#### **GOG-USP 125 The American City Spring 2017**

#### **Outline 5**

These outlines are intended to give you a sense of the structure in the material – headings, some short explanations, and spellings of various proper names. They also expand on a few topics not discussed at length in class or in the readings. The outlines will be virtually unintelligible without the context of our classroom discussion. These are emphatically NOT comprehensive lecture notes.

*Syllabus Section 5: The Climax of Modernism*

**1. Fordism1qqq**

“Fordism:” a series of accommodations among big business, big unions, big government. The backbone of the economy was manufacturing; fortunes, tax bases of places and regions depended to a considerable degree on the manufacturing base (as developed in the "economic base" concept). Fordism is often associated with a more general cultural concept, late modernism. Manufacturing was large scale, with many scale and agglomeration economies. There was specialization of task and production line methods and a tendency to vertical and horizontal integration. This specialization and concentration raised concerns about monopoly, leading to anti-trust laws. Fordism was based not only upon revolutionary changes in production technology, but also on revolutionary changes in consumption - the creation and continual acceleration of demand. Economic crises were manageable, and there emerged a large, specialized, well paid blue-collar workforce with steady jobs and benefits, with access to channels for upward social mobility. At the time of the New Deal the economic philosophy of Keynesianism justified large scale and continuing state intervention in the built urban form (e.g. subsidies and inducements to home ownership, Interstate Highway Program; public housing and many other social programs). There were strong incentives, through such means as tax breaks and mortgage insurance, for middle class home ownership. Geographers and other social scientists came to see the city as an orderly, monocentric, stable economic and social landscape of rings, sectors, and gradients, functional zoning and specialization, social and ethnic segregation; key axes: uptown/downtown and home/work; social gradations based on workforce status; providing a structural container for controlled innovation, assimilation, and upward social mobility. By the 1960’s the urban landscape had come to be dominated by monuments of modernist architecture, by large, unattractive, public housing projects developed in the name of “urban renewal,” and by large highway projects that were causing the fabric of the city to unravel. Symbolically, for many scholars, the demolition of Pruit-Igoe in 1972 marked the “end” of modernism (Chudacoff, Smith, and Baldwin, p. 214-215). Fordism was succeeded by another mode of economic organization, sometimes referred to as “flexible accumulation,” in the postmodern era, which began in the 1970s. We will pick up this thread later.

**2. The City Beautiful Movement**

Daniel Burnham (1846-1912) was an American architect and city planner who worked primarily in Chicago, but was strongly influenced by European ideals and models he gleaned while on tour. He worked at times with F. L. Olmsted, designer of NYC's Central Park. His most famous aphorism is “Make no little plans.” His basic ideal was a classic baroque radial symmetry superimposed on a secondary grid, with monumental buildings deployed with reference to the overall design. He was involved with the “White City” project of the Chicago Exposition in 1893. The phrase “City Beautiful” came into use around 1898, and the idea is particularly associated with Burnham. He is best known for the Chicago Plan of 1909. He convinced business and government elites of the long-term value of neo-baroque norms of symmetry and monumentalism for esthetic effect, for controlling social malcontents, and in combating the sanitary and health problems of the industrial city. He tended to express these quite authoritarian principles in democratic terms. He admired the Haussmann style of planning but wrote: “as a people we must, if we can, do for ourselves what elsewhere has been done by a single ruler.” This was the age of Thorstein Veblen and the theory of conspicuous consumption. Burnham often sounds like a forerunner of trickle-down economics, writing of the need “for large numbers of well-to-do people.”

We looked at the riverfront project in Albany (1910-1920), in which the plans of Republican boss Billy Barnes and architect Marcus Reynolds were temporarily thwarted when Governor Hughes vetoed the bond issue. NYC architect Arnold Brunner was called in to prepare a City Beautiful plan for Albany. However, the engineers and public works commissioners who worked behind the scenes were more concerned with sewers, orderly highway development, and the great potential of zoning to rationalize growth in the new streetcar suburbs, including Pine Hills. Planning historians often interpret this nation-wide tendency as the transition from “City Beautiful” (dominated by architects and elite, external consultants) to the “City Practical” (dominated by engineers, public works commissioners, and other professionals embedded in municipal bureaucracies).

We looked at the landmark New York City zoning law of 1916.

