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Willow Lung-Amam, University of Maryland
Alex Schafran, University of Leeds

From Sanford to Ferguson: Race, Poverty, and Protest in the American Suburb

SUMMARY

The tragic deaths of Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown, two unarmed black teenagers, in Sanford, Florida and Ferguson, Missouri, helped launch protests across the U.S. over police violence in African American communities. These two suburban communities were, however, more than just the backdrops to shootings and subsequent uprisings; they were central to the events that took place within them. This chapter investigates how the unrest in Sanford and Ferguson was rooted in a long history of structural violence aimed at African Americans and realized across the metropolitan landscape. We argue that these two communities—one a small inner-ring suburb in the Rustbelt, the other a sprawling Sunbelt city—evidence the ways that African Americans have become increasingly segregated in diverse but struggling suburbs within fragmented metropolitan areas. The uprisings highlighted the racialized policies and practices that have followed African Americans from the city to the suburbs, and the suburbs' critical position in the modern struggle for racial justice and inclusion in the United States.

INTRODUCTION

We must decide that poverty is now an imbedded suburban problem and we must therefore reorganize city and suburb to address this reality.

- Sandra Moore (2015) "A Vision for Ferguson and Beyond"

On February 26, 2012, Trayvon Martin, an unarmed black teenager, was shot and killed by a neighborhood watch member in Sanford, Florida, a gated community roughly twenty miles from downtown Orlando. Two and a half years later, Michael Brown, another unarmed black teenager, was shot six times and killed by a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri, an inner-ring suburb of St. Louis. In the sweltering Missouri summer heat, Brown's body lay in the street for more than four hours while his neighbors and family gathered before being removed by police. These two incidents sparked waves of protests that lasted months, sometimes turned violent, and catalyzed social movements and policy reforms at the local, state, and federal level. In the wake of Martin's killing, Black Lives Matter was born; following that of Brown, it became an international movement. Martin's hoodie and Brown's hands in the air became infamous symbols of violent, racialized, and predatory policing practices recognized around the world.

Media coverage of the shootings and the unrest they inspired broadcast a somewhat unfamiliar image of American suburbs onto the front pages of newspapers, televisions, and social media sites. As crowds filled the streets of Sanford and Ferguson proclaiming "Justice for Trayvon" and "Black Lives Matter," they showed suburbia at the forefront of contemporary struggles for civil rights and racial and economic justice. In doing so, they exposed a wrinkle in scholarly and popular notions of suburban racial politics and political movements. Unlike in the early twentieth century, when African Americans and other marginalized groups largely fought for access to suburban communities, the protests in Sanford and Ferguson emerged over the unequal treatment of African Americans already present in diverse and struggling suburbs.

Many of the conditions that gave rise to the troubled race relations in Ferguson and Sanford were strikingly similar. While incorporated as nearly all-white, middle-class suburbs, by the time of the killings both were majority non-white communities with high unemployment

rates and median household incomes below the national average. The 2011-2015 American Community Survey (ACS) shows both had nearly identical and shockingly high poverty rates—22% for individuals (Table 1). More than one-third of children under 18 lived in poverty. Housing vacancy rates were high, yet roughly half of all renters paid more than 35% of their income on rent. As in many lower-income communities, mobility rates were high, with more than a third of households having moved into their homes after 2010. Both suburbs were racially diverse but economically challenged communities.

In other ways, however, these two suburbs could not be more different. Sanford was a booming new Sunbelt suburb in which more than 30% of the housing units were built after 2000. Ferguson, in contrast, was a classic inner-ring Rustbelt suburb largely built out by the early post-war period; more than half its homes were built by 1960, and less than 2% after 2000. Ferguson also had a very familiar history of metropolitan segregation. In the post-war period, it grew as a result of white middle-class flight from St. Louis. As suburbs opened up in the late 1960s, black flight from St. Louis precipitated the flight of long-established white residents, and Ferguson began to see increasing poverty rates and a declining municipal tax base while the concentration of people of color increased. Sanford, on the other hand, was a historic commercial center that, like many Sunbelt towns, became a sprawling suburb of its greater metropolitan area after the 1960s housing boom (Lang and LeFurgy, 2007). The Retreat at Twin Lakes, where Martin was killed, was a newly built gated community that symbolized a more exclusive version of the suburban dream, but was also hit hard by the 2008 foreclosure crisis and its aftermath (Green, 2012).

