A conference sponsored by the American Historical Association and the National Museum of African American History and Culture with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities and HISTORY™

The Future of the African American Past

May 19-21, 2016
Washington, DC

Shifting Perspectives on Segregation in the Emerging Postindustrial Age

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Introduction

Racially segregated cities proliferated during the era of the Great Migration. The color line

expanded under the influence of discriminatory real estate, housing, economic, and public policies as well

as the intensification of African American community-building, civil rights, and political activities. If whites

from various ethnicities and class backgrounds played a determining role in forging the idea and practice of

confining black people to certain portions of the city, African Americans determined the specific uses of

their own segregated spaces and transformed the segregated city as a lived experience. They not only

bridged internal class differences and built a plethora of community institutions and grassroots social

movements, but also forged new interracial relationships, including the creation of the Congress of

Industrial Organizations and the Democratic Party's labor-oriented New Deal political coalition.

Nonetheless, the new interracial alliances themselves also reinforced racially stratified urban industrial

landscapes—— even as elements of political, social, and institutional integration gradually took shape.

The industrial era represented only one phase in a series of historically specific moments of spatial segregation along the color line. The geography of race had significant roots in the late antebellum and postbellum years of the 19th century. Most preindustrial urban black families lived in multiethnic and interracial neighborhoods, but residential segregation by race had gradually emerged under the impact of rising levels of racial hostility, labor market discrimination, and the rapid growth of the free black urban working class by the onset of the Civil War.[1] In the years after World War II, as deindustrialization took its toll on the manufacturing sector of the urban economy, racially fragmented urban communities took another turn. The proportion of African Americans leaving the urban North and West for the South increased for the first time in more than a century of escalating black farm to city migration. Black migrants to the South often identified deteriorating racially segmented neighborhoods (alongside the dearth of employment opportunities) as prime motives for leaving the industrial "frost belt" and parts of the sunny industrial west behind.[2]

Although southern cities had remained more racially and ethnically mixed than their northern counterparts for nearly a century following emancipation, levels of residential segregation in the urban North and South increasingly converged during the late 20th and early 21st centuries. African American suburbanization also slowly accelerated nationwide alongside the increasing suburbanization of urban whites. At the same time, inner city poor and working class blacks entered a new and in many ways more intense era of spatial change. Dubbed "hyper-segregation" by sociologists Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, a "significant subset of large [black] urban areas" experienced extreme segregation on measures of geographic dispersion, "evenness, exposure, clustering, centralization, and concentration" of populations by race.[3]

During the early 20th century, the pioneering works of W. E. B. Du Bois, E. Franklin Frazier, St. Clair Drake, and Horace R. Cayton established the intellectual foundation for understanding the historical dynamics of residential segregation. Over the past half century, drawing upon the insights of early 20th

century pioneers, a variety of humanistic and social science scholars (particularly historians and sociologists) transformed our understanding of the intersections of race, space, and social change. Whereas the initial wave of post-World War II studies explored these issues almost exclusively through the lens of race, color and class, recent scholars also underscore the role of gender, environmental, and transnational or global forces in the creation of racially segmented urban spaces.[4] Building upon this expanding body of scholarship, this essay analyzes the recent transformation of research on urban segregation during the industrial era; identifies a few promising areas for future scholarship; and reinforces recent calls for more locally grounded, class-based, but global research on the subject.

Recent Scholarship on Racially Segregated Cities

For nearly thirty years following World War II, notions of "ghettoization" or "ghetto formation" dominated scholarship on African American urban life as well as specific efforts to understand the magnitude, meaning, causes, and consequences of segregated urban neighborhoods. During the late 19th and early 20th century, scholars of the United States, most notably Lewis Wirth and the Chicago School of sociologists, had treated the experiences of a wide-range of European nationality groups within the framework of "the ghetto." Unlike earlier emphases on the rigidity of the European ghettos, Wirth and his colleagues accented the fluidity rather than the impermeability of segregation in American cities. As such, the ghetto represented a staging ground for upward mobility for people of European descent. In the wake of World War II and the Holocaust, however, historians identified emerging African American urban communities as the inheritors of the older continental Jewish ghetto——— that so many scholars had argued offered "no escape" to its inhabitants. While such studies documented the role of white hostility in the creation of segregated black urban communities on the one hand and the responses of emerging predominantly middle class activists to the process on the other, the ghetto formation scholarship nonetheless muted the voices of black workers and downplayed their role in the making of black urban communities. Scholars of black urban life and

history broke ranks with this ghetto-centered historiography during the early 1980s. Late 20th century research shifted the focus from the "making" of segregated spaces to the "making" of the black urban industrial working class. This research not only emphasized the role of black workers in shaping their own workplace experiences, but also the creation of vibrant predominantly proletarian cross class black urban communities, albeit segregated by race. [5]

