

SACRPH

Sixteenth National Conference on Planning History

Paper Abstracts

PAPER SESSION 1: FRIDAY, NOV. 6, 10:30 AM - 12:15 PM

SESSION 1A: Transnational Diffusions of Planning I

Chair: Carl Nightingale, University of Buffalo

Comment: Carl Nightingale, University of Buffalo

An Incomplete Mission: Catherine Bauer's Third World Initiatives, 1950-1964

Sabrina Shafique, University of Kansas

In 1954, while the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials (NAHRO) selected Catherine Bauer for its highest award "Individual Achievement During the Pioneering Past," she politely expressed her reluctance to accept the honor, partly because she had left her "houser-career" decades behind, but more importantly because she had developed a completely different professional interest during the post-war era. Having become a full-fledged academic at the University of California, Berkeley, and a consultant to the United Nations, now Bauer broadened her vision beyond the United States, and started believing that in order to achieve successful urbanization planners had to expand beyond housing, neighborhoods, or municipalities, to the planning of metropolitan regions. During the late-1950s, Bauer became increasingly involved with her works at the UN and her major professional interests concentrated in the regional planning of less-developed countries in Asia, particularly in India. With financial assistance from the Ford Foundation, she travelled to a number of densely populated cities in Asia, and thoroughly studied Indian social- economic conditions, and explored the pattern of its potential future urban development. Upon her return to Berkeley, she became a consultant to the Ford Foundation on the Calcutta Planning and Development Project; and with her colleagues Kingsley Davis (sociologist and demographer) and Richard L. Park (political scientist), Bauer organized an international conference on "Urbanization in India" in 1960 - only a couple of years prior to her tragic death at the age of 59.

In recent historical scholarship, a growing body of literature emphasizes on mid- century global dissemination of American architectural agenda through agencies such as the Ford Foundation, the World Bank and the UN; it hasn't adequately highlighted Catherine Bauer's contribution. On the other hand, in planning history scholarship, a tremendous amount of research that focus on the history of American public housing and the passage of the New Deal, frequently refer to Bauer's contribution during the interwar period as a "public-houser", as a lobbyist, and as the author of the classic *Modern Housing* (1934); however, very few of this literature consider her academic career. Therefore, Bauer's post-war professional involvements, and her Third World planning mission remained largely unexplored. This paper, through an extensive archival research, addresses Catherine Bauer's international connections that initiated the formulation and implementation of planning the future of a large metropolis, and it highlights her significant yet lesser-known contributions to the urbanization in the Third World.

In Preparation of Prosperity: Origins of Urban Planning in Abu Dhabi

Surajit Chakravarty, ALHOSN University

Abu Dhabi, the capital of the United Arab Emirates, is best known for impressive buildings and megaprojects. The Saadiyat Island project, for example, features five museums including the Louvre and Guggenheim, while Masdar City, an ambitious sustainability experiment, has been under the scholarly scrutiny. Relatively little, however, has been recorded about the origins of urban planning in Abu Dhabi – a city of 600,000, which, supported by oil wealth, has emerged in the Arabian Desert in a matter of only about 40 years.

Oil was discovered in the Trucial States in the late 1950s. The Emirate of Abu Dhabi exported its first barrels in 1962. After independence and the formation of the United Arab Emirates in 1971, city-building in the nascent country began as an important component of nation-building. The site and situation were unique - the promise of great and rapid prosperity, balanced by the need for wise use of resources (still limited at the time), on a blank slate at the edge of the Arabian Desert. Early planning is credited to consultant Katsuhiko Takahashi, UN expert Abdulrahman Makhoul, and the international consultancy of Halcrow and partners, all of whom worked contemporaneously, though not always together. Sheikh Zayed (the first president) oversaw operations and was personally involved in visioning and design.

This study is based on in-depth interviews with Dr. Makhoul, analyses of resources shared by him (maps, memos and notes), and accounts of city-building retrieved from memoirs and other publications. The paper identifies the main players and the perspectives they brought to the planning of Abu Dhabi. Tracing some of the challenges and anxieties that faced the nation, the paper sheds light on the decisions that shaped today's Abu Dhabi.

Learning from LA: Australian responses to Los Angeles urbanism 1910-1965

Robert Freestone, University of New South Wales

Peggy James, University of Tasmania

From the late 1960s, Los Angeles was portrayed as an archetypal urban dystopia by Australian planning commentators. Yet for a half century before LA assumed the status of a veritable icon of 'good city' planning, and its example influenced planning policies across Australian cities. This paper explores that earlier, more positive era when LA and Southern California more generally were more often than not depicted in the media and planning discourse as an exemplar for progressive planning, housing and design policies. This learning from abroad is set within the planning history paradigm of the international diffusion of planning ideas and the paper will explore some of the key concepts, projects, agents and institutions which helped import a beneficent model of LA urbanism for Australian modern city planning discourse during its critical development phase from the 1910s to early 1960s. The treatment is essentially chronological and thematic, drawing from a reading of both contemporary planning documents and newspaper coverage. A succession of Australian visitors on study tours or working and studying in the US also generated a discourse of innovative urbanism. Perceived similarities in climate and culture between the US west coast and Australia strengthened the nexus as did the growing interest in American films and architecture in the inter-war years. In the 1910s, LA was widely perceived as a model garden city, with a material standard of living and ordered spaciousness that captured at least the generalized garden

suburb ideal. The planned bungalow court as an affordable housing precinct was appreciated and Australian versions were adapted into the 1920s and early 1930s. At the same time, broader regional planning and city governance initiatives attracted increasing interest and admiration. In the 1940s the housing theme remained strong with the modernist suburban housing values evolving into the efficiency of wartime, emergency and prefabricated housing estates. By the early 1950s LA was being portrayed as an almost suburban utopia of decentralized low-density living, safe and appealing shopping malls, and high mobility. The 1953 visit to Australia of Charles Bennett, LA's Director of City Planning, sparked more admiring coverage and interest in LA planning ideas. Bennett's visit had been sponsored by a major Melbourne retailer and was intended to influence the drafting of that city's first postwar metropolitan plan published in 1954 and which endorsed a program of planned suburban decentralization. Other cities were to follow. The influence of LA as a planning force in the first half of the 20th century can be seen within the broader context of increasing American influence generally on Australian planning theory and practice. The largely positive connotations would be extinguished by new representations of LA as a sprawling, divided, polluted, car-dependent metropolis at the dawn of the 1970s.

SESSION 1B: Inclusion and Exclusion in Urban Redevelopment

****AICP CM CREDITS [pending approval]****

Chair: Janet Bednarek, University of Dayton

Comment: Janet Bednarek, University of Dayton

“Pitched Out into the Streets”: Japanese Displacement and Olympic Dreams in Salt Lake City, 1961–1966

Stefani Evans, University of Nevada Las Vegas

On June 16, 1995, Salt Lake City residents cheered the International Olympic Committee (IOC) announcement that the city had won the right to host the 2002 Olympic Winter Games. The victory was all the sweeter because it culminated more than thirty years of failed official bids that began in the early 1960s. In order to attract the Olympic Winter Games the city had to provide and maintain the necessary infrastructure. In 1961 Utah lawmakers passed legislation authorizing a city-county civic auditorium that could accommodate hockey and figure skating; the following year the Olympics became the carrot that enticed county residents to approve a \$17 million bond issue to build the facility. However, the selected site, two square blocks immediately southwest of Temple Square, was occupied by Salt Lake's Japanese community. Removing Japanese Town was essential for two reasons: first, it created valuable space to build a convenient and much-needed civic auditorium and Olympic skating venue; second, removing the dense concentration of ethnic Japanese smells, sights, sounds, and bodies rendered these downtown blocks whiter, more modern, more legible, and more useful to civic and Olympic boosters. This paper examines what Salt Lake City lost in 1966, when it evacuated and demolished Japanese Town to create the footprint for the Salt Palace auditorium. The paper is part of a larger project that asks how, why, and when Salt Lake City first come to focus on hosting the Olympic Winter Games and in what ways the city's (and Utah's) pursuit of the

Olympics over time shaped its urban, economic, and political infrastructure and its built and natural environments. As Salt Lake leaders prepare further bids to host the 2026 or 2030 Olympic Winter Games, this project continues to be relevant not only to Salt Lake and Utah but also to the vulnerable populations who live in the urban centers and hinterlands of all cities that harbor ambitions and reshape their landscapes to host mega-events.

The Making and Remaking of an Urban Edgeland: The Role of Boundaries in the Planning and Development History of Hackney Wick, East London, 1870-2014

Juliet Davis, Cardiff University

Numerous sites and areas within London that were once considered peripheral are now places of opportunity for development or intensification. The purpose of this paper is to consider one such as an exemplar, exploring the roles played by administrative boundaries and their transforming policy and planning associations in its incremental making and remaking. It focuses on the area of Hackney Wick, chosen for its historical position at the edge of London and its contemporary place within the large-scale Lower Lea Valley Opportunity Area. Hackney Wick was a tiny hamlet that urbanized in the second half of the nineteenth century just within London's pre-1965 boundary. Since 1965, its position has been at the eastern limit of Hackney Borough, where it meets three other local authorities. In 2009, it was defined as one of a set of 'fringe' areas lying against the boundary of the 2012 Olympic site, though in more recent plans it has been recast as one of a series of neighborhood centers formed across administrative limits.

As a result of its position, its planning and development history is revealing of the changing roles of city and local-level authority in shaping the urban topography of London as a whole. The first part of the paper documents the evolution of Hackney Wick as an urban 'edgeland' (Shoard, 2002) in three key stages from the mid-nineteenth century when the establishment of a new metropolitan boundary in 1855 played an important role in the industrialization of the Lea Valley. It explores how peripherality developed and transformed in relation to boundaries, considering factors such as the effect of statutes and regulation on development either side of the city limit, the development of transport and utilities infrastructure, the 'borough effect' (Hebbert, 1991) of local plans and policies, the continued city-level designation of the Lea Valley as a seam of employment within east London into the twenty first century and the significance of this in the context of post-industrialization. In the process, it considers how planning authority in various guises both viewed and sought to address arising issues of peripherality — for example, in the contexts of Slum Clearance, the development of high rise public housing and its later partial redevelopment — though argues that these tended to redefine rather than actually transform it.

The paper goes on to summarize Hackney Wick's transformation in the context of Olympic and legacy related boundary changes from 2005 to 2014. The regeneration strategy underpinning Olympic and Olympic Legacy plans was based on the supposition that to attract new investment required the transformation of the spatial and environmental conditions of peripherality — issues of disconnection, fragmented land use and deprivation for example. Addressing and overcoming the historical role of boundaries was viewed as key as reflected in the compulsory purchase (CPO) of the Olympic site in 2005-2007 (Eversheds LLP and London Development Agency, 2005), and its ongoing planning and management by the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) which has also acquired additional land in Hackney Wick.

Today, nearly three years following the Olympics, Hackney Wick is under considerable development pressure and property values have risen by 28.6%. This raises questions for the future of the diverse cultural, creative and manufacturing land uses it accommodates as well as local residents, 53.7% of whom are still social housing tenants. There has been some indication that recent extension of Conservation Area and LLDC ownership boundaries may play a role in protecting architecture and creative industry uses, but the scope of preservation planning in the context of urban intensification remains uncertain (London Borough of Hackney, 2010; Bevan, 2014).

The paper concludes that while recent boundary changes have been instrumental in the transformation of peripherality, this role is attended by the deepening prospect of the displacement of marginal groups as affordable space is lost and property prices rise in an international market. Hackney Wick is at risk of becoming an exemplar, as so many other places in London, of regeneration apparently in the service of real estate rather than of historically peripheral areas themselves.

Tug of War: The Dynamics of State Power in the Planning of San Francisco's Treasure Island, 1940-1993

Tanu Sankalia, University of San Francisco
Lynne Horiuchi, independent scholar

The tug of war over land once occupied by the American military has had the power to change the commercial development and economic fortunes of the San Francisco Bay Area. In 1940, the approximately 400-acre, man-made Treasure Island was the site of the 1939-40 Golden Gate International Exposition. In 1940, the Navy justified their claim to Treasure Island as a military necessity and developed Naval Station Treasure Island. Between 1940 -1993, the Navy, the City of San Francisco, and the Congress debated and proposed alternative decommissioning and development plans for the island. These plans addressed different proposals for base closure and re- use responding to pressure to convert World War II sites of deployment into different uses. The Navy resisted Base Relocation and Closure (BRAC) proposals by the Secretary of Defense in response to the Korean War, the Cold War and in the interests of creating a more permanent naval base within the context of the uncertain future of military presence in the San Francisco Bay Area.

During their tenure from 1940 through 1993, the Navy developed Treasure Island without the constraints of municipal laws, code requirements, zoning or other types of legal constraints built into civil urban development. An \$80 million master plan for the island drawn up in the 1970s envisaged a more permanent home for the Navy's numerous training schools with additional housing and infrastructure to be completed by 1980. One of the prime legacies of World War II was the use of technological warfare under the direction of unchallenged war powers that also assumed a kind of environmental dominance over the use of military property. Training in nuclear decontamination procedures, begun at Treasure Island in the late 1940s at the time of the Bikini Islands nuclear tests, continued well into the later decades of the Cold War. Without oversight, or even accessible records and as a result of irresponsible stewardship, the Navy has left a legacy of ecological degradation on the island in layers of waste, including nuclear waste.

In implementing plans for military base reuse, the City of San Francisco has retained ownership and jurisdiction over Treasure Island since 1993, but still has to wrangle over the

responsibilities for the cleanup of nuclear waste—a significant issue to resolve before they can proceed with development or guarantee the safety of people who will reside there. This paper will examine how the struggle over the control for Treasure Island between the Navy, Congress and the City of San Francisco continually reshaped the planning for the island and its role in the larger military and civilian geography of the Bay Area during the second half of the twentieth century.

SESSION 1C: Broadening Social Housing in the Postwar Welfare State

Chair: Brad Hunt, Roosevelt University

Comment: Brad Hunt, Roosevelt University

The Private Projects: Lessons for Middle-Income Housing Development

Adam Tanaka, Harvard University

There is growing awareness among urban policymakers that cities must pay greater attention to the need for middle class housing. With shelter costs rising faster than wages, middle-income residents are becoming increasingly rent-burdened, unable to afford life in the city, even as job opportunities return to urban centers. Since the Second World War, public incentives and private investments have made the suburban single-family subdivision the most common housing typology for the middle class, leaving central cities increasingly “hollowed out” between rich and poor. This paper focuses on an important and understudied exception to this development paradigm, analyzing a series of large-scale, privately developed, middle-income housing projects built from the 1940s through 1960s that I have termed the “Private Projects” (conceptualized in contrast to the “projects” of federally funded public housing). These vast developments, built by private actors with limited public subsidy, provide a critical “alternate model” of dense, affordable middle class housing, close to jobs, transit, schools and other amenities of urban life. Building on the first phase of primary research for my dissertation, this paper seeks to examine the diverse factors that have contributed to the success of these projects over time; to understand why this high-density development model was not more widely adopted; and to argue for its recuperation to address today’s affordable housing crisis.

The majority of my case studies are located in New York City — where this development model was pioneered — and include projects such as Parkchester (when built, the largest housing development in the world), LeFrak City (when built, the largest privately financed housing development in the world) and Co-op City (to this day, the largest co-operative housing development in the world). In addition to examining initial planning and implementation, this paper will gesture towards the projects’ evolution and current condition. Indeed, a spate of contentious sales and refinancings in recent years suggest that these “Total Facilities for Total Living” — as mega-developer Samuel J. LeFrak described them — continue to attract and retain enthusiastic residents more than a half-century after they were built. This trajectory offers a stark contrast to the backlash against federally funded public housing and the extensive demolition of public housing stock under the Hope VI program of the 1990s. What makes these middle-income developments so effective? Is it a question of management, financing, design, community facilities, resident demographics or tenure? What is the nature of

public-private collaboration, as well as community engagement, in these developments? What are the spatial constraints, financial risks and best practices of these projects? And, most importantly, how can they help planners, designers, developers and policy-makers to acknowledge once again the need for *large-* rather than *small-scale* approaches to urban housing provision?

Metropolitan Renewal: The New York State Housing Finance Agency Reshapes New York Nicholas Dagen Bloom, New York Institute of Technology

The administration of Nelson Rockefeller (1959-1973) is primarily known in urban policy for the Rockefeller drug laws, tower-block housing programs such as Co-op City, and the ill-fated, if creative, Urban Development Corporation. Equally important in the history of the era's urban affairs and planning, if less unrecognized, is an institution that Governor Rockefeller also created: the New York State Housing Finance Agency (NYSHFA, 1960). This state agency and its divisions not only underwrote major housing projects, such as Co-op City, but also grew to have a major role in urban affairs on a metropolitan scale. The NYSHFA combined aggressive and creative action in three dimensions: financing, portfolio, and design.

In terms of financing, the agency and its divisions forcefully expanded its operations using bond sales at the same time that federal urban renewal dollars became scarce. By 1968, NYSHFA had sold \$1,294,104,000 in bonds (approximately \$8.5 billion dollars today) to the private sector. By tapping the private sector, Rockefeller was able to fund a much larger and more robust program than would have been difficult if not impossible through the legislative approval process.

The borrowed dollars served a diverse portfolio on a broad range of public and non-profit sites including middle- and low-cost housing, new and renovated hospitals, nursing homes, new campus buildings (including classrooms and laboratories for an expanding SUNY), and new mental hospitals. These wide-ranging investments in human services became a key element in renovating and adding new urban infrastructure in both New York City and across New York State. The funds for higher education and health infrastructure, in time, proved key to building the future "Eds and Meds" campuses that have today come to define the metropolitan landscape from Buffalo to Stony Brook.

In terms of design, the agency eventually commissioned designs that pushed past modernist orthodoxy. The Agency moved away from typical modernist design for various reasons, but the major factor in the greater range of approaches was the integration of a new generation of architects receiving commissions for new campus buildings, hospitals, and housing complexes. The NYSHFA thus helped bring a greater range of modern architectural styles to many cities and towns.

While New York State continued to fund more typical urban renewal programs (clearance of commercial buildings) during this time, these approaches paled in comparison to the scale of metropolitan intervention by NYSHFA. Because the NYSHFA's projects were mostly for human services, rather than commercial redevelopment, and were often built on greenfield sites, they attracted far less criticism than earlier programs (which is not to say that they did not often occasionally have a negative impact on site tenants and neighborhoods). The agency thus became a quiet but powerful force in reshaping New York's city and towns. As such, it remains an unrecognized dimension of urban renewal's persistence even in a post-Robert Moses era.

Moving Oaks and Measuring Values: The Tale of the Austin Oaks Housing Competition

Barbara B. Wilson, University of Virginia

Almost 50 years ago, Lyndon Baines Johnson took the opportunity to reflect on his presidency as he gave remarks at the dedication of a small, little known housing project called Austin Oaks. He used this dedication to discuss the Housing Act of 1968 that had just passed, his role in implementing the first public housing in the nation (built just down the road) over 30 years prior, and the challenges he still saw before the nation as his presidency ended.

Austin Oaks still sits on a cul-de-sac in central east Austin—ten unassuming homes shaded by beautiful Oak trees (taken from LBJ's nearby ranch). It appears to be an average housing complex with mostly cinderblock frames and straight roofs, but the story behind it is rich with complexity. When President Johnson decided to go back to his homeland to “solve the housing crisis” with this little complex, he amassed a team of researchers to understand many different dimensions of the struggle to sustain lower income families with good housing. The University of Texas at Austin gathered a team of researchers from primarily Engineering and Social Work to actively and simultaneously consider two very different, but equally pressing issues: energy efficiency and racial segregation.

To investigate sustainable design techniques, the team coordinated a contest where different housing manufacturers would compete for the most efficient home design. Different manufacturers, using different techniques and building materials, designed each home to showcase their products. Before the residents moved in, the engineering research team then evaluated the performance of these designs. Although the team planned on reevaluating the performance of these homes again a year later, this very important aspect of the competition never happened. The materials chosen, the approaches valued and employed to evaluate the designs, and the life of the competition itself is a fascinating tale rich with commentary on the political and building cultures of that time period. The researchers wrote up their findings in a six-volume report, which oddly marries their results with the work of the social work team in a manner worthy of study all on its own.

What is, perhaps, the most compelling aspect of this little housing complex's history is the approach taken by the social work team. In the wake of newly passed Fair Housing legislation and the associated Civil Rights Acts, this team wanted to understand how housing preferences of various races differed, and how they might fare living in close proximity. Understanding that a sample of ten households would not produce generalizable findings, the team of researchers set up a storefront in downtown Austin with a model home of sorts inside and surveyed two hundred families on their housing preferences. The questions asked, the approaches taken, and the findings themselves—especially when paired with the very quantitative approaches of the engineering team—weave together a tale that provides unique insights into the emergent field of sustainability studies as it stood in the very politically turbulent late 1960s. This paper will investigate this intrinsically interesting case study through the consideration of primary sources including the researcher's reports and associated studies, presidential memos archived in the LBJ presidential library, and resident interviews.

SESSION 1D: Getting Published: Journals

WORKSHOP

The purpose of the workshop is to inform attendees how to publish a scholarly article in our journals. Each of us will take ten minutes to explain the mission of our journal, the editorial review process, the mechanics of “revise and resubmit,” and, most important, how to tailor the manuscript to suit the editorial criteria of the particular journal. We then open the floor for questions, and this portion of the workshop is often the most rewarding for the attendees. This is especially so for our junior colleagues and graduate students. It is surprising to us how little tutelage graduate students and junior faculty have had from their advisers in developing a scholarly article for publication. These workshops have been very well attended in the past, and we feel that word has gotten out that this is a worthwhile “nuts and bolts” session to attend. Participants are:

David Goldfield, University of North Carolina-Charlotte
Editor, *Journal of Urban History*

Marta Gutman, The City College of New York
Former Editor, *Buildings & Landscapes*

Sonia Hirt, Virginia Tech
Co-editor, *Journal of Planning History*

Nancy Kwak, University of California, San Diego
Editor for the Americas, *Planning Perspectives*

Robert Lewis, University of Toronto
Editor, *Urban History*

SESSION 1E: The Unplanned City: Occupation and Creative Reuse

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Chair: Gabrielle Esperdy, New Jersey Institute of Technology
Comment: Gabrielle Esperdy, New Jersey Institute of Technology

Radical Manifest Destiny: The Image and Impact of Berkeley’s People’s Park on a Transnational Environmental Justice Movement
Kera Lovell, Purdue University

In 1969, a small group of Berkeley-area activists coordinated a direct action to transform a vacant lot at the corner of Haste and Bowditch into a public park (W. J. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War*). As noted by Don Mitchell (*The Right to the City*), the chosen site was a visible rejection

of local urban renewal efforts that demolished housing to facilitate UC Berkeley's expansion. Reclaimed as Berkeley's "People's Park," the organizing committee raised funds and recruited nearly a thousand workers to transform the muddy parking lot into a mosaic of programming. Within a month, the park's growing popularity made it the geographic nexus for the area's social justice community while also attracting the censure of university and state officials who viewed the park as a threat. After police killed a bystander during the park's forced evacuation, student groups and cross-cultural coalitions in cities across the United States protested by occupying privately-owned vacant lots and transforming them into public green spaces.

This paper traces how Berkeley's People's Park influenced a constellation of more than a dozen similarly titled, activist-created urban green spaces – "People's Parks" – from California to South Africa. This paper builds on the work of spatial studies scholars Finn Enke (*Finding the Movement*), Bradford Martin (*The Theater is in the Street*), and Christina Hanhardt (*Safe Space*) who have investigated how postwar activists rejected urban power structures through spatially conscious forms of nonviolent protest. Analyzing the visual and rhetorical construction of People's Parks in underground newspapers and activist ephemera, I argue that these parks performed a symbolic labor for urban activists who grew gardens, built playgrounds, and painted murals to confront environmental racism, state-sanctioned violence, and urban renewal campaigns. People's Parks rejected capitalist relationships to the urban environment through praxis of community coalitions and nonviolent civil disobedience. Likewise, activists constructed visual narratives of these spaces that erased practices of imperialism by resurrecting a pre-industrial transnational historical memory. In doing so, People's Parks sought to reclaim public green space through the radical assertion that space is not property but a symbolic representation of power. Taken together, the conceptualization, realization, and maintenance of People's Parks during the late-sixties and early seventies represented a fomenting territorial imperative—an urban spatial politics of the Left—that became an important point of tension and negotiation between social and political movements and the state.

Occupy Columbus Avenue: Social Change and Spatial Politics in 1970s New York

Jennifer Hock, Maryland Institute College of Art

Late one night in April 1970, a group of activists armed with crowbars broke in to half a dozen unoccupied tenements that had been shuttered and condemned as part of an urban renewal project on Manhattan's Upper West Side. By morning, several dozen families had moved their furniture and belongings into the apartments; within a week the squatters were repairing the damaged buildings, organizing politically, and calling for the city to recognize their right to safe and decent housing. Dozens and then hundreds of low-income families moved into tenements that had been emptied in anticipation of demolition and redevelopment, and Operation Move-In had begun.

This paper analyzes one of the largest and most sustained squatting movements in New York history in the context of the social movements and spatial experiments of the late 1960s and early 1970s. It discusses the internal politics of the movement, which was led by working-class, Spanish-speaking residents and drew on emerging Third World left critiques of the displacement and dispossession of people of color. But it also investigates the movement's complex relationship with the city's urban renewal and public housing programs, analyzing the tension between the squatters' radical critique of displacement and re-appropriation of

“obsolete” housing, on the one hand, and their efforts to work with liberal city administrators to place families in public and subsidized housing, on the other.

This paper considers the squatting movement specifically in the context of a number of projects involving reused or re-appropriated spaces that sprang up on the Upper West Side in the late 1960s and early 1970s, including adventure and do-it-yourself playgrounds, spontaneous street closings for parades and play, and a progressive program in the local elementary school that encouraged students and teachers to use classrooms and hallway spaces for more creative and unstructured activities. It argues that squatting was part of a local culture of spatial experimentation in which the reuse and re-appropriation of existing buildings and spaces played a key role in the way both liberal and leftist New Yorkers sought to effect social change.

Drawing on a number of archival sources including a documentary film, oral histories, and clippings from a community newspaper as well as maps and photos, this paper shows how ordinary people transformed buildings and spaces on the Upper West Side and analyzes why these spatial experiments might have been important to them. It also aims to shift our discussions of squatting by emphasizing the cultural aspects of a social phenomenon, arguing that residents who work to shape the built environment are forming social identities just as much they are creating places to live and work and learn and play.

The Anarchist Origins of the Neoliberal City: Squatting in London in the 1970s

Suleiman Osman, George Washington University

This paper will analyze the history of squatting in London during the 1970s. In particular, the paper draws from recently opened files in the British National Archives to examine the debate and events leading up to the passage of the 1977 Criminal Law Act which partially criminalized and partially institutionalized urban squatting. The broader argument of the paper is that many Thatcherite housing policies of the 1980 Housing Act -- the devolution of council housing to non-profit housing associations and the privatization of council housing -- have roots in the challenge to council housing authorities presented by squatters during the previous decade.

