Urban Politics
Political Science 102 E
Urban Politics 107

Week 6

Suburbanization: Are suburbs and cities in conflict?

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Today's Agenda

- Reading Response Questions

- Lecture –Suburbanization
  - McGovern Chapter 6
  - Frasure-Yokley Intro and Conclusion

- Midterm Return

- Reading Response Return

- Discussion
  - Group writing and work on Part 5

- Updates on Progress

- Goal to send me a draft for edits this weekend.
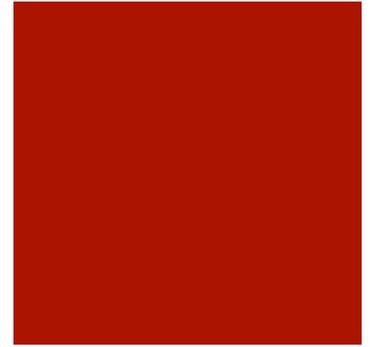
Response Paper Discussion Questions

- 12 students today:

  - 1. Katie
  - 2. Brandon
  - 3. Jessica
  - 4. Andrew
  - 5. Tommaso
  - 6. Serj
  - 7. Jordan
  - 8. Andre
  - 9. Allison
  - 10. Candi
  - 11. Michael
  - 12. Christian

Suburbanization

- The process of residential, commercial, and industrial growth and development beyond a central city

- The movement of people out of the cities into new neighborhoods surrounding the cities
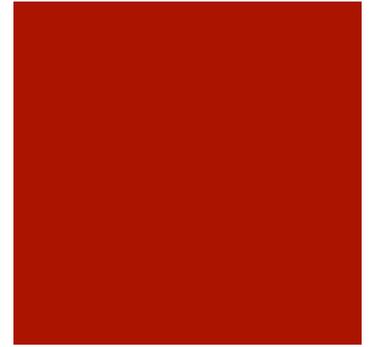
Factors leading to Suburbanization

- Legacy of the Depression and WWII

- Housing shortage

- Involvement of the federal government

- Growth of technology

LECTURE

- McGovern Chapter 6

- Lorrie Frasure-Yokley
  - Introduction
  - Conclusion

Suburbs and the urban crisis

- The 19th century was the era of mass suburbanization.

- Millions of people, and innumerable businesses, left the cities for the greener pastures of suburbia.

- The US went from being primarily an urban nation to a suburban nation and the implications for cities were far-reaching.

- The roots of suburbanization can be tracked back to the 18th century.

Suburbs and the urban crisis

- The roots of suburbanization can be tracked back to the 18th century:

    - Halfway through the 1800s, innovations in transportation enabled citizens with means to flee the congested central cities and move to the periphery.

    - With the rise of industrialization, the center of cities had not only become crowded, but noisy and polluted.

    - Those who could afford the cost of commuting jumped at the opportunity to relocate.

Suburbs and the urban crisis

- The early phase of suburbanization, however, was largely confined to the upper classes and was thus not a broad-based phenomenon.

- This began to change, however, during the 1920s when the number of people moving to the suburbs exceeded the number of people moving to cities.

- The middle class was growing in size and affluence and many chose to invest their new income in suburban real estate.

- Again, advances in transportation technology facilitated this first substantial flight from cities.

Suburbs and the urban crisis
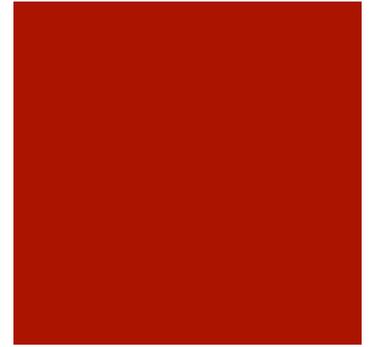
- At the turn of the century, the automobile was just a toy for the rich.

- However, Henry Ford's implementation of the assembly line changed everything by making mass production possible, which significantly lowered the cost of cars, making them affordable to the fast-expanding middle class.

