## **A RESOLUTION**

Repudiating the history of discriminatory covenants in Milwaukee County and the United States

WHEREAS, in the history of the United States and Milwaukee County, racism and discrimination has taken many *de jure* forms, including slavery, Jim Crow laws, racial zoning, redlining, and racially restrictive covenants; and

WHEREAS, Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution states, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."; and

WHEREAS, in 1917 the United States Supreme Court declared municipal segregation ordinances illegal in *Buchanen v. Warley*, declaring municipally imposed segregation ordinances as violating the freedom of contract of individual right to property; and

WHEREAS, *de jure* segregation continued to be legally enforced through discriminatory or racially restrictive covenants in property deeds, or language in a property deed restricting real estate transfer of the property to "White or Caucasian" or specifically regulating against transfer to those of "Negro," "Mongolian," "African," or "Hebrew," descent, were a way to circumvent contemporary legal precedent as property transactions were contracts between private individuals; and

WHEREAS, in 1926 the Supreme Court ruled discriminatory covenants as beyond the reach of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment in *Corrigan v. Buckley* as property transactions were contracts between private individuals; and

WHEREAS, the Homeowners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), created pursuant to the National Housing Act of 1934, enforced discriminatory practices such as the HOLC's nationwide redlining maps and

the FHS recommending in its manual the imposition of discriminatory covenants; leading to American lenders adopting discrimination as standard practice; and

WHEREAS, a 1938 HOLC map of Milwaukee referred to neighborhoods having a "detrimental influence" of "Polish" residents, "infiltration of Mexicans," and "Negro slum residents and lower-type Jews"; and

WHEREAS, a racially restrictive covenant in the Village of Whitefish Bay Bay Ridge Subdivision, recorded on May 29, 1927 (Vol. 1221, p. 215) states, "No lot or building thereon, if any, shall be occupied or conveyed to a colored person"; and

WHEREAS, a 1979 Milwaukee Metropolitan Integration Research Center study titled, "Racially Restrictive Covenants: The Making of All-White Suburbs in Milwaukee County," found 16 of Milwaukee County's 18 suburbs had racially restrictive covenants in their property deeds; and

WHEREAS, according to the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee's Mapping Racism and Resistance in Milwaukee County project, an estimated approximation of two percent, or 20,000 to 25,000 of Milwaukee County's property deeds, have racially restrictive racist language; and

WHEREAS, in 1948 the United States Supreme Court reversed itself and ruled in *Shelley v. Kraemer* that racially restrictive covenants were no longer legally enforceable through the courts under the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause, but the Federal Housing Administration and other federal and state entities publicly vowed to ignore the ruling; and

WHEREAS, Congress passed and President Lyndon Johnson signed the federal Fair Housing Act of 1968 which finally prohibited discrimination in housing transactions relating to race, color, national origin, religion, sex, et cetera, and further prohibited the new creation or enforcement of discriminatory covenants; and

 WHEREAS, Richard Rothstein's 2017 *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*, devotes an entire chapter to discriminatory covenants in the United States titled, "Private Agreements, Government Enforcement"; and

WHEREAS, Joe Trotter's *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915-1945* discusses Milwaukee's early Black history and Patrick Jones' *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee* focuses on the open housing movement involving Vel Phillips, Lloyd Barbee, and Father James Groppi; and

WHEREAS, throughout the period of *de jure* and *de facto* implementation of discriminatory covenants, aside from the real pain and injustice of unequal treatment, there was significant economic harm against Blacks due to a segmented market: as there was a reduced housing supply available to Blacks, it often resulted in poorer quality apartments and houses at inflated rents and real estate prices; as Patrick Jones wrote in *Selma of the North*, "The realtors would. . .encourage the white homeowners to sell their homes at a loss because, they suggested, the presence of African Americans would bring down property values. These newly available 'white properties' were then sold to African American families over the market value" (p.177).; and

WHEREAS, among County actions to address open housing, in File No. 67-745(b), Milwaukee County requested the Community Relations-Social Development Commission in Milwaukee County recommend a model county-wide fair housing ordinance; and

WHEREAS, Milwaukee County in 1968 passed a resolution with a draft fair housing ordinance in File No. 67-829 which, subject to municipal enablement, offered to have the 19 municipalities cede their fair housing enforcement via civil litigation to the Milwaukee County Office of Corporation Counsel; however, no further action was apparently taken and no County ordinance was created at that time; and

WHEREAS, the current State of Wisconsin fair housing statute as amended, was originally created in 1971 and is presently Wis. Stat. § 106.50; and

WHEREAS, Milwaukee County in File No. 92-346 created a Fair Housing Ordinance in Chapter 107 of the Milwaukee County Code of General Ordinances (MCGO) to have "the declared policy of the County of Milwaukee that all persons shall have an equal opportunity for housing regardless of sex, race, color, handicap, religion, national origin, sex or marital status of the person maintaining a household, lawful source of income, age, ancestry or sexual orientation. . .", including in Section 107.03(1) MCGO which states it is illegal discriminatory conduct, "By refusing to sell, lease, finance or contract to construct housing or by refusing to discuss the terms thereof."; however, legal County jurisdiction is limited to unincorporated territory, of which there is none; and

WHEREAS, property owners may contact the Register of Deeds to amend their property deeds to eliminate racist language, however, there may be merit in maintaining the language in existing deeds to remind property owners of past racism; and

WHEREAS, discriminatory covenants are a dark spot on the history of the United States, including in Milwaukee County, whereby founding American principles and

Enlightenment values of individual liberty and equal justice for all were not lived up to; and,

WHEREAS, the Committee on Health Equity, Human Needs, and Strategic Planning, at its meeting of June 17, 2022, recommended adoption of File No. 22-703 (vote 4-0); now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, Milwaukee County hereby acknowledges and recognizes the harm discriminatory covenants caused to society and how it adversely affected individuals' rights to purchase property solely on the color of their skin, ethnicity, or religion; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, Milwaukee County hereby recognizes and urges all Milwaukee County residents to recognize that discriminatory covenants are unenforceable, morally repugnant, against public policy and applicable law, and have no legal force or effect; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, Milwaukee County hereby repudiates every discriminatory covenant contained in any deed, plat map, subdivision governing agreement, subdivision association bylaws, and any other real estate documents contained in any Milwaukee County property.

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