

City with Limits: An Untold History of Residential Segregation and Education Inequality in Allentown, PA



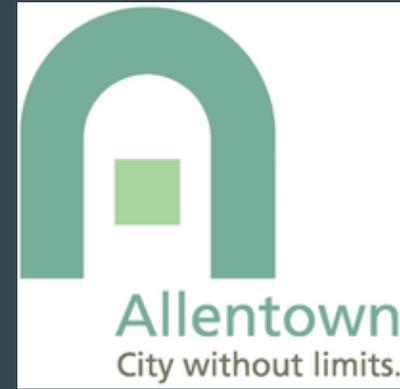
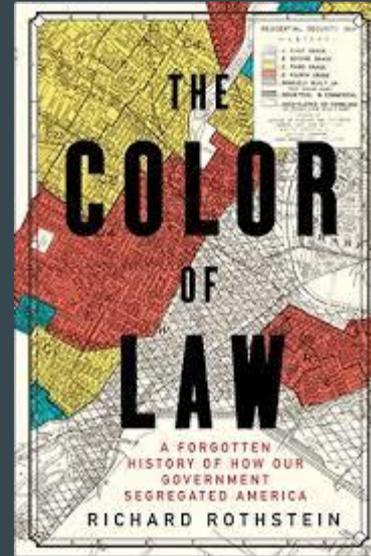
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Outline

- Part 1: Introduction
- Part 2: One City, Two Neighborhoods
- Part 3: A Tale of Two Schools
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Introduction

- In January 2010, Allentown adopted a new slogan titled, “City without limits” to underscore the city’s rebounding economy and future prosperity amid the downfall of the Great Recession
- However, Allentonians of color could not embrace this slogan because their history in Allentown was defined by oppressive limits
- This project works to highlight these limits placed on Allentown’s African American and Latinx communities
- The thesis accomplishes this by utilizing Richard Rothstein’s theory in *The Color of Law* and showing that Allentown’s 1960s urban renewal projects were a form of *de jure*, or by the law, segregation.
- The thesis then extends this theory to show the long-term impact of segregation on the city’s public school system
- This project ends by offering policy proposals that would lead to a true “City without limits.”



One City, Two Neighborhoods

- By 1960, 745 African American people lived in Allentown
- Of these 745, 528 lived in the downtown area
- These people of color were restricted to this area as a result of redlining
- Private landlords and home sellers would not rent/sell homes outside of inner-city area to Allentonians of color
- Banks would not give mortgages to people of color either
- These policies make up the *de facto*, or practices that existed in reality, policies that led to residential segregation in Allentown

Same Block: September-January

Redevelopment: The Changing Scene at 4th Street Project



THE BEST YET TO COME — These are pictures of the Allentown Civic Center area bounded by 4th, 5th, Hamilton and Court Streets — before old buildings were razed, during demolition, and with land cleared and leveled. Some day there'll be a picture of a new Lehigh County Courthouse on the tract in the foreground and a new Allen-



town City Hall in the background. The street between is Penn, which will separate the county and municipal buildings. The city hall site, cleared by Allentown Redevelopment Authority, was provided by removing 39 old buildings. The job was done by General Wrecking Co. of Washington, D.C., for \$11,600 and was started Sept. 11. The



Lehigh County commissioners let the demolitions contract for the proposed courthouse site to Zuk Construction Co., Belvidere, N.J., at a bid of \$9,900. There were about 14 buildings remaining on this quarter-block, other former structures having gone long ago to allow for county employes' parking. Demolitions work started Nov.

27. The picture at left was taken Sept. 21, just after the roof of Mealey's Auditorium, an old landmark, had been removed. The center photo was taken Dec. 4, after the first structure on the courthouse site, 451 Hamilton St. (once the home of a prominent merchant, Gideon F. Egner) was torn down. The photo at right was taken yesterday.

Allentown's 4th Street Urban Renewal Project

One City, Two Neighborhoods

Allentown's 4th Street Urban Renewal Project

- Occurring between 1959 and 1963, this initiative exemplifies *de jure*, or by the law, segregation
- It is categorized this way because it was authorized and sponsored by the state
- Authorization: US Housing Acts created redevelopment agencies in the US and Allentown and Pennsylvania's "Urban Redevelopment Law" authorized use of urban renewal projects
- Sponsorship: Local, state, and federal government funneled millions of dollars into the project

One City, Two Neighborhoods (4th Street Renewal Project)

Timeline of events

- From 1959-1960, Allentown Redevelopment Authority (ARA) planned first Urban Renewal Project
- Project centered in 4th Street within Allentown, which was a downtown area where most African Americans lived
- On January 7th, 1961, first two properties acquired
- All properties acquired and developed to create house city's government buildings by 1963

Legacy

- City establishes local government center
- 30 African American families relocated to other downtown areas, causing resegregation
- Many families received below average payments for their homes
- These families promised that there would be no more relocation



One City, Two Neighborhoods (Little Lehigh Urban Renewal)

Timeline of Events

- African American community relocates to Little Lehigh neighborhood bordering 4th Street due to housing limitations
- New urban renewal project begins in this area in 1964
- Black community organizes to protest against this initiative
- In 1968, they lose the battle against the 2nd urban renewal project when the ARA begins acquiring properties
- Project ends in 1975 with construction of the Little Lehigh Housing Project (LLHP), which aimed to house displaced people of color

Legacy

- African American community once again displaced and restricted to inner-city
- Many displaced African Americans lose their homes and forced to move to LLHP
- This move causes resegregation because people limited to downtown area
- Also considerably reduces homeownership rates
- Black neighborhood ultimately destroyed



One City, Two Neighborhoods (Puerto Rican Migration)

- Allentown's Latinx population prior to 1970 was small and consisted of the city's first-wave PR migrants who came directly from Puerto Rico looking for employment on the heels of the unemployment caused by Operation Bootstrap
- Thus, urban renewal projects did not significantly impact this community
- After 1970, second-wave Puerto Rican migration begins, features Puerto Ricans coming from New York to Allentown in search of jobs and cheaper cost of living
- From 1970 to 2000, Latinx community increased from 3,000 to 32,000
- Rather than diversify the city, these Latinx people were pushed into the city's already existing segregated structure
- Therefore, they were limited to the downtown area and grew to become the majority presence in inner-city Allentown

A Tale of Two Schools

- Because the government segregated the city along racial lines, the public school system became segregated in the 21st century
- William Allen High School (top right) takes students from inner-city area, so their student body is roughly 90 percent minority students
- Parkland High School (bottom right) takes students from Allentown's western suburbs, so they are 67 percent white
- Demographics reflect city's segregated structure
- These two schools have different academic measures for their students



A Tale of Two Schools - Financial Resources

William Allen High School

- \$28 million deficit 2019-2020 school year
- \$4,889 per pupil local revenue



Parkland High School

- 2019-2020 school year budget featured increased budget and marked seventh year of capital improvement for district's schools
- \$13,878 per pupil local revenue



A Tale of Two Schools - Education

William Allen High School

- 16.3 percent take college class and 21 percent enroll in Advanced Placement (AP)
- No students receive personal laptop
- 69.1 percent graduation rate
- 49.2 percent post-secondary education rate



Parkland High School

- 83.3 students take college class and 46.3 percent enroll in Advanced Placement (AP)
- All students receive a personal laptop
- 95.4 percent graduation rate
- 81.9 percent post-secondary education rate



A Tale of Two Schools - Physical School Buildings

William Allen High School

- \$585,034 cost of first building
- \$49.6 million renovation project in 2000s
- Small facilities and building features lead to “overcrowding”
- Two city block campus
- 443,021 square feet in building space



Parkland High School

- \$77 million high school construction project, most expensive in the entire region
- School building features (auditorium, gym, etc.) rival or exceed local college building features
- 128 acre campus
- 478,000 square feet in building space



A Tale of Two Schools - Extracurricular Activities

William Allen High School

- 38 clubs
- In 2018, William Allen won 1 theater-associated Freddy Awards
- No sports state championships and only 1 district title in 2010s



Parkland High School

- 67 clubs
- In 2018, Parkland won 8 theater-associated Freddy Awards
- School won sports district and state titles in 2011-2012, 2014-2015, and 2015-2016



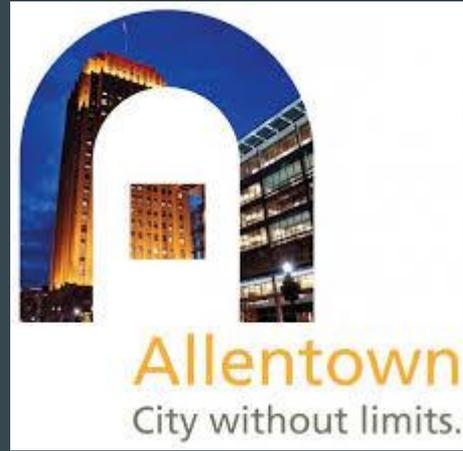
Conclusion

- Allentown's 1960s urban renewal projects segregated the city; while the downtown area became minority-majority, the neighborhoods outside of the inner-city remained white-majority
- This racially segregated structure created two racially segregated high schools in Allentown - William Allen and Parkland
- Analyzing academic measures between these two schools, it is clear that Parkland outperforms William Allen
- Ultimately, Parkland's higher academic success shows that students of color in Allentown are disproportionately barred from education and extracurricular activity success as well as college entrance

Conclusion

Allentown is not lost in its pursuit to become an equitable town. The following policies are just a few examples that can help it become a “City without limits”

- Increase public housing in not only downtown area but also white-majority western suburbs
- Build low-income housing in white-majority suburbs and sell them to residents of color
- Restructure charter school funding at state level to remove extra financial burden on Allentown School District
- Increase property tax on booming downtown district
- Restructure school boundary lines to create a more equitable racial demographic at both William Allen and Parkland



City with Limits: An Untold History of Residential Segregation and
Education Inequality in Allentown, PA

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Honors Thesis in History

Dr. Natanya Duncan, Dr. Vera Fennell, and Dr. Karen Pooley

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“Well we're waiting here in Allentown
For the Pennsylvania we never found
For the promises our teachers gave
If we worked hard
If we behaved

...

Well I'm living here in Allentown
And it's hard to keep a good man down
But I won't be giving up today
And we're living here in Allentown” - Billy Joel, *Allentown*, 1982

To my loved ones and the City of Allentown

Acknowledgements

As a first-generation college student, I know the truth behind the African proverb: “It takes a village to raise a child.” Because the encouragement and support of countless people helped me overcome towering life obstacles, I was able to write this thesis. My sincerest gratitude goes out to all who have taken a moment of their time to be a part of my journey. The following project would not have been possible without you. Now, I would like to thank those directly involved in the completion of *City with Limits: An Untold History of Residential Segregation and Education Inequality in Allentown, PA*.

I would like to first thank the libraries and, more specifically, the Special Collections Department at both Lehigh University and Muhlenberg College. As a 4-year work-study student at Lehigh’s Special Collections Department, the staff taught me invaluable lessons about data, research, and the field of History that I will use in all of my educational and professional endeavors. My deepest thanks also go out to Muhlenberg College’s Special Collections Department for permitting me to access the Richard Cowen papers, which provided many foundational primary sources for this paper.

Second, I am grateful to all of my professors at Lehigh University, especially my thesis advisors Natanya Duncan, Vera Fennell, and Karen Pooley as well as one of my mentors Seth Moglen. I stepped onto Lehigh’s campus looking to learn not only about the injustices in my community and country, but also how I may be able to address these challenges. Throughout my entire time at Lehigh, you have all supported me to realize this aspiration.

My final thanks belong to my friends, family, and beloved hometown - Allentown. To my loved ones: thank you for always believing in me and holding me up during the bumps along my path. To Allentown: on a clear summer evening, I sat atop the front porch of a row home in

the center of your heart and promised to tell the story of your most vulnerable and ignored community. Although I will spend the rest of my life honoring this promise, I hope that this project has, in a small way, fulfilled my commitment to you.

Author's Note

Before the beginning of this thesis, I would like to address several topics that will better inform the reader's understanding about this work and its limitations.

First, I have used several key words repeatedly to describe different groups of people. These words include: Allentonians, Latinx, African American, and people of color. Over the course of history, these kinds of words have been adjusted by the people they describe to better reflect the groups' contemporary attitudes. I hope that future readers understand that the words used here are not concrete, but simply represent the current moment. As some of these words fade out of popular use, which is inevitable, this thesis advocates for the use of their successors.

Second, this project includes several limitations. When conducting my research, I was fortunate enough to access important databases at both Lehigh University and Muhlenberg College. However, I was unable to access the Allentown Redevelopment Authority's official papers. The lack of these sources hurts this thesis and future historians should work to obtain these documents. For the sake of brevity, I have also limited the scope of this project to center city and west Allentown as well as African American and Latinx groups. Future historians will be able to build on this history by including east Allentown and other minority groups such as Asian and Middle Eastern people.

Finally, in an ideal world, the pursuit of history would be as exact and objective as the study of mathematics and the sciences. But our world is one full of bias and strong opinions. Like all historians, I bring experiences with me that have shaped my perspective on this topic. I was, after all, born and raised in downtown Allentown and educated within its public-school system. Nonetheless, I have worked diligently to base my argument on the facts of this story.

Abstract

In 2010, Allentown - the third most populated city in Pennsylvania - adopted the slogan “City without Limits.” My thesis, “The City with Limits: An Untold History of Residential Segregation and Education Inequality in Allentown, Pennsylvania,” seeks to present the residential and education barriers placed on people of color in Allentown. This academic project is divided into three major sections. Building on the work of Richard Rothstein, the first section argues that residential segregation in Allentown is not only the result of *de facto* policies but also *de jure* practices. The Allentown Redevelopment Authority’s urban renewal projects in the 1960s systematically uprooted and confined African American people to the inner-city neighborhoods of the city. When Latinx people began arriving in Allentown by the end of the 20th century, the combination of racist real estate practices and government urban renewal projects had created a segregated structure that forced them into the inner-city black neighborhoods and further segregated Allentown. The second section of this thesis examines one of the long-term consequences of this residential segregation by examining two contemporary public school districts in Allentown - the Allentown and Parkland School District. The former school district consists of a majority of Latinx and African American students while the latter school district is composed primarily of white students. The majority-white school district experiences higher funding per student, graduation rates, and college placement rates. This thesis maintains that these education discrepancies exist partly due to the city’s racially segregated structure. In the final section, I explore possible solutions to these residential and educational barriers with the hope of providing a portrait of a more prosperous city for Allentonians of color.

Introduction

On a brisk January day in 2010, residents and leaders of Allentown, Pennsylvania organized at the city's Symphony Hall to unveil their town's new slogan, "City without limits."¹ The new brand arrived in the midst of America's second most severe economic downturn - the Great Recession - as a way to solidify the success of Allentown's rebounding economy. According to Spark, the Bethlehem marketing firm who created the slogan, "City without limits" is more generally a reflection of "where [Allentown's] going, not where it's been."² The importance is not on the historical and economic hardships of the past, but on the promise of future prosperity. Yet, not all Allentonians looked toward the future with this sort of optimism. African American and Latinx people living in Allentown had not experienced a "city without limits." To these black and brown folks, the city and its history had been defined by strict and oppressive limits. Imagining a future without these restrictions was difficult.

Nestled in the folds of Pennsylvania Dutch Country, the Lehigh Valley's largest city, Allentown, is home to over 100,000 people, which makes it the third most populated city in the entire state. It is also the fastest-growing major city in Pennsylvania, partly due to its strategic location about 60 miles from Pennsylvania's largest city, Philadelphia, about 75 miles from New York City, and about 80 miles from Pennsylvania's capital, Harrisburg.³ Allentown was founded in 1762 by William Allen, former mayor of Philadelphia and Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. At the age of 21, William Allen inherited his father's wealthy estate and went on

¹ Renshaw, Jarrett. "Allentown's New Slogan: 'City without Limits'." mcall.com. The Morning Call, January 19, 2010.

² Ibid.

³ "U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Allentown City, Pennsylvania." Census Bureau QuickFacts. United States Census Bureau, July 1, 2018.

to grow his wealth through “the acquisition of considerable real estate” in the 1730s.⁴ One of Allen’s real estate acquisitions during this decade marked the beginning of Allentown’s history. On September 10, 1735, Allen’s business partner, Joseph Turner, sold him 5,000 acres near the Lehigh River.⁵ At the beginning of the 1760s, Allen dedicated “a little over 700 acres” of the property from the 1735 purchase to build a new town.⁶ The Pennsylvania Chief Supreme Court Justice then advertised Allentown’s farming potential in 18th-century pamphlets and eventually attracted and sold land to groups of “German immigrant farmers who needed a market town.”⁷ Many of the German immigrant farmers who originally settled in Allentown arrived to the United States in search of an escape from the religious persecution of Europe. These German immigrants also inhabited other towns and cities in South and Southeastern Pennsylvania. Their presence in Pennsylvania led to South Pennsylvania’s characterization as Dutch Country due to the German dialect the German immigrants spoke, which was known as Pennsylvania Dutch and did not become written until the 19th century.⁸

The city grew slowly in the early parts of its history. The Pennsylvania Dutch formed the crux of the city for much of its preliminary life and these immigrants formed Allentown’s economy around agriculture. Yet the transportation advances of the 19th century revolutionized the economic nature of the city. In the 1820s, the Lehigh Canal was constructed and vastly increased transportation throughout the Lehigh Valley and greater state. Furthermore, the construction of the Lehigh Valley Railroad by American industrial businessman, Asa Packer,

⁴ Hellerich, Mahlon Howard. *Allentown 1762-1987: A 225-year History*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 1987, 1.

⁵ *Ibid*, 1.

⁶ *Ibid*, 6.

⁷ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 3.

⁸ *Ibid*, 3-4.

allowed transportation to take an even greater step forward. These advances in transportation laid the foundation for industry and propelled Allentown into a formidable industrial power. For example, the city housed 57 industries by 1860.⁹

America's industrial prominence propelled Allentown to further success in the 20th century. Two major American manufacturers, Western Electric and General Electric, opened plants in Allentown following World War 2.¹⁰ Additionally, the city also prospered from the successes of the various manufacturing plants based in other Lehigh Valley cities, such as the national steelmaking plant located in Bethlehem, Bethlehem Steel. The establishment of such large and popular manufacturing firms in and around Allentown produced a plethora of jobs, wealth, and general economic stability. However, this firm foundation began to cripple with the fall of American industry.

In 1982, Billy Joel released a song titled "Allentown," which highlighted the decline of industry in Allentown and its subsequent disastrous impacts. While industry and manufacturing created a long-term economic boom in Allentown, the success and prosperity was not fated to last forever. By the 1970s, the combination of "cheap labor overseas" and "competition from foreign manufacturers" severely crippled American industry.¹¹ Allentown felt the consequences of this crippling as General Electric sold its Allentown branch and the nearby Bethlehem Steel began to face annual losses and closed many of its operations by the 1980s.¹² The American singer Billy Joel's 1982 smash-hit, "Allentown," reflected the titular city's loss of industry in its

⁹ Ibid, 4.

¹⁰ Ibid, 5.

¹¹ Ibid 5.

¹² Smith, Harry. *Bethlehem Steel: The People Who Built America*. Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh Valley PBS, 2003.

opening lines, “Well we're living here in Allentown/And they're closing all the factories down.”¹³ The effects of this loss were profound on Allentown as well as its citizens. Without an expansive manufacturing base, the city’s economic prosperity plummeted into hardship as unemployment rates spiked. The working people felt the weight of the crestfallen economy as they were left to “wait” to “fill out [unemployment] forms” in the aftermath of the era of “iron, coal, and chromium steel.”¹⁴ These conditions left Allentown a “deteriorating city.”¹⁵

The economic tides turned for Allentown in the second decade of the 21st century. Like many industrial cities across the United States, the fall of industry caused Allentown to struggle economically for several decades. However, in 2009, the Pennsylvania state legislature passed a tax law known as the Neighborhood Improvement Zone (NIZ). In short, the NIZ works to “divert all non-property state and local taxes generated within a designated 130-acre zone [in downtown Allentown] to fund development within that zone.”¹⁶ In other words, instead of being sent directly to the state government in Harrisburg, these taxes in downtown Allentown are recycled locally to provide additional funding to stimulate the depressed economy. The results of the NIZ law have proved to be spectacular. The construction of the PPL Center - a sports stadium hosting a new minor league hockey team - drew in \$48.2 million dollars to Allentown’s NIZ in 2013.¹⁷ Since then, there have been a vast array of economic developments in downtown Allentown. Many of the small shops and businesses that were “boarded up” in the 1970s on the

¹³ Billy Joel, “Allentown,” track 1 on *The Nylon Curtain*, Columbia Records, 1982, compact disc.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 1.

¹⁶ Tierney, John. “Breathing Life Into Allentown: Pennsylvania Comes to the Rescue.” *The Atlantic*. Atlantic Media Company, September 15, 2014.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

main street - Hamilton Street - now feature thriving new shops, restaurants, and businesses.¹⁸

Additionally, new multi-story buildings have joined the 24-story headquarters of the electric company - PPL - in decorating Allentown's skyline.

Despite the numerous economic advances generated by the NIZ, Allentown is not a completely new, vibrant city. When the national manufacturing firms deserted the inner-city decades earlier, so did the majority of white residents.¹⁹ They rushed to the suburbs surrounding Allentown and established white-majority schools and neighborhoods. Allentown's struggling economy was left to poor, working-class African American and Latinx people. These people of color have since dealt with harsh economic conditions and a school district that finds it difficult to fund itself and graduate students. Although the city has undergone an impressive financial comeback in the downtown district, the situation for the black and Latinx people has not improved on the same scale. For example, at the end of the 2018-2019 academic year, the Allentown School District faced a \$28 million dollar deficit, placing it in danger of being retained and controlled by the state government.²⁰ All of this occurred while the city's NIZ brought in millions of tax dollars a year.

The limits placed on African American and Latinx Allentonians reaches further back than the loss of industry, the Great Recession, and the NIZ. In fact, these communities of color have faced obstacles since their communities established themselves in the 20th century. In the 1960s,

¹⁸ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 6.

²⁰ Palochko, Jacqueline. "Facing \$28 Million Deficit for next Year, Allentown School District Looking to Borrow Money to Cover \$7 Million Hole in This Year's Budget." *mcall.com*. The Morning Call, April 22, 2019.

the Allentown Redevelopment Authority began urban renewal projects in the inner-city neighborhoods where African American communities resided. These renewal projects forced the black families to sell their homes and move into the city's public housing buildings. When the city's industry began to collapse a decade later, whites fled from the inner-city in mass numbers. At the same time, Puerto Ricans migrants flocked to Allentown and the combination of discriminatory real estate practices and government policy from the previous decades had created a segregated city outline that forced them to establish housing in the downtown neighborhoods where African Americans were restricted to. Along with the already existing African American communities, the Puerto Rican migrants formed the majority group in Allentown's downtown area. As the city's underclass, these residents of color went on to experience more poverty, less physical mobility, and lower high school graduation rates than their white suburban counterparts decades later. Therefore, when Allentown embraced its new slogan, black and brown Allentonians could not support it in the same way as their white neighbors. The history of residential and educational limits placed on them paired with their inability to prosper from the NIZ made the idea of "city without limits" seem like a distant dream.

This thesis seeks to expand the theory posited by Richard Rothstein in his 2017 book, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*, by using Allentown, Pennsylvania as a case study to broaden the analysis of residential segregation. Ultimately, the residential segregation that occurred in Allentown during the 1960s was not simply the result of *de facto* private policy, but also the result of *de jure* city government practices. Additionally, this work will explore the impact of residential segregation on Allentown's education system, which created not only a minority-majority inner-city but also an overwhelming minority-majority school district. By comparing the contemporary Allentown

School District with the Parkland School District, this thesis will extend Rothstein's ground-breaking analysis by showing how the segregation of neighborhoods and subsequently schools in the 20th century has created sharp discrepancies between the education, success, and career outcomes of senior students from Allentown's inner-city and suburban neighborhoods in the early 21st century.

It is my goal that this case study will add several elements to the existing historiography. First, the use of Allentown as a case study will expand the general understanding of residential segregation in American cities. For the most part, analysis of residential segregation focuses primarily on large metropolitan cities such as New York City, Los Angeles, Detroit, etc. The inclusion of mid-size northeastern cities like Allentown into this historiography will shed greater insight into residential segregation across the spectrum of American cities, not simply the few major ones. Second, an analysis of Allentown will complicate the idea of the American dichotomy. In most studies of residential segregation, academics analyze how segregation occurs among black and white residents. Allentown will add a "third" element to this analysis - Latinx people. Allentown's largest population in most inner-city neighborhoods is listed as "Hispanic."