**3. The Garden City Movement, RPAA, Radburn, and Rexford Tugwell**

*A. Garden Cities*

The Garden City idea is usually traced to Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928). He was British, a professional shorthand writer, who spent a time as a homesteader in Nebraska, and emerged as an important social philosopher with appearance of his book *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (1898/1902). Howard criticized the ills of the industrial city and argued for a new synthesis of town and country. Patrick Geddes (UK) and Lewis Mumford (US) were key intellectual brokers in bringing garden city ideals to the United States. These ideals were appropriated and expanded on by many scholars and practitioners, including Clarence Stein (1882-1975) and Henry Wright (1878-1936) who were both architects associated with Regional Planning Association of America in the 1920's. Key principles of the Garden City movement included a focus on the semi-autonomous residential neighborhood, separation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic (in US planning this is often referred to as the Radburn Principle after Radburn NJ), and injection of the greenery of trees and commons into the urban landscape. Also important was the notion of the autonomy of centers (as opposed to suburban sprawl) separated by green belts.

Elements of Howard’s vision:

integrated “reform” of urbanism, housing, sanitation, employment, poor relief, land tenure, and agriculture

Howard was a social reformer, not a physical planner or architect; he favored cooperative and collective land ownership. His politics were inspired by anarchism (rather than state socialism), his vision was one of local, communal self-government.

three magnets and their rationale

the layout

schematics, not plans; “a diagram only”

peripheral railroads, road as rings and radial

residential lots which are mostly 20’ x 130’ with gardens

civic, not commercial, focus at the center with parks, museum, etc.

an inner ring is “crystal palace,” a covered business arcade

regional structure

garden cities are limited in size and are bounded by green belts

total city-region covers about 6, 000 acres (about 15x our uptown campus)

city-region totals about 32,000 people

economics and government

project to begin with cheap farmland bought on open market,

and to be run by a limited-dividend corporation of trustees

all residential land owned communally (elimination of the “landlord class”)

all commerce, including manufacturing and retail, is for private profit

“land use control and planning” is exercised through residential leases and licensing of businesses

Letchworth, 1902, the first garden city

Welwyn Garden City, 1920

*B. Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), founded 1923*

Forest Hills Gardens, NY: sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation

1908 (preceded formation of the RPAA); F. L. Olmsted, Jr.

Clarence Perry and the school-based neighborhood unit

RPAA a small, informal group. Some key members:

Benton MacKaye, Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright

Catherine Bauer (housing reform), Marjorie Sewall Cautley (landscape architect)

RPAA concerns:

controlling urban growth and congestion

decentrism as remedy for housing and traffic problems

rural-urban balance, community, and regionalism, integrated regions

new, planned cities of limited size, surrounded by greenbelts

cooperative forms of occupancy

development by limited dividend corporations

Benton MacKaye (1879-1975)

forester, folklorist, philosopher of regional planning

father of the Appalachian Trail

Clarence Stein (1882-1975)

architect, writer, socialist, and advocate (in both architecture and planning)

co-founder of RPAA (with MacKaye and Mumford)

collaborated with Henry Wright on Sunnyside and Radburn

lobbied for and participated in Tugwell’s “Green” cities in the 1930s

City Housing Corporation, Stein, Wright, and Alexander Bing

limited dividend corporation (6%), incorporated 1924

promising initial subscription of more than $ 1M, including J. D. Rockefeller

the CHC developed Sunnyside Gardens and Radburn

Sunnyside Gardens, Queens, 1924

superblock concept, about 80 acres

brick row houses with some co-op and rental apartments

arrayed around common (not public) gardens

with own front and back yards

subsequent “encroachment”

not aimed at the poor; middle class and professional occupancy

Radburn, NJ, 1928; the Radburn Principle

some Radburn essentials: see powerpoint

*C. Federal Town Making: Tugwell and the “Green” Cities*

New Deal Resettlement Administration, 1935, headed by Rexford Tugwell, economist and political scientist

* garden city gets taken over by federal gov’t through 1930
* courts rejected pullman style private sector planning
* Tugwell was an economisits, charge of 1930 city planning
* resettlement administraion, rural relief for administration
* resettlement administration did not deal with urban planning
* FDR, he gave any good idea a try
* planned suburbs - urban told Tugwell move poor rural and urban, into suburbs
* construction is good for the economy
* Greenbelt, Maryland - outer suburb of D.C 1937, built owned by, landlord by gov’t,
  + lined up houses, shopping center
  + Claernce Stein - supervised physical layout
  + Clarence Perry- developed idea for school-based neighborhood
  + Rexford Tugwell - low income, questionaire shows a cooperate attitude
* WPA (Works Projects Association)- influential admin. on cities in 1930, did 1000’s small project
  + made WPA guidebooks about communities (wht cities were like in 1930’s)
    - congress terminated it in 1943 because of WWII
    - 1st agencies to say, must be racially incluseive
    - NAACP -said WPA racial inclusive
* houses are for low income people
* superblocks are connected by parkways, very wide for cars
* clear marking for pedestrians
* did not anticipate, extra cars, built no garages in those town
* to live there now is very costly
* Can federal gov’t take land and set itself up as a landlord
* supreme court eventually said it was unconstitutional
* 1930’s seemed feds were going to make 25 garden cities
  + Tugwell went to NYC lost battle w/ Robert Moses

