

# Architecture of Segregation

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# Dimensions of Poverty

- First and foremost poverty is about money
  - Poverty Line compares family income to amount needed to buy necessities
- Families don't exist in isolation
  - Connected to people who live near them and depend on resources, services, and opportunities in their communities
  - Likewise, they tend to be disconnected from people, resources, and opportunities far from them
- *The “spatial context of poverty”*

# Camden, New Jersey



Photos by Camilo José Vergara,  
<http://invinciblecities.camden.rutgers.edu/intro.html>

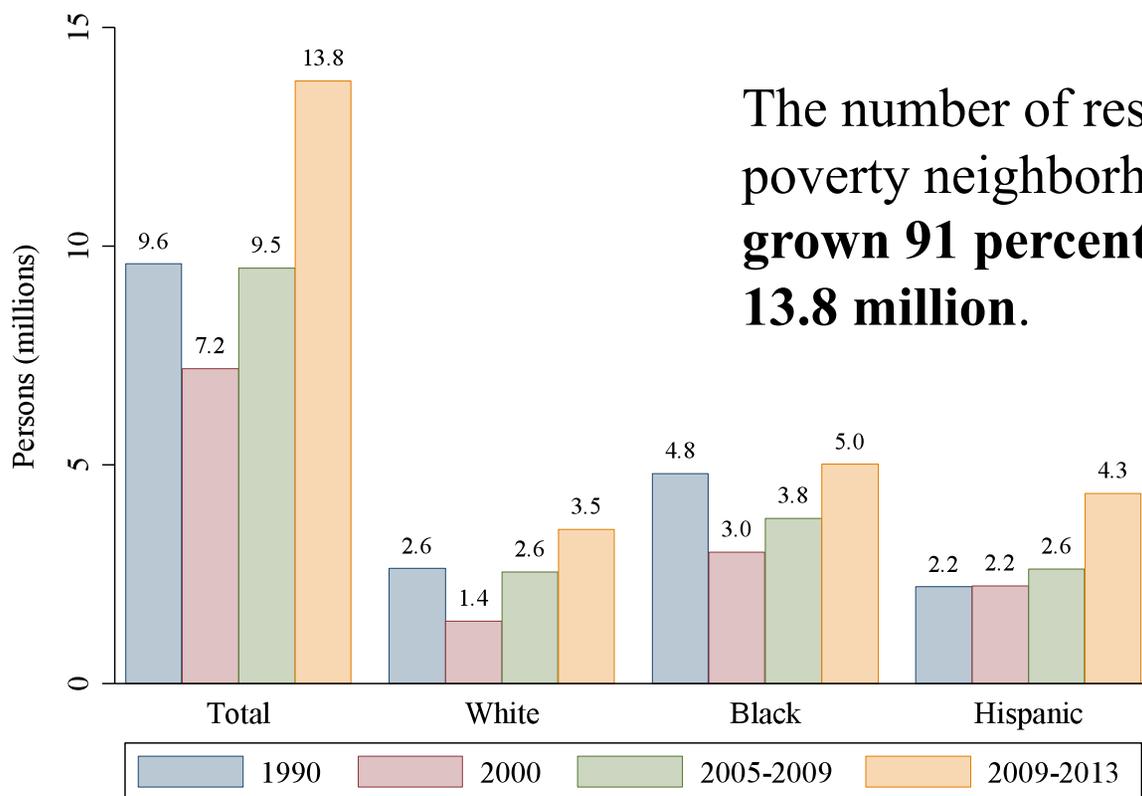
# Crime and Violence



# Neighborhood Effects

- Experimental Data from MTO show that young children moved to low-poverty neighborhoods had:
  - 31% higher earnings as adults
  - \$300,000 more lifetime earnings
  - 16% higher college attendance
  - Attend higher-quality colleges
  - More likely to be married
  - Girls 26% less likely to be single mothers
  - Live in better neighborhoods as adults (benefits continue to next generation)
- Source: Raj Chetty, Effects of Exposure to Better Neighborhoods, NBER Working Paper 21156 (2015).

# Residents of High-Poverty Neighborhoods

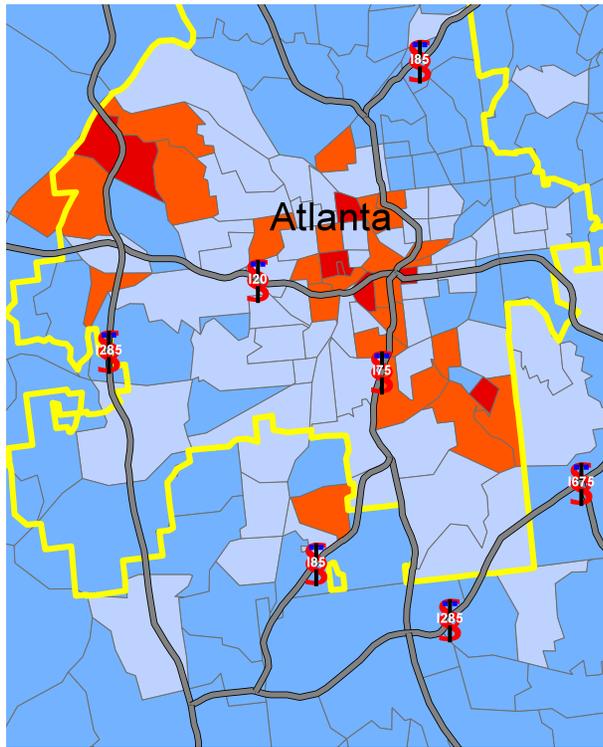


The number of residents of high-poverty neighborhoods **has grown 91 percent since 2000, to 13.8 million.**

