly unused, littered in trash, and has signs of recent defacing by graffiti (Google 2015).

B. North Side

Some of the streets that comprised Bronzeville in the early to mid 1900s are still present in modern day Milwaukee. However, they no longer have the lively character that they once had, in fact, they are no longer considered to make up a neighborhood. Instead, what was once Bronzeville has been demolished to create an area suitable for the interstate system that has taken its place.

Figure 5a

This photograph looks Southeast down Fond Du Lac Ave. from Walnut St in the early 1930s. Many pedestrians and cars are visible, which eludes to a social atmosphere (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 5b
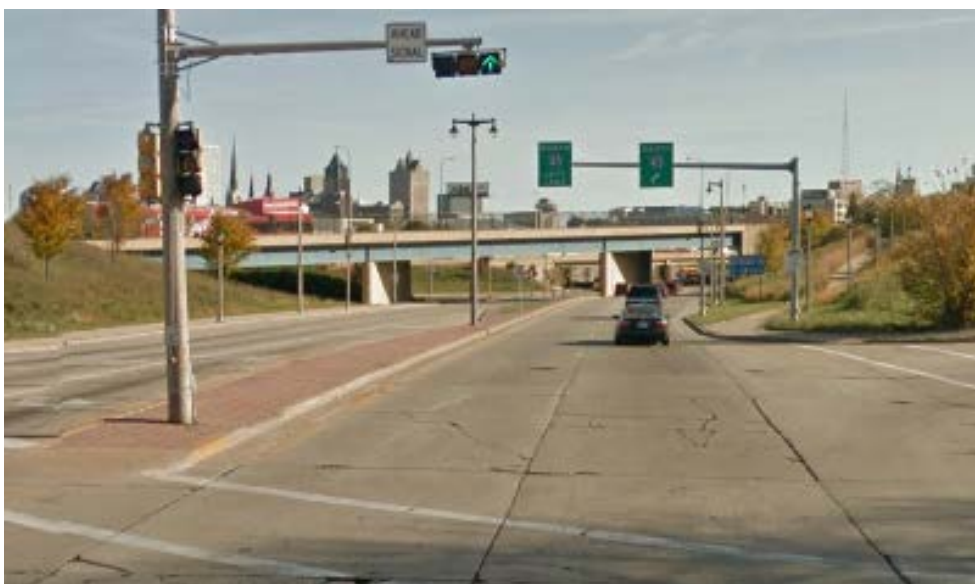
This image is of the same intersection and look direction pictured above, Here we see that Fond Du Lac Ave. feeds into two on ramps for interstate 43. The only visible buildings are the high rises of downtown (Google 2015).

Figure 6a

This building on the Northwest corner of 7th and Walnut contained a tavern (corner) as well as the 'Regal', which offered church services. Both features show a sense of community and an interactive culture (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 6b

This is the same intersection as is pictured above, but taken from the Google Streetview collection from 2015. Here we see all essence of community erased; all that is visible is an industrial like building that serves as a loading dock for the board of education (Google 2015).

Figure 7a

Similarly, the corner of Walnut and 12th St. pictured here in 19… was a thriving street for businesses that served the local community. Here we see a men's clothing store and numerous cars, which suggests success for the businesses there (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 7b

The same intersection, Walnut and 12th, is pictured here in 2015. Where successful business once stood, we now find an empty plot of land. We can see, in the far right side of the photograph, a billboard that reads "We Buy Houses", which speaks to the destructive nature of the area once known as Bronzeville (Google 2015).

C. River West

The area of Riverwest is neighborhood whose identity was largely established more recently than in other neighborhoods. Although it had been developed early on, and housed residents in the 1900s, there was no real sense of community. The present community of Riverwest is a population of residence, visitors and commercial business, that together showcase diversity.

Figure 8a
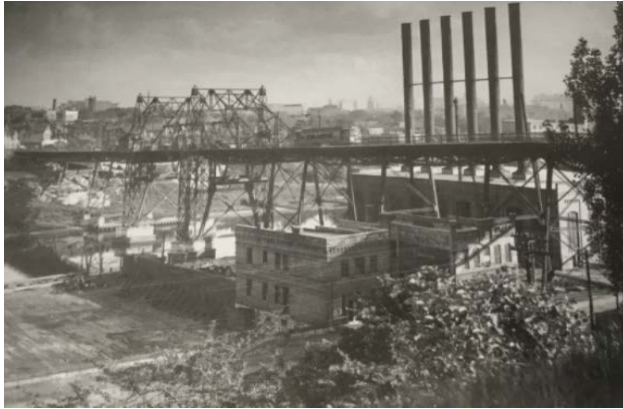
In this photograph of industry on Commerce St. in 19…, it can be seen that industry was quite separate from residential buildings. This separation likely contributed to the late residential development of Riverwest (Tolan, 24)

Figure 8b

This same industrial building has been repurposed to serve the modern crowd of residents and visitors. Although the original smokestacks have been removed, the building structure remains in tact and functional (Google 2015).

Figure 8c

Lakefront Brewery in Riverwest, which has taken residence in that industrial building, is exemplary of the 'brew-town to cool-town' idea. Where industry meets recreation and entertainment; drawing in an influx of visitors to the neighborhood (Google 2015).

Figure 9a

This image looking down Humboldt Avenue from the intersection at Commerce Street in 1930 shows the early residential identity of what would become Riverwest. You can see a few small houses and multiple cars on the street, which sets the premise of a community of commuters to the industrial jobs available further into the city (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 9b

This is the same intersection in 2015. The presence of new apartment complexes shows that Riverwest is still a residential neighborhood today. It appears that the church that was just beyond the bridge in the earlier photograph is no longer standing. This shows contrast between other neighborhoods we've looked at, in that the role of the church in tying the community together is not as relevant in Riverwest; instead there is different force at work (Google 2015).

Figure 10a

This is a photograph of Commerce Street in 1960. It appears that not much has changed in Riverwest from the 1930 image; few small residential buildings can be seen (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 10b
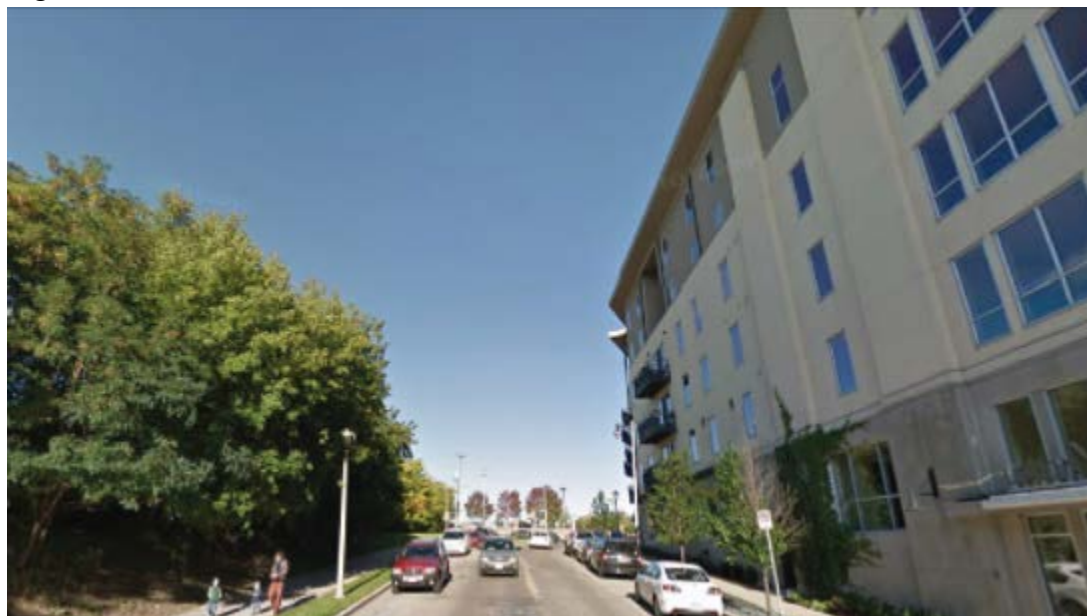
This is the same apartment complex featured Figure 8b. This new point of view gives a new perspective. On the sidewalk on the left of the photo, there is an adult and young child, meaning there are families living in the area, which speaks to diversity because our interviews and literature seemed to give Riverwest a different identity as a community of hipsters and empty-nesters (parents whose children have grown), that moved there to experience the livelihood of the city from a safe distance (Google 2015).

Figure 11a
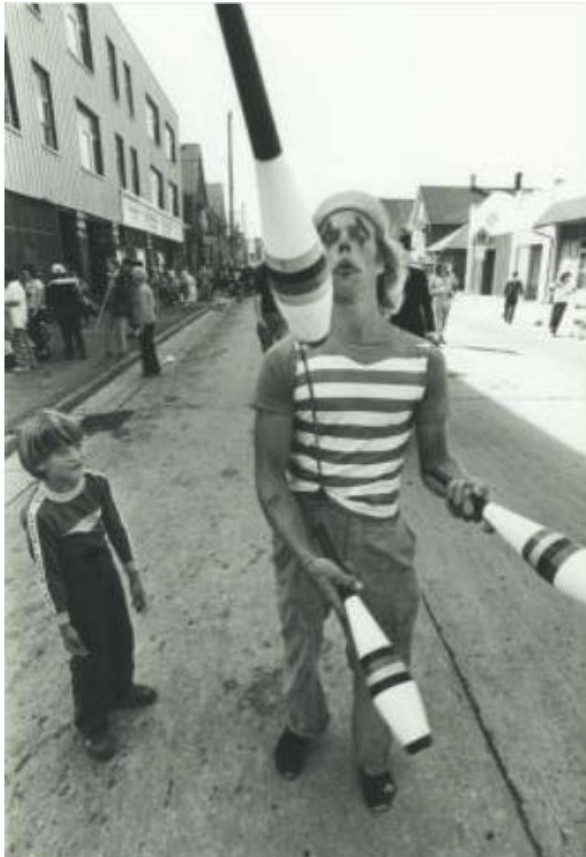
This photograph from Riverwest Fest in 1979 expresses the importance of community events in the lifestyle of those who lived there. I think it is important to note that the child is not accompanied by an adult, something that doesn't often happen today, and nonetheless speaks to the idea of Riverwest as a safe community. (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Archives)

Figure 11b

This photograph from Locust St Festival in 2007 shows a similar importance of community events. The larger draw of the crowd speaks to the growth of Riverwest and abundant community it houses. These numbers could not solely be residents, which suggests the abundance of visitors the newfound identity of Riverwest draws in. (Schmidt 2008, 489)

Figure 12

The presence of a bike path and bike share program in Riverwest is likely an outcome of the Riverwest Neighborhood Association's original plans for development that was proposed in 2001 (Kim 2016).

Figure 13

This graphic was used in the 1978 ESHAC campaign against the City of Milwaukee Department of City Development's assessment of homes in the Riverwest area. It shows the sun over Riverwest, highlighting the unification of the neighborhood into one diverse population.

D. Third Ward

The Third Ward is a neighborhood that has undergone multiple identities. First, the Irish settlers than built industry and resided in the ward, the Italians who further industrialized and developed the ward, and the present day process of gentrification.

Figure 14a

This image from 1892 at the corner of Water Street and St. Paul Avenue showcases the effects of the fire that disrupted the Irish establishments of the early Third Ward (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 14b

This repeat image from 2015 displays the same intersection. It appears that the building most destructed by the fire was not rebuilt and instead was turned into a parking lot. The presence of parking lots in the Third Ward eludes to the newly adopted pedestrian oriented structure of the neighborhood (Google 2015).

Figure 15a

This sketch of a hotel located at 400 N. Water Street in 1853 shows the identity of the early Third Ward as a neighborhood of residents and suitable for everyday life (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 15b

The same building as pictured above is seen here in 1960. The changing identity of the Third Ward is evident in the building's repurposing as a business block. It is also interesting to notice that the original structure has been lowered by one story (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 15c
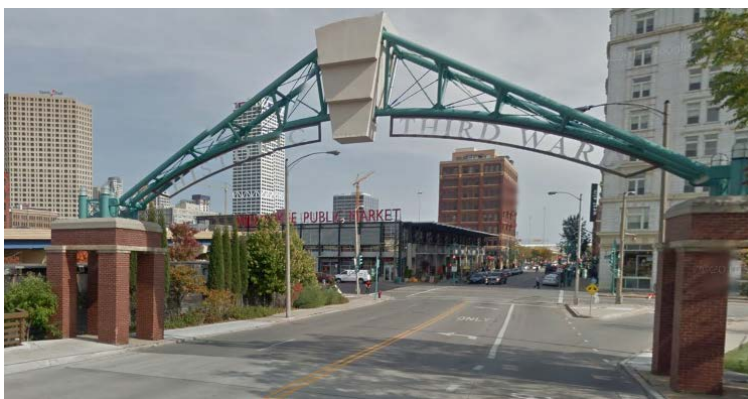
Visible boundaries, like this 'Historic Third Ward' archway separate neighborhoods, signifying the barrier between the minority population of other neighborhoods of the city and that of the upper-class elite of the Historic Third Ward. Just beyond this archway, you can see the Milwaukee Public Market, which currently resides at 400 N Water Street and serves as a popular destination for both residents and visitors alike (Google 2015).