²¹ These people have encountered similar experiences to segregated African American people, yet their experience is unique due to their different language, culture, and migrant status. Thus, this study will examine how Latinx people figure into the phenomenon of residential segregation and develop overall analysis past the traditional American dichotomy. Third, the discourse on Latinx migration to Allentown after 1970 and the continued segregation of these residents will complicate the contemporary understanding about residential segregation. Most scholars have focused on segregation as a consequence of private discriminatory housing policies and state-

²¹ "Mapping Segregation." The New York Times. The New York Times, July 8, 2015.

sponsored urban renewal and red-lining efforts during the early and mid-1900s. In 1968, the United States passed the Fair Housing Act and made it unlawful for housing practices to discriminate against potential renters/buyers. Due to the adoption of this act, residential segregation literature has viewed segregation as a phenomenon largely limited to the period before the end of the 1960s. By showing that Latinx migrants who flocked to Allentown after the Fair Housing Act's passage arrived in the largest numbers and experienced segregation at levels high enough to establish a minority-majority district in Allentown's inner-city, I disrupt the idea that segregation occurred mainly before 1970. Fourth, I intend to study residential segregation beyond its immediate impact on the physical arrangement of cities and populations. A majority of the analysis on residential segregation is limited to the way in which private and government practices shaped city demographics. For example, Rothstein traces the history of residential segregation in major cities but does not delve into the consequences of these dynamics in the long-term. I will analyze one of these long-term consequences by studying the effect of Allentown's residential segregation on the public-school system fifty years after the city's urban renewal projects began. Fourth, the breadth of this thesis does not intend to halt at an investigation into residential segregation and its larger impacts. The work here will also aim to provide some concrete solutions to these issues. To this end, the work seeks to establish ways toward prospering race-mixed neighborhoods as well a flourishing inner-city public-school district.

The thesis will be divided into four major parts. This section is the Introduction and first part, which has focused on the background history of Allentown and then worked to introduce the major aims of the paper. The second part of the thesis will delve into the segregation of Allentown's neighborhoods in the 20th century by analyzing discriminatory real estate practices

and urban renewal projects. In addition, this section will discuss the residential segregation of Latinx groups after they migrated to Allentown from places like New York and Puerto Rico. The third part of the paper will then compare and contrast the Allentown and Parkland School District to examine the consequences of the *de jure* segregation and white flight of the 1900s. The last part of the paper will present possible solutions to the city's segregated neighborhoods and struggling school district.

Chapter One: One City, Two Neighborhoods

There has been an overwhelming silence regarding the history of the African American and Latinx communities in Allentown. Two major works among Allentown historians include Mahlon Hellerich's book, *Allentown 1762-1987: A 225-year History*, and a joint project by Ken Bloom and Marian Wolbers titled *Allentown: A Pictorial History*. Hellerich's enormous historical project, which was published by the Lehigh County Historical Society in 1987, aims to trace the physical, social, political, and cultural history of Allentown over the span of 225 years. In the book's first volume, there is relatively nothing substantial discussed about the early establishment of African American and Latinx communities. This omission occurs despite the fact that the United States recorded minority populations at the end of the 20th century.²² Although the second volume includes more information about minority groups, Hellerich's portrayal of Puerto Ricans as placing a "high value on retaining Puerto Rican culture" and therefore rejecting assimilation is unrepresentative of the community's true feelings.²³ The purpose of Bloom and Wolbers's 1984 book was to capture Allentown history in the form of photographs and interviews. Like Hellerich's book, this historical work also largely excluded the presence of minorities since "no interviews with Latinos appeared in the text of the book."²⁴ It was not until the 21st century that academic historical work began the undertaking of accurately documenting the history of Allentown's minority groups.

²² U.S. Census Bureau, "Composition and Characteristics of the Population: Calendar Year 1910," Supplement for Pennsylvania, table 2, 628.

²³ Hellerich, Mahlon Howard. *Allentown 1762-1987: A 225-year History*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 1987, 618.

²⁴ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, ix.

Coupled together, *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania* and *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968* provide the most foundational academic projects outlining the history of Allentown's African American and Puerto Rican populations. Written by former Muhlenberg College history professor Anna Adams, *Hidden From History* was published in 2000 by the Lehigh County Historical Society and works to "revise Allentown's history by writing Latinos into it."²⁵ To this end, the book not only traces Allentown history, but also focuses on the role of Latinx people throughout the course of the city's history. *Hidden From History* is a foundational text to this overall thesis. It establishes the historiographical information necessary for understanding the way Latinx communities developed in Allentown. In 2006, a Muhlenberg College senior, Roberta Meek, wrote a Senior Honors Thesis titled *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal*. In her thesis, Meek traces the establishment of African American communities in Allentown and the impact of the 1960 urban renewal projects on segregating them from their white counterparts. Meek's thesis is important to my own project because it provides me with an early history of the African American community as well as a foundation of work based on the Allentown urban renewal projects of the 1960s. Meek utilized a collection of Allentown Morning Call newspaper clippings about black life in Allentown as primary sources on Allentown urban renewal. These newspaper clippings were collected by Morning Call reporter and Muhlenberg alumnus Richard Cowen and are currently held by Muhlenberg College as "The Richard W. "Dick" Cowen Papers." The following historical arch of black and brown life in Allentown and the impact of residential segregation on their communities is based on these works by Anna

²⁵ Ibid, x.

Adams, Roberta Meek, Richard Cowen, and other Morning Call writers who wrote about African Americans, Latinx people, and urban renewal.

Allentown's transition from a homogenous white city to the home of thousands of people of color began with the rise of industry in Pennsylvania. As mentioned in the Introduction, the land that became Allentown was originally settled by German immigrant farmers fleeing European religious persecution. These German immigrant farmers also settled other regions in Southern Pennsylvania in the 18th and 19th centuries. Their strong presence in this particular region was later marked by the area's designation as Dutch Country, which highlighted the German residents' dialect.²⁶ The booming impact of industry at the end of the 19th century opened the door for a sharp rise in the Allentown population. As intricate transportation systems like the Lehigh Valley Railroad began to connect Allentown to major cities throughout the state and country, the number of established businesses in the city began to increase. In fact, the city contained over 50 industries by 1860.²⁷ The rise of industry in turn paved the way for a population spike. In 1870, the United States Census recorded 13,884 residents. At the end of the century, the 1900 United States Census counted an almost doubled population size of 35,416 people. Despite a similar doubling to the African American population, who identified as "Negro" in these reports, the number of black residents totaled only 85 people in 1900.²⁸ The increase and eventual segregation of communities of color therefore would not occur until the turn of the century.

²⁶Ibid, 3.

²⁷ Ibid, 4.

²⁸ U.S. Census Bureau, "Composition and Characteristics of the Population: Calendar Year 1910," Supplement for Pennsylvania, table 2, 628.

The first half of the 20th century led to a sharper increase in Allentown's black population. As previously discussed, a small community of African Americans lived in Allentown at the end of the 1800s. This community swelled in size over the course of several decades. From 1930 to 1960, the black population doubled to 745 people. However, this figure only made up about 1 percent of Allentown's total population.^{29 30} Despite representing a small portion of the total population, the black community was roughly nine times larger than it was at the end of the previous century. At this point, the black community was already centered in the center city neighborhoods of Allentown, Pennsylvania. Of the 745 African Americans listed in the 1960 US Census report, 528 of the total population lived within the downtown district.

According to Meek, the concentration of African Americans within the inner-city lines was established by *de facto* segregation that kept African Americans in "their place" and controlled their job and housing prospects.³¹ Throughout her thesis, Meek maintains that the Allentown urban renewal projects of the 1960s disrupted and displaced Allentown's black community. This thesis seeks to present urban renewal in Allentown, Pennsylvania as resulting in *de jure* segregation, which is segregation based on law rather than segregation based on private, real-world practices. It is important to make this distinction in order to accurately portray the local, state, and federal government's role in segregating Allentown. During the time of Meek's project, it was common to understand residential segregation as stemming from *de facto* practices. However, Richard Rothstein's *The Color of Law*, published in 2017, emphasizes that

²⁹ U.S. Census Bureau, "General Characteristics of the Population, by Census Tracts: 1960," Census Tracts, table P-1, 13.

³⁰ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 6.

³¹ *Ibid*, 6.

the role of local governments in segregating cities leads to a *de jure* segregation perspective.³² The urban renewal projects that impacted the growing black community of Allentown in the 1960s must also be understood through this new lens. Of course, this is not to say that *de facto* practices had no impact on Allentown's residential segregation. In an overwhelmingly white city like Allentown in 1960, it is obvious that *de facto* practices were in effect and acutely impacted Allentonians of color. It is also important to note that in the case of Allentown, the discriminatory real estate and rental practices restricted people of color uprooted by state-sponsored projects to inner-city neighborhoods. However, emphasizing the role of the government in this history sheds a new light on the work done by Adams and Meek and also opens the door for considering legal and government solutions to Allentown residential segregation.

Allentown's Fourth Street Renewal Project, which occurred between 1959 and 1963, presents the first example in the city's history of urban renewal projects. The Fourth Street project was managed by the Allentown Redevelopment Authority (ARA), which was created on January 17, 1956 and authorized to provide all the services outlined in the Pennsylvania Urban Redevelopment Law 1712.1 of 1945.³³ At the time of its establishment, the ARA functioned to "eliminate blighted areas in the community" by destroying and rebuilding targeted locations. Following its mission statement, the Redevelopment Authority launched the Fourth Street Renewal project because the selected twenty-acre section of downtown Allentown was deemed "one of the most seriously deteriorated sections of the city" and its renewal would open up

³² Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. First edition. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017.

³³ "Redevelopment Authority." AllentownPA.GOV. Accessed November 26, 2019.

“cleared land for Allentown’s new city hall.”³⁴ ³⁵ The twenty-acre section of the downtown Fourth Street Renewal zone included the homes of many of the African American residents living in the city. It was the homes of these residents that the ARA planned to purchase through eminent domain and then destroy to create open land for the new city hall. In 1960, Allentown’s local government approved the project and Baptist minister, Horace Melton, was installed as the relocation officer to help ensure the “speed” and “success” of the project.³⁶ Several of this project’s early, key details begin to distinguish it as *de jure* segregation.

Early constructs of residential segregation in Allentown fall under *de jure* segregation primarily due to the role of local government. The core of Rothstein’s *de jure* segregation thesis is that “African Americans were unconstitutionally denied the means and the right to integration in middle-class neighborhoods, and because this denial was state-sponsored, the nation is obligated to remedy it.”³⁷ It is essential here that the state be directly involved with the process of restricting African Americans to low-income, inner-city neighborhoods. Extending this theory to the present case-study of Allentown, several facts make it clear that the state - Allentown’s local government - is inextricably connected to the Fourth Street Renewal Project. First, the organization responsible for managing the project is a part of the Allentown City government. The Allentown Redevelopment Authority was established in 1956 as one of the city’s authority boards.³⁸ The state in the case of Allentown’s urban renewal is thus directly organizing and administering the first urban renewal project. Second, the city government’s decision-making

³⁴ "Fourth Street Urban Renewal Progress Report." Allentown Redevelopment Authority, 1963.

³⁵ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 6.

³⁶ Davis, Russ. "Minister Helps Urban Renewal." *The Morning Call*, 6 November 1960.

³⁷ Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. First edition. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017.

³⁸ "Redevelopment Authority." AllentownPA.GOV. Accessed November 26, 2019.

body approved the ARA's Fourth Street project. Plans for the Fourth Street project began in 1956 and the City Council officially approved the undertaking in August 1960.^{39 40} Without the stamp of approval from the state, its own redevelopment authority would not have uprooted and relocated the city's African American community. Although it is the local government that most obviously establishes a *de jure* analysis of segregation, the Pennsylvania state government and federal government are not exempt from this framework.

Pennsylvania's state government factors into this analysis through its state law, which directly enabled the establishment of the ARA. On May 24, 1945, the Pennsylvania Legislature passed into state law Act 385, known simply as the "Urban Redevelopment Law." Act 385 of 1945 was written to accomplish the following goals:

To promote elimination of blighted areas and supply sanitary housing in areas throughout the Commonwealth; by declaring acquisition, sound replanning and redevelopment of such areas to be for the promotion of health, safety, convenience and welfare; creating public bodies corporate and politic to be known as Redevelopment Authorities; authorizing them to engage in the elimination of blighted areas and to plan and contract with private, corporate or governmental redevelopers for their redevelopment; providing for the organization of such authorities; defining and providing for the exercise of their powers and duties, including the acquisition of property by purchase, gift or eminent domain; the leasing and selling of property, including borrowing money, issuing bonds and other obligations, and giving security therefor; restricting the interest of members and employees of authorities; providing for notice and hearing; supplying certain mandatory provisions to be inserted in contracts with redevelopers; prescribing the remedies of obligees of redevelopment authorities; conferring certain duties upon local planning commissions, the governing bodies of cities and counties, and on certain State officers, boards and departments.⁴¹

³⁹ Davis, Russ. "Minister Helps Urban Renewal." *The Morning Call*, 6 November 1960.

⁴⁰ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 6.

⁴¹ "1945 Act 385." The official website for the Pennsylvania General Assembly. Pennsylvania General Assembly. Accessed November 25, 2019.

This state law opened the door for the establishment of Allentown’s Redevelopment Authority. Section 4 of the Urban Redevelopment Law “created separate and distinct bodies corporate and politic, one for each city” with the legal duty and approval under section 12.1 to “engage in the elimination of blighted areas and to plan and contract with private, corporate or governmental redevelopers for their redevelopment.”⁴² Therefore, while the ARA operated as the strong arm of the city government in the history of residential segregation, the state government’s laws made it possible for this process to begin. Section 9 of the Urban Redevelopment Law explicitly states that the pre-approved redevelopment authorities will serve as a “public body,” “exercising public powers of the Commonwealth as an agency thereof.”⁴³ In Pennsylvania’s own words, redevelopment authorities are public bodies established by the Commonwealth and wielding the Commonwealth’s powers. It follows then, as theorized by Richard Rothstein, that the state is responsible for the actions of its own agency, which, in this case, means that the state is responsible for the residential segregation caused by the ARA. The state of Pennsylvania is also connected to this *de jure* analysis of Allentown segregation through monetary funding. Section 18 of Pennsylvania’s Urban Redevelopment Law “conferred upon an [Redevelopment] Authority” the power to “borrow money or accept grants or other financial assistance from the Government, for or in aid of any of its operations.”⁴⁴ As will be discussed later, government funding was instrumental to the specific operation and success of Allentown’s urban renewal programs. However, what is important now is that after granting a legal foundation for the establishment of public redevelopment authorities, the state government proceeded to supply funds for the operations of these local government authorities. Thus, in the case of Allentown,

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

residential segregation is *de jure* at the state government level in two primary ways: 1) state law created the redevelopment authority as government body and 2) the state government also funded the projects of this authority. The federal government is responsible for this particular history of residential segregation in the same way.

Like the state government, the United States federal government is tied to residential segregation through its legislative law, which is presented as a series of Housing Acts during the 20th century. Meek's thesis provides an in-depth outline regarding the historical arch of the federal government's Housing Acts. The first versions of this bill that successfully made their way through Congress, Senate, and the President's desk were the Housings Acts of 1937 and 1949. The intent of these Acts were laid out in simple terms, "to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas" and further guarantee "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." To achieve this, the federal government vested power in the hands Local Public Agencies (LPAs) with the goal of "encouraging and assisting the development of well-planned, integrated residential neighborhoods."⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ However, these efforts disproportionately benefited white Americans. Public housing units were built across the country under these Housing Acts and were filled by all-white groups. For example, the Hanover Acres Project in Allentown was "one of the first projects completed" and "opened with almost exclusively white occupancy." The shift in public housing demographics began to occur under the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veteran's Administration (VA) home loan programs, which "intended to assist by providing lower interest rates and down payments to

⁴⁵ *Housing Act of 1949*. 171. 1st, July 15, 1949.

⁴⁶ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 3.

qualified buyers.”⁴⁷ These programs overwhelmingly rejected homebuyers while accepting mostly whites, allowing them to utilize the “assistance to move out of urban centers and into newly constructed housing in the suburban areas.”⁴⁸ As whites moved away from the inner-city areas and into the suburbs, African Americans began to fill public housing units. The Eisenhower Administration then passed the Housing Act of 1954 and increased the power of LPAs as well as shifted “the focus from urban ‘redevelopment’ to urban ‘renewal.’” This shift created greater control for local agencies, brought in an increasing number of the private sector through “professional planners,” and allowed federal funds to be used for “constructing commercial properties rather than replacing the slum ... housing that had been demolished.”⁴⁹ Thus, the federal government’s history of Housing Act legislation fulfilled the same two primary goals as the state government’s Urban Redevelopment Law. First, to establish the legal right to create and empower local agencies focused on demolishing blighted areas and replacing them with redeveloped areas. Second, it funneled government money in direct support of these redevelopment initiatives.

In sum, the state and federal legislative development leading up to Allentown’s Fourth Street renewal Project and the project’s direct connection to the city government builds the basis for a *de jure* analysis of segregation. The Allentown Redevelopment Authority did not come into existence in a vacuum. The federal Housing Acts and Pennsylvania state Urban Redevelopment Law created the legal basis to establish the ARA. Then, the explicit language of these laws guided the ARA’s core goals. To fulfill its role, the federal and state government proceeded to fund the redevelopment authority’s projects. This trajectory proves that without the state and its

⁴⁷ Ibid, 2.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 4-5.

laws, the ARA would not have been established nor provided with the necessary funds to maintain itself. The ARA's inextricable relationship to the state is further reinforced by its designation as a local agency. The authority is a direct branch of the Allentown government and its first major project, the Fourth Street Renewal Project, was directly approved by the city council.⁵⁰ These findings all show that the ARA is a clear example of *de jure* practice. Given its legally recognized status, the following history of the ARA's projects and their consequences are the consequences of the legal and government practices that created and upheld this government organization.

After the legal authorization of the Fourth Street project in 1960 and the appointment of Horace Melton as the relocation officer, the ARA utilized a three-step approach to demolish the blighted Fourth Street area for redevelopment. The first step was the "execution by the federal government of a loan and grant contract," which was "expected within a month" from November 1960.⁵¹ Again, the government's monetary funding establishes this project as explicitly recognized and endorsed by the law and state. This dynamic was also recognized in 1960 as the *Morning Call* reported that the federal funds would "commit the federal government to the [Fourth Street] program" and "authorize the ARA to proceed as planned."⁵² Allentown's redevelopment authority required these funds to purchase the properties in the project area, demolish them, and then build new buildings. The second step included the "completion of appraisals and approval of them by the government."⁵³ Estimates projected that this step would take four weeks to complete. Our understanding of the government's role in the urban renewal

⁵⁰ Davis, Russ. "Minister Helps Urban Renewal." *The Morning Call*, 6 November 1960.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

project is also further expanded by this step. Not only was the government responsible for creating the ARA and authorizing its projects, but it was also involved in approving financial estimates on the houses to be acquired by the redevelopment authority through eminent domain. The third and final step was the undertaking of “title searches” in order to begin securing buildings and demolishing them.⁵⁴ With these steps outlined and started in 1960, the Fourth Street project moved quickly in the process of pushing African American people out of their homes, destroying downtown neighborhoods, and constructing new infrastructure.

The Fourth Street project began acquiring properties in the beginning of 1961, utilizing questionable methods pioneered by Horace Melton. On January 7th, 1961, it was reported that the ARA finalized the process to acquire the “first two of almost 200 properties” required to begin demolition and construction in the Fourth Street Renewal Area.⁵⁵ Funding for these purchases came from the local and state government. Allentown and the state of Pennsylvania both contributed “\$514,700 toward the renewal project” while the federal government was expected to contribute its share of the more than “\$3 million” budget “only after acquisition of properties” began.⁵⁶ By April 1961, the ARA purchased a group of apartments on the 400 block of Hamilton Street and owned “more than half” of the required properties to start the construction process.⁵⁷ The renewal authority owed its property acquisition success to the methods endorsed by their relocation officer Horace Melton. As previously discussed, Melton was selected as the relocation officer of the Fourth Street Renewal Project to speed up the process. Melton was positioned to accomplish this goal by engaging with the residents set to lose

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ “Redevelopment Authority To Get First 2 Properties.” *The Morning Call*, January 7, 1961.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ “3 Apartment Buildings Purchased in Largest Renewal Area Deal.” *Evening Chronicle*, April 5, 1961.

their homes, “answer” their questions, and drive away general “uncertainty” about the project.⁵⁸ The Baptist minister was especially well-equipped to fulfill these duties because not only was he a religious leader in the community, but he was also an African American. His race connected him to the large segment of black people living in the Fourth Street Urban. However, the relocation officer resorted to questionable tactics to convince people to go along with the renewal plan. He coached “members of his field staff” to “use a mixture of strategy and psychology, stirred with the right amount of persuasion” to sell their homes and search for a new place to live.⁵⁹ These techniques resembled cheap salesmen tactics more than they seemed like the work of a local government authority authorized and supported by the local, state, and federal government. Nonetheless, Milton proved successful in hastening the Fourth Street project as well as the relocation of families.

Melton’s strategy of persuasion enabled the successful completion of the Fourth Street Renewal Project in 1963, leaving the African Americans who were dislocated facing negative consequences. By the end of the project, a total of “234 families and 115 individuals” counted among the relocated people. Roughly 30 African American families found themselves belonging to this group.^{60 61} On the surface, the number of African Americans displaced during the renewal project consists of a small number of the overall totals. Yet the total number of African Americans in Allentown during this period was 745 and 528 of them lived in the downtown area, which was the primary territory included in the Fourth Street Renewal Area. A careful

⁵⁸ Davis, Russ. "Minister Helps Urban Renewal." *The Morning Call*, 6 November 1960.

⁵⁹ Davis, Russ. "Redevelopment Officials Say: 'Every Family Is a Story'." *The Morning Call*, 15 October 1961.

⁶⁰ "Muhlenberg Prof Declares: Negroes in Sad Situation." *The Morning Call*, 16 October 1966.

⁶¹ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 8.

consideration of these numbers thus reveals that a disproportionate number of black people living in Allentown, specifically the downtown area of Allentown, were forced out of their homes during the first urban renewal project. While the local government gained a new “City Hall” complex and new “townhouse-type apartments” from the renewal project, the relocated African Americans suffered negative consequences.⁶² First, people in the Fourth Street Renewal Area were dissatisfied with their home and business settlements. An owner of a local dry cleaning shop in the renewal zone reported that he could only gain one-third of the appraisal price of his business’s equipment.⁶³ Residents throughout the Fourth Street Urban Renewal Area, including African Americans, experienced this tactic of low-balling sellers during settlements and it left less money in their pockets to put toward relocation expenses. Second, the relocation left African Americans facing one serious question: where do we go now? These people had established their homes and lives in downtown Allentown. The government’s decision to mark their neighborhood as a blighted urban area that required renewal meant that they now had to leave their homes and community behind. In search of new neighborhoods, African Americans found that *de facto* policies in the city restricted their mobility and relocation within the city lines.

African American Allentonians uprooted by the Fourth Street Renewal Project faced *de facto* practices that consequently forced them to relocate primarily to Allentown’s Little Lehigh neighborhood. In her thesis, Meek contends that the “most influential factor” establishing and maintaining the concentration of African Americans in downtown Allentown was “*de facto*

⁶² McNey, Steve. "Other Fellow's Job: City Renewal Relocation Officer Pioneer in Task." *The Morning Call*, 25 July 1964.

⁶³ Davis, Russ. "Redevelopment Officials Say: 'Every Family Is a Story'." *The Morning Call*, 15 October 1961.

segregation resulting from discriminatory housing practices.”⁶⁴ This thesis has already worked to show the ways in which *de jure* segregation resulting from the government’s creation, support, and oversight of redevelopment authorities played a role in uprooting black folk in downtown Allentown. Meek’s analysis of *de facto* segregation further shows how the African Americans relocated by the government during the Fourth Street project were forced back into inner-city neighborhoods by discriminatory private practices. According to Meek’s analysis of the Lehigh Valley African American Oral History Project , “African Americans had a keen sense of knowing ‘their place’, knowing where they could go, what jobs they could apply for.”⁶⁵ This awareness of social norms enforced on people of color formulated a kind of Jim Crow policy in Allentown. As African Americans scouted Allentown’s neighborhoods to find new homes, their knowledge of Allentown’s “Jim Crowism” and discriminatory housing policies shown by the “simple refusal by landlords to rent or sell to Negroes” prevented them from buying or renting homes outside of the downtown area.⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ Loan institutions as private institutions also contributed to discriminatory housing practices by refusing to grant loans to African American homebuyers. The Morning Call captured this dynamic in 1966 when Bernard Durant stated that he Bernard Durant reported in March 1966 that “he was unable to obtain mortgage money at any of the banks and building and loan institutions in the Lehigh Valley” because he was a “Negro.”⁶⁸ These Allentonians of color understood that whites did not want them in their neighborhoods nor would they allow them to rent or purchase home in the all-white neighborhoods bordering the

⁶⁴ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 6.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 6.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 9.