[insert table 1 here]

In their similarities and differences, Ferguson and Sanford signify the way metropolitan regions around the U.S. have fragmented into diverse and dispersed pockets of poverty and privilege. The tragic deaths of Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown showed these communities as key sites for understanding contemporary processes shaping metropolitan inequality and racial politics. While radically different types of suburbs, Ferguson and Sanford were both subject to the forces of decline and disinvestment that had followed African Americans as they moved around the metropolis and the metropolis moved around them. In analyzing what led to the shootings and the subsequent unrest, we argue that the suburban landscape was not simply the backdrop to the events that took place. The spatial structure of these communities, and the processes that that produced them foreground the ways in which young African American men were positioned and the rallying cries of protesters. They thus underscore the intricate tie between what happened and where it happened.

SHIFTING SUBURBAN RACIAL POLITICS

In news coverage of the protests following the deaths of Martin and Brown, and the acquittal and failure to indict their shooters, respectively, Sanford and Ferguson appeared as surprising backdrops to stories about “urban” unrest. In both communities, prominent civil rights leaders Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton marched alongside residents and activists through wide streets surrounded by cars and strip malls rather than tall buildings and row houses. In Sanford, protestors paraded down the rustic, tree-lined Lake Avenue. In Ferguson, the convenience store that Martin had left only minutes before being shot was located in a single-story commercial center surrounded by a sea of parking that became the staging ground for multiple protests. The

grassy knoll where neighbors witnessed the shooting became the site of several candlelight vigils.

While the suburbs of European cities like Paris are well-known sites for uprisings over the conditions of socially and economically marginalized groups, American suburbs are not. From the rebellions that engulfed U.S. cities following the deaths of Martin Luther King in the 1960s to Rodney King in the 1990s, protests, acts of civil disobedience, rioting, and other expressions of resistance to racial inequality have generally played out on the streets of major urban centers.[1] Even given documented civil rights protests in classic post-war suburbs like Levittown (Harris, 2010), suburban politics remain strongly associated with the consolidation of social and fiscal conservatism that bolstered contemporary right-wing religious and political movements (Kruse, 2005).

The protests in Sanford and Ferguson underscore the emergence of a different form of suburban politics around race and a different role for suburbia in racial politics. While revanchist politics are common to many suburban communities, many are also home to a range of progressive political movements, from those centered on racial justice to immigrant rights (Vicino, 2012; Lung-Amam, 2017). In the last few decades, social justice movements have sprouted up in inner-ring suburbs and far-flung exurbs (Niedt, 2013; Schafran, Sosa, and Gin, 2013). Heavily impacted by economic restructuring and foreclosure, efforts to retrofit and redevelop suburbs have spurred a politics of development (Sweeney and Hanlon, 2016) and equitable development (Lung-Amam et al., 2014) once only imaginable in urban neighborhoods.

Contemporary suburban political movements reflect the growing diversity of suburbanites and the frustration, felt by many, that the American suburbs have not lived up to the

[1] This as opposed to electoral politics. See Browning, Marshall and Tabb's (1997) classic account of race and electoral politics in both urban and suburban cities.

promise they once held for many who have fought so hard to get there (Pfeiffer, 2012). Defying decades-old stereotypes about suburbs, by 2010 the majority of poor people and people of color living in the largest metropolitan areas of the U.S actually lived in suburbia (Kneebone and Berube, 2013). Suburban racial and economic diversity has by now become common knowledge, reported on by the media, academics, and policy wonks, often in hyperbolic and even derogatory terms (Schafran, 2013a). Far less reported are the causes and consequences of these trends, especially for African Americans. In fact, as African Americans have settled in suburbia, their metropolitan regions have restructured around them, making room for them in new places but continuing to disinvest in them, reproducing patterns of uneven development and new forms of segregation (Schafran, 2013b). In recent years, the struggles of these communities became evident in their high foreclosure rates (Anacker, 2015) and declining infrastructure, particularly in inner-ring suburbs (Vicino, 2008; Hanlon, 2010). Capacity-strapped social service providers and municipalities are serving more poor people but with few traditional public policy tools at hand (Kneebone and Berube, 2013; Roth and Allard, 2015).

In analyzing the historical and contemporary processes that produced Ferguson and Sanford as different kinds of suburbs with similarly linked fates, we illuminate ways in which race has foregrounded their disinvestment and the struggles of communities of color within them. African Americans have survived amidst the constant threat of not only police violence but various forms of state-led structural violence that followed them as they moved from the city to the suburbs.