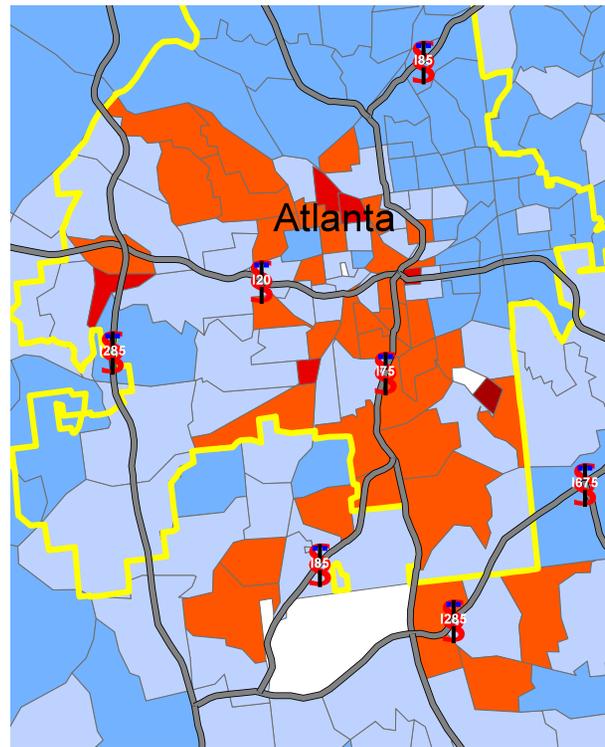
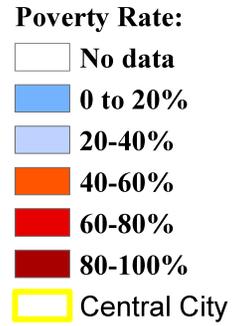
The increase was well under way before the Recession.