Squatting emerged during London’s fiscal crisis of the 1970s. In 1970, about 1500 squatters were active in London. By 1975, the number had risen to approximately 30,000. Squatting was specifically a response by homeless families, young people and political activists to London’s dire housing shortage exacerbated by a widespread abandonment problem. In 1971 census, Greater London was home to 100,000 empty dwellings, nearly half owned by the Greater London Council or boroughs. 528,000 homes sat empty in the rest of England and Wales. A 1973 survey by London boroughs showed that 40,000 private dwellings in London sat empty for 6 months or longer. 9,400 were empty for more than two years.

While a few spectacular squatting protests took place in empty office towers like Centre Point, squatting in 1970s London was not primarily a conflict with private landlords. Instead squatting presented a challenge to social democratic state planning and primarily targeted unused council housing. Strapped for funds during the fiscal crisis, borough councils and the GLC (as well as the Crown Estates) were in possession of thousands of abandoned and condemned homes awaiting delayed rehabilitation or demolition. The London Boroughs Association estimated that 95% of squatted property owned by boroughs was short-life or due for rehabilitation.

By the mid-1970s, there was increased pressure from public housing authorities and local residents for a new law criminalizing squatting. In response, some squatters organized a campaign against the criminal trespass law (CACTL) and remained committed to squatting as a form of anarchist politics. Other groups who saw squatting primarily as an affordable housing program accepted “amnesty” offers and became key players in the new public housing regime in which non-profit housing associations played an increasingly important role.

No Fixed Address: “Black Dwelling” and the Politics of Housing in East Germany

Emily Pugh, The Getty Research Institute

In the 1970s and 1980s, squatting movements emerged in major cities throughout Western Europe, and West Germany and West Berlin were particularly important centers for these movements and for political activism around housing more generally. In East Germany as well, squatting, or “black dwelling” (*Schwarzwohnen*) as it was known, was a relatively common practice, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1979, for example, in East Berlin’s Friedrichshain district, it was estimated that as many as 25% of the area’s available apartments were occupied illegally.

In this paper, I will examine the phenomenon of black dwelling in East Germany. Using information culled from primary source documents and interviews, I will explain how and why black dwelling took place, as well as examine the consequences that resulted from the practice, including how black dwelling contributed to the end of the East German regime. In examining this phenomenon, I will take a comparative approach, considering similarities and differences between black dwelling in East Germany and squatting in West Germany and West Berlin. As in the West, squatters in East Germany were responding to planning policies, drafted and enforced by the state that had proved ineffective in solving chronic housing shortages. Such policies were perceived by many squatters and black dwellers as not only inadequate but unfairly imposed, enacted by a institutional planning authority that was out of touch with its citizens. The squatting actions of both East and West Germans fueled a dwelling subculture that flourished outside of the carefully crafted planning policies of each state, and yet there were critical and important differences in the two scenes. There were differences, for example, in the kinds of people who were engaging in these activities (their ages, interests, social status), in their goals in illegally occupying housing, and in their relationships to the state planning apparatus they were attempting to circumvent. The East German context will thus serve as foil for understanding squatting in West Germany and in capitalist cities more generally.

Finally, my paper will explore the role of the unplanned city in urban planning histories more generally, considering how histories of planning might incorporate activities that occurred both outside and inside of official planning institutions. Most histories of East German planning and architecture, for example, have focused on the state: its policies, its oppression, the building projects it sponsored and constructed. I will argue, however, that understanding black dwelling— what it was as well as how and why it occurred—is critical for understanding of East German planning and building history as whole.

Chair: Jon Teaford, Purdue University

Comment: Jon Teaford, Purdue University

Creating a People-Oriented Urban Waterfront: The Case of Vancouver

Elizabeth Macdonald, University of California at Berkeley

Urban waterfronts present unique opportunities for linear public open space oriented toward pedestrian movement. If well designed, they provide paths of considerable length where people can move at their own pace, free of the need to interact with vehicle traffic. They are social spaces, where people go to promenade, to see and be seen by others, to be a part of the public life of the city. Because they are usually very visible and have many eyes on them, they typically provide safety for women walkers who might feel unsafe on less frequented and visible paths, such as walking trails in parks. Urban waterfronts also present unique opportunities for bicycle paths that can be attractive to people of all ages and abilities because they can be completely separated from vehicle traffic, and these bicycle paths also become places to promenade and partake of public life.

How urban waterfronts are designed says much about a city's perception of itself and its aspirations. A public promenade along an urban waterfront invites residents and visitors to enjoy the scenic beauty of the water's edge and signifies a city's public orientation because prime urban space is given to public use rather than privatized.

This paper explores the history of waterfront promenades in the Vancouver, British Columbia, which today has one of the largest connected waterfront promenade systems in the world. The vision of creating a public waterfront dates from the city's first comprehensive plan, which was prepared by Harland Bartholomew in 1929 at the behest of a citizen's group and while never enacted as policy was looked to for guidance for many years and is still remembered fondly by many. The Bartholomew plan placed a major emphasis on preserving Vancouver's waterfront for public uses, which at the time meant for the port and harbor operations that supported the city's economy, but equally for recreation. It also advocated giving pedestrians "first position" along the waterfront and holding vehicle roadways further back. Vancouver took Bartholomew's advice to heart and over the last 85 years has created walking and biking paths along over 17 miles of its waterfront, beginning with the English Bay beachfronts and Stanley Park seawalls. In the 1970s, the city built waterfront walking and bicycling paths along the southwest side of False Creek as part of the South False Creek redevelopment project that reclaimed former industrial lands for residential uses and created the well-known Granville Island marketplace. Since the 1980s, Vancouver has been building high-density residential neighborhoods around its downtown core and has required that all new shoreline neighborhoods be lined with continuous waterfront walking and biking paths of generous design that link up with the earlier paths.

Along with investigating the community sentiments and public policies that led to creation of the waterfront promenades in different eras, the paper examines how the promenades were implemented and analyzes changes in their physical form over time.

Cleveland's Group Plan Revision of 1929: Reconciling Mid-Century Urban Priorities on an Industrial Waterfront

Steven Rugare, Kent State University

The Cleveland Group Plan of 1903 was only partially implemented in the mid-1920s when the train station central to Daniel Burnham's original conception was sited elsewhere. As a result of this major change, the city parks commissioner commissioned a revision of the Group Plan completed between 1927 and 1929. Though it was never officially approved by the city, the 1929 plan guided debate about Cleveland's waterfront over the next decade and served as the template for the plan of the Great Lakes Exposition held in 1936-37.

The 1929 plan included a lakefront stadium and park accessible from downtown, but it also included provision for a lakefront highway. These two proposals were potentially in conflict, since the highway would enlarge the infrastructural gap between the downtown and the lakefront. As Cleveland's elite began to look forward after the worst of the Depression, the Great Lakes Exposition became a vehicle for reclaiming land on the lakefront and temporarily connecting it to downtown. It also spurred discussion of even more ambitious lakefront development. At the same time, the exposition promoted a future largely centered on the automobile.

Relying primarily on press accounts and other documents produced around the exposition, this paper traces the roles of planners, city officials, and members of the city's business elite as they pursued potentially conflicting agendas at a moment of ambiguous intentions in the 1930s. While the conflict between lakefront access and the automobile was decisively resolved in favor of the latter after 1940, the previous decade reveals a moment in which planners in one American city believed they could manage the tensions inherent in their visions of urban modernization.

Transformation of Urban Waterfronts in North America: A Comparative Historical Perspective

Dirk Schubert, HafenCity University Hamburg

Over the last 50 years, the transformation of urban waterfronts has become an important topic in North American seaport cities. Often connected to the decline of the city centers, the waterfronts served as an important starting point for revitalization. In the early years, cities undertook small-scale projects, later large-scale redevelopment projects followed. Some included perspectives for regional sustainable development. We can now identify several decades ("generations") of planning and implementation approaches. As part of the creative destruction of maritime industry, the reshaped waterfronts became centers of urban transformation, often preferred by the creative classes. Many studies have explored "success" stories along urban waterfronts, but often without a scholarly analysis, without a reflective and comparative approach. Similar case studies of Boston, Baltimore, San Francisco, New York etc. have described, for example, the festival market-approach, but did not provide relevant data and information on local drivers.

The presentation will be focused on selected dimensions of waterfront transformation in a historical context. Due to economic reasons, European projects started later than the North American ones, and learned from the North American experience like the myth of the "Baltimore model". While the diffusion of planning ideas often resulted in similar approaches, a

great variety of local drivers, actors and networks also led to different strategies. Always reacting on the local level for global challenges, such as the container- revolution, the waterfronts became important places to reinvent the city image as well as for tourism and city marketing. Of course also geographical conditions, deep-water access, local elites and governance structures create an important background for analysis.

This presentation proposes a critical, comparative and trans-disciplinary approach to identify similarities and differences, convergence and divergence of approaches in the post-war period in the USA and Canada based on extensive data.

John Nolen and the Origins of Urban Sustainability

Bruce Stephenson, Rollins College

Florida epitomizes the potential of modern life. The forces of genius have transformed this once uninhabitable wilderness into an air-conditioned version of the American Dream. While modern engineering made Florida livable, it is hardly sustainable. Whether it is hurricanes, ecological peril, or real estate busts, Floridians have a tenuous grasp on the American Dream. In a place shaped and reshaped by human and natural disasters, it is imperative that “town plans adhere to natural conditions and economic realities,” John Nolen (1869-1937) wrote in 1922. Planning along natural lines represented more than an aesthetic yearning; it was a necessity. “Man is the only animal who desecrates the surroundings of his habitation,” Nolen warned in *St. Petersburg Today, St. Petersburg Tomorrow*, Florida’s first comprehensive city plan.

Nolen brought on Frank B. Williams, author of *The Law of City Planning and Zoning* (1922), America’s first treatise on city planning law, to join in preparing a model plan based on the physical and legal constructs of the English Garden City. Nolen vision of an American Riviera also drew on the plan he presented to San Diego fourteen years earlier, where an interconnected system of parks and preserves provided access to stunning settings along beaches and bays. Nolen’s proposal fell victim to the politics of race and speculation that imbibed Florida in the 1920s. In 1974 when St. Petersburg city planners prepared one of the nation’s first growth management plans (using Ian McHarg’s ecological design method), Nolen’s vision was once again apparent. Today St. Petersburg lays claim to being Florida’s “first Green City” and Nolen’s Plan informs the strategies identified to secure “a sustainable future.”

SESSION 1G: Presidential Libraries: Situating the Politics of Memory

Chair: Ruth Knack, former executive editor, *Planning*

Comment: Ruth Knack, former executive editor, *Planning*

Presidential Libraries and Their Cities: From Rural Memorial to Urban Campus

Marie-Alice L’Heureux, University of Kansas

Kapila Silva, University of Kansas

Recognizing their potential as economic development and scholarly research engines, both cities and universities have actively sought new presidential libraries over the past decades. What is notable is how much the location and design of the libraries have evolved

since President Franklin D. Roosevelt donated his papers and funded a new repository on the grounds of his home in Hyde Park, New York. Initially, the libraries formed compounds on sites that often included the presidents' homes and (future) burial sites (Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower).

John F. Kennedy broke this pattern when he expressed the wish to locate his library closer to scholars (his wish to locate it near his alma mater, Harvard University. Kennedy's wish was not able to be honored because long delays increased both construction costs and neighborhood opposition (the latter because of the feared throngs of visitors). The Kennedy's library's ultimate location in Dorchester reclaimed a former landfill on Boston's waterfront and created a spectacular landmark. Three cities representing four sites are now competing for President Barack Obama's library, (Chicago (2 sites), Honolulu, and New York), each making claims on an aspect of the president's history.

This paper discusses how the siting and design of each of these complexes have affected a president's legacy and have had a substantial impact on the surrounding urban (rural) area.

The Site Selection Process for Presidential Libraries: Politics and Controversy

Anthony J. Clark, independent writer

Almost every president who has built a presidential library has encountered difficulty in choosing its location. Although many issues have arisen to challenge a president's decision, by far the most common problem has been securing the land.

Universities and communities have rejected, or have tried to reject, presidential libraries for Nixon at Duke University; Reagan at Stanford; Kennedy in Cambridge, Massachusetts; Carter in Atlanta; and George W. Bush at Southern Methodist University. Even Harry Truman and his brother and sister disagreed over the use of the family farm in Grandview, Missouri.

Land acquisition troubles go back to the first presidential library – Franklin Roosevelt's. When he deeded the property for the building to the government at a ceremony in 1939, the archivist of the United States faked signing the deed, because Roosevelt's mother Sara, who owned the property, sailed for Europe without signing it over (which eventually she did a few weeks later). Tacitly acknowledging that history, the Barack Obama Library Foundation has been careful to require that candidates vying to host what will become the nation's fourteenth presidential library are absolutely certain the land they propose is not only appropriate, but available and locked in.

This presentation examines the extent to which presidents will go to select a library site that will best allow them to shape the way history remembers them.

A Third Term: The Nixon Presidential Library and the Architecture of Presidential History

Patrick David Haughey, Savannah College of Art and Design

Presidential libraries are not really about presidents. Rather, presidential libraries define publics through the transformation of American history into images and ideas. The presidential library is a uniquely American institution where national history plays out in a mitigated exchange between the representation of memory and the record of political action. On the one hand, the presidential library is a peculiar type of museum and a place of commemoration whose purpose is to perpetuate an often-mythic memory of a singular figure—offering simultaneously the image of an idealized leader and a model for citizenship. On the other hand,

its history describes a tenuous accountability between the potentially critical archive and an elusive public. Presidential libraries project a prophecy of historical exceptionalism into the future through the deployment of objects, images, and documents. They reveal how history is used to define American identity, how institutions of stewardship control access and present meaning, and how the contested ownership of history's objects over time transforms ideas of democratic judgment.

On 8 August 1974, President Richard M. Nixon announced that he would resign the Presidency "effective at noon tomorrow." The following morning, millions of television viewers watched him walk across the White House lawn for the last time as President, leaving his records and materials behind with the expectation that they were his personal property. Bill Gully, a White House military aide, began shipping materials to San Clemente, California, where Nixon lived and where he planned to build his presidential library. Yet, the circumstances surrounding Nixon's resignation, and the efforts of a few individuals on the new President's staff set in motion a series of events that prevented Nixon or his library from receiving his materials during his lifetime. Indeed, in 1991 when the Richard Nixon Library and Birthplace, a private library outside the presidential library system, opened in Yorba Linda (not San Clemente), Nixon's presidential materials would still be in Maryland. They would not begin to arrive in Yorba Linda until 2007.

Watergate created a crisis of access with regards to the value of and control over the records of the presidency that brought the archive and the public together, however unstably, through political practice and enforceable law. During August of 1974, at precisely the moment Nixon resigned, a seemingly irreversible shift began in records stewardship, from a tradition of volunteerism (donating materials) to an embattled legal codification of public ownership. The battle over the Nixon materials ultimately brought the force of law to bear for the first time on the question of why presidential documents are important, who should own the presidential archive, and, ultimately, who should be allowed access. Yet, in 1974 the shift from private control to public stewardship was not so clearly defined, nor was it so obvious a precedent.

More than any other president, Richard M. Nixon had an irrevocable impact on questions of ownership of and control over presidential materials. The circumstances of Nixon's resignation altered the manner in which records are kept, archives are formed, and presidential libraries are administered. Watergate pushed to the forefront of public perception the idea that access to the presidential archive was vital to the judgment of executive conduct. Further, Nixon left arguably the most complete record—publicly available against his will—of presidential practice, psychology, and discourse of any president in history. The Nixon Library has assumed the burden, perhaps more than in the case of any other president, of assembling an image of Richard Nixon that continuously confronts a shifting public image and the revelatory potential inherent in the presidential library itself—as a system for making history visible through records and objects. Its recent transition from a museum controlled by the private Nixon Foundation to a presidential library operated by the National Archives and Records Administration provides an ideal moment to study the conflicts between the representational mission of the museum, and the ongoing battle over access to the presidential archive.

The Richard Nixon Library is both a typical presidential library and exemplary in that its unique history reveals how politics frames history as a certain national identity through the deployment of and control over images, records and artifacts. This project traces the Richard Nixon post-presidency through the tumultuous history of the Nixon Library and the Presidential

Libraries that followed, in order to determine how the records and artifacts of presidential intent and institutional practice have been forced over time into an unstable relationship between an obligation to public education as an essential feature of democratic idealism and a belief in the benevolent power of history to hold sway over a singular national future.

SESSION 1H: Peripheries of Los Angeles

Chair: William Deverell, University of Southern California

Comment: William Deverell, University of Southern California

Recreating the Aloha Spirit: Japanese American Hawai'ians in the South Bay, 1945- 1970

Anne Soon Choi, California State University, Dominguez Hills

(with Carol Fowler and Karissa Perez, undergraduate students)

This paper examines the intersections of race, ethnicity, Asian American experience, and post World War II suburbanization in southern California by examining the local city planning and zoning regulations that allowed for the emergence of a postwar Japanese American Hawai'ian community in the South Bay. The prevailing narrative of postwar suburbanization tells a story of returning soldiers through the provisions of the GI Bill become part of the white middle class exodus from cities to the suburbs. In Los Angeles, this narrative has focused on the San Fernando Valley where the rapid rise of the suburbs with its single-family homes and ample space came to emblemize postwar prosperity. However, we know very little about how nonwhite populations experienced suburbanization and how the South Bay figures into this history. For Japanese Americans, the San Fernando Valley was not a viable option given the racial animosity against Japanese Americans that lingered well after the end of WW II. However, like their white middle class counterparts, many Japanese Americans joined the wave of migration to the suburbs. However, instead of the San Fernando Valley, they settled in the South Bay. While a pre-WW II Japanese American community rooted in agriculture had existed in the South Bay, the community was unable to fully reconstitute itself after the war. Moreover, the emergence of a postwar Japanese American community in the South Bay must be understood as two distinct communities--- mainland Japanese Americans who opted to leave Los Angeles and Japanese Americans from Hawai'i. Unlike their counterparts on the mainland, Japanese Americans from Hawai'i were not interned during WW II, which contributed to a very different sense of ethnic/racial identity for these individuals. At the same time, growing up in Hawai'i where Asians were the majority influenced the worldview of Japanese Americans from Hawai'i in ways that departed significantly from their mainland counterparts. Thus, in the aftermath of the internment while mainland Japanese American communities never regained their prewar cohesiveness, postwar Japanese American Hawai'ians built thriving communities in the Southbay that spanned the cities of Gardena, Hawthorne, Carson, and Torrance.

To Fight the "Expensive Processes of Urban Development experienced at USC, Columbia and Chicago:" The Making of San Fernando Valley State College in Cold War Los Angeles

Jean-Paul deGuzman, University of California, Santa Barbara

This paper explores the origins and unexpected consequences of the development of San Fernando Valley State College (now California State University, Northridge) in relation to its place in one of Los Angeles's most recognizable suburbs. In the midst the post-World War II boom in the construction of California State Colleges, various boosters in Los Angeles's San Fernando Valley aggressively lobbied the state legislature to build a four-year campus in the tony, all-White suburb of Northridge. Real estate moguls and other business leaders eagerly welcomed a new campus in the San Fernando Valley, finally constructed in 1958. College administrators readily admitted that their institution's primary goal was to create a symbiotic relationship between the university and the lucrative defense industry's research and development apparatus located around campus. At the same time, they carefully placated anxious suburbanites who feared that a new college might spur urban development at the expense of the low-density, residential landscape of Northridge. Over the next decade the college bolstered its science and technology curriculum and, to be sure, little urbanization took place. Yet, precisely because of its relationship to the defense complex, the campus soon erupted in massive anti-war protests. Soon thereafter, Third World student protests enveloped the campus as well, that caused consternation among residents who assumed that the Valley provided safe haven from urban turmoil elsewhere. While urban development may not have threatened the suburban landscape of Northridge and the rest of the West Valley, little did conservative residents know that the defense-related origins of the campus would nevertheless shake the school and the San Fernando Valley to their core.

Asian American Dreams and the Suburban American West

James Zarsadiaz, University of San Francisco

In the 1980s, one of the fastest growing suburban communities in California was Los Angeles' east San Gabriel Valley. Between 1980 and 1989, 150,000 residents settled in the region once known for its endless rows of walnut and citrus groves. The abundance of new single-family homes nestled on green hills and valleys appealed to middle-class professionals who wanted both town and country. Young families planted roots in these communities hoping the tranquil environment would serve as a refuge from the presumed disorder and immorality of urban life. Among the families settling into the east Valley were Asian immigrants originating from Hong Kong, the Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan. By 2000, Asians in the suburbs of Diamond Bar, Hacienda Heights, Rowland Heights, and Walnut each hovered around 40-60% of the population challenging the region's longtime image as a bastion of conservative and white small towns. At the same time, Asians themselves valued the region's pastoral ambiance associating "country living" with typical Americana and the "American Dream." This paper examines the ways in which myths of the American West and "country living" appealed to east Valley homeowners and why Asian immigrants, in particular, found comfort by residing outside city limits.

SESSION 1J: Sexuality, Space, and Metropolitan Development in California

ROUNDTABLE

This roundtable session will focus on the ways in which the histories of sexuality and metropolitan development in California are connected. The participants will address critical issues and questions which explore such intersection, including: 1) In what ways have histories of sexuality and metropolitan development in California overlapped and where might scholars do future research? 2) To what degree has the study of sexuality contributed to a rethinking of the urban/suburban dichotomy? 3) Does thinking about sexuality force geographers, planners, and historians to map space in new ways? 4) To what degree has California's history been exceptional and to what degree has it represented larger national trends? Participants will draw from individual research projects to address these questions and discuss major problems and advancements in the field of sexual urban history. As a roundtable, this session will revolve around dialogue between the participants, the session chair, and members of the audience.

Chair: Josh Sides, California State University, Northridge

Ian M. Baldwin, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Scholars have begun to pay attention to the interconnectedness of sexual freedom movements and the built environment in postwar U.S. history. As sexual activists interjected themselves within metropolitan politics, they created new "gay spaces," recast "urban" and "suburban" spatial boundaries, and aided in the development of neoliberal planning policies. In California, home to major sexual upheavals during the postwar era, this was certainly discernible. For my contribution to this roundtable, I will discuss recent historiography which shows how California cities have been shaped by developing movements of sexuality. In San Francisco and Los Angeles, for example, sexual activism led to the queering of urban welfare policy during the "long War on Poverty," recast municipal relationships between counties and cities, and aided in the development of gentrification. As movements for sexual justice developed, political and geographic boundaries were adjusted, complicating what some have labeled the "heteronormative" or "heterosexist" project of metropolitan planning. These studies have also raised important questions as to the origins and meanings of spatial transformation during the late postwar era. To what degree have sexual justice movements engaged the state in notions of neighborhood planning? In places like Los Angeles, activists moved from metro to urban forms of spatial politics, strengthening conservative attacks against large-scale urban renewal. Ironically, as neighborhoods like West Hollywood and the Castro became "safer" and more politically controlled by queers, they became less and less affordable. Were such developments *detours from* or *culminations of* sexual liberation impulses? The interconnected nature of both sexual and planning histories remains a useful framework of analysis in understanding the trajectories of both social movements and the built environment.

Nan Alamilla Boyd, San Francisco State University

How has sexuality abetted the development of tourist economies and urban space? For this roundtable, I will discuss relationships between race and sexuality in the development of neoliberal urban policies. California cities like San Francisco have proven to be emblematic in the construction of what Dean MacCannell has called a "tourism unconscious" or "imaginary." In neighborhoods like Chinatown, the Castro, North Beach, and the Fillmore, the urbanization of capital combined with neighborhood interests of uplift and development to produce a

sexualization of racialized neighborhoods. The potential for voyeurism and sexual adventure became heightened in order to produce new commodities in the neoliberal era. As urban economies shifted away from industrial production and toward high-finance service industries in the post-World War II era, tourism became an increasingly important aspect of San Francisco's globalizing service sector. Understanding the important role that sexuality has played within such developments allows scholars to better understand the origins of both tourism and gentrification. Linked to increased property values, especially in historically "underperforming" and racialized neighborhoods, sexual tourist economies have sometimes dislodged the very communities that tourists seek out in their quest for authenticity and adventure. Highlighting the importance of sexuality in the deployment of voyeuristic tourism complicates broader historiographical understandings of gentrification, racial displacement, and neoliberal urbanism.

Clayton Howard, Ohio State University

Since the 1980s, scholars studying the histories of sexuality and suburbia have shared an interest in demystifying concepts that most Americans have seen as "natural" or "normal." Researchers looking at GLBT history first chronicled the lives of queer people obscured by the assumption of universal heterosexuality in American history. More recently, many of them have denaturalized the idea that people have defined themselves as either "gay" or "straight," exploring sexualities that have fallen outside that binary. At the same time, suburban historians have drawn attention to the government subsidies that created the suburbs. This presentation will explore the intersections between these subfields by emphasizing the historical construction of notions of "public" and "private" life. Because the government subsidies that supported suburban growth also encouraged homebuyers to marry, places like Orange County, CA served as key sites for the normalization of heterosexuality at public expense. Just as suburbanization was not an inevitable outgrowth of the postwar boom, the long association between marriage and homeownership was not "natural" nor "self-evident." Looking at sexuality and metropolitan development alongside one another exposes the ways that the state has bolstered both marriage and homeownership at the same time. Although these processes took place across the country, California is a particularly salient example. It not only underwent severe population growth during the baby and suburban booms of the 1950s, it has also most recently served as a major site for debates about the meaning of marriage. This presentation, therefore, will use the Golden State's history as a way of looking at the larger intersections between family, housing, and the state.

SESSION 1K: Digital Humanities

WORKSHOP

The Living New Deal: History, Preservation and Planning

Richard Walker, University of California, Berkeley

No city, town, or rural area in the country was left untouched by the New Deal, 1933-42. Tens of thousands of roads, schools, theaters, libraries, hospitals, post offices, courthouses,

airports, parks, forests, gardens, and artworks were built by those who worked for the many "alphabet soup" agencies, such as the WPA, CCC and NYA. The New Deal left a landscape of public works of outstanding beauty, utility and craftsmanship. Yet because these sites are rarely marked, the New Deal's contribution to American life goes largely unseen, even though most are still in use. Given the scale of what was achieved, it is surprising that no national register exists of what the New Deal agencies built. The Living New Deal is filling that gap.

We launched the California Living New Deal Project in 2005, and began to catalogue New Deal public works. We had only mapped 1000 sites by 2010 when we decided to take the project national; since then the number has grown by leaps and bounds, passing 10,000 in 2015. The database is an online public resource, displayed through a Google map where each dot opens to reveal the details of a site, photos, and documentation. We also provide historical background information on the New Deal, bibliographies and a film archive, and news of about New Deal sites and their preservation.