⁶⁷ "NAACP Cites Bias in Housing." *The Morning Call*, 25 August 1965.

⁶⁸ Stevenson, Pete. "Negro Tells Trouble in Finding L.V. Home." *The Morning Call*, 30 March 1966.

inner-city blocks. Overall, the African American community was “invisible” to whites and the latter group intended to keep it that way.⁶⁹ An op-ed to *The Morning Call* in 1963 reinforced this discriminatory housing situation. Donald Enix wrote that African Americans were confined to specific streets within Allentown’s downtown district:

“[the] good majority of the negroes live on Union, Willow, Levan, and Hill Streets. This is a city of their own. Wherever else they try to move the whites try to petition them out.”⁷⁰

Therefore, many of the displaced black people in the community following the Fourth Street plan settled for housing in the Little Lehigh neighborhood, another downtown community close to the Fourth Street Renewal Area. One such example of the relocation to Little Lehigh is the Drayton family. The Draytons, who rented a home in the Fourth Street area, secured their space in the new area by buying a home “at 506 Lawrence Street in the Little Lehigh neighborhood.” Meek also emphasized that “several other sources make specific reference to the fact of African Americans from the Fourth Street Renewal Project Area relocating to the Little Lehigh Project Area.”⁷¹ African American’s limited housing opportunities following the Fourth Street project reflects an important aspect of Allentown’s residential segregation dynamic.

While the Fourth Street Renewal Project was tied to the government and directly responsible for uprooting African Americans in Allentown, the role of discriminatory housing practices pushed African Americans into a segregated city structure and shows the twofold nature of Allentown segregation. It is clear that the ARA and its first urban renewal project fall

⁶⁹ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 6.

⁷⁰ Enix, Donald. "Racial Discrimination in Allentown." *The Morning Call*, 26 July 1963.

⁷¹ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 9.

under a *de jure* analysis. All levels of the government were directly tied to Allentown's renewal effort following a distinct pattern. First, state and federal legislation - the Pennsylvania Urban Redevelopment Law and several versions of the Housing Act respectively - authorized the creation of redevelopment agencies across the country. Second, Allentown's local government through the City Council approved the establishment of its own redevelopment authority and accepted its first urban renewal project. Third, the local, state, and federal government all poured funds into Allentown's Fourth Street Renewal Project. Because these actions were approved and supported by each level of the government, it follows, as argued by Rothstein, that the resulting consequences fall upon the state.⁷² In the case of the state-sponsored ARA and its Fourth Street project, the consequence of main focus here is the dislocation of African American residents. The completion of the first renewal effort left about 30 African American families without a home. At this point, discriminatory housing practices in Allentown, falling under a *de facto* analysis, worked to restrict these new house hunters to Allentown's downtown district. Meek analyzed Allentown's residential segregation through a *de facto* lens in 2006 because it was these discriminatory practices that forced African American Allentonians to purchase and rent homes inner-city neighborhoods after the renewal projects used eminent domain to acquire their original homes. The present thesis does not depart from this analysis of *de facto* segregation. It is clear that Jim Crow policies, the refusal of home sellers and landlords to accommodate African Americans in blocks outside of the downtown area, and the refusal of banks to grant African American homebuyers loans led to a limitation on where these residents of color could live. However, this thesis does maintain that placing sole responsibility of this dynamic on discriminatory housing policies misses the government's immense role. Thus, Allentown's

⁷² Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. First edition. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017.

residential segregation occurred in a twofold relationship. *De jure* policies presented themselves through the government at the local, state, and federal level sponsoring the ARA and its renewal project that worked to uproot a large population of the African American concentration in downtown Allentown. Then, *de facto* policies worked to prevent the dislocated black Allentonians' ability to move outside of the downtown neighborhoods. Together, these policies created a segregated physical system in Allentown. It did not take long, however, for the government to once again uproot its inner-city black population following the Fourth Street Renewal Project.

Allentown's second urban renewal effort, the Little Lehigh Renewal Project, came on the heels of the Fourth Street plan, signaled by the procurement of additional federal funds and the expanding power of James Melton as a development officer. The United States federal government wasted no time in funding Allentown's next urban renewal project. In 1963, the federal government confirmed that it would provide \$56,839 "to cover the costs of preparing a General Neighborhood Renewal Plan (GNRP) for the Little Lehigh area."⁷³ Again, the federal government's support highlights a key factor of *de jure* segregation - state-sponsorship through federal dollars. The federal government funded the first urban renewal project and immediately approved additional funds for the Little Lehigh plan. This monetary support not only extended approval to the urban renewal effort, but also provided it with the necessary funds to purchase buildings, displace African Americans, and build new units. The expanding power of James Melton also showed the beginning of the Little Lehigh Renewal Project. While the federal government approved tens of thousands of dollars to fund the Little Lehigh project, the ARA

⁷³ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 9.

prepared for its latest plan by designating “Reverend Melton as ‘relocation - conservation’ officer.” Melton’s new designation empowered him to “make studies of structures in areas under survey to determine whether some places can be rehabilitated through conservation programs.”⁷⁴ Under the authority of his new powers, Melton was allowed to determine which buildings should be destroyed or rehabilitated during the second renewal effort. He conducted a “building-by-building check” in the newly authorized Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Area to determine the fate of the houses and buildings that housed many of the African Americans displaced by the earlier Fourth Street plan. The ARA also contracted the Joint Planning Commission of the Lehigh and Northampton Counties to complete an “economic survey.” This contract was further approved “by the Federal Urban Renewal Administration,” reinforcing the state’s sponsorship of Allentown’s urban renewal initiatives.⁷⁵ Further developments in the plan to tear down and reconstruct Allentown’s Little Lehigh neighborhood solidified the eminent second displacement of Allentown’s black population.

By 1964, the Allentown City Council’s authorization of the Bureau of Community Renewal and the local NAACP’s support of the construction of public housing units aimed to prepare African Americans in the Little Lehigh neighborhood for their eminent displacement and provide them with institutional support. In January 1964, Allentown’s City Council continued its authorization of urban renewal efforts by approving the establishment of the Bureau of Community Renewal, whose task was to complete a two-year study to examine the ‘social problems of people living in blighted areas and general problems of low-income and minority group families.’” The study's overall cost amounted to \$143,00 “with two-thirds of that amount

⁷⁴ “ARA Adds to Duties of Relocation Officer ” *The Morning Call*, May 7 1963.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

funded by the Federal Government and the remaining third by the City.”⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ While the state authorized and funded renewal initiatives in Allentown, it also realized that the African American minority group was adversely affected during these efforts. The Bureau of Community Renewal and its mission was an attempt to further understand the impact of urban renewal projects on black communities and establish solutions to these negative effects. Six months later, in July 1964, the city government learned that one of the most pressing issues confronting African Americans during urban renewal processes was the “urgent need” for housing. In response, the City proposed the construction of “200 public housing units.”⁷⁸ These new housing units were set to be constructed “in the city’s 16th Ward at Cumberland and Dauphin Streets,” which were areas within Allentown’s downtown district.⁷⁹ The Bureau of Community Renewal’s study of the problems of people in blighted areas and the city’s plan to address the obvious housing issue facing African Americans marked the eminence of the Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Project. The government was fully committed to reconstructing another major district in downtown Allentown, but it wanted to assist the people most affected by these plans, which were largely African American. With plans to construct public housing to help their black residents, Allentown set the foundation to move along with their second urban renewal initiative without concern for the negative impact on city residents. This public housing plan also reveals an important development in the analysis of *de jure* segregation in Allentown.

⁷⁶ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 11.

⁷⁷ "Terry Heads New Bureau for City Renewal Study." *The Morning Call*, 18 January 1964.

⁷⁸ "Allentown NAACP Unit Backs Public Housing." *The Morning Call*, 15 July 1964.

⁷⁹ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 11.

The Allentown Housing Authority's plan to construct 200 public housing units to address the issue of housing facing African Americans within proposed renewal areas shows how local government policy directly segregated black residents. Up to this point, the segregation caused by Allentown's urban renewal initiatives has been understood in a twofold dynamic. First, the *de jure* strand of this analysis is based on the government at the city, state, and federal level sponsoring the ARA and funding its renewal projects, which caused the displacement of African Americans who were concentrated in the inner-city neighborhoods targeted by urban renewal plans. Second, *de facto* policies worked as the second element of this segregation dynamic through the private practices of real estate companies, landlords, and public pressure forming a Jim Crowism that prevented black Allentonians displaced by urban renewal from moving outside of inner-city areas. The history of Allentown's renewal efforts previously discussed has aligned with the description of this twofold dynamic. In this dynamic, *de jure* policies are not credited with directly segregating Allentown. Rather, the argument is that the state sponsored the ARA and its urban renewal projects, which makes it responsible for the consequences of the renewal initiatives. This line of reasoning makes the state specifically responsible then for Allentown segregation through the displacement and later restriction of African Americans to inner-city neighborhoods. However, the Allentown Housing Authority's plan to construct 200 public housing units complicates the role of the state in Allentown segregation. From its study to uncover the problems facing people in the urban renewal areas, the Allentown City government learned about the difficulty of displaced African Americans in finding housing. Their difficulty in securing housing stemmed from the city's "Jim Crowism."⁸⁰ To alleviate the problem of

⁸⁰ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 9.

available housing, the City planned the construction of 200 public housing units. These housing units resided entirely within Allentown's downtown district. Therefore, African Americans who could not find housing after being displaced by urban renewal efforts could accept the city's housing assistance, but they would be housed in the same inner-city neighborhoods that *de facto* practices restricted them to. Thus, the local government's housing plan ultimately worked to segregate African Americans by recreating the housing limitations enforced by private practices. The state then did not only segregate Allentown through the responsibility it shared in displacing African American residents who were later forced into inner-city neighborhoods, but it also segregated Allentown by actively housing and keeping African Americans in inner-city neighborhoods. African American's awareness of their large-scale displacement at the hands of the Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Project mobilized them to fight against the state's plan.

Once 1963 and 1964 showed Allentown's unfettering commitment to a second urban renewal initiative, African American Allentonians mobilized in unprecedented numbers to fight against further displacement. The black inner-city community of Allentown remained mostly silent during the Fourth Street Urban Renewal Project. Their silence was due to their unfamiliarity with the project and, more importantly, its consequences. Though they knew that the Fourth Street project aimed to eliminate and renew blighted areas, they did not know that it would cause a storm of "frustration, disruption of lives, and underlying racism." When the first renewal initiative therefore began acquiring homes by low-balling residents and displacing a significant portion of the African American community, the black residents "made some grumblings but, for the most part, they 'cooperated,' and purchased or rented new homes."⁸¹ The

⁸¹ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 64.

authorization and planning for the city second urban renewal initiative shifted the mood in black residents.. According to one of the Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Project’s urban planning consultants, Anthony Dunleavy, the renewal effort had eight main objectives:

- “1. to clear ‘structurally substandard buildings’ and buildings that impose a ‘blighting influence’
2. to clear buildings that are ‘incompatible with the proposed residential community.’
3. to create a neighborhood that is ‘strong’ and ‘healthy’
4. to change ‘land use’
5. to make improvements to existing public facilities
6. to create new public facilities needed for such a community [strong and healthy]
7. to implement limited rehabilitation of some existing ‘semi-public institutions’
8. to provide a ‘substantial number of housing units of low or moderate cost’ for residential use”⁸²

Black Allentonians understood that these stated improvements only reflected the plan’s positive consequences. The reality for them was that the Little Lehigh project projected to displace “69 percent of the total African American population.”⁸³ Furthermore, the project aimed to displace people that were previously displaced by the Fourth Street project. These previously displaced black residents, who were forced to buy homes in the Little Lehigh downtown neighborhood due to discriminatory *de facto* housing policies, received “assurance from the Redevelopment Authority that their new home[s] [were] not slated for the next renewal project.”⁸⁴ Now, they once again faced further displacement and segregation. These various threats from the Little Lehigh project forced the African American community to reach a “tipping point.”⁸⁵ Allentown’s

⁸² Ibid, 37.

⁸³ Ibid, 64.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 9.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 64.

black population would no longer the accept urban renewal and its disastrous effects. The procurement of funds and the city's plan to provide public housing to displaced people and further limit black people to Allentown's downtown district served as the "the catalyst to provoke organized, sustained civil rights activity in Allentown" against urban renewal and the Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Project more specifically. Between the start of the Little Lehigh project in 1963 and September 1968, "membership of the Allentown NAACP increased 150 percent from 60 to 150 members."⁸⁶ The NAACP's enlarged base allowed it to take a strong stance against urban renewal. In 1965, the Allentown NAACP's housing branch "went on record ... as being opposed to 'ghetto' living," which was enforced on "Negro" residents by the lack of "adequate housing at reasonable rents, and the simple refusal by landlords to rent or sell to Negroes."⁸⁷ In 1967 and 1968, the NAACP officially planned efforts such as a "peace march" and "protest meetings" to block the Little Lehigh project due to "inadequate relocation facilities for those who would be uprooted" and "unfair prices being offered by the Allentown Redevelopment Authority."^{88 89 90} African Americans fighting against urban renewal also attained government agency and volunteer jobs in their effort to stop the Little Lehigh project. By 1968, African Americans held positions in the "Redevelopment Authority, the Allentown Housing Authority, the Allentown Police Department, the Citizen's Advisory Committee, and the Allentown Human Relations Commission."⁹¹ Although these protest efforts were highly

⁸⁶ Ibid, 65.

⁸⁷ "NAACP Cites Bias in Housing." *The Morning Call*, 25 August 1965.

⁸⁸ Schroeder, Thomas. "NAACP Aide Plans Effort to Block Renewal Project." *The Morning Call*, 23 May 1967.

⁸⁹ "Renewal Program Assailed: Pickets Threatened by NAACP Official." *The Morning Call*, 24 May 1967.

⁹⁰ ARA Slates Afternoon Meeting: Renewal Area Property Offers Protested." *The Morning Call*, 8 July 1968.

⁹¹ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 65.

impressive for a community viewed as “invisible” by the larger population, they were unable to halt the Little Lehigh project.⁹²

Despite the black community and NAACP’s best efforts to stop the Little Lehigh project throughout the 1960s, the ARA began acquiring properties in 1968 and completed construction in 1975. In July 1968, the ARA finalized the “first purchases toward general property acquisition in the Little Lehigh Neighborhood Renewal Area.”⁹³ This final step toward first purchases signified the assurance of the Little Lehigh project despite outcries of protest from the black community.

On February 19 1969, the ARA acquired six properties in the Little Lehigh Renewal Area and brought its total number of acquired properties to “193.”⁹⁴ The total number reached 386 by September 1969.⁹⁵ By the turn of the decade, the ARA began clearing the old homes to build new housing and buildings in the downtown district. The project came to a close in 1975 with the completion of the Little Lehigh Housing Project.⁹⁶ Other projects in the ARA’s mission to renew the blighted inner-city neighborhoods were also completed around this period. The original plan to build 200 public housing units finished in 1972 and the public housing project was named “Cumberland Gardens.”⁹⁷ Additionally, an express path named the “ Lawrence Street Expressway” was also completed in the downtown district at this time and later renamed “Martin Luther King Drive in August 1992 in recognition of the once tight-knit African American

⁹² Ibid, 65.

⁹³ “Groups Protest Prices: ARA to Buy Properties in New Area This Week.” *The Morning Call*, 9 July 1968.

⁹⁴ “6 More Titles Acquired by ARA.” *The Morning Call*, February 20, 1969.

⁹⁵ “Acquisitions By ARA Now Stand at 386.” *Evening Chronicle*, September 18, 1969.

⁹⁶ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 62.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 62.

community that had been relocated as a result of urban renewal.”⁹⁸ Although the city explicitly renamed one of its urban renewal projects from the 1960s to honor the African Americans it displaced during the process, it has been unable to fully accept responsibility for the consequences of its state-sponsored dislocation and segregation.

Throughout the history of urban renewal projects, Allentown ignored the negative impacts on the black community and publicly presented this specific history of urban renewal as positive. Efforts were made with Allentown’s first urban renewal initiative - the Fourth Street Renewal Project - to portray the negative impacts on the African American residents in a more positive light. Mrs. Griesemer, an employee of the ARA, reported to *The Morning Call* about an older woman who was set to be displaced by the Fourth Street renewal effort and could not find housing. The ARA employee brushes away the anxiety and stress felt by the older woman during this predicament by stating that a place was found for her in the “Good Shepherd Home” and “now she is very happy.”⁹⁹ Similar efforts to downplay the anxiety, worry, and dislocation of African Americans during the first urban renewal project were made by Reverend Horace Melton. Several African Americans told the Lehigh Valley African American Oral History Project and *The Morning Call* that after Fourth Street initiative, there was a “simple refusal by landlords to rent or sell to Negroes,” which forced the displaced black residents to the Little Lehigh neighborhood.¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ Melton portrays downplays this dynamic and presents it more positively by stating that “the choice” of where to relocate was “up to” the displaced people. They simply needed to discuss whether they “wished to rent or buy and how many bedrooms

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 63.

⁹⁹ Davis, Russ. "Redevelopment Officials Say: 'Every Family Is a Story'." *The Morning Call*, 15 October 1961.

¹⁰⁰ "NAACP Cites Bias in Housing." *The Morning Call*, 25 August 1965.

¹⁰¹ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 6.

would be needed in their new location.”¹⁰² The same effort on the city’s part to present the consequences faced by the black community as much more positive than it was in practice also occurred with the second urban renewal project - Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Project. William Scharf, executive director of the Allentown Redevelopment Authority, replied to protests from black residents and the local NAACP by stating that the Little Lehigh project was “not a Negro or white problem. It is a community problem.” Through this reasoning, he maintained that most of the facilities, streets, and utilities within the Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Area were in a “sad state” and required demolition and renewal rather than “rehabilitation.”¹⁰³ Successful renewal would then benefit the entire community, showing that the blighted Little Lehigh area was in fact a community problem. Scharf’s line of reasoning here uses the overall benefit of the Little Lehigh project to overshadow the real and powerful negative of dislocation and further housing restrictions experienced by black Allentonians. Even after the project ended with the completion of the Little Lehigh Housing Project, the positive public portrayal of urban renewal’s consequences continued. In 1975, Allentown’s “received its ‘All American City’ award in part because of its ‘successful’ urban renewal project in Little Lehigh.”¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ The result of these efforts to overshadow the negative consequences of urban renewal on Allentown’s African American residents has been that the public and historical understanding of how these projects

¹⁰² McNey, Steve. "Other Fellow's Job: City Renewal Relocation Officer Pioneer in Task." *The Morning Call*, 25 July 1964.

¹⁰³ "Scharf Says Restoration Impossible in L. Lehigh Renewal Area." *The Morning Call*, 25 May 1967.

¹⁰⁴ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 63.

¹⁰⁵ Hellerich, Mahlon Howard. *Allentown 1762-1987: A 225-year History*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 1987.

impacted people of color in Allentown has been effectively erased. Yet, there is no doubt that the history of urban renewal acutely and adversely affected black Allentonians.

At the end of the Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Project, African Americans were displaced for a second time, further segregated through their relocation to public housing in downtown Allentown, and the foundation of a segregated city was ultimately finalized. The end of the 1960s signaled the beginning of the end for urban renewal in Allentown. The ARA acquired roughly 400 properties by 1969 and completed the Little Lehigh Housing Project in 1975.¹⁰⁶ Most families in the Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Area relocated by the end of the decade, including 69 percent of the African American population living in Allentown's downtown district.¹⁰⁷ Some of the African Americans experienced displacement for the first time during the Little Lehigh project. For other black residents, this was their second time facing displacement following both the Fourth Street and Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Projects. Nevertheless, both groups of black Allentonians faced further segregation following their displacement. Their segregation stemmed from a combination of discriminatory housing policies as well as the location of the local government's public housing. First, similar to the displacement following the Fourth Street initiative, there was a "refusal by landlords to rent or sell to Negroes" outside of Allentown's downtown neighborhoods.¹⁰⁸ Banks and loan institutions also participated in discriminatory housing practices. Bernard Durant reported in March 1966 that "he was unable to obtain mortgage money at any of the banks and building and loan institutions in the Lehigh Valley" despite his "two" college degrees, engineering job with

¹⁰⁶ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 62.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 64.

¹⁰⁸ "NAACP Cites Bias in Housing." *The Morning Call*, 25 August 1965.

”Western Electric,” “savings for a down payment,” and “above-average salary.” According to Durant, he was unable to secure a bank loan because he was a “Negro.”¹⁰⁹ These private practices by home sellers, landlords, and loan institutions limited black Allentonians to the neighborhoods surrounding the areas from which they had been displaced. Second, African Americans were also limited to the inner-city by the local government’s efforts to use public housing as a safety net for displaced people unable to locate housing. Allentown’s Cumberland Gardens aimed to “meet the urgent need of Allentown’s families in the lower income bracket” find housing after their displacement.¹¹⁰ The issue was that these public housing units were located on Cumberland and Dauphin Streets, which were in the downtown district. Therefore, when the city allowed displaced African Americans to live in these units after the demolition of their houses, they were simply further segregated by being forced into the same neighborhoods that black house hunters were forced into by home sellers, landlords, and loan institutions. Although Allentown ended urban renewal by making “the shift from total relocation and demolition to rehabilitation and conservation during the mid-1970s,” the damage to the city’s physical structure was irrevocable.¹¹¹ As African Americans fighting the Little Lehigh project feared, renewal efforts led to a “segregated” city.¹¹² In between the first and second urban renewal projects, a study gave Allentown a segregation score of .697, which was higher than San Francisco’s .693 score.¹¹³ The second renewal project did not increase the number of African

¹⁰⁹ Stevenson, Pete. "Negro Tells Trouble in Finding L.V. Home." *The Morning Call*, 30 March 1966.

¹¹⁰ "Allentown NAACP Unit Backs Public Housing." *The Morning Call*, 15 July 1964.

¹¹¹ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 63.

¹¹² Stevenson, Pete. "Renewal Foes Rap City, Gird for a Long Fight." *The Morning Call*, 25 May 1967.

¹¹³ Cowgill, Donald O. "Segregation Scores for Metropolitan Areas." *American Sociological Review* 27, no. 3 (1962): 400-02. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2089801>.

Americans living in downtown Allentown, but it did further segregate them by limiting their opportunities to move or live outside of the inner-city. The segregation and mobile limitation placed on people of color through these two urban renewal initiatives ensured one rule in Allentown, practiced both by the private sphere as well as the local government, African Americans were forced within the downtown boundaries. Allentown's Latinx community experienced similar effects since their establishment in the mid-1950s.

After the segregation of African Americans, Puerto Rican migrants to Allentown added a third element to the city's history of residential segregation. The literature on residential segregation has focused primarily on the disparity between black and white residents. In *The Color of Law*, Rothstein analyzes exclusively the relationship between blacks and whites and the role of *de jure* segregation in separating these groups of people.¹¹⁴ Numerical figures of the residential segregation levels in American cities have also been primarily based on the black-white dichotomy. For example, Van Valey derived his segregation trends for metropolitan cities from 1960-1970, including Allentown, based on a formula computing the "percentages of blacks and whites."¹¹⁵ Missing from these discussions and statistics is the presence of minority groups beyond African Americans. Allentown presents an incredible opportunity to add Latinx people into the literature of residential segregation. Today, Latinx people, defined as Hispanic or Latino, make up 52 percent of the total population.¹¹⁶ The majority of this racial group consists of Puerto Rican residents and they will also be the focus of this analysis. Other Latinx groups reside

¹¹⁴ Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. First edition. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017.

¹¹⁵ Van Valey, Thomas L., Wade Clark Roof, and Jerome E. Wilcox. "Trends in Residential Segregation: 1960-1970." *American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 4 (1977): 829.