Sources: 1990 and 2000 Census, 2005-2009 and 2009-2013 ACS



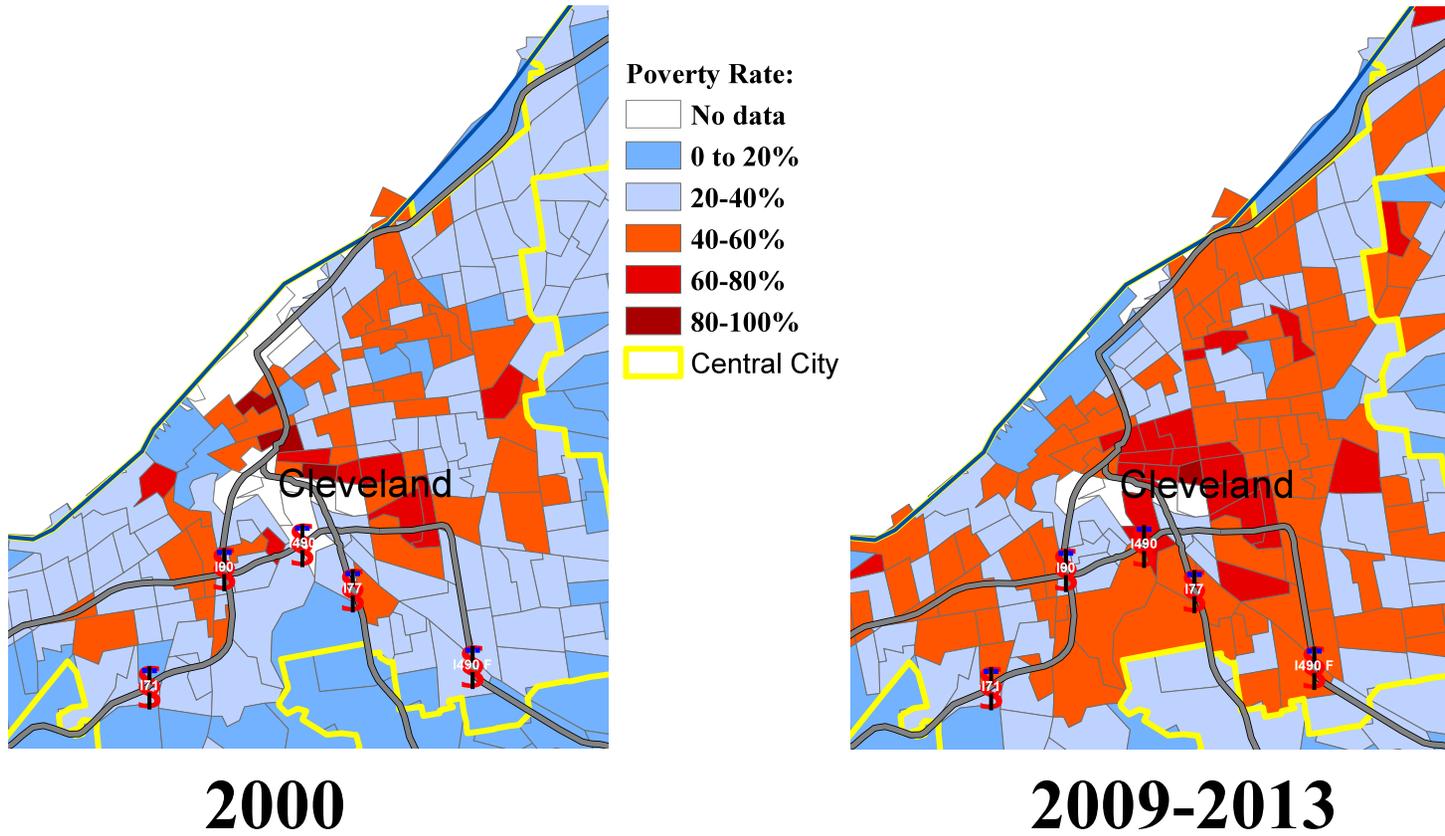


**2000**

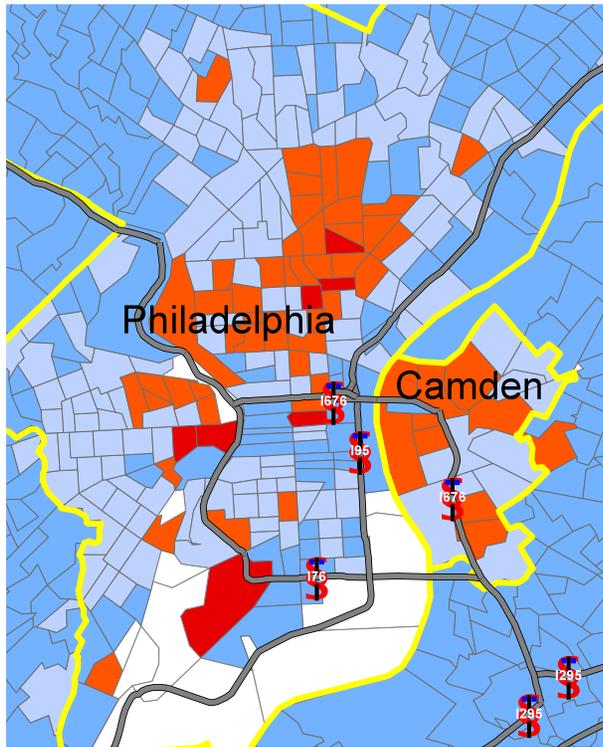


**2009-2013**

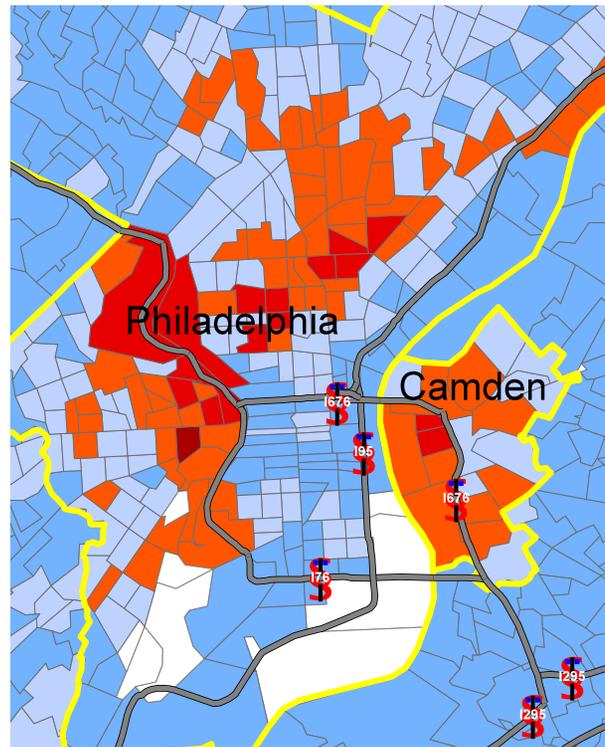
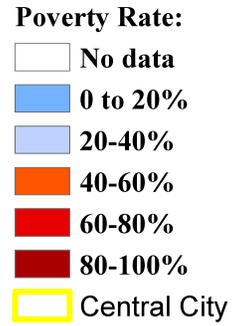
Source: U.S. Census 2000 and ACS 2009-2013. Paul A. Jargowsky, "The Architecture of Segregation (online appendix)." Century Foundation and Center for Urban Research and Education (CURE), Rutgers University - Camden. August, 2015.



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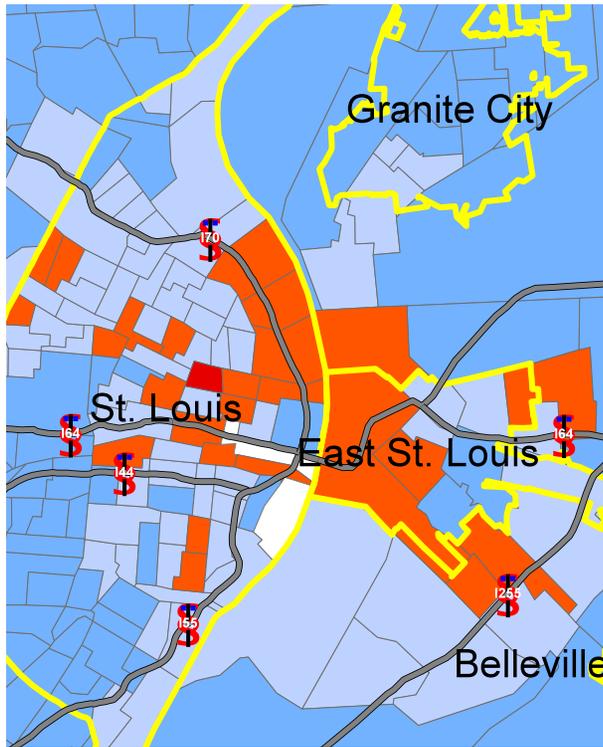


