

- Question of the Day
 - How did the potencies [of urban housing transform Detroit to today]?
- Anti-liberalism is the idea that first comes into an understanding (first rises) in Europe
 - You can think of it as an attack on liberalism
 - It is an attack on the liberal state, on the liberal consensus
 - It is a way of pushing back against the New Deal order
 - And it has some ironies
- If most Americans derive their wealth from property ownership and most black communities – the value of their homes is depreciated because you believe that black people depreciate the value of homes
 - And you run a highway through that black community then you [depreciate black wealth]
 - If your home is stripped away, taken away, demolished – what then do you pass on that will appreciate over time?
 - Goals of lesson:
 - To understand how disinvestment, industrial decline, and racial conflict ravaged Detroit and signaled the rise of anti-liberalism
 - To give context to the relationship between race and capitalism or racial capitalism
 - To grasp how white Detroiters, through the combined advantages of race and residence, were able to hoard economic and political [resources]
 - Sugrue identifies three things that transform Detroit
 - The flight of jobs, the persistence of workplace discrimination, and the intractable racial segregation in housing
- That liberalism seeking to provide a safety net for Americans
- Liberalism has failed because it has constantly succeeded
- While Republicans and radicals have always been [opposed to liberalism]
 - It comes from those groups who have always been a part of the liberal consensus
 - Southern whites, corporate leaders and business unionists
 - On the one hand the Southern whites form the basis of the Democrat party
 - On the other hand they are very committed as Dixiecrats
 - Those Dixiecrats have always stood opposed to the far-reaching implications of liberalism

- Economic safety net for average Americans
- African-Americans for the first time being invited by the State to benefit from resources allocated by the State
- Liberalism is at this time focused on the expanding role of government
- Whereas government before chooses not to engage directly with society or with the challenges or damages wrought by the unrestrained pursuit of capitalism that defined that classical phase of liberalism
- Government now sees as its role helping those who have to deal with economic volatility, the precincts of business, the destabilization that comes from shifts in the economy when things are brought out of equilibrium
- [Liberals] become conservatives who then push back against more progressive reform
- “We do our part” – those individuals who believe that it is their duty to support this New Deal order (why?) because the Depression had ravaged American life and what they see in the New Deal is the possibility of having workers for the first time put first
 - The idea is that the New Deal is privileging workers
- They see the New Deal as a unifying moment for a variety of reasons. Part of it is that within the New Deal they are able to build common political bonds within the Democratic Party.
- They’re also able to shape a sense of class solidarity so that those who found themselves most undermined or most challenged by the collapse of the economy, those who did not have savings, those who lost jobs, those who found themselves in unemployment or food lines each day
 - They are able to shape a sense of class solidarity mainly through unionization and through the Congress of Industrial Organizations also known as the CIO.
 - Language of Americanism
 - Whatever problems, whatever grievance they have about the ways in which resources are distributed throughout the country, whatever problems they have with business, the way in which wealth is tied up in the top 1%
 - It’s important to think about that because a lot of the times we are led to believe that the notions of too big to fail are the wealth gap in this country that is something new, that is something that has taken place in the post-war era
 - In reality those things are very present in the 1920s
- What Americans are willing to do in the New Deal order is find a new language to express their economic mistreatment and neglect
- Because the government is willing to provide an economic security blanket, that becomes their language of [distribution of resources]
- As early as the 1930s white politicians began to court urban white Northerners around certain issues that they know are going to motivate them to go to the polls

- In the crucible of postwar Northern cities undergoing economic and political transformation, they fashioned new politics that combined antipathy with a growing skepticism about liberalism
 - The white rebellion about the New Deal had its origin in the urban politics of the 1940s and 50s.
- How do we arrive at the 1960s, how do we arrive at the Nixon era, how do we arrive even at suburbanization?
- At the one hand, whites are embracing the New Deal for the rights which they are able to derive from it
- The rise in black population, that is something that we are able to think about
- Black and white workers are able to benefit from the New Deal order
- 19% of Detroit's population to 45% of Detroit's population
 - Interracial coalition, civil rights unionism
 - As job opportunities open up, African-Americans feel emboldened to come northward
 - Opportunities captivate migrants who move into the city
 - As they move into the city they're able to get secure jobs, they're able to get gainful employment
 - The city is crowded, or the places where African-Americans are typically confined are crowded
 - Upwardly mobile African-Americans desire to live in better places.
- Detroit becomes a [building] block for the Democratic Party
- Every gubernatorial race especially that of Frank Murphy, they support the Democratic candidate except once
- The point here is that it's sort of important to understand just how crucial they become
- Poor African-Americans also seek better housing
- "Dark Ages of Detroit" – Sojourner Truth riot
- In 1941, the Federal Housing Commission decides that they're going to build public housing for African-Americans in this white community
- They're going to build on those vacant lands throughout the city
- White residents protest
- So it's decided then that rather than let African-Americans move in, we'll let white residents move into the Sojourner Truth housing
- The mayor of Detroit, Edward Jeffreys said we should have African-Americans move in which is going to get integrated public housing