Despite significant shifts in perspectives on the ghetto and the character of residential segregation by the late 20th century, studies employing the ghetto framework endured. In 1983, historian Arnold Hirsch published his landmark book, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago 1940-1960*. Focusing primarily on the forces that sustained and extended the city's racially segregated housing market, Hirsch persuasively argued that the emergence of New Deal housing policy (i.e., federally-financed private and public housing projects) represented a dynamic new source of residential segregation, alongside the persistence of mob violence as well as discriminatory practices by real estate, banking, homeowners (organized in a broad range of voluntary associations), and governmental institutions as well as mob violence designed to keep blacks out of white neighborhoods. In Hirsch's second ghetto, however, African Americans were fundamentally victims of forces beyond their control. They exercised little influence over their own housing history. [6]

Sociologist William J. Wilson also pinpointed the increasingly spatial concentration of poverty in late 20th century inner city black neighborhoods. But unlike Hirsch, in his seminal study, *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987), Wilson located the roots of class and racially segregated black urban spaces in the dramatic decline of the manufacturing sector of the urban economy and the dearth of employment opportunities for previously well-paid black industrial workers. Before Wilson's emphasis on the growing salience of class in the emerging post-Civil Rights and post-Industrial order could gain much traction, sociologists Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton's *American Apartheid* (1993) documented the enduring significance of racialized urban spaces and processes and reasserted the utility of the racial-ghetto thesis. As

alluded to above, Massey and Denton built conceptually upon the destructive impact of the South African system of racial segregation and adopted notions of racial "apartheid" and "hypersegregation" to describe late 20th century patterns of urban segregation in U.S. cities. Despite the substantial fruits of the Modern Black Freedom Movement, *American Apartheid* underscored how real estate firms, banks, and government housing agencies buoyed the residential color line during the closing decades of the 20th century.[7]

Historian Thomas Sugrue reinforced aspects of the racial apartheid thesis but challenged arguments advanced by Wilson and other sociologists, economists, and policy analysts on the meaning, timing, and impact of deindustrialization on employment, race relations, and the housing market of the late 20th century manufacturing city. Informed by Hirsch's conceptualization of the "Second Ghetto," particularly its emphasis on violent grassroots white opposition to African American movement into white neighborhoods, Sugrue added an equally powerful focus on white opposition to equal employment for black workers and their families as the industrial economy declined in the years after World War II. Still, similar to Hirsch, Sugrue offered few insights into the role that blacks played in shaping their own job and residential experiences under the impact of deindustrialization, rising unemployment, and spatially concentrated poverty.[8]

Over the past decade, a growing volume of studies challenged the urban crisis and second ghetto theses. In exceedingly rich details, these studies addressed the role blacks in the throes of deindustrialization and deepening spatial segregation. Research by historians Luther Adams, Donna Murch, Rhonda Williams, Wendell Pritchett, Martha Biondi, Heather Thompson, Marcus Hunter, and others offer alternatives (though also complements) to the urban crisis school of scholarship on the subject. Class and crossclass black community building, political, and social movements occupy a central place in this scholarship. Take Luther Adams, for example. In his study of Louisville, echoing Earl Lewis's earlier suggestions about the significance of "home" and the "home sphere," Adams places the notion of "home" at the center of his study. He employs the notion of "home" as a place of cultural, spiritual, and social strength

and human affirmation in the face of adversity. As such, while acknowledging the growing significance of federal policies in shaping the spread of residential segregation along the color line, Adams convincingly argues that the "Second Ghetto" thesis fails to capture African Americans' own more autonomous vision of the urban landscape as "home" and a base of socioeconomic, cultural, and political empowerment. Equally important, based on the experiences of blacks in this upper south city, Adams shows how the struggle against urban inequality represented an ongoing battle that brought poor, working class, elite, and middle class blacks together through complicated and enduring networks of kin, friends, and community institutions. In short, Adams and other scholars over the past decade and a half demonstrated how the "urban crisis" did not rob black people of their capacity to act in their own interests.[9]

While an escalating number of early 21st century studies challenged aspects of the late 20th century ghetto and urban crisis scholarship, a recent cohort of studies moved scholarship in three related but quite distinct directions—toward microscopic or neighborhood level analyses; metropolitan wide rather than case studies of the central city; and efforts to recast our understanding of urban space in environmental and transnational terms. This cluster of scholarship, most notably studies by Todd Michney, Nathan Connolly, Robert R. Gioelli, and others, not only contests the victimization portrait of the urban crisis school, but also urges us to acknowledge and account for the development of more cooperative and receptive patterns of race relations (although profoundly problematic and even violent) when African Americans entered some white communities for the first time in the years after World War II. [10]