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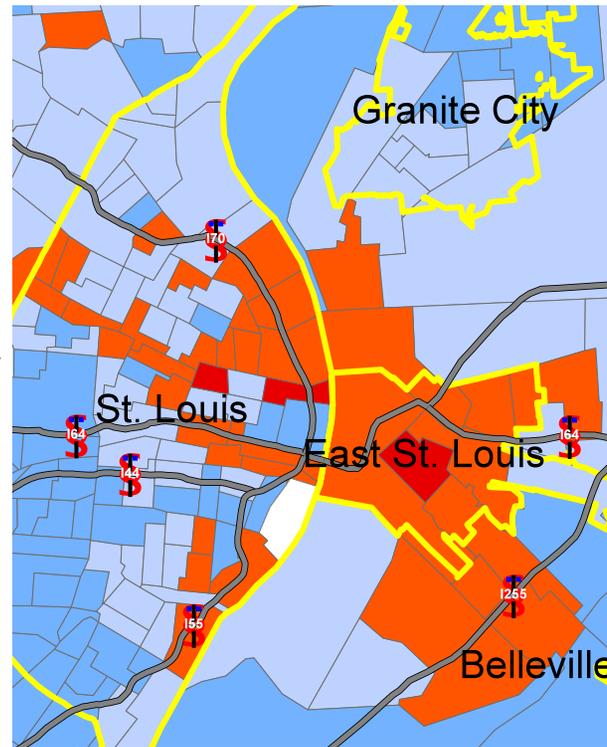
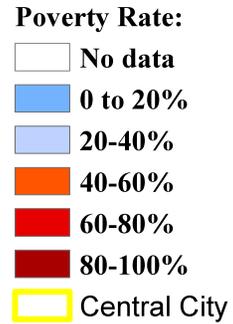


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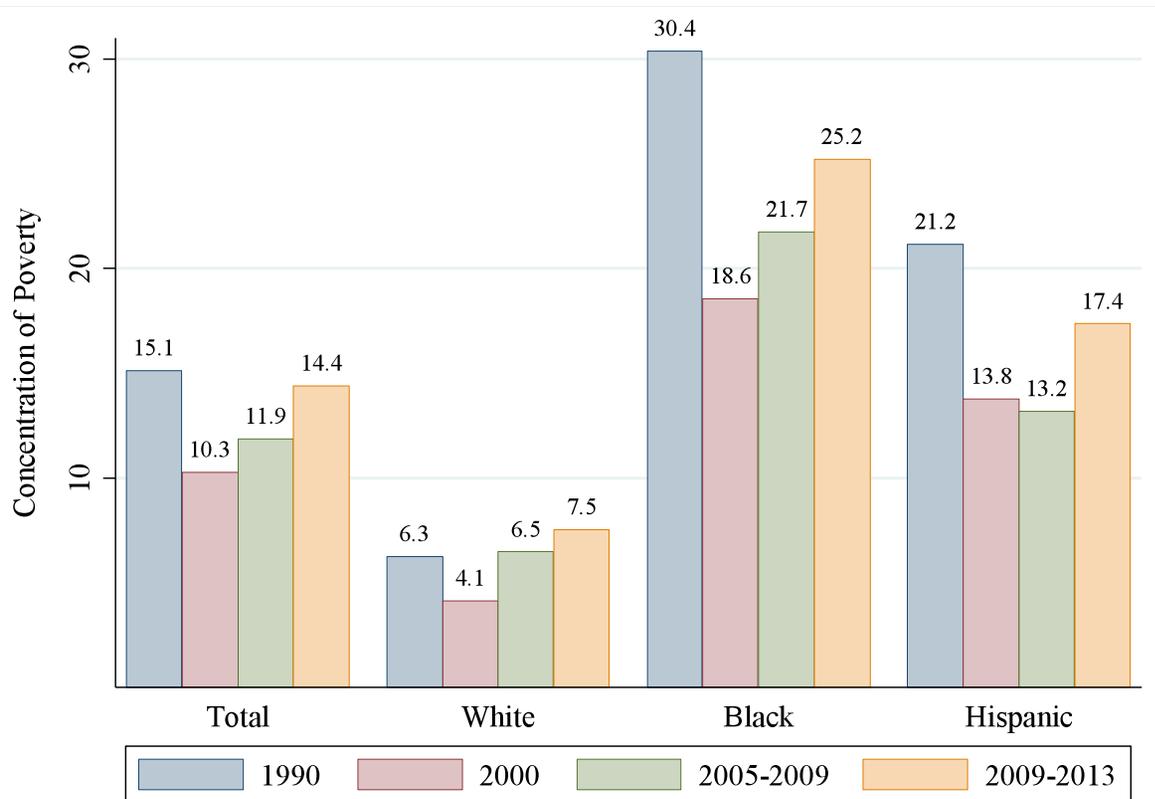
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Source: U.S. Census 2000 and ACS 2009-2013. Paul A. Jargowsky, "The Architecture of Segregation (online appendix)." Century Foundation and Center for Urban Research and Education (CURE), Rutgers University - Camden. August, 2015.