The Rise and Fall of Middle-Class Wealth

The share of total U.S. wealth owned by the bottom 90 percent of families, 1917-2012
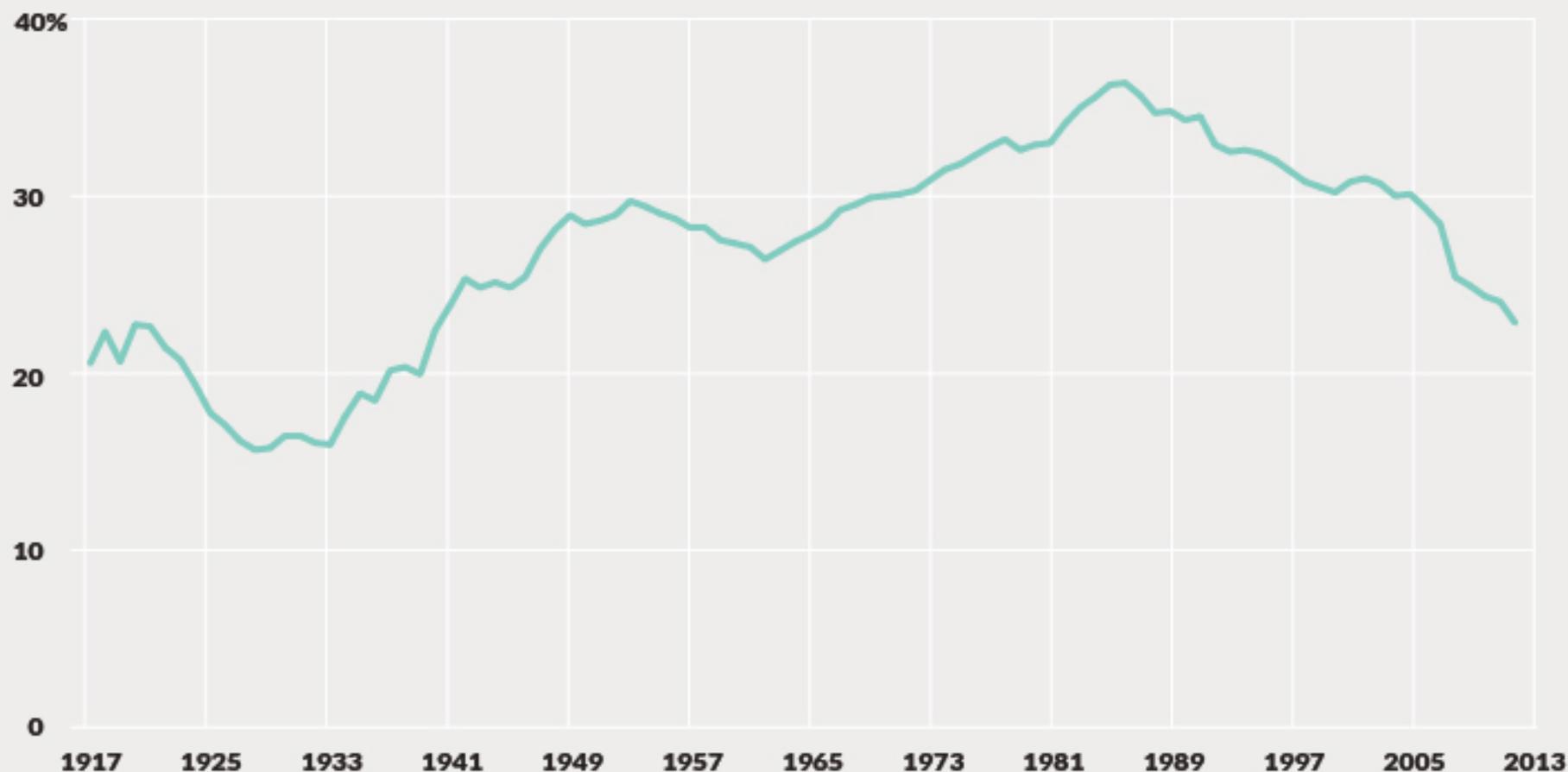
Washington Center
for Equitable Growth

Suburbs and the urban crisis

- With new cars, millions of Americans now had the ability to move to suburbia and commute to their city jobs.

- With the end of WWII, the US experienced a veritable explosion in suburban growth.

- Between 1950 and 1960, the population of America's suburbs doubled and suburbs grew nearly five times as fast as cities

- By 1970, more than half of all residents of metropolitan areas lived beyond city boundaries.

Suburbs and the urban crisis

- **Why the massive exodus from cities**?
  - <u>Severe shortage of decent, affordable housing in cities</u>.
    - Residential construction had stalled during the Depression and war years.
    - The demand for housing after 1945 had also skyrocketed when millions of soldiers had returned home and wanted to resume their lives.
    - There was also a marriage boom followed by a baby boom, which generated needs for bigger houses; a need that many suburban developers were happy to fulfill.

