

The Consequences of Urban Crisis

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1 What is the interesting sociological question?

- How much do turning-point events matter for long-term structural change? [Empirically: how did the riots in the 1960s affect household decisions—in aggregate—that perpetuated long-term racial change?]
- How much did state/local implementation of federal policies affect long-term racial change? [Empirically: how did transportation planning and implementation create opportunities for long-term racial change?]

2 Introduction

How much influence did riots in the 1960s have on patterns of neighborhood racial change in the post-Civil Rights era? Or did other factors, economic and political, override the long-term influence?

“Second ghetto” hypothesis argues that policies from the 1940s to the 1960s created the structural conditions of inequality that would continue to plague cities for decades later. Taking that idea a step further, the *Origins of Urban Crisis* argues that those policies led to the anger that boiled over into the riots during the 1960s.

The riots transformed cities. Because of them, the Kerner Commission released its famous report that made plain what many knew: that we were becoming two nations, separate and unequal. The following year, riots after Martin Luther King, Jr.’s assassination caused Johnson to push the Fair Housing Act through Congress. Many people who lived in cities affected by the riots remember them as a moment of transformation.

Little research has examined, however, what impact the riots had on neighborhood change in and around the neighborhoods that experienced the riots in the 1960s.

Three hypotheses:

- The riots, while dramatic and important at the federal level, did little to change the long-term trajectory of racial change
- The riots influenced patterns of neighborhood change in and around the areas affected by the riots
- The riots influenced patterns of neighborhood change throughout the metropolitan areas in which they occurred

Racial residential segregation has been called a “structural linchpin of inequality,” a “fundamental cause of disease,” etc.

We know the factors associated with levels and rates of change in *metropolitan-level* segregation. Yet, we do not know much about how *neighborhood-level* change aggregates produce metropolitan-level segregation. Neighborhoods provide a meso-level unit of analysis (both spatially and theoretically)

We identify patterns of neighborhood change in a sample of N metropolitan areas in the United States in the Civil Rights era and then analyze the neighborhood and metropolitan factors that were associated with different trajectories of neighborhood change during the Civil Rights era.

3 Legacy of *De Jure* Segregation

1. This article focuses on patterns of neighborhood change in the post-Civil Rights era.
2. Federal, state, and local laws, as well as real estate interests and homeowners, created segregation in American cities [CITES]. Historians and sociologists have documented extensively the policies and actions that created racial segregation, especially in northeastern and midwestern cities, where segregation reached its highest levels [CITES].
3. Although it now seems naive to think that the Fair Housing Act would do much to reduce racial segregation, there was a substantial amount of optimism at the time that the law would do a great deal to reduce segregation.
4. Despite its flaws, the Fair Housing Act substantially altered the legal scaffolding of segregation by eliminating *de jure* segregation
 - (a) Some of the problem was that the historic policies set up patterns of segregation that “stacked the deck” against future integration;

it did not make up for any of the lost wealth caused by segregation, nor did the federal government use its power

- (b) Some of the problem was that the federal government did not use the power granted under the Fair Housing Act to affirmatively further fair housing by mandating integration
- 5. Despite the legacy of *de jure* segregation, the Fair Housing Act marked a transition to a new era of housing where housing discrimination was, at least nominally, illegal
- 6. Individual choices were more responsible for racial segregation in the post Civil Rights era. This was true for whites and blacks, as well as Latinos and Asians whose populations grew after 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act.

4 Civil Rights Era Causes of Segregation

4.1 Economic Factors

- Metro economic factors have large association with patterns of metropolitan segregation
 - Housing built post-1968 might be more likely to be integrated
 - Military associated with more integration (might be *due to* military housing, or to cultural/logistical conditions associated with military employment like high turnover
 - Immigration destinations will rapidly increase number of immigrant groups with ethnic/racial identity; chain migration patterns might lead them to settle in existing enclaves
- Neighborhood economic factors
 - Transportation costs would influence who could afford to live in different areas
- Demography of delayed marriage and childbearing could increase the attractiveness of central city neighborhoods that create gentrification (and racial “displacement”)

4.2 Political Factors

- Geographic political fragmentation creates political infrastructure that supports segregation (Bischoff, Lichter)
- Zoning provides a way of maintaining economic exclusivity that will also perpetuate racial exclusivity and has often been a way of doing so (Rothstein, others)
 - Municipalities implement zoning restrictions, particularly against multifamily housing (Goetz)
 - Mixture of multifamily and single family neighborhood level would create economic conditions more favorable to racial integration
- Location of riots often cited in popular discussion of causes of segregation, and white flight in particular (relate to turning points, e.g., Sewell, Abbott).

To our knowledge no one has examined the *neighborhood-level* associations between the location of riots and patterns of neighborhood change in the subsequent decades

- [? Construction and demolition of public housing ?]
- [? State/local FHA laws ?]

5 Data & Methods

5.1 Sampling Strategy

How do I sample metropolitan areas for study?

5.2 Predictors of Trajectories

Metro-Level

- Housing units built post-1968
- # of immigrants (per capita?)
- % military employment
- % nonprofit employment
- Political/geographic fragmentation
- Age composition/% adults never-married

Neighborhood Level

- % Housing units built post-1968
- % military employment
- % nonprofit employment
- Decade of public transit
- Decade of highway construction
- Mixture of single-family/multifamily
- Distance to riots
- Age composition (?)
- ?? Presence/demolition of public housing ??