# Concentration of Poverty

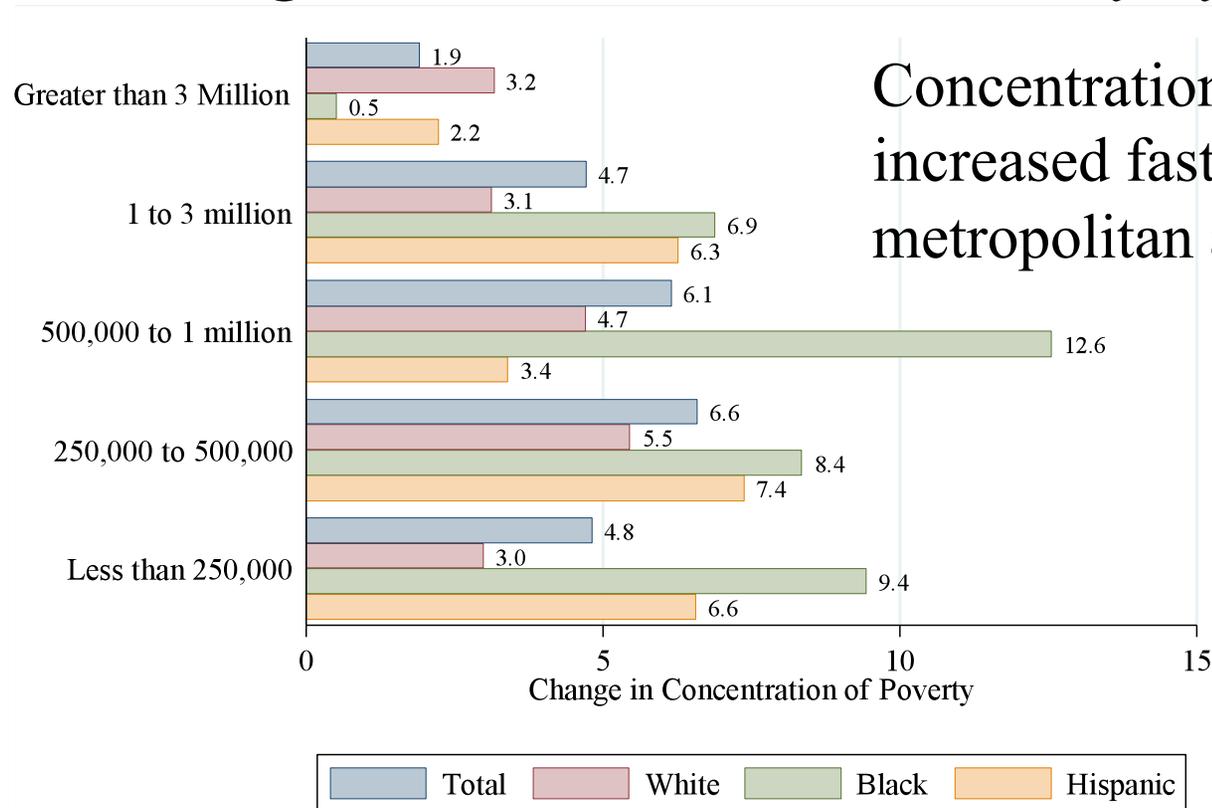


Sources: 1990 and 2000 Census; 2005-2009 and 2009-2013 ACS.

% of the poor living in very high-poverty neighborhoods:

- 1 in 4 of Black poor
- 1 in 6 of Hispanic poor
- 1 in 13 of White poor

# Change in Concentration of Poverty by Metro Area Size



Sources: 2000 Census, 2009-2013 ACS

**Table 2: Highest African-American Concentration of Poverty**

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Metropolitan Area</b>	<b>Black</b>		
		<b>2000</b>	<b>2005-2009</b>	<b>2009-2013</b>
1	Syracuse, NY	43.4	48.3	65.2
2	Detroit-Livonia-Dearborn, MI	17.3	41.4	57.6
3	Toledo, OH	18.7	43.4	54.5
4	Rochester, NY	34.2	43.5	51.5
5	Fresno, CA	42.8	28.1	51.4
6	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	30.8	31.8	46.4
7	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	26.7	36.7	45.5
8	Gary, IN	22.2	30.1	45.2
9	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	38.7	41.0	44.8
10	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	38.6	41.9	42.6

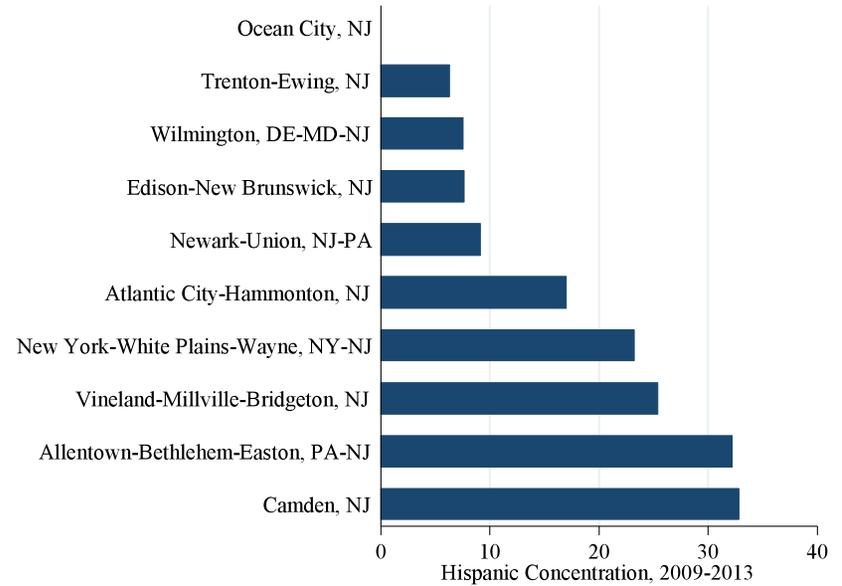
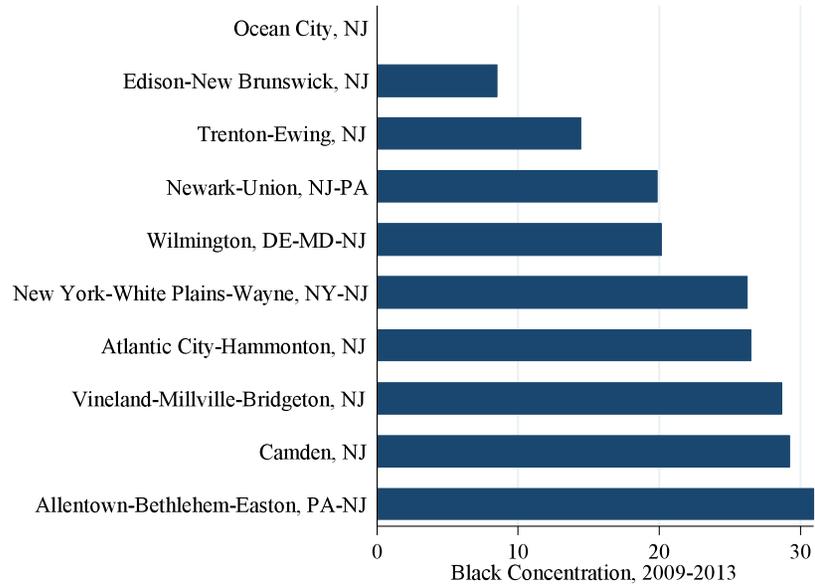
Sources: 2000 Census, 2005-2009 and 2009-2013 ACS. Limited to the 100 largest metropolitan areas.