¹¹⁶ "U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Allentown City, Pennsylvania." Census Bureau QuickFacts. United States Census Bureau, July 1, 2018.

in Allentown presently, but Puerto Ricans have resided in the city the longest and also have the strongest connection to the city's segregation history. By tracing Latinx history in Allentown as well as their connection to Allentown's residential segregation, it is possible to not only add them as a "third" element in the segregation dynamic, but also shed more insight on the city's majority racial group. For several decades, Allentonian historians have erased the presence of Latinx people. Anna Adams's novel, *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania*, has rewritten Latinx people into the history of the city. Additionally, *Multicultural Geographies: The Changing Racial/Ethnic Patterns of the United States* by John Frazier and Florence Margai analyzed the racial breakdown of Allentown's neighborhoods and concluded that the "proportion of Latinos in Allentown in general and their segregation in particular city neighborhoods have continued to intensify."¹¹⁷ The following work will aim to trace the arrival, establishment, and segregation of the Puerto Rican community in Allentown. This particular history begins with the United States' procurement of the island known as Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico was acquired by the United States at the end of the 19th century, but their presence on America's mainland was not significant in the beginning of the new century. The United States acquired Puerto Rico in 1898 as a result of their defeat over Spain during the "Spanish-Cuban-American War." In 1917, Congress extended Puerto Ricans "statutory U. S. citizenship," but the island remained under American control as an "unincorporated territory."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Frazier, John W., and Florence M. Margai. *Multicultural Geographies: The Changing Racial/Ethnic Patterns of the United States*. 1 ed., Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010, 205.

¹¹⁸ Duany, Jorge. "The Puerto Rican Diaspora to the United States: A Postcolonial Migration?" In *Postcolonial Migrants and Identity Politics: Europe, Russia, Japan and the United States in Comparison*, edited by Bosma Ulbe, Lucassen Jan, and Oostindie Gert, 193-226. Berghahn Books, 2012, 196.

Puerto Ricans did not utilize their citizenship to migrate to the United States en masse until 1940, when they began emerging in large “settlements” in “New York City.”¹¹⁹ Their absence in the continental territories was also evident in the city of Allentown in the first half of the 20th century. Prior to World War 2, there are only a few mentions of Puerto Ricans in Allentown’s history. Luis Chavarrias, Allentown’s first Latinx resident, was held “in juvenile court for assault and battery” one year after being brought to Allentown by Colonel John Birkenstock following his time in the Spanish American War. A judge promptly ordered the Puerto Rican young man to be “sent back to Puerto Rico.” The second mention of Puerto Ricans in Allentown came in 1909 when the local newspaper described the details “of a fight between a Peruvian youth and a Puerto Rican youth” in a story titled “Students at War.” 1924 featured the third, and last, pre-World War 2 mention of Puerto Ricans when an article in the paper covered the journey of Allentown’s minor league baseball team’s venture “to the island.”¹²⁰ It was the formulation and implementation of Operation Bootstrap that opened the door for the first mass wave of Puerto Rican migration to the United States in general and Allentown specifically.

Operation Bootstrap, officially known as the Industrial Incentives Act, was passed in 1947 to industrialize the Puerto Rican economy and led to the mass exodus of agricultural workers from the island. In an attempt to return power over the Puerto Rican government to the island’s inhabitants in 1947, President Truman “appointed the first Puerto Rican-born governor, Jesús T. Piñero” and intended to allow the island to conduct its own election to decide the next

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 200.

¹²⁰ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 10.

governor.¹²¹ Puerto Ricans capitalized on this increased opportunity to govern themselves by seeking a way to stimulate their agricultural-based economy. Their answer arrived quickly when the “Puerto Rican legislature approved the Industrial Incentives Act,” colloquially known as Operation Bootstrap, in 1947. The Act aimed to “lure U. S. investments through tax exemptions for manufacturing enterprises.”¹²² It was the hope of the legislature that the tax relief on manufacturing initiatives would not only stimulate the economy, but also transform it into a developed, industrial power. This emphasis on industrialization snatched support from the agricultural economy and effectively crippled it. Employment numbers given by Duany represent the negative impact on the agricultural sphere: “In 1940, agriculture employed 44.9 per cent of the island’s labour force; by 1970, that sector only employed 9.9 per cent.”¹²³ While the flowering industrial sector employed thousands of the displaced farm workers, many more were left without work. Facing high unemployment and poverty, Puerto Ricans began to search for relief on the mainland of the United States. The migration journey of Puerto Ricans, which has led to a mass “diaspora,” is characterized by “three main phases.” The first wave occurred before Operation Bootstrap from 1917 to 1944 and included mostly “skilled workers” going to New York City.¹²⁴ Following this phase of migration was the second wave, which is known as the “Great Migration.” This second wave established Puerto Ricans as “the second largest Hispanic population in the United States after Mexicans” and occurred between 1944 and 1965.¹²⁵ Many of the migrants included the unemployed farm workers searching for employment in New York

¹²¹ Duany, Jorge. "The Puerto Rican Diaspora to the United States: A Postcolonial Migration?" In *Postcolonial Migrants and Identity Politics: Europe, Russia, Japan and the United States in Comparison*, edited by Bosma Ulbe, Lucassen Jan, and Oostindie Gert, 193-226. Berghahn Books, 2012, 196.

¹²² Ibid, 196.

¹²³ Ibid, 199.

¹²⁴ Ibid, 201.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 201.

City as well as nearby cities. The third wave of migrants represents the period between 1966 and the present, “characterized by a growing ‘revolving-door’ migration” of Puerto Ricans traveling back and forth between the continental US and the island of Puerto Rico.¹²⁶ The early mentions of Puerto Ricans in Allentown in the first half of the 20th century can be attributed to offshoots stemming from the first wave. Outside of these rare instances mentioned in local newspapers, the first wave did not impact Allentown. The second wave of migrants, however, began to build a visible Puerto Rican presence in the city.

Allentown’s booming economy during the middle of the 20th century attracted increased numbers of second wave Puerto Ricans and established the city’s first Latinx community. The migration of Puerto Ricans to Allentown following the end of World War 2 came in “two major waves.” The first wave was comprised of “Puerto Ricans recruited to fill the post-War demand for cheap labor in the area’s factories and orchards.”¹²⁷ While they were the first wave of people to migrate to Allentown in numbers large enough to be considered a wave, these Puerto Ricans are considered second wave United States migrants since they migrated after the first wave skilled migrant workers who flocked to New York City during the previous three decades. These Puerto Ricans also came to Allentown directly from Puerto Rico. As the island’s unemployment rate spiked in 1947, many farm workers facing unemployment during Operation Bootstrap flocked to New York City’s factories. A smaller percentage, however, found employment in Allentown’s fields. From 1948 to 1950, farms throughout the Lehigh Valley hired Puerto Rican farm workers coming directly from the island and even paid their “airfare” to entice them to

¹²⁶ Ibid, 201.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 174.

work in Pennsylvania.¹²⁸ The Puerto Rican migrant workers, mostly “single young men,” became a reliable source of labor in Allentown’s orchards and farm owners continued to hire them through the 1950s in increasing numbers. For example, “in 1951, 325 men (three times more than the previous year) came to pick potatoes, tomatoes, and fruit.”¹²⁹ As Allentown’s economy continued to absorb Puerto Rico’s unemployed farm workers through the 1950s, an established community began to take form. Many of these Puerto Ricans settled into Allentown permanently and some of them married local women. An authentic Puerto Rican culture also took root as the migrant workers settled down. Before the first Spanish grocery store called a bodega opened in Allentown, Francisco Suárez went “door to door selling fresh produce he brought weekly from New York.” Puerto Rican literature and news was also filtered throughout the community by Amado Aguila, who “picked up copies of the New York Puerto Rican daily, *El Diario*, at the train station and delivered them door-to-door to” Puerto Rican Allentonians.¹³⁰ It is interesting to note the connection between Allentown and New York City. While the second wave Puerto Rican farm workers in Allentown did not settle in New York City like the majority of their fellow second wave migrants, they relied on the larger and more established Puerto Rican community in New York to form an authentic Puerto Rican culture in Allentown’s primarily white city. The result of second wave migrants settling permanently in Allentown and creating an authentic culture was that “by the mid-1950s, Puerto Ricans had established themselves as part of the Allentown community.”¹³¹ Similar to Allentown’s other minority

¹²⁸ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 11.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 12.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 12.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 12.

group, African Americans, Latinx Allentonians faced discrimination from Allentown's residents, businesses, and government, which limited their housing opportunities.

The first wave of Latinx people to Allentown shared a parallel history with African Americans during the period of urban renewal. As previously established, African American Allentonians were displaced and segregated through a combination of *de facto* and *de jure* policies. The *de facto* policies stemmed from house sellers and landlords refusing to sell or rent homes to Allentonians of color in neighborhoods outside of the downtown area. Another element of *de facto* segregation was the practice of banks refusing to approve loans for black Allentonians looking to buy houses. *De jure* policies presented themselves through the local, state, and federal governments establishment, funding, support, and oversight of the Allentown Redevelopment Authority and its two major urban renewal efforts in downtown Allentown, which led to the displacement and re-segregation of the black community. The local government also built public housing for displaced Allentonians of color in inner-city neighborhoods which led to a direct form of segregating African Americans on the local government's behalf. The Latinx community experienced the same forms of residential segregation. By the start of urban renewal with the approval of the Fourth Street Urban Renewal Project in 1960, the Latinx community in Allentown had been firmly established by second wave Puerto Ricans. Like their African American neighbors, these Latinx Allentonians were segregated by a combination of both *de facto* and *de jure* policies prior to 1970.

Latinx Allentonians faced discriminatory *de facto* housing policies during the 1950s that forced them to reside in Allentown's downtown area before the start of urban renewal. The story of Martin Velázquez, who "came from Puerto in 1951 as a young man to join his father," sheds an important light on the housing discrimination faced by Puerto Ricans. Velázquez rapidly

gained employment by securing “a job at an Italian-owned poultry slaughtering house” within “six hours of arriving in Allentown.”¹³² The issue of housing, however, proved to be a harder issue to resolve. Velázquez had married a local Pennsylvania Dutch woman who “inspected” several apartments “herself by day.” When she returned with Velázquez later in the evening, she was told on “several occasions” that the apartments “had suddenly been rented.” Francisco Suárez encountered similar problems relating to housing when he moved to Bethlehem with his “Pennsylvania Dutch bride Lillian” after “many attempts to rent an apartment outside Allentown’s ‘roach and rat infested’ slums” failed.¹³³ The city’s *de facto* housing discrimination reared its ugly head when, “through a private arrangement with the owner,” Lillian and Francisco secured a house outside of downtown Allentown. While Lillian was working in the yard alone shortly after moving into the house, a neighbor approached her and said: “I’m so glad that white people moved in. Just this morning I tore up the petition signed by the neighbors because we heard that Puerto Ricans were moving in.”¹³⁴ These discriminatory practices effectively restricted most of the Latinx community to the “downtown” area that would go on to be “partially destroyed in the early 1960s by urban ‘renewal’.”¹³⁵ Thus, before urban renewal began with the Fourth Street project, both the Latinx and African American community were segregated to Allentown’s inner-city neighborhoods by discriminatory housing policies. Urban renewal at the end of the 1950s and through the 1960s then displaced and re-segregated the Latinx community in similar ways experienced by African American Allentonians.

¹³² Ibid, 13.

¹³³ Ibid, 13.

¹³⁴ Ibid, 13.

¹³⁵ Ibid, 12.

The Fourth Street and Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Projects in Allentown displaced and re-segregated the Latinx community through state-sponsored *de jure* policies. Allentown's urban renewal plans began with the Fourth Street Urban Renewal Project in 1959, spanned the entirety of the 1960s, and ended with the completion of the Little Lehigh Housing Project in 1975. It has been established that these projects displaced a large majority of African American Allentonians who were further segregated by the city's discriminatory housing practices as well as the government's decision to house displaced people of color in public housing units constructed in the same inner-city neighborhoods that *de facto* policies segregated them into. The Latinx community experienced the same effects throughout urban renewal in Allentown. A September 1961 article published in *The Morning Call* stated that "houses and apartments which had been occupied by" Puerto Rican families in the Fourth Street Urban Renewal Area "were purchased by Allentown Redevelopment Authority." The families were consequently "relocated in other parts of the city."¹³⁶ The article also explains that Puerto Rican families were confused about where to send their children to school since they now lived in different schools' zones following their relocation. However, most Puerto Ricans were restricted to other inner-city neighborhoods because the article noted that students who changed schools after their relocation were assigned to Sheridan Elementary School on Second Street, which is a downtown neighborhood close to the Fourth Street Renewal Area. Latinx residents were re-segregated following the Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Project. After being displaced by the second urban renewal initiative, Puerto Ricans could not secure housing outside of Allentown's inner-city. The local NAACP reported that there was a lack of "adequate housing" and a "simple refusal by landlords to rent or sell to

¹³⁶ "Pupils Relocated From Renewal Area Finally Assigned to Proper Buildings." *The Morning Call*, September 8, 1961.

Negroes or Puerto Ricans.”¹³⁷ Unable to obtain housing outside of the inner-city neighborhoods like their African American neighbors, poor displaced Puerto Ricans secured housing in either homes or public housing units located in the downtown district during the late 1960s when the ARA acquired most of the properties within the Little Lehigh Urban Renewal Area.

Responsibility for the re-segregation of this community falls upon the state because it not only sponsored the initiatives that displaced them, but also accepted the city’s discriminatory *de facto* housing policies when it moved Latinx people into public housing within the only neighborhoods that Allentown’s Jim Crow policies allowed Allentonians of color to live. The decision to come together in protest against urban renewal highlighted the similar struggles faced between African American and Latinx residents.

On April 30, 1968, the executive director of the Allentown Human Relations Commission, Russell B. Barbour, called a meeting between “Allentown’s Negro and Puerto Rican communities” to discuss “common problems,” which reinforced both group’s shared history. The group featured “10 persons representing” the city’s “Negro and Puerto Rican communities.” Despite the “language barrier” between these groups, Barbour emphasized in an article in *The Morning Call* that the two groups were “not in conflict as in some other cities.”¹³⁸ Instead, they shared similar problems and goals. Among their goals were the “need to build up their voting power,” “need for cultural integrity and for natural pride,” and desire to build strong “recreation” and “cultural” centers.”¹³⁹ Housing was a problem brought forth by both groups. The African American and Latinx representatives stated that there were “problems of adequate

¹³⁷ “NAACP Cites Bias in Housing.” *The Morning Call*, 25 August 1965.

¹³⁸ “Negroes and Puerto Ricans Discuss Common Problems .” *The Morning Call* , May 1, 1968.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

housing and slumlords in the city.”¹⁴⁰ Barbour reported to The Morning Call that the commission agreed to investigate this issue plaguing both minority groups. This meeting ultimately highlighted the shared history between African Americans and Latinx residents throughout the period of urban renewal. The *de facto* and *de jure* policies that worked to effectively restrict minorities within Allentown’s inner-city area was not exclusive to one particular minority group. Rather, landlords and banks refused to sell houses or approve loans to both black and Puerto Rican residents and the city’s urban renewal initiatives also displaced and further segregated both communities. The experience of these injustices created a shared history between these groups that allowed them to identify with each other despite their cultural differences such as language. This shared history also forced them to suffer similar consequences as they were both limited to living within the downtown area. In addition to facing the same housing discrimination and residential segregation, population size also connected African Americans and Latinx Allentonians. By the end of urban renewal in the early 1970s, the African American community numbered () while the Latinx community amounted to about 3,000 people.^{141 142} Both populations were a small minority of Allentown’s total population. This meant that both communities shared a history of living as small minority ethnic groups in a predominantly white city which enacted *de facto* and *de jure* policies to segregate them into the same downtown neighborhoods in the period preceding and during urban renewal. The end of urban renewal, however, presented a point of departure in the shared history between these two communities due to the third wave of Puerto Rican migration to the United States.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

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¹⁴² Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 27.

Third wave Puerto Rican migration to the United States created a second wave of migration to Allentown during the end of urban renewal, which sharply increased the size and complexity of the Latinx community. In 1970, when urban renewal projects were coming to a close in Allentown, the city's overall culture was "still one characterized as white European, largely German influence."¹⁴³ African Americans and Latinx residents, though concentrated almost entirely in the inner-city area, still remained a small minority of the city's population. 1970, however, not only marked the end of urban renewal initiatives, but it also presented the beginning of a flood of Latinx migration that would sharply change the city's demographic landscape. The third wave of Puerto Rican migration to the United States began 4 years prior to 1970 in 1966 and consisted of a "revolving-door migration" with "back-and-forth movement between the island and the U.S. mainland."¹⁴⁴ The third wave of Puerto Rican migration, much like the first, did not directly impact Allentown. Instead, it created overpopulation in New York City which, combined with rising unemployment due to the decline of American industry, forced Puerto Ricans living in New York to search for better lives in other cities. Beginning in 1970, many of these New York Puerto Ricans began to migrate to Allentown and effectively created what Adams identified as the "second wave" of Puerto Rican migration to Allentown.^{145 146} The

¹⁴³ Frazier, John W., and Florence M. Margai. *Multicultural Geographies: The Changing Racial/Ethnic Patterns of the United States*. 1 ed., Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010, 193.

¹⁴⁴ Duany, Jorge. "The Puerto Rican Diaspora to the United States: A Postcolonial Migration?" In *Postcolonial Migrants and Identity Politics: Europe, Russia, Japan and the United States in Comparison*, edited by Bosma Ulbe, Lucassen Jan, and Oostindie Gert, 193-226. Berghahn Books, 2012, 201.

¹⁴⁵ Frazier, John W., and Florence M. Margai. *Multicultural Geographies: The Changing Racial/Ethnic Patterns of the United States*. 1 ed., Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010, 194.

¹⁴⁶ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 27.

second wave of Puerto Rican migration started with the influx of Puerto Ricans from New York City in 1970 and “continued through the remainder of the 20th century, joined by a smaller flow of other Latino ethnic groups from Central and South America, as well as the Caribbean.”¹⁴⁷

Despite new additions to the Latinx community, Allentown’s Puerto Ricans remained the largest and most visible group in the community. From 1970 to 1980, the population increased from 3,000 to roughly 9,000 residents.¹⁴⁸ These numbers continued to spike until the end of the 20th century. Between the two decades of 1980 and 2000, the Latinx population of Allentown had nearly quadrupled to 32,000. Moreover, the 2000 Census concluded that 68 percent of these Latinx people hailed from Puerto Rican ancestry and a majority arrived from in-migration to the City of Allentown.¹⁴⁹ While there is no definitive answer explaining why they have migrated to Allentown, a few factors are high housing costs in New York, employment opportunities, and safety concerns. Another factor is that Allentown became a “gateway” city which means that it established a small Latinx culture that welcomed the migration of other Latinx people as they sought cities with better employment opportunities and cheaper living costs.¹⁵⁰ While the Latinx population surged in Allentown throughout the last few decades, the city’s other racial groups experienced different outcomes.

¹⁴⁷ Frazier, John W., and Florence M. Margai. *Multicultural Geographies: The Changing Racial/Ethnic Patterns of the United States*. 1 ed., Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010, 194.

¹⁴⁸ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 29.

¹⁴⁹ Frazier, John W., and Florence M. Margai. *Multicultural Geographies: The Changing Racial/Ethnic Patterns of the United States*. 1 ed., Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010, 171.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 179.

Population size differences between Latinx and African American Allentonians marked an end of a parallel history between the two groups. The loss of the Bethlehem Steel and relocation of truck production crippled the Allentown manufacturing base and “many of Allentown’s [white] residents left the city” from 1970 to 2000, “moving either to its suburbs or out of the region entirely.”¹⁵¹ This phenomenon of white flight increased the downtown area’s status as a minority-majority district. African American Allentonians also had a different experience with their population size than their Latinx neighbors. The black population remained “small” as it had “always been” throughout their tenure as Allentown residents.¹⁵² While it grew to encompass roughly 14 percent of Allentown’s contemporary population, their Latinx counterparts boomed to make up about 52 percent of the current population.¹⁵³ Most of these gains came throughout the late 1900s and shows that the African American and Latinx communities did not share the same history after 1970. Not only did 1970 mark the end of urban renewal, but it also split the connection between black and Puerto Rican Allentonians. Up until 1970, both groups represented a small portion of the overall city community and experienced similar problems. White flight and the second migration wave of Puerto Ricans to Allentown witnessed the Latinx community become a majority presence within the city while African Americans remained a small community. This population difference prevented them from sharing the parallel history they had shared throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Nonetheless, the Latinx community continued to share the problem of housing discrimination with the black community despite their population differences at the end of the 20th century.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 193.

¹⁵² Ibid, 194.

¹⁵³ “U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Allentown City, Pennsylvania.” Census Bureau QuickFacts. United States Census Bureau, July 1, 2018.

Allentown's combination of *de facto* and *de jure* practices created a sharply segregated city outline by 1970 that continued to restrict the late-20th century influx of Latinx migrants to the city's downtown neighborhoods. By the completion of the Little Lehigh Housing Project in 1975, landlords, banks, and the state-sponsored urban renewal initiatives had effectively segregated black and Latinx residents. The only place these Allentonians of color could live was Allentown's inner-city. Since the African American community did not witness vast migration patterns after 1970, they remained "segregated" in the same neighborhoods within Allentown.¹⁵⁴ The story was different for the Latinx community because they continued to experience a wave of migration to Allentown after 1970. All of these new people came to Allentown with hopes for a better life. In Allentown, they found the opposite as they "struggled in their new home." These second wave Allentown Puerto Ricans experienced high "illiteracy" rates and "many found themselves steeped in poverty."¹⁵⁵ They also discovered that the city's segregated structure forced them into the specific neighborhoods located in the inner-city area. As second wave Allentown Puerto Ricans flocked to the city in the last three decades of the 20th century, they were limited to renting or buying homes in the "in the dilapidated brick row houses the native Allentonians [didn't] want to live in anymore."¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ The inner-city neighborhoods underwent rapid "Latinization" while the second wave of Puerto Ricans continued to fill the "older neighborhoods from the Lehigh River to 10th Street," which was the "area partially destroyed in

¹⁵⁴ Frazier, John W., and Florence M. Margai. *Multicultural Geographies: The Changing Racial/Ethnic Patterns of the United States*. 1 ed., Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010, 194.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 194.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 195.

¹⁵⁷ Stains, Lawrence. "The Latinization of Allentown, PA." *The New York Times*. *The New York Times*, June 12, 1994.

the early 1960s by urban ‘renewal’.”¹⁵⁸ It became the case soon enough that one could “hear Spanish ... On almost any block of Allentown’s downtown” or “buy Goya foods, Spanish sausage and plantains in a small bodega.”¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ This restriction to Allentown’s inner-city neighborhoods resulted primarily from “increasing segregation and isolation” practices based on the segregated structure created by the combination of *de facto* and *de jure* policies in the preceding decades. Although Puerto Ricans shared cultural and population size differences with African Americans, they “tended to be located in neighborhoods adjacent to blacks, or to be integrated with them in the same neighborhoods.” The result of the African American community remaining segregated and Latinx migrants facing continual segregation into the downtown area throughout the end of the 1900s was that Allentown’s inner-city “neighborhood became a place of social dysfunction, overcrowded homes, residential slums and public housing projects.” African American and Latinx Allentonians were thus effectively resigned to an “underclass” status in the city, facing poverty, discrimination, and residential segregation.¹⁶¹ The extended segregation of Latinx communities following 1970 adds an important element to the contemporary discussion about segregation in inner cities.

The segregation of second wave Puerto Rican migrants to Allentown shows that residential segregation occurred after the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which complicates the contemporary discourse on residential segregation. In the first half of the 20th century, the

¹⁵⁸ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 12.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 8.

¹⁶⁰ Frazier, John W., and Florence M. Margai. *Multicultural Geographies: The Changing Racial/Ethnic Patterns of the United States*. 1 ed., Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010, 195.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, 194.

United States passed several Housing Acts aiming “to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas” and further guarantee “a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.”¹⁶² These state policies established the legal basis for creating and funding public agencies such as the ARA. Once created, the ARA proceeded to displace and segregate African American and Latinx Allentonians through several urban renewal projects. However, United States policy regarding housing legislation shifted with the rise of the 1960s Civil Rights movement. The 1960s protests efforts of African Americans demanding equality in the United States resulted in an explosion of legislation aiming to balance the country’s racial inequality. Among this list of legislation was the Fair Housing Act of 1968. This main goal of this piece of legislation was to make it unlawful “To refuse to sell or rent after the making of a bona fide offer, or to refuse to negotiate for the sale or rental of, or otherwise make unavailable or deny, a dwelling to any person because of race, color, religion, sex, familial status, or national origin.”¹⁶³ It is generally accepted that this legislation effectively ended the practice of public agencies displacing and segregating people of color through urban renewal initiatives. The existing literature on residential segregation therefore has focused primarily on the decades of the 20th century before and up to the Fair Housing Act of 1968. In her thesis, Meek focuses her work on Allentown segregation during urban renewal, ending with the effects of the Little Lehigh project in the early 1970s.¹⁶⁴ In the first two chapters of *The Color of Law*, Rothstein discusses segregation in San Francisco and the role of public housing in segregating neighborhoods from

¹⁶² *Housing Act of 1949*. 171. 1st, July 15, 1949.