Far from an antiquarian exercise, the Living New Deal aims to help preserve precious art and architecture from destruction or privatization, to see that New Deal sites are properly marked, and to help communities and families across the nation rediscover their heritage. Moreover, the New Deal legacy can be a model for national planning in the present. The Living New Deal provides solid evidence of what good government can achieve when it invests in public works and policies that serve the collective good, putting people to work and restoring meaning to their lives while building things of beauty and utility. The Living New Deal is there to remind Americans of the tangible evidence for of what this country was once capable of – and might undertake again.

Experience, Exploration, and Engagement: Historic Urban Environments in Three Dimensions

Lisa Snyder, University of California, Los Angeles

The ability to navigate through highly detailed, academically rigorous digital reconstruction models allows scholars and students to build knowledge about historic urban environments in a way that is impossible to replicate with two-dimensional information. Beyond an understanding of the relationship of the built form to its landscape, sustained exploration of the virtual world facilitates a holistic understanding of the environment by providing an experience that approximates movement through the physical world. Using her reconstruction of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 as a case study, Snyder will demonstrate prototype software supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities and UCLA's Institute for Digital Research and Education designed to facilitate educational use of three-dimensional computer models for teaching and learning about the built environment, and discuss the unprecedented opportunities the technology provides for research and pedagogy.

Digital Public History as Social Justice: Virtual Heritage, 3D Reconstructions and South Africa's Township Histories

Angel David Nieves, Hamilton College

In 2013 a group of scholars from across the US approached the Alliance of Digital Humanities Organizations (ADHO) with a proposal for a new special interest group (or SIG) with a focus on social justice and human rights. As a step forward the group developed an "advisory

document for building collaborative projects, conducting events, gathering sensitive data, and composing scholarly communications with social justice issues and human rights in mind.” New public history practices, which work in collaboration with marginalized communities across South Africa, are now opening up narratives and engagements that challenge the exclusive past. This paper will argue for a more engaged form of digital public history that promotes social justice praxis.

Since 2007, efforts to virtualize the apartheid archive through a set of social practices by which digital artifacts, structures, and spaces of commemoration have been reproduced using 3D historical reconstructions of Soweto. *Digital Townships* builds on two digital humanities projects, *Soweto '76 3D* (2007/8) and *The Soweto Historical GIS* (SHGIS) Project (2010-present) in collaboration with scholars, curators, and local community based activists at the Hector Pieterse Museum and MuseumAfrica in Johannesburg.

Soweto '76 3D <<http://soweto76archive.org>> is a unique, three-dimensional archive prototype interface that allows visitors to easily navigate through a 3D re-creation of the township, combining both education and exploration as they learn about the places, people, and past of Soweto. *The Digital Townships Project* proposes the (real-time) 3D visualization of historical GIS in a gaming engine (using Unity) and addresses questions of power and reconciliation using on-line gaming conventions to represent indigenous cultures. This paper explores the building of a multimodal information environment to discuss Soweto’s past, present, and future redevelopment – as part of a new series of cultural practices of remembrance, reconciliation and empowerment with community-based organizations that moves us towards an integrative approach to social justice and the practice of digital humanities scholarship.

PAPER SESSION 2: FRIDAY, NOV. 6, 2:30 - 4:15 PM

SESSION 2A: Colonial and Postcolonial Planning in India

Chair: Robert Lewis, University of Toronto

Comment: Tridib, Banerjee, University of Southern California

Prestige, Planning, and the Pilgrimage: The Construction of the Haji Sabu Sidick Musafirkhana in Colonial Bombay, 1895 - 1908

Nick Lombardo, University of Toronto

Much of the recent interest in colonial urban history has focused on planning as a top-down exercise of imperial power. In this paper, I aim to explore the place-based, local, and multi-scalar nature of planning within the colonial city. This paper examines the construction of a Musafirkhana, a pilgrims hostel for poor Muslims traveling to Mecca (Hajis), by a coalition of Muslim elites, British officials, and architects, in late 19th and early 20th century Bombay. In doing so, I seek to understand the ways that local urban politics, power structures, prestige,

and culture worked to shape the way urban planning was carried out on the ground in Bombay. Using a variety of archival material, newspaper reports, and manuscripts, this research demonstrates how Indian elites, colonial officials, and British experts came together to shape Bombay in particular ways. I argue that the Musafirkhana was a key piece of the urban built form that served two main goals. First, it contained the movement and presence of non-elite Hajis in a single space, making them easier to control and surveil as potential threats to Bombay's commerce and urban order. Secondly, the Musafirkhana served as a monumental symbol of elite and official largesse and concern both within Bombay and as part of larger efforts of urban boosterism. By examining the construction of the Haji Sabu Sidick Musafirkhana in turn of the century Bombay, this paper provides valuable insights into the place-based, multi-scalar nature of colonial urban planning.

Otto Koenigsberger and Neighborhood Planning in India

Vandana Baweja, University of Florida

In this paper I will examine Otto Koenigsberger's use of neighborhood planning in India. Otto Koenigsberger (1909–99) was trained as an architect at the Technical University of Berlin. In 1933, he was dismissed from service by Hitler's government and he proceeded to Egypt to work as an archeologist. In 1939, he emigrated to India, where he served as the chief architect (1939–48) of Princely Mysore, a state in South India under indirect British rule. He subsequently worked for Nehru as the Federal Director of Housing (1948–51).

Koenigsberger served as the planner to Bhadravati (1941) in Mysore, Jamshedpur (third phase plans, 1944–45) in Jharkhand, Bhubaneswar (1948) in Orissa, and Gandhidham (1950) in Gujarat. He also served as consultant for Faridabad (1949) and Rajpura (1950). These new towns were based on the neighborhood-planning model. First articulated by Clarence Perry in the 1920s, this was a transatlantic modern planning concept, which gained currency in the New Towns of post-war Britain and in the United States. Neighborhood planning imagines cities constitutive of self-contained neighborhood units, each centered on a school. Koenigsberger viewed neighborhood planning as a method of folk planning in the tradition of Patrick Geddes. Eventually, Indian planners critiqued the neighborhood-planning model in the 1960s or its unsuitability to the Indian context. This paper examines how different actors viewed neighborhood planning to argue that competing notions of urban life intersected in the making of New Towns in India.

How Colonial Calcutta Speaks To Us: Continuities and Changes in Slum Upgrading

Richard Harris, McMaster University

Robert Lewis, University of Toronto

Since the nineteenth century, planners and governments have evolved two alternative approaches to the neighborhoods of the poor, which we still often call slums: clearance or upgrading. Clearance, often tied to partial resettlement in remote suburbs, has acquired a bad reputation. In response, today most housing researchers and international agencies recommend some version of 'slum improvement'. Most of these experts assume that the idea of upgrading emerged from the 1980s onwards, but earlier examples have been documented. Notably, these include the interwar Dutch colonial policy of kampong improvement in Indonesia and, in Britain, the program of 'slum repair' that was promulgated in the 1900s,

notably, by the City of Birmingham . Earlier still, although now forgotten, for two decades from the 1880s, the City of Calcutta developed a program of ‘bustee improvement’. With particular reference to Calcutta’s policy, this paper traces continuities and changes in the way slum upgrading has been justified and carried out.

SESSION 2B: Bicycles and the City

Chair: Rohit Aggarwala, Columbia University

Comment: Rohit Aggarwala, Columbia University

Contested Cyclescapes: Where Bicycles Belong (and Don’t Belong) in New York, 1880-2013

Evan Friss, James Madison University

In 1880, the Commissioners of Central Park banned cyclists from their favorite place to ride. In 2014, after a cyclist ran over and killed a pedestrian walking across the Park’s West Drive, angry park-goers seized the chance to demand that cyclists’ rights be curtailed; some even suggested a ban. Banning bicycles from the drives of Central Park, from bridle paths in and outside the park, from certain parts of the road, and even from certain parts of the city has been a tool lawmakers have employed, flirted with, and overturned on and off for over a century. But so too has been creating distinct spaces only for bicycle traffic. Bicycle paths and lanes have taken on many forms, running down the middle of, on the edge of, parallel to, or nowhere near city streets. Where bicycles belong in the city is a question that, strangely enough, still has not been settled. By looking at the physical landscape, unrealized blueprints, and the rhetoric surrounding the bicycle’s place in the urban network we can further our understanding of not just the bicycle and the act of cycling, but also of the city itself.

This paper will examine spaces in New York that have been carved out exclusively for cyclists and those deemed off limits. The first period of analysis will begin with the 1880 ban on bicycles in Central Park and go through the late 1890s. In this period, the bicycling boom led to the greatest bicycle path in the world, one of the first efforts to create on-road bicycle lanes, and visions of elevated paths that promised to change the way everyone moved about Gotham. Not everyone was happy, though. Carriage-drivers, pedestrians, streetcar operators, and even some cyclists argued that bicycles were simply unfit for certain city spaces.

Concerns regarding where cyclists belonged persisted throughout much of the twentieth century. Robert Moses, rightfully remembered for his auto-centric planning, did encourage cycling, albeit as a form of exercise and recreation. New paths were built and (not so new) restrictions once again barred cyclists from the drives of Central Park. Later in the century, Mayor Koch proposed to ban bicycles on sections of three of the city’s main thoroughfares. The Midtown Bike Ban of 1987 never came to fruition, but the rhetoric surrounding the proposal revealed a changing perception (in large part due to bicycle messengers) about what bicycles were, what purposes they served, and where they belong.

Finally, the changing place of the bicycle in New York will be analyzed in the context of the Bloomberg Administration. Mayor Bloomberg and his commissioner of the Department of Transportation—Janette Sadik-Kahn—may someday be remembered as doing for bicycles what Robert Moses did for automobiles by redesigning streets, paving miles of new paths, planting

bicycle racks, and pushing bicycle-friendly public policy. Yet, as recent events have made clear, there is still no consensus about where bicycles belong in the city.

Before the Bicycle Renaissance: Oakland's First Bike Lane, Between Disinvestment and Gentrification

John Garrard Stehlin, University of California, Berkeley

In 1997, the city of Oakland, California striped its first on-street bicycle lane almost as an afterthought. Located on West Street in the Hoover-Foster neighborhood, the bike lane stretched for just ten blocks between two major arteries in one of the poorest Census tracts in the city. Two years later, Oakland finalized its bicycle master plan, creating a framework for the citywide development of bicycle infrastructure that continues today, and the West Street bike lane is now just another part of the city's bicycle network. Bicycle infrastructure on West Street was not won through the efforts of politically mobilized cyclists, nor imposed by a municipal government eager to stimulate growth by appealing to the tastes of the "creative class," nor an object of political antagonism over gentrification, as bicycle projects in other cities have been. Instead, the West Street bike lane seems to have been put in as an experiment in traffic calming, conveniently coinciding with the street's repaving schedule, in an economically depressed area to which few city resources were devoted. Through an examination of the planning of the West Street bicycle infrastructure project, this paper explores broad themes in contemporary bicycle advocacy, whose alignment with race-classed processes of gentrification is now quite durable but was once contingent. It argues that the West Street bike lane has lessons for the current moment that differ from the models that now guide street design, and reveals the sociospatial divisions that still constrain a more equitable cyclescape.

"Crime and Litter": The Bicycle Boom and Conflicts over Urban Rail Trails since the 1970s

Silas Chamberlin, Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources

James Longhurst, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse

When the United States Supreme Court handed down a ruling in March of 2014 in support of a private landowner against a federally-granted right of way on a former railroad-turned bicycle trail, the reaction of some was confusion. Why would any property owner be opposed to something as innocuous as a bike trail, a land usage associated in the minds of many Americans with wholesome family recreation and cheerful healthfulness? The journalistic coverage of the court decision in *Marvin M. Brandt Revocable Trust et al. v. United States* had to spend at least some time explaining why anyone might conceivably be unhappy to have a rail-trail through their property.

But in actuality, the rail-trail movement has always dealt with opposition of this sort, and recalling that history can better help us to understand the Supreme Court's ruling, and the limitations upon present-day usage of bicycles as urban transportation. This paper will explore the largely-unexamined antagonism to rail-trail projects since the 1970s. In the public planning processes for creating bicycle trails out of unused railbeds, suburban property owners raised a number of concerns when trails were proposed that potentially linked urban neighborhoods. Some homeowners argued that trails would impact property values, increase crime, and constitute a nuisance. These objections were laced with the race and class undertones often

present in urban/suburban dynamics, and touched on property values, urban geography, and planning issues.

This paper will place opposition to rail-trails in context with the transportation and bicycle policy issues of that decade's bike boom, drawing examples from Spokane and Ellensburg, Washington in the late 1970s and in Lancaster County and South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in the 1990s. After an underfunded attempt by the Department of the Interior to encourage bikeway construction in city parks and utility rights-of-way, and as both state and federal funding sources for urban bikeway construction faltered, rail-trails seemed to be one of the only successful policy responses to the increase in bicycling in the 1970s. But opposition to rail-trails in urban areas limited their utility for practical daily commutes, and they came over time to be more associated with rural recreation. While rail-trail conversion projects saw increasing success into the 1980s and 1990s, conflicts over property value, perceptions of crime and privacy continued to dog the movement, with the 2014 Supreme Court decision only the most visible example.

SESSION 2C: Social Housing and Civic Activism

Chair: Rosie Tighe, Cleveland State University

Comment: Jack Bauman, University of Southern Maine

Federal Policy vs. Local Implementation: Desegregation in Baltimore Public Housing

Sara Patenaude, Georgia State University

My paper discusses the shift in Baltimore public housing policy in the late 1950s-60s as the housing projects were forced to officially desegregate, yet found policy implementation methods to allow project residents to maintain effective segregation. Through this example, I discuss how citizens and the local government were able to subvert federal policy to keep their preferred status quo of segregation.

The history of Baltimore public housing begins during World War II, when the city constructed temporary housing for white war workers. After the war, recognizing the need for improved living conditions among Baltimore's poorest residents, the city government began a program of slum clearance and urban renewal. Displaced residents were moved into racially segregated public housing projects strategically located throughout the city.

With the 1954 Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board*, the Housing Authority of Baltimore City (HABC) recognized the need for new regulations in accordance with the desegregatory aspects of the ruling. HABC put into place a program of "open housing," which in reality meant moving black residents into formerly white projects – rarely were any white residents asked to move into the formerly black projects. Despite this uneven implementation, HABC received an award in 1955 for "its success in bringing White and Colored families together in the same projects."

In 1967, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) released new requirements for tenant selection. Under this new program, city housing authorities were supposed to maintain a single waitlist for potential housing residents. When an opening occurred, the applicant at the top of the waiting list was notified of the availability and could choose to accept that apartment or await the next available opening. HUD required a

“three- strike” plan, meaning that the wait list applicant could only reject the available openings three times, at which point they were to be sent to the bottom of the waitlist. Subverting the spirit of the HUD requirements, HABC implemented a program that allowed white public housing residents to repeatedly reject housing allotments without penalty, and thus remain segregated in certain of the projects. As a result, HABC public housing remained racially identifiable throughout the entirety of the 20th century.

Making Successful Public Housing Policy: Planners and Residents in Columbus, Ohio

Patrick R. Potyondy, Ohio State University

A majority of public housing histories have focused heavily on management, architects, and planners. New works have continued to give great insight into these issues from Nicholas Dagen Bloom’s *Public Housing That Worked* (2008) to D. Bradford Hunt’s *Blueprint for Disaster* (2009). But for roughly the last decade, specifically with the publications of books like Rhonda Williams’ *The Politics of Public Housing* in 2004 and Amy Howard’s *More Than Shelter* in 2014, something akin to a new public housing history has emerged and established itself. It has built upon the spatial turn in political and urban-suburban history to examine the grassroots level—a level all too often overlooked in the majority of public housing histories. These studies have begun to probe how residents shaped the top-down policy of the architects of twentieth-century urban renewal. My paper applies this new public housing history to the case of Poindexter Village—Columbus, Ohio’s first and all-black public housing community—to examine how specific policies, including segregation, enabled the first generations of residents to form a strong and lasting sense of community and collective memory.

Construction of Poindexter Village finished in 1940 when President Franklin Delano Roosevelt presided over opening ceremonies. Along with the federal United States Housing Authority, the Columbus Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA) situated Poindexter on the city’s East Side, an area that had established itself as the city’s predominate black neighborhood by the 1930s.

Urban planners held high hopes for their city’s first project. Reformers hoped that urban renewal and the “slum clearance” that it necessitated would help develop worthy housing for an area lacking in modern affordances. Planners believed they were addressing a specific housing problem they thought was created by the Great Migration but also by inadequate and discriminatory private housing. Within this context, it is important to understand that urban planners did not believe they could solve both the housing problem and the race relations problem. Therefore, they limited Poindexter to black residents only, while still providing lasting, modern housing, even as it continued the harmful effects of racial segregation, such as cutting communities off from social capital and networks. Planning and construction, however, are only half the equation.

In the early years, the African-American community made Poindexter into a vibrant social space and social anchor institution, taking full advantage of the modern international garden-style housing provided by CMHA and USHA. From 1940 into the 1970s, generations of up-and-coming residents fostered the well-planned project to transform Poindexter from mere brick and concrete into a successful home and community. It was only in later decades that the housing project fell into serious decline. A history of public housing’s earlier years, however, challenges present-day stereotypical misconceptions about public housing populations.

Finally, the paper considers both the long-term impact of the residents' community-making during the 1940s-1970s and if Columbus' urban redevelopers appear to have learned from that early period of urban renewal. So successful were the early plans, it seems that today's housing reformers have not learned from their past or the past of the residents, given that present-day communities—in Columbus and elsewhere—are protesting the demolition and redevelopment of public housing and instead are seeking to preserve it.

Resisting Gentrification by Remembering Urban Renewal: Housing the Poorest at San Francisco's North Beach Place

Lawrence J. Vale, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

In San Francisco, housing activists and a strong not-for-profit housing sector have played important roles in preserving public housing occupancy for low-income residents despite the city's rampant gentrification pressures. This paper focuses on the example of North Beach Place. Completed in 1952, this 229-unit housing project replaced a low-income industrial and residential area in a predominantly Italian neighborhood near Fisherman's Wharf. Initially a development overwhelmingly occupied by whites which led to a landmark racial discrimination suit in the 1950s when blacks sought entry), North Beach Place gradually became highly diverse, with substantial African-American and Chinese populations. Located on either side of the terminus of a major cable car line, by the 1980s huge numbers of tourists attempting to reach Fisherman's Wharf found themselves disembarking in a dangerous and crime-ridden housing project, uneasily located just across the street from several upscale hotels. Rather than join in the frenzy of high-end market-rate development sweeping San Francisco and sweeping out its lowest-income citizens), however, the city's strong not-for-profit housing community, joined by empowered tenant groups and supported by Mayor Willie Brown, embarked on a public housing redevelopment effort in the mid-1990s under HUD's HOPE VI program. In contrast to most other HOPE VI practice that has sought to "deconcentrate poverty" by dramatically reducing the number of low-income housing units as part of an income-mixing strategy, the North Beach approach sought to preserve and enhance the last remnants of affordable housing in an otherwise gentrifying neighborhood. Not only did the redevelopment process replace all 229 low-income public housing units on site; it also added 112 additional affordable housing units by leveraging low-income housing tax credits) as well as a new supermarket, additional below-grade parking, and new street-level retail.

Drawing on extensive interviews with real estate developers, public housing residents, city housing officials, housing activists and neighborhood leaders, coupled with unusual access to internal correspondence from key players, the paper attempts to explain how and why the particular constellation of governance operating in this place was able to counter the usual national practice. At base, the paper argues, the power of the North Beach team arose as a direct legacy of the backlash against the urban renewal excesses and inequities of an earlier era. Both African-American and Chinese-American tenant leaders remembered earlier losses, and engaged a network of allies that, collectively, made it politically impossible to reduce the commitment to low-income public housing in this part of San Francisco.

SESSION 2D: Shaping the Immigrant Metropolis: Community and Contestation

Chair: Abel Valenzuela, University of California, Los Angeles

Comment: Abel Valenzuela, University of California, Los Angeles

Exploring Lifeways and Values across L.A.'s Asian American Suburbs, 1960- 2000

Becky M. Nicolaidis, University of California, Los Angeles and University of Southern California

This paper surveys the social history of emerging immigrant suburbs across Los Angeles from the 1960s to 2000, with a particular emphasis on Asian American communities. Reflecting the diverse and bifurcated class character of Asian immigration itself, suburban communities with growing Asian populations came to reflect a range of class and cultural interests. Synthesizing recent secondary literature on multiethnic suburbia as well as drawing upon the author's new research on affluent Asian suburbs, this paper presents a metropolitan portrait of Asian settlement and the sometimes divergent local cultures emerging in these suburbs. While some multiethnic suburbs have revised notions of suburban democracy along more racially inclusive lines, in others, democratic participation served more class exclusive goals. Collectively, these practices perpetuated stubborn patterns of metropolitan inequality even in the midst of interethnic progress.

For the Los Angeles metropolitan area, this paper surveys Asian settlement patterns by ethnicity and class, and explores the social dynamics, political cultures, and spatial practices across a range of ethnic Asian suburbs.

The Right to Suburbia: Redevelopment and Resistance on the Urban Edge

Willow S. Lung-Amam, University of Maryland, College Park

Suburbia has always been a site of social struggle. While not well documented in the literature, it has served as an important space upon which marginalized groups have registered claims to equal rights, citizenship, and a more just distribution of resources. For much of the twentieth century, these battles were largely fought over access to housing, schools, jobs, and the promised suburban "good life." But in the past few decades, the tenor of these debates has changed. With the unprecedented movement of minorities, immigrants, and the poor to the urban periphery, the battles now taking shape are about far more "urban" issues, like gentrification and displacement.

This paper documents clashes over such issues in low-income Latino and Asian immigrant communities in the Washington, DC suburbs. It shows the intersection of debates over displacement with the rapid transformation of the region's suburbs into more compact, dense, mixed-use, and walkable communities, especially those near transit. In case studies of two communities undergoing new transit-oriented "retrofits," the paper probes questions about the broader impacts of contemporary processes of suburban spatial transformation on socially and economically disadvantaged communities. It also explores the significance of suburban social movements for achieving more equitable development and redevelopment practices.

“We are here to stay”: Multiracial Solidarities and the Founding of El Centro de la Raza in Seattle

Maki Smith, Colby College

In October 1972, a small group of Chicano activists in Seattle’s Beacon Hill neighborhood entered an abandoned elementary school and refused to leave. They demanded that the city transfer ownership of the building to the community for use as a community center. The nearly four-month occupation brought together a multiracial coalition of local residents in solidarity with the city’s Latino community. This paper examines the occupation and founding of El Centro de la Raza as part of a concerted effort by the city’s Black, Asian, and Latino residents to fashion an inclusive, radical, anti-racist politics. While certainly concerned with the immediacy of local conditions, the occupation also connected itself to anti-colonial insurgencies throughout Latin America and the Global South. The founding of El Centro and the claiming of urban space can thus be read as a coalescence of multiple activist trajectories and the possibilities of a multiracial imaginary for racial and economic justice.

It Looks Like Our Homeland, Not Like the United States: Latina/o Community Building and Belonging in South East Los Angeles: 1970-1997

Jorge N. Leal, University of California, San Diego

During the last third of the twentieth century, many of the major United States metropolises lost residents within the urban core. In Los Angeles, countless industries closed down their doors as Southern California joined the national shift from a Fordist to a Postfordist economy. A myriad of factories and the blue-collar white workers employed in their workshops, left Los Angeles during this time. Yet the population of the metropolis did not contract in size. In fact, Los Angeles continued to grow and solidified its status as the second biggest metropolitan region in the nation. The sustaining and growth of Los Angeles was driven by the arrival of thousands of migrants from Asia and Latin American. In the latter group, their migrations from Latin American were the product of the reshaping of the global economy that embraced neoliberal policies and domestic political turmoil attendant to Cold War conflicts. While the scholarship on the post-World War II Los Angeles has examined the tremendous and imbalanced growth of the larger region, the historiography has yet to profoundly consider the transnational implications for urban development of one of the largest metropolitan regions in the United States in this momentous time period.

Hence, in order to chart out the profound changes on the Los Angeles metropolitan area produced by these crucial economic and demographic transformations, this presentation looks at South East Los Angeles —with emphasis on the cities of Huntington Park and South Gate— to examine how municipalities founded and developed as white suburbs have turned into Latina/o communities. By focusing on specific examples of consumption, immigrant entrepreneurship and cultural production by youth subcultures, this presentation will demonstrate how the incoming Latina/o residents developed ad-hoc transnational community building approaches, based on pan- ethnic identification. Most significantly it will examine the implications on the built environment and the generation of politically-fertile social spaces and its relationship to greater Los Angeles. While these approaches to community building have been diverse and conflicting, these have fostered the development of a distinctively Latina/o built environment

as thriving commercial areas. Most significantly, it has generated social spaces that have emboldened South East Los Angeles residents to engage in political participation practices — beyond the conventional electoral politics— to push back against structural racism, to demand environmental justice in their communities, and to advocate for immigrant rights at local, regional, and national levels.

SESSION 2E: Commerce, Planning, and Preservation

Chair: Stephanie Dyer, Sonoma State University

Comment: Stephanie Dyer, Sonoma State University

Were Outdoor Advertisers the First Urban Planners?: Chicago as a Case Study, 1890-1930

Daniel Story, Indiana University, Bloomington

By the 1890s, Chicago had become the national center for a rapidly expanding outdoor advertising industry, a reality both celebrated in trade journals and readily observed on the streets of the city itself. Everything from painted wall signs, to thick layers of billposters, to ever-larger billboard structures sprung up in increasing number across the cityscape. While early forms of urban advertising were often decried as visually chaotic, by the turn of the century outdoor advertisers were in the process of a significant transformation. Spurred in part by the attacks of aesthetically-minded civic reformers, advertising firms undertook a multiple-decade campaign to reform and rationalize their trade. Taking Chicago as a case study – and the locally-based but nationally-dominant Thomas Cusack Company in particular, this paper argues that outdoor advertisers should be considered, alongside architects and a nascent urban planning profession, as among the earliest actors to give nuanced and systematic attention to the workings and potential of America’s industrial cities. Advertisers, like architects, attended to the dynamics of specific urban spaces as they sought the best locations for advertising displays. They took increasingly sophisticated steps to identify the patterns of daily urban mobility. Further still, they studied how the city fit together as a whole, the ways its transportation routes interlocked, the character of its districts, and the distribution of culture and economic means across its neighborhoods. In considering these aspects of urban life, advertisers attended not only to their own internal business strategies, but also to public perception of their trade, the legal implications involved in securing specific sites, and broader civic debates over advertising restrictions and proto-zoning regulations. Challenges persisted, but the persistence of Chicago’s outdoor advertisers had its effect, transforming the visual and spatial character of the city, in many ways just as profoundly as more frequently celebrated innovations in architecture and urban planning.