**Table 3: Highest Hispanic Concentration of Poverty**

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Metropolitan Area</b>	<b>Hispanic</b>		
		<b>2000</b>	<b>2005-2009</b>	<b>2009-2013</b>
1	Syracuse, NY	49.3	38.4	62.2
2	Philadelphia, PA	53.7	45.9	54.0
3	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	61.4	53.8	51.8
4	Detroit-Livonia-Dearborn, MI	8.8	34.9	51.1
5	Springfield, MA	42.9	39.5	49.3
6	Rochester, NY	32.3	34.6	45.7
7	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	5.3	22.7	43.2
8	Fresno, CA	31.9	28.5	43.0
9	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	39.4	31.6	41.6
10	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	16.2	29.7	36.9

Sources: see previous table.

# “New Jersey” Metros

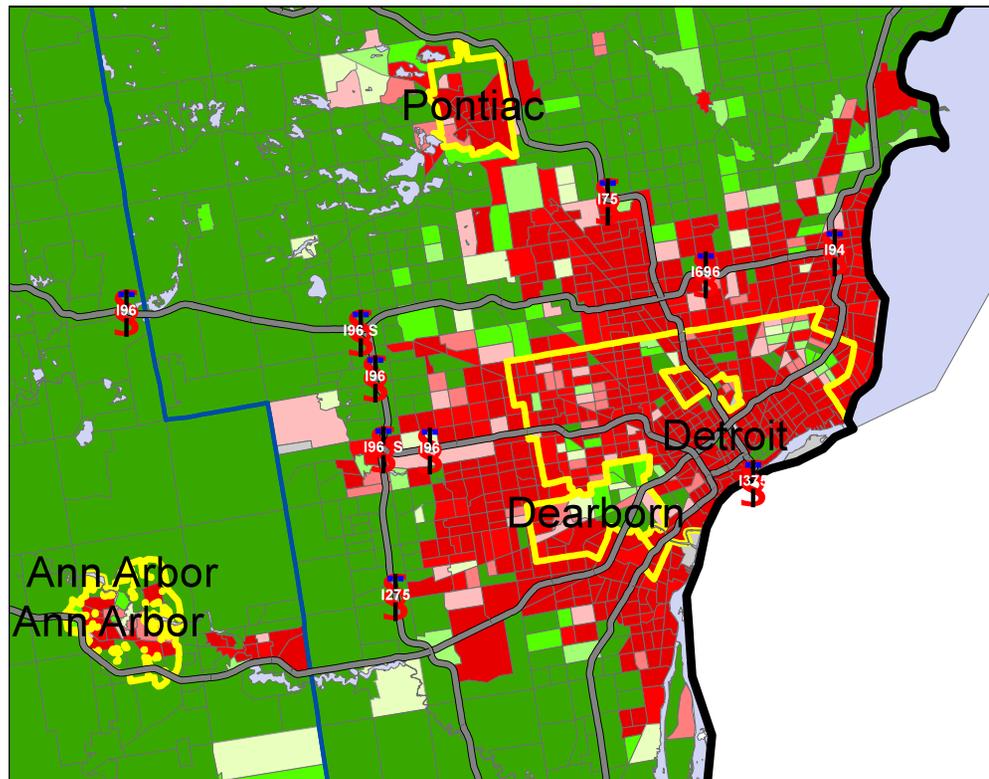


# Suburban Sprawl



- Growth is much faster than needed,
- Therefore it is cannibalistic.
- Peripheral growth comes at the expense of central cities and inner-ring suburbs.