Original aim to help the rural poor of the Depression and Dust Bowl eras; drought relief, medical services for farmers, tenants, sharecroppers and unemployed; but in the interventionist atmosphere of the New Deal its agendas grew, and sough to link rural needs with urban employment and housing

The goal of the “green” cities program was to build, not freestanding cities, but planned suburbs near existing industrial centers, providing decent and affordable living conditions and jobs for displaced and impoverished rural people; the building programs would also benefit the unemployed in the target cities

The “Green” communities were intended as communities of limited size (about 10,000) built with federal money, and leased to cooperatives of residents, advised by experts; 25 were planned, 3 were built: Greendale, Wisconsin; Greenbelt, Maryland; Greenhills, Ohio. They all incorporated: modified neighborhood unit in the style of Radburn, surrounded by extensive greenbelt of public land, and were intended as dormitories for nearby big cities

Resettlement Administration had little support in Congress because it was strongly opposed by private developers, by farming organizations, and by some farmers; Tugwell resigned after the 1936 elections; the RA was replaced by the Farm Security Administration.

Township of Franklin v. Tugwell, 1936 - US Court of Appeals ruled that the federal government had no constitutional authority to use its powers of eminent domain in states for housing purposes. The original idea had been that the federal government would be landlord. The houses were privatized, ending the federal role in the “Green” cities by 1952.

**4. The Levittowns: Post WWII Private Sector Planned Suburbs**

William Levitt (1907-1994) “Fordism for houses”

* hffdfthree levittowns in united states
* who are the three levitt
* William Levitt made himself aware of urban literature
* Levittion NY(1947),
  + PA(1952)
  + NJ(1958), now places with recognition
  + just places with recognition
* Levitt needed lumber, nails and concrete distrubtiors and manufactors
* some of his houses were made of ploverboard, houses did not last too long
* NY originially intended to be renters,
  + 1st thing too expensive, didn’t wanna build basement
  + house came with all appliances eventually
  + good for people who qualified for gov’t helo
  + Africans didn;t get such treatment
* FHA came into effect because people wanted to own these houses
* shifited to an owwnership model , made dififfent styistcal different
* raised branch kitchen is in back
* ranch says social life is family life
* did not ame

Seabee (logistics, organization, standardization, vertical integration, speed)

Levittown NY 1947; Levittown PA 1951; Levittown=Willingboro NJ 1958

housing for veterans; mass production and vertical integration

rapid abandonment of rental

Cape Cods v. ranches and changing symbolism of public space

limited attention to common spaces: swimming pools versus schools

tipping points; Linmark v. Town of Willingboro, 1977

suburban assessments: William H. Whyte, *Organization Man*, 1956

Herbert Gans, *The Levittowners*, 1967

**5. Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre**

Wright is known primarily as the greatest and most protean of American architects, but he also thought and wrote about aggregate urban form. Just as in the case of Le Corbusier, his architecture is respected far more than his social philosophy and his planning prescriptions. He tended to be anti-urban, anti-eastern (he was from Wisconsin), and in some ways, anti-progressive. In *When Democracy Builds* (1945) he lays out "Broadacre City," a vision of decentralization and of a return to the land, a kind of neo-Jeffersonian agrarian democracy, a city "everywhere and nowhere." The concept is predicated on his lifelong aversion to cities, his nostalgia for a rural (farm-based) self-sufficiency, and his aversion to machinery (contrast Le Corbusier). Wright described the big city as a collection of "herd-struck morons" operating machinery. He liked horizontals (as is clear from his architecture) and thought that the verticality of the modern city was all wrong. The idea in Broadacre was to decentralize urban functions along linear transport systems (superhighway and railroad) and electrical power. “Edison and Ford would resurrect Jefferson.” Wright’s (pretty incoherent) social philosophy was called Usonianism. County government was supposed to play a central role (in fact, it is/was moribund or non-existent in much of the United States). Broadacre is not to be confused with suburbia (of which Wright was very critical), but he did prefigure the Interstate System with his vision of a vast national road system. Herbert Muschamp (*Man About Town: Frank Lloyd Wright in New York City*, MIT Press, 1983) “... when all the Whitmanesque windbag rhetoric extolling the pioneer spirit is swept away, what remains is a society constructed upon the strict hierarchical principle ... a government of architecture, a society in which the architect is granted ultimate executive power ... It is easy, therefore, to view Broadacre as proof that within every self-styled individualist is a dictator longing to break free." And " ... didn't the adventurer in Wright want to roar with laughter at the thought that the greatest architect of all time had made possible the conversion of America's natural paradise to an asphalt continent of Holiday Inns, Tastee Freeze stands, automobile graveyards ...?" (Hall p. 315).