¹⁶³ “Fair Housing Act.” The United States Department of Justice, August 6, 2015. “Fair Housing Act.” The United States Department of Justice, August 6, 2015.

¹⁶⁴ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 62-63.

the early 1900s to the end of the 1960s. He notes that by 1970, Frank Stevenson, a black worker in San Francisco, was able to secure housing “in the southern, previously whites-only section of the city.”¹⁶⁵ Both works fail to acknowledge the segregation that persisted after the Fair Housing Act of 1968. The previous discussion regarding continued segregation of Latinx migrants in Allentown after 1970 shows that the segregated structure established by these cities through discriminatory housing practices and urban renewal projects formed a guideline dictating where people could and could not live. Although the government formerly outlawed discrimination in housing, these guidelines remained in practice and forced Latinx migrants to Allentown into inner-city neighborhoods and public housing units. This post-Fair Housing Act segregation in Allentown extends the contemporary literature on residential segregation past 1970, when the United States adopted the Fair Housing Act and ended urban renewal. The discourse on the continued segregation of Latinx migrants in Allentown post-1970 also reveals the city’s transition from a white All-American city to one inhabited mostly by Allentonians of color.

Residential segregation not only separated black, white, and Latinx residents by the turn of the century, but it also created a minority-majority dynamic within the downtown area. In 1970, the Census listed 1,980 African Americans in their report, most who lived within the downtown district.¹⁶⁶ The Latinx community numbered roughly 3,000 in 1970.¹⁶⁷ These Puerto Rican Allentonians resided primarily in the same downtown neighborhoods as their black counterparts. These two groups, however, were still a small percentage of the overall Allentown

¹⁶⁵ Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. First edition. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017.

¹⁶⁶U.S. Census Bureau, “General Characteristics of the Population: 1970,” Census Tracts, table P-1, 1.

¹⁶⁷ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 29.

population. Allentown arrived at its peak population of “109,527 persons” in 1970, which was much higher than the approximately 3,745 African American and Latinx number of residents.¹⁶⁸ When the industrial economy began to crash with the closing of the Bethlehem Steel, the relocation of truck production, and the loss of other industries, white flight out of the inner-city occurred in large numbers. The loss of white residents meant that Allentown, specifically Allentown’s downtown area, became increasingly dominated by the African American and Latinx minority groups. The 2000 Census reported that these two groups combined to make up “one-third of Allentown’s population,” with Latinx residents totaling 25 percent and African Americans contributing the other 5 percent.¹⁶⁹ Today these numbers are even greater as both groups combine to total about 64 percent of the population.¹⁷⁰ Like in the 20th century, African American and Latinx Allentonians make up the greatest percentage of the population in the segregated downtown neighborhoods like Fourth Street where they presently total 76 to 80 percent of the community.¹⁷¹ The concentration of black and Latinx minorities in Allentown generally and the downtown area specifically has led to a minority-majority, a city dominated by minority groups. It is important to note that this dynamic resulted from discriminatory housing practices enacted by both private citizens and companies as well as the state. Although segregation separated Allentonians by race and established a minority-majority downtown, it

¹⁶⁸ Frazier, John W., and Florence M. Margai. *Multicultural Geographies: The Changing Racial/Ethnic Patterns of the United States*. 1 ed., Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010, 193.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 194.

¹⁷⁰ “U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Allentown City, Pennsylvania.” Census Bureau QuickFacts. United States Census Bureau, July 1, 2018.

¹⁷¹ “Mapping Segregation.” *The New York Times*. The New York Times, July 8, 2015.

also profoundly rearranged the city's structure in other spheres. There has been perhaps no area in the city more visibly impacted by residential segregation than "the city's schools."¹⁷²

¹⁷² Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 40.

Chapter 2: A Tale of Two Schools

Allentown's largest public high school - formerly known as Allentown High School and presently named William Allen High School - currently houses a different student body than it did during the period of urban renewal between the 1950s and 1960s. These changes are most clearly outlined in the pages of the high school's yearbook, *Comus*. The 1959 edition of *Comus*, labeled as Figure 1, reflects the "homogenous" nature of the "student body."¹⁷³ As shown by the figure, the student body consisted of a majority of white students. Only a handful of African American students, "2-3 per year," appeared in any of the yearbook's editions released throughout the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁷⁴ Copies of *Comus* in the most recent decade of the 2010s reveals an opposite racial reality. Figure 2 portrays *Comus*'s 2016 version and the student body's racial demographics have flipped compared to the 1959 data. Now, the student picture portraits show a predominantly black and brown student body with a couple white students distributed across the pages. This overturn of William Allen's demographics poses a serious question in a modern context.

On May 19, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* that racial segregation of public schools was "a denial of the equal protection of the laws" and further ordered an integration of these schools "with all reasonable diligence."¹⁷⁵ Despite this landmark ruling from the nation's highest court, *Comus* highlights that William Allen was overwhelmingly white in the 1950-60s. Part of the reason for this disproportionate racial breakdown at William Allen was that the city's overall white population was over 90

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, 47.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 47.

¹⁷⁵ Warren, Earl, and Supreme Court Of The United States. *U.S. Reports: Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483. 1953. Periodical.

percent, which means that the public high school would reflect a similar white majority. Yet, one would expect that as the Allentown population becomes more diverse from the end of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century, William Allen's student body would integrate by continuing to reflect the general city's population. The present data shows that this move toward integration has failed. United States Census data from 2018 counts the "White alone" population at "59.1" percent and the African American and Latinx population at a total of "66.4" percent.¹⁷⁶ In comparison, William Allen's demographics are only "8.6" percent white and "89.2" percent African American and Latinx.¹⁷⁷ *Brown v. Board of Education* mandated an integrated school district and the result in Allentown more than fifty years later has been the establishment of a minority-majority school district that disproportionately represents the city's minority groups and does not include a percentage of white students equal to the overall city's demographics. An obvious question, therefore, arises: Why has Allentown's largest public high school developed to disproportionately house the city's minority students and subsequently fail to meet the mandate of integration? The answer to this question connects to the city's residential segregation.

During the early stages of urban renewal in Allentown, the city's minority population increased and became more visible, which consequently launched integration in Allentown's public schools. As covered extensively in the previous chapter, urban renewal spanned from 1959 to the completion of the Little Lehigh Housing Project in 1975. This time period also witnessed increases in the overall number of minority residents, particularly Latinx migrants. While the African American population experienced modest gains similar to their growth pattern

¹⁷⁶ "U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Allentown City, Pennsylvania." Census Bureau QuickFacts. United States Census Bureau, July 1, 2018.

¹⁷⁷ "Future Ready PA Index." Future Ready PA Index - Find a School. Pennsylvania Department of Education.

over the preceding decades, the influx of Allentown's first wave Puerto Rican migrants during the 1960s and then the second wave Puerto Rican migrants beginning in 1970 began an unprecedented swelling of the city's minority population. Since its founding as a Pennsylvania Dutch community, Allentown had been characterized as a white community and remained so in the first half of the 20th century. Its changing demographics, therefore, forced it to adapt to a new reality. In the public schools, adaptation meant racial integration. Pennsylvania's State Human Relations Commission ordered the Allentown School District along with 7 other school districts "to start desegregation of schools" in July 1970.¹⁷⁸ The state's public-school desegregation order came 16 years after the Warren Court's landmark decision against segregation. Though the desegregation order arrived 16 years too late, it is important to understand the state's decision to enforce this law on the ASD in 1970. First, Allentown's minority population was no longer easy to ignore. The city had spent the first half of the 1900s treating the black population like an "invisible" presence.¹⁷⁹ Their population rise throughout the 1960s made the minority community in Allentown a force to be acknowledged. Second, the Civil Rights Movement demanded an adherence to social justice policies. The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision was delivered prior to the mass rise of the 1960s social movements. As these movements gathered steam and power over the course of the sixties, all levels of government were forced to meet the obligations of social justice policies. Allentown was no exception as the period of urban renewal served as a catalyst to jumpstart "sustained civil rights activity in Allentown."¹⁸⁰ This flowering civil rights activity exposed social injustices in Allentown, school

¹⁷⁸ "Allentown Ordered To Integrate Schools - But Rules Unclear." *The Morning Call*. July 31, 1970.

¹⁷⁹ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 6.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 65.

segregation among them. These two reasons jointly pushed the state to order desegregation in Allentown schools. The ASD responded by submitting “school desegregation plans.” Furthermore, the black enrollment “increased slightly” at the end of the 1960s “from 545 to 598.”¹⁸¹ These developments and figures point to a fulfilment of the state’s desegregation command. Yet, almost half a century later in the 2010s, the ASD’s student demographics flipped entirely to represent a disproportionate number of black and Latinx students relative to the general city’s racial breakdown. The failure of the ASD to extend its initial education desegregation progress in 1970 is based on the long-term impact of urban renewal.

Urban renewal restructured Allentown’s physical map to limit minority residents to the downtown district, which later impacted the Allentown School District’s boundary maps. The most obvious legacy of urban renewal in Allentown was the limit it placed on the choice of housing for Allentonians of color. By the conclusion of the Little Lehigh Housing Project, African American and Puerto Rican Allentonians were effectively segregated into Allentown’s inner-city neighborhoods. On one hand, *de facto* policies factored into this segregation process through the decision of landlords and banks to refuse to rent, sell, and approve loans for houses outside of the downtown area. On the other hand, *de jure* practices segregated black and brown Allentonians through the local, state, and federal government’s establishment and support of redevelopment of redevelopment authorities that not only executed the uprooting of communities of color, but also then strictly provided housing to displaced Allentonians within the same inner-city neighborhoods that private practices restricted them to. The ultimate result of neighborhood segregation occurred on Allentown’s physical map; Allentonians of color were located

¹⁸¹ “Allentown Ordered To Integrate Schools - But Rules Unclear.” *The Morning Call*. July 31, 1970.

disproportionately within the city's downtown districts. For the purposes of this paper, this area is primarily identified as the Center City area and the neighborhoods directly outside of this zone in West Allentown. In focusing on this area, this thesis is concerned with the western part of Allentown. Segregation was not limited to this part of Allentown and East Allentown has experienced similar issues, but this project will be based on the western section of Allentown due to the fact that urban renewal was based in this area and this section of the city houses the city's largest high school, William Allen. On the official "City of Allentown Ward Map," the 9th Ward encompasses the Center City area and the other inner-city neighborhoods reside within the 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, and 10th Wards.¹⁸² Each of these downtown neighborhoods presently contains a majority of African American and Latinx residents and a minority white population.¹⁸³ The issue of segregation in Allentown's physical neighborhoods replicated itself on the boundary lines drawn by the ASD.

Allentown's physical segregation of neighborhoods consequently impacted the school district's student demographics through the location of the ASD's boundary lines. This dynamic began in Allentown's public elementary schools during the period of urban renewal. As the first wave Puerto Rican migrants poured into Allentown and were segregated into the inner-city area, the public elementary schools whose boundary lines encircled these specific neighborhoods witnessed a sharp rise in Puerto Rican student enrollment. At the start of the 1961-1962 academic year in September 1961, the Garber-Horne Elementary School opened the doors to its building "in the heart of the 4th Street Urban Renewal Project area" to welcome its new cohort

¹⁸² "City of Allentown Ward Map." *City of Allentown Ward Map*. City of Allentown.

¹⁸³ "Mapping Segregation." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, July 8, 2015.

of students.¹⁸⁴ A serious issue, however, presented itself on the school's first day: non-English speaking Puerto Rican parents did not know which school to send their children. The dislocation caused by the Fourth Street renewal effort forced these Puerto Rican residents to move to different neighborhoods in the downtown area and their children had been "assigned" to new schools "depending on the zone in which they live[d]."¹⁸⁵ The confusion caused by the city's school boundary lines was sorted out with the translation assistance provided by school Spanish teachers. These teachers were able to inform Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican parents which schools their children were enrolled in. A majority of these recently-dislocated students had been transferred to "Sheridan Elementary School" after their relocation, which increased the school's minority student population.¹⁸⁶ By 1970, Sheridan's minority student demographics grew to include "48 non-English speaking Syrian children."¹⁸⁷ This expansion in minority student numbers stemmed from the aforementioned ASD's school assignment policy. The ASD assigned students to schools based on the creation of school zones. To this end, the city was carved like a cake and each school drew its student body from within their respective boundary lines. A causal relationship emerged from this school assignment practice during the segregation of Allentown's physical neighborhoods. As discriminatory housing policies and urban renewal projects segregated Allentonians of color into the inner-city neighborhoods, the public schools that formed its boundary lines strictly within the downtown area absorbed a larger group of segregated African American and Latinx students. While increases in minority student

¹⁸⁴ "Pupils Relocated From Renewal Area Finally Assigned to Proper Buildings." *The Morning Call*, September 8, 1961.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ "Allentown Ordered To Integrate Schools - But Rules Unclear." *The Morning Call*. July 31, 1970.

populations occurred in inner-city elementary schools, William Allen High School retained its homogenous white student body.

Public elementary schools in inner-city Allentown absorbed more African American and Latinx students than William Allen High School. As mentioned earlier, William Allen was homogeneously white throughout the 1960s. In 1970, William Allen, then known as Allen High School, educated only “23 blacks, 4 Orientals and 14 Spanish-Americans in a total enrollment of 2,575 pupils.”¹⁸⁸ William Allen’s minority student demographics starkly contrasted those of inner-city public elementary schools. The Horne Elementary School counted “85 black pupils ... of the total enrollment there of 161,” Livingston Elementary School included “64 blacks in an overall registration of 163,” and Mosser Elementary School boasted the highest number of black students with “92.”¹⁸⁹ It is important to note that these elementary schools not only educated larger numbers of minority students than the public high school, but they also had an overall higher percent of non-white students. The Morning Call recorded a percentage of black students in elementary schools at “4.1 per cent” compared to “2.2” percent “in the secondary grades.”¹⁹⁰ There were two major reasons for a greater number and percent of minority students in elementary schools than high schools in the ASD.

Elementary schools included more minority students than their secondary school counterparts due to both their smaller school zone areas and the lower rates of education among the young adult minority population. First, the school district’s elementary school boundary lines encompassed smaller areas. Like most school districts, the ASD has always included more

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

elementary schools than high schools. Today, the district maintains 15 elementary schools and only 3 high schools¹⁹¹ A similar difference in number of elementary and public schools in the ASD persisted throughout the middle and late 20th century. Due to their larger presence in the city, the elementary schools had smaller zones from which to draw their students. In contrast, William Allen and the second public high school, Dieruff High School, established wide zones in order to encompass the entirety of the city. Furthermore, ASD's schools based their zones on their location. Because the elementary schools were given smaller zones, those in the inner-city neighborhoods based their boundary lines entirely within the inner-city communities. This school zone dynamic meant, however, that the inner-city elementary schools like Sheridan and Mosser were assigned a large number of minority students while elementary schools such as "Midway Manor Lehigh Parkway and Wilson" located in white neighborhoods outside of the downtown area counted "no pupils other than Caucasian" within their student body.¹⁹² Nonetheless, the way in which the ASD established small school zones for elementary schools based on their location not only contributed to a larger presence of minority students in elementary schools than high schools, but also created racially segregated schools as some elementary schools were tasked with educating all of the African American and Latinx students living in the city's segregated inner-city district. Second, elementary schools educated more minority students because local students of color in secondary schools faced higher dropout rates. Though dropout rates for William Allen students of color during the middle and later 20th century have not been available for the purposes of this thesis, the data provided by the neighboring high school in Bethlehem, Liberty High School, provides insight into dropout rates of students of color for the greater

¹⁹¹ "Our District." Our District - Allentown School District. Accessed October 14, 2019.

¹⁹² "Allentown Ordered To Integrate Schools - But Rules Unclear." *The Morning Call*. July 31, 1970.

Lehigh Valley area. Between 1989 and 1990, Bethlehem “White” students held a “4.2 percent” dropout rate while “Black” and “Hispanic” students carried a “5.7” and “12.8” percent dropout rate respectively.¹⁹³ Antonsen maintained that the dropout rate was higher for high school students of color in Bethlehem because “a greater percentage” of these students “lived in poverty” than their white classmates and “families with the lowest incomes had the fewest years of schooling.”¹⁹⁴ Therefore, while families of color were able to send their young children to elementary schools, a growing percentage of these children dropped out of high school due to economic pressures, which lowered the overall number of students of color at secondary schools like William Allen. The policy of school zones and higher dropout rates at the secondary school level explains why elementary schools through the middle 20th century included more students of color than high schools in Allentown. Yet, by the end of the 20th century and through the first two decades of the 21st century, William Allen, like Horne and Livingston Elementary Schools in the 1960s, also developed to hold a student body that included more black and Latinx students than white pupils. Migration patterns of Allentown’s Latinx and white population toward the end of the 20th century is responsible for explaining how the city’s largest high school eventually mirrored the student demographics of its 1960s inner-city elementary schools.

After 1970, the combination of the second wave of Puerto Rican migrants to Allentown and the mass relocation of white Allentonians to Allentown’s suburbs resulted in the segregation of William Allen High School. William Allen’s student body in 1970 was overwhelmingly white. The school only had “23 blacks, 4 Orientals and 14 Spanish-Americans in a total

¹⁹³ Antonsen, Peter J. *A History of the Puerto Rican Community in Bethlehem, Pa. 1944-1993*. 1994, 224.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 226-227.

enrollment of 2,575.”¹⁹⁵ These statistics show that the overall percentage of minority students in the school was 1 percent. The migration patterns of the city’s Latinx and white groups after 1970 worked to dramatically increase William Allen’s overall number and percentage of minority students. 1970 signaled a new wave of Puerto Rican migration to Allentown. As mentioned in the first chapter, Allentown’s first Puerto Rican migration wave occurred during the second migration wave of Puerto Ricans to the general United States and it established a small Latinx community in Allentown that was responsible for supplying the first Latinx students in the school district. Beginning in 1970, however, the second migration wave of Puerto Ricans caused the city’s Latinx population to skyrocket. In 1966, the third wave of Puerto Rican migration to the United States began, which led to an overpopulation of New York City. This increase in Puerto Rican migrants, paired with rising living costs and unemployment rates in New York City, led Puerto Ricans to leave the city in search of smaller metropolitan areas with more affordable living options. Allentown’s designation as one of these more affordable metropolitan destinations launched the city’s “second wave” of Puerto Rican migration.¹⁹⁶ This new wave exponentially increased Allentown’s Latinx population. Between 1970 and 1980, the population tripled from 3,000 to 9,000.¹⁹⁷ Then, from 1980 to 2000, the population spiked to 32,000.¹⁹⁸ The astronomical increase in Allentown’s Latinx population from 1970 to the turn of the century led

¹⁹⁵ “Allentown Ordered To Integrate Schools - But Rules Unclear.” *The Morning Call*. July 31, 1970.

¹⁹⁶ Frazier, John W., and Florence M. Margai. *Multicultural Geographies: The Changing Racial/Ethnic Patterns of the United States*. 1 ed., Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010, 194.

¹⁹⁷ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 29.

¹⁹⁸ Frazier, John W., and Florence M. Margai. *Multicultural Geographies: The Changing Racial/Ethnic Patterns of the United States*. 1 ed., Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010, 171.

to a similar rise in the Latinx population of the city's public schools. In 1968, the school district's population was "1.4 percent" Latinx.¹⁹⁹ 4 years later and at the beginning of the Puerto Rican migration's second wave, the Latinx student population "had reached almost 5 percent."²⁰⁰ These numbers continued to climb at a fast pace through the rest of the 20th century. By 2006, the ASD's Latinx population reached "almost 40 percent."²⁰¹ Today, the school district's Latinx population percentage stands at "72" percent and the African American percentage totals "13.9" percent.²⁰² These sharp increases in the school district's minority population can be attributed largely to the city's massive second Puerto Rican migration wave and the black community's steady growth. Yet, they do not solely account for the white community's transition from being the predominant population in the ASD generally and William Allen specifically in the 20th century to be the minority student population in the 21st century. This change was also caused by the phenomenon of white flight. While second wave Puerto Rican migrants flooded into Allentown after 1970, whites began a mass exodus out of the city from 1970 to 2000. Frazier notes that as Allentown's industrial base collapsed due to the loss of the Bethlehem Steel and the relocation of truck production, "many of Allentown's [white] residents left the city ... moving either to its suburbs or out of the region entirely."²⁰³ White flight from the city thus completed the segregation of the ASD. The early stages of urban renewal segregated Allentonians of color into the inner city, which established minority-majority elementary schools in the downtown

¹⁹⁹ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, 49.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 50.

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, 49.

²⁰² "Future Ready PA Index." Future Ready PA Index - Find a School. Pennsylvania Department of Education. Accessed October 20, 2019.

²⁰³ Frazier, John W., and Florence M. Margai. *Multicultural Geographies: The Changing Racial/Ethnic Patterns of the United States*. 1 ed., Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010, 193.

area. William Allen, however, remained homogeneously white. Puerto Ricans' second migration wave, however, exponentially increased William Allen and the ASD's Latinx population. The simultaneous white migration to Allentown's suburbs during this period left the school district to be filled by a majority of minority African American and Latinx students. William Allen then resembled the segregated Allentown elementary schools of the 1960s. Far into Allentown's western suburbs, a suburban school district retained a portion of William Allen's former white majority student population.

Parkland High School's boundary lines within Allentown's West End neighborhood allowed it to absorb the white Allentonian students who moved out of the city during the 1970-2000 period of white flight, which established a segregated education system in western Allentown that featured William Allen as the minority-based school and Parkland as the primarily white-based school. Looking at Allentown's neighboring City of Bethlehem boundary map and the boundary map of its urban public high school, Liberty High School, it is clear that Liberty includes neighborhoods outside of the Bethlehem city limits.²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ For example, Liberty's school zone incorporates the area to the north of Route 22, which is outside of the City of Bethlehem limits. This practice of urban high schools including neighborhoods outside of their hometown's boundary lines is common in the Lehigh Valley metropolitan area as the third major city in the area, Easton, also has a major public high school known as Easton High School that counts pupils in their student body who hail from neighborhoods directly outside of Easton's official city boundary lines. Allentown employs an opposite practice than the one utilized by its sister cities. Comparing the City of Allentown map with the Allentown School District boundary

²⁰⁴ "City of Bethlehem Zoning Map." *City of Bethlehem Zoning Map*. City of Bethlehem.

²⁰⁵ "Liberty High School Boundaries Map." *Liberty High School Profile*.

map, there is no doubt that the ASD's boundary map covers a smaller area than the actual territory enveloped by the City of Allentown. The discrepancy between these two maps is that the area to the west of Cedar Crest Boulevard belongs to the City of Allentown but is excluded from the ASD boundary zone. Instead, this area in Allentown's most western-based neighborhood, known as the "West End," has been incorporated into the Parkland School District.²⁰⁶ In general, the PSD map covers the area directly to the west and northwest of the City of Allentown. It also includes the area of the West End neighborhood not covered by the ASD.²⁰⁷ The incorporation of this neighborhood into the PSD is significant because it highlights the segregated education system established in Allentown. When white Allentonians fled to the suburbs between 1970 and 2000, Allentown's West End and the area covered by the PSD were major destinations. Racial demographics of these neighborhoods underpin this point. Today, the heart of Allentown's West End, the West End Theatre District, contains a white population of "74" percent. The suburban area within the City of Allentown absorbed by the PSD includes a higher white population totaling "80" percent.²⁰⁸ In 1960, *de jure* and *de facto* housing policies prevented Allentonians of color from living in the West End suburbs, and, half a century later, these minority residents still find themselves barred from the same neighborhoods. Minority residents are also restricted from accessing this white population's education system. By absorbing a portion of Allentown's white population and westernmost neighborhood, the PSD was able to situate Parkland High School as the secondary institution for white Allentonians. Once again, racial demographics underscore this point. While William Allen includes a minority-majority population of "73" and "16.2" percent Latinx and African American students

²⁰⁶ "West End Alliance." Lehigh County. Accessed November 13, 2019.

²⁰⁷ "District Map." *Parkland School District District Map*. Parkland School District.

²⁰⁸ "Mapping Segregation." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, July 8, 2015.

respectively, Parkland has a “67.3” percent majority white population.²⁰⁹ The homogenous white student body from Allentown’s 1960s *Comus* editions, therefore, did not simply become overshadowed and swallowed by a growing minority population in Allentown. Rather, this white population relocated itself to Allentown’s suburbs, the West End and suburbs farther west chief among them. Once established within these neighborhoods, white Allentonians were either able to reside on the westernmost edge of Allentown or directly outside of Allentown's west and northwestern border while keeping their children enrolled in the predominantly white secondary school at Parkland. This segregation of schools is a direct historical consequence of Allentown’s residential segregation and has led to disparate levels of success and outcomes between white and minority students.