Figure 16a

This photograph looking up Broadway Avenue from Menomonee Street in 1936 shows the large industrial buildings that the Third Ward was known for in its early identities. The roads are wide and few cars are present, which suggests use primarily for shipping purposes (Milwaukee Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 16b
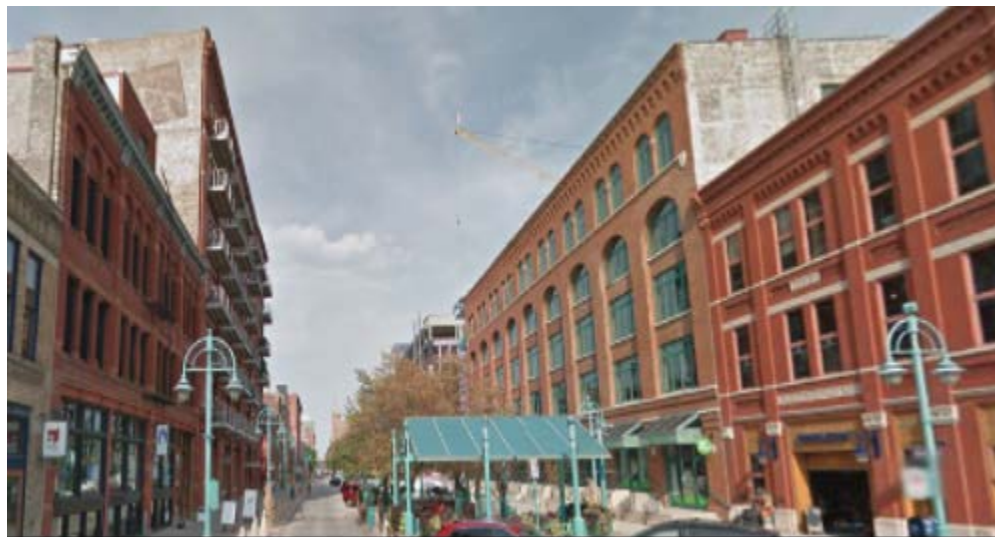
Remnants of old industry in Milwaukee remain visible in the Third Ward, where gentrification refurbished the neighborhood to reinvent it as a shopping destination. The street structure shows that the newest identity of The Third Ward is designed for walkability and window-shopping at the designer boutiques and high-end dining. This is seen in the parking stalls that divide the North/South running Broadway street, which inhibits drivability and promotes walking (Google 2015).

Figure 17

This poster from 1901 displays what great a role industry played in shaping the city of Milwaukee. The statement that Milwaukee "Feeds and Supplies the World" speaks to the scale of industry in the city, and likewise the job availability it provided. With the focus centered on manufacturing, the impact of deindustrialization was destined to hit hard the communities it supported. (Avella 2015)

Appendix III: Maps

Figure 1: Total Black Population 1940
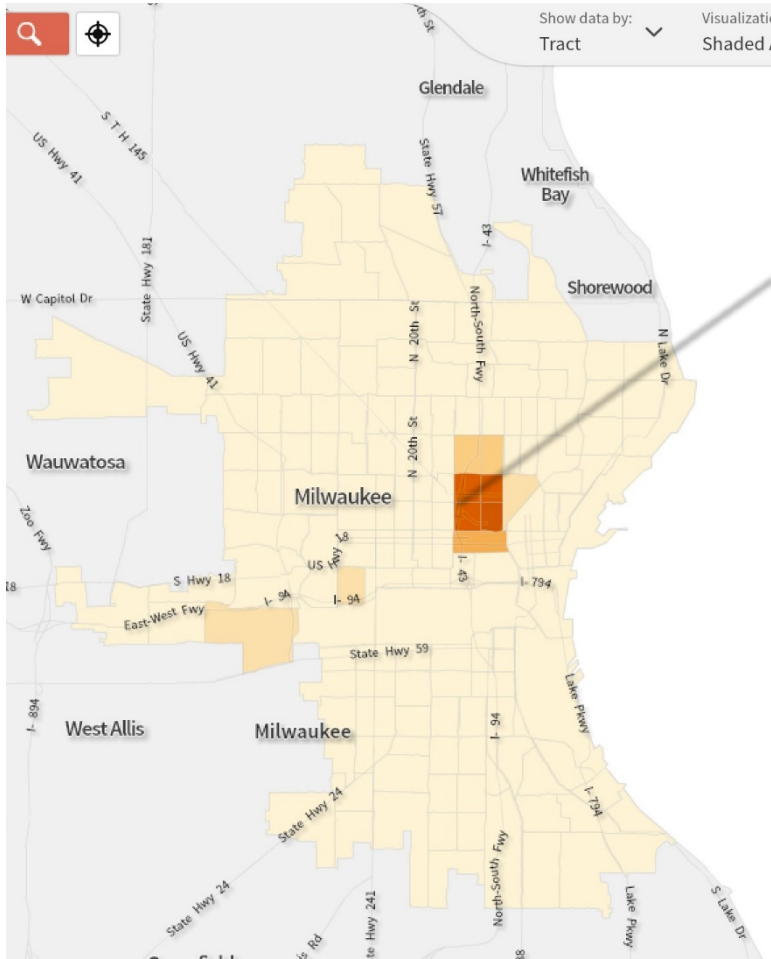
Figure 2: Total Black Population 2010

Census Tract 29 Black Population: 2,260 (50.2%)

Census Tract 1860 Black Population: 1,350 (86.4%)
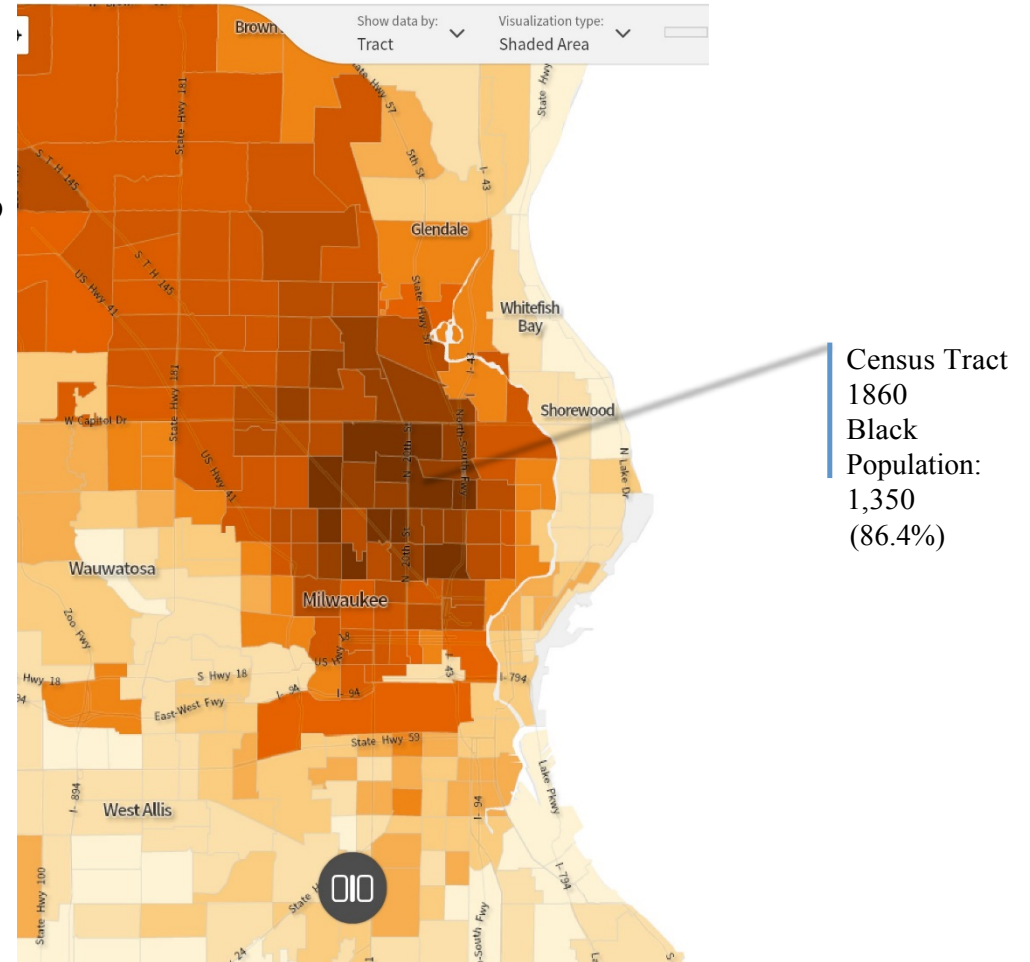
Figure 1: African American population concentrated in Bronzeville in 1940.

Figure 2: Following construction of highways that have demolished many commercial institutions in Bronzeville, and subsequent white flight, African American population has moved out to other northern Milwaukee neighborhoods in 2010.

Key: Darker orange colors denote higher percentage values
Note scale ranges from 0% (light yellow) to 100% (dark orange)

| 1 | 5 | 10 | 15 | 30 | 40 | 60 | 75 | 90 | 95 |
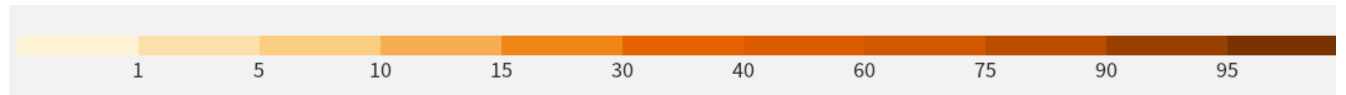
Figure 3: Total White Population 1940
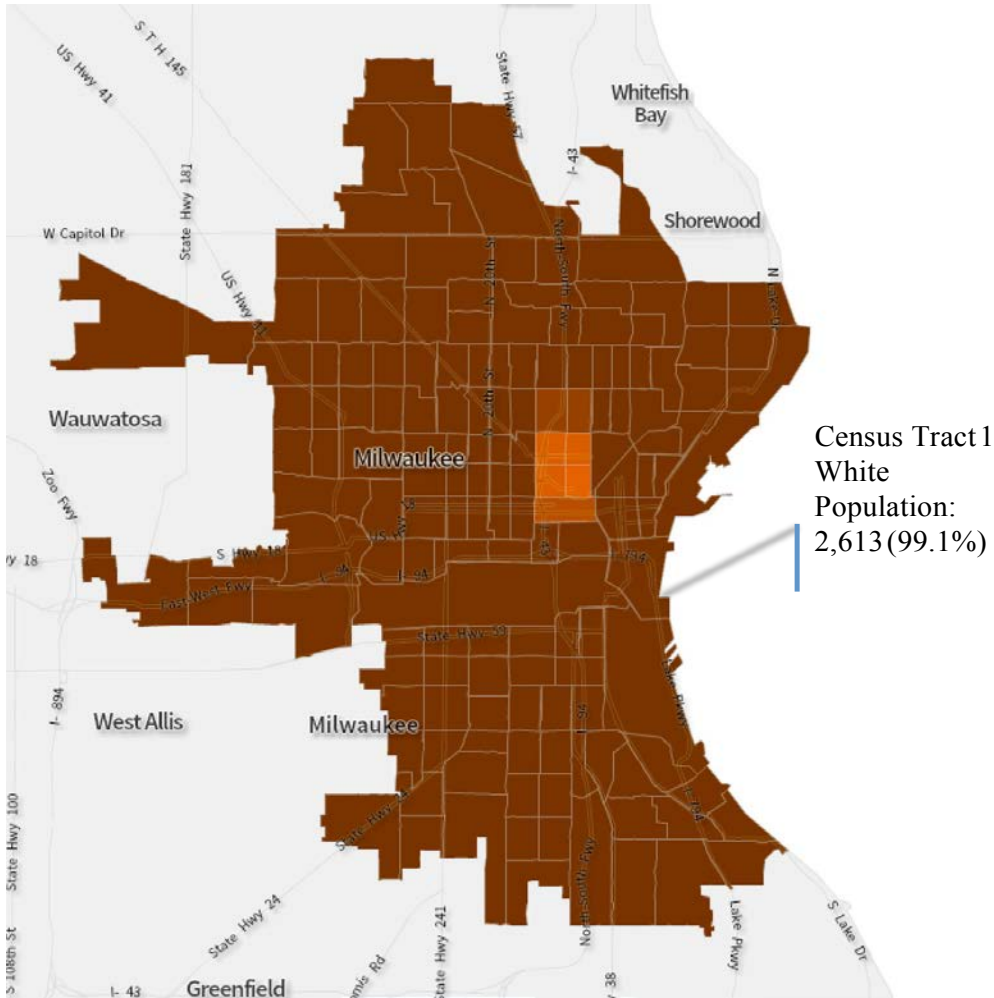
Figure 4: Total White Population 2010