In discussing Frank Lloyd Wright, we noted his aversion to historic, European architectural styles, and the contrast between his rural and urban buildings. We also noted the struggle to develop distinctly modern styles suited to skyscrapers and other modernist structures One such style was Art Deco (much of Rockefeller Center, Chrysler Building, A.E. Smith Building in Albany).

**6. Le Corbusier and the "Radiant City"**

Le Corbusier was the pseudonym of Charles Edouard Jenneret (1887-1965). He was born in Switzerland but spent his working life mostly in France. He was probably the most influential modernist architect. (I think Frank Lloyd Wright was too multifaceted to be labeled simply "modernist".) "Corbu" promoted a radically new esthetic, and pioneered the use of new materials and new techniques. He left many justly admired buildings, including L'Unité d'Habitation at Marseilles, a chapel at Ronchamp, a convent at La Tourette near Lyons, and the Visual Arts Center at Harvard. But he also thought and wrote on the aggregate form of cities. He admired Baron Haussmann and Louis XIV. Although he presented his ideas as revolutionary, schemes such as the *Plan Voisin* for Paris and *Radiant City* are in fact clear descendants of the French baroque tradition -- close kin to Louis XIV’s Versailles and L'Enfant's Washington DC. His most ambitious project was a new capital of Punjab, Chandigarh. However great his architectural legacy, his legacy for urban planning in Chandigarh and in many other places where his impact is visible such as Brasilia, is considered by many to be a baleful, authoritarian, and sterile one.

Le Corbusier's most famous aphorism is: "the house is a machine for living" He was brilliant in the use of new, "modern” materials: what steel and glass were to Mies Van der Rohe, cement and concrete, in "beton brut" form, were to Le Corbusier. He expressed ecstatic appreciation of modern technology. He presented himself as an enemy of the past:

"Architecture lay buried under meaningless and incoherent traditions, which had to be dug through before any enthusiasm could be evoked;"

as an enemy of decoration:

"Decorative art is dead. Modern town planning comes to birth with a new architecture. By this immense step in evolution, so brutal and so overwhelming, we burn our bridges and break with the past;"

and an enemy of the street:

"Your passion for twisted streets and twisted roofs shows your weakness and your limitation."

This aversion for the dense, active, multi-use street puts him at odds with Jane Jacobs, William Whyte, and with the whole ethos of contemporary urban design. His encounter with skyscrapers in New York was a turning point in his life. He loved them, yet he felt their context was all wrong:

"The New York skyscraper is only negative. It has destroyed the street and brought traffic to a standstill. It consumes the very life of the population and eats up whole districts around itself, emptying them and bringing ruin. Build the skyscraper bigger and more really useful (i.e. place it in a park) and it will reclaim a vast amount of land, will compensate for depreciated properties, will provide a perfect system of circulation, and will bring trees and open space into the city. The pedestrians will have freedom of parks over the whole ground area and the cars will travel from skyscraper to skyscraper at a hundred miles an hour on one-way elevated roads placed at wide distances apart."

This solution, which became the hallmark of his vision of the city, was the "skyscraper in a park,” combining high overall densities with a pseudo-rural or park-like surroundings. Note that he was not talking about government or business centers only – he envisioned people living in large numbers in high-rise “garden apartment” settings. As he put it: "The gigantic phenomenon of the great city of tomorrow will be developed amid peasant verdure." He named one of his early visions the Radiant City (*La Ville Radieuse*) and listed its aims as:

i. decongest city centers

ii. increase population density of city centers

iii. improve traffic circulation - separate and wider highways

iv. increase open space

v. provide variety of vistas and perspectives

vi. take advantage of mass production for building units

vii. insulation of residential space from fast-moving traffic arteries

Typical hallmarks of Le Corbusier's style include pillars ("pilotis") to life up and symbolically separate the building from the surrounding space, open plans (buildings supported by a few widely space columns, resulting in a lot of freedom in partitioning interior space), and roof gardens, symbolically incorporating nature into what could be sterile and artificial living environments.

The clearly authoritarian trend of Le Corbusier's thought stopped short at quite vague notions of how, in actual fact, to get his gigantic visions realized. He liked the thought of government doing it:

"In the larger sense, the development of the city, since the direction lies in the ands of a single body such as a City Council, can give us a sense of unity and coherence"

But he trod carefully and inconclusively around the institution of private ownership of land:

".. contemporary society must have the entire land surface of the country at its disposal. 'To have at its disposal' does not mean doing away with private property, or stealing ... It means improving the assets represented by our land for the benefit of mankind. Let the lawyers find a way!."