The racial segregation of both William Allen and Parkland and the resulting effects of this separation are a direct consequence of Allentown’s residential segregation. In *The Color of Law*, Rothstein established residential segregation as a result of *de jure* policies based on the state’s sponsorship of housing practices that contributed to the segregation of American cities. He proceeded to trace the history of residential segregation in major United States cities like San Francisco. One major factor missing from Rothstein’s work, however, was an in-depth investigation into the consequences of the state-sponsored residential segregation he outlined. This project builds on Rothstein’s work by providing the preceding discourse on education segregation in Allentown as a direct consequence of the residential segregation caused by the city’s period of urban renewal. In the 1960s, discriminatory housing policies prevented Allentonians of color from living in white neighborhoods outside of the downtown area and then

²⁰⁹ “Future Ready PA Index.” Future Ready PA Index - Find a School. Pennsylvania Department of Education. Accessed October 20, 2019.

the state-sponsored urban renewal projects beginning with the Fourth Street renewal initiative further restricted African Americans and Latinx residents to the inner-city neighborhoods. Approximately fifty years later, in the early 21st century, this segregation has continued to limit Allentonians of color to the same downtown district. Consequently, segregation has expanded from Allentown's physical neighborhoods to the realm of education. Because the city's residents of color have been limited to inner-city neighborhoods and white Allentonians have fled to the suburbs, Allentown's schools have developed to include one high school that educates a minority-majority student body, William Allen, and another one that holds a majority white student population, Parkland. Since the state is responsible for the segregation it sponsored in the 1960s within Allentown's physical neighborhoods, it is also responsible for the resulting segregation of schools mentioned above. The state must also be held accountable for the differences created by this segregated school system. The rest of this chapter will compare William Allen and Parkland to highlight the ways in which these schools created different education outcomes by allowing white students at Parkland to prosper while students of color at William Allen fail at disproportionate rates. The areas in which these two schools will be compared are as follows: 1) financial resources, 2) education measures, 3) post-graduation prospects, 4) physical school buildings, and 5) extracurricular activities. In the following Conclusion, this work will provide solutions that can be undertaken by the state to remedy not only the segregation it created in Allentown's cities and schools, but also the resulting differences in education success segregation established between white students and African American and Latinx pupils.

Financial Resources

Money has become a major point of demarcation between the general Allentown and Parkland School Districts. In May 2019, the PSD “approved a \$186 million budget” that included a “1.88” percent increase in “property taxes.” Approval of this budget marked support of a “seventh year of capital improvements” including planned “renovations at the Schnecksville Elementary School, roofing projects, and school bus and technology purchases.”²¹⁰ While the PSD increased its budget and established school improvement projects, the ASD struggled to find sound financial footing. One month before the PSD passed its new budget in 2019, the ASD faced a “\$28 million deficit for the 2019-20 school year” and also had to address “a \$7.6 million hole in the current year’s budget because of underbudgeting.”²¹¹ Financial burdens faced by the ASD are not a recent phenomenon. The previous year, in 2018, the district dealt with a “\$27 million deficit.”²¹² To fill these multi-million-dollar deficits, the ASD has utilized a combination of internal policy changes, state assistance, and loans. The two major policy changes enacted have been tax increases and cuts. The \$27 million budget deficit in 2018 was pulled down to approximately under \$10 million by the School Board’s decision to “increase” the district’s tax rate as well as implement “cuts” in spending, which have been accomplished primarily by eliminating “more than 400 positions since 2010.”²¹³ ²¹⁴ Local state congressmen such as “Browne, Schweyer and Schlossberg” secured “an extra \$10 million for Allentown, no-strings

²¹⁰ Wojcik, Sarah M. “Parkland's District Budget Means \$66 More in Taxes for Median Households.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, May 23, 2019.

²¹¹ Palochko, Jacqueline. “Facing \$28 Million Deficit for next Year, Allentown School District Looking to Borrow Money to Cover \$7 Million Hole in This Year's Budget.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, April 22, 2019.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Palochko, Jacqueline. “SPECIAL REPORT: Why the Allentown School District Is Continuously in a Financial Hole.” mcall.com, October 5, 2018.

attached” from the state government.²¹⁵ In 2019, the district averted a financial crisis when, for the second time, the Allentown School Board “narrowly approved borrowing \$10 million” that included “more than \$4 million in interest” to patch holes in the general budget.²¹⁶ Of all the policies undertaken by the ASD to climb out of their deficits, loans have presented the biggest issue. Although they allow the district to meet its financial needs in the short-term, it also forces the district to pay back more money than initially borrowed. This dynamic digs the ASD into deeper financial crises in the long-term. Allentown School Board member Ce-Ce Gerlach highlighted this issue after the Board approved the \$10 million loan by stating, ““When you’re living on a loan, you live like you’re poor.”²¹⁷ These recent difficulties faced by the ASD in the economic realm underscore the macroeconomic difference between the two school districts. While the majority-white PSD enjoys a balanced budget and consecutive capital improvements each year, the minority-majority ASD has become trapped in a cycle of “financial issues.”²¹⁸ On a microeconomic level, these districts also experience disparate financial outcomes.

The large-scale phenomenon of the Parkland School District experiencing economic stability and success while the Allentown School District deals with economic struggles has extended onto the smaller scale issue of student funding. A comparison of funding per student in both districts reveals that funding per student is vastly higher within the Parkland School District than it is in the Allentown School District. Figure 3, created by Craig Larimer of The Morning Call, compares the districts' major economic statistics. Overall, the ASD’s “\$318 million” budget

²¹⁵ Palochko, Jacqueline. “Gov. Tom Wolf Calls for Charter School Changes That Could Ease Allentown Schools Deficit.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, August 13, 2019.

²¹⁶ Palochko, Jacqueline. “On Second Try, Allentown School Board Narrowly Approves Taking out \$10 Million Loan.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, May 8, 2019.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Palochko, Jacqueline. “Gov. Tom Wolf Calls for Charter School Changes That Could Ease Allentown Schools Deficit.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, August 13, 2019.

dwarves the PSD's "\$179 million" budget.²¹⁹ Although the ASD has a larger overall budget, the PSD is able to allocate more money per student due to its smaller student population. Parkland's overall student population is 10,000 while Allentown's school district includes 17,000 pupils. This student population size difference between both schools has allowed the PSD to bring in \$13,878 per pupil compared to the ASD's \$4,889 per student.²²⁰ The disproportionate difference in revenue is significant because it means that Parkland's majority-white high school is able to spend more than double the amount of money that William Allen spends on its majority African American and Latinx student body.²²¹ In the section on Education, this work will illuminate the ways in which this financial discrepancy in student spending has impacted the performance measures and results of both schools. The focus now, however, will be in understanding how this difference in per pupil local revenue was established.

Initially, it appears as though the Allentown School District's disproportionate financial woes stems from an increased presence of charter schools. Charter schools, independently run K-12 education institutions funded by the school district in which they reside, have recently borne the bulk of the criticism for the ASD's long history of unbalanced budgets. Since 2010, the number of ASD students enrolled in charter schools has increased "334 percent" to "4,500" total Allentown pupils, which is the highest number of students attending charters in any Lehigh Valley school district.²²² This rise in students attending charter schools has swallowed millions of dollars in the ASD's budget. Between 2010 and 2018, the amount of money the ASD paid in

²¹⁹ Palochko, Jacqueline. "SPECIAL REPORT: Why the Allentown School District Is Continuously in a Financial Hole." mcall.com, October 5, 2018.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Palochko, Jacqueline. "SPECIAL REPORT: Why the Allentown School District Is Continuously in a Financial Hole." mcall.com, October 5, 2018.

charter tuition increased from “\$9.4 million” to a whopping “\$53 million.”²²³ The current \$53 million spent on charter schools by the ASD accounts for roughly 16 percent of the district's overall budget. Democratic politicians like current Pennsylvania Governor Tom Wolf have called for “changes” to charter school funding policies that would “allow districts to limit student enrollment at charters that do not provide a ‘high-quality’ education, and to boost oversight over charter school management companies.” In turn, these politicians hope to sever the cycle of budget deficits and thus “save districts like Allentown.”²²⁴ The issue with these policies, however, is that they fail to address the root of the ASD’s financial turmoil. There is no doubt that reducing the money spent by the ASD on charter tuition would allow it to fill some of the holes in its budget. Yet, as depicted by Figure 3, the school district would continue to spend less money per student than the neighboring PSD despite enforcing a higher property tax rate.²²⁵ The reason for this lies in the difference between the districts' tax base.

Parkland’s school district enjoys more funding per student and higher collections in local revenues than the Allentown School District because of its wealthier tax base, which was established through Allentown’s residential segregation. Pennsylvania public schools “have three funding streams.” The largest stream of revenue “comes from local property taxes” and the “federal and state governments” make up the remaining two money sources. The state’s school funding formula leads to a system in which “the more affluent a district is, the more local money it has.”²²⁶ Allentown and Parkland provide clear examples of this unequal dynamic. Although

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Palochko, Jacqueline. “Gov. Tom Wolf Calls for Charter School Changes That Could Ease Allentown Schools Deficit.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, August 13, 2019.

²²⁵ Palochko, Jacqueline. “SPECIAL REPORT: Why the Allentown School District Is Continuously in a Financial Hole.” mcall.com, October 5, 2018.

²²⁶ Ibid.

Allentown assesses a higher property tax rate than Parkland - “19.7 mills versus ... 15.5” - the ASD “is only able to cover 30 percent of its \$318 million budget with local revenue,” forcing it to rely on state assistance and, in recent years, loans to cover the other 70 percent. Parkland, on the other hand, “is able to fund about 75 percent of its \$179.3 million budget from local revenue.”²²⁷ This funding gap arises from the discrepancy between average Allentown and Parkland home values. While Allentown homes “carry an average assessment of \$126,000,” homes in Parkland run an average assessment of “\$226,989,” which is roughly \$100,000 more than Allentown’s average.²²⁸ As a result of Parkland’s higher home value, the school district is able to collect a vastly higher amount of local revenue than the ASD. Parkland was able to develop higher average home values due to the white flight that occurred during the city’s residential segregation. Before Allentown assumed its current physical racial divide, Parkland was “a farm community where wheat, corn and alfalfa grew on rolling fields in South Whitehall, North Whitehall and Upper Macungie townships.”²²⁹ White flight physically altered the area’s geography. While Allentown’s industrial base declined and the Latinx migrants poured into the inner-city neighborhoods from 1970 to 2000, white Allentonians moved to the city’s West End and even farther west into Parkland. As these white Allentonians settled Parkland, “farms were replaced by expansive housing developments with four-bedroom homes, lush lawns and in-ground pools.”²³⁰ White flight from Allentown also reduced the city’s income. Today, Allentown’s median household income of “\$36,807” is less than half of Parkland’s “\$82,236” household income.²³¹ Allentown’s impoverished population prevented it from building expensive

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid.

homes like those found in Parkland. According to the US Census, “about 80 percent of its homes are twins and row homes and a third were built before 1940.” Parkland’s wealthier families and more expensive homes have allowed the PSD to collect a higher local revenue than the ASD and subsequently spend almost more than triple Allentown’s amount in funding per student.

Residential segregation, therefore, not only separated Allentown’s neighborhoods among racial lines, but it also moved the city’s money and tax base from within the ASD’s zone to inside Parkland’s boundary lines. The districts' unequal financial resources have led to disparate education outcomes.

Education Measures

Education, like financial resources, is unequal at Parkland and William Allen. Due to Parkland’s higher funding per student and less diverse student body, the school is able to provide an academic curriculum structured to prepare students for post-secondary education. Although William Allen’s curriculum does include college preparation elements, it is more tailored to preparing students for work after graduation than Parkland. The different focus of these two curriculums results in higher standardized test scores for Parkland in the short-term as well as higher graduation and post-secondary placement rates in the long-term.

As a consequence of a less diverse student body and higher monetary funds, Parkland’s curriculum aims to achieve academic excellence and prepare its pupils for post-secondary education. Parkland’s student body is “67.3” percent white and has a small non-English speaking

population with only “1.9” percent English language learners.²³² Therefore, the high school does not have the added effort of providing a wide range of courses like English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), which is an issue at William Allen that will be discussed later. Without having to assist a large student population learn English and excel in other classes despite a language barrier, Parkland is able to focus primarily on establishing a curriculum that will ensure academic success. The public high school offers several curriculum programs. Students interested in technical career training can pursue the “Technical Academic Pathway,” high-performing students are able to enroll in the “ College Preparatory (CP) curriculum,” and there is also a standard curriculum consisting of courses in traditional classes like English, Mathematics, and History.²³³ Parkland’s focus on college preparation is highlighted by student participation in the CP curriculum. A total of “83.3” percent of students enroll in a college class and “46.3” percent of the student body takes at least one Advanced Placement (AP) or International Baccalaureate (IB) course.²³⁴ Parkland reinforces its commitment to academic excellence by using its high expenditure per pupil to ensure that students can easily follow their curriculum requirements. In the last section, it was established that Parkland’s wealthier tax base allows it to spend thousands of dollars more per student than William Allen.²³⁵ One of the most obvious advantages of Parkland’s higher funding rate per student is its new student computer policy. In 2018, the PSD “approved the purchase of \$988,000 in Chromebooks as part of Parkland’s Personalized Learning Initiative.” District administrators approved this purchase to “issue laptop

²³² “Future Ready PA Index.” Future Ready PA Index - Find a School. Pennsylvania Department of Education.

²³³ “K - 12 Curriculum.” Parkland School District. Parkland School District. Accessed September 15, 2019.

²³⁴ “Future Ready PA Index.” Future Ready PA Index - Find a School. Pennsylvania Department of Education.

²³⁵ Palochko, Jacqueline. “SPECIAL REPORT: Why the Allentown School District Is Continuously in a Financial Hole.” mcall.com, October 5, 2018.

computers to all of its 3,200 high school students.” Parkland’s new policy ensures that all students will be able to access Parkland High School’s curriculum, which is “about 70 percent ... digital.”²³⁶ Thus, Parkland not only establishes a curriculum that prepares a majority of its students for post-secondary education, but it also uses its wealth to ensure all students can meet their education goals. William Allen’s education provides a similar academic focus, but it is also concerned with providing its students with work training.

The diversity and economic status of William Allen’s student population has resulted in a curriculum tailored more toward providing students with jobs than additional academic opportunities like post-secondary education. At William Allen, due to continuous Latinx migration directly from Spanish-speaking locations like Puerto Rico, “23.1” percent of total students are listed as English Language Learners.²³⁷ Because of William Allen’s higher population of non-English speaking students, the school’s curriculum includes more ESOL classes than Parkland’s curriculum. Additionally, instead of separate curriculum options for students, William Allen has one standard curriculum and one curriculum for technical career training, which requires students to also attend Lehigh Career and Technical Institute (LCTI). Students interested in college preparation courses can enroll in “Advanced” courses in 9th grade, and then enroll in “AP” and community college “dual enrollment” courses in their final three years of high school.²³⁸ The percent of students taking college preparation courses, however, is lower than Parkland’s total. Only “16.3” percent were enrolled in a college course and “21”

²³⁶ Peterson, Margie. “New This Fall: A Laptop for Each Parkland High-Schooler.” *mcall.com*. The Morning Call, December 13, 2018.

²³⁷ “Future Ready PA Index.” Future Ready PA Index - Find a School. Pennsylvania Department of Education.

²³⁸ “Curriculum Framework (Grades 9-12).” Curriculum Framework (Grades 9-12) - Allentown School District. Allentown School District. Accessed September 15, 2019.

percent took an AP or IB class.²³⁹ Instead of holding high rates of students participating in college preparation courses, William Allen has the highest rates of students pursuing a technical career curriculum. Out of the Lehigh Valley school districts, “Allentown sends the most students to” LCTI, where students hope to learn “the skills necessary for jobs such as computer analyst, welder and lab technician.”²⁴⁰ William Allen’s significant number of students at LCTI highlights its emphasis on career training. The school includes this career training focus because a majority of its students, “64.5” percent, come from low-income households. These students are looking to enter the workforce after high school and gain economic stability rather than pursue post-secondary education. Another dilemma making students focus on career training is their inaccessibility to a strong academic curriculum. In September 2015, “hundreds of students marched out of schools” in the ASD to protest the school district’s policies and education. A William Allen student named Elexus Wilson stated that “she was marching because she feels the district does not offer a quality education, and because there is a lack of textbooks for Allen students.”²⁴¹ While students at Parkland are given laptops to complete their coursework, William Allen students struggle to obtain textbooks. The disillusionment of William Allen students with their high school education then contributes to the school’s larger focus on career training. However, William Allen students also encounter barriers in their technical career training at LCTI. In February 2019, two school directors complained that “some Allentown School District students attending Lehigh Career & Technical Institute are not getting into the programs they

²³⁹ “Future Ready PA Index.” Future Ready PA Index - Find a School. Pennsylvania Department of Education.

²⁴⁰ Palochko, Jacqueline. “Tech School Oversight: Should Student Enrollment or Financial Support Count Most?” mcall.com. *The Morning Call*, September 2, 2018.

²⁴¹ Palochko, Jacqueline, Christina Tatu, Sarah M. Wojcik, and Sarah Wojcik. “Hundreds Walk out of Allentown Schools, Then Lose Interest.” mcall.com. *The Morning Call*, September 28, 2015.

want and are dropping out.” Students are also being forced to drop out because they “can’t afford the expenses” for programs that “require uniforms and other materials.”²⁴² Students from Allentown also have the least representation on the LCTI school board despite having the “most students” because board representation is based “on property values” instead of student population.²⁴³ So, although William Allen’s curriculum emphasizes technical career training instead of college preparation, students continue to encounter obstacles to education success. William Allen has also experienced less short-term education success than Parkland.

Based on high school performance measures, Parkland has achieved greater short-term success than William Allen. On standardized Pennsylvania State Assessments, a majority of William Allen High School students perform below average and an overwhelming majority of Parkland High School students perform at the “proficient” or “advanced” level. The percentages are as follows: English Language Arts - William Allen “33.5” percent, Parkland “86.6” percent; Mathematics - William Allen “26.6” percent, Parkland “80” percent; Science - William Allen “23.6” percent, Parkland “75.2” percent.²⁴⁴ Parkland has also met more state academic growth measures. While Parkland “met” two growth expectations and “exceeded” one expectation, William Allen only “met” one growth expectation and failed to fulfill the remaining two.²⁴⁵ These high school performance measures recorded by Pennsylvania’s state government shows that Parkland achieves more academic success while students are still in high school. Their higher performance measures in the short-term stem primarily from its curriculum. Because it

²⁴² Peterson, Margie. “Allentown Students Can't Get Technical Courses They Want and Are Dropping out, Directors Say.” mcall.com. *The Morning Call*, February 15, 2019.

²⁴³ Palochko, Jacqueline. “Tech School Oversight: Should Student Enrollment or Financial Support Count Most?” mcall.com. *The Morning Call*, September 2, 2018.

²⁴⁴ “Future Ready PA Index.” Future Ready PA Index - Find a School. Pennsylvania Department of Education.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

has higher spending per student and its students are not faced with the economic and social issues William Allen students must contend with, Parkland is able to focus mostly on an academic curriculum and preparing its students for college. This academic focus has led to successful outcomes in performance measures. William Allen's low-income population and higher non-English speaking student body resulted in a greater focus on career training and lower success rates in state performance measures. This is not to say that William Allen is not committed to academic success. Like all high schools, it strives to provide an excellent education. Yet, because of the economic and social issues its students must face, the school struggles with meeting state performance measures and it also employs a different focus than simply offering extensive college preparation. Regarding long-term elements like graduation rates, Parkland has also experienced higher rates of success.

Post-graduation Prospects

Divergent education and performance measures between Parkland and William Allen High School have resulted in different prospects for their graduating students. Outcomes for graduates from each school follow the same divide exhibited between the schools' education measures. On one hand, Parkland's graduates experience higher success rates within traditional academic measures such as graduation and college placement rates. William Allen graduates, on the other hand, encounter lower rates of success in traditional post-graduate academic measures, but then hold higher rates of success than their Parkland counterparts in alternative post-graduate outcomes like directly entering the workforce and military. Thus, the education emphasis of each school largely dictates what kind of lives students lead after graduation. At Parkland, the academic emphasis leads to post-secondary education. William Allen's emphasis on alternative

education routes launches its students directly to the workforce. The following discourse will provide more insight into these post-graduation results.

Graduation and college placement statistics from Parkland High School highlight the school's ability to place more students onto an academic path than William Allen. In the 1980s, due to the economy's growth and "complexity," high school graduation and college placement rates became increasingly important to America's capability to compete in the global market.²⁴⁶ High schools across the nation were consequently deemed successful based on their capacity to graduate as many students as possible and send these pupils to post-secondary institutions. In general, post-secondary education became the traditional path after high school. As mentioned in the previous section, Parkland students have higher performance measures across state-mandated standardized tests and higher rates of college preparation courses like AP classes than their neighboring colleagues at William Allen.²⁴⁷ Their success in these performance measures has led to high graduation and post-secondary education placement rates. Pennsylvania's current statewide high school graduation average is "85.8" percent. Parkland's average is almost 10 percent higher at "95.4" percent and vastly exceeds William Allen's "69.1" percent graduation rate.²⁴⁸ The majority-white high school has also propelled a vast number of its 12th grade students to college. Its most recent data shows that "81.9" percent of graduating students go on to pursue a post-secondary education. At William Allen, this number is "49.2" percent, which means that just under half of the school's 12th grade students go on to pursue a college degree.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ Bok, Derek. "Graduation Rates and Educational Attainment." In *The Struggle to Reform Our Colleges*, 7-20. PRINCETON; OXFORD: Princeton University Press, 2017, 7.

²⁴⁷ "Future Ready PA Index." Future Ready PA Index - Find a School. Pennsylvania Department of Education. Accessed October 20, 2019.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

All of this data shows that while William Allen struggles to graduate its senior students and send roughly half of them to college, Parkland is able to graduate a higher percent of its 12th grade pupils and then send more of them to post-secondary institutions. Overall, Parkland is more successful than William Allen in launching students toward college and the higher paying jobs associated with this kind of post-graduation outcome. Most students at William Allen have found themselves directly in the workforce after their time in high school.

Due to William Allen's low graduation percentage, low college placement rate, and emphasis on career training, a higher portion of its students enter the workforce after their time in the west Allentown high school rather than enroll in college. William Allen's status as a failing school has resulted in an inability to graduate students and send them to pursue a post-secondary education. As mentioned above, the school's graduation rate is "69.1" percent, which is about 16 percent lower than the statewide average. Additionally, only "49.2" percent of total students enroll in college after their graduation from William Allen.²⁵⁰ Many of the students who do not graduate or move on to college alternatively decide to enter the workforce directly after high school. For example, "45.5" percent of William Allen's senior class entered the Pennsylvania workforce, which is above Parkland's average number of students entering the workforce.²⁵¹ Another alternative route taken by William Allen students is enlisting in the military. "13.7" percent of senior students ultimately entered the military after high school. Again, this number is higher than Parkland's military enlistment rate, which is only "6.3" percent.²⁵² William Allen's higher rates within alternative career paths emphasize the school's focus on work and technical school training. Like discussed in the previous section, a host of

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

factors contribute to the school's focus on work after graduation. Due to its low student funding rate and large presence of non-English speaking students, William Allen's state education measures are below average, which in turn prevents students from graduating. Many students then turn to the workforce to establish careers in response to their inability to pursue post-secondary education. The school also has the largest presence at the "Lehigh Career and Technical Institute," which teaches its pupils the "skills necessary for jobs such as computer analyst, welder and lab technician."²⁵³ These jobs are alternatives to college and allow students to enter the workforce directly after high school. Overall, each of these factors has contributed to William Allen's apparent emphasis on graduation outcomes that are alternatives to post-secondary education. Although the school has been able to place more students directly into the workforce than Parkland, these jobs do not enable William Allen students to overcome their poverty. Statistics from the US Bureau of Labor Statistics show that people who earn college degrees have both lower unemployment rates and higher salaries than people who only complete high school or drop out.²⁵⁴ Thus, the present dynamic of William Allen failing to graduate and send students to college like its western neighbor Parkland prevents it from launching their minority-majority student body toward more stable and higher paying careers.

Physical school buildings

A comparison of William Allen and Parkland High School's physical buildings reveal the wealth gap between both schools. Parkland's high school is placed within a world-class facility that includes features comparable to college campuses in the local area. Conversely, William

²⁵³ Palochko, Jacqueline. "Tech School Oversight: Should Student Enrollment or Financial Support Count Most?" mcall.com. *The Morning Call*, September 2, 2018.