Census Tract 1
White
Population:
2,613 (99.1%)

Census Tract
1874
White
Population:
1,723 (87.1%)
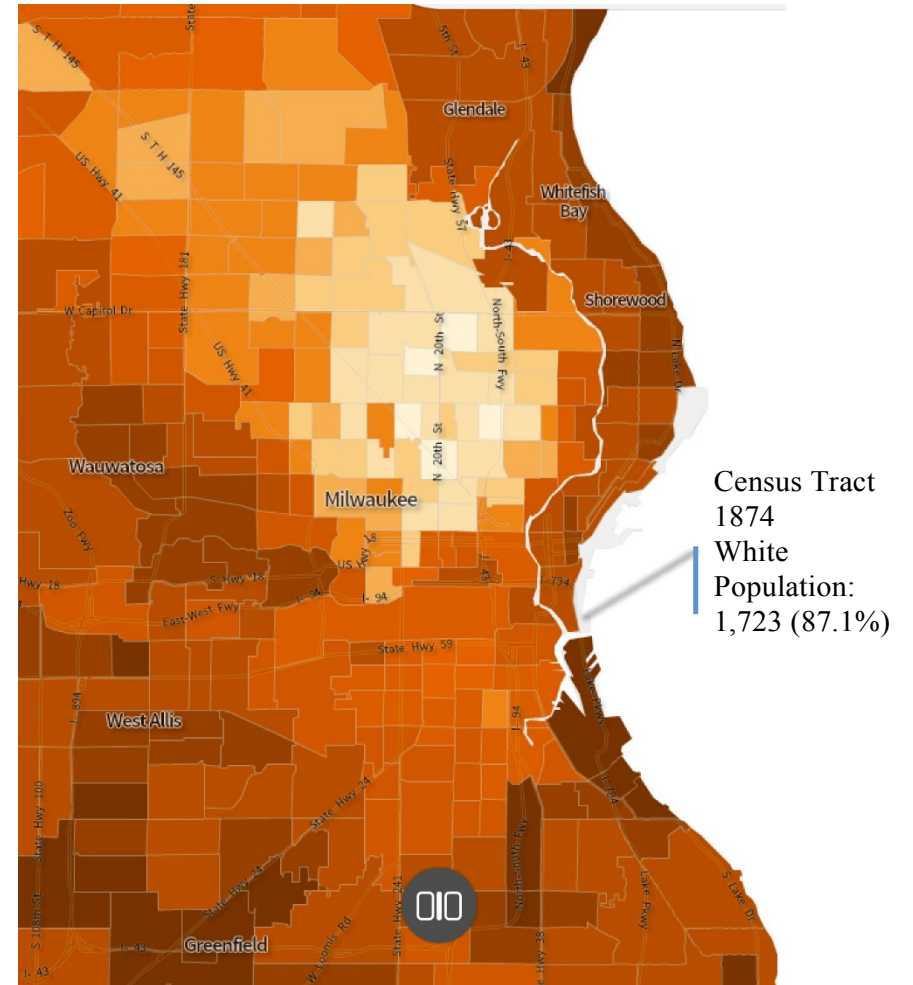
Figure 3: Total white population present at all points in Milwaukee, except for a marked difference in Bronzeville in 1940.

Figure 4: Whites represent only a minority in northern Milwaukee, but are more populous in suburban and southern neighborhoods in 2010.

Key: Darker orange colors denote
higher percentage values
Note scale ranges from 0% (light
yellow) to 100% (dark orange)

| 1 | 5 | 10 | 15 | 30 | 40 | 60 | 75 | 90 | 95 |
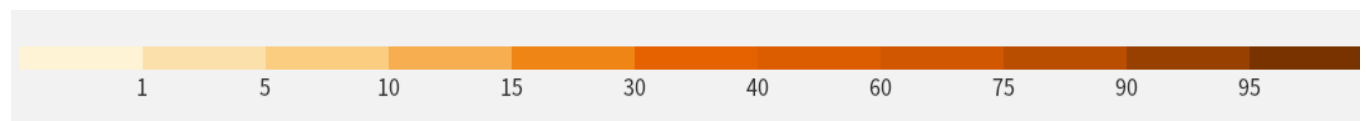
Figure 5: Polish Born Population 1940

Figure 6: Polish Born Population 2010
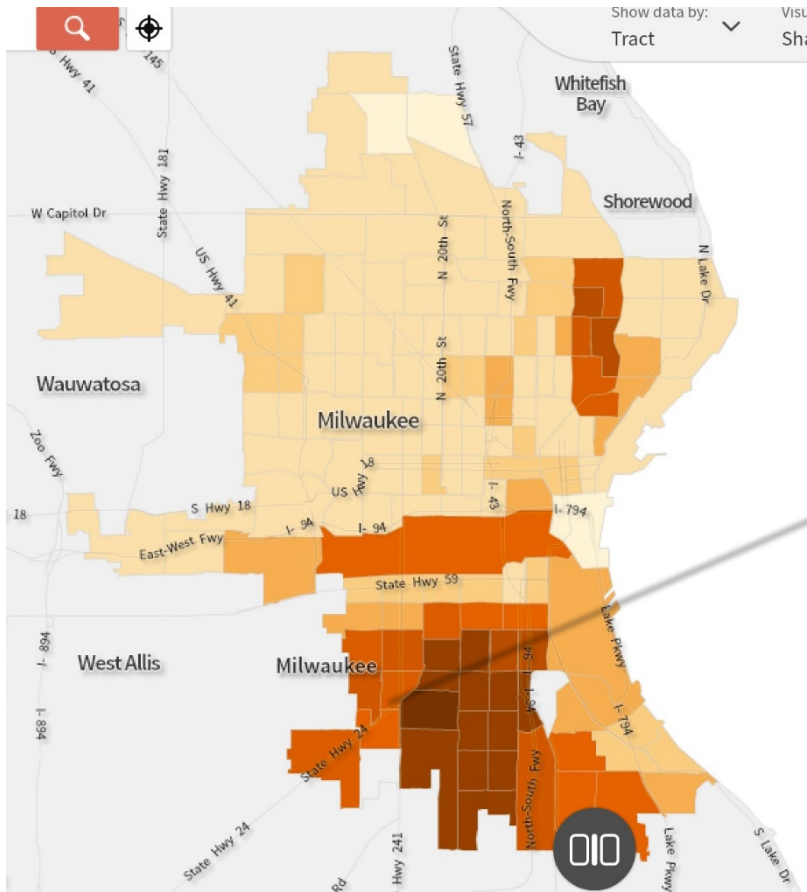
Census Tract 138 Polish Born Population: 499 out of 539 (92.6%)
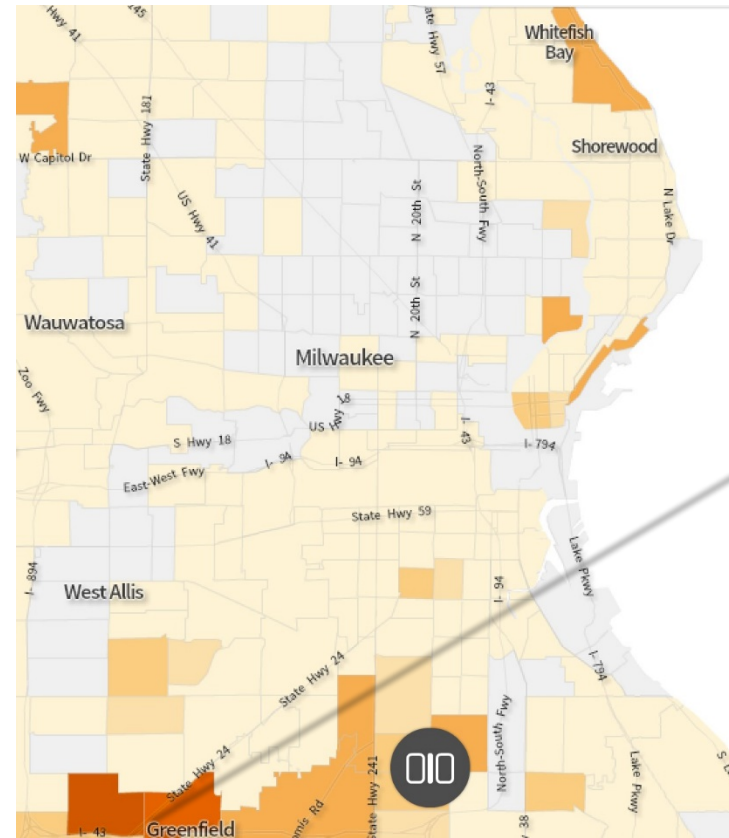
Census Tract 1202.02 Polish Born Population: 60 out of 221 (27.1%)

Figure 5: Polish born population is concentrated heavily in South Milwaukee, although pockets of Polish population are found in the north in 1940.

Figure 6: Seen here, the majority of Polish born population has moved out to southern suburban neighborhoods, although a few remain in southern Milwaukee in 2010.

Key: Darker orange colors denote higher percentage values
Note scale ranges from 0% (light yellow) to 100% (dark orange)

| | 1 | 5 | 10 | 15 | 30 | 40 | 60 | 75 | 90 | 95 |
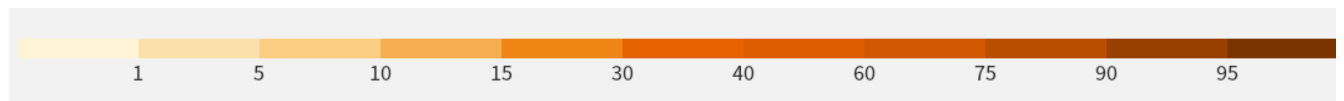
Figure 7: Population Density per sq. mile

Figure 8: Population Density per sq. mile 2010
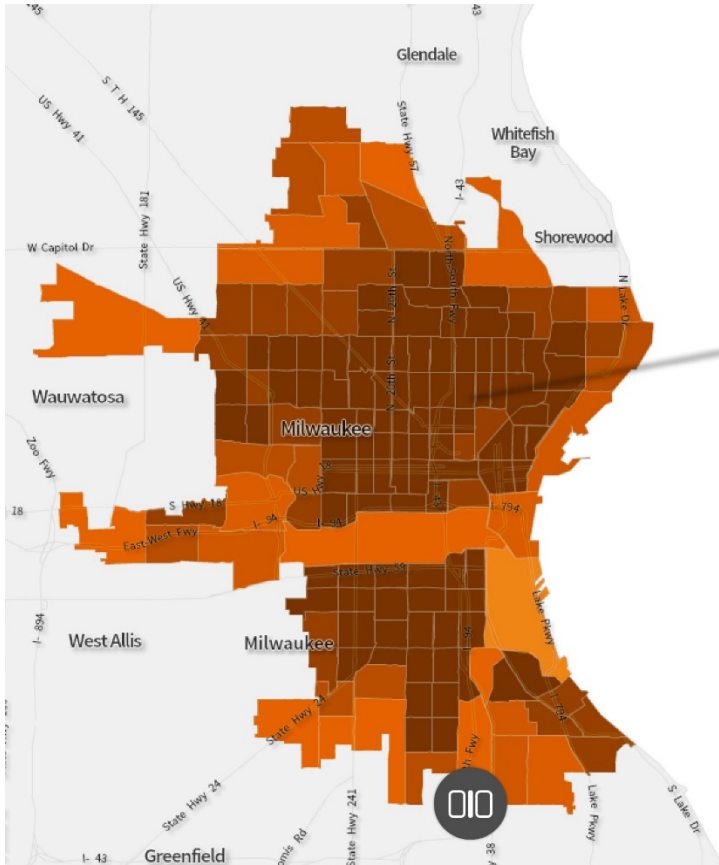
Census Tract 62 Population density: 24,430
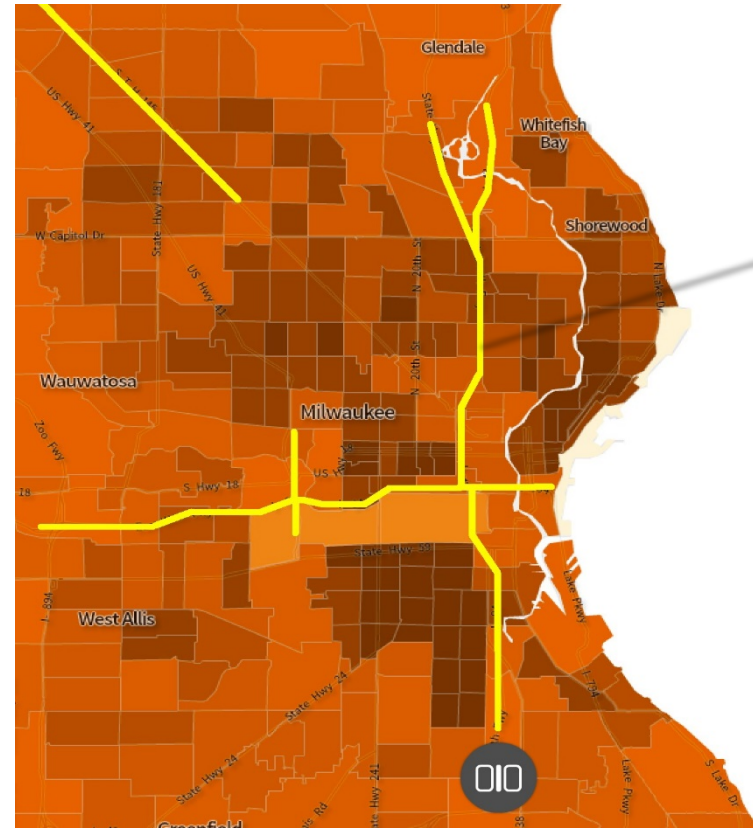
Census Tract 67 Population density: 8,367 per sq. mile