Focusing on the Glenville, Mt. Pleasant, and Lee-Harvard neighborhoods among others, historian Todd Michney reinterprets the class and racial dynamics of black population movement from established to new neighborhoods in Cleveland. *Changing Neighborhoods: Black Upward Mobility in Cleveland, 1900-1980* concludes that white hostility was not nearly as prominent in the process of new black neighborhood formation in Cleveland as scholars have found in Detroit and Chicago. Specifically, in the outlying areas, this study shows how black residents were not only predominantly southern-born black workers (men,

women, and their children) who lived in husband wife families. They were also African Americans who purchased land through established mortgage financing arrangements with the aid of their white neighbors. Moreover, according to Michney, such black-white cooperation was not limited to the housing market. It included substantial integration of blacks and whites into the changing community life of the neighborhood——that is friendly social interactions between black and white children; relatively uninhibited access to predominantly Jewish neighborhoods; the rise of numerous civic organizations designed to foster cooperative race relations; and public officials, including the mayor, who sought to mediate rather than inflame instances of racial conflict. In short, this study persuasively argues that African American movement to outlying neighborhoods in Cleveland did not result in the same deep levels of "hidden violence" that scholars have identified elsewhere. Indeed, in one prominent case, when a group of whites organized a racially exclusionary Home Owners Association during the 1940s, another group of whites sided with African Americans and countered the movement. In short, as Michney puts it, this study offers "a less pessimistic perspective on the postwar city than has been theretofore seen, a potential counterweight to renditions emphasizing racial conflict and black victimization." [11]

Somewhat similar to Michney, historian Amanda Seligman focuses on change at the neighborhood level, particularly in the West Side neighborhoods of North Lawndale, West Garfield, and Austin.   But unlike Michney, she argues that long before the arrival of African Americans in massive numbers, white West Siders had identified their neighborhood as area of deteriorating housing as well as poor schools and recreational facilities. The Second Great Migration of blacks into the area thus added "race" conflict to a preexisting pattern of class discontent among white residents. Nonetheless, as the number of African American residents increased during the 1950s and early 1960s,
white West Siders formed organizations like the United Property Group and employed a variety of legal, extralegal, and violent means to block African American access to housing in the area. Under the impact of the modern civil rights movement, Vatican II, and escalating growth of the area's black population,

however, West Side residents formed new groups to counteract the most extreme forms of white hostility toward black settlement and encouraged interracial cooperation. These groups included the Garfield Park Good Neighborhood Council, the Austin Tenants and Owners Association, the Neighborhood Conservation Council, and the Austin Community Organization, to name a few. Although these groups adopted the language of interracial cooperation, they nonetheless accented a need to "manage" rather than foster a fully integrated community or one in which whites might eventually become a numerical minority. For their part, African Americans perceived their increasing settlement in the area as a partial victory, but the outbreak of race riots in the 1960s underscored their bitter dissatisfaction with the terms by which they were forced to occupy deteriorating housing stock. [12]

Alongside the expansion of neighborhood level studies, other early 21st century studies took the metropolis as the primary unit of analysis of racially divided cities. In 2003, historian Robert Self produced a pioneering metropolitan-based study of class formation, politics, and residential segregation by race. In addition to class and race relations in the central city of Oakland, Self also explored the role of these forces in the working class suburbs of Milpitas and San Leandro. Building upon the insights of Marxist geographer David Harvey, Self concluded that the Bay Area metropolis established new "spaces and politics" in the decades after World War II. He concluded that urban-suburban "property relations" and social conflict displaced earlier patterns of "labor relations" as the principal arbiter of "class and power" relations in the postwar city. [13]

Nathan Connolly's recent prize-winning study of Greater Miami reinforces and deepens our understanding of the dynamics of segregation in broader metropolitan perspective. *A World More Concrete* (2014) accents the role of black and white realtors and financial interests in the construction of the racially segregated Jim Crow order. Connolly also emphasizes how the socioeconomic and political practices of the Jim Crow persisted beyond the heyday of the Modern Black Freedom Movement in metropolitan Miami. An extraordinary study of race, land use, and urban development in 20th century Miami, Connolly's book

documents the emergence and persistence of an alliance of propertied white and black realtors who helped to reinforce "racial apartheid" by securing a set of policies and practices that, while segregating the races, also allowed elite blacks to gain access to homeownership, partly through the rent gouging of poor and working class blacks. But this alliance also had a progressive civil rights component that resulted in securing concrete gains in social services for poor and working class urbanites—as graphically symbolized by the construction and dedication of the Athalie Range Park, named after the African American activist and realtor, under the expressway of I-95 for black children living in an area with few leisure time and play areas. [14]

Some of Range's own black tenants later recalled her exploitive rental housing practices in the interest of profit, but her various civil rights initiatives blunted the force of their criticism and implicated poor and working class blacks themselves as actors in the construction and reconstruction of the Jim Crow system even as its formal legal pillars of support collapsed. Moreover, black and white civil rights allies helped to bank roll grassroots social struggles against the vestiges of Jim Crow partly through super profits derived from the maintenance of low rent dilapidated housing among poor and working class blacks. As Connolly concludes, his study documents how the world of segregation and white supremacy "held and hardened under the very feet of protest marchers and rioters as Jim Crow died and segregation remained." [15]