²⁵⁴ "Unemployment Rates and Earnings by Educational Attainment." U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, September 4, 2019.

Allen is housed within an early 20th century building that has not been compared to any state-of-the-art local colleges. Though William Allen had a major renovation in 2010, it is clear that Parkland High School's physical structure is not only more modern, but also more conducive to educating a large student body. These differences ultimately reinforce Parkland's higher economic status.

Parkland High School's current home was constructed near the turn of the century and has been compared to local college campuses, highlighting the state-of-the-art status of the physical building. Figure 4 provides a photograph of Parkland High School. The high school includes numerous pristine brick buildings that are specifically designated by the description above their front entrance. The building in the image is marked as an "Academic" building and consequently includes classrooms. Other buildings on the high school campus, such as the gym, are designated accordingly. Parkland's high school was built at the end of the 20th century during "an unprecedented \$15 billion national school construction boom" that occurred to address increasing enrollment rates and deteriorating buildings that were "ill-equipped to handle new technology."²⁵⁵ The PSD, looking to upgrade its physical high school, joined the national high school construction wave. In the late 1990s, the school district approved plans for a "new \$77 million Parkland High School," which became the "most expensive school construction project in the Lehigh Valley." People throughout the Lehigh Valley described the new high school as "more impressive than some college campuses."²⁵⁶ This high praise was based primarily on the physical school's features. Its new auditorium seated "1,500" people.

²⁵⁵ Solomon, Wendy E. "PARKLAND GETS HIGH-TECH HIGH SCHOOL * LEHIGH VALLEY'S NEW \$77 MILLION COMPLEX MIRRORS BUILDING TRENDS ELSEWHERE IN THE NATION." mcall.com. The Morning Call, August 22, 1999.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

Additionally, Parkland's new gym included a seat capacity of "3,000."²⁵⁷ Overall, these features rivaled, and in some cases, exceeded the features of prestigious private universities in the local area. For example, the auditorium sat "500 more [people] than Lehigh University's Baker Hall at the Zoellner Arts Center" and the school's gymnasium was capable of seating "only 500 fewer [people] than each of the gyms at Muhlenberg and Lafayette colleges." Some other features of the physical high school included the following: "lights and heating and cooling systems" that activated "upon entering or exiting a classroom," a "broadcasting studio" as "sophisticated as any in a small city," "a computer at every teacher's desk," and a "skylighted cafeteria and outdoor patio designed to feed 1,000 students in 20 minutes."²⁵⁸ Each of these features established Parkland as one of the most state-of-the-art high school facilities in the entire region. William Allen's physical building is a long way from being praised as highly as Parkland High School.

William Allen's physical building was built in the 20th century and a renovation plan in 2010 modernized the school campus. The west Allentown high school was built in 1916 on 17th Street, a project that "cost a total of \$585,034.32."²⁵⁹ Figure 5 depicts the current building, which includes the title "Allentown High School" above the front doors. In 1960, when the ASD constructed its second high school in east Allentown, "Louis E. Dieruff High School," Allentown High "changed its name to William Allen High School."²⁶⁰ As William Allen's enrollment increased through the 20th century, additional buildings like a sports stadium and gymnasium were erected as connected extensions to the main 1916 building. These renovations, however,

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ "Historical Facts / Historical Facts." www.allentownsd.org. Allentown School District. Accessed November 25, 2019.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

mostly occurred before the 21st century during the following dates: 1930, 1942, 1956, 1972, 1979, 1980, and 1992.”²⁶¹ Thus, although the high school added several extensions, their lack of modern renovations left the school void of state-of-the-art features. For example, the school lacked central air conditioning and suffered from extensive “overcrowding.” To address these building shortcomings, a construction project was launched in 2010 to add modern features to William Allen as well as a connecting “3-story 9th grade” building. The new 9th grade building, portrayed in Figure 6, was named the “Clifford S. Bartholomew Building” and its environmentally-friendly features such as “green roof system” and “use of low emission paints and materials” earned it a “LEED Gold certification.”²⁶² Improvements were also made to the high school’s older buildings. “New dance studios” were added to the school campus, the “athletic facilities” were upgraded, and air conditioning was added to all William Allen academic buildings. Overall, these renovations cost the district “49.6” million.²⁶³ Despite these modernization efforts, Parkland High School includes features that make it a better physical space for education.

Parkland’s superior features and larger campus establish it as a more conducive building for high school education. As shown in Figures 4, 5, and 6, both William Allen and Parkland are located within scenic buildings. However, Parkland’s world-class facilities ultimately trump William Allen’s campus. The 2010 modernization project upgraded many of Allentown’s features such as its athletic facilities. Yet, Parkland’s gymnasium, auditorium, and cafeteria are capable of holding thousands of people, a feat which William Allen’s own facilities are

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² “William Allen High School 9th Grade Academy.” USA Architects, April 17, 2017.

²⁶³ “LEED Gold Certification for Renovated Allentown Schools.” Green Building News, July 16, 2013.

incapable of doing.²⁶⁴ In addition to these superior features, Parkland also has a larger campus. Parkland’s building includes more space than William Allen - “478,000 square feet” versus “443,021” square feet.²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ Furthermore, while William Allen is situated on a couple “city block[s]” on 17th Street, Parkland’s red-brick building is a part of a larger “horseshoe-shaped complex” that occupies an expansive “128 scenic acres.” ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ The physical differences between these buildings establishes Parkland as a more conducive physical space for education. While William Allen’s students must contend with limited space that causes “overcrowding” in classrooms and on the way to classes, Parkland is built to maximize productivity.²⁶⁹ This focus on efficiency is further highlighted by the cafeteria’s ability “to feed 1,000 students in 20 minutes.”²⁷⁰ Parkland’s ability to provide a more efficient physical space for its students should not come as a surprise given the economic background of both schools’ respective districts. Parkland is ultimately able to spend slightly under three times more money per student than William Allen.²⁷¹ Its larger and more productive school buildings are a physical manifestation of its district’s deeper pockets. Ultimately, as the most expensive high school construction project of its generation, Parkland High School was never meant to be compared with William Allen’s

²⁶⁴ Solomon, Wendy E. “PARKLAND GETS HIGH-TECH HIGH SCHOOL * LEHIGH VALLEY’S NEW \$77 MILLION COMPLEX MIRRORS BUILDING TRENDS ELSEWHERE IN THE NATION.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, August 22, 1999.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ “Historical Facts / Historical Facts.” www.allentownsd.org. Allentown School District. Accessed November 25, 2019.

²⁶⁷ “William Allen High School 9th Grade Academy.” USA Architects, April 17, 2017.

²⁶⁸ Solomon, Wendy E. “PARKLAND GETS HIGH-TECH HIGH SCHOOL * LEHIGH VALLEY’S NEW \$77 MILLION COMPLEX MIRRORS BUILDING TRENDS ELSEWHERE IN THE NATION.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, August 22, 1999.

²⁶⁹ “William Allen High School 9th Grade Academy.” USA Architects, April 17, 2017.

²⁷⁰ Solomon, Wendy E. “PARKLAND GETS HIGH-TECH HIGH SCHOOL * LEHIGH VALLEY’S NEW \$77 MILLION COMPLEX MIRRORS BUILDING TRENDS ELSEWHERE IN THE NATION.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, August 22, 1999.

²⁷¹ Palochko, Jacqueline. “SPECIAL REPORT: Why the Allentown School District Is Continuously in a Financial Hole.” mcall.com, October 5, 2018.

campus. Its planners constructed it to stand next to, and even above, post-secondary education buildings like “Lehigh University.”²⁷² Nonetheless, these differences in physical space are another advantage Parkland’s majority-white student body exerts over poorer students of color at William Allen. The clubs, sports, and other student-run organizations hosted within these buildings are another area where Parkland’s students gain an advantage over their William Allen counterparts.

Extracurricular Activities

After each school day, students at both Parkland and William Allen step onto an athletic field, walk into a reserved classroom, or meet for a recital. All of these students are participating in the sports, clubs, and other student organizations that come together to form their respective school’s group of extracurricular activities. Like the aforementioned spheres of financial resources, education, post-graduation prospects, and physical school buildings, the extracurricular activities at Parkland and William Allen are not created equal.

Not only does Parkland have a more extensive list of extracurricular activities than William Allen, but its competitive student organizations have also achieved higher rates of success. Both Parkland and William Allen have released public lists of their after-school clubs. These lists include an array of activities from academic clubs to dance teams. Parkland sponsors a greater number of clubs than William Allen - “67” compared to “38.”²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ Due to Parkland’s higher quantity of clubs, they also have a broader range of organizations for students to pick

²⁷² Solomon, Wendy E. “PARKLAND GETS HIGH-TECH HIGH SCHOOL * LEHIGH VALLEY’S NEW \$77 MILLION COMPLEX MIRRORS BUILDING TRENDS ELSEWHERE IN THE NATION.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, August 22, 1999.

²⁷³ “Parkland High School Student Activities Guide .” *Parkland High School Student Activities Guide*. Allentown, PA: Parkland School District, 2019.

²⁷⁴ “Clubs.” Clubs - William Allen High School. William Allen High School. Accessed December 8, 2019.

from. For instance, although students at both schools can participate in Student Government Club and Debate Team, only students at Parkland can pursue more specific options like Investing Club. In addition to providing more student club options, Parkland achieves more success than William Allen in competitive student extracurricular activities, specifically musical theater and sports. Each spring, high schools throughout the Lehigh Valley region host musical theater productions. The State Theatre Center for the Arts presents the Freddy Awards later in the spring “to recognize and reward outstanding achievement in local high school musical theater.”²⁷⁵ Therefore, the Freddy Awards adds a competitive element to high school musical productions in the Lehigh Valley by giving physical awards to high schools based on categories like “Outstanding Overall Production of a Musical.”²⁷⁶ Parkland has historically won more Freddy Awards than William Allen. In 2018, the majority-white school “took home the most Freddy Awards, eight,” while William Allen was presented with only “one.”²⁷⁷ Parkland’s higher success rate in competitive extracurricular activities has also presented itself in sports. In the 2010s-decade, Parkland High School sports captured several district and state championships. More specifically, the Boys Volleyball team won district and state titles in 2014-2015, the Girls Volleyball team won district and state trophies in 2011-2012, 2014-2015- and 2015-2016, and the Softball team won district and state championships in 2014-2015.²⁷⁸ William Allen did not win any state titles in athletics during this decade, but the Boys Basketball team was able to

²⁷⁵ “State Theatre Center for The Arts: Freddy Awards: Easton PA.” Freddy Awards. State Theatre Center for The Arts, January 22, 2020.

²⁷⁶ Bresswein, Kurt. “Freddy Awards 2018: Complete List of Winners (PHOTOS).” lehighvalleylive. Lehigh Valley Live, May 25, 2018.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ “State Champion.” Parkland High School Sports History. Parkland High School. Accessed December 8, 2019.

capture the school's only conference championships.²⁷⁹ Overall, this data highlights that Parkland is able to offer both more club opportunities and more success in competitive extracurricular activities than William Allen. Parkland's edge in the realm of extracurricular activities is tied to its strength in other categories.

The larger number of opportunities and success rates of extracurricular activities at Parkland High School stem from the school's advantage in financial resources, education, and campus features. In the prior sections, Parkland's wealthier tax base, emphasis on college preparation, and more modern campus facilities has been outlined. All of these factors influence the extracurricular activities. Since Parkland High School students are more economically stable than William Allen students, they are able to focus on clubs and sports rather than having to work to support their families. Due to the high school's emphasis on college preparation, students participate in multiple extracurriculars to strengthen their college applications. Lastly, because the high school has a larger campus and more practice fields, Parkland students have more available space than their William Allen counterparts to host their after-school activities. Thus, William Allen's fewer opportunities and success rates with regard to extracurricular activities is not based on the school's shortcomings but is rather a symptom of the school's struggle with disadvantages like poverty, immigration, and segregation. This is further true of the preceding sections. All of these school factors are influenced by each other as well as socioeconomic disadvantages to result in a dynamic in which William Allen is unable to launch their student body toward success as efficiently as Parkland.

Rather than exhibiting Parkland's superiority as a public high school, this overall comparison reveals that resident segregation caused a polarization in the level of education

²⁷⁹ Groller, Keith. "Boys Basketball: Allen Soars by Liberty for EPC Championship." mcall.com. The Morning Call, February 13, 2020.

available to white and minority Allentonian students. US News & World Report ranks Parkland as the “152nd” best high school in Pennsylvania and rates William Allen in the bottom range of “516-673” ranked schools.²⁸⁰ On the surface, then, this comparison seems to highlight the ways in which one of the state’s best public high schools is better than one of the worst public high schools in Pennsylvania. Instead, this comparison reveals one of residential segregation’s long-term consequences. Allentown’s urban renewal projects segregated Allentonians of color into inner-city neighborhoods, which allowed white residents to live within all-white communities. After the collapse of local industry and a flood of Latinx migration, white Allentonians resettled to the city’s outside suburbs and kept people of color within Allentown’s interior. This segregated dynamic extended into the city’s public schools. The Allentown School District’s boundary lines developed to include the majority of Allentown’s students of color while Parkland’s school district boundary lines progressed to envelop the city’s white population. The segregated structure of the city’s public schools led to mass education inequality. In each major category, William Allen lags severely behind Parkland High School. Parkland enjoys a budget that is not only more stable than William Allen’s, but also provides more spending per student. The majority-white high school achieves vastly higher scores on state growth and assessment expectations. Students at Parkland graduate and move on to college in superior numbers. Campus facilities are bigger, more spacious, and more modern at Parkland. Parkland also boasts more clubs and more extracurricular awards and championships than William Allen. Each of the discrepancies between Parkland and William Allen establish the former’s ability to offer a better academic experience. On its own, this is not an issue. What makes it a point of concern, however, is that this superior education has been reserved for white pupils. By drawing the

²⁸⁰ “These Are the Best High Schools in Pennsylvania.” U.S. News & World Report. U.S. News & World Report. Accessed February 11, 2020.

PSD's boundary lines strategically around Allentown's white population, students of color in Allentown have been effectively restricted from attending Parkland and subsequently forced to attend a lower-performing high school. Because these limitations were created by state-sponsored segregation, it is now the government's responsibility to remove them.

Conclusion

After 2010, Allentown proudly donned its new slogan. The local government plastered “City without limits” with an accompanying logo framed like a “stylized A” and “shaped like an arch ... designed to suggest a gateway” on all official documents.²⁸¹ Banners including the slogan waved from lamp posts in the city’s downtown business and arts district. Some Allentonians also began to refer to their hometown by its new moniker. Residents of color, however, did not adopt the city’s new slogan with the same affection.

Allentonians’ varying reactions to their city’s new label is rooted in Allentown’s historical trajectory. For white Allentonians, their success throughout the city’s history truly exemplifies a city without limits. Allentown was founded by the white merchant, politician, and jurist William Allen. It was then populated by white Pennsylvania Dutch farmers. In this agricultural community, white immigrants were not only able to establish permanent homes, but also their own businesses. When Allentown blossomed into an industrial power in the early 20th century, it was due to the plants and truck production companies led by white Americans. Although the loss of these businesses resulted in white flight out of Allentown, white political leaders like former mayor “Ed Pawlowski” and state senator “Pat Browne” later created the “tax-distribution arrangement known as the Neighborhood Improvement Zone (NIZ)” in 2009 to help uplift the economy from the depression caused by the fall of industry and the Great Recession.²⁸² During each step of Allentown’s long history, white Allentonians have been able to achieve success and lead the town. Residents of color, on the other hand, have encountered both

²⁸¹ Renshaw, Jarrett. “Allentown's New Slogan: 'City without Limits!'.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, January 19, 2010.

²⁸² Tierney, John. “Breathing Life Into Allentown: Pennsylvania Comes to the Rescue.” The Atlantic. Atlantic Media Company, September 15, 2014.

restrictions and silence during their tenure in Allentown. Since the earliest settlements of African Americans, minority Allentonians have been largely barred from living outside of the downtown district. Students of color have also found themselves limited to minority-majority public Allentown schools while white students attend public schools with overwhelmingly white student populations. Minorities have even been restricted from assuming Allentown's highest public office. In November 2019, the "69-year-old former teacher, school administrator and city councilman" Ray O'Connell defeated the "son" of Puerto Rican parents Tim Ramos to win the Mayor's Office seat.²⁸³ O'Connell's rise to the Mayor's Office extended the hold white men have exerted on the Mayor's Office since the position was first established. In addition to these restrictions, local historians have largely ignored the presence of Allentonians of color. Anna Adams noted that minorities, especially "Latinos," are "invisible in Allentown's history books."²⁸⁴ Her book, *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania*, is one of the first attempts to recognize the presence of Allentonians of color in the city's history. This silence, paired with the numerous aforementioned restrictions, highlights ways in which Allentown is far from being a city without limits for people of color. Even in the present moment, Allentown continues to place limits on its minority residents.

Although the slogan "City without limits" was created as a forward-thinking vision of Allentown in 2010, Allentonians of color have continued to encounter limits. Spark, the Bethlehem marketing company that created the slogan, stated that "the logo was designed to

²⁸³ Wagaman, Andrew, Sarah M. Wojcik, and Michelle Merlin. "Allentown Delivers Ray O'Connell Two More Years in Mayor's Office." mcall.com. The Morning Call, November 6, 2019.

²⁸⁴ Adams, Anna. *Hidden From History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania = Escondida De La Historia : La Comunidad Latina De Allentown, Pennsylvania*. Allentown, Pa.: Lehigh County Historical Society, 2000, ix.

reflect "where [Allentown's] going, not where [Allentown's] been."²⁸⁵ Following this logic, the past struggles of black and brown people in Allentown does not deteriorate the perception of Allentown's lack of limits. Rather, the slogan intends to describe that Allentown is in the process of becoming a city without limits. Yet, past restrictions aside, the present experiences of African American and Latinx Allentonians prove that Allentown is as far away from breaking down barriers as it was when the local government actively segregated its citizens during the urban renewal projects in the 1960s.

Residents of color in Allentown continued to encounter barriers to fair housing and equal education after 2010, which shows that Allentown's forward-looking vision of an unrestricted city has not been actualized. In *Diversity Explosion: How New Racial Demographics Are Remaking America*, William Frey argues that although "black-white segregation is still quite evident in the United States," 2010 Census data displays "an easing of segregation."²⁸⁶ To prove this, he uses Census data from 1970, 1990, and 2010 and shows that Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Dallas, Atlanta, and Houston all experienced declining segregation levels in the past 50 years. Segregation scores in Allentown portray a reverse historical dynamic. The 1970 Census listed "1,980" African Americans and approximately "3,000" Latinx people out of a total of 109,527 persons.²⁸⁷ By 2018, the African American and Latinx community accounted for "52.2" and "14.2" percent of the total Allentown population respectively.²⁸⁸ Therefore, rather than

²⁸⁵ Renshaw, Jarrett. "Allentown's New Slogan: 'City without Limits'." mcall.com. The Morning Call, January 19, 2010.

²⁸⁶ Frey, William H. *Diversity Explosion: How New Racial Demographics Are Remaking America*. WASHINGTON, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2018, 173.

²⁸⁷ U.S. Census Bureau, "General Characteristics of the Population: 1970," Census Tracts, table P-1, 1.

²⁸⁸ "U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Allentown City, Pennsylvania." Census Bureau QuickFacts. United States Census Bureau, July 1, 2018.

segregation decreasing in Allentown over the last half century, it has exponentially increased. Recent migration and housing patterns predict a continuous rise in the current segregation level. As mentioned in the first chapter, Puerto Rican migration primarily fuels Allentown's growing Latinx population. This source of Latinx migration swelled at the end of the 2010s. After Category 5 Hurricane Maria ravaged Puerto Rico in 2017, an estimated "125,000" to "200,000" fled the island. With Pennsylvania serving as the second most popular destination of these "refugees," Allentown witnessed a larger flow of Latinx migration. Unlike a majority of previous Allentown Latinx migrants, Bethlehem City Councilwoman Olga Negrón noted that "a substantial number of [these] new arrivals from Puerto Rico ... have professions or a level of education capacity to get higher paying jobs."²⁸⁹ Despite the fact that these migrants could diversify Allentown's neighborhoods, Allentown's housing practices prevent integration. The Community Action Committee of the Lehigh Valley, after receiving anecdotal reports of housing discrimination, organized the "first ever fair housing test." The test went as follows: between "March 2011 and December 2011" the committee "had one white buyer and one minority buyer" ask to buy a home in Allentown. According to the report, "other than race or ethnicity, each buyer was identical on paper, with the same income level, employment history and number of household residents."²⁹⁰ The results of this test underscore the severity of Allentown's discriminatory redlining practices. In "three-fourths of cases — 24 tests — treatment varied by race," and the buyers were treated fairly in "one test." White buyers were primarily shown houses in suburbs outside of Allentown like "Whitehall," even when "they asked real estate agents to show them homes in the city." The white buyers who were shown homes in the city

²⁸⁹ DeJesus, Ivey. "They Came from Puerto Rico to Pa. after Hurricane Maria; Now They Are in Job Market, Higher Ed." pennlive. PennLive, September 16, 2019.

²⁹⁰ Lash, Devon. "Allentown Housing Sting Shows Whites and Minorities Treated Differently." themorningcall.com. *The Morning Call*, June 26, 2012.

were taken to “west Allentown,” which is the area bordering, and, in one neighborhood, included in the Parkland School District. Minority buyers, on the other hand, were mostly taken to homes in the “east, central or south Allentown” neighborhoods making up the downtown area. Ed Pawlowski, who was Allentown’s mayor during this study stated the following:

"When I talked to the housing agency, they told me they have never, ever seen the type of redlining and steering in their whole history that has occurred here in the city of Allentown."²⁹¹

These modern discriminatory housing policies reveal why Allentown’s continuously growing Latinx population is further segregated into downtown neighborhoods that are roughly “80” percent minority rather than welcomed throughout the entire city to achieve integration.²⁹²

Allentown also failed to build toward a more equal public school district after their adoption of a future-based slogan envisioning a city without limits. The Allentown School District not only consistently failed to meet its budget after 2010, but it was also cited as one of the worst funded public-school districts in the nation. Rutgers University education professor Bruce D. Baker conducted an “education inequality” report in 2014 for the Center for American Progress. He concluded that “the nation’s most fiscally disadvantaged local public school districts of significant size lie to the north and west of Philadelphia, in the districts of Reading and Allentown.”²⁹³ Parkland’s school district, in contrast, continued to boast one of the wealthiest tax bases in the region through the 2010s.²⁹⁴ This discrepancy between the Allentown and Parkland

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² “Mapping Segregation.” The New York Times. The New York Times, July 8, 2015.

²⁹³ Palochko, Jacqueline, Sarah M. Wojcik, and Michelle Merlin. “Segregation in Pennsylvania Schools: How a ZIP Code Determines the Quality of a Child's Education.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, October 31, 2019.

²⁹⁴ Palochko, Jacqueline. “SPECIAL REPORT: Why the Allentown School District Is Continuously in a Financial Hole.” mcall.com, October 5, 2018.

school district shows that education inequality based on race remained deeply rooted in the city. Thus, even when considering the future-oriented nature of Allentown's slogan, the city is unable to break down the barriers surrounding its poor residents of color. However, Allentown is not perpetually doomed from realizing its dream of erasing limits for all its citizens.

Through government policy, Allentown can begin to dismantle the barriers it placed on Allentonians of color and fulfill its vision of becoming a city without limits. According to Richard Rothstein's *The Color of Law*, in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, Chief Justice Roberts held in the majority opinion that "there is a constitutional obligation to remedy the effects of government-sponsored segregation, though not of private discrimination." Rather than arguing about the distinction between *de facto* and *de jure* policies, Rothstein adopted the Court's narrow interpretation and sought to prove that residential segregation "does fall into the category of open and explicit government-sponsored segregation." Rothstein's strategy follows the legal approach of Thurgood Marshall by differing not with judges' legal theory "but with their facts."²⁹⁵ This thesis followed the same strategy and employed Rothstein's argument by maintaining that *de jure* policies, in tandem with *de facto* practices, led to the segregation of Allentown. The present work pushed Rothstein's argument further by defining education inequality in Allentown as a direct long-term consequence of residential segregation; the two are inextricably linked. This thesis now returns to the Court's opinion in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*. Because residential segregation in Allentown stems from government policy, it falls under "government-sponsored segregation" and becomes the state's responsibility to remedy.²⁹⁶ Since the

²⁹⁵ Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. First edition. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

establishment of an unequal public education system in Allentown resulted from the government-sponsored segregation, despite both the Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* as well as the Pennsylvania state government's order "to start the desegregation of schools," the state must also enact solutions for this issue. The following will be a short list of policy proposals that the government can adopt to help heal the damages caused through their authorization and support of urban renewal. Admittedly, however, this list is neither comprehensive nor the "magic" solution. There are many policies that the government can take at the local, state, and federal level to remedy residential segregation and education inequality which are not included here. These policy proposals are also not guaranteed to remedy the housing and education issues in Allentown. These problems, and the damages suffered by Allentown's poor community of color, are deeply rooted. It will take a long time, in the best-case scenario, for these inequalities to fade. Thus, the following proposals are simply first steps that Allentown can take to live up to its moniker of the city without limits.