Figure 7: Milwaukee of 1940 is dense, with most neighborhoods representing a population density of 9,000 people per sq. mile or higher

Figure 8: With the exception of South Milwaukee and portions of northern Milwaukee, population density is markedly lower, particularly in neighborhoods where highways have been constructed (this phenomenon is particularly prominent in northern Milwaukee)

Key: Darker orange colors denote higher population densities. Scale ranges from less than 5 people per sq. mile (light yellow) to 15,000 people per sq. mile (dark orange)

5 50 200 500 1,000 3,000 5,000 7,000 9,000 15,000
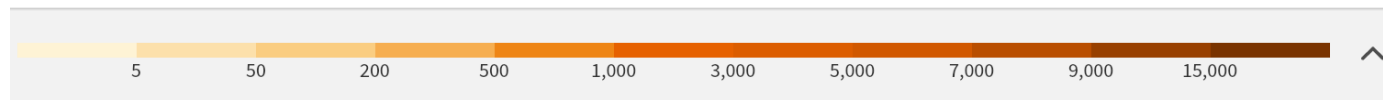
Yellow lines on figure 8 denote interstates

Figure 9: Other (Races) Population 1940   **Figure 10: Latino population 2010**
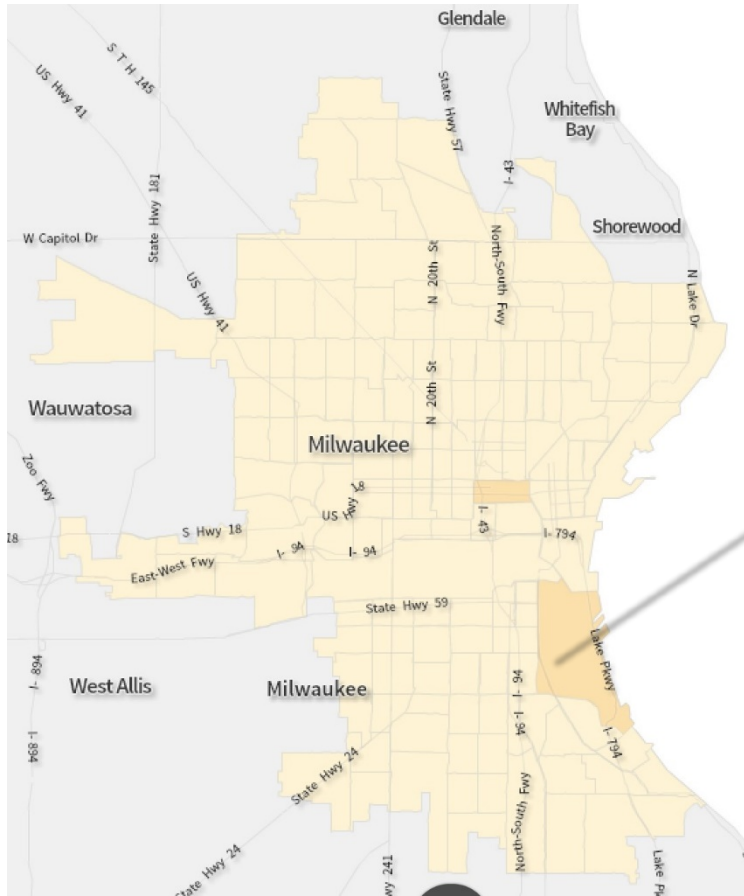
Census Tract 115 Other Population: 13 out of 1,140 (1.1%)
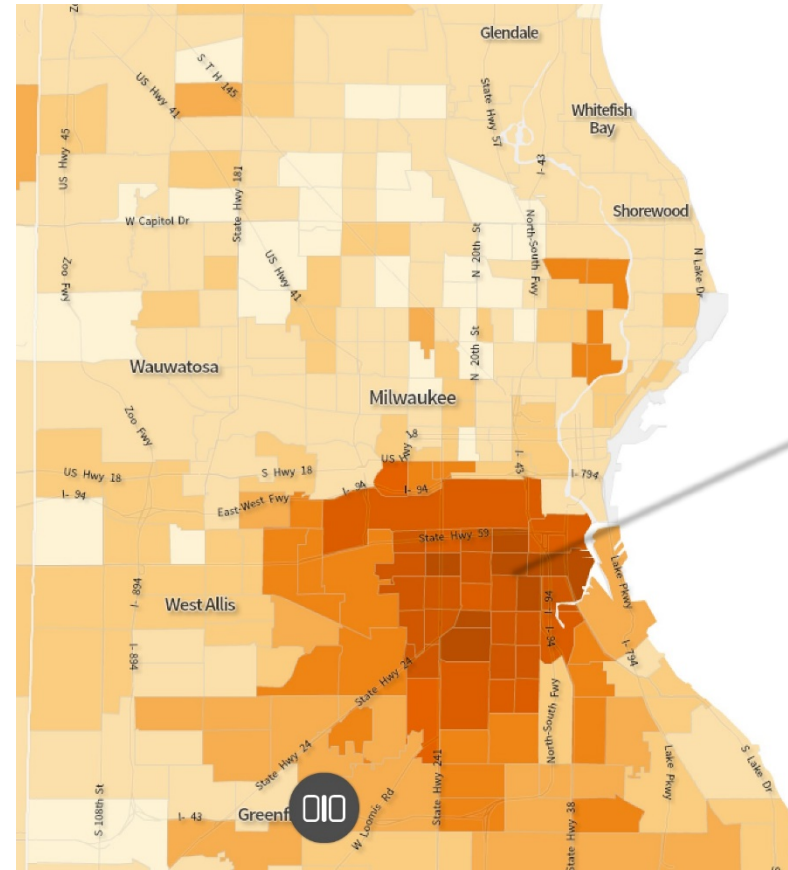
Census Tract 164 Latino population: 3,248 (76.5%)

Figure 9: The 1940 census offers no data for Latino only populations, instead we used statistics for all "other populations" which incorporate all races except for whites and African Americans. Census Tract 115 denotes that "other" populations only account for 1.1% of the total population. These results imply that Latinos represent a very small minority.

Figure 10: Modern day Milwaukee shows a substantial increase in the Latino population in South Milwaukee. Once census track even shows that Latinos even constitute the majority population (76.5%) (2010)

Key: Darker orange colors denote higher percentage values
Note scale ranges from 0% (light yellow) to 100% (dark orange)

| 1 | 5 | 10 | 15 | 30 | 40 | 60 | 75 | 90 | 95 |
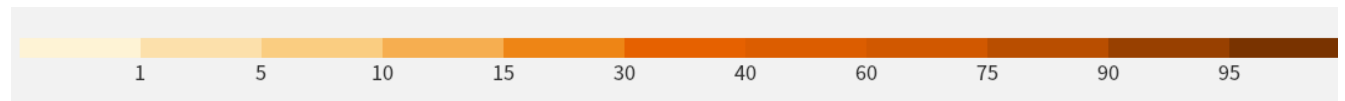
Figure 11: Median Household Income 1940

Figure 12: Median Household Income 2010

Census Tract 0036 Median Household Income: $2,837

Census Tract 0151 Median Household Income: $3,760
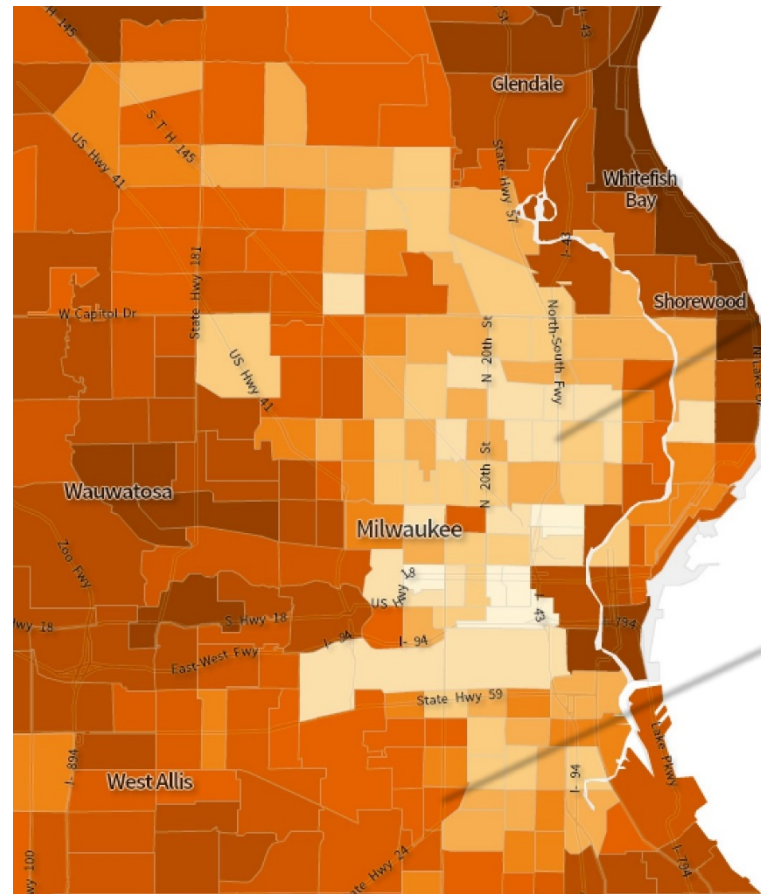
Census Tract 84 Median Household Income: $18,324

Census Tract 173 Median Household Income: $37,520

Figure 11: Polish born population is concentrated heavily in South Milwaukee, although pockets of Polish population are found in the north in 1940.

Figure 12: The majority of Polish born population has moved out to southern suburban neighborhoods, although a few remain in southern Milwaukee in 2010.

Key: Darker orange colors denote higher percentage values
Note scale ranges from 0% (light yellow) to 100% (dark orange)

