

# **BUSINESS MATTERS**

► **EXPERT ASSIGNMENTS** posted on course website.

► Substitution Policy

► <u>Place Profiles</u>: deadline EXTENDED to Friday, October 4.

➤ uploaded to your folder on OneDrive by 5 pm.

# THE RISE OF SUBURBIA: FOUR TAKEAWAYS

# I. Among certain populations in the United States, there has <u>always</u> been a desire to live at a remove from urban distractions.

- Prior to the 1920s, suburban ownership only available to the affluent.
  - Places of leisure for the wealthy.
  - Industrial towns built outside the city to regulate the behavior of workers and (among immigrant classes) to assimilate them into proper American life.

## THE RISE OF SUBURBIA: FOUR TAKEAWAYS

II. The growth of the suburbs reflects a variety of innovations in communication, transportation, and labor technologies.

- The rise of the "street car" enclaves in the 1870s.
- The increased use of automobile transportation in the 1920s.
- The application of mass-production techniques in the creation of postwar suburbs (1940s, 1950s).
  - Levittowns
  - Suburban homes at the forefront of technological innovation.

# THE RISE OF SUBURBIA: FOUR TAKEAWAYS

#### III. Federal Policy played a huge role in the creation of the suburbs.

- Federal Highway Acts of 1916, 1921, and 1956 will help make once inaccessible lands available for construction (creating suburban sprawl).
- New Deal Policies that will spur economic growth through the investment of new housing stock in areas
  outside the city.
  - Resettlement Act (1935 1936); The Greenbelt Program
  - The Emergency Farm Mortgage Act (1933)

Additional federal policies will help reduce barriers of homeownership for many (white) Americans, making suburban living available on a massive scale.

- The Homeowners Loan Corporation (1933)
- The Federal Housing Authority and the National Housing Act (1934)
- Veterans Administration (VA) Mortgage Guarantee (1944)

## TODAY

► What do we mean by "ghetto"?

► Racial and Socioeconomic Stratification

- ► Development of African American Neighborhoods
- ► Current Racial Patterns in Metropolitan Areas
- ► Social Class Patterns Among African Americans

What social impacts of residential segregation does DuBois identify in the ghetto? (313) How do they differ from Zorbaugh's description of the slum?

## GHETTO

 $\succ\,$  ghetto: settlements marked by involuntary (or voluntary) segregation.

 $\blacktriangleright$  usually associated with racial, ethnic, and other minorities.

➤ usage reflects a diverse evolution:

 $\blacktriangleright$  ghetto originally refers to Jewish residential areas

► Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (1929): the ghetto as enclave.

Institutional concentration, culture area, social isolation, and residential concentration.
 early applications of "ghetto" to African Americans diverse.

➤ Du Bois (The Black North: A Social Study): ghetto as segregated area of first settlement in Philadelphia

► Drake and Cayton (*The Black Metropolis*): ghetto as the poorest area of the city

➤ ghetto becomes aligned to African-American communities more broadly in the 1960s and 1970s.

## **AFRICAN AMERICANS IN CITIES**

➤ Today, a majority of African Americans live in cities and metropolitan areas.

# ► Before 1920:

- ➤ African Americans were not as highly segregated from their white counterparts as they are today.
- ➤ Small proportion of African Americans lived in neighborhoods that would be classified as "black neighborhoods."
- $\blacktriangleright\,$  ghetto: referred almost exclusively to Jewish neighborhoods.

# AFRICAN AMERICANS IN CITIES

#### ► Before the Great Migration:

- ► African Americans lived in all sections of major cities.
- New York's Harlem and Chicago's South Side were only communities with critical mass of African American residents to support specialized black institutions and businesses.



- $\blacktriangleright$  First sociologist to undertake ethnography in black communities.
- ► Philadelphia attractive for fugitive slaves and freed blacks:
  - ► 1780: Pennsylvania abolishes the first Abolition Act, which will outlaw slavery.
  - ▶ 1847: State legislature pass law voiding property rights of state slaveholders.
  - ► 1800 1830: population explosion of African Americans.
  - ► 1840 1880: population of African Americans stabilized.
  - ► 1880s : population would rise again



- ➤ During periods of slow growth (1840 1880s), African Americans will have an easier time getting jobs and establishing businesses.
- ➤ During periods of rapid growth, they were often squeezed out of jobs, usually by European immigrants.
  - The flow of immigrants coming into Philadelphia (from Europe) will coincide with poorer, less educated African Americans to the city.
  - ➤ Whites began stereotyping the entire racial group as poor and unskilled.

THE GREAT MIGRATION

► Impact:

- Substantial growth of black populations in industrial cities (Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, Newark, Cleveland).
- ► The spatial concentration of blacks in cities.

## WHITES AND SEGREGATION

► Segregation due to white responses to black population growth in Northern cities.