FERGUSON

As protesters confronted militarily-armed police on the streets of Ferguson and were subjected to curfews, round-up arrests, tear gas, and rubber bullets, questions emerged about where such tense community-police relations had come from and why they had landed in this inner-ring suburb, only about ten miles north of downtown St. Louis. Some scholars and commentators pointed out that African Americans' frustrations spilling onto the streets of Ferguson did not begin with the killing of Michael Brown (Rothstein, 2014; Oliveri, 2015). African Americans were subject to violence at the hands of city councils, the state and federal government, banks, real estate and insurance agents, and their white suburban neighbors for generations. These other forms of violence shaped the St. Louis metropolitan area into a highly segregated and unequal landscape that, by the time of Brown's killing, left Ferguson struggling against forces of disinvestment.

The foundations of contemporary metropolitan segregation in the St. Louis region were set in 1875 by a provision in the Missouri Constitution allowing St. Louis, then one the most populous and least segregated cities in the nation, to separate from its surrounding rural hinterlands and govern itself by home rule (Gordon, 2009). As historian Colin Gordon (2009) documented in Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City, as African Americans flooded into the city during the Great Migration from southern states and the run-up to World War I, this law allowed whites, who were abandoning the city at some of the most dramatic rates in the nation, to establish independent municipalities. At the same time, it denied St. Louis the power to annex new areas as its population grew. By 2014, St. Louis County had 91 separate municipalities, including the six square mile town of Ferguson, and was among the most racially segregated and fragmented metropolitan areas in the country.

Incorporated in 1894, Ferguson, like many of its neighboring suburbs, used a host of private as well as local, state, and federal policies and practices to craft itself as an exclusive, white, middle-class community. David Rothstein (2014) and others have documented the range of tools that shaped Ferguson's social and spatial character over the course of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (Oliveri, 2015). These included racial and exclusionary zoning, discriminatory local and federal lending and insurance practices, racial deed restrictions and neighborhood associations, individual and collective acts of violence, racial steering, block busting and other discriminatory real estate practices.

Through the mid-1970s, such tools effectively sealed off the St. Louis suburbs from African Americans. The few who were able settle in the suburbs did so largely in communities like Kinloch, the first incorporated majority African American community in the state. Like black suburbs elsewhere, many Kinloch residents worked as nannies and housekeepers in adjacent communities like Ferguson, but were otherwise separated by dead-end and blocked streets as well as threats of violence and intimidation (Wright, 2000; Weise, 2004). The vast majority of African Americans lived in segregated St. Louis neighborhoods that fell into steep decline as jobs, white residents, and the city's middle-class tax base decamped to the suburbs. Many industrial jobs left the region altogether in a pattern of deindustrialization that hit Rustbelt cities such as St. Louis particularly hard. Highways ripped through black neighborhoods to speed the downtown commute for white suburbanites, while urban renewal cleared "blighted" areas for white-collar office towers, leaving African Americans more concentrated in poor neighborhoods and segregated public housing projects. The 2,870-unit Pruitt Igoe complex became an infamous symbol of the deplorable conditions of segregated public housing when it was razed to the ground in dramatic fashion in 1972.

Displaced by urban renewal and facing rapidly deteriorating conditions in inner-city neighborhoods, African American suburbanization took root in the mid-1970s, as legal restrictions preventing racially discriminatory real estate practices waned. Most settled in older, inner-ring suburbs with affordable housing options in northern St. Louis County, adjacent to the city's nearly all-black north-side neighborhoods. Along this "black belt" was Ferguson, a suburb initially zoned for single-family homes. During World War II, however, it allowed some multifamily construction on its eastern edge, including the Canfield Green Apartments where Michael Brown lived (Rothstein, 2014). In Ferguson, African Americans leaving inner-city St. Louis joined many former Kinloch residents, who had survived multiple urban renewal battles in the past, only to be displaced by a proposal for the Lambert International Airport in the 1980s that never materialized (Oliveri, 2015).