| 15,000 | 30,000 | 45,000 | 100,000 |
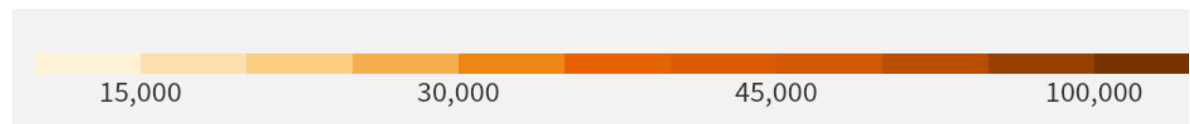
Figure 13: Owner Occupied Homes 1940   **Figure 14: Owner Occupied Homes 2010**
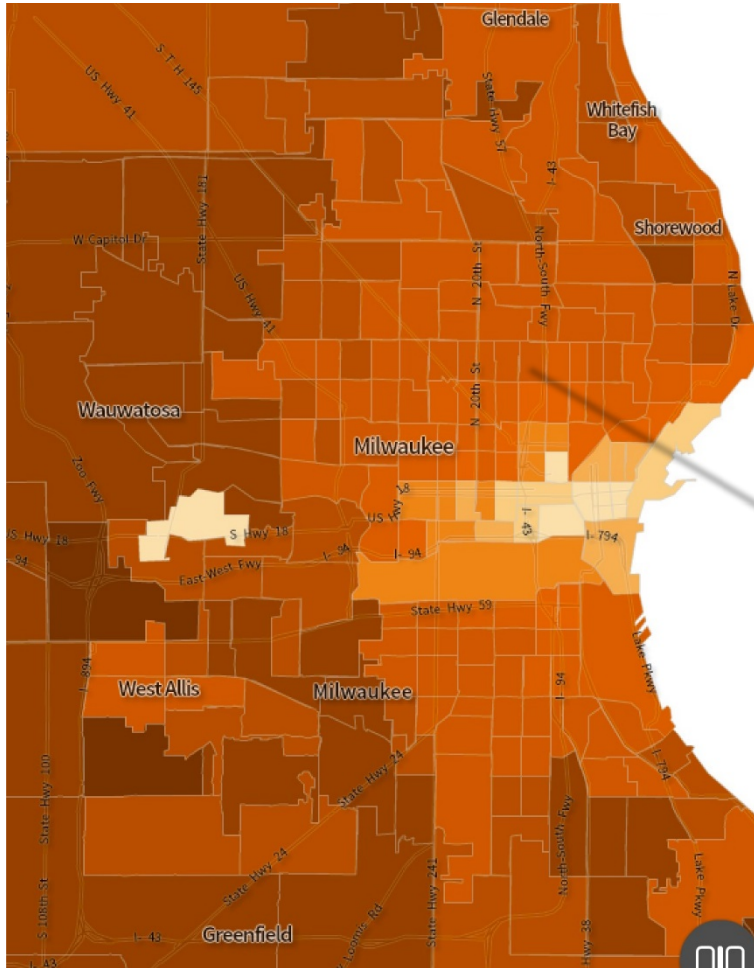
Census Tract 0052 Owner Occupied Homes: 631 out of 1472 (43%)
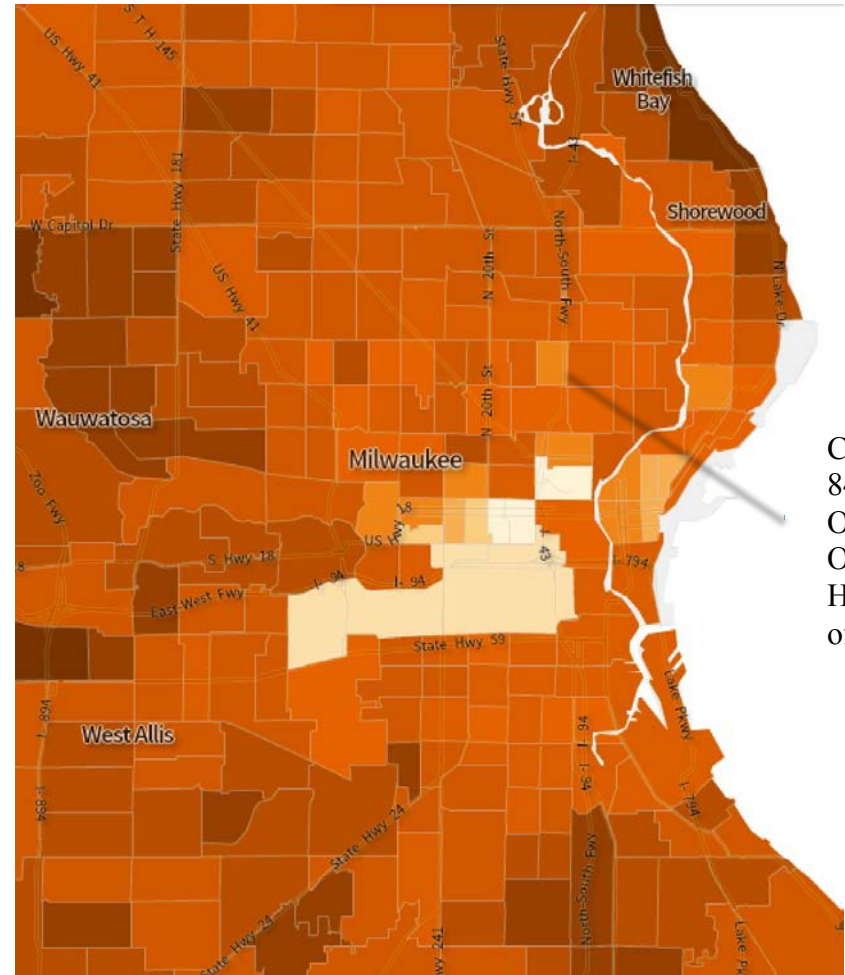
Census Tract 84 Owner Occupied Homes: 64 of 406 (16%)

Figure 13: The number of renter and owner occupied homes are evenly split in 1940 in most neighborhoods. Note that a data anomaly exists in central inner city neighborhoods in Milwaukee in which owners represent only a very small minority. This may be partly explained by the presence of universities (Marquette University) where transient populations are higher.

Figure 14: The central inner city neighborhood anomaly also exists. However the most striking difference in 2010 is a lower percentage of owner occupied homes in northern Milwaukee. Redlining may have prevented northern Milwaukee residents from financing mortgages and therefore buying homes.

Key: Darker orange colors denote higher percentage values
Note scale ranges from 0% (light yellow) to 100% (dark orange)

| 1 | 5 | 10 | 15 | 30 | 40 | 60 | 75 | 90 | 95 |
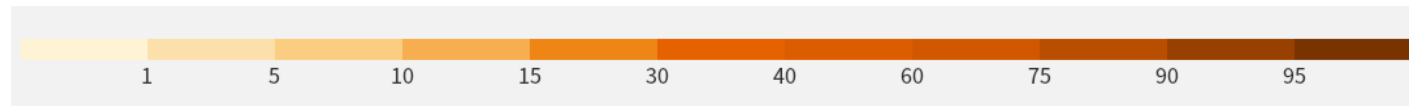
Figure 15: Renter Occupied Homes
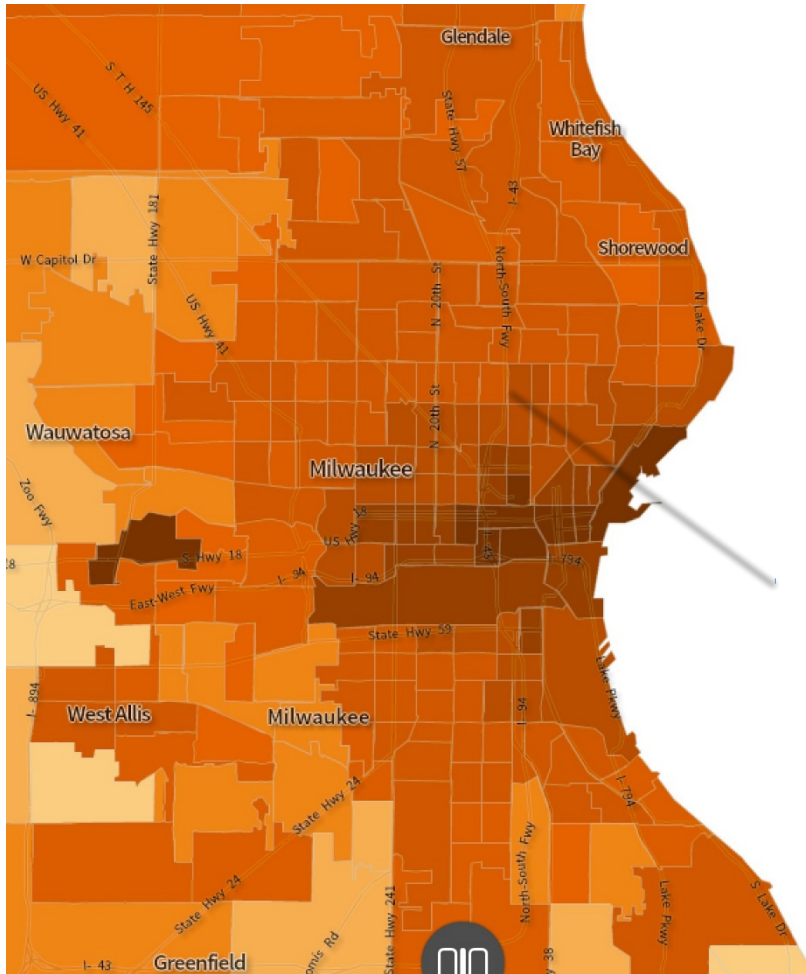
Census Tract 0053 Renter Occupied Homes: 658 of 1,091 (60%)

Figure 16: Renter Occupied Homes
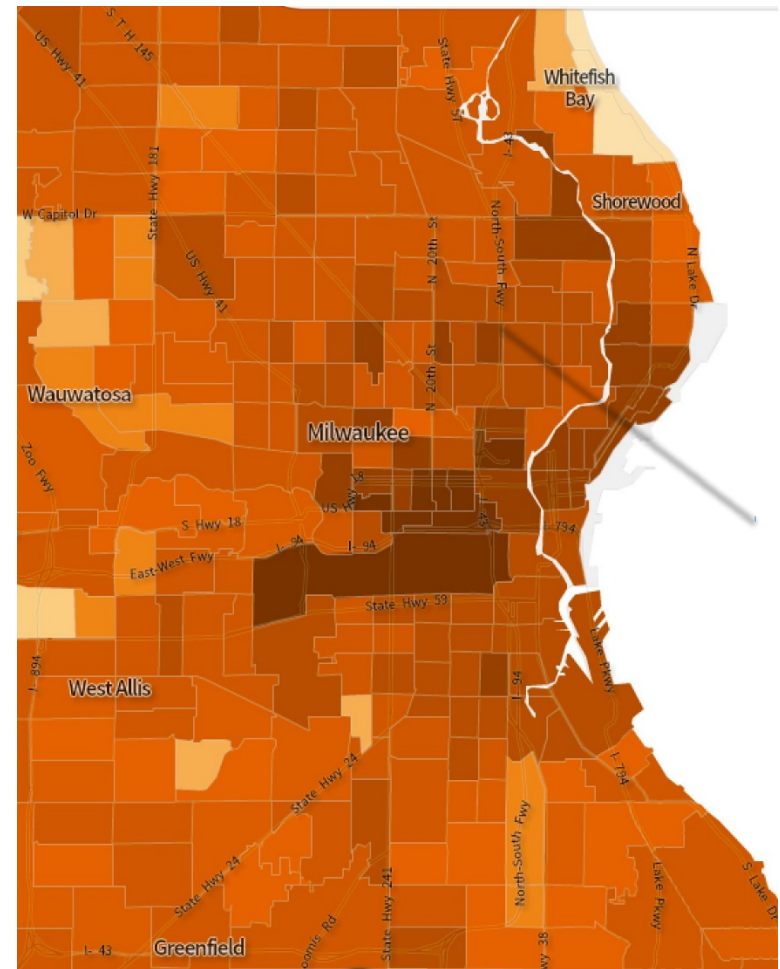
Census Tract 84 Renter Occupied Homes: 342

Figure 15: Although the percentage of renter occupied homes in northern Milwaukee are higher, the distribution is fairly even across Milwaukee. Note that the irregularity in central inner city Milwaukee neighborhoods may be attributed to a large private university, which typically hosts a higher percentage of transient populations (e.g. students).

Figure 16: Renter occupied homes in certain northern Milwaukee census tracts are significantly higher in 2010. This may be attributed to the area's lower median household incomes, as compared to southern Milwaukee, and because of processes and patterns that refused that neighborhood's residents access to financial institutions.

Key: Darker orange colors denote higher percentage values
Note scale ranges from 0% (light yellow) to 100% (dark orange)

| 1 | 5 | 10 | 15 | 30 | 40 | 60 | 75 | 90 | 95 |
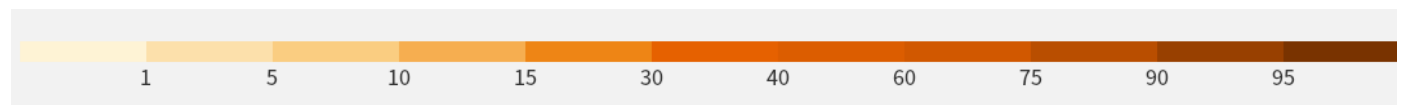
Figure 17: South Side, Milwaukee, 1910-1949 Sanborn Maps

