



Roots of the Riots: Displacement, Gentrification, and Segregation

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Feeling Race, and Spatial Inequalities,
50 Years After the Kerner Commission Report
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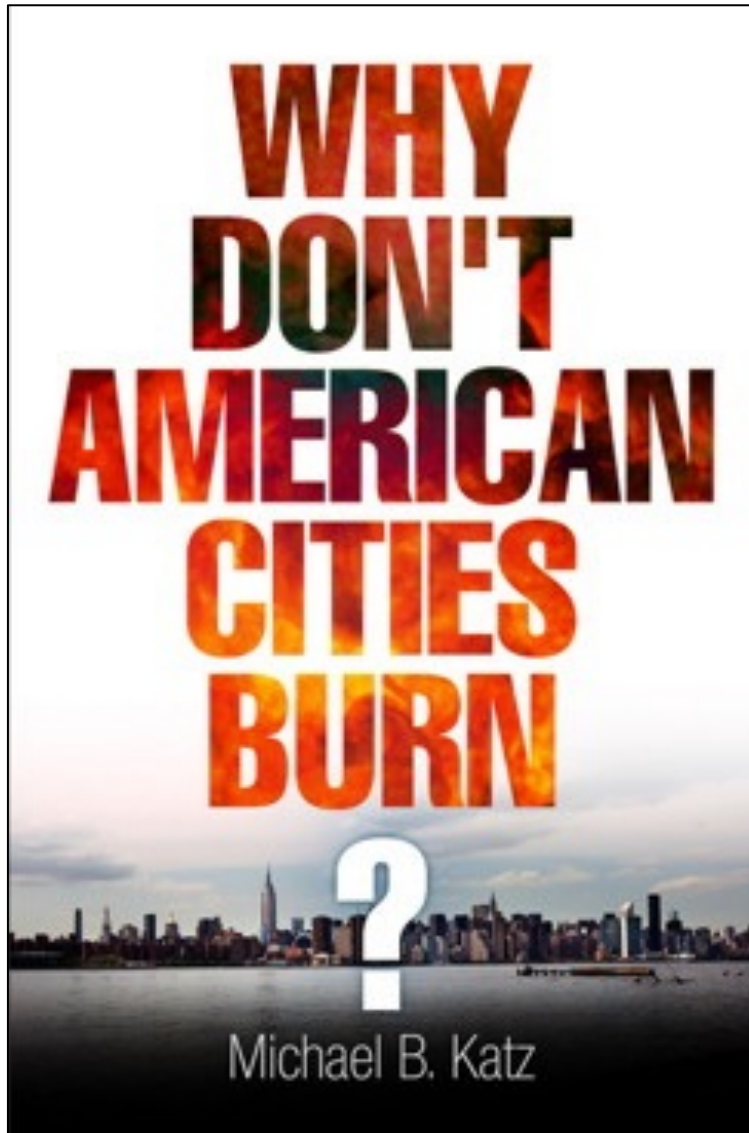


Overview

- Part I. Motivation, background, & argument
- Part II. Methods
- Part III. Preliminary findings (in Baltimore)



Motivation



France, 2005





Ferguson 2014



Baltimore 2015



Charlotte 2016





Some Riot Theory Camps

- Ethnic succession and competition (Herman 2005)
- Segregation and *absolute* deprivation (Gale 1996; Sugrue 1996)
- Segregation and *relative* deprivation (Clark 1965; Katz 2012; Wacquant 2008)



Recent Riot Research and Gaps

- Several scholars focus on **aggressive police actions** (Boyles 2015; Butler 2017; Hill 2016; Lowery 2016; Schneider 2014)
- Few recent riot studies on **structural factors** (e.g., displacement, gentrification, segregation, and racial inequality) (except Dikeç 2017)
- Few investigations of the **Obama effect** and administration's **Great Recession policy responses** (2009-2016) (DeFilippis 2016)
- Few studies **compare past to present** (1960s vs. 2010s riots)



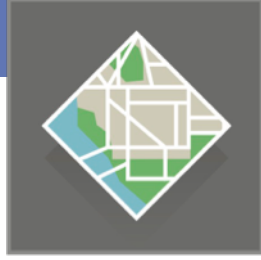
Initial Research Questions

- What comprehensive set of conditions is associated with modern-day U.S. riots?
- How do past riot conditions compare to contemporary riot circumstances?