Skyscrapers in parks are all around us. There is an excellent example of a “Corbusian” landscape less than a mile from our uptown campus. (Where? How does it differ from his ideal?)

**7. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe: World of Glass Boxes**

We should look briefly at another key figure in the modernist urban landscape, Mies. He was more a pure architect and less an urban planner that Le Corbusier, but his influence, too, is all around us. Mies (1886-1969) was the son of mason. He became director of the Bauhaus (1930) and left Germany in 1937 as a refugee to the United States. He was a master of the spare, elegant use of simple but often expensive materials (marble, travertine) along with glass, on steel frames, in simple geometric forms: the "glass box" or International Style. His approach to buildings was sculptural and in truth he attended little to the details of their functions. He said, in effect, that buildings have a long life, they probably will outlive their original function and will adapt to new uses. The only permanent ingredient a building has to have is beauty. His philosophy came to be called The New Objectivity (*Die Neue Sachlichkeit*). He treated buildings as space-enclosing volumes which, because of steel frames and curtain wall construction, did not depend on load-bearing walls. Buildings were free to become sculptural forms in general and elegant boxes in particular. He stressed technical perfection and had a spare, puritanical esthetic that sought beauty without decoration.

One of his most famous productions, and a good example of his obliviousness to the public settings and symbolism of his buildings, is the Seagram Building in NYC (1958) built with Philip Johnson. It is a 38-story bronze and gray glass tower with the most elegant and expensive finishings. Mies did not concern himself much with the space beyond the building. As Vincent Scully says about Seagram: “it clearly wanted to be free-stanfy hello to the massive, glinting, architectural newcomers that have suddenly filled ten blocks or so [of Park Avenue] - and discovered that once "hello" was pronounced, the conversation threatened to end. For perhaps the first thing to say about the new architectural mode is that it leaves one with little to say. It glossily sheds human comment.”

Mies and Le Corbusier together are usually considered the main figures in producing the urban landscapes that surround us, with their glass boxes and megastructures and their "skyscrapers in parks."

***Monument of late modernism***

* **no limit to how high a building can be**
  + **steel, concrete, modular panels, elevators liting**
* **scale**
  + **biggier and bigger**
  + **grandiose living**
* **style ?**
  + **problematic**
* **State Education building, in greco-roman style, didn’t know what to do with it**
* **Albany city Savings Insitition- 1930,**
* **Frank Lloyd Wright- who needs european architecture**
  + **described as anti-urban**
    - **farm boy from Wisconsin**
    - **descended upon his whole life**
    - **Falling Water-** 
      * **stream flows through living room**
      * **blends in with landscape**
  + **broad acre model of ideal socirety** 
    - **high speed highways**
    - **supermarkets**
    - **in a widely dispersed setting**
    - **20th tech - 18th agarain republicanism**
    - **past visions of the future (Jetsons)**
  + **made carport**
  + **he proposed a few skyscrapers for people who are not used to rural living**
  + **made SPUI- single point unit interchange**
    - **stereotypical ramps, are the one in the center of Albany, end of it stops**
    - **land cost gas wasteful of designing traffic interchanges**
    - **Route 7 centerpiece is a SPUI very hard to navigate**
  + **he wanted to revitalize county gov’t**
  + **he thinks that we should be called Usonians, not Americans**
  + **Vision on urbanism**
* **20th century** 
  + **Art Deco -formal, vertical style**
    - **Rockefeller center**

Albany's Empire State Plaza

moralizing architecture, how it was funded

relationship to the city

James Howard Kunstler and the “civil building”

affordances

##### **8. More on Transportation Technologies**

decline of streetcars in favor of internal combustion engine: automobiles, buses

shift from “farm to market” and “rural mail route corridors" roads to concern for intercity freight movement: 1916 Roads Act, 1921 Highway Act

1923 Bureau of Public Roads - planning a national highway system

parkways, e.g. Bronx River Parkway

urban expressways, e.g. Cross Bronx Expressway

Robert Moses

protégé of Alfred E. Smith

NYC Parks Commissioner and head of Triborough Authority

“Master Builder,” “Power Broker”

Cross Bronx Expressway, Long Island Expressway

Triborough Bridge, Jones Beach

attitude to mass transit, latent demand

“creative” use of the 1949 Housing Act, Coliseum project

in Manhattan and Bronx 17 Title I projects which removed 100,000+ people nearly 40% of whom were Black or Latino, plus at least 5,000 businesses

Lower- Manhattan Expressways (never built)

Jane Jacobs leads opposition to LOMEX

Moses as “heroic modernist”

“sworn enemy of the RPAA” (Peter Hall)

pragmatist and ultimately an “urban centrist”