In a pattern that has affected black suburbs around the U.S., as African Americans moved into Ferguson, many white residents left, and neighborhoods like Michael Brown's began to resemble those that African Americans had left behind in St. Louis. While in 1970, Ferguson was 99% white, by 2010, 69% of its 21,000 residents were black. By the time of Brown's shooting, poverty and unemployment rates were high and growing, both nearly doubling between 2000 and 2012 to 25% and 13%, respectively (Kneebone, 2014). North County was the epicenter of the region's foreclosure crises, as subprime loans that had preyed on African Americans went south. From their peak in 2007, home prices in Ferguson were down 37 % by August 2014 (Nicklaus, 2014). The average value of real estate was nearly a third of the county's (Mollenkopf and Swamstorm, 2015). The high school where Brown had graduated only months before his death was among the lowest-performing schools in Missouri, with a nearly all-black student body that,

alongside the rest of the school district, was operating without state accreditation (Oliveri, 2015). [insert Figure 1 about here].

The prospects facing African Americans in Ferguson were far worse than for whites, many of whom lived in the city's few remaining middle-class neighborhoods, leading many commentators to refer to not one but "two Fergusons." According to the 2010-2014 ACS, around the time of the shooting African Americans' median household income was about $23,000 less than whites ($34,103 compared to $53,283). In contrast to St. Louis, where African Americans had successfully built powerful political coalitions and leaders, black political power was lacking in Ferguson. The city's mayor was white, as were five of its six city council members and six of its seven school board members. The police chief was white and only three of its 56 officers were black.

Though less well off than their white neighbors, African Americans in Ferguson bore the brunt of municipal finance through predatory fees and fines. With state laws that capped increases in local tax rates without approval by citywide referendums, small incorporated cities were often on the hook for financing critical services such as police and fire departments. Levying excessive fees and fines, particularly by over-policing poor communities of color, had become a common fiscal strategy for many Missouri cities. In Ferguson, though African Americans made up only 67% of residents, they accounted for 85% of all traffic stops, 90% of citations, and 93% of arrests between 2012 and 2014. Multiple citations were often levied for a single traffic stop and residents were often saddled with excessive court fees over minor infractions (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015). In 2015, municipal fines and fees accounted for nearly a quarter of Ferguson's general funds, while property taxes (disproportionately paid by

white homeowners and businesses) accounted for just under 12 % (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015; Johnson, 2015).

The violence that erupted on the streets of Ferguson emerged from a collective political struggle for visibility, rights, and respect that had long been denied African Americans in the greater St. Louis area. As Marc Lamont Hill wrote, Ferguson and the Canfield Green Apartments were spaces of "civic vulnerability," and the injustices within them "just as insidious as poll taxes and Jim Crow" (2016, p. 28). The events that sparked the Ferguson uprising stoked the ire of many not because of their exceptionalism but because they were so commonplace and persistent. Indeed, such state-led, structural violence had followed African Americans in St. Louis from the inner city to the inner suburbs, connecting this Midwestern Rustbelt town to the gated suburbs of the American Sunbelt.

SANFORD

While the majority of the built environment of Sanford is new, the city itself, incorporated in 1877, is not much younger than Ferguson. Its troubling racial history, however, dates back to its founding by the wealthy Connecticut scion and diplomat Henry Shelton Sanford. As Lincoln's ambassador to Belgium and an ardent supporter of King Leopold, Sanford encouraged the U.S. to recognize Leopold's claim to the Congo, a site that would see some of the worst atrocities of the colonial era. He also advocated sending recently freed slaves to the Congo to avoid political struggles in the United States (Hochschild, 1999). The racial legacy left by Sanford would haunt the community for more than a century, as it grew from a small port town into a booming Sunbelt suburb.

Like so many American suburbs, Sanford was a city in its own right before it was engulfed by the greater Orlando area. Located along the St. John's River, the city was an ideal location for exporting vegetables and other goods to population centers farther north, making it a regional, residential and commercial hub in the early twentieth century. The 1910 Census placed Sanford's population just a few hundred shy of Orlando's (3,570 compared to 3,894). By then Sanford was also engaged in the region's competitive growth politics, which were spurred by rapid metropolitan growth and efforts amongst municipalities to secure their tax bases. In 1911, when faced with a proposal by neighboring Sanford Heights to incorporate, Sanford leaders instead went on the offensive. They appealed to the Florida state legislature to dissolve the city and reincorporate Sanford with the neighboring city of Goldsboro. Goldsboro was founded by the Freedman's Bureau in 1891 and was one of Florida's oldest black townships (Simpson, 2012). With reincorporation, Sanford increased its footprint but the city of Goldboro was literally wiped off the map.[2] Even its streets were renamed. In a particularly pernicious renaming, Clark Street, named after the African American merchant who had helped found Goldsboro, became Lake Avenue, for Sanford Mayor Forrest Lake, the man who, in the words of Seminole County historian Altermese Smith Bentley, "engineered the town's demise" (Bentley, 2000, p. 57).