My Initial Hunches/Arguments

- Intense frustrations and riots occur when racial and spatial inequalities are perpetuated, over time, by state-led (national and local) aggression.
- Within a context of the Obama effect:
 - heightened African-American (AA) expectations for a better economic future.



Part II.

The Comparative Method



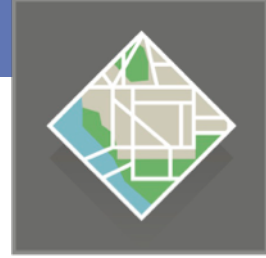
Method and Data Collection

Multiple case study of three U.S. riot cities

- Ferguson, Missouri
- ***Baltimore, Maryland***
- Charlotte, North Carolina

Data Collection

- Descriptive statistics: national and local patterns of -
 - ****Public housing demolition, gentrification, segregation, & concentrated disadvantage***
 - ****AA expectations***
- Newspaper archive, 2014-2016
- Interviews, 25 per city

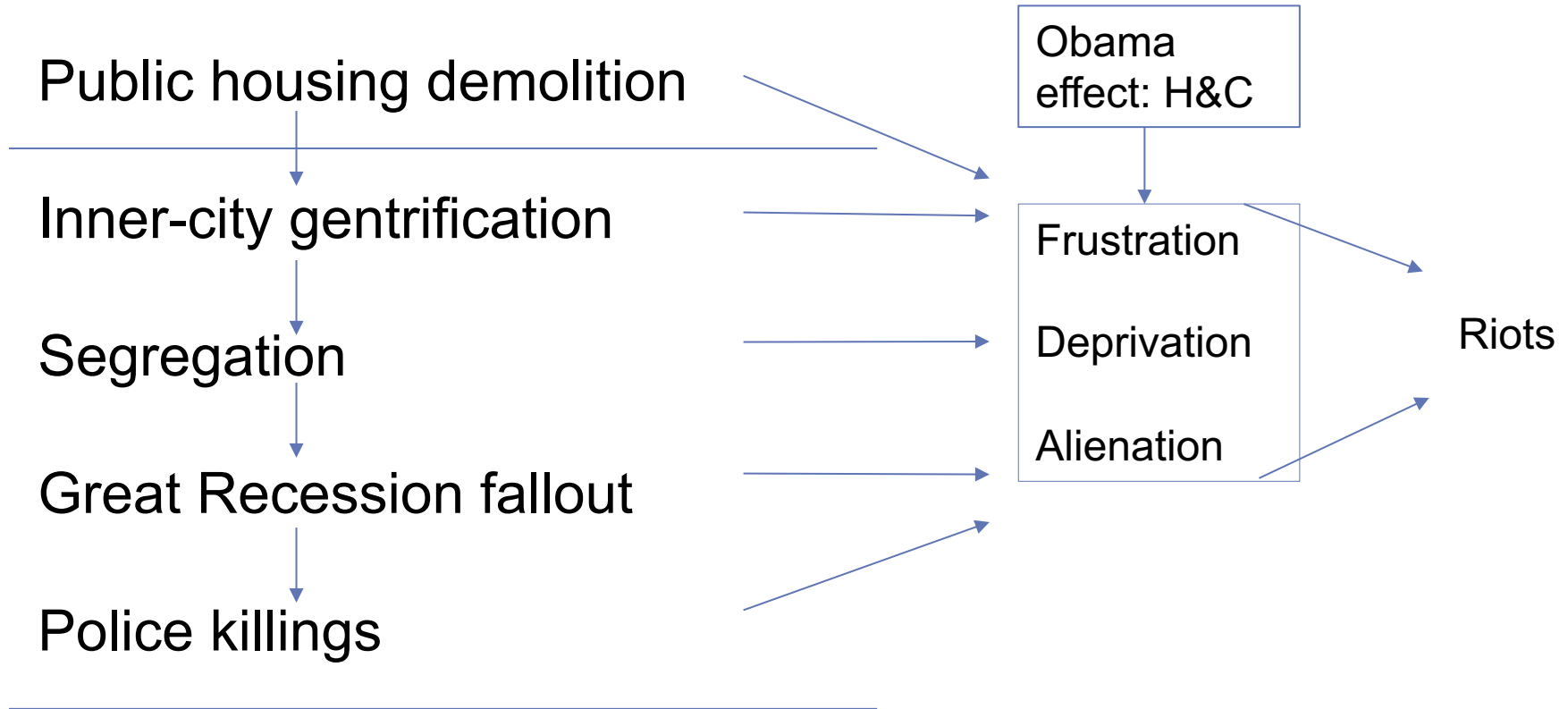


Part III.

The Baltimore Case



Accumulating State-led Aggression





Downtown and the Inner Harbor

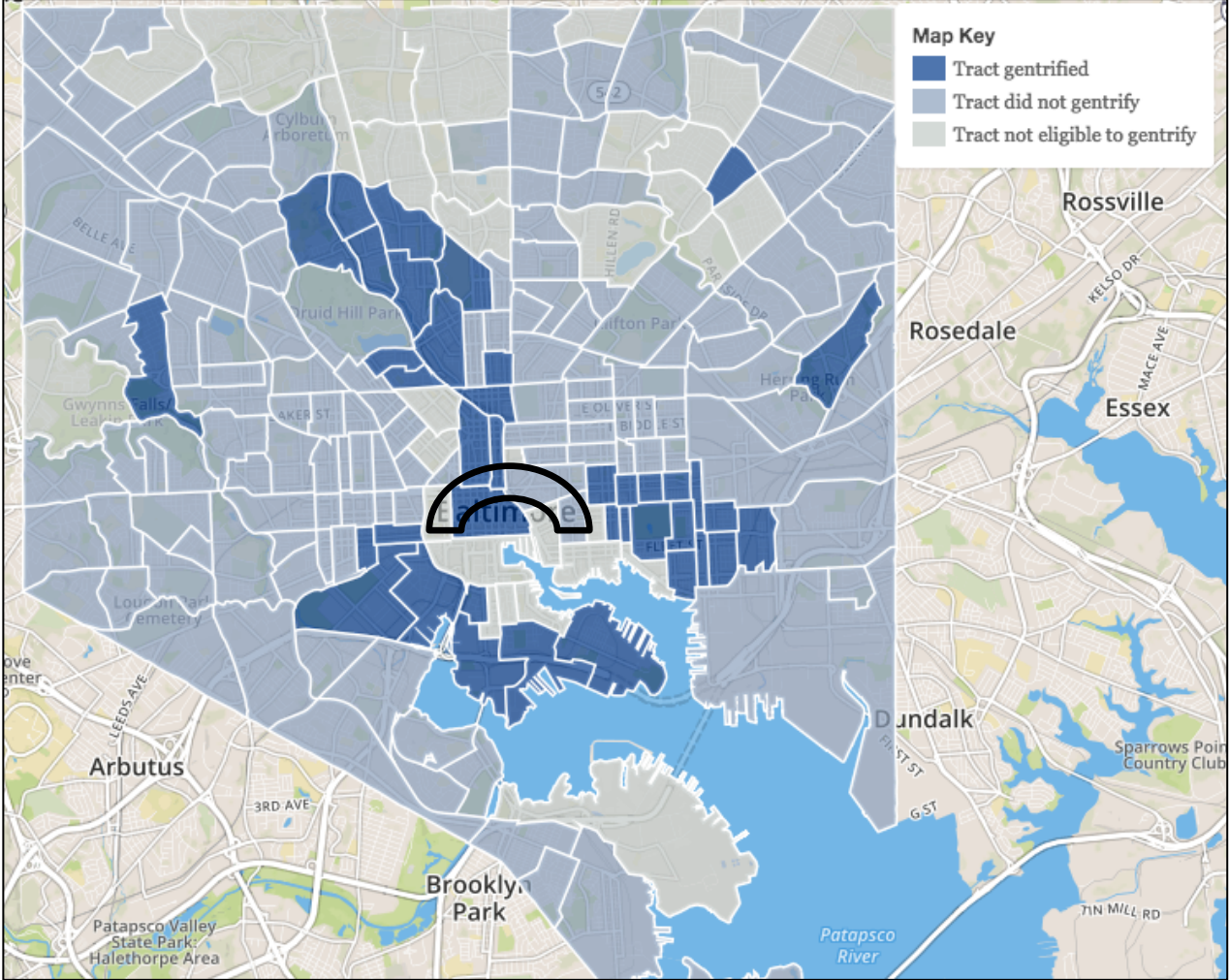
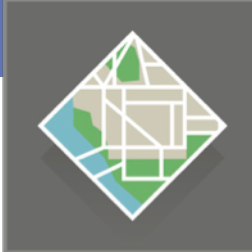