A recent study by Robert R. Gioielli urges us to rethink the politics of deindustrialization from the vantage point of the escalation of the environmental movement during the late 20th century. He persuasively argues that scholars of emerging postindustrial black urban life address, but do not explicitly define as such, environmental issues in the recurring social struggles over housing, jobs, and neighborhood conditions. In order to help close this gap in our knowledge of the interplay of civil rights and environmental struggles, Gioeilli recasts much of the contents of these social movements into categories that fall squarely within the purview of environmentalism. As such, focusing on Baltimore, St. Louis, and

Chicago as case studies, Gioielli documents the grassroots movement of African Americans and working class urban residents against such issues as childhood lead-poisoning and destructive highway construction projects as every bit qualified for incorporation into the broader struggle to create a healthier and safer physical urban environment. At the same time, he laments how self-proclaimed environmental activists (mainly middle class and elite white men and women) remain preoccupied with definitions of the environmental movement that privilege ideas about the "wilderness, animals, and the general health of the planet" rather than concerns of African Americans, the poor, "civil rights, community, and or housing activists." In short, he urges historians of urban class, race, and ethnic relations to avoid defining all questions of unequal power relations as "environmental justice" concerns and confining environmental issues to the doings of predominantly middle class and elite white men and women. [16]

Forging a New Research Agenda

The continuing vitality of research on "racial apartheid" during the industrial and emerging postindustrial eras suggests several fruitful lines of research in the years ahead. Based upon some of the most salient trends in scholarship on the subject, promising areas for new research include: 1) additional studies on the role of black property owners, realtors, and financiers, including collaboration with their white counterparts in developing entrepreneurial responses to urban segregation; 2) projects that revisit certain well-established themes in existing scholarship——including, the housing "pioneer" phenomenon; deadly housing disasters as catalysts for grassroots social movements for change; and "public housing" as avenues for job creation as well as state-sponsored inter- and intra-racial class segregation; 3) explorations of transitional points in changing racial geography over time; and 4) studies that build upon the recent explosion of interest in the transnational dimensions of racially divided cities to craft new, class-based, global studies of African American urban life and labor. Together, such studies not only promise to expand our understanding of segregation and integration in particular historical contexts, but also to increase

prospects for empirically grounded comparative perspectives on the intersections of property, residential segregation, race, and class formation over time.

Entrepreneurial Responses, Inter- and Intra-Racial

Recent scholarship underscores how white and black property holding elites exploited the African American housing market to the detriment of poor and working class black families. As noted above, in his recent book, historian N. B. Connolly offers a telling and systematic analysis of this phenomenon in 20th century Miami. But we need more studies of this phenomenon in particular urban settings and over time. As discriminatory real estate and homeowner practices closed much of the urban housing market to black residents, inner city property owners increased their revenue by subdividing large single family homes into single room, small, kitchenette apartments for newcomers. Such practices enabled homeowners to double and even triple their rental income. Thus far, rather than detailed analyses of this process among blacks in other cities, we have occasional but telling examples like the father of a Richmond, California, resident Katherine St. Clair. Daughter of a black realtor, St. Clair later recalled how her father "bought up property and converted it into apartments [for rental to black people] . . . all down in West Oakland. He would buy them at low cost and fix them up," and rented them out to newcomers. As historian Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo notes, in South Berkeley and West Berkeley in the years after World War II, "white and black housing speculators demolished older, single-family homes and built multifamily units." However, unlike most of their white counterparts, who engaged in "the worst kind of destructive real estate speculative activity," blacks were "small-scale landlords who [invariably] lived in their own building" and had a higher stake in the stability of the neighborhood. [17] A closer analysis of black entrepreneurs in the development of numerous urban subdivisions should illuminate this process. In 1926-27, for example, the city of Detroit opened new temporary all-black subdivisions on outlying land within and outside the city limits. Described by historian Richard Walter Thomas as "satellite ghettos," these subdivisions included Eight Mile Road (4,000 families); Inkster (2,000 families); and Quinn Road (500 families). As Sugrue notes, in some of the

outlying black neighborhoods like the West Side intersection of Tireman and West Grand Boulevard, blacks occupied homes of substantial quality and repair. Still, the Federal Home Loan Bank System gave these dwellings "D" or "red" ratings, placing them off limits for federal loans and subsidies.[18]

Housing Pioneers and the Question of Armed Struggle

In cities across the country, certain streets became known as "White Supremacy Deadline" streets. Any blacks venturing into white neighborhoods beyond this line could expect violent white reactions. When African Americans insisted on occupying their new homes in the face of lawsuits and offers to buy them out, nonviolent forms of persuasion quickly gave way to intimidation and violence. [19] In addition to carefully documenting white resistance, legal and extralegal, existing scholarship also underscore the legal strategies (particularly court challenges and street demonstrations) that African Americans launched to break down barriers in the housing market. Thus far, however, scholars have not offered systematic analyses of the role and use of armed force among African Americans as a weapon to open up the housing market to black families. The case of the Detroit dentist Ossian Sweet and his family is well known and often cited as an example of African American determination to expand their access to homes through armed force if necessary. Even here, emphasis is placed on the legal process, particularly the NAACP's treatment of the case as a cause celebre that succeeded in freeing the Sweets of criminal charges in the case. [20]