# Suburban Sprawl and Central City Decline



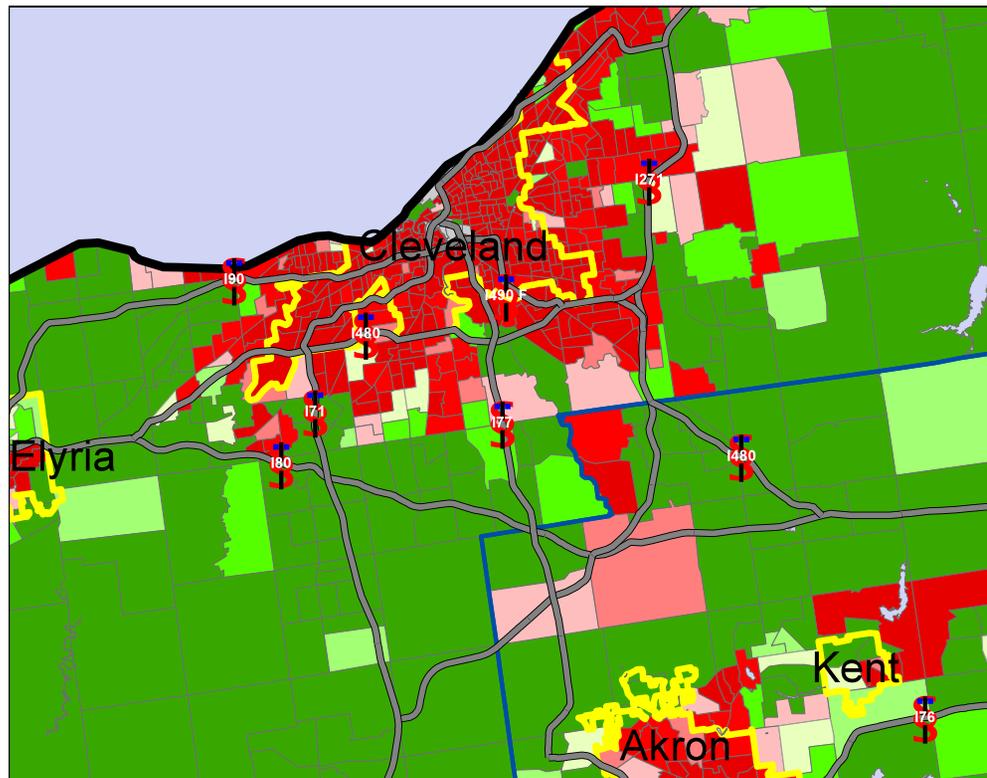
## Detroit

### Population Change, 1970-2000



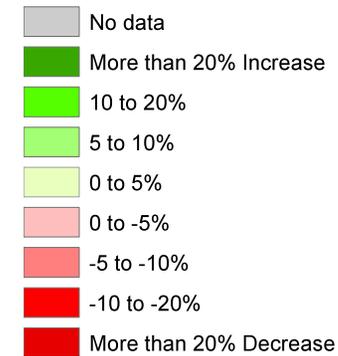
A large cause of concentration poverty historically has been rapid suburbanization, as the affluent moved out to exclusive suburbs and the poor were left behind in the central cities and older suburbs.