To meet federal guidelines, the Lehigh County Housing Authority (LCHA) conducts a routine study of barriers to fair housing titled *Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice*, which provides a framework for proposing solutions to residential segregation. As an "entitlement community under the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) Community Development Block Grant Program (CDBG)," Lehigh County "must conduct a Fair Housing Analysis which identifies any impediments to fair housing choice and what steps it will take to affirmatively further fair housing."²⁹⁷ The *2018 Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice* is LCHA's most recent effort to meet this federal

²⁹⁷ Lehigh County. Department of Community and Economic Development. *2018 Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice*. Allentown, PA: Lehigh County, Department of Community and Economic Development, 2019, 1.

requirement. To collect data for the report, LCHA analyzes local government reports regarding fair housing, conducts in-person interviews with community leaders, and collects surveys from citizens. LCHA counts 5 major impediments in its 2018 report: 1) lack of affordable housing, 2) lack of accessible housing, 3) barriers limiting housing choice, 4) lack of fair housing awareness, and 5) lack of economic opportunities.²⁹⁸ For the sake of brevity, the following solutions will focus on the first two impediments to fair housing. Impediments 1 and 2 are lasting consequences of Allentown's urban renewal projects. After the Fourth Street and Little Lehigh renewal efforts, displaced Allentonians of color like the Drayton family lost the homes they owned in downtown Allentown.²⁹⁹ Residents of color could not afford homes following these urban renewal projects. As a result, many families petitioned for government housing, which arrived in the form of public housing in the same segregated inner-city neighborhoods.³⁰⁰ The transition from their own homes to public housing decreased the rate of homeownership among poor Allentonians of color. Today, lack of affordable housing continues to depress homeownership rates in these communities. For example, a report by the Lehigh Valley Planning Commission found that "from 2012 to 2016, the number of renters in the Lehigh Valley climbed by 6,561, from 72,286 to 78,847. Over the same time period, the number of homeowners fell by 3,923, from 173,258 to 169,335." Even among renters, housing is increasingly unaffordable. A study by "real estate brokerage Redfin" concluded that Allentown "has highest rent-income ratio in US," which means that, on average, Allentonians spend the largest percent of their income on rent.³⁰¹ Impediment 2, lack of accessible housing, is also an issue connected to urban renewal.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 9-12.

²⁹⁹ Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 9.

³⁰⁰ "Allentown NAACP Unit Backs Public Housing." *The Morning Call*, 15 July 1964.

³⁰¹ Koltnow, Bo. "Study: Allentown Metro Area Has Highest Rent-Income Ratio in US." WFMZ.com. WFMZ-TV, January 17, 2017.

Prior to urban renewal, there was a “simple refusal by landlords to rent or sell to Negroes” outside of the downtown area.³⁰² Although this was a *de facto* policy, the state’s urban renewal projects effectively re-segregated people of color into inner-city neighborhoods in the long term. Today, these areas house mostly African American and Latinx residents and recent housing studies have found that real estate agencies continue to push minorities to downtown neighborhoods and white Allentonians to the suburbs.³⁰³ Government policy can help to break down this residential segregation.

Increasing public housing through government policy will create more affordable housing in Allentown. As mentioned earlier, Allentown used public housing to fill the displacement created after the Little Lehigh urban renewal project. The city continues to use public housing to address the needs of low-income residents. In 2019, the state provided the city a “combined \$2.75 million in grant money from... the Redevelopment Assistance Capital Program” to redevelop the “Little Lehigh public housing complex” built during the 1960s period of urban renewal. With the money, the city hopes to add new units to supply “better housing for some of the city’s low-to-moderate income families.” The local government also plans to request “\$11.5 million of federal low-income housing tax credits” to help with their public housing plans.³⁰⁴ Allentown’s use of state and federal funds to expand public housing serves as an example of using government policy to address the city’s state-sponsored segregation. It is especially

³⁰² Meek, Roberta. *Urban Renewal or Negro Removal: Race and Housing in Allentown, Pennsylvania 1963-1968*. 2006, 9.

³⁰³ Lash, Devon. “Allentown Housing Sting Shows Whites and Minorities Treated Differently.” *themorningcall.com. The Morning Call*, June 26, 2012.

³⁰⁴ Wagaman, Andrew. “Allentown Projects, Including Little Lehigh Housing Complex, Get \$2.75 Million in State Grants.” *mcall.com. The Morning Call*, August 2, 2019.

important that these efforts focus on adding new units since roughly “10,000 [residents] are waiting for public housing or a subsidized-rent voucher.”³⁰⁵

Affordable housing efforts must also extend the affordability of private housing. A major consequence of urban renewal was that the rate of homeownership among poor communities of color decreased. Not only does these rates continue to decrease in the present, but this problem also impacts public school funding. With fewer homeowners, the ASD lacks a tax base as robust as the neighboring PSD. Expanding affordable private housing will then both increase the city’s homeownership rate and build the school district's tax base. The government can use policy to encourage the private sphere to expand the affordability of homes. Allentown’s Neighborhood Improvement Zone, established by state law, envelops the main downtown business district. It allows developers to use tax dollars “to finance their costs of building within the zone” instead of sending this money to “Pennsylvania’s treasury.”³⁰⁶ The benefit of diverting these funds is that the attraction of new businesses will yield higher tax revenues in the future. For instance, in 2019, the NIZ “ generated nearly \$86 million in state and local tax revenue in 2019, representing the highest annual total since the economic development program was implemented in 2012.”³⁰⁷ The state can work to implement a similar plan specifically for affordable private housing in Allentown. By creating a law that allows real estate developers to use their tax dollars to finance building costs, the state would encourage a boom in the housing market. An accompanying mandate in this law to build a fixed number of affordable housing units for low-income minority buyers would further ensure that Allentonians of color could afford these new homes and

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Tierney, John. “Breathing Life Into Allentown: Pennsylvania Comes to the Rescue.” The Atlantic. Atlantic Media Company, September 15, 2014.

³⁰⁷ Wagaman, Andrew. “After Two-Year Drop, Allentown's NIZ Generates Record Tax Revenue in 2019. What Drove the 20% Increase?” mcall.com. The Morning Call, March 22, 2020.

increase both their homeowner rates and the school district's tax base. It is essential that affordable public and private housing expansions occur throughout the entire city to further break down residential segregation.

Placing additional public and private housing units throughout each section of Allentown will increase accessibility and further integrate the city. Allentown began its plan to build “200 public housing units” to house the displaced people of color after the Fourth Street project in 1964.³⁰⁸ These housing units further segregated residents of color, however, due to their location. The new public housing units were built strictly within Allentown’s inner-city neighborhood. Because these were the only neighborhoods where people of color in Allentown could buy and rent homes, the government’s decision to place public housing there reinforced the *de facto* practice of redlining. Based on current Census data and the 2011 housing study, it is clear that these neighborhoods remain the main residential hub for African American and Latinx residents. Expansion of public and private housing throughout the entire city will work to break down this segregated structure. While Allentown’s use of government funds to redevelop and build new public housing units in 2019 will provide assistance to low-income families of color, it also runs the risk of extending segregation patterns by focusing on public housing in the downtown district like the “Little Lehigh public housing complex.”³⁰⁹ The local government must ensure that its expansion of public housing include new units in majority-white neighborhoods like the city’s West End. By creating affordable public housing for low-income minority residents in majority-white neighborhoods, the city will directly work to integrate its own neighborhoods. Thus, this paper recommends the city to not only expand its public housing units, but also establish some of

³⁰⁸ "Allentown NAACP Unit Backs Public Housing." *The Morning Call*, 15 July 1964.

³⁰⁹ Wagaman, Andrew. “Allentown Projects, Including Little Lehigh Housing Complex, Get \$2.75 Million in State Grants.” *mcall.com*. *The Morning Call*, August 2, 2019.

these new units in neighborhoods that will lead to greater residential integration. The state can also encourage this integration in the private housing market. Earlier, a plan to encourage expansion of affordable private homes based on the NIZ was outlined. By adding a further stipulation to require these real estate developers to sell a specific number of affordable homes to low-income Allentownians of color in majority-white neighborhoods, the government will further diversify Allentown. Although this proposal sounds simple, the benefit of using tax dollars to finance building costs and strict government enforcement of the policy should enable it to succeed. These policy proposals outline a couple ways in which the state can implement the law to address its role in the city's segregation and establish fairer housing opportunities for minority residents. Public education is another area affected by state-sponsored segregation that can be remedied through government action. In the interest of time, the following proposals will again focus on only two major areas of public education - funding and zoning areas.

Restructuring charter school reimbursement plans has gained popularity as a way to strengthen funding in the Allentown School District. In 2019, Pennsylvania Governor Tom Wolf called for charter school reform. His reform plan promoted increased management and reimbursement formula changes. Regarding increased management, the Governor proposed changes such as:

- “Allow districts to limit student enrollment at charters that do not provide a high-quality, equitable education to students.
- Require transparent charter school admission and enrollment policies that do not discriminate based on intellectual or athletic ability, race, gender or disability.
- Ramp up oversight of charter school management companies.”³¹⁰

The governor also called for changes in “reimbursement formulas dictating how much public school districts must pay charter and cyberschools” such as urging “lawmakers to establish a flat

³¹⁰ Palochko, Jacqueline. “Gov. Tom Wolf Calls for Charter School Changes That Could Ease Allentown Schools Deficit.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, August 13, 2019.

tuition rate for all cyber charter schools and apply the same formula used to distribute special education dollars to school districts to the state's charter schools.”^{311 312} These changes intended to address funding deficits in public school districts. Over the past decade, the ASD routinely encountered budget deficits. For instance, the school district was “almost \$8 million short in the 2018-19 budget.” Governor Wolf and other politicians like Pennsylvania State Representatives Mike Schlossberg and Peter Schweyer, both Allentown Democrats, believe that changes to the formula of money the ASD is required by state law to pay charter schools would “save Allentown north of \$10 million.”³¹³ This sum of money would be large enough to cover the district's most recent budget gaps. This thesis supports these funding changes as one way to lift the financial burden on the ASD. Another proposed solution is continued government monetary support to help the ASD meet its budget. To assist the ASD cover a \$28 million deficit for the 2019-2020 budget, Pennsylvania provided “an extra \$10 million for Allentown, no-strings attached.”³¹⁴ It is important for the government to continue to grant this kind of financial support to the ASD while it uses policy changes in funding formulas to stabilize the school district. However, the state must also focus on instituting changes to the core financial problem in the school district - a weak tax base.

Strengthening the Allentown School District's tax base through housing expansion will work to address the central problem of the school district's fragile economic state. The policy proposals advanced by local and state lawmakers such as limiting charter school funding and

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Murphy, Jan. “Pa. Gov. Tom Wolf's Charter School Reform Plan Re-Ignites Firestorm with Advocates, Parents.” pennlive. Penn Live , February 6, 2020.

³¹³ Palochko, Jacqueline. “Gov. Tom Wolf Calls for Charter School Changes That Could Ease Allentown Schools Deficit.” mcall.com. The Morning Call, August 13, 2019.

³¹⁴ Palochko, Jacqueline. “Facing \$28 Million Deficit for next Year, Allentown School District Looking to Borrow Money to Cover \$7 Million Hole in This Year's Budget.” mcall.com. *The Morning Call*, April 22, 2019.

increasing government expenditures will effectively cover some of the district's deficit gaps. Yet, these solutions do not provide long-term relief. In the 2019-2020 budget, the ASD faced a \$28 million deficit. Lawmakers predicted that charter school funding changes would lead to \$10 million in savings and government assistance covered another \$10 million. Together, these savings would not be enough to cover the entirety of the district's deficit. Thus, even the two proposals would lead the ASD to borrow money and dig itself into deeper financial crisis, which occurred in 2019 to meet the 2019-2020 deficit demands.³¹⁵ Policy, therefore, must also focus on the city's weak tax base, the root of the ASD's financial woes. Because "80 percent" of Allentown housing stock includes "twins and row homes," the ASD's average house assessment is "126,000." In contrast, Parkland's housing consists of "expansive housing developments with four-bedroom homes" that carry an average "226,989" housing assessment. Further weakening Allentown's tax base is the fact that it has a lower percentage of homeowners and lower median household income.³¹⁶ These factors allow the PSD to collect more income and property taxes than the ASD to cover its budget. For example, the PSD was able to cover "76%" of its budget with local tax revenue compared to the ASD's "30%".³¹⁷ What all of this data shows is that Parkland is able to collect a greater proportion of local tax revenue and then spend more money per student because it simply possesses a wealthier, land-owning tax base. Strengthening the ASD's tax base would then provide an opportunity to stabilize the school district in the long-term. One of the key ways to achieve this goal is to expand housing. By increasing both the housing infrastructure and the number of low-income homeowners throughout the entire city as

³¹⁵ Palochko, Jacqueline. "On Second Try, Allentown School Board Narrowly Approves Taking out \$10 Million Loan." mcall.com. The Morning Call, May 8, 2019.

³¹⁶ Palochko, Jacqueline. "SPECIAL REPORT: Why the Allentown School District Is Continuously in a Financial Hole." mcall.com, October 5, 2018.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

mentioned earlier, the ASD would be able to collect more taxes each year. This kind of tax collection improvement, paired with less spending on charter schools, would lead to sustainable growth that would allow the district to permanently stabilize its budget without increasing dependence on state funds and loans. The NIZ presents another opportunity for the ASD to increase its tax base.

The Allentown School District's tax base can also be strengthened by continuing to collect tax revenue created by the Neighborhood Improvement Zone. Allentown's NIZ factors heavily in the city's vision of a city without limits. Since its establishment in 2009, the NIZ "spurred nearly a billion dollars of development in the Hamilton Street business district" within the downtown area.³¹⁸ These developments welcomed the emergence of "a hockey arena, new office towers and luxury apartment buildings."³¹⁹ Despite these advances, poor residents of color in the downtown neighborhoods bordering the NIZ feel alienated from the city's growing economy. At a town hall meeting in early 2020, residents stated that the NIZ "has done little for the neighborhoods beyond its borders."³²⁰ The NIZ, then, follows Allentown's historical trajectory of enabling white residents to succeed while simultaneously ignoring residents of color. One way that the NIZ can be used to benefit these ignored and underprivileged communities is to expand the tax funds it generates for the Allentown School District. According to CEO J. B. Reilly, the largest developed in the NIZ, "property taxes to the city and the Allentown School District from the zone have been rising around \$4.5 million a year and are

³¹⁸ Hall, Peter. "Center City Allentown Residents Say NIZ Isn't Working for Them." mcall.com. The Morning Call, February 17, 2020.

³¹⁹ Darragh, Tim. "Allentown Neighborhoods Improving, but Still Struggling in NIZ Shadow." mcall.com. The Morning Call, July 14, 2018.

³²⁰ Hall, Peter. "Center City Allentown Residents Say NIZ Isn't Working for Them." mcall.com. The Morning Call, February 17, 2020.

projected to increase between \$7 million and \$8 million in about four years.³²¹ By continuing to increase the taxes it generates for the ASD, the NIZ will strengthen the education sector for the city's residents of color. Raising the percentage, the NIZ must contribute in taxes to the ASD is another proposal that the school district should consider. Although the tax increase may result in a slightly higher obligation for the NIZ, it will help the ASD establish sustainable long-term economic stability. This paper also proposes that a portion of the tax revenue generated by the NIZ go toward helping neighboring residents of color buy homes and other assistance programs. Using tax revenue from the NIZ in these proposed ways would allow the city to directly ensure that it provides economic opportunities not only for its white residents but its poor black and brown citizens as well. The last proposal will focus on the ASD's zoning lines.

Adjusting the Allentown and Parkland School District boundary lines represents one of the most promising approaches to integrating William Allen and Parkland High Schools. The previous policy proposals focused primarily on addressing residential segregation and the ASD's economic woes. Expanding affordable and accessible housing in Allentown are both policies that would create more racially mixed neighborhoods and subsequently lead to greater diversity at both William Allen and Parkland. These policies, however, will take years to affect integration because building houses accessible to low-income residents of color in racially mixed neighborhoods is a lengthy process. One way that the state can hurry the integration of the student bodies at William Allen and Parkland is by adjusting the schools' zoning areas. There are two ways that the government can adjust these boundary lines. First, the ASD can redraw its lines to include the entire City of Allentown. This change would allow the ASD to include the westernmost neighborhood in the West End that has been annexed to the PSD. Bringing this

³²¹ Darragh, Tim. "Allentown Neighborhoods Improving, but Still Struggling in NIZ Shadow." mcall.com. The Morning Call, July 14, 2018.

majority-white Allentown neighborhood into the ASD would increase William Allen's white population, effectively increasing the school's diversity to mirror Allentown's overall racial demographics. Another benefit caused by this change would be an expansion of the ASD's tax base. The inclusion of this neighborhood would add more people to the ASD's tax base and consequently increase the revenue collected by the school district to fund public education. Overall, this adjustment to the ASD zoning area is a straight-forward and simple proposal because it would only expand the ASD boundary lines to include all neighborhoods within the City of Allentown, which is a dynamic present in the neighboring Bethlehem and Easton school districts. Second, the ASD and PSD boundary lines can be redrawn to split Allentown's center city area. At the present, the ASD generally and William Allen specifically absorb the entirety of Allentown's downtown area. Splitting this downtown area between both school districts would not only racially integrate both William Allen and Parkland, but it would also adjust the schools' tax bases to allow the schools to fund their students' education at a more equal rate. This proposal is more radical than the previous proposal because it would introduce larger-scale changes to both schools' boundary lines. Additionally, it would bring an area outside of the Parkland area into their school district. Although school districts including areas outside of their city lines is a current practice at Parkland and both the bordering Liberty and Easton school districts, Parkland may resist this change due to its larger scale. Nonetheless, this proposal presents a unique opportunity to not only integrate, but also level the economic playing field at William Allen and Parkland in an immediate manner.

A walk through the inner-city neighborhoods of Allentown ultimately reveals serious inequalities. One would find that poor people of color, mostly African American and Latinx, live in these neighborhoods. While Allentown's growing economy welcomes new sports stadiums,

restaurants, and luxury apartments, these Allentonians deal with issues stemming from their poverty, race, and gender. The children of these residents also attend schools where the majority of students come from working-class families of color. The graduation and college placement rates at the local high school are far below the state's averages. A ten to fifteen-minute drive into Allentown's western suburbs introduces a new world. These neighborhoods are inhabited primarily by white Allentonians who earn higher incomes per household than the poor families of color in the downtown neighborhoods. The public high school in these neighborhoods consists of a majority-white student body who go on to graduate and attend college at vastly higher rates than their black and brown neighbors.

Given these sharp discrepancies between Allentown's minority and white populations, one begins to question Allentown's slogan - the city without limits. Allentown's white residents do not experience harsh restrictions. They enjoy the privileges of comfortable salaries, more expensive homes, and more successful public schools. Yet, for Allentonians of color, the barriers appear endless. They are forced to live within Allentown's downtown area and their public schools fail to graduate students and send them to college on a large scale. The barriers Allentonians of color encounter cast serious doubt upon Allentown's moniker.

Yet, the present limitations do not prevent Allentown from fulfilling its vision. The aforementioned proposals all present options for the government to enact changes that would address the residential segregation it caused through its sponsorship of urban renewal as well as the inequality this segregation created between the Allentown and Parkland school districts. Even if the state does not enact any of these proposals, these policies offer a foundation for the government to build other laws that will encourage more opportunities for all of Allentown's

citizens. If the state works to create and uphold effective policies, then Allentown will be able to become a true city without limits.

Appendix

Figure 1:

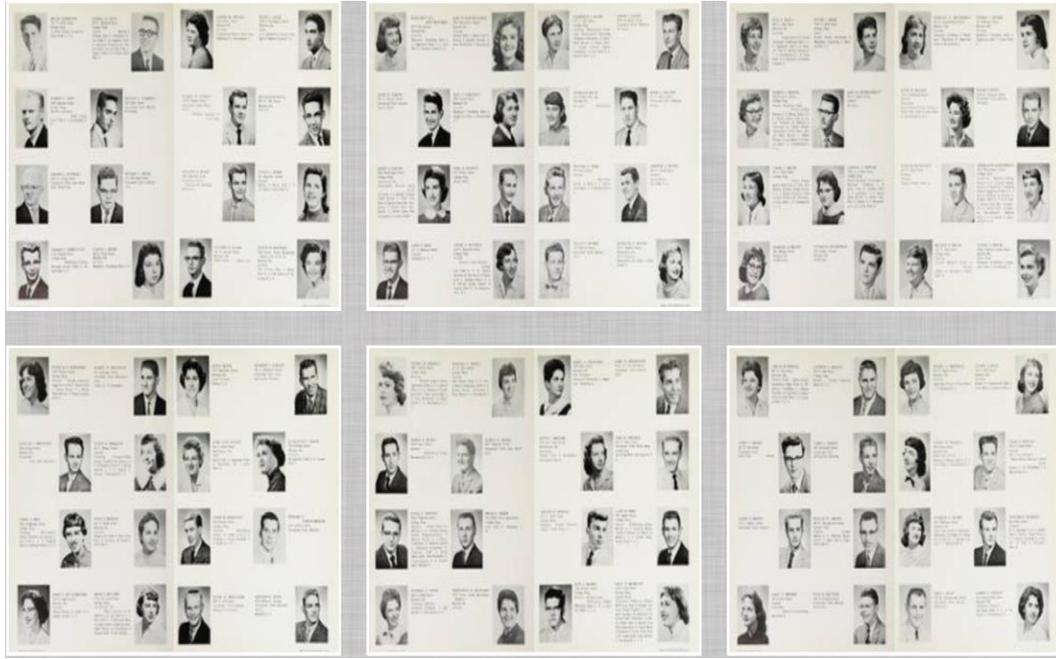


Figure 2:



Figure 3:

A TALE OF TWO SCHOOL DISTRICTS

A look at economic data in Allentown and Parkland shows how a school district's tax base makes all the difference in generating local revenue.

Allentown		Parkland
17,000	Student enrollment	10,000
\$36,807	Median household income	\$82,236
\$126,000	Average house assessment	\$226,989
19.7 mills	Property tax rate	15.5 mills
\$318 million	2018-19 budget	\$179 million
30%	Percentage covered by *local revenue	76%
\$4,889	Per pupil local revenue	\$13,878

*Includes property and Earned Income Tax revenue

Source: State and local data

CRAIG LARIMER / THE MORNING CALL

Figure 4:



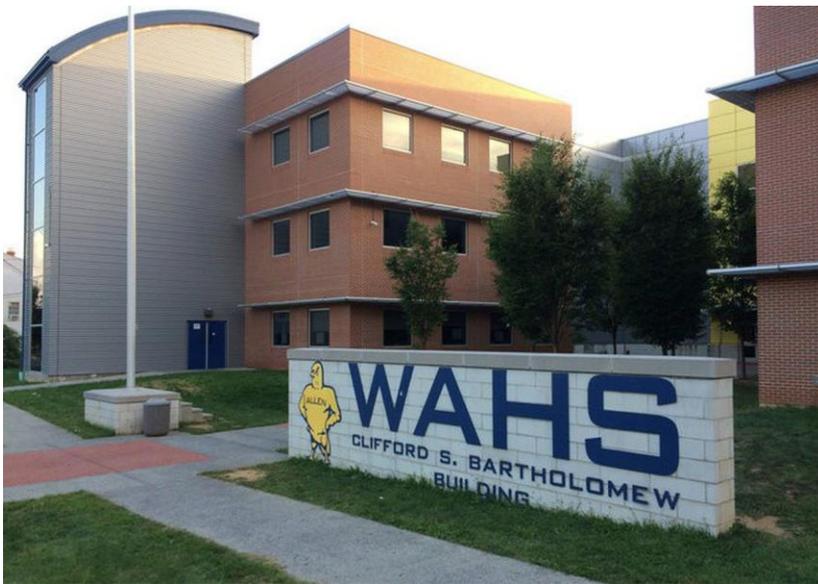
File Photo | The Morning Call

Figure 5:



Times File Photo | Colin McEvoy

Figure 6:



Kurt Bresswein | For lehighvalleylive.com

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