African Americans' use of arms to defend their homes is an underexplored dimension of the system of racial apartheid. Even in Detroit, these efforts involved other black families besides the Sweets. In the summer of 1925, for example, on Stoepel Avenue, located on Detroit's northwest side, an estimated 4,000 whites blocked the streets around the home of black family for some seven blocks. The shouting, jeering, and rock-throwing mob soon shattered nearly every window in the house and only dispersed after the family opened fire on the crowd, injuring a white youth. Police then rushed the house and arrested all its

occupants. In some cases, violent resistance to attacks on black pioneers entailed substantial collaboration across class lines. In April 1919, George Graham, a middle class black Philadelphian and his family purchased and moved into a home a few blocks north of the city's African American Seventh Ward. When Graham insisted on staying in his home amid efforts to discourage and block his occupancy, he and his family awakened one morning after 1:00 A.M. to the "sounds of windows shattering in the front room" and a "crowd of more than thirty whites, mostly men, screaming a 'shoot to kill' slogan with many guns in hand." When word of the embattled homeowner reached the Seventh Ward black community, a contingent of armed poor, working class, and middle class blacks arrived at the home and engaged the mob in a street battle. Before receiving reinforcement, however, Graham had already armed himself with a shotgun and held the mob at bay with gunshots. But only with the arrival of Graham's Seventh Ward supporters did the police move in and arrest all of the African Americans, along with a mere token of four white youth, involved in the confrontation, including homeowner George Graham and his family. [21]

Both white violence and black armed resistance also emerged in southern cities when middle and working class blacks moved into new neighborhoods. In Louisville, in October 1925, when a porter employed at the L&N Railroad bought a house at 1051 South 32nd Street, followed a short while later by another black homeowner who moved into a house on the opposite side of the same street, whites deluged both families with letters threatening to burn them out unless they moved. Dynamite soon damaged both homes, but both families refused to vacate their homes. After dynamite damaged their homes a second time, one of the homeowners fired "five shots at his fleeing assailants." Eventually the Mayor of the city ordered police to protect the families against mob attacks on their homes.[22] More examples of this nature will bring black pioneers into sharper focus and help us to understand better their staying power.

Housing Fatalities as Catalysts for Grassroots Housing Movements

In December 1936, Philadelphia became the scene of a tragic culmination of poor housing conditions among the city's poor and working class black residents. The collapse of an old tenement house at 517-519 South 15th Street killed nearly a dozen working class black women and children and seriously injured as many others. The city's mayor S. Davis Wilson expressed his disbelief at the wreckage and carnage. In an interview with reporters, he said, "This is an emergency of public safety . . . I saw sights yesterday which I would not have believed possible." The liberal Jewish editor of the *Philadelphia* Record, declared his hope that this tragedy would sensitize the community to the lives of "thousands of our fellow citizens" whose "home is the place where the sun doesn't shine; the place where they contract tuberculosis; the place where there isn't any running water; the place that may fall down in the dead of night, smothering, burning—'Home, Sweet Home.'" Tenants had repeatedly complained about the poor and inadequate upkeep of the building. Just shortly before the collapse, when one tenant Raymond Blackwell had paid his rent, he also pleaded with the landlord Abraham Samson to repair the building, describing how "the walls on the second floor front room [are] bulging at least a foot and a half [and] the paper in the kitchen [is] falling off and the walls [have] begun to crack."[23]

Following the tragic collapse of the tenement house that killed nearly a dozen people and hospitalized over a dozen others, there was a tremendous outpouring of grassroots sentiment decrying the deaths as "a very serious situation," "a terrible thing," and "criminal," charging "City officials" with "responsibility" for the tragedy. Building upon this strong current of resentment over the poor quality of housing in their neighborhoods, African Americans formed the Tenants League. Under the leadership of Bernard Childs, executive secretary, the Tenants League and "staged protest marches, rent strikes, and neighborhood meetings against bad housing across he city." Black Philadelphians also built a strong chapter of the National Negro Congress (NNC), an umbrella organization designed to enhance the liberation of black workers and remove all vestiges of racial and class discrimination from the urban political economy. Coordinated by Arthur Huff, an activist schoolteacher and principal, the Philadelphia NNC also helped to

create the Tenants League in the wake of the tragic tenement deaths. These efforts not only resulted in the

establishment of the city's new public housing agency, the Philadelphia Housing Authority (PHA), but also

the building of the first two of three low income housing projects, the James Weldon Johnson Homes and

the Richard Allen Homes, "to supply affordable housing to poor and working class black residents." [24]