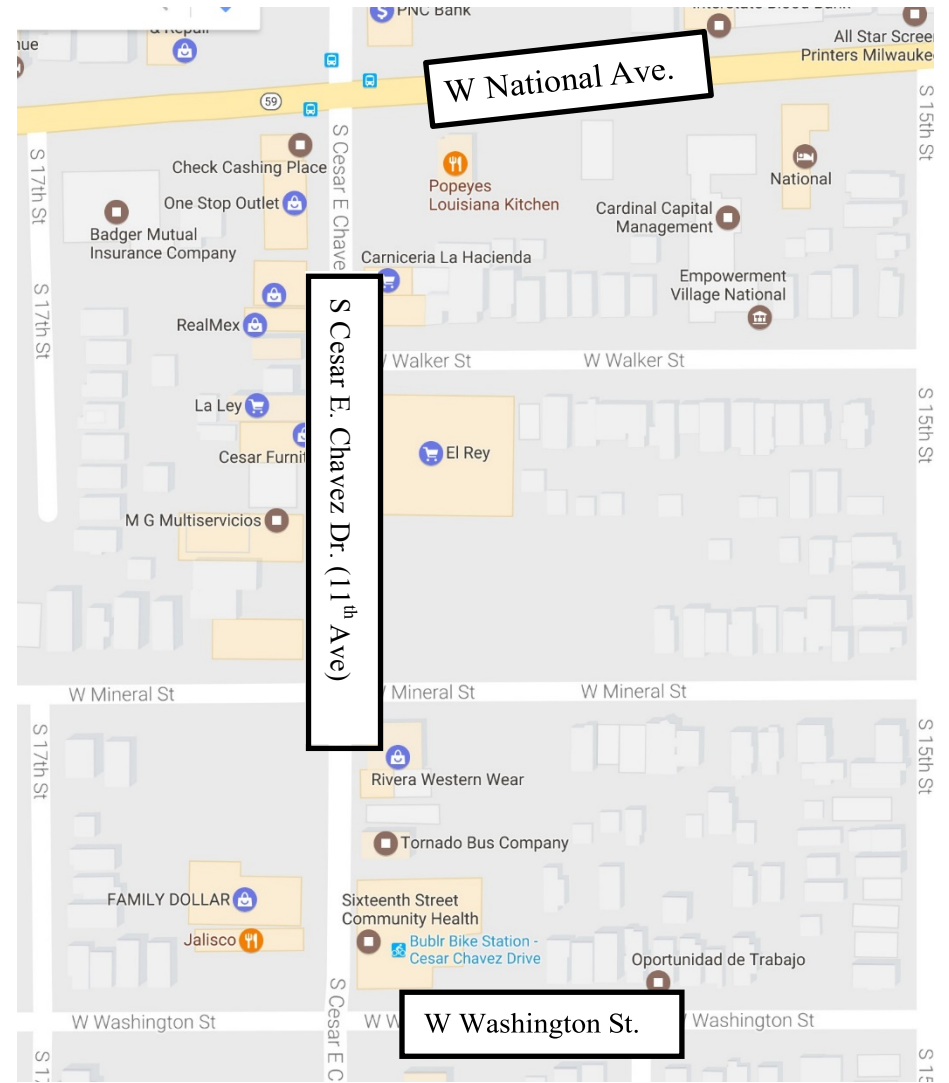**Figure 18: South Side, Milwaukee, 2016 Google Maps**

Figure 17: South Side is a dense neighborhood, incorporating many residential and a few commercial zones.

Figure 18: This specific subsection of South Side Milwaukee is significantly less dense compared to what is seen in 1949. However, the nature of the neighborhood appears to have changed; commercial institutions are significantly more prominent. Note that 11th Avenue has been renamed to S Cesar E. Chavez Drive.

Figure 19: South Side, Milwaukee, 1910-1949 Sanborn Maps
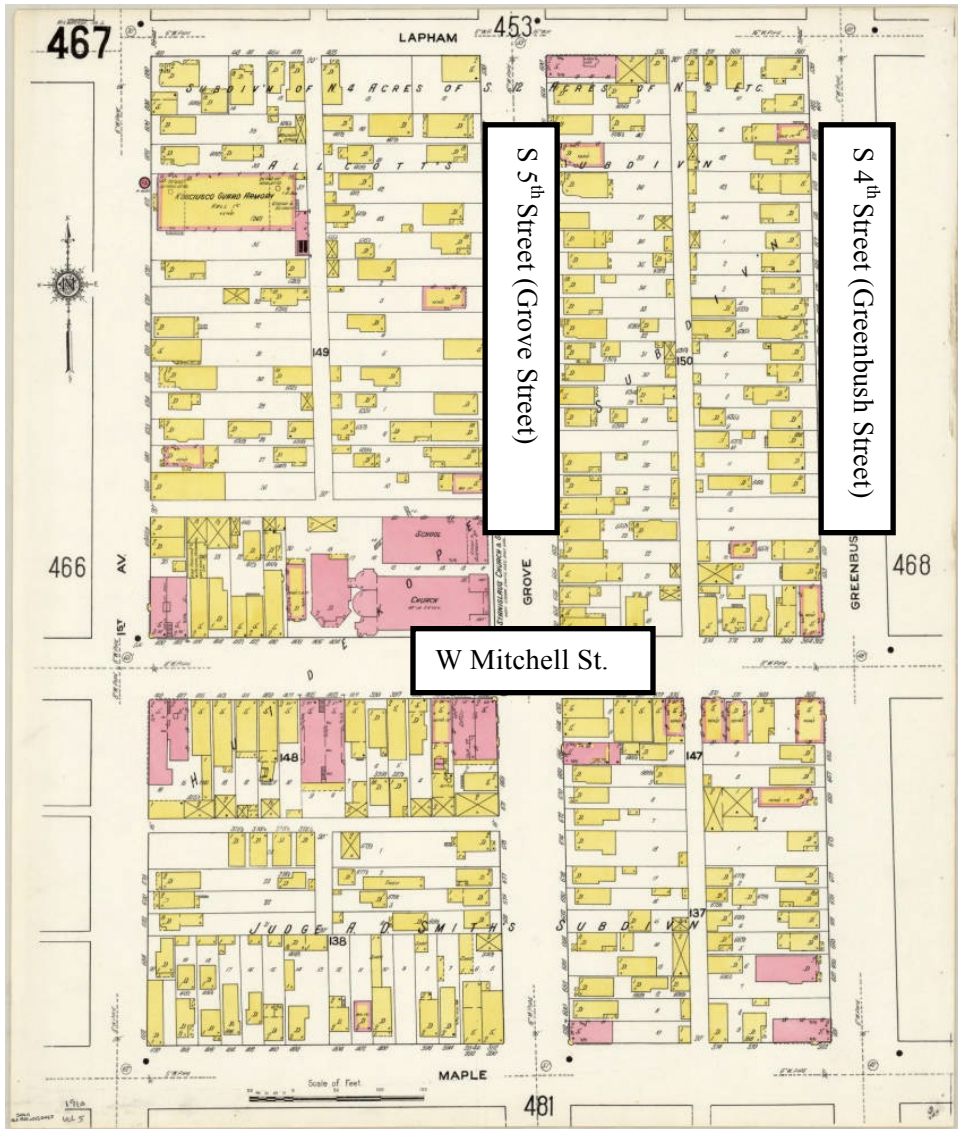

Figure 19: South Side, Milwaukee, 1910-1949 Sanborn Maps

Figure 20: South Side, Milwaukee, 2016 Google Maps

Figure 19: South Milwaukee of 1949 is a dense neighborhood, incorporating a healthy mix of residential (yellow) and commercial (pink) zones.

Figure 20: In 2016, following the expansion of the North-South Freeway in the 60's, all buildings between S 4th (Greenbush) and S 5th (Grove) Streets have disappeared.

Figure 21: Bronzeville, Milwaukee, 1910-1949 Sanborn Maps   **Figure 22: Area formerly known Bronzeville, 2016 Google Maps**
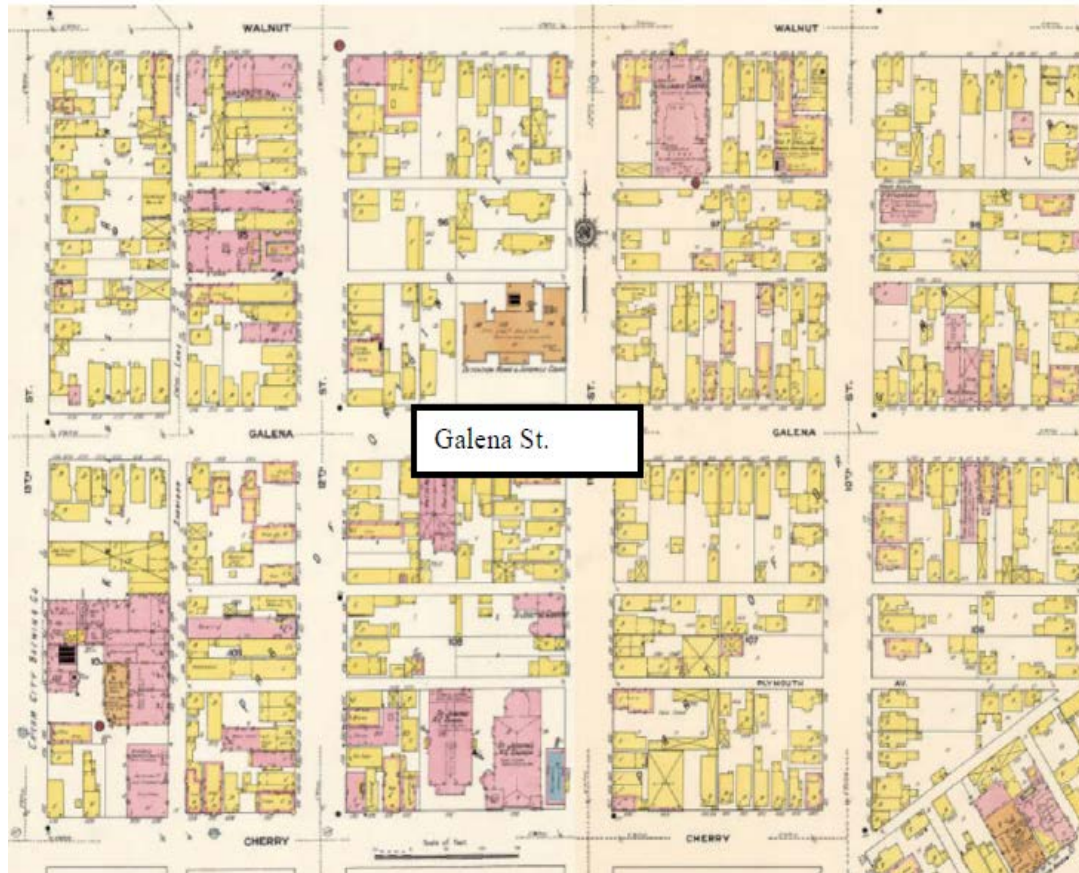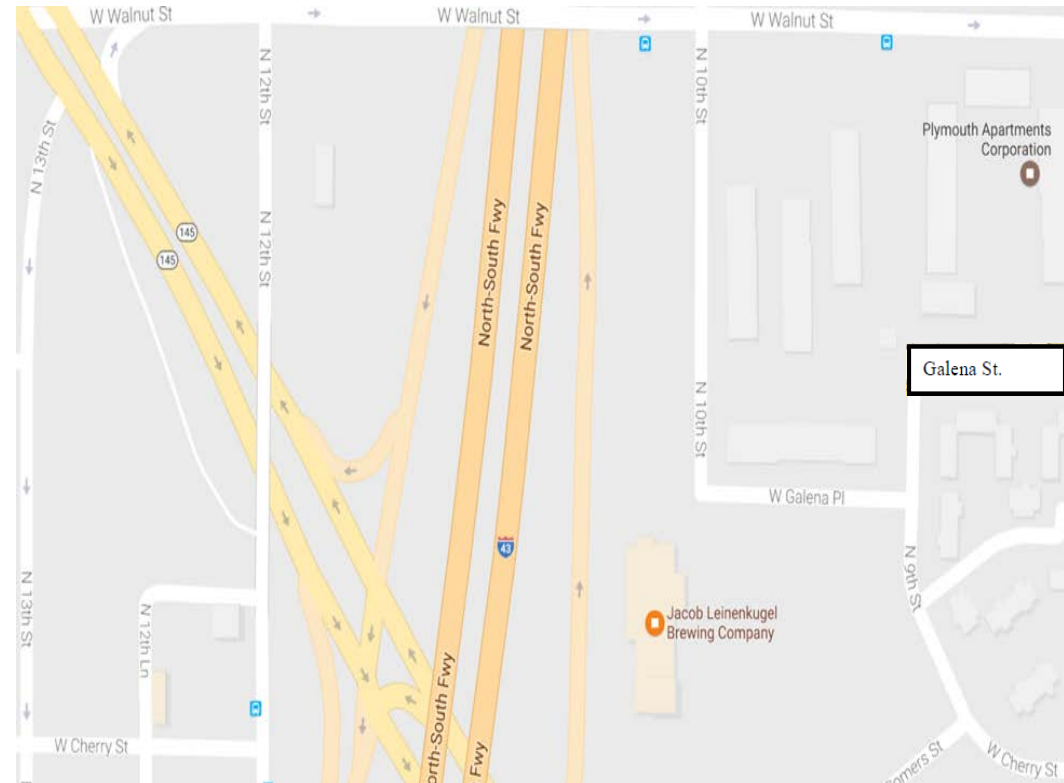
Figure 21: This is the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of the Bronzeville section between Walnut St. and Cherry St. and 13th and 9th, from 1910-1949. The Bronzeville neighborhood is characterized with denser, detached homes (yellow), with industrial neighborhood features (in pink), with industrial neighborhood features (in pink), and a local courthouse (seen in orange).

Figure 22: Shown at the right is the 2016 Google Maps screenshot of the Bronzeville section between Walnut St. and Cherry St. and 13th and 8th. The North-South freeway (I-43) has demolished all residential, commercial and community institutions between N 12th and N 9th Streets.