  - <u>Quality of life seemed better in the cities</u>.
    - Homes were more spacious and offered valued amenities.
    - Neighborhoods were peaceful, little crime.
    - Public schools had good resources compared to city schools

Suburbs and the urban crisis

- **Moving to suburbia was a step up the socioeconomic ladder**.
    - At a time, when the US was experiencing prosperity as the dominant economic power in the world, millions tapped their rising incomes to flee to the suburbs.

Suburbs and the urban crisis

- The urban exodus was not confined to residents only.

- Businesses also had reasons to relocate to suburban places.
  - Factory owners seeking to expand their plants found cramped, inner-city neighborhoods increasingly problematic.

  - Many other businesses migrated to the suburbs to meet the needs of suburban residents (i.e. drug stores, barbershops, hardware stores, supermarkets)

  - Professionals – doctors, dentists, lawyers, and accountants – started practices in suburban areas with new clients

- But there were consequences to the movement from the cities that were devastating to the cities

Suburbs and the urban crisis

- Collectively, the suburbs became a bastion of indifference and hostility toward the cities.

- During this time, minorities and poor people proud into the older industrial cities.

- This process, set in motion during WWI, and accelerating during WWII, resulted in expanding racial ghettos in the older central cities.

- Historically, American cities had been viewed as dangerous outposts within American civilization, where foreign immigrants clustered together.

- In the 20th century, this legacy was embellished with millions of blacks, Hispanics, and poor whites moved into the cities

Suburbs and the urban crisis

- As much as ever, the cities were pitted against the rest of the nation.

- But now, the rest of the nation was not only rural, it was also suburban.

- The 1970 Census represented a statistical milestone in the urbanization of the US.

- For the first time in the nation's history, a majority of urban residents lived outside the central cities, a fact that took half a century to accomplish.

Suburbs and the urban crisis: "Dual Migration"

- A fundamental rift appeared between the central cities and their suburbs.

- In the postwar suburban boom, the great majority of the people leaving the cities were white and relatively affluent.

- Poverty stricken migrants were replacing them in the cities.

- This dual migration created the city-suburban statistical differences that came to be defined as the "urban crisis"
  - Affluent whites in the suburbs
  - Poor minorities and whites in the cities

The movement to the cities

- Three streams of migration in the 20th century created vast ghettos in American central cities.

- The first: between 1910-1930
  - 700,000 Mexicans moved into Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and CA
  - 1 million blacks left the southern Blacks faced considerable hardship in adjusting to city life.

- The second: During WWII through 1960s
  - These migrants, Appalachian Whites, Hispanics, and southern blacks, faced considerable hardship in adjusting to city life.
  - The new citybound migrants were pushed by crisis and pulled by opportunity, as had been the Europeans who preceded them.

The movement to the cities

- A third wave: During and after WWII:
  - Concluded the black migration that placed 70% of the nation's blacks in cities in the West, the northeast, and the midwest by 1970

- The 3 migrant streams created the islands of poverty within 20th century American cities.

- In search of a better life, the new city residents instead found segregated areas of dilapidated housing, high crime, and inadequate public services.

- Their migration helped create the city half of the statistics of the urban crisis.

TABLE 6–3 Population Movements in Areas of the United States, 1940–1980 (Increases in population expressed as percent growth and number of people added)

Districts	1940–1950 Central city	1940–1950 Outside central city	1950–1960 Central city	1950–1960 Outside central city	1960–1970 Central city	1960–1970 Outside central city	1970–1980 Central city	1970–1980 Outside central city	1980 % population in central city
Frostbelt									
New York City	5.9%	23.2%	−1.4%	75.0%	1.5%	26.0%	−10.4%	0.4%*	77.1%
Chicago	6.6	31.2	−2.0	71.5	−5.2	35.3	−10.8	13.6	42.1
Boston	4.0	11.5	−13.0	17.7	−8.1	11.3	−12.2	−2.6	20.3
St. Louis	5.0	33.8	−12.5	50.8	−17.0	28.5	−27.2	6.3	19.2
Cleveland	4.2	41.6	−4.2	67.3	−14.3	27.1	−23.6	0.4	30.3
Detroit	13.9	54.8	−9.7	79.3	−9.5	28.5	−20.5	7.8	27.6
Pittsburgh	0.8	8.9	−10.7	17.2	−13.9	4.4	−18.5	−2.2	18.7
Minneapolis	6.0	76.2	−7.5	115.7	−10.0	55.9	−14.6	20.6	17.5

"The Loss of Community in Metropolitan American" – Kenneth Jackson

Takeaways

- A major casualty of America's drive-in culture is the weakened "sense of community" which prevails in most metropolitan areas.