- On Belle Isle, it's a hot summer sunny day, and temperatures are above 90 degrees, you know heat brings all kinds of frustration
- Some men from the Navy Pier join and take several hours for that disturbance to be broken up
- White communities say you know those African-Americans on Belle Isle
- What happens here is throughout the white community the rumor is oh African-Americans killed these Navy men, these great American heroes
 - And they attacked a white woman
 - This is always gonna galvanize some white mob
 - They go looking through black communities for anyone they could get their hands on to bludgeon
 - In the black community, the rumor is you know they beat a black woman and threw her baby off a bridge
- And so Detroit becomes engulfed in this race riot and so the police shoot at the backs of African-Americans
- Looking to disarm African-Americans but also to take them out.
- As predictable, four times more African-Americans are arrested than whites.
- And so this black influx is causing tensions but some of those tensions are sort of exploited.
- When I'm talking about Detroit, Detroit is a case study for what is happening throughout the North
- You have people in Chicago who are opposing public housing
- You also have people in Philadelphia and Cincinnati who also attack blacks but resist housing and integration
- Before we get to not everyone being able to do that,
- The changing racial demography of Detroit and of urban cities throughout the North is happening amid deindustrialization
- So that's going to intensify the kind of animosity, the kind of feelings of antipathy not only toward African-Americans but toward liberalism.
- So that you get changing urban politics amid Detroit's decline.
 - You have several things that are taking shape in this particular moment
 - I said earlier that oftentimes when we discuss New Deal and neoliberalism it's important for us to emphasize the local
 - If we emphasize the national, then most people will think of liberalism's demise as being because of its excesses and because of its hastening of rights for African-Americans, that

these different ways in which the liberal state's overreaches caused the problem of liberalism

- When you look at it on a local level you realize that's not the case
- Oh there's a loss of jobs and that loss of jobs ravages cities and to the degree that there's racial separation, that's by choice
- There's the appearance on the surface of what looks like post-war affluence. And there really is post-war affluence.
 - As Detroit is falling into decline, as the economy in Detroit is changing it's hard to see that it is changing because there's the appearance of post-war affluence.
 - By that, I'm drawing attention to the fact that most Detroit workers, especially those in the automobile, auto parts industry are the best paid in the country.
- They are among the best paid in the country. And they utilize these relatively high wages to pursue home ownership. So there's rising home ownership. By 1960 it's 54.1%. In 1940, 39.2%.
- Yet despite that appearance of post-war affluence and home ownership, the working-class hold on that sort of affluence tends to be sort of tenuous.
- The reason it tends to be tenuous is because there are sort of periodic layoffs.
- Song that applies to this
- There's periodic layoffs and there are also four recessions during this time, that period so that to the degree that there's certainly more money coming out of World War 2, scholars saying that America becomes America after World War 2.
- That sort of kind of affluence, the rise of the middle class, the rise in home ownership
- The benefits of the G.I. bill for returning soldiers and New Deal
- What's going to happen any time you go through a recession? You're going to go through a Depression.
- And so what people end up doing is they certainly become more protective of what scant resources they may have.
- Our society is a consumer economy.
- We like to talk about fluctuations in the stock market
- What drives the economy is consumers. What happens when there is a recession? You hoard whatever resources you have so that the economy is [able to benefit] from consumer spending.
- There's a relocation of jobs outside the city into the suburbs, into other places
- A really good book to read for budding labor historians or just nice reading by a fireplace is Jefferson Cowey's *When Capital Moves*.
- But when they relocate those jobs it's not like they provide tremendous opportunity to places they are going

- (Automated)
- So there's a reduction of jobs
- As there's white flight to the suburbs, jobs relocate to the suburbs.
- Now we see that jobs are moving back to the city, people move back to the city.
- As jobs are now relocating back to cities because it's actually cheaper. And those individuals who were once denied the opportunity to get out to the suburbs are being pushed out to the suburbs.
- You also get the closing of factories, which that picture represents
- The confluence of both places the chief investment of white residents in particular at a threat. It makes their chief investment vulnerable.
- Arthur Kornhauser studied Detroit As The People See It
- The most frequent complaint (among white Detroiters) is that the cost of housing is too much
- "Colored Problem"
 - In order for Detroit to become integrated at this time, 88% of Detroit's white community would have to move closer to African-Americans.
 - Index of dissimilarity
 - In 1940 it was 98.9% so there wasn't much of a change from 1940 to [1960]
- And so that liberal consensus, that liberal coalition, FDR has to be responsive to.
- The reason why FDR did not pass the Dire Anti-lynching Bill is that he can't upset reelection bids
- Catholics have parishes. They're trying to keep them exclusive, they're trying to keep them white. You have the Irish Catholics, you have other ethnic groups who are heavily Catholic and living in heavily ethnic communities but who are also attempting to keep their parishes exclusively white. They're trying to preserve the homogeneity.
- Homeowners associations have a very racist origin to them
 - But beyond all of that (making sure the lawns are cut) you had a very specific purpose to these neighborhood organizations that white Detroiters founded and funded to try to keep their neighborhoods completely white.
 - Protective associations fiercely guarded investments members made in their homes, they sometimes did so paternalistically
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