Interstate Highway Program, 1956

trust fund from gas taxes and other highway taxes; federal government pays about 90% of local construction costs if urban expressways link to interstate system: 42,700 miles (about 5000 intraurban), 30 years to build; concept of limited access “expressway”

effects of expressways external to city:

accelerating suburbanization of industry

suburbs cheaper, less regulated land, electricity for power,

shift to low rise sprawling plants (assembly line methods): Lackawanna, East Chicago

suburban resistance to incorporation:

incorporation vs. annexation (C & S, 208)

effects of expressways internal to the city:

dissection of neighborhoods (“great unraveling,” negative externalities, decline of pedestrian space

Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act, 1991 (ISTEA)

signalled a shift from new construction to system preservation with more control at the metropolitan level and more state-local cooperation. Seeks to protect the environment by linking to the Clean Air Act (1990) and to reduce single occupancy automobile use (encourage car-pools, mass transit).

Albany’s Hudson River Way

undoing the disconnect of I 787

partial ISTEA funding

*Syllabus Section 6: The Segregated City*

**City as Cultural Battleground**

Quota system of 1920s, decline of foreign born immigrants from Old World

New World immigration continues: Mexico, Puerto Rico

the "Great Migration" of African- Americans north, and to cities

Two “last gasps of fading rural resistance to urban civilization" (CS&B 190):

prohibition and racism

Eighteen Amendment 1917

association of prohibition with reform, efficiency, the family, Protestantism, and older immigrant groups; association of alcohol with crime, poverty, vice, newer groups of immigrants; consequences: organized crime, bootlegging, racketeering

Twenty-first Amendment 1933

**“The Segregated Century” and its Consequences**

“Separate but equal” doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson, 1896

KKK and radical populism

anti Black, anti Jewish, anti socialist, anti big business, anti immigrant

anti feminist, anti urban; poor white Protestants in reaction to pressures in housing and jobs from Blacks, immigrants, and Catholics

early rural phase of KKK:

anti Black, anti Republican, anti scalawag, anti carpetbagger

later urban phase of KKK:

Leo Frank, Mary Phagan, *Birth of a Nation, 1915*

William J. Simmons, PR firms, political involvement

membership 2-4 M in 1924, about 30,000 by 1930

Marcus Garvey and Black Separatism

racial exclusion and redlining:

1924 the National Association of Real EstateBroker’s (NAREB) *Code of Ethics*: “A realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood ... members of any race or nationality ... whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood.” (This remained in the code until the 1950’s.)

1955 Brown versus Topeka Board of Education; US Supreme Court: dismantle segregated schools “with all deliberate speed;” 1955 Rosa Parks and the bus in Montgomery, Alabama; 1957 Federal intervention school integration in Little Rock, Arkansas

1964 Civil Rights Act

Protects constitutional rights in public facilities and public education and prohibits discrimination in federally assisted programs. It was extended by the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which provides for the elimination of discrimination in the private and Federal workplace on the basis of sex, race, religion, and national origin

1968 Kerner Report

*Report of the Kerner Commission*. Formed by the LBJ

Response to urban riots. Famously argued that the US was “"moving toward two societies, one black, one white - separate and unequal.” Of the ghetto, the Commission stated: “White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.”

D. Massey and N. Denton’s “missing link” argument

historic shift in segregation from jobs to housing and neighborhoods

measurement of segregation

hypersegregation and persistent segregation

black segregation as a special case

Quantitative Measures of Segregation:

*Index of Dissimilarity:* measures “evenness/unevenness” in the distribution of two groups. This is by far the most widely used index.

*Isolation:* the degree of potential contact, or possibility of interaction, between minority and majority group members (two specific measures address “isolation” and “interaction” probabilities).

*Concentration:* the relative amount of physical space occupied by a minority group in the metropolitan area. Minority groups of the same relative size occupying less space would be considered more concentrated and consequently more segregated.

#### *Centralization:* the degree to which a group is spatially located near the center of an urban area.

#### *Clustering measures:* the extent to which areal units inhabited by minority members adjoin one another, or cluster, in space. A high degree of clustering indicates a racial or ethnic enclave or ghetto.

Massey, Denton, *et al.* on the historical construction of the ghetto:

* + - 1. Pre-1900. Blacks’ patterns of residence similar to other minorities. Discrimination in employment rather than housing.
      2. Construction of the ghetto. 1900-1940. Streetcar suburbs and residential segregation. Slow opening up of employment opportunities to Blacks, and increasing discrimination in housing markets.

3. After about 1970, segregation of blacks slowly declines; massive immigration by Latinos and Asians does not result in significant increases in indexes of dissimilarity. Ethnically and racially diverse neighborhoods become a reality. Meanwhile, segregation by income and socioeconomic status increases for everyone between 1970 and about 1990, with an increase in what Massey et al. call “class isolation.” An increasing geographical “ideological segregation” between liberals and conservatives continues today.