Figure 23: Riverwest, 1910-1949 Sanborn Maps
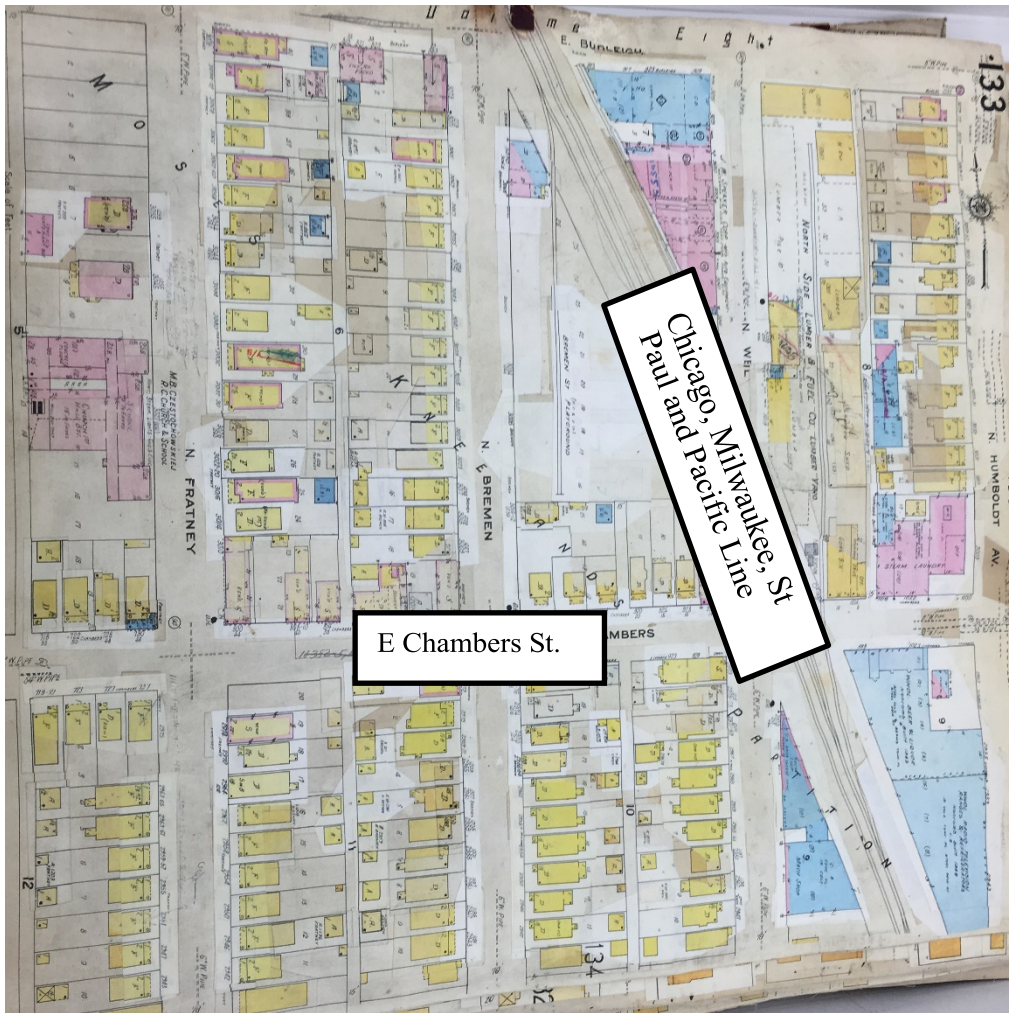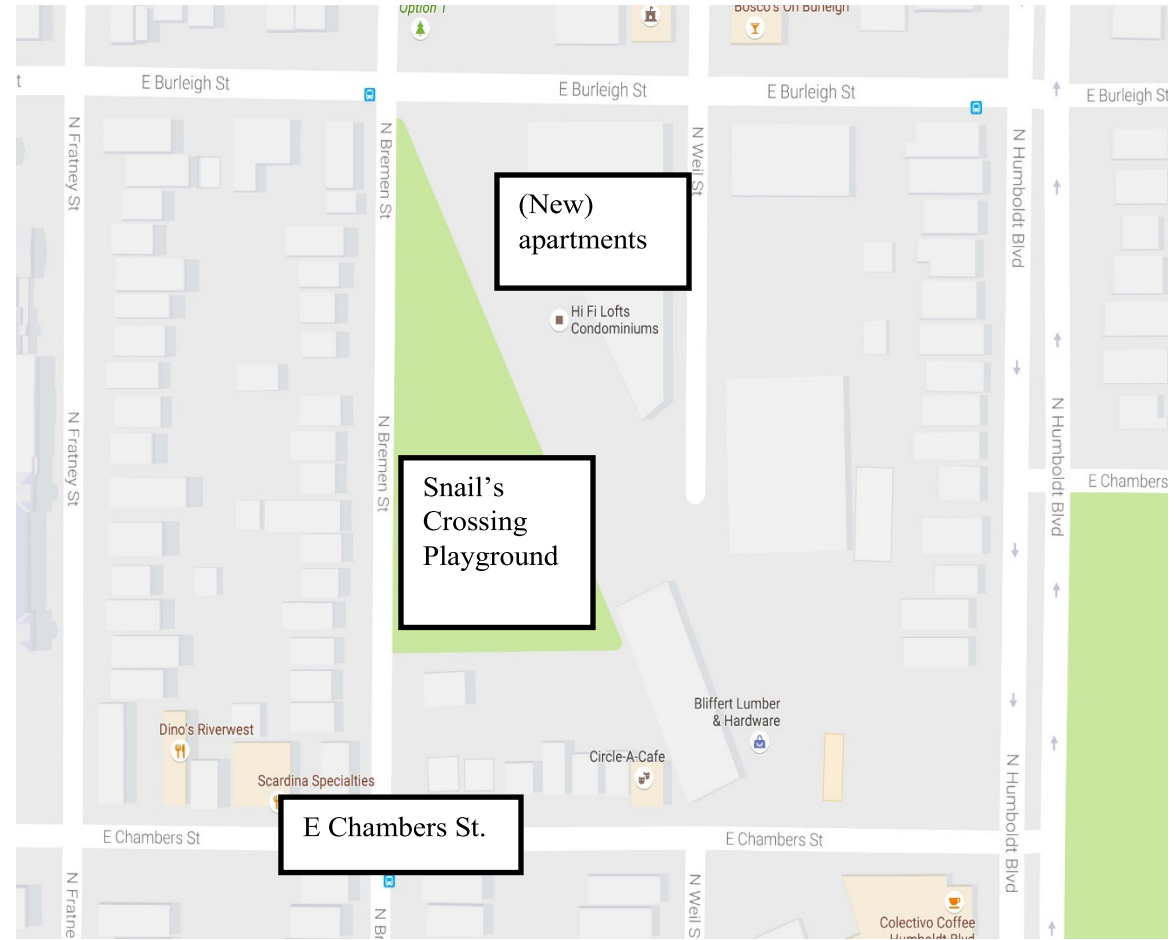
Figure 24: Riverwest, 2016 Google Maps

Figure 23: Riverwest in 1949 is a thriving neighborhood, incorporating a healthy mix of residential (yellow), commercial (blue) and industrial (pink) zones. Note that the Chicago, Milwaukee, St Paul and Pacific line cuts through the neighborhood.

Figure 24: Riverwest has maintained its original buildings and commercial zones. However, note that both industries and the railroad line have disappeared. Spaces previously occupied by industries have been replaced with parks and apartment buildings.

Figure 25: Third Ward, 1910-1949 Sanborn Maps
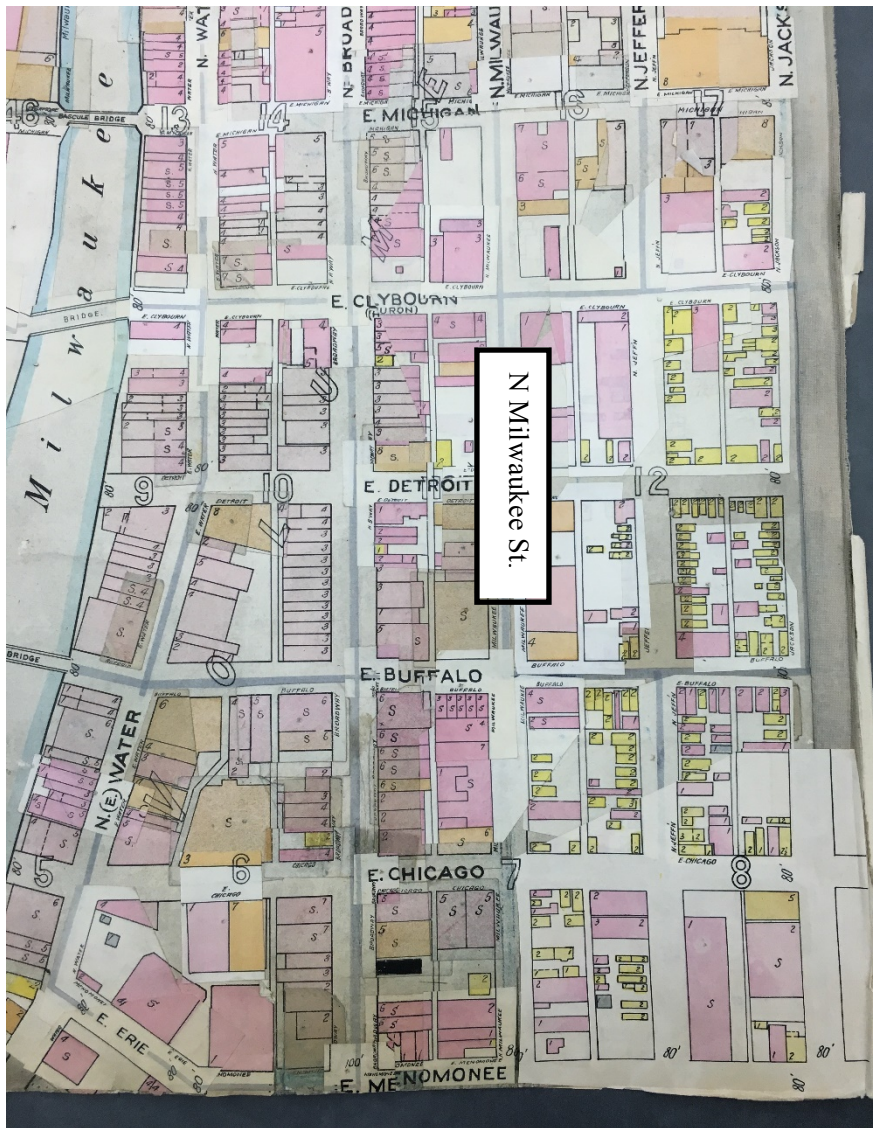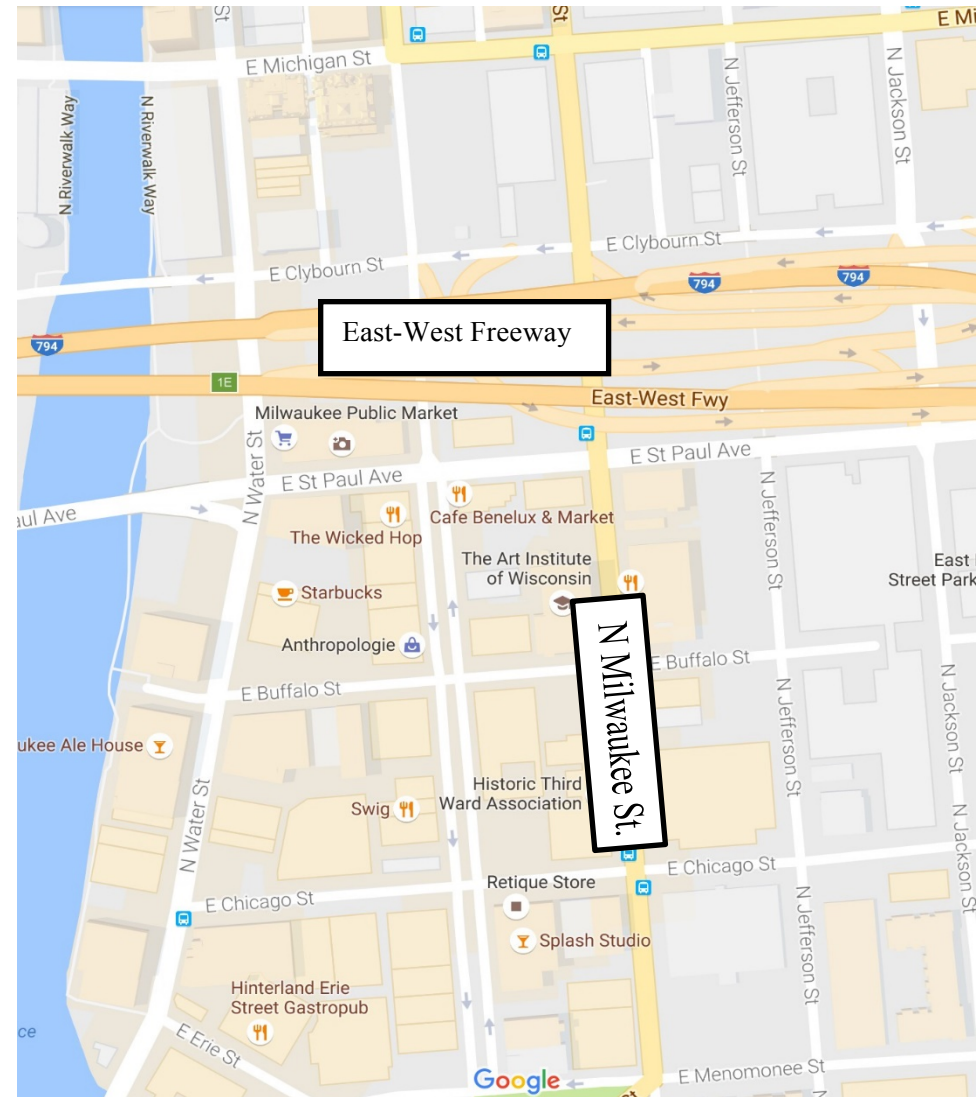