Even if considering advertisers as planners stretches traditional definitions of the planning profession, their work is important to consider as a sometimes complimentary, sometimes competing voice in debates over the shape of America’s cities. Indeed, by placing Chicago’s outdoor advertisers alongside Daniel Burnham’s White City and 1909 plan, it becomes less clear which of these urban visions has actually made the greater impact on the American urban landscape. A visit to suburban shopping strips in virtually any region in the country highlights just how persistent the presence of advertising continues to be. To frame

advertisers as planners is to seek to take this presence seriously, understand its logic, and grapple with the ways its vision continues to shape the spaces of metropolitan American.

Las Vegas, “Model” City?

Stefan Al, University of Pennsylvania

Las Vegas is both unique and paradigmatic of other cities. As outrageous as the Strip’s architecture may seem, it was part of a quintessentially American practice: marketing. At the peak of the popularity of western movies, casino builders welcomed guests with cowboy saloons stuffed with buffalo heads. On the cusp of nationwide suburbanization, they built bungalows with lavish pools and dewy lawns. When deep-sea exploration and nuclear testing enthralled the nation, they enveloped guests with underwater images and plastered a casino with a sign of the atom bomb. Even before Gordon Gekko celebrated Wall Street’s unfettered materialism, developers mirror-clad and glittered their casinos with corporate bling. When Disney became the world’s number one entertainment corporation, Vegas casinos built entire theme parks and a larger-than-life Cinderella Castle. As heritage tourism grew and Americans moved into historicist buildings, developers reciprocated by enhancing their casinos with *Belle Époque* monuments. And when other cities built architectural icons to attract tourists, Las Vegas developers commissioned the world’s starchitects. In short, as America changed, so did Las Vegas.

In fact, the Strip adapted to changing American trends with such overwhelming success, it grew from a dusty, potholed road stretching through a barren desert wasteland to one of the world’s most visited boulevards. Las Vegas has even become a global model for urban development. Singapore, despite seeing gambling as a moral hazard, has built its new central business district around a Las Vegas casino. Where gambling in the United States used to be contained in the remote Mojave Desert, today hundreds of casinos have infiltrated Indian reservations and American cities. Just like the Strip’s privately managed sidewalks and plazas that tease Americans with desire, so is public space in other cities increasingly privatized, converting citizens into consumers, one by one. The “build it and they will come” attitude by “Bugsy” Siegel, these days finds its equivalent in cities’ desperate attempts to build icons attracting tourists. Las Vegas’ continuous reinvention is mirrored by thousands of cities engaged in exercises to “fix” their image. The Strip’s house-style economy, shaken up by high-risk taking and the whims of individuals like casino mogul Sheldon Adelson, has become the formula of worldwide “casino capitalism.” In its continuing effort to urbanize the dry Mojave Desert, Las Vegas’ water crisis and attitude to the environment are now typical of the permanent risk suffered by cities, threatened by the floods and droughts resulting from man-made climate-change. The political economy of Las Vegas’s development over the past seventy years has not just mirrored the rest of America, it has set a template for practices of urban branding, spatial production and control, and high-risk investment in places.

While Las Vegas in its current incarnation, with its glass-finned buildings and pedestrian sidewalks, looks a lot like other cities, the reverse is also true: our society has become surprisingly Vegas-like. With our cities affected by an increasing number of casinos, the tourist industry, rampant consumerism, whimsical casino capitalism, and global environmental risk, we now all live in Las Vegas.

The Changing Form of American Strips from the Walking Era to the Automotive Era: A Case Study of Watertown, Massachusetts

Andrew H. Whittemore, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Analyses of the American strip that consider change over time are principally concerned with the shifting mix of businesses and uses (Baerwald 1978; Wyckoff 1992). Those that consider urban form for the most part consider a specific historical moment (Venturi 1972). Explorations of how the urban form of the strip changed from the era of the walking city into the auto-centric city of the late 20th century are abstract, and though powerfully illustrative, lack in-depth case study analysis (Clay 1973). This study uses Sanborn maps and city records to assess the changes to the developing urban form of two streets in the first-ring Boston suburb of Watertown. The frontage of Main and Mount Auburn streets developed from mostly agricultural use in the pre-streetcar era, to mixed residential and pedestrian-oriented commercial use in the streetcar era, to mixed residential, pedestrian and auto-oriented commercial use in the mid to later twentieth century. Constructing a record of the built form of these strips shows how development intensified in the inner suburban ring with the introduction of more sophisticated types of public transit, only to make way for parking lots and buildings for individual businesses isolated from pedestrian infrastructure. As such, the history of these strips demonstrates a more vibrant past, and sets a historical precedent for pedestrian-oriented infill development in an era many planners and planning scholars call for greater intensification of development in infrastructure-rich inner suburban rings in their effort to build more sustainable cities.

SESSION 2F: Planning with the Past: Memory, Ethnicity, and the Development of Place

Chair: Beryl Satter, Rutgers University, Newark

Comment: Beryl Satter, Rutgers University, Newark

Making Main Streets: Nostalgia, History, and Institutional Action in the Southeast

Emily Mieras Stetson University

How does one make a Main Street? In DeLand, Florida, civic boosters, city officials, local businesspeople, and other committed residents have created their own concept of “Main Street” in a backward-glancing streetscape, a series of historic murals commemorating key events in the town’s history, and a vibrant public discourse celebrating local history and claiming a distinctive community identity. These groups have not acted alone; DeLand hosts an active Main Street Association, a group associated with the National Main Street Center, a subsidiary of the National Historic Trust that provides a network, strategy, and funding opportunities for communities interested in preserving their historic downtowns. This paper considers the role of this Main Street network in conceptualizing and revitalizing small towns in the U. S. Southeast.

The NMSA’s network unites local organizations across the country that are part of the National Main Street Center, a subsidiary of the National Historic Trust. By focusing on initiatives in small towns with active Main Street associations, this paper considers how a

national organization contributes to building a historically situated concept such as “Main Street.” The NMSA promotes the Main Street Four-Point Approach, a “unique preservation-based economic development tool” that supplies “the foundation for local initiatives to revitalize their districts by leveraging local assets— from cultural or architectural heritage to local enterprises and community pride.” The four points are “organization,” “promotion,” “design,” and “economic restructuring.” These points are practical strategies for motivating community action, but they also suggest a road map for creating Main Street. Thus, analyzing these points in practice in a series of historic towns demonstrates the intersection between institutions and affect. On the one hand, NMSA associations reproduce a series of institutional strategies and mandates. On the other, they engage in—and promote—a vibrant affective discourse about small-town life that relies on a generalized nostalgia for imagined historical community.

Moreover, Main Street is both a universal American concept and a regionally specific one. Defining “Main Street” in the U. S. South has different connotations than in other parts of the country and raises different questions about inclusion, exclusion, and uses of history. In DeLand, for example, African Americans—an important part of the city’s past and 16 percent of the town’s present population—go largely unacknowledged in public historical discourse and, indeed, are relatively invisible on today’s downtown “Main Street.” Thus, focusing on several communities in the Southeast, this paper also argues for the regional specificity of Main Street and the institutional power of an organization like NMSA to influence nostalgic representations of history that elide racial exclusion and conflict.

Thus, conceptualizing “Main Street” depends on affective experience—on nostalgia, on personal connections with place and space—but it also depends on the financial, organizational, and structural components that help represent, preserve, and even birth these emotional components.

Racial and Ethnic Politics in Preservation Planning: The Case Study of Charleston, South Carolina

Barry Stiefel, College of Charleston

Charleston, South Carolina has the great distinction of claiming that it is one of the “most historic” cities in the United States by virtue that it has this country’s first historic district, established in 1931. Much has changed since the 1930s, but to anyone with an eye for historic preservation, it is perceptible that the emphasis of preservation efforts has been on the white Protestant elite who has traditionally controlled the city’s political agenda. Furthermore, the history that is highlighted centres around the themes of the halcyon colonial and antebellum periods (1670-1865), especially the American Revolution and Civil War.

However, since the city’s early beginnings, the population has been exceptionally diverse, and has not only included Jewish and Greek immigrants, but also Africans who were brought over for slave labour – the backbone of South Carolina’s economy until the 1860s. A unique creole group developed, called the Gullah people, a mixture of various African cultures with Anglo-European influences. Due to the relative small numbers of non-Protestant groups, as well as the disadvantaged socio-economic position of African-Americans like the Gullah, the preservation of their heritage has largely been an afterthought. Additionally, while Charleston is at the forefront of its architectural heritage preservation, it has lagged behind in other respects. For instance, there are no protections for archaeological resources, an aspect of material

culture more likely to be left by Charleston's underclass minority groups than grand architectural monuments. It is through this study that the research questions pertaining to the politics of memory in urban spaces; the concept of historic preservation' and a 'right to the past'; as well as cultural diversity in city spaces, especially its representations will be answered.

Heritage Tourism and the Stories We Tell Ourselves about the City: A Comparative Case Study of Two New York Museums

Aimee VonBokel, New York University

How does heritage tourism obscure urban inequality? Two public history sites in New York, both house museums, illustrate the distortion of public history in action. Because these two museums (the Lower East Side Tenement Museum and the Weeksville Heritage Center) tell discrete stories about separate communities, and because their stories stop around the 1930s, which is just when FHA policies began to take effect and restructure urban space, the museums perpetuate distorted understandings of New York history.

How does heritage tourism work? As sociologist Christopher Mele argues, politicians and policy analysts reconceptualized post-World War II urban policies at the height of the city's fiscal crisis (in the late 1970s), encouraging and subsidizing efforts to enter and transform working-class housing markets for middle-and upper-class consumers. One strand of these efforts to monetize urban space involves heritage tourism. While investment in the city's cultural life is certainly important, what stories are we telling at municipally-funded cultural nodes — about urban space?

New York is one of the most segregated cities in the United States. Enormous structural forces have shaped the racial inequalities we have inherited — specifically our racialized urban geographies. But histories of 20th-century urban space, so carefully documented by scholars over the past 30+ years, have failed to make their way into a common public narrative in a way that can disrupt the heroic mythology of individually earned upward mobility — a narrative animated by meritocracy and individualism... a narrative that obscures both structural forces and a deep history of racially discriminatory policy.

Using the Past in the Present: Contemporary Neighborhood Planning and Preservation of Diverse Social and Cultural Histories

James Michael Buckley, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Donna Graves, independent scholar

The fields of city planning and historic preservation have danced awkwardly together throughout their brief professional lives. Birch and Roby (1984) opened their summary of this "uneasy alliance" with a quote from Wayne Attoe's contemporary planning textbook: "Historic preservation...remains a troublesome aspect of urban planning." Nevertheless, practitioners in both fields have increasingly found ways to work together over the past few decades, particularly in the pursuit of economic development and neighborhood revitalization. In joining forces, however, the two fields have often maintained their typical focus on improving the physical environment of the city at the expense of promoting and strengthening cultural diversity, and in fact planners and preservationists frequently stand accused of promoting gentrification and displacement of existing residents and businesses. As a result, the

combination of planning and preservation can represent an “uneasy alliance” for communities that lie outside the cultural mainstream.

This paper examines the collaborative efforts of city planners, preservationists, and community members in San Francisco to respond to recent development pressures that threaten the city’s social, ethnic, and economic diversity by developing new methods that document, promote, and protect elements of the city’s social and cultural history. These measures address both the history and the future of populations that typically lie beyond the focus of most planning and preservation programs, such as the LGBTQ, Latina/o, and Asian-American and African-American communities. Such approaches are intended to create “usable pasts” that will encourage both cultural preservation and community development; they often expand the traditional concern of both preservationists and planners for intact physical fabric by including intangible cultural attributes that have helped create the city’s social character, such as foodways, family businesses, community organizations, and musical traditions.

Examples of cultural preservation considered here are the Japantown Cultural Heritage and Economic Sustainability Strategy, proposals for LGBTQ and Filipino “social heritage districts” in the South of Market neighborhood, and the preservation of Latino businesses and institutions through Calle 24, a cultural district plan for the Mission neighborhood. These cases demonstrate the possibilities and the challenges for consideration of a broader history of the American city and its potential for preserving social and cultural diversity into the future.

SESSION 2G: Public-Private Partnerships

Chair: Howard Gillette, Rutgers University, Camden

Comment: Howard Gillette, Rutgers University, Camden

The Hard Fought History of Park Provision in Detroit

Patrick Cooper-McCann, University of Michigan

Like cities across the United States, Detroit finds itself increasingly dependent on “partners” to provide basic services and facilities like parks and recreation. Dozen of block clubs, churches, and small businesses have signed pledges to cut the grass and pick up trash at adopted parks. Over two dozen “Friends of the Park” groups defend specific parks from budget cuts and pitch in with planning and maintenance. Real estate interests are refurbishing downtown parks through nonprofit conservancies. New residents are organizing to create skateparks and dog parks. The Detroit Riverfront Conservancy, backed by major corporations and foundations, has transformed the riverfront, replacing parking lots and cement silos with three miles of greenway that connects more than half a dozen parks. Over protests, the state of Michigan has converted Belle Isle, the city park system’s crown jewel, into a state park. Together with the city’s own resources and labor, these partners help maintain a sprawling park and recreation system that Detroit can no longer afford, but the effectiveness and fairness of this patchwork system of governance is greatly contested.

In this paper, I explain how the different elements of this system—the adopt-a-park program, the “Friends of the Park” groups, the professional conservancies, and the state’s involvement—emerged through fifty years of crises, conflicts, and resourcefulness. To tell this story, I draw on interviews, local newspapers, and the budgetary documents, plans, and reports

of the Detroit Recreation Department. The history reveals, first, the incredible and ongoing commitment of Detroiters to the public park system, even as the function of the parks and the form of their neighborhoods have changed dramatically as the city declines. Second, it shows the circumstances under which stakeholders in the park system have been willing to supplement or replace the services of local government and the circumstances under which they have insisted exclusively on continued public provision. Third, it demonstrates when and why residents were *not* willing to cede government control of public parks, even in exchange for improvements. The battle for control of Belle Isle has been especially fraught, with two failed proposals in the 1970s to incorporate Belle Isle into the Huron-Clinton Metroparks system, one failed proposal in the 1990s for the city to impose its own entrance fee, and a forced state takeover in 2014 under the authority of an Emergency Manager. Finally, it reveals the ultimate limits of supplemental provision, with the serial re-launching of the “Adopt-a-Park” program and new donation requests to corporations and foundations under every mayor since Coleman Young. Ultimately, while supplemental providers have had only limited success, the story of their efforts reveals the continuing importance of public parks and the shifting contours of the debate over how parks should be funded and what ends they should serve, particularly in a distressed city.

Seeing the City for the Trees: Public Space, Climate Adaptation, and Environmental Justice in LA and New York’s “Million Trees” Campaigns

Jessica Debats, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

New York and Los Angeles are extreme examples of public and private space. New York concentrates people and buildings in a relatively small area, yet enjoys a historical legacy of parks, squares, and pedestrian-friendly streets. In contrast, Los Angeles’ more diffuse layout provides land for new public spaces, yet car-dependency and local anti-tax measures may have impeded their development. Moreover, investment in public spaces such as parks has historically been concentrated in affluent neighborhoods in both cities. Such disparities may have consequences for environmental justice and climate adaptation. In 2007, both cities formed public-private partnerships to plant a million trees to mitigate the urban heat island, which climate change is expected to exacerbate. However, a lack of public space may have constrained Million Trees LA (MTLA) and Million Trees NYC (MTNYC), particularly in low-canopy neighborhoods where trees are needed most.

This paper examines the extent to which public space played a role in MTLA and MTNYC’s environmental justice outcomes. By spatially analyzing remote sensing data, tree planting records, tax parcels, and five decades of historical census data, I address the following questions: 1) to what extent did MTLA and MTNYC prioritize low-canopy areas; 2) to what extent did more public property correlate with more trees planted; 3) how did the distribution of public property compare between Los Angeles and New York, and between low- and high-canopy areas; and 4) how did the demographics of areas that lacked public property shift over time? In addition, I contextualize this quantitative evidence by interviewing MTLA and MTNYC’s public and private partners on their planting strategies. This analysis lays the groundwork for analyzing historical aerial photos to determine whether low-income minority neighborhoods have historically lacked public space, and how its distribution shifted with changing local populations.

Preliminary results reveal that while MTNYC planted more trees overall, MTLA was more successful in prioritizing low-income, low-canopy areas. Moreover, these outcomes were directly shaped by the distribution of public space. New York possessed a greater overall proportion of public property where the city could plant without seeking private owners' permission. A wealth of empty sidewalk tree wells also allowed MTNYC to avoid the costs of cutting concrete. However, this public infrastructure was concentrated in affluent, high-canopy areas. In contrast, Los Angeles' historically affluent areas did not enjoy the same inherited legacy of public space as New York's. Facing a relatively uniform lack of plantable public space, MTLA was free to concentrate its resources where they were needed most.

In short, the possibilities for equitable climate adaptation are constrained by the spatial injustices of the past. However, this research highlights a key juncture where planners may be able to disrupt such histories to produce more just outcomes. For instance, city governments that wish to protect vulnerable populations from climate impacts may wish to invest in public spaces, particularly in areas that historically lack them. Doing so would create space to graft climate adaptation measures onto the existing urban landscape in the areas of greatest climate vulnerability.

Overnight Sensation: Buffalo's Forty-year Effort to Rebuild

Bradshaw Hovey, University of Buffalo

Research Associate Professor School of Architecture and Planning University at Buffalo Buffalo, New York is the latest American comeback city, drawing attention from national media, mainstream and alternative, as "the next Brooklyn" or the new hipster haven. Buffalo is the beneficiary of what from the outside seems like an overnight transformation. But the reality, of course, is that the economic and demographic recovery of the "City of No Illusions" since the early 1970s is not only partial and still tentative but far from sudden. This paper will suggest that the shift in Buffalo's status in the world is the result of decades of concerted effort on the part of the people of the sometimes snowbound burg. They have worked through planning, advocacy, and practical action for economic transformation, strengthening the public research university, downtown restructuring, waterfront access and environmental repair, preservation of historic architecture, and restoration of the City's Olmsted parks and parkways system. As I argued in "Making the Portland Way of Planning," (Hovey, 2003) the rhetorical work of citizens can have structural effects on politics, society and economy. The recent history of Buffalo has been characterized by persistent narratives that sometimes bemoaned the passing of a previous state of affairs (e.g. when people from Toronto came to our downtown for weekend entertainment or the destruction of Frank Lloyd Wright's famous Larkin Office Building). But just as often those rhetorical performances have demanded positive future change (e.g. we ought to be able to get our feet in the water or downtown won't be great until people can live there). Just as important, Buffalonians have created organizations around their visions and goals (Buffalo Niagara Riverkeeper, Buffalo Olmsted Parks Conservancy, Preservation Buffalo Niagara, the Buffalo Niagara Partnership, Open Buffalo and others) that make things happen because of what gets said.

Using both oral history and documentary resources, this paper will trace the development of these discrete discourses and connect them to organizational growth and tangible action in at least six areas: the evolution of economic development policy from smokestack chasing to industry targets in life sciences, high technology, trade and tourism; the

shift away from modernist downtown development projects of the late 1960s to planning for a new Theater District, Downtown “Summits,” Downtown as a venue for housing, and reinvestment in physical space; a long term fight for water quality, environmental remediation and public access on Buffalo’s waterfront; moving from revulsion at lost treasures to singular “saves” like Louis Sullivan’s Guaranty Building, to a stronger precedent and ultimately a more systematic approach to preservation; and the development of citizen concern for the Olmsted park system in Buffalo from “steering committee” to “Friends of Buffalo Olmstead Parks” to a full-fledged “Conservancy” on the Central Park New York model.

The focus on citizen organization and the “structural power of language” is chosen because Buffalo seems not to have had a coherent, durable or effective “urban regime” or particularly strong elected leadership throughout the period considered.

SESSION 2H: Selling the Sunbelt: Housing and Economic Development

Chair: Eric Avila, University of California, Los Angeles

Comment: Eric Avila, University of California, Los Angeles

What’s Good for Business is Good for Atlanta: Public Housing Promotion and Atlanta’s Economic Development in the Post-WWII Era

Katie Marages Schank, George Washington University

Louie Newton, editor of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce’s *City Builder* magazine, promoted what he termed the “Atlanta Spirit”—the pervasive belief that whatever was good for business was good for Atlanta and all Atlantans. In the name of business and progress, the city’s boosters encouraged commercial growth as well as the development of countless cultural, artistic, and sports activities and institutions that they hoped would transform Atlanta into an urban center of regional and national prominence. Through tireless self-promotion and far-reaching building and development, Atlanta was physically and economically. One of the unlikely programs that became a key part of the city’s economic growth and promotion was public housing. Despite being criticized by some for its interference with private builders, the Chamber of Commerce and other business and economic interests supported the program and viewed it as an integral part of the city’s development.

By examining the rhetoric employed by the Atlanta Housing Authority (AHA) in the post-WWII period, sightseeing maps published by the Chamber of Commerce that featured the city’s public housing projects, and speeches promoting Atlanta’s slum clearance and public housing construction as “civilized capitalism,” this paper will argue that Atlanta’s public housing and its promotion was unique in its inextricable link to the city’s economic growth and future. While ostensibly a liberal program concerned with the social welfare and housing conditions of low-income citizens, promoters of Atlanta’s public housing “sold” the program to citizens and not only used the public housing program as an opportunity to shape the image of Atlanta and promote business interests. Not only did the AHA use modern advertising techniques to “sell” the program of public housing to the public, but they also closely tied the housing program to the economic health of the city and metropolitan area.

While historians of housing have studied the evolution of debates and implementation of housing programs, they have paid relatively little attention to how reformers and housing

authorities gained popular support for public housing projects. Image and public relations were particularly important to Atlanta's growth machine and played an unusually strong role in shaping public policy. As a self-fashioned "New South" city, Atlanta looked to public housing as a key symbol of the city's racial moderation, modernism and economic success. This paper seeks to shift the narrative that typically accompanies public housing – the idea that public housing is a detriment and to demonstrate, instead, that in Atlanta it was viewed and promoted as beneficial to the city's economic health and to the well-being of all metropolitan citizens.

Bourgeois Utopias in a Postindustrial South: RTP and Parkwood

Alex Sayf Cummings, Georgia State University

This paper will look at the founding of North Carolina's Research Triangle Park (RTP) and its affluent bedroom suburb of Parkwood in the 1950s and 1960s. RTP was central to an energetic push for economic development by Gov. Luther Hodges that aimed to recruit higher wage jobs and educated workers in the late 1950s. State planners sought to attract more advanced industries by capitalizing on the proximity of universities in Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill—the three points of "the Triangle"—arguing that companies such as IBM and Union Carbide would value access to the schools' technical and library resources as well as a ready pool of graduates trained in the sciences. The park's supporters hoped to "import PhDs" by presenting RTP as an ideal place to work and the greater Triangle as a culturally sophisticated milieu that promised an excellent quality of life for a highly educated workforce of scientists, engineers, and their families.

RTP itself was designed as an idyllic location for the laboratories of high-tech companies. Planners aimed to create a quiet, "campus-like" environment, with labs situated on generous setbacks amid a verdant, tree-lined landscape. Strict zoning restrictions specified that buildings could occupy only a small percentage of lots, favoring low-slung, low-density modernist architecture. Companies were limited to exacting requirements of how much smoke, density, and vibration they could emit, ensuring an environment of intellectual contemplation for tech workers; regulations also provided that parking lots and loading docks would not be visible from the property line, rendering almost all manual labor invisible. RTP was meant to be a "production utopia," as geographers Scott Kirsch and David Havlick put it—a portrait of a technologically advanced workspace free of any traces of manufacturing industry.

RTP launched in 1959, and local developers soon realized that scientists who came to work in the park would need places to live. In 1961, builder Kavanaugh introduced Parkwood as a model suburb adjacent to the research park, just outside the city limits of Durham. Parkwood won plaudits for its curvilinear streets and innovative mixed-use development, which combined housing, retail, green space, and a school within its plans. The community also boasted the first homeowner's association in North Carolina, which enforced rules about property maintenance that promised middle-class residents order and safety for their investments. Parkwood grappled with questions about water provision and whether to let Durham annex the neighborhood in the 1960s, as well as the challenge of integration when a black engineer—William "Bill" Bell—sought to purchase a home there after accepting a job with IBM in 1968. Bell went on to pursue a successful political career in Durham—including a tumultuous tenure overseeing the consolidation of segregated city and county schools—while Parkwood retained its mostly white, professional constituency through the 1980s and 1990s. Both RTP and Parkwood represent ambitious efforts in the mid-twentieth century to market the idea of a

place that was perfectly suited to an emerging class of “knowledge workers,” and tracing of the history of both helps us understand how the landscape of the Sunbelt was transformed in the late twentieth century.

Marginalizing the Military: Race, Class, and Image in Homeowner Opposition to Navy Family Housing in San Diego, 1979 – 1990

Ryan Reft, Library of Congress

On October 18, 1984 a small article appeared in the San Diego County South Bay’s newspaper *The Star*. Listed under the “Five Minute News Brief”, the local paper noted two separate petitions opposing the construction of family military housing at Telegraph Point in the developing San Diego County city of Chula Vista. In subsequent weeks and months, metropolitan tensions emerged as a vociferous opposition arose relaying fears of increased crime, declining property values, unsupervised children, and overcrowded schools. Protesters voiced their resistance at city council meetings, town hall debates, local and metropolitan newspapers, and even organized a Chula Vistas Against Government Waste.

Yet Chula Vista represented only one example of several from throughout the 1980s in which the Navy’s attempts to locate housing in San Diego County often encountered stiff resistance from local metropolitan communities. Tracing this opposition from the 1981 protest in the San Diego community of Tierrasanta to the 1984 opposition in Chula Vista to a 1988 conflict in Southeast San Diego’s working class Paradise Hills neighborhood enables urban historians to examine the intersection of citizenship, homeownership and Sunbelt politics.

Middle and working class homeowners opposed the construction of Navy family housing citing very similar motivations. As David Freund and others have noted, since the 1940s, whites had long viewed the housing market as natural, devoid of government interference, and “free of politics.” In essence, they had internalized a racialized system of home valuation and property development. Moreover in regard to 1980s opposition to military family housing, opponents included non-white homeowners thereby suggesting that residents had absorbed the racialized nature of the American housing market such that even persons of color supported its underpinnings.

Ironically, the military’s transformation into an all volunteer force (AVF) based on the New Right economic principles of Milton Friedman and others, served to marginalize service households. The economic and political struggles of the 1970s, the rise of neoliberal economic policies that placed more value and greater economic pressure on homeowners, and the military’s own transformation resulted in local Sunbelt communities opposing new construction. The demographic shift within the military toward a more racially and ethnically diverse cohort with greater numbers of families attached to service personnel increased the Navy’s need to construct housing but also aggravated homeowner fears particularly those regarding image and future economic development. Tax revolts, reduced revenues allocated to cities, and tax exempt military housing populated by racially diverse working class families threatened local property values, promised to overburden local infrastructure, notably schools, and would lead to social dysfunction in the community, housing opponents argued.