Aspects of Segregation:

i. Cultural

Oscar Lewis “Culture of poverty,” *La Vida* 1965

Moynihan Report, 1965: men as providers, “tangle of pathology”

ii. Welfare-dependency

Charles Murray and critique of welfare state

1996 Welfare Reform, workfare

iii. Economic

William Julius Wilson: “underclass” debate

*Truly Disadvantaged* and *Declining Significance of Race*

middle class depopulation thesis resulting in:

functional inaccessibility of opportunity

spatial inaccessibility of opportunity

lost multipliers of minority businesses

place-binding by spatially targeted assistance

Glaeser and Vigdor (2012) on “The End of the Segregated Century”

American cities are now more racially integrated than they have been since 1910. All-white neighborhoods are virtually non-existent except in a few rural areas. Legal, structural, and attititude changes all played a role. The old ghettos have not diversified much, but rather have lost population as African-American disperse within their home cities, or migrate to other areas, notably in the Sunbelt, which tend to be less segregated. The dismantling of older public housing projects which tended to concentrate minorities spatially also played a significant role.

About 1960 half the Black population lived in neighborhoods where at least 80% of the population was Black. In 2010 the figure was 20%. This marks very substantial progress. It also calls into question the “myth” that “once the races mixed more readily all would be well” (i.e. that the problem of Black inequality would be solved the simple “spatial fix” of desegregation. “Residential segregation has declined pervasively ... [but]... there has been only limited progress in closing achievement and employment gaps between Blacks and Whites.”

**Housing Interventions**

Housing Act 1937:

created US Housing Authority, public housing and slum clearance. Lobbying of NAREB

Housing Act 1949: [by far the most important Act for our purposes]

“Fair Deal” Harry S. Truman; much larger scope and scale than previous legislation; enunciated the right to a “decent home and suitable living environment”

Title I: urban redevelopment; slum clearance; federal funding paid for 2/3 of the cost of acquiring “slum” areas (the “write down”), local governments paid 1/3; private development on those sites; the phrase used was “urban redevelopment” not “urban renewal;” it was mandated that the programs be “predominantly residential,” but this was interpreted to mean “before or after, but not necessarily both,” which led to replacement of run-down residences by other uses ranging from hotels to parking lots

Title II: greatly increased FHA mortgage insurance

Title III: committed to build 810,000 public housing units; opposed by NAREB; supported by diverse coalition of mayors, unions, veterans, and NAACP

Housing Act of 1954:

“Urban renewal”

Fair Housing Act 1968/1988:

prohibits discrimination in housing because of: race or color, national origin, religion, sex, familial status (e.g. pregnancy, custody of a minor), disability

Hope VI Programs, 1992

A recent effort to disperse and eliminate concentrated poverty and poor housing is the HOPE VI (Federal Program) “Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere,” which was authorized by Congress in 1992. “It was a response to a Commission that had found as many as 100,000 public housing units to be “severely distressed.” By 1990 there were about 1.2M public housing units housing about 2.8 M people, and by common consent the system was a mess. Fundamentally, the place- and project-based nature of the program trapped tens of thousands of very low income people in neighborhoods that were poor in economic, social, and cultural infrastructure and resources. The basic idea of HOPE VI is to deconcentrate (desegregate) poverty by assisting individual households with (portable) voucher support, and by developing an infrastructure of mixed-income neighborhoods. HUD lays out five objectives for the program:

a. Changing the physical shape of public housing by replacing the worst public housing developments with apartments or townhouses that become part of their surrounding communities.

b. Reducing concentrations of poverty by encouraging a greater income mix among public housing residents and by encouraging working families to move into public housing and into new market-rate housing being built as part of the neighborhoods where public housing is located.

c. Establishing support services to help public housing residents get and keep jobs.

d. Establishing and enforcing high standards of personal and community responsibility.

e. Forging broad-based partnerships in planning and implementing improvements in public housing.”

These goals are addressed through urban design, not just housing construction. There is a convergence between these ideas and those of contemporary thought on urban planning, for example, “The New Urbanism” (we’ll discuss that later). As a example, these are the HOPE VI principles for inner-city design as spelled out by the Seattle Housing Authority:

“Diversity: A broad range of housing types and prices will bring people of diverse ages, races and incomes into daily interaction, strengthening the personal and civic bonds essential to an authentic community.

Safety and Civic Engagement: The relationship of buildings and streets should enable neighbors to create a safe neighborhood by providing "eyes on the street" and should encourage interaction and community identity.

Neighborhoods: Neighborhoods should be compact, with shops, schools, parks and other activities of daily life available within walking distance.