“Baltimore Booms,” 1994-1999



Central City Demolitions in the 1990s and Gentrification in the 2000s



Central City Demolition Corridor



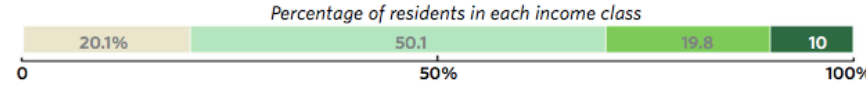
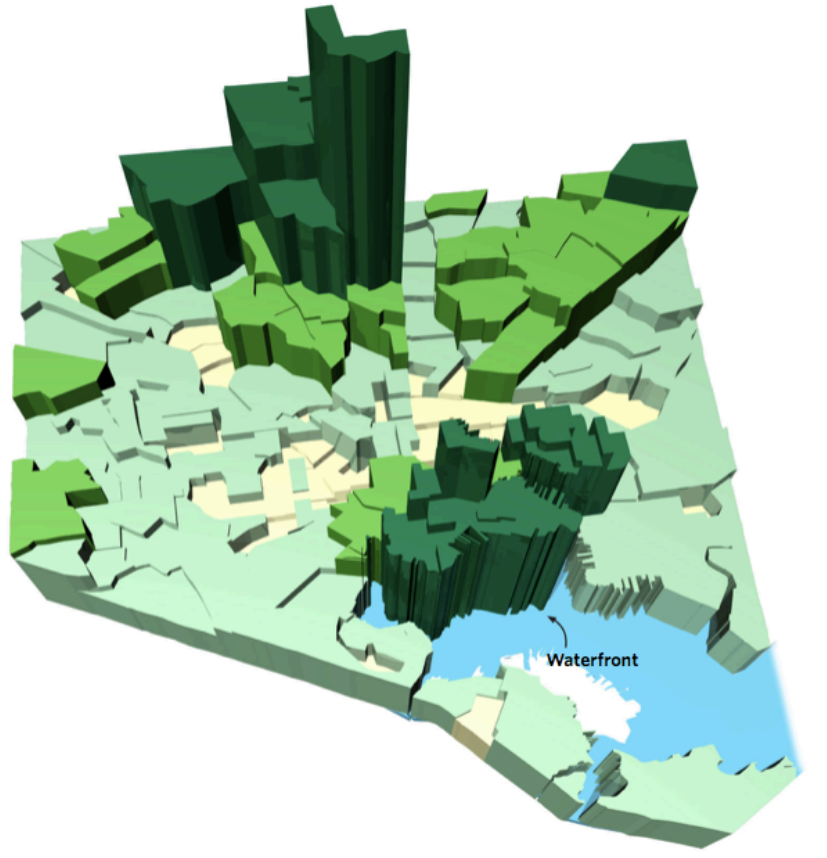
Source: Governing Magazine, February 2015