- Social life has become privatized → to a reduced feeling of concern and responsibility among suburbanites for residents of the inner city

- 19th century communities werebothered by crime, class rigidity, social unrest, racial prejudice, etc. However, there was a significant sense of local pride and spirit as well.

The Loss of Community in Metropolitan American

- Over time, most observers have noted that alienation and *anomie* are more characteristic of urban life than a sense of participation and belonging.

- This reflected a shift in the meaning of the word suburban as well.

- Whereas once it implied a relationship with the city, the term today is more likely to represent a distinction from the city.

Naming of streets

- The observant traveler cam witness a difference in how streets are named in the city v. the suburbs.

- In the cities, streets were numbered.
  - This often conveyed how far your residence was from the city center. It also meant that you lived in an urban place

- In the suburbs, streets were no longer called "streets"
  - Contemporary suburbs seek to suggest quiet repose rather than commercial importance.
  - The new street names ended with lane, cove, road, way, fairway, or terrace.

The changing nature of modern entertainment

- New attitudes toward leisure and especially the establishment of the home as a self-sufficient entertainment center have also contributed to the weakening of the "sense of community" in metropolitan America.

- Cities, by their very nature, ought to encourage the elevation of the human spirit.

- Look at Europe : Piazza San Marco, Tivoli Gardens, etc.

- But there is a suburban resistance to it. Why?

"The Roads Not Taken: How Federal Policies Promote Economic Segregation and Suburban Sprawl" – Dreier et al.

The Roads Not Taken: How Federal Policies Promote Economic Segregation and Suburban Sprawl

- Government policies have helped to produce and aggravate metropolitan inequalities

- We normally think of urban policies as those directly targeted to cities or the urban poor.

- But virtually all federal policies, whatever their larger aims, have strong spatial effects that harm or benefit cities.

- This piece examines four stealth urban policies:
    - (1) transportation
    - (2) military spending
    - (3) federal programs to promote home ownership
    - (4) federal efforts to reduce racial discrimination

(1) Transportation

- The "Highway lobby" – composed of trucking, oil, rubber, steel, and road building industries – essentially paved the way to suburbia by promoting public road building over public transit and by keeping gas taxes low.

- By 1997, the US was spending $20.5 billion a year through the Highway Trust Fund.

- America's car culture is premised on the belief that automobiles provide a degree of personal freedom and flexibility that public transit cannot.

- But in many ways, this culture reduced choice. Most Americans have no choice, but to use a car.

(2) Military Spending

- Throughout the post WWII period, military spending has accounted for the largest part of the federal budget.

- Pentagon decisions about where to locate military facilitate and where to grant defense contracts greatly influenced regional development patterns.

- Suburban locations were desirable because they were largely beyond the reach of the unions, which had a strong presence in the existing factories and were not governed by big-city mayors, who were often sympathetic to unions.

- These location decisions had a major impact on postwar America.

(2) Military Spending

- Mobilization for WWII also strongly affected the regional location of employment and population.

- Even those cities gaining dollars and jobs from the Pentagon have discovered that depending on military contacts makes them vulnerable to downturns in military spending cycle

- I.e. Seattle and St. Louis

(3) Federal Home Ownership Policies

- Federal homeownership policies have also had an enormous impact on metropolitan development patterns.

- Early federal home ownership policies were shamefully racist.

- The federal govt refused to insure loans for blacks, largely confining them to rental housing in cities and keeping them out of the great suburban migration.

- In the first half of the 20th century, overt racial discrimination in housing was widespread
  - Whites often resorted to violence to keep blacks out of all white neighborhoods.
  - During the FHA's early years, it was official FHA policy to promote racial segregation and unofficial policy to promote suburbanization

(4) Fair Housing Laws

- Since the 1960s, new laws have been enacted to eliminate these practices, but federal enforcement has often been halfhearted or ineffective.

- Even if strongly enforced, laws to limit discrimination have little impact on the patterns of residential segregation.

- The Fair Housing Act of 1968 prohibited discrimination in housing, including racial steering, redlining, and blockbusting, but it did not promote racial integration in middle-income areas.