The ugly racial legacy that started with Henry Shelton Sanford and was epitomized by the Goldboro annexation continued after World War II. In 1946, Jackie Robinson attempted to make his integrated baseball debut in Sanford as part of a minor league team, but was prevented from doing so by local threats and the county sheriff (Lamb, 2004; Simpson, 2012). The city's lone swimming pool was filled in during Jim Crow to avoid racial integration (Lee, 2013). Such racial

[2] The annexation of Goldboro stands in contrast to the experience of many suburban black townships that have remained unincorporated or self-incorporated because of opposition from neighboring white communities (Wiese, 2004).

tensions were still evident in 1997, when an official apology from Sanford's mayor for the Jackie Robinson incident drew criticism by some residents (Lamb, 2004).

Sanford's population boom (and further annexations) came, in large part, in the last decades of the twentieth and first decades of the twenty-first century. During the same time, the Orlando metropolitan area became the twenty-sixth largest in the U.S.; it was also an important center for the aerospace industry and had become a global tourism destination after Disney World opened in 1971. Sanford also grew rapidly to over 56,000 residents, though in a far more fragmented area, and its population constituted less than 3% of the region. This period coincided with increasing racial and economic diversity in Sanford, but not spatial integration. The Retreat at Twin Lakes, where Martin was killed, was comprised mostly of newly built, gated homes. Goldboro, however, had become stereotyped as "inner-city" Sanford and struggled with issues of disinvestment that sat in stark contrast to the rest of the city. While census tract 206, which includes Twin Lakes, was 13% African American in the 2011-2015 ACS, tract 204.01, the heart of Goldboro, was 78% African American. [insert Figure 2 about here]

Like Ferguson, by the time of Martin's tragic shooting, Sanford was a deeply divided community with pockets of both privilege and poverty. However, the latter tended to be overlooked by those inside and outside Sanford; when one critic claimed part of the problem Martin faced in Twin Lakes was the purposeful lack of sidewalks purportedly meant to increase the community's exclusive feel (Youngerman, 2012), few noted that many neighborhoods in Goldsboro lacked sidewalks as well. For Goldboro, however, the lack of sidewalks was symptomatic of the city's chronic underinvestment in its infrastructure. In an exposé about Goldsboro more than a year after Martin's death, journalist Trymaine Lee (2013) told the tale of the "two Sanfords." While the city's historic waterfront had seen major reinvestment over the

past few decades, Goldsboro had a creaky sewer system and many abandoned sites, including several shuttered public housing complexes (Lee, 2013).

Such disparities worsened long-standing tensions over racialized police violence in Goldsboro and the larger Sanford area. By the time of Martin's death, Goldsboro was still simmering over the police shooting of an unarmed black man, Eugene Scott, two years prior. Yet it was not until Martin was killed in the gated, wealthier and whiter part of Sanford that much attention was paid to police violence in the city. The protests following Martin's shooting highlighted Goldboro as key to understanding the frustrations felt by African Americans over the serial acts of violence perpetrated on their communities. It was Goldsboro, not the Retreat at Twin Lakes, where protests began and grew. Allen Chapel A.M.E. Church, founded in 1893 before Goldboro was incorporated into Sanford, became "ground zero" for protesters, civil rights groups, and organizers (Lee, 2013, np). The rallying cry "Justice for Trayvon" took on new meaning when posed against the backdrop of this historically African American community suffering from decades of disinvestment and loss.

While there are key differences between the two Sanfords and the two Fergusons, the internal divisions within these cities-cum-suburbs were important contexts to the protests that emerged within them. And like Ferguson's neighboring city of Kinloch, Sanford served as a reminder that suburban poverty has grown not only because of poverty moving from central cities into suburbs, but also from poverty rising among long-established and long-neglected communities within suburbs. Racialized urban space, and the structural violence and protest it engenders, exist both inside and outside city limits, in big cities and in smaller cities that surround them.