Local architectural character: The image and character of new development should respond to the best architectural traditions in the area.

Streets and public open space: Neighborhoods should have an interconnected network of streets and public open spaces to provide opportunities for recreation and appropriate settings for civic activities.”

Potential problems: HOPE VI Reduces stock of housing for very lowest income group because average cost to tenant increases. It also reduces actual stock of housing, since fewer units are built or rehabbed than are demolished. And in some cases the people moving into the new units are not those displaced from the old ones.

We looked at HOPE VI projects in the First Ward of Charlotte NC and in North Albany. There are strong parallels between Hope VI ideals and those of the New Urbanism.

**Landmarks of Zoning**

1926 Village of Euclid Ohio vs. Ambler Realty: the landmark case in which the US Supreme Court upheld the legality of zoning, which became *the* principal means of regulating the American urban landscape. Congress passes Standard State Zoning Enabling Act (SSZEA) in 1926 (developed by Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce).

1975 Mount Laurel decision

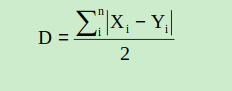
Definition of “family” in zoning: 1974 Belle Terre v. Boraas

Incentive zoning: Floor Area Ratio (FAR) and “bonus plazas” in NYC

zoning law of 1961.

Current thinking about incentive zoning in NYC.

The re-definition of use to “active use” on 125th Street in Harlem.

* 1920 fences socializing seemed to occur
* segregate people from automoblies, didn’t mean automoblies did not seperate
* transit oriented development
* sterotypical surburban lot
* Empire state plaza change image of albany
  + paul goldberg
  + “purpose of empire state plaza was to create krypton
  + staircase does not let you in the building
  + OGS - took care of empire state building
    - attractive place during events
  + James Howard Kunthler
    - building responsiblity is to make life better for the ppl coming in (basically tell you how to get in)
  + Empire State plaza people reaction
    - impressive
    - Wallis Harrison had nothing to lose
* Highway Policies
  + late 1800, westerm ave goes past end of manning blvd was a turnpike
  + public good, everyone needs it but does not want to pay for it
  + new scotland, leads to albany med
    - paid with log
  + turnpike was paid for
  + Roads act (first federal responsibility)
  + Highway (aimed at helping truck transport)
  + Concept of the parkway
    - early 20th century ideal
    - 1st was bronx river parkway
    - lastest was garden state parkway
    - carefully designed, treatment surrounding well ,local stone, preserve nature
  + Urban Expressways
* Robert Moses
  + - the master builder
    - brillant at drafting legislature
    - became in charge of NYC parks in 1924
    - 1930 got involed in highways
    - made many swimming pools in NYC
    - Triboro bridge
    - was not a scammer a PURE guy
    - Coliseum parking he made was given to people
    - things started to go against him
    - also wanted to destroy west side highway but stopped because of a breeding ground of a fish
* General John Pershing - highest rank in the army General of Generals in the army
  + very sensitive to strategic planing of highways
  + worried about getting material to a port
  + told his young lieutenant Dwight Eisenhower to drive a convoy between the West and the East and was suprisingly difficult
  + he strongly favored interstate highway program
  + interstate highway system does not go into cities
  + federal gov’t pay cities to allow for links to interstate highways
* ICE T ACT
  + encouraged carpooling
  + undoes 787 cutting albany from the riverfrount
* Cultural conflict in 1920
  + Irish and Afriancs received mixed reviews for musical
* Marcus Garvey said Africans should go back to Africa
* KKK came back after WWI
  + William Simmonds major guy
  + KKK hated change
  + its famous lynchings was of Jewish man
  + racist parades condoned by local gov’t, then disappeared
  + came back during civil rights era
* vs Topeka board of Ed. got rid of seperate but equal
* education and mass transit seemed to be about life
* white people support racial segregation
  + Dissmilarity index
    - measure of racial desegregation
    - declining
  + race is confusing
  + 
  + blacks residence was same as everyone else
  + discrimination occured in employment
  + then 1920’s real estate could not introduce minorites to housing because it would decrease propety value
  + Oscar said these people have the have wrong culture
    - when a group is segregated, the culture gets dysfunctional
    - turned back into racism
    - minorities react rationally to a structurally irrational sentiment
  + 1996 Bill Clinton welfare reform act - removed welfare
  + aggresively targeting job creation in inner cities
* Glaeser and Vigdor
  + cities are more integrated since 1910
  + rare for all white neighborhoodss
  + remove a certain excuse, segregation
* fundamental function of roads them were to get agrilcultural function into towns
* late 19th cetnury
  + us postal invents rural free delievery (1891), had responsiblity to deliever stuff everywhere
  + can get a house deliever to your home