Despite receiving the majority of military and defense spending in the post 1945 era and serving as an incubator for a New Right political movement that rhetorically and financially promoted military service, Sunbelt communities consistently opposed Navy family housing. San Diego County contains one of the largest proportions of military servicemen and women in the nation and as historian Roger Lotchin has pointed out, secured military and defense funding

better than any other municipality in California. If before 1973, real estate interests objected to the construction of military housing, afterwards, homeowners took protest to the grass roots level revealing the contradictions existing between image conscious urban/suburban development, citizenship, and New Right economic and social policies.

Industrial City Gardens: A Contested Port City on the Savannah

Stephen J. Ramos, University of Georgia

On February 8, 1939, a banker and realtor from Savannah, GA named Lewis Hampton Smith founded a subdivision named Industrial City Gardens, located northwest of the Savannah city limits, between U.S Highway 17 and Georgia Highway 21. Two years later, the residents decided to change the name to Garden City, in hopes to eliminate any mill town connotation. In 1951, the Georgia Port Authority purchased a 407-acre military port-staging facility adjacent to Garden City along the Savannah River, and established what would become the Garden City Container Terminal of the Port of Savannah. The citizens of Garden City had tried to make a counter offer on the site in hopes to retain the residential quality of their new town, but their bid failed. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Port of Savannah was the most successful South Atlantic port in the U.S., but its status declined steadily, and by mid-century it lagged behind regional competitors. The new port facility was the Port's attempt to develop a port industrialization sector to help boost its performance. The tension between Garden City's community objectives and self-perception, and the larger state objectives for port expansion and regional competitiveness were foundational. Today, the Garden City Terminal is the fourth busiest container terminal in the U.S., and the Port of Savannah has been the fastest-growing container port in the country since 2001. The Garden City Terminal is the largest-single terminal facility in the U.S., with 1,200 acres, and nine berths totaling 9,693 feet. Savannah boasts the largest concentration of retail import distributions centers on the East Coast, and Georgia leads the nation in warehouse and distribution center development, promoting construction of a total of 3.4 million square-feet of new warehousing throughout the state. Port demands continue to spatially encroach on Garden City's residents, trucks choke the city's circulatory system, and those foundational tensions have only grown as a result. By tracing the parallel, intertwined developments of Garden City and the Garden City Terminal Port, the case helps to better illustrate Post- War Sunbelt peri-urban industrial development as a contested space with competing land- use and spatial identity claims. Time-series maps and data will help to illustrate these points. The paper also contributes to the port cities literature on industrial regionalization by demonstrating the kinds of frictions and residential resistance overlooked in the literature.

SESSION 2J: Planning History, Civic Engagement, and Influencing Social Change

AICP CM CREDITS [pending approval]

ROUNDTABLE

What role, if any, can planning history play in shaping current policy, advocacy, and/or community development work? What happens when planning history informs current debates, strategies, and practices of civic engagement and to what end? Drawing together scholar-

practitioners from across the country who are actively involved in social change projects rooted in planning history, this session will provide a range of examples of how civic engagement and planning history combine and what the impact has been. We also aim to open a space for the audience to engage with our projects and to share their own work. Offering a wide-range of approaches and tools—from digital mapping to a mobile studio, this panel will deepen the dialogue about the connections between planning history and the future development of cities and regions from Miami to LA.

Planning History and the Future of Public Housing in Richmond, Virginia

Amy L. Howard, University of Richmond

This presentation examines the racial and spatial history of public housing in Richmond, Virginia and the ways this planning history is informing current debates around public housing redevelopment. Combining planning history with a current advocacy role reveals how the past has been central in shaping resident resistance to redevelopment over the past twenty-five years as well as current debates.

Part One examines Richmond's creation of nearly exclusively African-American public housing in the East End of the city in the 1940s and 1950s and describes a regional context in which virtually all public housing in the metropolitan area is located within the central city. Part Two provides an account of the highly problematic redevelopment of the Blackwell public housing complex under the Hope VI program, beginning in the late 1990s, and an account of the tenant activism that arose from it. That activism later resulted in the tenant-led coalition Residents of Public Housing in Richmond Against Massive Eviction (or RePHRAME). Non-profit and tenant activists in RePHRAME have worked together over the past several years to challenge redevelopment practices that threaten to diminish the number of public housing units in the city. Part Three is an in-progress report on an effort I am involved in that includes RePHRAME participation: to create a new resident-driven, progressive redevelopment process for the city with a focus on centering planning history as part of the process. Articulating the history of segregation, mismanagement, and deep distrust between residents and the Richmond Redevelopment Housing Authority, this process takes seriously the deep-seated and legitimate concerns of tenants and advocates about the possible consequences of public housing redevelopment.

Miami Affordability Project: Mapping Affordable Housing and Community Development in South Florida

Robin F. Bachin, University of Miami

Housing affordability is a significant and growing challenge in Miami- Dade County, as it is in numerous metropolitan regions around the nation. Access to housing that is affordable for a wide range of residents is crucial for attracting and retaining a talented workforce and promoting economic growth and prosperity in our cities. Currently Miami ranks as one of the cities with the highest cost burden in the country, with a significant percentage of residents paying more than 30% of their income for housing. The University of Miami's Office of Civic and Community Engagement began a Focus on Affordable Housing initiative to bring together resources from across the university in partnership with local and national housing experts and practitioners to explore challenges and find solutions.

Using data made available by the Shimberg Center for Housing Studies at the University of Florida, Miami-Dade County Public Housing and Community Development, the City of Miami Department of Community and Economic Development, and the Miami-Dade County Information Technology Department, our researchers have produced an interactive map as a tool for housing and community development practitioners, urban researchers, and community members to explore Miami's housing landscape, address needs, and promote informed decisions about housing policy. This presentation will feature a demonstration of the mapping tool and how it can be used for making planning and policy decisions about location of affordable housing, cost burden, unmet need, land banking, and urban design decisions related to integrating affordable housing within the urban fabric. Special attention will be paid to the uses of the map for historic preservation and adaptive re-use planning and decision-making by focusing on the Overtown neighborhood of Miami, a historically African American community that was decimated by highway construction and disinvestment.

Planning, Politics, and Play: Restaging Gentrification's Front Lines in Los Angeles

Catherine Gudis, University of California, Riverside

"Planning, Politics, and Play" looks at alternative strategies forged by artist and activist groups to convert the symbolic economy of art as a tool of redevelopment, and to complicate the representational terrain on which front-line battles over gentrification and displacement are being waged in LA. Its focus is on two geographical areas with high symbolic (and potential real-estate) value today. The first is the Los Angeles River, whose 51 miles (largely paved, long derided as a drainage ditch, and highly photogenic as a noir-infused space of danger and dereliction) runs through 18 cities and countless neighborhoods, including some of the most dense, environmentally degraded, and park poor urban industrial communities in the nation. The second is Skid Row in downtown LA, where the highest concentration of deeply impoverished and homeless live today, despite decades of efforts to remove them by champions of urban renewal and downtown redevelopment.

In both cases, grassroots organizations have been working to hold fast to local use, to resist efforts to displace existing residents and service organizations, and to create cultures of community. "Planning, Politics, and Play" looks at their performative and social engagement strategies as well as how they are intervening in the public realm to represent stakeholder interests, and to make an impact on policy and planning decisions. Through the notion of "play"—a gesture towards performance as well as gaming and urban visioning strategies—the collective of artists, designers, planners, and scholars comprising Project 51 embarked in 2012 on *Play the LA River*, which aims to engage audiences in the use of riverside spaces as public spaces, and to help support neighborhood reclamation along with larger efforts that have been operating at city, state, and federal levels towards revitalization.

My focus on Skid Row will be through a consideration of the performance group Los Angeles Poverty Department. Comprised largely of homeless and formerly homeless residents of Skid Row, LA Poverty Department has contributed to the creative and activist community of downtown's urban core for the last thirty years. Through their recent work on the Skid Row History Museum and related parades, performances, and other memorializing strategies, the group has restaged the battles of economic and residential displacement through embodiment and occupation, deploying the traditions of public memorialization as a form of boosterism turned on its head to simultaneously mock and rebuke those other boosters and downtown

developers who have tried (at great taxpayer expense, police attention, and legal effort) to erase the Skid Row community and the civil rights of its inhabitants for so many years. Their strategies, like those of LA River artists, collectives, and activists, have sought to reframe how displacement is brought to public attention and resisted, through the instantiation of a public sphere operating in public space, and to make a gradual impact in part through transforming disenfranchised residents into active stakeholders.

Decoding Planning Violence, Co-creating Civic Health, Montgomery Alabama

Jocelyn Zanzot, Auburn University

Daniel Neil, Troy University Rosa Parks Museum

Montgomery, Alabama was settled in 1815 on an advantageous crossroads of trails and river at the epicenter of what was the Creek Confederacy. Born of forced removal, the original plat organized a city along avenues of river-born commerce (cotton and slaves) and political power. Other districts developed according to type of labor and proximity to work. In the Era of Jim Crow, black business districts flourished in the West and East neighborhoods of downtown, including many churches that functioned as vital community centers. After the hot period of the Civil Rights movement 1955-65, during which demands for equal access to the City and to the Vote took to the streets and gained national response and international awareness, a period of violent retribution followed with a scale of impact achievable only through the calculations and infrastructures of modern planning and urban design. While racism had historically structured and policed Southern cities, it might be argued that the era between 1970-85 known somewhat affectionately as urban renewal exacted a type of urban violence whose consequences continue to this day to disadvantage African American communities and have yet to be fully accounted for nor repaired.

The work presented here at the contemporary crossroads of civic engagement, planning history and art + design activism seeks to first decode this surprisingly invisible act of planning violence: the construction of urban freeways, which intentionally obliterated those once thriving business and cultural districts, as a first step to building an understanding and vocabulary for community action. Second, in a conscious effort to make public a process that had once been conducted in secret, and to engage citizens in questions about the health and design of local neighborhoods, the MOBILE STUDIO brought this research to bear on a two year project in Montgomery. The first phase entailed a 13-month public conversation, series of workshops and exhibition in honor of Ms. Rosa Parks' 100th birthday celebration in collaboration with the Troy University Rosa Parks Museum. A follow-up graduate landscape architecture studio developed design proposals at Auburn University that considered strategies and key sites for neighborhood revitalization in partnership with the Public Art Commission and the City of Montgomery Planning and Development Departments. Research was both archival and original creating a new survey and analysis of the wishes of children across the City for the future inspired by Rosa Park's wish for her community. Presentation of the data was both objective and interpretive leading to design and planning proposals grounded in both an understanding of the history and needs of East and West side neighborhoods for future creative economic opportunities and public space. The results include a new strategic public art implementation plan for the City that builds in community participation and consensus, as well as pathways for re-investment and commitment to an aesthetics of equity.

SESSION 2K: Scholarship Across Scales: Humanities Research in a Networked World

WORKSHOP

Tara McPherson, University of Southern California

This workshop looks at the connections *and* tensions between the “digital” and the “humanities” in order to argue that we need more humanities scholars to take seriously issues in digital publication and even software design. Digital publishing has much to offer scholars who work with visual material of all kinds. Furthermore, humanities scholars are particularly well suited to help us think through such topics as the status of the archive as it mutates into the database, the possibilities for engaging visual culture in more robust ways, and the cultural contexts of code. In short, I argue that neither theorizing media nor building new technologies is sufficient onto itself; we must necessarily do both.

As a concrete example of the relationship of theory to practice, I will look at the work our USC team has undertaken over the last decade, including the digital journal, *Vectors*, and the multimodal authoring platform, Scalar. Our research has always been in direct dialogue with key issues in the interpretative humanities, including discussions of race, gender, sexuality, cultural memory, place, embodiment, and visual culture. Can new forms of scholarly publishing help us to better address these issues while also reaching new audiences?

SESSION 2L: Journal of Planning History Board Meeting

CLOSED MEETING

PAPER SESSION 3: FRIDAY, NOV. 6, 4:30 - 6:15 PM

SESSION 3A: The Arsenal of Exclusion: Los Angeles Edition

WORKSHOP

The Arsenal of Exclusion & Inclusion (Actar, 2015) is a forthcoming encyclopedia of tools—or what we call “weapons”—used by architects, planners, policy-makers, developers, real estate brokers, activists, and other urban actors in the United States use to restrict or increase access to urban space. *The Arsenal of Exclusion & Inclusion* inventories these weapons, examines how they have been used, and speculates about how they might be deployed (or retired) to make more open cities in which more people feel welcome in more spaces, be they “exclusive” communities with good schools, good jobs, and stable property values, or the everyday public spaces—the parks, sidewalks, and street corners— within those communities.

In this session, we will look examine a handful of weapons of exclusion operating in contemporary Los Angeles, from superfluous curb cuts that prevent people from parking near the beach, to fake “parks” built to evict sex offenders from their homes (California law prohibits sex offenders from living within 2,000 feet of parks or schools), to communicate care facilities ordinances that outlaw sober-living facilities homes by outlawing multiple lease agreements, to gerrymandering schemes that politically neutralize communities and their interests.

Access Wars

Daniel D'Oca, Interboro Partners, Brooklyn, NY

While there is no shortage of progressive policies that attempt to demolish barriers to “exclusive” communities and the everyday public spaces within those communities, neither is there a shortage of exclusionary policies, practices, and artifacts working hard to undermine them every day. We may have an amendment protecting citizens’ right to peacefully assemble, but we also have Free Speech Zones that control political dissent by confining assembly and free speech to a designated zone (outside of which assembly and free speech is presumably illegal); Teen Curfews, Loitering Ordinances, and “No Cruising” Zones that define when and where teenagers can hang out; and police- patrolled Barricades that prevent peaceful protestors from accessing parks that are allegedly free and open to the public. We have a Fair Housing Act that outlaws housing discrimination, but we also have Blood Relative Ordinances that require tenants to be related by blood to their landlords, Co-op Communities that require would-be tenants to secure a Letter of Recommendation from an existing resident, and Community Care Facilities Ordinances that ban sober-living homes from residential neighborhoods. (This is in addition to widespread, run-of-the-mill exclusionary zoning policies that prohibit apartments and prescribe Minimum Lot Sizes and house prices that are too big and too expensive to be affordable to most people.) The Americans with Disabilities Act prescribes standards for accessible design to ensure that our built environment is accessible to the elderly and disabled, but we also privilege auto-centric transportation policies that produce menacing, pedestrian-unfriendly intersections, and often result in a lack of public transportation options that keep the elderly and disabled in their homes.

Indeed, when we look at the complicated legacies of policies that attempt to open the built environment and demolish barriers to accessibility, we learn that they do not necessarily work the way they are supposed to. Loopholes abound. Many policies begin with great promise, but are quickly watered down. Other policies are canceled out by counter-policies, practices, and physical artifacts devised to neuter them. And history is full of examples of how policies designed for one purpose proved useful for another.

This essay will examine this contradiction that pervades the policies that shape the built environment in the United States by focusing on a handful of battles in the access wars.

Community Designing Change: Active Methods of Community Engagement to Reshape a More Equitable Built Environment

Theresa Hwang, Woodbury University

The built environment is a terrain that is hyper-regulated and guarded. The gateways to actively shape its form and policies are often obscured by red tape and complicated processes, excluding individuals and communities to participate in planning decisions. Can designers and

other agents of the built environment alter these access points to increase participation and counter these acts of exclusion?

Skid Row is a .4 square mile, 50-block neighborhood directly adjacent to Downtown Los Angeles. It is the homelessness capital of the country with approximately 10,000 residents, over 3,500 of which are homeless. The average median income is \$11,000 a year. The unhoused community is often omitted from decision-making processes that affect their housing, health, economic, and legal opportunities. Conditions like the high cost of housing, lack of income-generating opportunities, and institutionalized racism are larger systems that exclude the homeless population access to a full range of all opportunities. Additionally, more subtle and targeted policies restrict the homeless population's ability to occupy public space and limit their ability to move freely through the city, intensifying an already inequitable experience.

This paper will investigate existing policies that limit the everyday experience of the unhoused population, along with empowering strategies and processes that create opportunities for full participation in the process of shaping and occupying their built environment in Skid Row, Los Angeles.

Trailblazing Public Space

Therese Kelly, Therese Kelly Design / Los Angeles Urban Rangers

As cities around the world become increasingly more developed, dense and diverse, and more and more of our built environment is infill, adaptive reuse, and multi-benefit, we need public spaces now more than ever. We need more of them, and we must be more inventive about where we look for them: along streets, on rooftops, under and over freeways, above parking structures and rail lines, along forgotten rivers and alleyways. These shared spaces and shared resources (and equal access to them) are absolutely essential to sustaining healthy, equitable communities, healthy ecosystems, and a healthy civic life.

In Los Angeles, we famously argue about our shared spaces and resources — the Hollywood Hills and Malibu's public beaches have long hosted controversies over public access. Our public spaces are too few, they can be hard to find and access, and they often don't *feel* public.

My collective, the Los Angeles Urban Rangers, which I co-founded in 2004, employs a toolkit of inclusionary devices to create a more open city. Through urban hikes, interactive field exercises, and critical cartography, we deploy the park ranger persona—a champion of the public realm—to encourage creative exploration of the everyday urban landscapes we often overlook. As the group's resident cartographer, I create maps that make hidden public spaces visible—and thus create new spatial possibilities.

Our *Public Access 101* programs in Downtown L.A. and on the Malibu beaches, which I'll discuss in detail, facilitate discourse about and discovery of these complex public-private landscapes. Our Malibu Public Beaches project reveals public space, public accessways, and public easements on the twenty miles of Malibu's infamous coastline that have been camouflaged as private and concealed behind misleading signage and private development. Similarly, our Downtown L.A. programs, through a trail system of air rights, high-altitude public easements and corporate meadows in Bunker Hill's financial district, and via backcountry permits issued to access the concrete L.A. River, explore the ecology of public spaces in L.A.'s elusive civic heart.

I see public space as a new kind of connective, public infrastructure that has the potential to promote public discourse, to engage us as resilient communities, to celebrate our cultural diversity, and to enable us to use the city more joyously, more equitably, more sustainably. Through active participation, we have the capacity to create the city we live in.

Aesthetics and the People

Mimi Zeiger, Architects Newspaper and Los Angeles Forum for Architecture and Urban Design

In the spring of 2014, Los Angeles launched an official “parklets” program, one of the first in the country. Titled People St, the program takes as its mission the transformation of underused areas on 7,500 miles of city streets into “active, vibrant, and accessible public space.” An initiative of the City of Los Angeles Department of Transportation (LADOT) in collaboration with the City of Los Angeles Departments of Public Works and City Planning, the Office of Mayor Eric Garcetti, and the Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority (Metro), the program sets forth guidelines for the design and construction of plazas, parklets, and bicycle corrals across the city.

The People St initiative codifies a set of practices for “hacking” public space that grew out of DIY, tactical, and interventionist urbanism into a kit-of-parts that covers all design aspects of the project, including materials, construction detailing, branding, paint patterns, and street furnishings. Proposed projects that meet the People St criteria are more quickly moved through city approvals. But while the specifications for materials, graphics, and configurations expedite the process, they also set in stone a set of design aesthetics that may inadvertently undermine the program's ethos of inclusion. Can a seemingly small aesthetic choice, such as the small metal tables and chairs selected for the program, actually function as an unwitting exclusionary symbol?

People St is the outcome of a short history user-initiated urban projects types that were developed and quickly over the last few years: microparks, urban farms, pop-up shops, and community-gathering spaces. Park(ing) Day, the predecessor of People St, began in 2005 almost as a prank, when the San Francisco design studio Rebar created a temporary park in a metered parking space, feeding the meter quarters in order to hold the ground. That one action spawned an international following for the annual event and inspired “parklets” in cities across the US.

Solo, each parklet is a much-needed intervention, but taken together they unwittingly champion traditional city-beautiful values—and, as such, present a more conservative urban-planning position. As each project is created, then adopted by subsequent groups, and formally repeated (every iteration fleetly distributed across the Internet), a set of visual aesthetics codifies around it. These visual aesthetics often represent the identity of the maker, but it is unclear how they are received in communities. The temporary nature of these kinds of projects may excuse assumptive aesthetics to a degree, but when these projects are more permanent, as in People St, they design decisions and the full outcomes must be considered.

At its best tactical urbanism acts as a catalyst for change and serves as an exemplary point of difference—green space in a sea of asphalt or a vivid art installation in a disused storefront. At worst, the hallmark of most DIY subcultures—that the producer and the audience are one and the same— plays out across an urban scale. Successful projects stand out because they offer up a program type that disrupts quotidian city life but doesn't alienate potential participants.

Tourism for the 99%

Laura Pulido, University of Southern California

N/A

Cracking, Packing, and Gerrymandering

Rosten Woo, independent consultant

Rosten Woo is a designer, writer, and educator living in Los Angeles. He produces civic-scale artworks and works as a collaborator and consultant to a variety of grassroots and non-profit organizations including the Advancement Project, the American Human Development Project, the Black Workers Center, Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy, and Esperanza Community Housing Corporation, as well as the city of Los Angeles and Los Angeles County. His work has been exhibited at the Cooper-Hewitt Design Triennial, the Venice Architecture Biennale, Netherlands Architectural Institute, Storefront for Art and Architecture, Lower East Side Tenement Museum, and various piers, public housing developments, tugboats, shopping malls, and parks in New York and Los Angeles. His work has been supported by grants from the National Endowment for the Arts, The Los Angeles Department of Cultural Affairs, and the Los Angeles County Arts Commission. He is co-founder and former executive director of the Center for Urban Pedagogy (CUP), a New York Based non-profit organization dedicated to using art and design to foster civic participation. He has written on design, politics, and music for such publications as the Village Voice, Rolling Stone, Los Angeles Review of Books, and Metropolis Magazine. His book, "Street Value," was published by Princeton Architectural Press in 2010.

SESSION 3B: From City Beautiful to Livable City: Art, Space, and Politics

ROUNDTABLE

The City Beautiful Movement marked the beginning of contemporary urban planning in the United States. Conjuring legitimacy by appropriating design conceits of great western civilizations, City Beautiful sought to bring order and uplift to the chaos of the industrial city. The movement combined art and planning with the intent to bolster cities' images on the international stage, as well as improving quality of life for residents. The movement has been critiqued, even discredited, for its violently top-down nature, its shallow understanding of the daily needs of most urban residents—especially women, the poor, and immigrants—and its imposition of a narrow set of social ideals. But how have the approaches and tools used by City Beautiful practitioners changed over the ensuing century? We are living in what many are calling the “century of the city;” the city is once again viewed as a triumph of human achievement, and the inevitable apex of economic and industrial modernization.

The actors may have changed, but art is still being deployed, both physically and symbolically, in the project of city-making. Urban quality of life has become an asset on the global market, even as many cities struggle to maintain outdated and inadequate infrastructure. Art is being used by grassroots activists and top-down planners alike for a variety of ends, including to foster identity of place, call attention to infrastructure, and direct urban investments. This roundtable discussion asks: what are the fundamental differences between

contemporary planning efforts and their origins over a century ago? As critiques of displacement and gentrification continue to riddle many urban interventions, how do more recent planning styles and techniques offer improved prospects for planning than their maligned predecessors?

Six urban scholars and practitioners will address various historical and contemporary angles of the questions posed above. In a roundtable format, each participant will speak briefly and then join in a discussion guided by questions from the session chair and audience. Each participant will bring a specific focus to the discussion:

John Arroyo, Massachusetts Institute of Technology will speak about Project 51, a UC (UCLA and UC Riverside) and ArtPlace America sponsored public humanities project about the L.A. River—a project he co-founded in 2012—and his work as a member of the L.A. Urban Rangers.

Cathy Gudis & Ken Rogers (Gudis: University of California, Riverside, and co-founder of Project 51; Rogers: York University) will speak about their urban interventions on behalf of the Bureau of Goods Transport, which is devoted to publicizing the heritage and historical sites of Southern California related to goods movement and logistics industries.

Annette Kim, University of Southern California, will talk about contemporary art as social practice, as well as some of her research on the tensions between state planning and everyday spatial practices in Vietnam and China.

Lily Baum Pollans, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is an urban planner whose work focuses on how cities make decisions about environmental and infrastructural systems. She will speak about the role of art and infrastructure in the social objectives of the City Beautiful Movement, as well as some contemporary examples of the use of public art in solid waste infrastructure in U.S. cities.

Lou Thomas, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, researches the political economy of placemaking practices. He combines experimental video-making with his research and will speak to the role media plays in city imaging.

SESSION 3C: Imagining Los Angeles, Making Urban Humanities

ROUNDTABLE

At more than a dozen universities around the world, the Mellon Foundation has funded initiatives which are exploring urban humanities, a proto-field at the intersection of design, urbanism, and the humanities. Reacting to the explosion of urbanization around the world, the initiatives wed cultural and historical interpretation with speculative practices and new scholarly media to better understand, interface, and respond to this phenomenon. Core faculty from the initiatives at UCLA and UC Berkeley will demonstrate and debate the merits of work that has come out of their initiatives, focusing on several scholarly practices and projects situated in the context of Los Angeles.

Chair: Jonathan Crisman

Contemplating the Fate of Operative Histories in the City of Angels

Jon Christensen, University of California, Los Angeles

Planning and history have a troubled relationship everywhere. Los Angeles is no exception. Indeed, L.A. often is thought to illustrate this tension in extremis: a city with a planning history, to be sure, but a mythology of relentless reinvention. Yet, that does not deter urban planners, architects, designers, and policymakers from using versions of history to make arguments and tell stories about the past, present, and future. Manfredo Tafuri called this “operative criticism,” and he was deeply uneasy about how these practices reshaped the past for present purposes. In the urban humanities, we take the same risks by asking humanities scholars and students, schooled in criticism, to embrace the “generative” practices of architecture and urban design. A survey of contemporary “operative histories” at work in Los Angeles reveals the promises, perils, and potential power of urban humanities to shape the city.

Speculative Practices at Union Station

Jonathan Crisman, University of California, Los Angeles

UCLA is home to one of the most well-established Mellon “Architecture, Urbanism, and Humanities” initiatives and has taken on the city of Los Angeles as its laboratory for developing new curricula and methods for studying urbanism at large. One particular conclusion to come out of the initiative is that the speculative practices typical to architecture and design pose great potential for urban scholarship in other disciplines but that these practices need to be refined and modified for this potential to be realized. Two projects sited in Los Angeles’s Union Station offer insight into how this refinement and modification might occur: the multimedia opera *Invisible Cities* staged by theater group The Industry and based on the book of the same name, and a group of maps produced during the UCLA Urban Humanities Initiative’s Summer Institute in which students studied La Placita, adjacent to Union Station. These projects demonstrate that a role of humanist urban study can and ought to go beyond historical and contemporary description and analysis, toward a generative practice that can also illuminate potentialities embedded within those very historical and contemporary spaces.