Changing Neighborhood Income Levels

1990

2014



Median Household Income (adjusted for 2014 dollars):

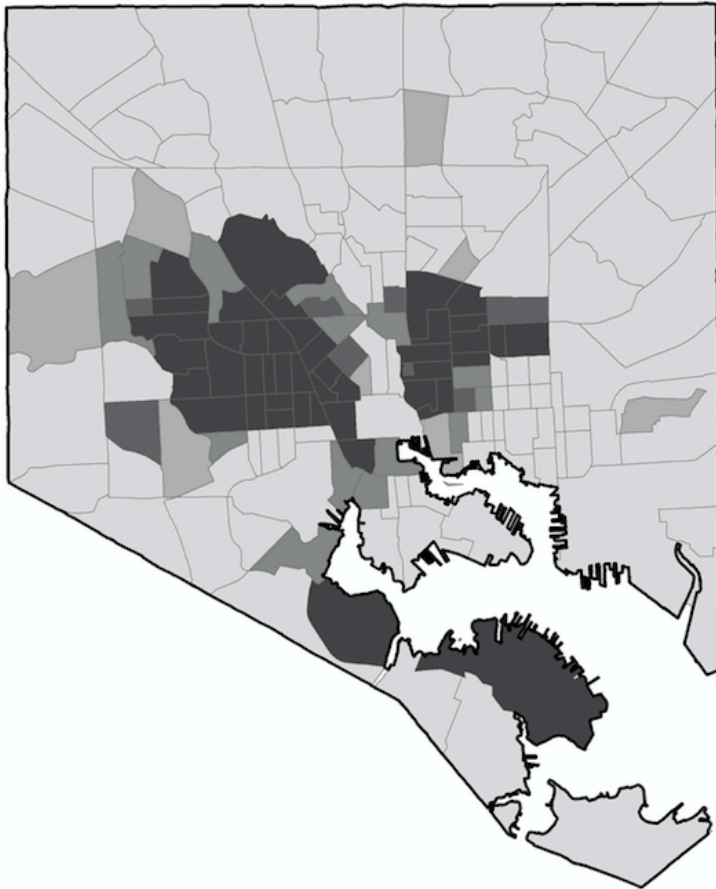
■ Less than \$30,000 ■ \$30,000 - \$50,000 ■ \$50,001 - \$70,000 ■ More than \$70,000

Source: Wall Street Journal, August 5, 2016

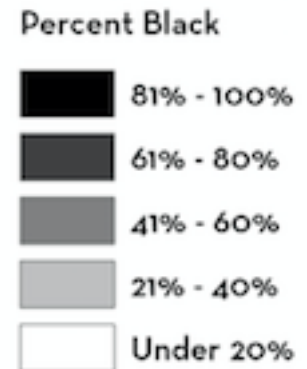
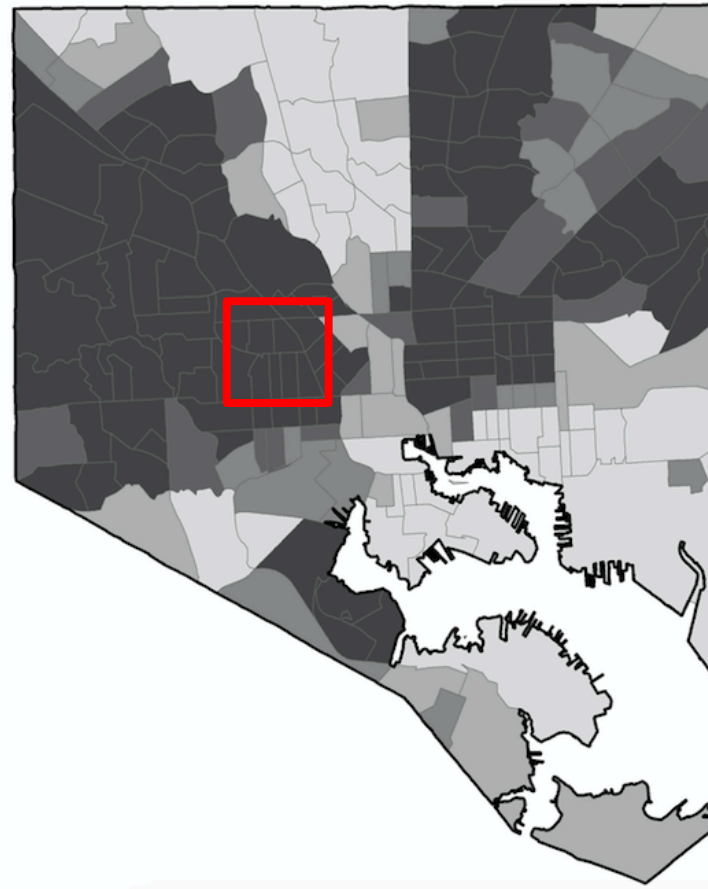
Baltimore's Segregation Patterns