Public Housing, Working Class Entrepreneurship, and Job Creation

African Americans repeatedly articulated their desire to inhabit solidly built, less crowded, and

properly maintained and serviced housing units. By the beginning of World War II, African Americans

claimed about thirty percent of all PWA housing for low income families nationwide. Black communities

mobilized and demanded a fair share of jobs on such projects. They also used these projects as a lever for

entrepreneurship and job creation, especially in the building and construction trades. While we have a few

pointed discussions of the entrepreneurial aspects of the African American public housing struggle, this is an

area that warrants much more research. We especially need to probe more carefully the often dual job

creation and entrepreneurial functions of all black labor organizations.   In Chicago, a coalition of groups,

including the Urban League, the American Consolidated Trades Council, the Chicago Non-Partisan

Organization (CNO), formed in 1936, and the Brotherhood Club of Black Bricklayers, aimed to increase

African American employment on the city's WPA projects, particularly the Ida B. Wells Homes. Under

pressure from African American activists, the U.S. Housing Authority withheld funds for a time until the

city devised plans "to force local housing officials to give the Race a fair share of jobs in all categories" of

work. [25] Robert Weaver, director of the Negro Employment and Training Branch of the Office of

Production Management (OPM), played a key role in helping local activists secure "racial quotas" to insure

blacks received jobs on such projects. Chicago's struggle for jobs on WPA projects resulted in the

employment of over 40 black bricklayers among other skilled craftsmen. [26]

Even so, such efforts like the larger projects themselves not only unfolded on a segregated and unequal basis, but also reinforced internal social class and status distinctions within the African American community itself. In Atlanta, for example, the government's University Homes housing project housed none of the area's poor and working class residents uprooted by "slum clearance" to make way for the project. Instead, the tenant selection process favored higher income groups rather than the poorest resident who had previously occupied the space. During her visit to the homes, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt expressed disappointment that the rents were not "sufficiently low" for the "average black families" and that none of the earlier poor and working class residents found a place in the new units. [27]

The Atlanta project focused explicitly on bringing the so-called "respectable poor" into the new units. By the late 1930s, the East Side of Atlanta had become associated with what historians have described as the so-called "disreputable 'masses' left behind," while the West Side housed single-family dwellings for the black middle class, "bungalow and two-story homes" with suburban yards. Nonetheless, the West Side also housed "many members of the striving working class of construction craftsmen and unskilled workers and better-paid service and domestic workers who wished to escape the east side and live in respectable surroundings as homeowners." As historian Karen Ferguson concludes, "State incorporation thus divided the black community physically and politically into those chosen to move into full-fledged citizenship and those were consigned to remain at the margins of civic life." Nonetheless, poor and working class tenants embraced this hard road to mobility as one of the few viable options for improving their living conditions.[28] Atlanta's public housing program not only proved inadequate for poor and working class black families, but also undermined the work of a critical advocacy organization, the Neighborhood Union (NU). Spearheaded by Lugenia Burns Hope, wife of Atlanta University's first black president John Hope, the NU had initiated social service work in the city in 1908. While the organization had already moved away from its multiclass beginning to a decidedly professional class organization in the years after World War I, its loss under the impact of the Great Depression and the rise of the New Deal weakened the black

community's social service infrastructure and undermined community-based services for Atlanta's poor and working class black families. [29]

Following World War II, African American public housing projects spread rapidly across the urban landscape. But resistance to such projects also persisted well into the postwar years. In Indianapolis, following the erection of the city's first housing project, Lockfield Gardens in 1937, the city rejected federal support for public housing. Instead, the city's Development Commission purchased land north of the all-black Crispus Attucks High School. It then ceded this property to the city's principal African American social service organization, Flanner House for development on behalf of the increasingly segregate black community. The organization then provided land and building materials for blacks to purchase their own homes on a self-help basis. African American homeowners would help finance the development by providing their own labor in the actual construction of the homes. Much like public housing in Atlanta, the Indianapolis Flanner House Project targeted middle class blacks and better off portions of the black working class for occupancy. The project's bookkeeper, Clarence Wood, later recalled the process of selection. "We were thoroughly checked out. They wanted stable familes. Only families. A husband and wife and kids if possible. They checked our credit, our time on the job, our work record to see if there were demerits . . . They talked to our ministers. They checked police records." Still, despite such stringent criteria, the Flanner House home-building project maintained a waiting list of hundreds of applicants seeking access. The first residents to occupy homes in the project were predominantly teachers, police officers, and employees at the local Lilly industries, the pharmaceutical manufacturer. [30]

Class, Race, Sex, and Gendered Space

For the late 20th century emerging post-industrial city, on the horizon are emerging efforts to document the urban experiences of gay and lesbian black men and women with keen sensitivity to issues of

class, race, and spatial relations. In his book in progress, historian Kwame Holmes focuses on the experiences of black gay and lesbians in late 20th century Washington, D.C. Treating the experiences of gay and lesbians in the nation's capital as a case study of developments following Stonewall but before the onset of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, Holmes investigates the phenomenon that he describes as "black gay invisibility." Unlike their black counterparts, Holmes argues, white gay and lesbians penetrated the power structure of D.C., redefined themselves as a gay but politically active minority. Whites soon achieved major victories through the electoral process. Specifically, Holmes concludes, D.C.'s political geography "produced white gay ghettos and dissolved black gay residency into the broader black urban population." The written archives of gay experiences—comprised mainly of the writings and doings of the gay white community—presented white gays as victimized by members of the predominantly black and poor working class community members. In turn, white activist gay organizations reinforced the color line partly through what Holmes calls day-to-day "migroaggression" against black members. [31]