# Suburban Sprawl and Central City Decline



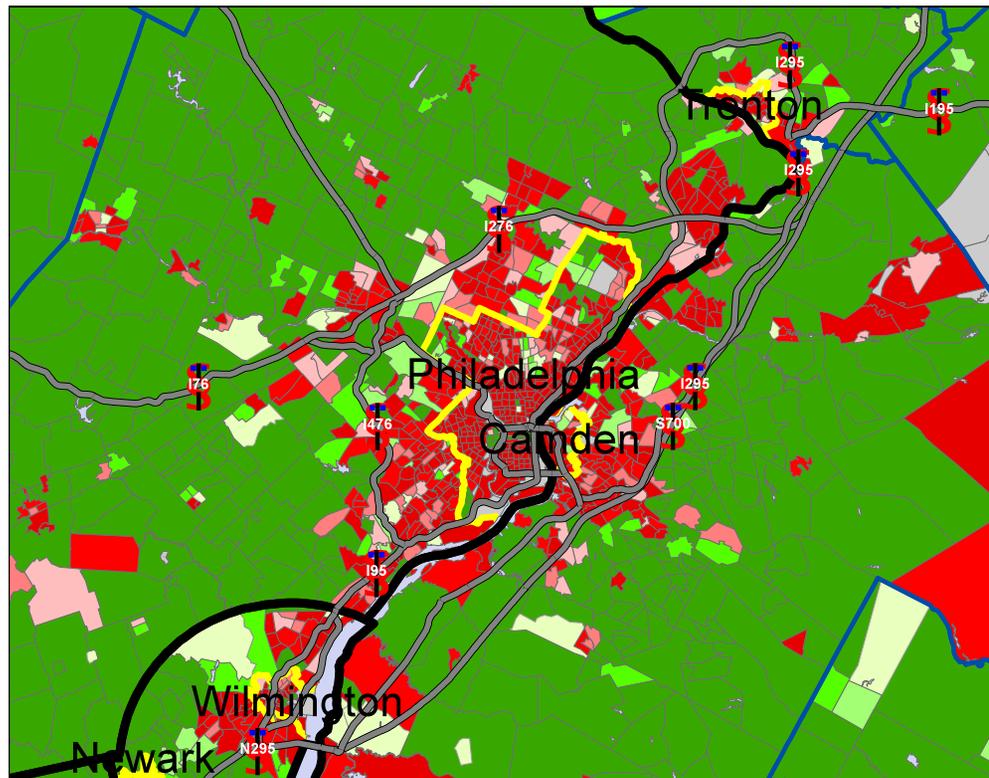
## Cleveland

### Population Change, 1970-2000



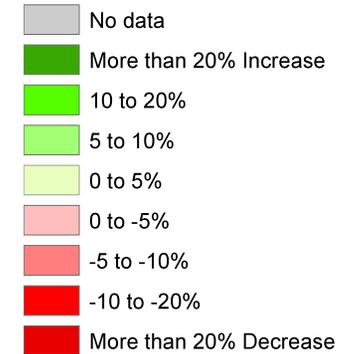
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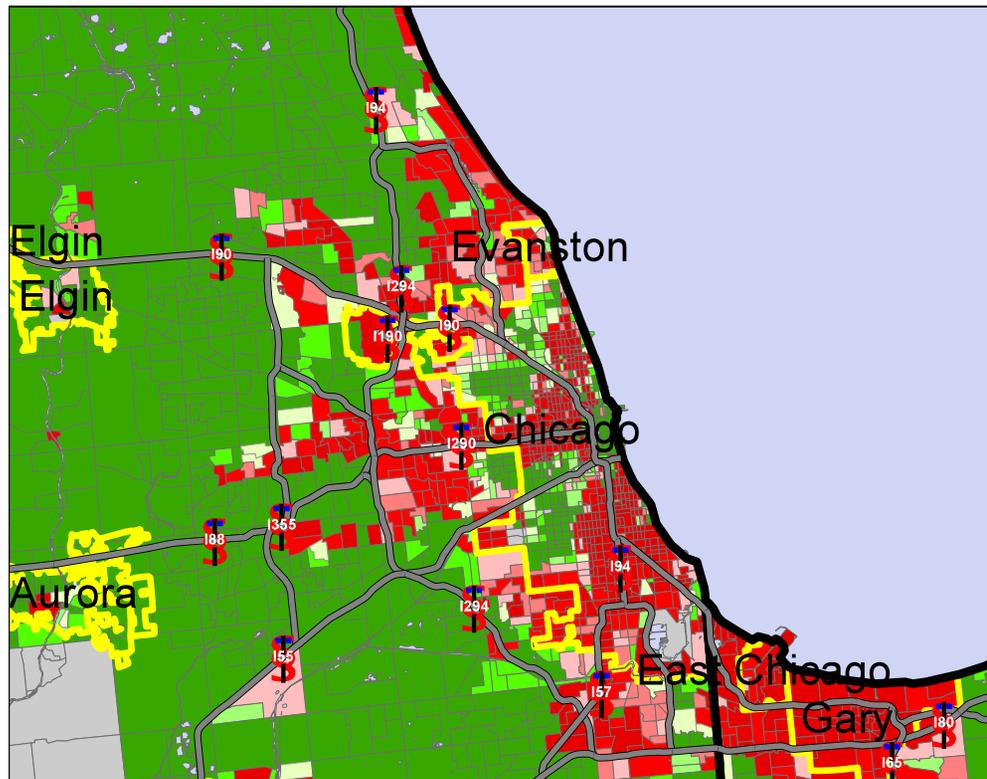
## Philadelphia-Camden

### Population Change, 1970-2000



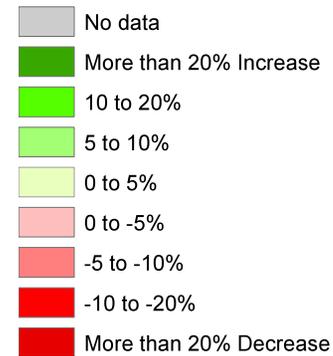
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# Suburban Sprawl and Central City Decline



## Chicago

### Population Change, 1970-2000



A large cause of concentration poverty historically has been rapid suburbanization, as the affluent moved out to exclusive suburbs and the poor were left behind in the central cities and older suburbs.

## Economically Exclusive Developments Over Large, Peripheral Areas

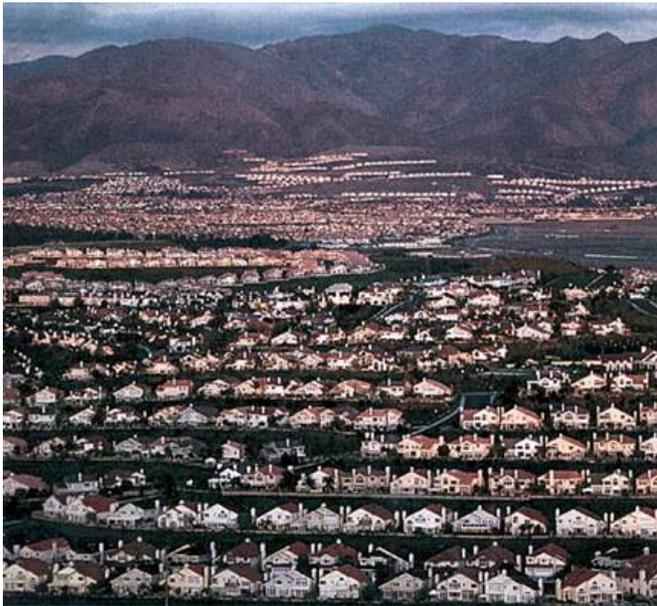


Photo credits: Left: Sierra Club; Right: [www.citelighter.com](http://www.citelighter.com)

## The policy conversation has to change.

- The policy conversation today is either how to “fix” high-poverty neighborhoods or how to help residents leave.
  - Enterprise Zones, Promise Neighborhoods, and many others
  - MTO, Section 8 vouchers, scattered site housing (but mostly still within central cities)
- These programs have a role to play, especially in the short run.
- But they do not address the fundamental underlying issue.
- The conversation should be WHY are there so many high-poverty neighborhoods to begin with?

# WHY there are so many high-poverty neighborhoods?

- Because we build them!
- Concentration of poverty is the direct result of policy choices:
  - Political fragmentation means that hundreds of suburbs develop without regard for the larger impact of their choices.
  - Suburbs grow much faster than is needed to accommodate metropolitan population growth.
    - Thus, suburban growth comes at the expense of central cities and older suburbs.
    - Infrastructure of new suburbs is subsidized, even as older infrastructure is underutilized.
  - Exclusionary zoning ensures economic and racial segregation.
- By policy and tradition, we create a durable architecture of segregation that ensures the concentration of poverty.

# The policy question: will we continue to build ghettos and barrios?

- Without abandoning efforts to help those who currently live in high-poverty neighborhoods, *we must nonetheless work to change the development paradigm that builds high-poverty neighborhoods in the first place.*
  - State and federal governments must begin to control suburban development so that it is not cannibalistic: new housing construction must be in line with metropolitan population growth.
  - Every city and town in a metropolitan should build new housing that reflects the income distribution of the metropolitan area as a whole.
  - Over decades, this will result in less differentiation among places, more in-fill development, higher density, more efficient public transportation, and fewer failing schools.
- The fundamental question is not how to fix Camden, but how to fix the metropolitan development paradigm that creates Camdens and Detroits in the first place.