1960



2010

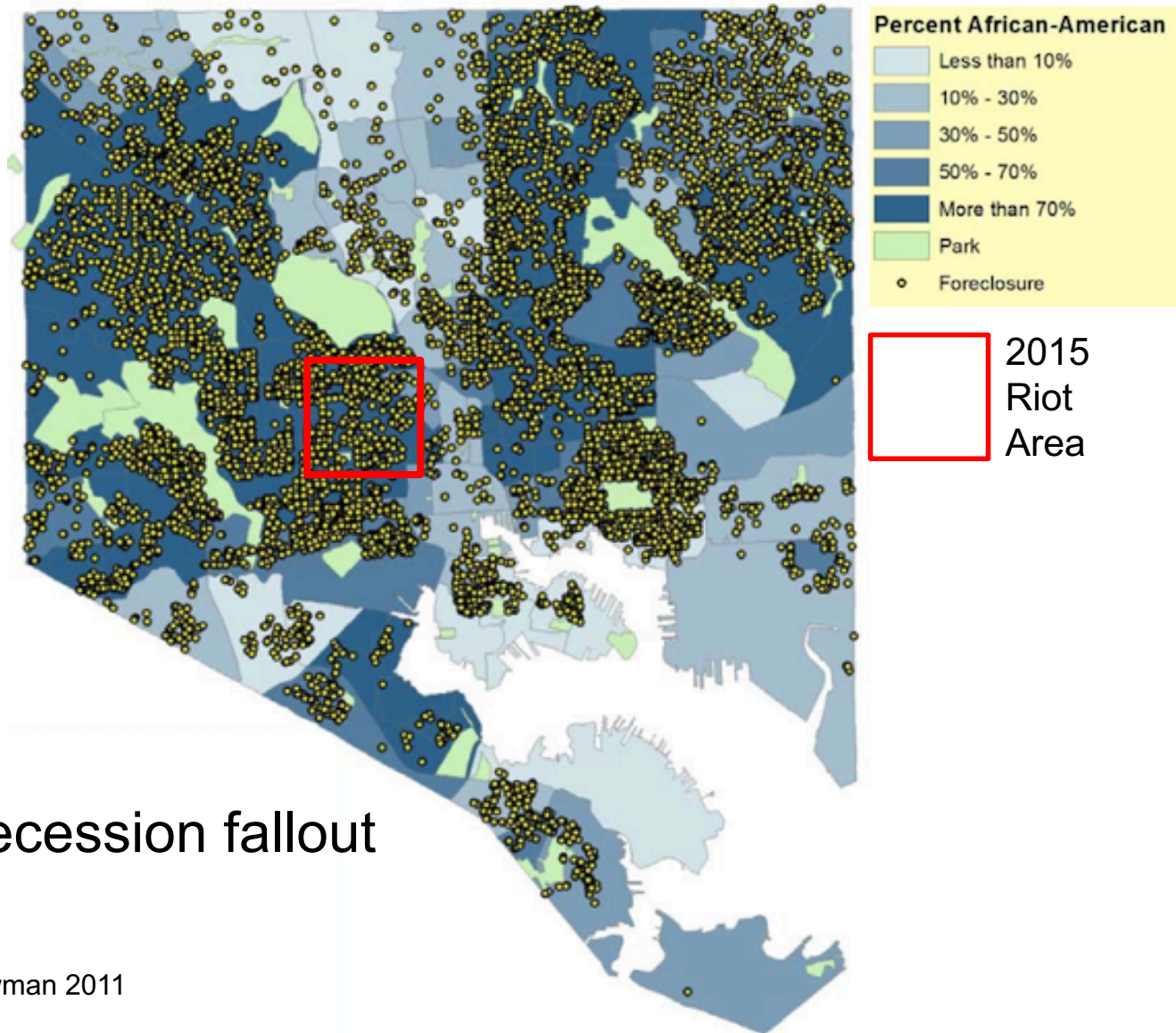
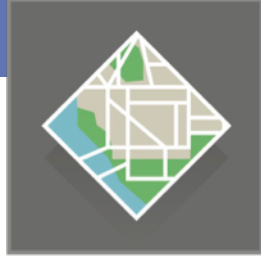