The Expanded Field of Los Angeles

Dana Cuff, University of California, Los Angeles

When a scholarly field is subjected to “disciplinization,” as historian Hayden White terms it, the process is one of negation and boundary-making. Los Angeles, more than other cities, resists that process in its postwar sprawl as well as its Mexican heritage. The twentieth century metropolis’ appetite for expansion, epitomized in the American Southwest, is now met with twenty-first century limits on environmental, cultural, and economic resources. We at UCLA are addressing what architectural critic Christopher Hawthorne recently coined the “Third LA” with a newly expanded scholarly field, one that is poly-nucleated and expansive, and anti-disciplinary. When evolving urban conditions dovetail with an academic gambit unprecedented in recent history, our understanding of Los Angeles itself is restructured. The city becomes a lever to break boundaries that have separated designers, planners, and humanists who can

collectively create thick interpretations for the urban past, cultural present, and possible futures.

In Los Angeles, the Past Is a (Very) Different Country

Michael Dear, University of California, Berkeley

The Great Wall of Los Angeles, the first major public art project by the Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC); Biddy Mason Park, the manifestation of Dolores Hayden's "power of place" proposition about an influential former slave; and Los Angeles State Historic Park a.k.a. "The Cornfield," in which its rich history as the "Ellis Island of Los Angeles" have been commemorated all serve as physical and material sites which deal with Los Angeles's urban and public memory. Tracing the development of these projects in relation to my own changing connection to Los Angeles, I will consider the potential of work which crosses design, urban planning, and the humanities.

SESSION 3D: The Cinematic City

Chair: Michael Carriere, Milwaukee School of Engineering

Comment: Michael Carriere, Milwaukee School of Engineering

Boosting Kaohsiung through Cinematic Urban Vision

Ying-Fen Chen, University of California, Berkeley

Boosterism, conventionally an American practice, promotes a small town, city, lifestyle, or policy to garner benefit from public notice. Historically, boosterism was for the most part employed to facilitate urbanization of virgin land through the joint effort of investors and developers. In recent decades, when economic crisis has become a critical urban issue, boosterism has been put into the service of revitalizing urban landscapes, and today, with the advent of new technologies and globalism, it has dynamically evolved new strategies for the accumulation of capital. A city's iconic imagery, for example, can be branded through multiple media to draw capital from around the world and revitalize the urban environment. Not drawing directly upon the American boosting tradition, Kaohsiung, a secondary Taiwanese city on the periphery of global cities, has used specialized cinema to boost a semi-virtual urban vision that not only achieves the municipal government's goal of drawing numerous tourists from Taiwan and Mainland China, but has also fostered a new local film industry; in the process, investors and developers have working in concert to radically change the dilapidated post-industrial landscape.

This paper considers the Kaohsiung municipal government's boosting strategy in relation to its filmic sponsorship policy. In particular, sponsorship of *Black & White*, a popular TV series in 2009, and *Black & White Episode 1: The Dawn of Assault*, a sequel film in 2012, effectively uses the filmic setting—a semi-virtual "Harbor City," to promote an urban vision for Kaohsiung. The setting is a collage of local and outside elements: specifically, the government's newly completed infrastructure projects, including a rapid transportation system and waterfront revitalization, alongside modern urban spaces and architectures filmed in other Taiwanese cities. This urban vision has ultimately shifted Kaohsiung's image from that of a post-

industrial city to that of a modern film making center and tourist locale, a branding intended to attract the attention of investors and developers. This paper accordingly examines modes of boosterism as capitalist accessory beyond an American context and cinema; in this case, as it effectively incorporates the trend of film-induced tourism in an East Asian cultural context.

Industrial Networks and Urban Development: Kansas City's Film Row and the National Film Distribution Network

Stephanie Frank, University of Missouri, Kansas City

This paper explores the urban development impacts on Kansas City by the creation and maintenance of a film row, part of the national film distribution network that included 32 film rows. The film industry created film rows across the country as part of the business model of the studio system era—the period roughly between 1920 and 1950 when the film industry was vertically integrated. Film companies distributed their motion pictures through their film exchanges to theaters across the country via film rows, where all the major studios and ancillary vending services clustered in districts. The paper examines, at the ground level, one node of the national film distribution network while also illuminating the connections among cities and the importance of industrial networks in these connections.

Through qualitative fieldwork and archival sources, the paper examines the organization of Kansas City's film row and its connections to other film rows across the country. Strategically located within the transcontinental railroad network, Kansas City has long been instrumental, if under recognized, in transportation and communication networks. The film industry took advantage of this central location. This work contextualizes these urban development impacts within film history and business history in addition to urban and planning history. It is part of a grant-funded, multi-part project on the film industry and urban development in Kansas City, which charts new territory and will contribute to our understanding of industrial networks, Kansas City, and broader national patterns.

Talking Picture Development: The Cinematic Cities of Moscow, Rome, and Hollywood

Kirby Pringle, Loyola University Chicago

This presentation charts the development of three motion picture districts and how they were based on an American model, specifically, Chicago's Central Industrial Manufacturing District. In 1927, Los Angeles real estate brokers, home-builders, bankers, and several Hollywood movie executives formed the Central Motion Picture District Incorporated, a syndicate that was inspired by a Chicago organization. The scheme sought to develop over 500 acres of farmland in the San Fernando Valley, an area whose boundaries were technically within Los Angeles and had only annexed itself to the city less than two decades prior.

In September 1935 tragedy struck when Cines, Italy's largest and most up-to-date movie studio, suffered a fire which burned most of the studio's facilities. The head of Italy's film industry at the time, Luigi Freddi, responded by assuring the company's president that from the smoking ruins a better and more modern studio would emerge. Only a mile-and-a-half away, ground was broken for a new 200 acre studio. Based on an American model, Cinecittà ("Film City") eventually became the largest in Europe.

In mid-1930s Soviet Union, Boris Shumyatsky, the head of film production in the Soviet Union, realized that any one of the big five American studios could easily out-produce the

entire Soviet film industry. He wrote a plan for a “Soviet Hollywood” based on the construction and layout of American studios. The plan also specifically approved of Cinecittà in Rome, but was deemed by the Soviet hierarchy as too expensive.

This presentation, from a chapter of my dissertation, seeks to compare the three cinema cities that emerged during the early sound era and their impact on urban planning.

SESSION 3E: The Politics of Preservation Planning in the 1970s

AICP CM CREDITS [pending approval]

Chair: Andrew Hurley, University of Missouri, St. Louis

Comment: Andrew Hurley, University of Missouri, St. Louis

Analyzing Development Politics in the Intermountain West: The Historical Legacy of Urban Renewal in Boise, ID

Amanda Johnson Ashley, Boise State University

Most historic preservation literature in the U.S. focuses on rustbelt regions, large cities, or iconic historical places regardless of the preservation strategy, conflict, or phenomenon discussed. One physical place and cultural region that both historians and planning scholars overlook is the Intermountain West (IMW). It is unclear whether dominant narratives about preservation make universal sense in explaining or contextualizing development politics in this understudied area. This paper addresses this disconnect by conducting a history of urban renewal in Boise, Idaho during the 1970s when *Harper’s Magazine* famously proclaimed, “Boise stands an excellent chance of becoming the first American city to have deliberately eradicated itself.”

This paper employs path dependence and historical institutionalism as frameworks to explain how Boise’s urban renewal politics in the 1970s influenced today’s urban development policies and powers. Drawing on interviews and document analysis, this contemporary history highlights early anti-renewal protests that catalyzed a 40-year effort to weaken the regulatory and financial mechanisms that make urban redevelopment possible. Specifically, the case details the unlikely alliance between property rights advocates and historic preservationists to stop the Boise Redevelopment Authority from clearing eleven acres of historic properties and a Chinese community in the downtown core to build a regional mall. While this alliance was largely unsuccessful, its powerful protest set the stage for a multi-decade movement that successfully rolled back municipal power through state legislative policy and state Supreme Court decisions. New coalitions, including anti-urban and anti-tax entities, stepped forward, but these groups were less concerned about protecting the city’s historical and cultural fabric and more concerned about restricting the municipality’s ability to invest in urban infrastructure. This state-local divide has had serious repercussions for municipal policymakers who wish to have greater control over their city’s future. This case is part of a broader project to understand the politics of preservation and development in places and cultures that are understudied such as the IMW where Dillon Rule is strong and property rights are central to the region’s ethos. Such work explores the ways in which the case narrative is analogous and distinctive from existing preservation literature.

Reimagining the Landscape of Industrial New England: Historic Preservation Planning in Lowell and Holyoke in the 1970s

Steven T. Moga, Smith College

This paper examines the emergence of preservation planning as a revitalization approach, a distinct area of specialized professional practice, and a way of thinking about the history of the built environment. It focuses on the 1970s, looking at planning processes in two industrial cities in Massachusetts: Lowell and Holyoke. As such, it deals with the politics of preservation and planning in a context of urban renewal and deindustrialization. It also confronts how planners approached the revitalization possibilities and potential pitfalls of intergovernmental funding, complex organizational relationships, and shared responsibility and control, examining the roles played by local, state, and federal actors in planning processes.

Drawing upon my own professional experiences as a preservation planner, I explore how advocates, planners, elected officials, and citizens imagined what preservation could do, how it might work, and how these actors sought to communicate a reimagined landscape to the public. I look at planning reports, such as the so-called Brown Book on Lowell (1977), and other government documents, survey forms, and maps, as well as newspaper articles from the period to understand the politics of preservation during this time, particularly in relation to ideas about job creation strategies, industrial retention, and urban renewal. Qualitative interviews will follow archival research.

The paper will contribute to the developing scholarly literature on preservation history in the United States by focusing on preservation planning. In addition, it also speaks to areas of growing scholarly interest amongst planning and urban historians: the planning history of the 1970s, the institutionalization of the preservation movement, and changing approaches to cities and city planning in the latter part of the twentieth century.

Historic Preservation in the Age of Decline: A History of the Cleveland Landmarks Commission, 1970-1985

Stephanie Ryberg-Webster, Cleveland State University

Debates over demolition and preservation are at the forefront of contemporary dialogues about shrinking, post-industrial, or rust-belt cities, also referred to as “legacy cities,” where entrenched economic and population decline have led to rampant residential, commercial and industrial vacancy and abandonment. Preserving or demolishing urban historic resources is a highly contested subject. The historic built environment – the tangible manifestation of urban heritage – hangs in the balance. While scholarly and practitioner understanding of places such as Cleveland and Detroit as “shrinking” is a fairly recent phenomenon, the roots of their decline date to the mid-twentieth century. Over the past five decades, legacy city leaders have sought to reverse, or at least halt, economic and population contraction. Also beginning in the 1970s, many of these cities institutionalized historic preservation via local regulation and landmarks commissions.

This paper focuses on the formation and early work of the Cleveland Landmarks Commission (CLC) to understand how city-sanctioned historic preservation worked in concert with (or against) other urban development efforts geared towards reversing decline. In 1971, Cleveland City Councilman, John D. Cimperman founded the Cleveland Landmarks Commission, the first such commission in Ohio. He subsequently resigned his position on Cleveland City

Council in 1973 to become the first Secretary of the CLC, a position he held until 1989. While the formation of the CLC fits solidly within a national trend toward local oversight of historic resources, it also occurred within a city facing increasingly dire conditions. Racial unrest had torn through the city twice in the preceding decade; the city was spiraling into severe fiscal crisis; vacancy rates were escalating; outward migration was exacerbating extreme segregation; and manufacturing decline was creating a landscape of vacant industrial fabric. Amid this multitude of crises, at least some local leaders saw value in the city's heritage and launched concerted efforts not only to save the city's built heritage, but also to use it as a force for positive change for the city.

This research explores how and why local leaders turned to historic preservation in their efforts to counter Cleveland's decline, asking: (1) what were the motivations behind the formation of the CLC, (2) how did the CLC define and interpret heritage within a city in conflict, (3) what approach did the CLC take, including regulations and partnerships, and (4) how did the early CLC view the role that heritage could and should play in shaping the future of Cleveland? The paper places the CLC's history within the tumultuous context of 1970s Cleveland and other forces guiding the future of Cleveland including the rise of neighborhood-based community development corporations, the work of the Cleveland City Planning Commission, the creation of the non-profit Cleveland Restoration Society, and former Mayor George Voinovich's focus on downtown revitalization

SESSION 3F: Street Design

Chair: Renia Ehrenfeucht, University of New Mexico

Comment: Renia Ehrenfeucht, University of New Mexico

The Ethical Premise: From Biological to Digital Transportation Systems Author

Mark Thorsby, Lone Star College, CyFair

In the course of day-to-day life, the infrastructure of the city - its transportation systems, material organization, and overall built quality - are generally taken as a given by the inhabitants. For the city dweller, the city streets are treated as the place where ethical life occurs, not an ethical subject itself. This is indeed false, as any city planner will likely confess. The transportation infrastructure of the urban environment functions as a central organ for the distribution of social and economic materials. The city is organized and planned according to the mode or type of nascent technologies available. Geographic topologies reveal layers of different organizing technologies in direct proportion to their historical development. These distinct phases and their technologies include the biological, locomotive, automotive, and now digital. The ethical evaluation of the built environment presents city planners with a peculiarly difficult task of designing material systems that avoid negative ethical effects (given as types of harm) for an unknown future. By uncovering the sedimented layers of these organizational differences within the phases of a city's development, ethicists can determine the effects of a given principle of organization.

I argue for a rubric of ethical evaluation that asks planners and designers to consider not simply how the spatial environment gets organized, but how the city indirectly organizes the phenomenology and consciousness of its inhabitants. Transportation systems in principle

should be robust both in terms of their immediate capacities but also in terms of their agility to adapt over time towards the ethical and resistant to unethical forms of organization. As a case study, I explore how the history of city planning in Los Angeles over time signals a number of phases with differing yet coordinated ethical effects in the phenomenology of space, from the utilization of biological, locomotive, automotive and digital transportation technology. The paper is organized into 4 sections: (1) An introduction to the question of the city and its organizing principle with Nevada City, CA as an example in which the initial street network was configured as a consequence of biological (animal) transportation limiting factors; (2) The meaning of an ethics of planning is discussed and a matrix or rubric for ethical evaluation is suggested; and (3) An evaluation exemplar is offered regarding the automotive city infrastructure of Los Angeles, CA. As new technologies develop and the city becomes increasingly organized by digital systems, new phenomenological effects and potential harms arise. When structuring an argument for a specific city plan, designers ought to include an ethical premise that recognizes the moral phenomenological dimension of a robust open system.

The Twentieth Century Street: Many Histories In One

Michael Hebbert, University College London and University of Manchester

In association with the University of Chicago Press, the London-based Reaktion Press publishes a distinctive series of books about familiar modern objects. The books are well illustrated, aiming for a lay as well as specialist readership, and they draw widely on histories of design, technology, culture and social use. Objects so far covered in the *Objekt* series include aircraft, bathrooms, bridges, cars, chairs, computers, dams, factories, schools, ships and railways. My current task is to add a book on streets. I would like to test out the argument at SCARPH as it's a topic to which planning historians have given more thought than most. The paper can fit within the conference theme of preservation planning within 20C cities.

Streets are by definition a strange class of object. Unlike dams, motorbikes or chairs they are voids rather than solids. They don't have a single defining function but perform a multitude of roles. The street is a public realm for trade, display, communication and social encounter; a channel for every kind of movement and a highway for vehicles. It is an architectural environment with distinctive aesthetic of enclosure, perspective and 'townscape'. It is an outdoor environment and part of the urban eco-system. It has a micro-climate with distinctive patterns of temperature, wind, sun and shade and humidity. It is a public infrastructure, a political economy in miniature with a unique combination of ownership and governance. For squatter settlers calculating how to make the best of scarce land, the more allocated to the street the less for building plots but the better the chance those plots will be regularised. Formal or informal, the street is more than a space, it is a place with a name, address and identity - a locus of collective memory. Locally distinctive street character has been a grail of preservation planning within 20C cities.

There's a familiar version of street history based on the shifts of design theory - a 'Death and Life' narrative that goes from the passionate embrace of fin-de-siècle urbanism through the decades of rejection by the Modern Movement, to postmodernity's search for a lost formula. My paper revisits this narrative in the light of the many distinct functions that streets perform, and the knowledge base for those functions - highway engineering, for example, or urban cartography, or urban climatology. Each has a history of its own, distinct from though not unconnected to the urban design narrative.

So, my paper deconstructs the street as object, and through the parts aims for a better appreciation of the whole. Streets, historic preservation, urban design, pedestrianism.

The Paradigm Shift of Complete Streets: Altering Regulations, Standards and Practices

Matthew Heins, Northeastern University

Ever since the 1950s, there has been a growing awareness of the damage caused by designing urban form around the needs of the automobile. Cities and suburbs have been transformed, generally for the worse, by planning, development and engineering that puts the motor vehicle ahead of pedestrians and bicyclists. The movement known as Complete Streets (also termed Livable Streets, Traffic Calming, Road Diets, etc.), which has emerged since the 1990s, contests these practices. It does so by seeking to dramatically change the regulations, codes, standards, best practices and other regimes that engineers, designers and planners use to design streets.

This paper would argue that the Complete Streets movement represents an important paradigm shift in handling street design. In the 1960s, '70s and '80s, designers like Donald Appleyard, Richard Untermyer and Allan Jacobs were perceptive in criticizing street layouts that prioritized the car, and frequently proposed better designs for roadways, buffers, bike lanes and/or sidewalks. But rarely did they think in systematic terms about the regulations and standards that have a formative impact on the physical character of streets. Instead, they drew on a typically architectural way of thinking to view each street as a unique design challenge in which the designer's creative ability and understanding of the context are critical.

In the 1990s a new wave of designers and practitioners realized the need for a more overarching approach, as they recognized the power of regulations, codes, standards and best practices in shaping urban form and streets in particular. The ideological ramifications of these technocratic regimes being evident, efforts were made to alter and rewrite them. Two different groups pioneered this novel approach: the New Urbanists, who came at the problem through urban design, and a few forward-thinking traffic engineers, most notably Walter Kulash. Ultimately this led to the Complete Streets movement, which has had some success—at least in certain places—in reconfiguring the default practices of street design.

This paper would trace the process through which this new paradigm emerged, and note the contrast between it and earlier efforts to reform street design. The paper would argue that Complete Streets represents a key change in how urban designers, planners and sympathetic traffic engineers deal with street design. The designers of the 1960s, '70s and '80s laid the groundwork for better street design that respects pedestrians and improves urban form, but the Complete Streets approach goes much further in gaining an instrumentality that can actually lead to positive change.

Street Fights: A Historical Geography of Automobility in San Francisco's Hayes Valley

Jason Henderson, San Francisco State University

San Francisco is a boomtown yet again, and with that it is completely saturated with automobiles, despite having a national reputation as a transit-friendly city and ardent bicycle politics, and a central place in the national livability discourse. The city has some of the highest rates of car free households in the United States, yet that is juxtaposed against one of the highest densities of automobiles anywhere in the United States, and likely globally. By way of a

case study of one centrally-located neighborhood – Hayes Valley - this paper asks – how did it get that way? The paper traces the evolution of streets, freeways, and parking in Hayes Valley, and how that has impacted the current round of intensive infill development and gentrification. After first examining how Hayes Valley was bifurcated and nearly gutted by San Francisco’s ambitious freeway plans of the 1960s, the paper examines the aftermath of those freeway revolts, the second freeway revolt of the 1990s, and the cutting-edge reformation of parking policies in the early 2000s. Along the way, evolving political alliances and the role of “strange bedfellows” and political values towards the automobile will be considered.

SESSION 3G: Environmental Planning in Transnational Perspective

Chair: Domenic Vitiello, University of Pennsylvania

Comment: Domenic Vitiello, University of Pennsylvania

Preserving the Staten Island Greenbelt: Ian McHarg, Ecological Design, and ‘Natural Area Zoning’ in New York City’s ‘Forgotten Borough,’ 1965-1975

Patrick Nugent, George Washington University

The so-called “forgotten borough” was far from forgotten during the mid-twentieth century. With the opening of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge in November of 1964, Staten Island’s rapidly growing population and dwindling open space attracted the attention of planners and politicians from throughout the nation. The struggle over the Richmond Parkway—proposed by Robert Moses to traverse the borough’s steep, forested, central ridge-line—would draw strong responses from Ian McHarg, Stewart Udall, William Whyte, John Lindsay, and Nelson Rockefeller, marking one of the most influential and unexamined battles over ecological preservation in the city’s history. Plans for the Richmond Parkway would be thwarted by a well-organized group of conservationists, educators, and museum administrators. By the early 1970s, the path of the parkway would be transformed into the “Staten Island Greenbelt,” a five mile swath of hiking trails, environmental education centers, and down-zoned private properties protected by the city’s first ecologically-informed “special natural area zoning district.” Managed by a variety of quasi-public institutions and surrounded by exclusive, low-density neighborhoods, the Greenbelt would not simply replace Robert Moses’s automobile-centric vision for “mass recreation,” but also steer open space and housing policies away from social-justice and community-integration concerns toward the goals of ecological preservation alone.

The rise of anti-freeway movements during the 1960s has been well-documented by urban and environmental historians. Few have examined, however, the green spaces and policies that emerged in the wake of defeated highway plans. In opposing the parkway, proponents of the Staten Island Greenbelt forged an approach to open space design marked by a decentralized assemblage of linear spaces on one hand and low-density zoning codes on the other—both would prove influential to the future of urban design and planning in New York City and beyond. Greenbelt activists retrofitted the Richmond Parkway right-of-way into informal, curvilinear hiking trails cultivated with native flora and dynamic topography, an ecological aesthetic found in contemporary park projects throughout the nation, from Brooklyn Bridge Park to the L.A. River Revitalization project. Likewise, the strict density limits found

within the Greenbelt's "special natural area" zoning code—justified through local activists' comprehensive collection of environmental data—would be replicated in upper-middle-class neighborhoods across the city, including Riverdale, Bronx; Fort Totten, Queens; and Shore Acres, Staten Island.

Perhaps the most important activist involved in preserving the Staten Island Greenbelt was landscape architect Ian McHarg, who included two chapters on the borough in his influential treatise, *Design with Nature* (1969). McHarg's cost analysis and ecological surveys of the area would not only help turn the Tri-State Transportation Commission against the parkway's routing, but also bolster the Parks Department and City Planning Commission's case for expanding environmentally-sensitive, low-density zoning codes in the outer-boroughs. While the growing historiography on McHarg has revealed his remarkable influence within the field of landscape architecture, few scholars have explored how his work infused popular political culture in the midst of the urban crisis. This presentation, then, will also map McHarg's influence on New York City's political landscape, revealing how the architect's work was adopted and adapted by New Yorkers of varying political ideologies.

An Alternative Genealogy of Landscape Urbanism and Ecological Urbanism: The Contribution of Jaqueline Tyrwhitt to Designing for Urban Resilience

Ellen Shoshkes, Portland State University

Current discussions about the significance of Ecological Urbanism, Landscape Urbanism, New Urbanism, Ecological Urbanism and Ecological Democracy (et. alia) for the design of resilient cities, and for urban planning and design education, would be enriched by *a more nuanced historical perspective on the evolution of those concepts* than has been provided thus far by, for example, Waldheim (2006) and Spirn (2013).

Building on earlier work (Shoshkes 2013), *this paper provides that missing historical perspective* by examining the theoretical, practical, and pedagogical efforts of Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1905–83)—a British town planner, editor and educator who forged and promoted a synthesis of Patrick Geddes' bioregionalism and the utopian ideals of European modernist urbanism—to incorporate this synthesis into the urban design degree program at Harvard during the 1950s and 1960s. The paper argues that the set of ideas that Tyrwhitt sought to incorporate in the Harvard curriculum—notably the concept of the core within the urban constellation—connects to current discourse on the significance of Ecological Urbanism, Landscape Urbanism, Ecological Urbanism etc. for the design of resilient cities and urban planning and design education.

Key paper topics include "the design section of the planning process" as the common ground for inter-disciplinary collaboration (Harvard 1957), and the conflicts among architects, landscape architects and planners eager to claim disciplinary territory even as they strove for an interdisciplinary practice ideal. The paper concludes with a consideration of the continuing relevance of design for planning education today.

The paper draws on primary sources, including the Tyrwhitt collection in the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Library, a private collection of Tyrwhitt's papers recently deposited at RIBA, and the CIAM and Sert Collections in the Francis Loeb Library, Harvard University.

Canals, Streets and Modernism in a Desert City: A History of Phoenix Canals and Urban Form

Devon McAslan, University of Michigan

Stephen Buckman, University of Michigan

The development of Phoenix, Arizona as a major metropolitan area is closely tied to its need for water. The Phoenix region is supplied by water from the Colorado River via the Central Arizona Canal and from the Salt River which runs through the urban area. The Salt River is mostly diverted into a series of canals which trace their origin to the late 19th century when Phoenix was still a territorial settlement. The ability to provide water for agricultural use was key for the eventual growth of Phoenix and the development of a canal system was a major undertaking that has had an important impact on the urban form of the metropolitan area. Salt River Project alone manages 131 miles of primary canals within the metropolitan area and another 1,000 miles of secondary canals. This research examines the different ways in which these canals have been managed in the Phoenix area from their beginnings to the present day. The main argument is that in the post WWII period and at the height of modernist development practices the professional treatment of canals was fundamentally changed which has had huge implications for the growth and development of the region. This coincided with a shift from a primarily agricultural economy to a diversified economy driven by post WWII urban development. As the agricultural landscape was replaced with low density single family housing developments the systems of canals became subservient to the role of the street and the automobile in the growing urban metropolis as a driver of urban form. The canals became a hidden piece of infrastructure, and while they remained vital to the growing population they were no longer a dominant feature in the urban landscape. The role of the canals has been slowly changing as modernist ideology wanes and as new attitudes and values develop within the urban population. Part of this is being driven by an increased awareness of the precarious existence in a desert city that depends on a reliable source of water.

SESSION 3H: Mestizo Urbanism: The Shaping of Mexican/American Cities in the Far West

Chair: Dell Upton, University of California, Los Angeles

Comment: Dell Upton, University of California, Los Angeles

Building the Borders of the Public Good: Shorelines, City Limits, and Boundaries in San-Diego-Tijuana

Erica Lee, University of California, Berkeley

Where have cities historically located the limits of “the public good”? This paper will examine where and how American urbanities living at the U.S.- Mexico border determined the limits of the public good as they transformed a remote trade post into the burgeoning border city of San Diego-Tijuana from the late 1860s through the first three decades of the twentieth century. It will narrate the story of three spaces in which Mexican and American laws, customs, and actors challenged and hardened what came to be understood as the borders of the public good: the border between the land and water, the border between city and unincorporated environs, and the border between the U.S. and Mexican national territories. Each of these

borderlands was shaped by contested ideas of what defined the public good of the city, where it ended, and what should be sacrificed in order to protect it.