AFTER UPRISING: IN SEARCH OF SUBURBAN SOCIAL JUSTICE

The protests in Sanford and Ferguson forced the eyes of the nation on struggling suburbs and the conditions of communities of color within them, demonstrating that the problems ran deeper than a few bad apples on the police force or vigilante homeowners. The events in both communities were a continuation of the structural violence suffered by African Americans since the cities were founded—processes that had produced pockets of poverty and disinvestment in suburbia, just as they had in the inner city.

In searching for justice in both communities, protesters found some relief. In Sanford, the white police chief who served during the Martin shooting was fired and replaced by a long-time African American officer who had honed his skills in community policing on Chicago's west side, and made repairing race and community relations in the city a public priority. In Ferguson, the uprising helped African Americans secure three seats on the city council in the elections shortly after Brown's shooting, and led to the hiring of a new municipal judge and interim city manager, both of whom were black. An independent Ferguson Commission was set up by Governor Nixon to examine race relations, failing schools, and other social and economic issues in the city. Community policing efforts got underway under an African American interim police chief's supervision, and the city made commitments to hiring more black police officers, additional training, and the use of body cameras for its officers. Perhaps most significantly, a new state law was passed that put a 20 percent limit on how much cities can collect from traffic fines and municipal court fees, and the Ferguson court system reduced its fees and jail time for

minor offences. The city, private foundations, and employers also increased funding for job training, education, and economic development efforts (Davey, 2015).

Despite these changes, in neither suburb have the protests fundamentally shifted the calculus for African Americans. Ferguson, for instance, still lacks many of the social service agencies needed to address the problems associated with rising poverty and inadequate public transportation (Dreier and Swanstrom, 2014). African Americans in St. Louis County still face vast disparities in exposure to poor neighborhoods and schools compared to whites, and have unemployment rates that are roughly three times higher (Nicklaus, 2014). The region has some the lowest rates of intergenerational economic mobility among U.S. metropolitan areas (Chetty et al., 2014). Facing a $2.8 million budget shortfall, city residents turned down a proposed property tax increase in 2016 that would have helped to fund the deficit and many of the reforms promised by municipal leaders in a settlement agreement with the U.S. Department of Justice. As Peter Dreier and Todd Swanstorm (2014) concluded during the uprising, “Ferguson is simply too small and too poor to address the underlying racial and economic disparities that are fueling the current protests.” Similar disparities continue to exist between Goldboro and other neighborhoods in Sanford and the greater Orlando area.

The uprisings in Ferguson and Sanford marked a significant moment in suburban political history. In both places, protests helped to uncover the ever-shifting roots of metropolitan inequality, including the conditions in which communities of color were living in suburbia and the forces that had and continue to perpetuate uneven patterns of development. Without the uprisings, many scholars, public policy makers, or activists might never have heard of Sanford, Ferguson, Trayvon Martin, or Michael Brown. As disadvantaged communities move or are pushed further to the urban periphery, there is an acute danger of their struggles being

exacerbated by, and yet made more invisible by, their suburban location. The unrest widened the gaze for those committed to finding new possibilities to America's deepening social and economic divides. Whether in inner-ring suburbs of older industrial regions or the farther-out exurbs of Sunbelt metropoles, suburbia is more than ever where marginalized groups are staking their claim to a more just and equitable piece of the American Dream. Whether in cul-de-sacs, parking lots, or shopping malls, protesters showed the need for scholarship to open up and interrogate suburban spaces to understand how the metropolis is not simply shaped by social inequalities, but also shapes them.

In holding up Ferguson and Sanford as symbols of increasing metropolitan inequality, we are also reminded of what is often missing in the narrative—the ever-more exclusive, generally white suburbs. There are many places in suburban America where young black men like Brown and Martin face little danger because they are still so unlikely to be there in the first place. As more and more media, academic, and political attention is paid to struggling racialized suburbs, vigilance is also needed to ensure that the story of metropolitan inequality is written not only from the places where protest appears, but also where it does not.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Willow S. Lung-Amam is Assistant Professor in Urban Studies and Planning and Director of Community Development at the National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education at the University of Maryland, College Park. Her scholarship focuses on the link between social inequality and the built environment. She is the author of Trespassers?: Asian Americans and the Battle for Suburbia.

Alex Schafran is Lecturer in Urban Geography at the University of Leeds. A former immigrant rights and housing organizer, his research focuses on regional restructuring, housing and urban discourse. He is the author of the forthcoming Resegregating the Region: Northern California and the Failure of Politics.