Figure 26: Third Ward, 2016 Google Maps

Figure 25: This is a Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of the Third Ward of 1910-1949. The Third Ward of 1910-1949 is best characterized as an industrial neighborhood (colored pink) with some residential buildings (colored yellow) sprinkled throughout the neighborhood. No commercial buildings appear to exist in this subsection of the third Ward

Figure 26: On right is an image of Google Maps screenshot of Third Ward in 2016. The East-West Freeway has demolished all industrial buildings between E St Paul Avenue and E Clybourn Street. Yet the neighborhood has significantly transformed; industrial services have been replaced (primarily) with shops such as Anthropolgie, Starbucks, and other cafes and breweries.
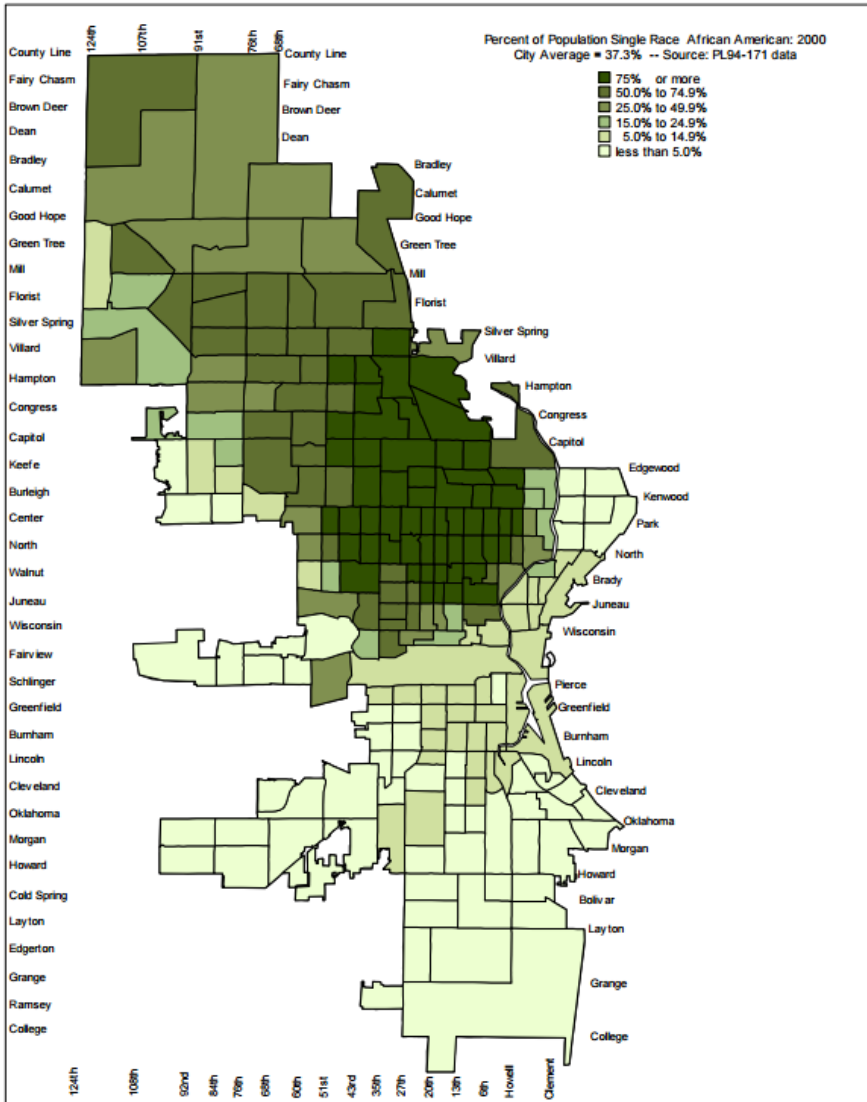
Figure 27: Total White Population 1940
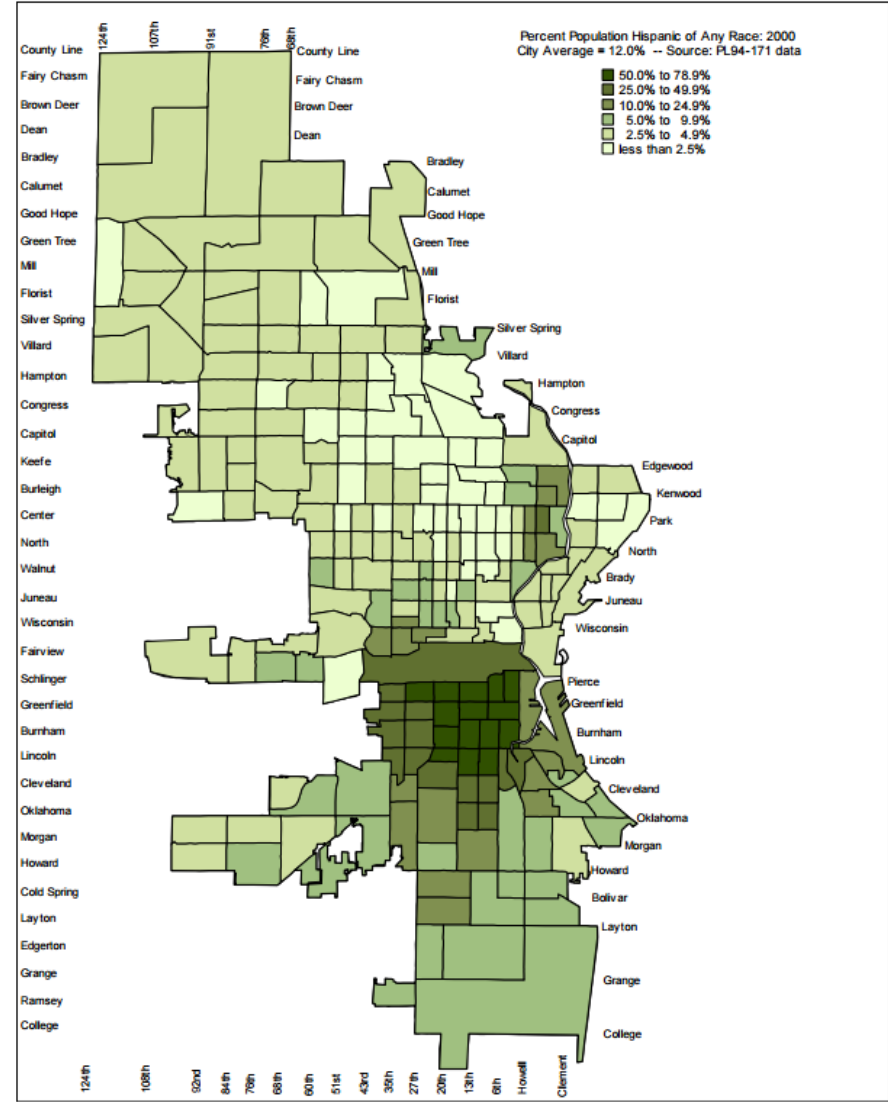
Figure 28: Total White Population 2010

Figure 27: This maps shows the Percent Population of African Americans in Milwaukee in 2000. This map is a striking different from the map at right and depicts the distinct difference between the populations on the North Side and on the South Side.

Figure 28: This maps shows the percent Population of Latinos in Milwaukee in 2000. This map is a striking different from the map at left and depicts the pattern of ethnic enclaving which has produced the demographics of the South Side.

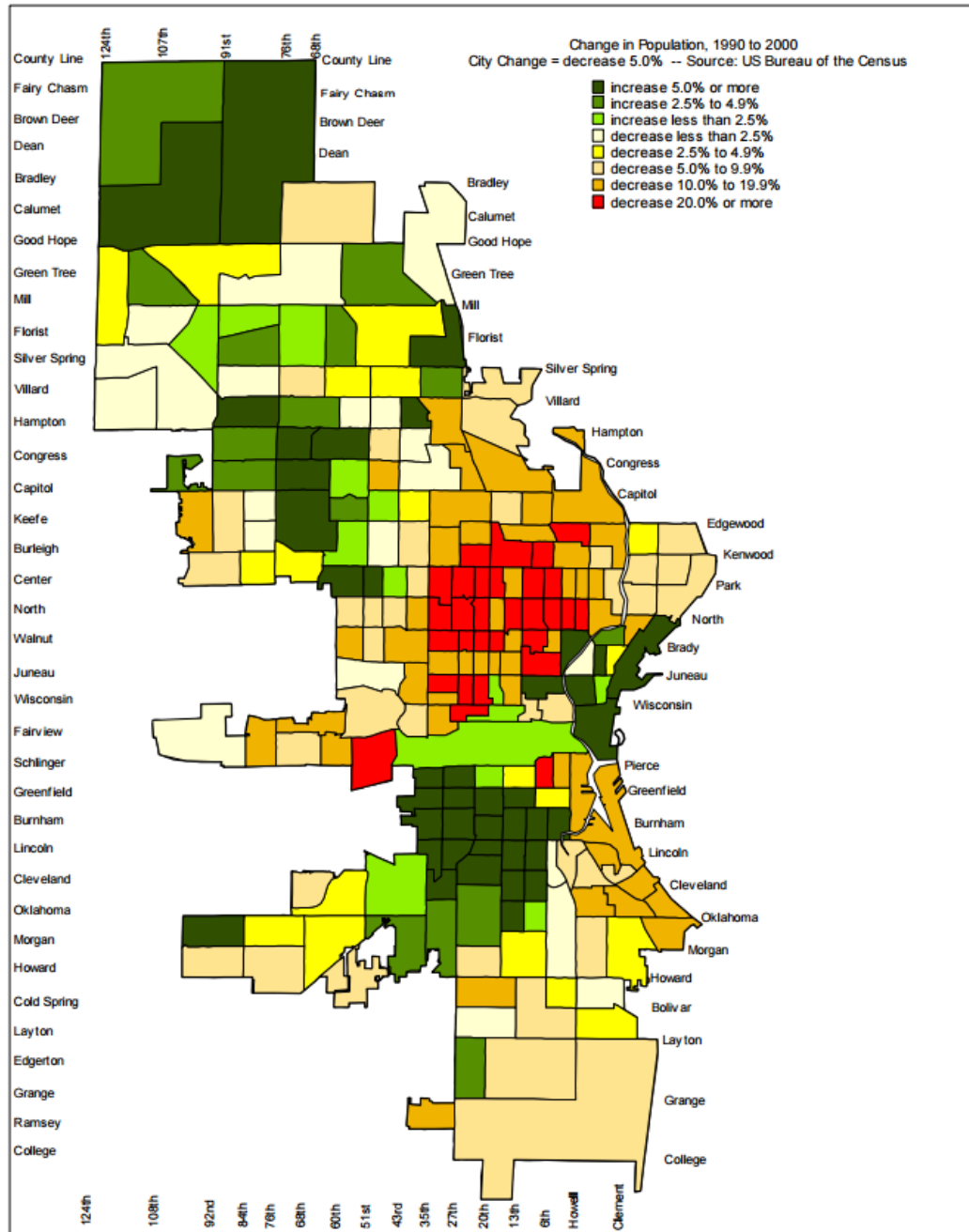## Figure 29: Change in Population Milwaukee 1990-2000

Figure 29: This map shows the difference between those parts of Milwaukee that are losing residents and those that are gaining residents. On this map, one can see that most of North Side of Milwaukee is losing over 20% of its residents while the Third Ward, the South Side are gaining over 5% in this same 10-year period. One can also see that Riverwest is staying almost stable, losing less than 2.5% over the same period of time.