As these boundaries were shaped and reshaped in law, policy, and local practice, they came to transform the spatial and social landscape of the greater San Diego – Tijuana metropolis. Inhabitants of the city used both Mexican and Anglo-American legal and spatial traditions as well as international treaties between the two countries to challenge the public trust doctrine that enshrined the waterways of the city for public use. Local elites and women leading local benevolent societies exploited the boundary of the city to establish refugee camps that were just beyond the responsibility of the public during the violence of the Mexican Revolution. Finally, local officials and city-builders battled with federal agencies in their attempts to soften the line that separated Mexico from the U.S. to build cross-border infrastructure and increase the flow of traffic, resources and trade between the two halves of the cross-border city and the valley. In these ways, both Mexican and American ideas and actors together shaped what would be understood as within and beyond the bounds of the public good. Out of such local contests and movements emerged the city's slums, private wharves, crucial transportation connections, water infrastructure and enduring struggles over the exactly what should be reserved on behalf of the public and what should be excepted and expelled.

Constructing the Mestizo Landscape of San Francisco in the 1850's

Mary P. Ryan, Johns Hopkins University

Urban historians provide a critical counterpoint to the myth of the America West as a wide open space progressively transformed into an Anglo American frontier. Pioneers of city planning history such as John Reys challenged that homogeneous portrait of the region by cataloging the Spanish tradition of urban design with its characteristic built environment of missions, presidios, pueblos, plazas and ranchos. Beyond recognizing the Hispanic and Mexican imprint on the landscape of California, this paper will argue that the west-coast cities were shaped and reshaped by a complicated collaboration between immigrants of many origins, from Mexico, Europe, Asia and the Eastern United States. In order to illustrate the syncretic process that shaped the west coast city this paper will focus on the historical construction of three iconic spaces in the city of San Francisco, each of which took its distinctive form in the middle of the 19th century. They are: a public square that is now the center of Chinatown, the city's famously schizoid street grid, and Golden Gate Park. These three different landscape features were all products of a similar vernacular method of city planning, worked out not so much in the minds of architects and engineers as in a complicated and contentious political process. Descendants of the first Mexicans who settled the San Francisco Peninsula in the 18th century as well as Americans and Europeans who immigrated into Alta California before and after the Gold Rush all had a stake in the contest to take control of the land and convert it into the urban pastiche of private property and a few public spaces. The battle was waged within the legal and governmental limits set by international law, such as the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States Supreme Court, and most powerfully by local governments such as the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. The streets, squares and parks of the city still bear the scars and the triumphs of these battles and remind us that American urban plans are worked out as political struggles conducted in city halls and courthouses.

Palaces and Porches, Silver and Gold: The Spaces of Labor and Leisure on Colorado's Tortilla Curtain

Adam Adrian Thomas, Johns Hopkins University and Historitecture, Denver, Colorado

Crossing Colorado's high desert somewhere in the forty miles between Colorado Springs and Pueblo is a powerful cultural, economic, and political border locals refer to as "the Tortilla Curtain." It is a racial fault line that overlays a dramatic change in topography and climate. This paper challenges perceptions of Pueblo as a traditionally Mexican city and the Tortilla Curtain as a legacy the United States-Mexican boundary at the Arkansas River. Instead, the origins of this line trace back to the late nineteenth century as a boundary between two emerging urban areas and the division of spaces of labor and leisure. The paper argues that the significant differences in the spatial arrangements and built environments of these cities can be traced to two of the most unusual buildings ever constructed in the state: the Colorado Mineral Palace, in Pueblo, and Cragmor Sanatorium, in Colorado Springs. Opening in 1891, the gigantic Mineral Palace was a temple of populism, a space Queen Silver literally and figuratively reigned over. Here was a space open for free silver rallies and labor gatherings. Situated within the awe-inspiring vistas of Austin Bluffs, north of downtown Colorado Springs, Cragmor Sanatorium, also known as the Sun Palace, began in 1905 as a collection of cottages for wealthy tuberculosis patients. The main building, with its opulent private rooms and porches, was completed in 1914, and became the model sanatorium. This was a space of exclusivity and privilege fueled by pro-gold Easterners who came to dominate the city's culture, politics, and economy. But the legacies of both buildings differed. While the "modernized Egyptian" architecture of the Mineral Palace failed to catch on, the building propelled the interior focus of Pueblo's spaces of labor, places where natural resources became manmade products, and constricted the development of parks and boulevards in the industrial city. Cragmor, on the other hand, contributed to the emergence of a distractive vernacular style that defined Colorado Springs as it embraced the natural environment as the site of leisure, leading to development of one of the most extensive park systems in the West. These spaces helped propel and support zones of labor and leisure that turned Colorado Springs into a renowned resort of the wealthy, white elite and Pueblo into one of the West's greatest industrial centers and most ethnically diverse cities—one as a place to revere natural resources and the other to consume them. When racialized in the twentieth century, this labor-leisure divide worked to delineate the Anglo Rocky Mountain West from the Hispanic Southwest.

SESSION 3J: New Perspectives on Urban Renewal

AICP CM CREDITS [pending approval]

Chair: Mark Rose, Florida Atlantic University

Comment: Mark Rose, Florida Atlantic University

Developing a State-Wide Perspective on Urban Renewal in Kentucky

Douglas R. Appler, University of Kentucky

This research uses a historical HUD data set, the Urban Renewal Directory of June 1974, to begin developing a framework for the exploration of urban renewal activities in the state of Kentucky. Scholars have identified a need for urban renewal research to expand beyond the purely local perspective and to find ways to contextualize the local experience by developing data that can be generalized to a larger scale. The lack of widely available datasets for urban renewal activities complicates this process, but the Urban Renewal Directory remains an undervalued resource. As is often the case for historical data sets, there are limitations to what questions can be asked using this data. There are, for example, no data related to the neighborhoods that were destroyed, or the people who lived there prior to demolition. What the Directory does contain, however, is a nationwide list of projects funded using Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, including Urban Renewal Projects, General Neighborhood Renewal Plans, Feasibility Surveys, Code Enforcement Projects, Demolition Projects, Community Renewal Programs, and Demonstration Programs between 1950 and 1974. This paper will demonstrate how the information contained within the Urban Renewal Directory of 1974 can be used to develop much needed perspective for any number of urban renewal research questions. Supplementing this data with other archival sources, this paper will explore how urban renewal funds were used within the predominantly rural state of Kentucky. It will explore the geographic distribution of the different programs throughout the state, with a particular exploration of how the program was used in the eastern, Appalachian region of the state. It will clarify the size of the communities receiving urban renewal funds, and where possible it will link the information from the Directory with the Workable Programs developed by the communities to provide more detail about particular projects and the neighborhoods that where they targeted. Ultimately this research will demonstrate that, at least within the context of this state, the term “urban renewal” can be seen as something of a misnomer.

The Gruen Plan and the Defeat of Federal Urban Renewal in Fort Worth

Robert B. Fairbanks, University of Texas at Arlington

Although much has been written about Victor Gruen’s failed plan to make downtown Fort Worth pedestrian friendly by banning the automobile, little scholarship has appeared about what happened to planning in Fort Worth after the Gruen Plan. For instance did the Gruen Plan stall or accelerate later plans to improve downtown or respond to the needs of the larger city? Did the Gruen Plan’s fate encourage or discourage the city’s effort to secure federal money for urban renewal or additional public housing?

This paper seeks to correct some of those omissions and explore the numerous consequences of the failed Gruen plan, including the detrimental impact it had on federally sponsored urban renewal in the city. As support for the Gruen plan withered after the defeat of a bond package necessary for carrying out that plan, local officials turned their attention to the needs of the larger city. Indeed, Joe Cooper, city director of urban renewal, identified eight substantial areas in Fort Worth that required attention. The first area targeted for slum clearance and rehabilitation using federal money was a black neighborhood in the Lake Como area, about two miles from downtown. Despite the support of civic leaders and local newspapers, voters turned down the city's proposal for federally sponsored urban renewal not once but twice in a state mandated referendum. These defeats kept city officials from securing federal urban renewal money. Although the renewal of downtown did eventually take place, it was done without the help of the federal government.

After briefly exploring the failed efforts to secure the Gruen Plan, the paper will then examine how the city's inability to secure voter approval for the bonds necessary to carry out the plan not only empowered opponents of federal urban renewal programs, but encouraged a new type of citizen engagement (some might call it urban parochialism) that made federally sponsored urban renewal almost impossible in this city. The public response to both the Gruen Plan and the urban renewal proposals suggests that the era of abiding by professional planners' recommendations and cowering to the whims of civic leaders may have come to end in Fort Worth. But it would also challenge the very idea that there was a so-called public interest. Both would have consequences for future planning efforts in the city.

“We’re Creating While We’re Destroying”: The Hidden History of Opposition to the Nation’s Largest Downtown Urban Renewal Project

J. Mark Souther, Cleveland State University

My paper will mine previously unexamined sources that shed new light on the remarkable extent of opposition to Cleveland's Erieview, the largest downtown renewal plan of its time. To date, Erieview has received little scholarly attention, all of it focused on the plan's seemingly misguided, I. M. Pei-designed International Style ambitions or its failure to stem the tide of suburbanization that weakened downtown Cleveland. Conceived in a secret meeting of leading industrialists in 1959 as a last-ditch effort to reinvigorate downtown after the recent, dramatic failure of three high-profile downtown projects, Erieview, when it came to light in 1960, was a surprise to the city planning commission (which had just gone on record predicting only incremental downtown development over the ensuing 30 years) and an affront to downtown merchants and real estate interests.

It is well known that Erieview angered those whose businesses were targeted for demolition and those whose interests lay in Cleveland's aging inner-city neighborhoods, but the project also raised the specter of the very downtown decline it was ostensibly designed to avert. Importantly, many leaders who went on record supporting the project admitted privately that they had serious concerns about its impact on downtown. Their concerns included fears that building so many new offices and housing units might depress existing downtown real estate and, in the process, draw office workers away from buildings nearer to Euclid Avenue, thereby harming business in the street's many retail stores. Some went so far as to say that Erieview represented a separate, competing downtown. Many complained that, because it was the brainchild of the growth coalition, the plan aimed to revive the city's image through

enticing new corporate headquarters to Cleveland at the expense of the livelihood of those who had toiled for decades to build businesses downtown. Had real estate interests had a hand in planning, they argued, Erieview would never have been proposed. My research also uncovers a plethora of other, seldom openly voiced concerns: that soot from nearby factories, Clevelanders' purported aversion to downtown living, and federal requirements for open housing would doom the project to failure.

In short, my paper moves beyond the well-known charges that urban renewal unfolded at the expense of viable neighborhoods. Erieview not only crushed thriving small businesses and diverted resources from parts of the city whose residents had been promised renewal (to the point that the federal government withheld renewal funds from Cleveland in 1966), it also sowed further division among already fractured downtown interests even as many of these interests championed it as a welcome transformation of the city's core. And, significantly, this discord developed almost immediately after the plan's announcement in 1960, even before the first aging buildings fell to the wrecking ball.

Liberal Protestants and Urban Planning in Mid-twentieth Century America

Mark Wild, California State University, Los Angeles

The paper examines the liberal Protestant encounter with urban planning in during the mid-twentieth century. Suburbanization had punishing consequences for cities and threatened the already tenuous presence of liberal Protestants there. Planning concepts and, later, renewal – in both its religious and secular dimensions – promised a solution to these problems. Many renewalists, those clergy and laypeople who viewed deteriorating urban neighborhoods as an opportunity to restore Church unity, initially embraced city planning and urban renewal as a secular corollary to their work. But the interaction between church bodies, government, and inner city parishioners over its implementation exacerbated tensions within liberal Protestantism. Many who initially endorsed urban renewal came to conclude that its results did not match their own objectives. By supporting challenges to redevelopment from African Americans, Latinos, and other urban residents, renewalists criticized the Church for what they believed to be complicit in the degradation of Christian culture and the urban environment. This history demonstrates the mutual influence of city planning and urban renewal – both as practiced and as theorized – on different elements of society. Church renewalists engaged with urban planners interpreted both theological and secular concepts through their own experiences with city populations, Church bodies, government, and redevelopment agencies. Their subsequent actions prompted mainline denominational leaders to support, for a time at least, ministries geared more towards indigenous community development. These ministries and their strategies comprised an important part of the coalition that critiqued centralized planning strategies beginning in the 1950s and 1960s. At the same time, they largely abandoned the centralized church planning projects that had occupied much of their attention during the 1940s and 1950s.

SESSION 3K: Urban History Association Board Meeting

CLOSED MEETING

PAPER SESSION 4: SATURDAY, NOV. 7, 8:30 - 10:15 AM

SESSION 4A: The Evolving Role of Planning in Transnational Context

Chair: Vinit Mukhija, University of California, Los Angeles

Comment: Vinit Mukhija, University of California, Los Angeles

Early Restrictions: Urban Planning and Policy in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Saint-Louis (Senegal)

Dwight Carey, University of California, Los Angeles

In 1659, the colonial governors of Saint-Louis, Senegal envisioned a town that quickly became the largest French enclave on the African continent. A provisional plan for Saint-Louis catalyzed this process. This drawing depicted a European fort separated from African compound houses that stood on a different sandbar within the surrounding estuary. Nearly one hundred years later, French leader, Pruneau de Pommegorge, devised a similar plan. This time, Saint-Louis appeared as an orderly encampment organized around the French fort and devoid of African houses; once again, African structures sat on a neighboring sandbar. Yet the separation of African and European architecture was also a matter of legal policy. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the French colonial government outlawed the construction of compound houses in the town. Previous scholars, particularly, Mark Hinchman and Jay Edwards, have argued that seventeenth and eighteenth-century Senegal witnessed the relatively fluid blending of African and European architecture. My paper, however, challenges this notion. I examine the ways in which urban planning and urban rules worked against architectural mixture in early Saint-Louis. Furthermore, I contend that plans and subsequent policies were the first mechanisms to secure French power through figuring France as an entity with absolute control over the placement of African homes. Thus, I critique the role of urban planning in the entrenchment of French authority in West Africa. In considering the initial plans for Saint-Louis, I elucidate the antecedents for the systems of segregation that defined French colonialism during the twentieth century. Therefore, this paper addresses the impact of early colonial urbanism on French West Africa, specifically, and on the imperial world, as a whole.

Metropolitan Global Delhi: A World Heritage City? Spaces of Planning and Capital

Shraddha Navalli, University of California, Berkeley

The Initiative to enlist Delhi, as a UNESCO World Heritage City is an outcome of failed preservation and urban planning policies. The 20th century capital city of Delhi was a witness to multiple scales of urban developments, from the building of the capital city of New Delhi in 1911-1931, to the colonial scripted preservation policies of Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). The capital city's preservation policies challenged head-on the rapid urban transformations produced by the forces of liberalization at the end of the 20th century seeing a rise of boutique *bazaars* (markets) within heritage spaces, urban renewal developments nudging shoulder to shoulder with glass tower offices and shopping malls.

In 1999, the Delhi Chapter of the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) and Delhi Development Authority published a list of 1,208 heritage buildings and 27 heritage precincts in Delhi. This was the beginning of re-conceptualizing heritage in India's capital city. What was enumerating among historians and heritage professionals was the absence of any city in India titled as a world heritage city. Nominating Delhi—as a “World Heritage City”, contests the default situation of the 20th century planning of historic cities in India argues A.G.K Menon, convener of INTACH Delhi Chapter. This paper explores heritage, through – urban renewal of Mughal heritage, and the revival of colonial New Delhi.

First part of this paper examines 20th century layout of New Delhi- specifically the planning of New Delhi in the 1930s, through historic maps from the National Archives of India. This paper discusses the efforts to revive, and redevelop the center of Colonial Delhi. The second part of the paper builds on the dual project of Nizamuddin Urban Renewal Initiative in 2007 as conserving heritage and improving the quality of life of residents in the *basti* (village) through joint venture between Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) and multiple municipal authorities. This project is the first of its kind to combine conservation with environmental and socio- economic development while working with local communities and stakeholders.

The paper builds on two entangled questions. How does the enactment of the world heritage city inform us about the 21st century planning of Indian cities and its engagement with the people? Second, what are the ways in which the multiple historiographies of the city become the dominant form, and are entangled with the everyday cultural and social spaces of the metropolitan Delhi? The paper does not suggest a new typology, rather situates along these questions an inquiry and possibility of heritage, urban cities and planning itself as an intertwined movement. This paper through the theoretical understanding of the city as a space of market and change, and an urban *mélange* of revival, renewal and redevelopment illustrates an intertwined approach to planning and heritage.

Landscape, Progressivism, and the Case for State Power in the Early Twentieth Century

Garrett Dash Nelson, University of Wisconsin, Madison

The political consilience between urban planners of the early twentieth century and the broad, multi-party movement gathered under the title Progressivism is well-documented by historians. However, this is often depicted as a relationship wherein planners came to reshape their professional practices and technical aims in synchronicity with a changing political climate which was making new kinds of regulatory intervention possible for the first time. Such a “correlationist” hypothesis understates the case. Planners were not merely absorbed within a Progressive ideology which surrounded and enabled them; rather, planners were crucial players in making the case for the dramatic renegotiation between individual rights and collective action executed by the state which was at the core of Progressivism's attempt to refashion American politics. Planners' fundamental recognition of the inherently *public* dimensions of their profession—necessitated by the ways in which the properties of “landscape” eluded the clutches of *laissez-faire* capitalism—put them in a position to advocate for state power through both technical and ethical registers.

This paper examines the close relationship between planners and various apparatuses of ideological Progressivism—political parties, elected officials, reform publishers, and citizens' movements—in early twentieth century Boston. It specifically focuses on ways in which the urban landscape became rhetorically framed as a communal asset which could not be

effectively managed through capitalist social relations, thus necessitating a reworked politics of administrative authority. In doing so, planners transformed the *noblesse oblige* of earlier landscape architects into the *état oblige* of the bureaucratic state. Such politics often ran confusingly across borders of class, culture, and geography, forming alliances between Romantic socialists, suburban preservationists, union bosses, and others. Yet planning and planners repeatedly appeared at the center of such campaigns, consistently arguing that the changing material-environmental and socio-political realities of the modern world demanded a new kind of state power to control them.

SESSION 4B: Regulating Racialized Space in the American City

AICP CM CREDITS [pending approval]

Chair: Lily Geismer, Claremont McKenna College

Comment: Lily Geismer, Claremont McKenna College

The Incendiary City: Fire Law and Racial Policing in Early 20th Century Seattle

Megan Asaka, University of California, Riverside

This paper looks at a little-known municipal law passed in 1911 by Seattle's city council that granted the Fire Department unprecedented authority in preventing the outbreak and spread of fires. Part of a broader Progressive-era movement to modernize Seattle's built environment, the law created a team within the Fire Department devoted solely to preventing fires, which included inspections and surveillance, doling out fines and fees, condemning buildings, and even arrests. As this paper will show, fire inspectors did not treat all buildings and their inhabitants equally, but used the powers of the law to single out and harass Japanese hotel operators as they began to spread outside of Skid Road, the vice district in which they had historically been confined, into new areas of the city. Fire inspectors viewed the growing presence of Japanese-run hotels in Seattle as a threat to public safety and went to great lengths to contain and control this spatial mobility.

In tracing the transformation of fire law as well as its social ramifications, this paper highlights an overlooked aspect of urban history. While a real concern in most cities during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the threat of fire also functioned as a compelling rationale for the policing of undesirable or troublesome people and the physical spaces they inhabited. Though Seattle leaders and officials touted the fire law as a progressive and forward-thinking measure, in practice it worked more often to maintain spatial exclusion and preserve the status quo.

"Just Keep A-pushing and A-shoving and You Will Shove Those Black Clouds Away": Jim Crow Schools and Urban Planning in Baltimore, 1900–1917

Emily Lieb, Seattle University

For almost a generation now, historians of American cities have been making the argument that New Deal federal housing policy created what scholars call a "dual housing market" that explicitly linked the preservation of neighborhood segregation to the preservation

of property values, manufacturing a world in which integration really was economically untenable for white people. Before that, city planners in the north and in the south devised zoning ordinances that segregated “incompatible” neighbors from one another, ordinances that reflected demographic geographies and land-use patterns established in the 1910s by privately-enforced “restrictive covenants” attached to deeds and land contracts. But in Baltimore, public policy designed to protect white property at the expense of black citizenship has an even longer history. Starting at the turn of the 20th century, laws that explicitly segregated urban space—first schools, then neighborhoods—both reflected and shaped a housing market in which property *values* trumped property *rights*.

Since 1872, when the city opened its first school for “colored” pupils, black and white children attended legally separate schools, and neighborhood schools were a convenience reserved mostly for whites; African-Americans, wherever they lived, were restricted to a few hand-me-down buildings clumped near the city’s center. School policy held that white schools could be converted to black ones “when the neighborhoods in which such schools were situated became colored neighborhoods,” a guideline which offered little actual guidance. How should one define a “white” neighborhood or a “colored” one? What tipping point made one into the other?

My paper focuses on the ways in which laws segregating Baltimore’s public schools served as proxy, during the first decade of the 20th century, for laws segregating Baltimore’s neighborhoods. A grassroots “homeowners’ campaign” to prevent an activist School Board from converting old white schools or building new African-American ones was an essential precursor to the campaign in favor of residential-segregation ordinances after 1910. (In fact, the failure of the first campaign was the only reason the second one seemed necessary.) Using integration’s supposed threat to property values as a cudgel, West Baltimore’s whites did all they could to force public policy to work for their interests alone. What else, after all, was Jim Crow for?

The paper draws from my book manuscript, “The City’s Dying and They Don’t Know Why”: Baltimore, 1910–1980 (in progress).

“Manufacturing Criminals”: The Creation of Baltimore’s Racialized Criminal Justice System, 1898-1909

Dennis P. Halpin, Virginia Tech

My paper, “Manufacturing Criminals”: The Creation of Baltimore’s Racialized Criminal Justice System, 1898-1909 focuses on the racialization of crime and public spaces during the 1890s and early 1900s using Baltimore as a case study. This study examines how city officials, police magistrates, citizens, and the press racialized crimes to neutralize perceived black political power. As African Americans moved to Baltimore following Reconstruction they successfully expanded civil rights in the arenas of law, education, and public transportation. Then in 1895, Baltimore experienced a political revolt after voters, including many African Americans, ousted the Democratic political machine that had dominated state and city politics for the better part of three decades. Segregationists began to deploy notions of black criminality to counter some of these gains. They increasingly conflated race and crime to justify the increased police surveillance, arrest, and incarceration of African Americans.

This paper contributes to the growing historiography that studies the intersection of race, crime, policing, and the building of the carceral state in the city. My study examines

debates over race, crime, and criminality in two types of urban space: the conceptual space of the city's newspapers and the physical spaces of urban streets. Segregationists used the public forum of the newspaper to conflate race and crime through letters to the editors, political speeches, advertisements, and editorials. They then used these ideas to reorder public spaces by restricting accessibility to city streets and neighborhoods. When discourse crossed from the conceptual space of the papers to the streets, it discredited African Americans as citizens, led to higher rates of incarceration, and changed the trajectory of civil rights activism.

SESSION 4C: Defining and Designing Public Space in Los Angeles

Chair: David Ulin, University of California, Riverside

Comment: Elaine Lewinnek, California State University, Fullerton

Designing for Development: Urban Design in the Era of the Community Redevelopment Agency, Los Angeles, 1968-2012

Orly Linovski, University of Manitoba

There has been the criticism that urban design is increasingly being used as an entrepreneurial strategy for cities, transformed into a key component for attracting outside investment. These criticisms have been largely targeted at public sector urban design practices, without acknowledging the role of redevelopment agencies in creating both city-wide and project-based urban design policies. The Community Redevelopment Agency of Los Angeles (CRA/LA) was actively engaged in urban design activities in the city, with much greater capacity and oversight than other public agencies, despite questions as to how the tensions between growth and public interest would be managed. While redevelopment agencies had important public functions in providing affordable housing and negotiating community benefits agreements, the public value of their urban design projects is often decidedly less clear.

This research examines the role of the CRA/LA in urban design practices and policies since the first Design for Development plans were enacted in the 1960s. Drawing on extensive interviews and document analysis, this work demonstrates that while early urban design plans focused on improving the public realm, creating common amenities and a holistic approach to urban design, latter plans were premised largely on stimulating economic growth and development. This shift within the CRA/LA, as well as in the larger context of entrepreneurial city governance, is explored in depth to understand the negotiations between the public purposes of urban design and the desire for increased growth and development.

Resistance at the Trench: The 101 Freeway as Public Space

Linda C. Samuels, University of Arizona

The completion of the Civic Center link (as the 101 freeway through downtown Los Angeles was called when it opened in December of 1951) created a new boundary to downtown Los Angeles, separating the city's historical origin point, El Pueblo de Los Angeles, and its regional transit node, Union Station, to the north, from the growing commercial, government, and cultural development south of the freeway. Though technically and formally crossed by the lines of the street grid, this 'trench' site – the quarter mile of freeway between

Hill and Alameda streets where the 101 dips below grade – is an inhospitable physical and cultural gap in an area where increasing attention and investment have been focused for over three decades. The site is a combination of difficult and highly charged conditions: one of the top five worst traffic-clogged sections of road in the entire country; cutting through some of downtown's most valuable yet under-utilized property; segregating the ethnically diverse populations centered in Chinatown, Little Tokyo, and Olvera Street (the historically Mexican center of the city); separating some of the city's most significant landmarks and nodes; and contributing to a stalemate in redevelopment in an area of downtown in need of housing, basic retail, and public space. Regardless of the persistent inclusion of improved connectivity at this site on every city plan and urban proposal for downtown Los Angeles since the 1980s, the trench remains resistant to reinvention.

In the span of almost thirty years, six projects have been proposed to bridge the gap; none have come to fruition. Three of significant design merit were selected through international design competitions, including the most recent which is still in its earliest conceptual phases. The previous two historically significant efforts, one beginning in the late 1980s and a second in the late 1990s, centered on the West Coast Gateway and the 101 Pedestrian Bridge design competitions respectively. Each competition expanded the agenda beyond physical north/south connectivity to include programmatic and philosophical objectives of cultural and spatial connectivity by transforming the freeway site into culturally-significant civic space. Using the competition objectives, selected finalists and winners, this essay analyzes these proposals and why they failed to be implemented in context of the larger planning objectives, politics, agency relationships, media portrayal, economic contexts and disciplinary discourses of the era. The findings of that analysis are then cross-examined through the study of a successful (i.e. implemented) project on a different site but with similar infrastructural demands. Lastly, the conclusions from that research are used to assess the newest proposal for the trench site – the redevelopment of Union Station by Gruen and Grimshaw.

In the larger sense, this critical case is useful in the greater assessment of infrastructure's renewed potential to contribute more productively to our civic realm – and the barriers that may keep planners, engineers, designers and politicians from achieving that objective. With limited space and resources and the recent resurgence of urban cores, the usefulness of disruptive, outmoded, or obsolete infrastructure is naturally being questioned. Next generation infrastructure – projects that are multi-functional, socially productive, sensitive to environmental impacts, technologically advanced, local and adaptable – relies on understanding infrastructure not as modernist conduit of efficiency but as experiential component of a larger urban network. These two projects – spanning the struggles for the neoliberal city, the rise of postmodern urbanism, and the emergence of the LA School – serve as vehicles to explore the multi- generational, multi-agency efforts entailed in reinventing the most resistant, and often most critical, urban moments.