Connecting Patterns of Segregation over the Long Durėe

Based upon the recent proliferation of scholarship on urban segregation over several centuries of time and regions, explorations of the precise ways that one era of racially fragmented cities gave way to new and different eras of change in racial geography represent another area of promising research on the city. Rather than focusing on one particular moment, city, region, topic or theme, we also need studies that examine transitional points between industrial, preindustrial, and emerging postindustrial forms of urban segregation. As urban colonial historian Emma Hart succinctly puts it in a recent essay on early Charleston, we "should talk across chronological barriers, such as the American Revolution, to produce a connected history tracing the waxing and waning of the many influences shaping urban black life in America from 'the beginning' to the present day." [32] Although black workers and their families remained widely dispersed across the antebellum urban landscape, residential segregation along the color line nonetheless gradually

increased, particularly in northern cities. Between 1820 and 1860, the index of residential segregation increased from 46 to 59 percent in Boston; 35 to 49 percent in Philadelphia; and 16 to 37 percent in New York. 33 In New York City, in 1853, the city destroyed Seneca Village to pave the way for development of Central Park. The settlement's black homeowners scattered to other locations. As early 1852, some 86 percent of all New York City blacks resided in an areas below Fourteenth Street and "almost half of these residents lived in a fifty-block area that included parts of third, fifth, and eighth wards. Seventy-five percent of New York's streets held no black residents at all." [34] As historian Gary Nash concludes, Philadelphia neighborhoods also "remained mixed by race and occupation," but the trend "toward a racially and class segregated city had received a strong impetus as builders constructed primarily cheap housing in new parts of the city and black families sought the security and feeling of solidarity that came with residential clustering." [35]

In Boston, rising numbers of Irish immigrants nudged blacks out of some of their previous neighborhoods in the city. In w, the African American population dropped from a peak of nearly 700 in 1840 to under 100 during the 1850s. In their study of black Bostonians, historians James and Lois Horton accented the role of both economic competition and racial hostility, "Competition for jobs and housing engendered animosity between blacks and Irish, and much of the black flight from Ward Two was undoubtedly an effort by blacks to shield themselves from hostility and harassment." Moreover, since many Boston neighborhoods barred African American occupancy, blacks departing Ward Two "moved into predominantly black sections." By 1860, an estimated two-thirds of all blacks lived in Boston's lower Beacon Hill community, derisively labeled, "Nigger Hill," by the city's white residents. While blacks and poor immigrants shared neighborhoods, Boston emerged as the most racially segregated U.S. city by 1860.[36]

Blacks remained more widely dispersed in antebellum southern cities, but the color line also expanded in the preindustrial urban South as well. In Baltimore, the proliferation of predominantly black

alley dwellings during the 1820s and 1830s underscored increasing clustering of residences by race. Similarly, in Charleston, "mixed in throughout" the city's "racially diverse neighborhoods" were "almost exclusively" black "enclaves," including alley dwellings.   According to historian Amrita Meyers, if the visitor to late antebellum Charleston "walked down Clifford's Alley, which ran west from King Street, between Queen and Clifford; or Grove Street, which lay above the Washington Race Course, almost at the northern boundary of the city; or perhaps Hester Street, just north of Grove, they would have immediately noticed the lack of white faces in these quarters, areas that had become havens for enslaved and poorer free blacks, away from the prying eyes, and control, of whites." [37]

Transnational/Global Research

Closely intertwined with growing interest in transnational scholarship on African American politics and social movements, [38] global studies of racially segregated cities are gradually gaining ground and warrants much more systematic attention. In 2012, following nearly a decade of systematic research on the subject, historian Carl Nightingale produced his groundbreaking transnational study of racially fragmented spaces, *Segregation: A Global History*. His global study of the ghetto had picked up steam following publication of his journal article, "A Tale of Three Global Ghettos: How Arnold Hirsch Helps Us Internationalize U.S. Urban History" (2003). Grounding his analysis in Hirsch's call for a more comprehensive historical understanding of ghetto formation in U.S. urban history, he argued that the notion of ghetto formation had "gone global," with increasing attention given to the phenomenon in the cities of such disparate countries as Australia, Canada, Brazil, India, South Africa, and others. In two seminal essays, "The Transnational Contexts of Early Twentieth-Century American Urban Segregation" (*Journal of Social History,* 2006) and "Before Race Mattered: Geographies of the Color Line in Early Colonial Madras and New York" (*American Historical Review,* 2008), and, most importantly, his book, *Segregation*, Nightingale convincingly demonstrates how notions of racism and disease converged over time and space to produce

segregated cities in such far flung places as India's Madras or "White Town"; South Africa's Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, and Durban; and the U.S.A.'s Baltimore and Chicago, to name only a few of the world's cities that experienced the onslaught of spatial segregation during the late 19th and early 20th century———a phenomenon that Nightingale describes as "segregation mania," followed by what he describes as "archsegregation" during the early to mid- and late-20th century. [39]