- In the 3 decades since the FHA, a network of private fair housing groups, attorneys with expertise in fair housing law, and state and local govt agencies has emerged to utilize the law to promote racial justice.
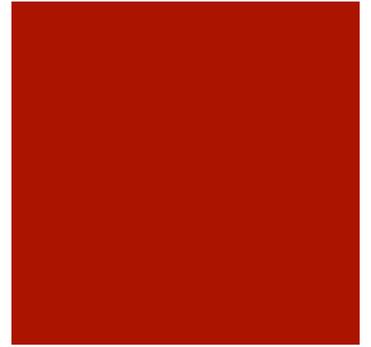
Racial and Ethnic Politics in America's Suburbs

by

Lorrie Frasure-Yokely
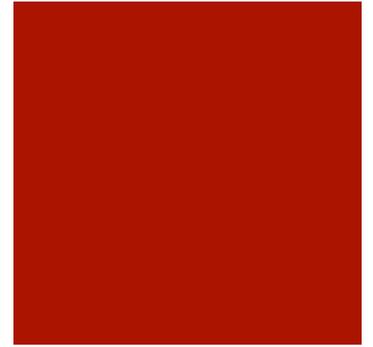
What is the main takeaway?

Racial and Ethnic Politics in America's Suburbs

- Despite the persistent stereotype that American suburbs are white and affluent, more than half of all racial and ethnic minority groups now reside in the suburbs of large metropolitan areas with populations exceeding 500,000.

- Whites still reside in suburban areas in larger proportions than any other group, growing from 74% in 1990 to 78% in 2010.

- But also, by 2010, 62% of Asians, and 59% of Latinos also lived in suburbs.

- In contract, African American suburbanization grew little during that period → increasing by only 7% from 1990 to 2000.
  - Black suburbanization finally crossed the 50% mark by 2010

Racial and Ethnic Politics in America's Suburbs

- Fueled by rising immigration from Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East, many US suburbs, in particular those closest to urban cored and developed during or shortly after WWII, are shifting racially, ethnically, and economically.

- As immigrants and racial and ethnic minorities move to US suburbs, government actors in these jurisdictions increasingly find themselves balancing the allocation of local public goods and services between long-standing residents' and newcomers' interests.

- What has happened is:
  - The increasingly heterogeneous context of suburban jurisdictions arguably leads to the greater likelihood of redistribution

# Racial and Ethnic Politics in America's Suburbs

- Today, institutional actors in these suburban areas are seemingly acting counter to their locality's economic development interests and the interests of the upper-income residents who are *still* their primary electoral constituents

- This is because they are implementing programs to address the needs of struggling segments of their demographically diverse populations.

Racial and Ethnic Politics in America's Suburbs

- Her case studies reveal that elected officials, bureaucratic service and regulatory employee, sand nonprofit or faith-based leaders address the needs of immigrant and ethnic minority newcomers.

- Local actors often address redistributive issues through institutional partnerships among elected officials, bureaucratic agencies, and immigrant serving nonprofit and faith based organizations.

- These are welcoming meeting places for immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Midterm Review

- 20% of your grade

- Mean: 88.21

- Min = 77.5

- Max = 96
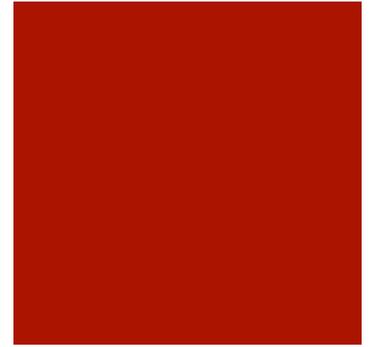
Discussion Section – PART 5

- **Provide a history of the suburbanization in your city.**
  - How did the history of suburbanization in your city unfold?
    - Explain the factors that precipitated the development of suburbs – where was the fight for separation stemming from?
  - Who were the people who migrated to the suburbs? Why did they leave? Who were the people in the cities? Why did they stay?
  - Explain the differences in conditions between the suburbs and the urban cities.
  - Explain the planning considerations that the constructors of your city's suburbs had to consider.
  - Explain the patterns of socioeconomic and racial segregation in cities versus suburbs?
    - What factors were responsible for these patterns?
  - Provide a map of the suburban expansion to detail how much the city and its surrounding regions grew as a consequence of suburbanization.
    - Explain these outcomes.

Next Week: **Minority Politics: Race, Protest, and Backlash**

- NEW Readings:
    - Chapter 7 – the whole thing
    - Chapter 12 – Intro
    - Chapter 13 – Intro + Hajnal and Trounstine

- Send a draft of all of paper components thus far to me by this weekend

- Permanent Change in Office Hours
    - Mondays 10-12
    - Tuesdays 12-1
    - No more Wednesday Office Hours