 2015
Riot
Area

Source: U.S. Census



Foreclosures by Neighborhood Racial Composition, 2008-2010*



The Great Recession fallout



West Baltimore's Concentrated Disadvantage





National Context: The Hope & The Reality

The Hope, 2007 vs. 2009

AA perceptions:

- Increased financial security
- Improved race relations
- Reduced racial inequality

Source: Pew Center Survey 2010

The Obama effect

The Reality, 2009-2016

AA wealth

\$1.1 trillion home equity lost
in AA communities

Source: Center for Responsible Lending 2013

AA homeownership rate

Down 5 percentage points
during Obama's terms

Source: U.S. Census

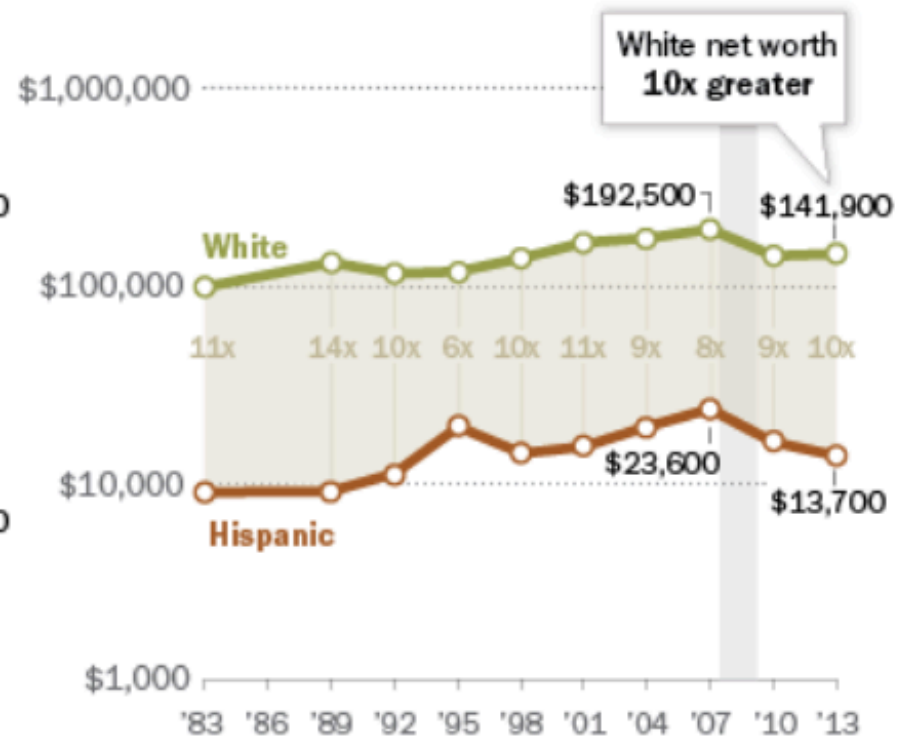
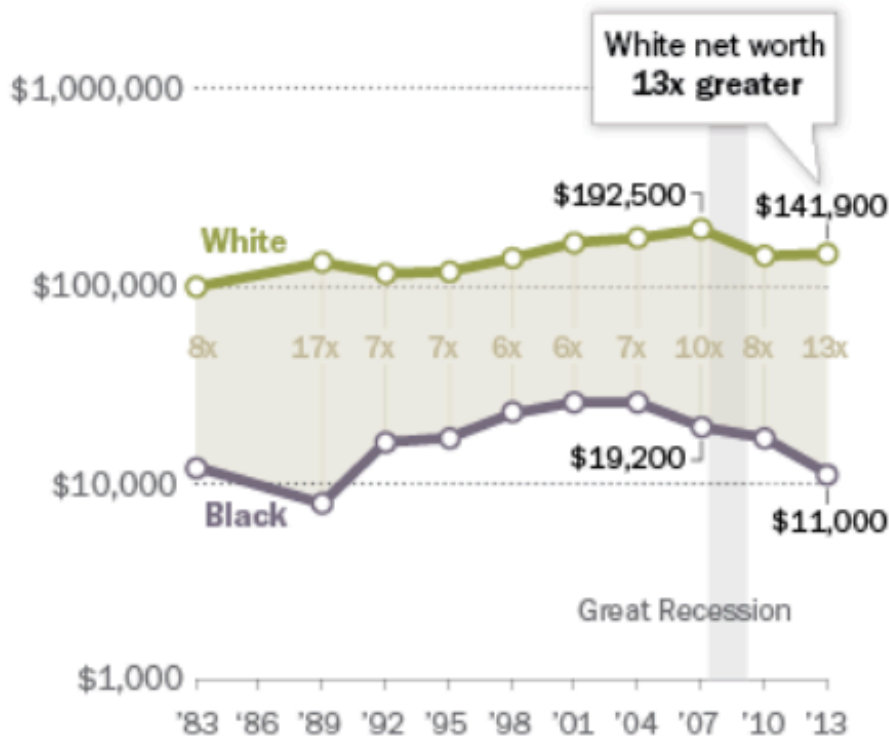
The Great Black Depression



Widening Wealth Inequality

Racial, Ethnic Wealth Gaps Have Grown Since Great Recession

Median net worth of households, in 2013 dollars



Notes: Blacks and whites include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Chart scale is logarithmic; each gridline is ten times greater than the gridline below it. Great Recession began Dec. '07 and ended June '09.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of Survey of Consumer Finances public-use data



Add the Police Killings

Michael Brown: August 9, 2014, Ferguson

Freddie Gray: April 12, 2015, Baltimore

Keith Lamont Scott: September 20, 2016, Charlotte





Baltimore Explodes, 2015





Preliminary Finding and Next Steps

Finding/Hunche

- **Multiple state-led aggressions**, over time, with racial and spatial inequality consequences, in a context of heightened AA expectations (**the Obama effect**), help to understand AA frustrations and the riots.

Next Steps

- Interviews
- Historical comparisons (1960s to 2010s riots)



Closing Thoughts

“[U]prisings are all outcomes of deep-rooted grievances, of long histories of exclusion of and violence perpetrated against particular populations. They are not reactions to isolated incidents...”

- Mustafa Dikeç, 2017

We must minimize **police brutality** but also address other forms of aggression and marginalization (i.e., **displacement, gentrification, segregation, & inequality**).