"Northern whites viewed this rising tide of black migration with increasing hostility and considerable alarm. Middle-class whites were repelled by what they saw as the uncouth manners, unclean habits, slothful appearance, and illicit behavior of poorly educated, povertystricken migrants who had only recently been sharecroppers, and a resurgence of white racist ideology during the 1920s provided a theoretical, 'scientific' justification for these feelings. Working-class whites, for their part, feared economic competition from the newcomers; and being first and second generation immigrants who were themselves scorned by native whites, they reaffirmed their own 'whiteness' by oppressing a people that was even lower in the racial hierarchy. Blacks, in the early twentieth century frequently said that the first English word an immigrant learned was 'nigger'" (Massey and Denton, American Apartheid, p. 29).

#### WHITES AND SEGREGATION

- ► Zoning regulations and racially restrictive covenants.
- ► Mobilizing against blacks (publishing inflammatory literature; holding whites-only rallies).
- ► Intimidation (racial violence)
  - ► Race Riots (1900 1920)
    - ▶ Result: Blacks living outside traditional black neighborhoods will be forced into black belts.
    - ➤ Black Belts become more integrated along socioeconomic strata.
  - ► Informal threats of violence (arson, bombings)
- ► "Sundown Towns"

#### THE GREAT MIGRATION

#### 1916 - 1930

- ▶ <u>1916</u>: Pennsylvania Railroad sent recruiters to the South to hire workers.
- Blacks learned of Northern job opportunities through widely read African-American papers.
  - ➤ Underdeveloped southern economy resulted from the effects of The Civil War.
  - ► Jim Crow laws
- ► WWI added to demand of industrial workers.
  - ► 400,000 blacks between 1916 and 1918.
  - ► 1 million blacks between 1916 and 1930.

# THE RISE OF SUBURBIA: FOUR TAKEAWAYS

IV. Federal Policies will inadvertently create the infrastructure that will encourage structural segregation along racial and ethnic lines.

- ► Home Owners Loan Corporation (1934) will create a ratings system that will be applied on a local scale.
  - ➤ Real estate entrepreneurs, local officials applied these policies as tools of racial exclusion.
  - Policies of racial and ethnic exclusion informally established through "gentlemen's agreements" and codified in racially restrictive covenants and realtor's codes of ethics.

## **PUBLIC POLICY AND SEGREGATION**

#### Home Owners Loan Corporation (1933)

- devalued black neighborhoods as lowest grade (most undesirable)
- initiated and institutionalized the practice of redlining.
- Federal Housing Administration (1934)
  - stripping cities of middle class white populationsfavored construction of single-family projects
  - and new housing stock.
  - discouraged loans for repairing existing housing stock.
  - restrictive covenants

#### WHITES AND SEGREGATION

#### ► Example of Racially Restrictive Covenants:

16. RACIAL RESTRICTIONS: No property in said Addition shall at any time be sold, conveyed, rented or leased in whole or in part to any person or persons not of the White or Caucasian race. No person other than one of the White or Caucasian race shall be permitted to occupy any property in said Addition or portion thereof or building thereon except a domestic servant actually employed by a person of the White or Caucasian race where the latter is an occupant of such property.

#### ► from Article 34 of Realtor's Code of Ethics (1924 - 1950):

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

#### ▶ from Article 34 of Realtor's Code of Ethics (1950):

"A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or use which will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood."

#### **CONSTRUCTING THE GHETTO**

• The lack of loans channeled to minority areas.

 $\cdot\,$  steep declines in property values and a pattern of disrepair, deterioration, vacancy, and abandonment

• White flight to the suburbs

 increasing social services will drive taxes up, further accelerating the flight of white middle-class. Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954:

 provided federal fund to local authorities to acquire slum properties and prepare them for redevelopment.

## **CONSTRUCTING THE GHETTO**

• Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954:

- provide federal funds to local authorities to acquire slum properties and prepare them for redevelopment.
- PROVISION to guarantee affordable housing for displaced groups.
  - Public Housing responsible for rehousing.
- Laws manipulated to clear large swaths of land that threatened white business owners and elite institutions.
- Areas of new housing structures limited to black areas.
  - Result: High-density, multi-level units

Massey and Denton detail whites' strategies for excluding blacks from residential spaces in the first 60 years of the 20th century: violence, coercion, the formation of neighborhood improvement associations, lobbying for zoning restrictions, boycotts of businesses with black patrons, restrictive covenants, and retreat to the suburbs, among others. What are the ways in which whites **today** leverage power to protect residential spaces from people of color? Over urban spaces more generally?

-----THEO H., EXPERT QUESTION

How do Massey and Denton examine the role of Black self-segregation in American ghettos? Now that the ghetto is home for African American, should we attempt to contest the effects of segregation by "dismantling the ghetto" (Massey & Denton 59)?

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- NOELIA C., EXPERT QUESTION