Although *Segregation* concentrates on the rise of the segregated city from 18th century Indian beginnings through the early 20th century, it offers substantial analyses and arguments on the ancient antecedents of segregation on the one hand and the later spread of segregated cities in the post-colonial world on the other. Nightingale also provides telling analyses of the benefits and limits of movements to desegregate cities with close attention to the struggle over appropriate language for addressing recent changes, including the tendency to conceptualize the segregated "Global North" as "ghettos," while terming similar developments in the "Global South" as "slums" or "shanty-towns." Despite significant sensitivity to resistance and social struggles against segregation as a form of exploitation and inequality, however, the long history of social struggles against such unequal human settlements warrants much more consideration than offered in this seminal global history of racially divided urban spaces. Even so, by bringing the dynamics of segregation into sharp focus across a broad range of national boundaries, Nightingale establishes a foundation for another generation of transnational scholarship that might take anti-segregationists class based movements as both its starting point and central focus. [40]

Finally, in addition to Nightingale's study of segregation in global perspective, a forthcoming co-edited volume of essays on the "global ghetto" suggests that transnational studies of racially divided cities is perhaps the most promising area for groundbreaking new studies over the next several decades. Focusing on the city of Chicago during the late 19th and early 20th century, historian Tobias Brinkmann offers a telling analysis of the ways that the first generation of German Jews disdained and then embraced their counterparts from Eastern Europe. As their unity took hold, however, both groups distanced themselves from the massive in-

migration of rural southern blacks, who increasingly inherited the label "ghetto residents." In his

extraordinary contribution to this volume, Jeffrey Gonda illuminates how African Americans and their

white allies defined the African American ghetto as a destructive form of human habitation that violated the

United Nations charter on human rights. By treating the ghetto as "an international human rights crisis,"

civil rights attorneys astutely harnessed the increasing national and international condemnation of Nazi

ghettos to its spirited and ultimately successful campaign to strike down restrictive covenants in the U.S.

Supreme Court case of Shelley v. Kraemer (1948). This is also a stellar example of the ways that the notion

of ghetto crossed the ocean and influenced the politics of another country and other groups. [41]

This volume also suggests how political uses of the ghetto reinforce difficulties understanding the

ghetto as a lived experience. Employing innovative techniques from the recent explosion of work in the

digital humanities, Stephen Robertson charts the day-to-day and seasonal ebb and flow of "ordinary people

not just the cultural elite," recovering the myriad ways that blacks and whites continued to interact (in

schools, small businesses, hospitals, law enforcement offices, and transit facilities) within and beyond the

boundaries that constituted Harlem's almost exclusively black community. This study suggests a new

conceptualization of the ghettoization phenomenon. Focusing on Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant

community from the 1960s through recent times, historian Brian Purnell introduces the notion of

"unmaking the ghetto" as a novel concept for understanding the emergence of a new era in postindustrial

America. As such he turns the usual approach to ghetto formation on its head. Instead of documenting the

"making" and/or "remaking" of the ghetto, the notion of "unmaking" allows him to uncover a process by

which multiclass black activists launched a successful assault on a wide range of "structural causes" associated

with an earlier pattern of ghetto-making, including "redlining, blockbusting, realtor speculating,

deindustrialization, and restricted access to bank credit." African American women spearheaded this

movement, which nonetheless ultimately failed, as the increasing arrival of young, white, "moneyed," and

"creative classes" unmade the ghetto by nudging poor and working-class black residents out into inner ring

previously all-white suburbs that became blacker and poorer, while the old ghetto became whiter and richer.[42]

Conclusion

Scholarship on the development of racially divided U.S. cities during the industrial era had deep roots in the early- to mid-20th century. Notions of race, space, and ghetto formation framed the bulk of this scholarship until about the 1980s. Thereafter, studies emphasizing the primacy of racially segregated urban spaces in research on African American urban life increasingly gave way to new emphasis on the intersections of class, race, and geography. Ghettoization approaches to urban segregation nonetheless persisted through the final decades of the 20th century and picked up steam in a series of new studies during the early 21st century. Over the past decade and a half, however, increasing numbers of studies moved beyond producing detailed case studies of single central cities and offered broad metropolitan and transnational perspectives on the one hand and microscopic neighborhood level analyses on the other. Recent scholarship has greatly expanded our understanding of the overlapping dynamics of race, class, and gender in drawing distinct color lines across the urban landscape. But such scholarship also suggests that much work remains to be done. In addition to revisiting such themes as the impact of class as well as racially biased housing policies, lethal living conditions as catalysts for grassroots housing reform movements, and the black housing pioneers, this paper accents the need for more systematic research on the interplay of grassroots, working class, entrepreneurial, and transnational dimensions of "racial apartheid" during the industrial era.

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