Public Space and the Images of Urban Design: Downtown Los Angeles since Kevin Lynch

Tridib Banerjee, University of Southern California

Meredith Drake Reitan, University of Southern California

At the exact mid-point of the last century, Massachusetts Institute of Technology planning professor Kevin Lynch undertook a study of the public image of downtown Los Angeles. His research, published as “The Image of the City” in 1960 had a major influence on

contemporary thinking about city design. According to Lynch, the visual form of downtown Los Angeles proved to be of low quality. Only two major “nodes” appeared significant. These nodes also happened to be two important public spaces— the Los Angeles Plaza and Pershing Square —long considered the icons of “Latino” and “Anglo” Los Angeles.

This paper offers a review of the many urban design and public space schemes that have been created since Lynch’s study. In the late sixties a report on the “Visual Environment of Los Angeles”, inspired by Lynch’s work, and prepared with his advice suggested a park over the 101 Freeway. In 1972, a plan for downtown prepared by the consulting firm of Wallace, McHarg and Todd suggested various open space complexes in the southern part of downtown. Almost twenty years later, in the early nineties, a strategic plan for downtown was prepared by Stefano Polyzoides, a Pasadena based architect, in collaboration with New Urbanist firm of Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. The team proposed multiple open spaces connected by a system of “paseos.” While many of these schemes remained unrealized visions, a supply of privately created public spaces as corporate office plazas became available through the efforts of the now defunct Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency. Concentrated mainly in the Bunker Hill business and financial district they are not truly public spaces, they are only presumptively public. A significant improvement in public space has occurred recently through the conversion of a formally inaccessible and underused open space between the city’s civic buildings to a well-designed area, now called Grand Park, financed by the developers of the forthcoming Grand Avenue redevelopment project.

This history of open space development in downtown Los Angeles allows us to explore the role of the public realm in future urban spaces. Shouldn’t the public realm -- the urban commons of which public space is a part -- be the principal protagonist in downtown urban design? The paper will conclude by considering which new and existing public spaces may become important nodes, paths, and landmarks to organize the public image of the future. Keywords: Public Space, Kevin Lynch, Urban Design, Downtown Los Angeles References: Lynch, Kevin “Image of the City” 1960 Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press

SESSION 4D: Sunbelt Suburbia: Design, Planning, and Preservation

Chair: Mary Corbin Sies, University of Maryland

Comment: Mary Corbin Sies, University of Maryland

The Modernique Homes: Valuing Modern Architecture in Postwar Los Angeles Tract Housing

Liz Falletta, University of Southern California

Los Angeles’ housing history is distinguished by both innovative design and lucrative development. Los Angeles landlords, builders and real estate developers built a wide variety of housing types in large numbers throughout the first half of the twentieth century, from house courts, to fourflats, to tracts of single-family homes. At the same time, Los Angeles architects pushed design boundaries with projects now recognized as important housing precedents, including Irving Gill’s Horatio West Court, Rudolph Schindler’s Mackey Apartments and Gregory Ain’s Modernique Homes. Because designers and developers evaluate success differently, however, it is generally assumed that innovative design and lucrative development are mutually exclusive, i.e., that high design is not profitable and profit dilutes design integrity. But is this

always the case? In what ways does the real estate market impact housing design and design innovation impact housing markets? And what role should urban planning play in addressing perceived market failures when either profit or design interests are taken to the extreme?

To better illuminate these relationships, I performed a cross-disciplinary analysis of significant Los Angeles housing design precedents and their related development types. Though the projects studied have similar physical characteristics and are located in close proximity to one another, historians rarely look at them side-by-side. Consequently, these development type vs. design precedent pairings are usually viewed as maximally different, i.e., it is presumed that if projects excel from the point of view of one discipline involved in housing production, they necessarily fail from the perspective of others. This study examines whether this perceived divergence is actually the case and asks what can be learned from looking at these works comparatively rather than in isolation: (1) Do these examples support disciplinary expectations or contradict them? (2) Do the qualities that make these projects worthy of study in one housing discipline necessarily detract from the project's ability to address the values of the other disciplines involved in housing production? (3) Do these projects employ strategies that are valuable from more than one disciplinary perspective?

This paper presents the results of a comparative case study of the Modernique Homes, designed by architect Gregory Ain and developed by B.M. Edelman in 1948, and the adjacent single-family tract to the east built in 1950. The Modernique Homes sought to improve upon typical tract development by creating flexible houses on large lots with shared landscaping. These advancements, however, were out-of-sync with the surrounding market and the project was a financial failure. Land set aside for a planned second phase had to be sold to a conventional developer, which was quickly developed in the more customary manner with individual houses on small independent lots grouped around cul-de-sacs. Though the Mar Vista Tract represented an "enlightened" approach to development, it unfortunately overreached and couldn't meet the minimum standards for development profit.

Sixty years later, with interest in mid-century design high and a Historic Preservation Overlay Zone in place, the Modernique Homes are selling at a higher cost per square foot than those in the adjacent tract for the first time. Research is on-going, but this case study begins to demonstrate the limits of design innovation in market rate development, yet the important role such innovations play in shaping future housing preferences. The Modernique Homes were a real estate development failure in the short term, but an eventual real estate investment success in the long term, suggesting that above a minimum standard for development profit, elongating the timeline for project evaluation matters.

Planning and Preserving the Mid-century Subdivision: The Case of Pueblo Gardens

Clare Robinson, University of Arizona

Pueblo Gardens in Tucson, Arizona was among the first modern postwar subdivision in the United States. Bankrolled by builder Del Webb in 1948, the young architect A. Quincy Jones transformed what would have been a standard FHA-approved development into a mid-century modern neighborhood. Being among the first-of-its-kind, the subdivision contributed to the planning and logic of affordable modern tract homes and the marketing necessary to sell them to middle-class families. The neighborhood featured paved streets, rolled curbs, and sidewalks. The homes had floor-to-ceiling windows, private outdoor patios, open plans, low-sloped roofs and carports. Hedgerows, which crossed property lines, were to create public and private areas

for the families and community as a whole. To sell the community and the modest homes in it, photographers crafted images of white middle-class- looking families enjoying the benefits of modern design, plate glass, and outdoor living.

Since the postwar period, the demographic makeup of Pueblo Gardens has shifted from middle to working class and now has a greater mix of ethnicities, as well as higher crime rates and foreclosures. The alternations made to the lots and houses by homeowners and landlords have been incremental but point out that the architectural features celebrated by modern architects have been replaced by historically derivative or readily available materials and architectural elements. Gone are many floor-to- ceiling plate glass windows and shared hedgerows. In their place are casement windows and chain-link fences.

This paper considers the broader context of Pueblo Gardens' decline, which was shaped by urban renewal and policies that supported suburban sprawl in Tucson, and analyzes the demographic and physical changes of the neighborhood. It argues that the transformation of Pueblo Gardens challenges the ethos of mid-century modern architecture and its preservation, which depend upon images of immaculate modern interiors and white middle-class families living leisurely outdoors, and offers a vernacular view of mid-century modern houses and subdivisions that instead embrace architectural adaptability and resident identities. Of the 700 plus structures that make up Pueblo Gardens, the core 255 residences have been evaluated to determine the number homes that contribute character-defining features for the neighborhood's potential conservation under the City of Tucson's historic preservation plan. The majority of structures studied sympathize with Jones' groundbreaking design – they retain his signature plot plan, rooflines, and many of the original exterior materials – but few retain the architectural characteristics unique to the subdivision and more have significant alternations. Given current practices for the designation of historic districts, Pueblo Gardens may be ineligible for conservation, but its consideration posits questions about the interpretation of modern architecture and the preservation of mid-century modern subdivisions when they are working-class, diverse neighborhoods.

Learning from Suburban-style Retirement Communities in the Sunbelt: Sun City and The Villages

June Williamson, The City College of New York

For many decades, millions of middle class White American couples have retired, sold their homes “up north,” and migrated to vast and fast-growing age-restricted developments in the Sunbelt south. Images of leisured golden years in the sun, playing golf, independently living free of the drudgery of shoveling snow have dominated the marketing literature. Sun City, Arizona, founded in 1960, and The Villages near Orlando, Florida, which has grown at a remarkably accelerated pace from the 1990s to today, are two of the largest, most prominent examples, developed respectively by Del Webb (1899-1974) and H. Gary Morse (1936-2014). Sun City and Sun City West had a combined 2010 population of 62,000 while the population of The Villages – which spans four counties – recently passed the 100,000 mark. Both are comprised of 97% non-Hispanic White residents.

Compelling design and planning features of Sun City were the range of dwelling types on offer and the provision of a suite of amenities supporting an “active adult” lifestyle – golf courses, pools, and recreation centers. The Villages, which began as a rural mobile home park, adopted this model in increments, and then added a new innovation in 1994: a walkable town

center with a central plaza, themed on Ponce de Leon's Fountain of Youth. Dedicated infrastructure for golf carts and biking was constructed, and has become more extensive and complex with each new phase of development. Two new town centers followed, each with a different historical theme expressed in the building façade treatments, scenographic decorative features, street names, and backstory told in faux historical plaques. The design shift from the modernist sensibilities of Sun City to the traditionalist pastiche of The Villages' downtowns provokes intrigue, particularly as the majority of late 20th and early 21st century retirees are increasingly unlikely to have personal memories of such settings from their youth.

This paper compares and contrasts the development stages and evolving design logics of these two places, seeking insight into the present-day urban design and planning challenge of retrofitting suburbia for the large demographic cohort of soon-to-be-retiring Americans. Will we see more of the same approach, still concentrated in the Sunbelt and broadened to attract a greater range of demographic niches by, for example, catering to race, ethnicity or sexual orientation, as well as to age? Or, can we discern seeds of a shift away from age-restricted communities and towards the retrofitting and cultivation of existing suburbs to more robustly, and affordably, support aging-in-community?

There is a confluence of opportunity for the latter in the concurrent aging of the Baby Boom generation and the physical aging of the mid- to late-20th century suburbs in which they reside and work: low-density car-dependent landscapes of detached houses, strip malls and office parks. Some suburban comparative retrofit-for-aging examples include: Northgate/Thornton Place (Seattle), Lifelong Communities planning (Atlanta), and Wayzata Promenade (Minn.). The success of these and similar contemporary retrofits, however, may hinge on the incorporation of lessons from The Villages.

SESSION 4E: Planning and Obsolescence I

Chairs: Juan Rivero, Rutgers University, and Rachel Weber, University of Illinois at Chicago

Comment: Brent Ryan, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Passionate Preservations: DIY Approaches to the Reuse of Obsolete Places in the American Rustbelt City

Daniel Campo, Morgan State University

This paper chronicles and assesses grassroots efforts to preserve, reuse and enjoy iconic but economically obsolete structures and landscapes in the American Rustbelt. Using a variety of investigative strategies, it explores the physical and social landscapes of case study sites in Buffalo, Detroit and metropolitan Pittsburgh, including abandoned train stations, historic automobile factories, a former steel plant, a "campus" of concrete grain elevators, religious structures and single family houses characteristic of their respective cities. In examining the practices employed at these iconic and not-so-iconic sites, it considers forms of preservation devoid of major public sector funding and the market-based adaptive reuse strategies that are often ineffective in declining or weak market settings. Employing a range of new and revived tactics and strategies to repurpose vacant places, these preservations are driven by idiosyncratic collectives of residents, activists, artists, planners, architects, cultural entrepreneurs and local business owners. These groups coalesce around the shared desire to

conserve local landmarks and play an active role in the physical rebuilding of their cities. They form a growing and formidable agency of historic preservation activism, expertise and passion in cities where it is typically lacking. Their incremental and incomplete transformations are driven by an ethic that transcends both typical market-oriented targets (private sector profits or “pays-for-itself”) and the “fully restored” end states that are the goals of conventional preservation projects.

In an era of neoliberal governance, most major Rustbelt preservation projects are zealously promoted as catalysts of economic impacts that rationalize public investments in the face of sustained decline and fiscal austerity. If these initiatives represent preservation leveraged in hope of realizing broad and sustained economic activity, this paper argues that do-it-yourself projects are pursued for more intrinsic benefits and may provide an experience of Rustbelt heritage that is more playful, immediate, and broadly participatory than those at better capitalized sites. It is preservation pursued out of passion, where neither private nor public projected revenue flows form a guiding rationale. This paper also argues that these out-of-market, do-it-yourself practices represent a viable alternative to the publicly funded demolition and clearance initiatives championed by growth coalitions, which have generated little to no economic effect in the cities where they have been employed. Exploring the dichotomy between these publicly funded blight removal initiatives and smaller-scale, do-it-yourself reclamations in a patchwork landscape of both vacant and active places, this paper also seeks a middle ground for reforming the urban development and revitalization policies now in employed in these and other Rustbelt cities.

Loss by Another Name: Urban Conservation, the Abiding Presence of Destruction in American Urbanism

Randall Mason, University of Pennsylvania

This paper will lay out types of loss ?? destruction, iconoclasm, decay, obsolescence, innovation, landscape change – that have been integral to processes, practices and discourses of preservation. Without naturalizing or justifying decisions to intentionally destroy building of considerable cultural value, the paper intends to historicize actual instances of destruction, iconoclasm, as a corrective to the polemical tradition in preservation to demonize any loss. The intention of this reinterpretation is reframing “preservation” as more tellingly a matter of “conservation.”

Examples will include the design of memorials, episodes of planned urban change, historic preservation theory and practice, and the literatures on cultural landscape and collective memory – all considered in the American context, and historically as well as in contemporary use. Evidence will be drawn from archives, images and the scholarly/professional literatures touching on issues or urban preservation.

The Experience of Obsolescence: Preserving Heritage in Coney Island

Juan J. Rivero, Rutgers University

Urban redevelopment entails a negotiation of conflicting cultural claims about the value of neighborhoods. These disputes can center on the heritage value of local “landmarks” that some regard as disposable. Because heritage value does not inhere in the built environment and arises instead through a process of place-based identity formation, it cannot be dissociated

from questions of whose heritage it is and what this heritage is for. This paper examines a preservation controversy that arose in response to recent plans for the redevelopment of Coney Island, a longstanding amusement district in Brooklyn, and questions the centrality of community to the preservationists claims of heritage value.

Most participants in the Coney Island redevelopment process shared a sense of the area's historic stature. Some, however, felt that the City's plan failed to honor that history. Based on the critics arguments about local heritage and on their calls for historic landmark designations, one would expect a self-reinforcing relation between historic neighborhood structures and a local sense of communal identity. Interviews with the critics, however, reveal a different story. While critics did worry about the redevelopment threat to older buildings, few of them traced Coney Island's heritage value primarily to its built structures. Instead, they stressed a quality of experience—an encounter with difference along several dimensions—that they understood in opposition to contemporary life and development in New York City. This contrast casts an anachronistic glow on Coney Island and inspires in these critics a sense of the neighborhood's historical importance.

By shedding light on the origins and production of heritage value, this study contributes to our understanding of the contentiousness that surrounds the redevelopment of “historic” places. It also poses a challenge to preservation efforts that locate communities at the source of heritage value claims, bypassing the anterior question of how people experience places of “heritage.”

Obsoleting the Past: A Relational Approach to Creative Destruction in Chicago's Loop

Rachel Weber, University of Illinois at Chicago

Scanning the discourse of U.S. urban development policy would reveal “obsolescence” to be a close contender to “blight” as the most influential and misunderstood constructs of the last century. Conflating age and functionality, policy makers and real estate professionals have tended to stigmatize structures built during specific historical eras as “obsolete.” When they do, they breathe life into a concept with a long and troubled history. Writing in the 1920s and 1930s, for example, land economists such as Homer Hoyt and Frederick Babcock argued that buildings possessed innate life cycles, with the average life expectancies of building types ranging from twenty to thirty years. Their early treatises on valuation endowed the concept of obsolescence with a technical legitimacy and social efficacy. Ideas about natural building lives and narratives of obsolescence and modernity, with their stories about the irreparable damage that time and progress had wrought, have endured and are still used by brokers, city planners, and appraisers, who must weigh in on the very subjective notion of a property's true value. And yet there is little consensus about what obsolescence is and how it comes about. The actors who most frequently use the construct tend to treat obsolescence as an innate quality of a building or as a natural and accidental by-product of progress. In contrast, I would like to argue that obsolescence must be viewed relationally, i.e., as a diminution in a building's utility that results from specific and interrelated acts of new investment and disinvestment. The disagreement is not just a semantic one; correctly conceptualizing the causes of obsolescence will shed light on who should ultimately bear the cost of its remediation. As a case study I focus on office towers in Chicago's downtown, specifically how the buildings constructed during the 2000s helped to “obsolete” the marginally older offices from the previous boom of the 1970 and 1980s. In this low-growth situation, demand for new buildings was tapped from the

existing market. The majority of downtown tenants moved at least once during the boom, most to new construction in the West Loop. Far from being a natural process of creative destruction, tenants were incited to leave by the generous lease concessions, which their brokers helped negotiate, and by property tax dollars, which subsidized their relocation. Brokers stigmatized modernist and post-modern buildings from the 1980s as obsolete because of their association with the aesthetic conventions of the 1980s (walnut paneling, rich interiors, specific color palettes). Older Class A buildings that only fifteen years prior earlier were “top-of-the-market trophies,” were so hard hit by tenant moves that some questioned whether they still could be considered Class A or should be downgraded instead. These postwar towers found themselves in a kind of purgatory: they could not lower their rents sufficiently to hold onto tenants and still turn a profit, but neither were they historic or cheap enough to be converted to residential use. As proposals to demolish or convert these towers were floated, preservationists found themselves in an awkward situation – unprepared to make arguments about the historical value of structures from the very recent past.

SESSION 4F: Race, Space, and the Law

Chair: Roger Biles, Illinois State University

Comment: Roger Biles, Illinois State University

Race and Place in Hannibal Square

Julian Chambliss, Rollins College

An accessible frontier in the Gilded Age, Central Florida was home to communities that captured the aspirations for countless American citizens. These communities reflected narratives of freedom and community building that both affirmed and challenged assumptions linked to the New South experience. This paper explores the complex dualistic atmosphere around community development between African American and white residents in Winter Park, Florida. By exploring the legacy linked to community and identity, we gain greater understanding of the forces that shaped the state and the nation between 1880 and 1900.

Cleaning Up Jim Crow: The Consumer Politics of Environmental Justice and the Fight to End Segregation in Asbury Park, New Jersey

David Goldberg, University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown

In January 1906, the Asbury Park Board of Trade Commission made public its intentions to annex the territory of black homes and businesses known as the “West End,” an exclusively African American community that resided just outside the official boundaries of the popular New Jersey shore beach town. Urging white citizens to support commercial development and modern municipal improvements by ending segregation, the decision to annex the “West End” unleashed a wider political discussion about the long-term social and economic effects of environmental racism and African-American fitness for self-government. In a political campaign that often pitted whites against whites, segregationists claimed that consolidating the proposed area would shift the tax burden onto whites and depreciate the economic value of the profitable beach resort. Annexationists, however, led by the Asbury Park Board of Trade

Commission and local black activists, denounced these attacks for allowing “a prejudice of long standing” to impede future commercial progress and endanger the public’s safety.

In examining the politics of annexation in Asbury Park, this paper proposes to move Progressive era discussions about black leisure and civil rights beyond traditional labor disputes or contests over access to public accommodations. Instead it argues that the rise of mass consumption as a guiding principle of economic growth, and the debates about environmental justice and consumer protection that it spurned—intertwined with the ideologies that helped contest Jim Crow segregation and protect African Americans’ right to consume at the Jersey Shore. In a society that had long been organized around production, the popularity of northern beach resorts recast traditional ideas about economic freedom and public health and welfare. Free consumer advocates advanced and protected the underground economy of leisure and advocates of consumer protection advanced a program of economic growth and environmental justice. As an indictment against segregation, annexation’s passage on May 6, 1906 ensured the potency of a new consumer movement that linked the public health of consumers and consumer districts to political stability, economic prosperity, and civil rights.

Asset Value Analysis: Race & Wealth in New Jersey before 1945

Walter Greason, Monmouth University

At the start of the twentieth century, resort communities like Long Branch, Asbury Park, and Red Bank, New Jersey, epitomized the national realities of Jim Crow segregation. While the visitors to these communities found rest and relaxation, many of the residents understood the sacrifices required to facilitate their customers’ play. African American resort workers left records of their struggle to escape the boundaries of their employment to build new lives filled with greater liberty. T. Thomas Fortune, the most prominent journalist of the late nineteenth century African American community, made his home in Red Bank and launched initiatives like the National Negro Business League to facilitate the economic development process for African Americans, despite local segregation and discrimination. By 1947, the efforts to craft an integrated society at the Jersey shore yielded fundamental changes to the state constitution and inspired the formation of dozens of chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) that pressed for greater inclusion, even in the most resistant rural communities. Yet, the growth of commuter suburbs and the resulting service economy shattered this long struggle for equality as the children of New Jersey’s most prominent civil rights activists failed to overcome the national War on Drugs and the emerging prison-industrial complex.

SESSION 4G: Where is the Theory in Planning History?

ROUNDTABLE

This roundtable brings together senior scholars to question the absence of discernible theoretical framework in most histories of planning today. The strong empirical strand of our field, to the extent it constitutes a field, is all the more remarkable considering the long-lasting influence of the political economic paradigm formulated in the 1970s and 1980s.

The goal is to assess the role theory plays in planning history today, why it seems to be such a minor one, how histories of planning might suffer from the lack of theoretical framing, and the extent to which they may be implicitly based on simplistic assumptions of political economy. Participants will speak by way of introduction about how theory has informed their own history writing, and why they believe theory matters. Discussion will then focus on the following questions:

- How is planning history shaped by theory in the humanities more broadly? Can it benefit from (and should it participate in) emerging frameworks such as new materialism or the Anthropocene thesis?
- How has the discipline and practice of planning shaped theoretical approaches in planning history?
- How we account for the endurance of political economy models?
- What does planning history borrow from other disciplines—human ecology, for example, derived from the natural sciences, and what problems does this produce?
- How does planning history explain urban change? Can we envision a theory of history for the built environment? What would it be?
- What theoretical approaches build on the specificity of the physical environment? How can we assign importance to the physical environment without falling into determinism?

Chair: Kenny Cupers, University of Basel.

Margaret Crawford is professor of architecture at UC Berkeley, author of *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of the American Company Town* (1995) and co-author of *Everyday Urbanism* (2000 and 2008).

John D. Fairfield is professor of history at Xavier University and the author of *The Public and Its Possibilities: Triumphs and Tragedies in the American City* (2010).

Judith E. Innes is professor emerita of city and regional planning at UC Berkeley. Her most recent book is entitled *Planning with Complexity: An Introduction to Collaborative Rationality for Public Policy* (2010).

Mary Ryan is John Martin Vincent Professor of History at Johns Hopkins University and professor emerita at UC Berkeley. Her most recent book is entitled *Mysteries of sex: tracing women and men through American history* (2006).

Simon Sadler is professor of design at UC Davis and author of *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture* (2005) as well as *The Situationist City* (1998).

Kenny Cupers is associate professor in history and theory of architecture and urbanism at the University of Basel and author of *The Social Project: Housing Postwar France* (2014).

Chair: Owen Gutfreund, Hunter College

Comment: Owen Gutfreund, Hunter College

Engaging the State: Learning From Oregon Planning History

Sy Adler, Portland State University

The State of Oregon has a more than forty-year history of mandated local comprehensive planning and zoning – and regional planning in the Portland metropolitan area. A set of statewide planning goals establishes the legal framework for local and regional planning processes and products, and the Oregon Department of Land Conservation (DLCD) oversees local and regional efforts. The Toulan School of Urban Studies and Planning at Portland State has recently established an Oregon Planning Forum to learn from this history and work with broadly conceived communities of planners in the state to inform their planning theories, institutions, and practices in light of challenges that loom ahead.

This paper will analyze the efforts of Forum participants to create an infrastructure of historical materials and identify a set of historically significant questions about the structure and dynamics of the statewide program that will be addressed using those materials. A major oral history project is underway, and an archive consisting of papers donated by diverse members of the community of planners, including public, private, and civic sector practitioners and those who held elected and appointed decision making positions, is under construction. DLCD is supporting the Forum, and is especially interested in the contributions the Forum might make toward identifying any necessary changes – significant alterations in the paths the statewide program has been following for the last 40+ years – in light of likely impacts of climate change on the different regions of the State. DLCD’s goals are resilient statewide planning structures and processes that enhance the resilience of local and regional planning and implementation practices. The paper will also analyze Forum experiences engaging the State around those issues.

Charting the Early Years of Metropolitan Planning in Dade County: Between Governance and Demographic Change

H. Fernando Burga, University of Minnesota

In this paper I draw on archival evidence from Dade County’s former Department of Planning and Zoning to develop an early history of metropolitan planning in Miami. By considering the work of former planners starting with the passage of the “Home Rule” Charter through the development of Miami’s first set of comprehensive development master plans, I investigate how governance and demographic change influenced planning in Dade County during the 1960’s.

From its inception metropolitan planning was envisioned as a tool for regional management in behalf of Miami’s public interest. By the mid-century Dade County’s population had reached the mark of one million and Dade County had grown into a vast conglomeration of segregated municipalities and unmanaged unincorporated settlements in need of service provisions, updated policies and local decision-making mechanisms. Recognizing the need for

infrastructural modernization and a framework that would address regional needs, in 1956 local political leaders and business elites introduce the Dade County Home Rule Charter. The charter sought to institute a home rule mandate by popular vote that would establish a centralized form of government. “Metro” would be based on a county commission composed of nine members elected through countywide elections. The nine Dade County commissioners would also deliberate on planning decisions and the creation of new municipalities.

The passage of the charter had three main outcomes. First, home rule heralded the creation of the Dade County Department of Planning and Zoning - DP&Z, second, the charter established a first or upper “County” tier concerned with regional public services and a second, lower “Municipal” tier responsible for the local needs of municipalities and third the charter designated the management of unincorporated areas to the Dade County commission, making Metro accountable to its residents.

Miami’s new federated system had a dramatic impact on the city’s urban development. Starting in the early 1960’s under a direct mandate from the county commission, metropolitan planners began to address the lack of urban management in Dade County’s burgeoning suburban landscape. The first effort was the Dade County Preliminary Land Use Plan of 1960. This plan was quickly followed by the Existing Land Use Plan of 1960 which assigned specific land use categories to existing census tracts and provided a clear indication of the existing street grid, the census tracts and major regional infrastructures such as the airport, the sea port, canals and green areas. These early plans provided the foundation for the 1965 General Land Use Plan – GLUMP. The GLUMP would remain a reference document over the next decade, until the Florida legislature passed the Local Government Comprehensive Planning Act in 1975.

Metropolitan planning in Dade County became a paradigm of regional planning during the 1960’s and 1970’s, however its approach eventually led to the political under-representation of residents of unincorporated areas, who did not have the direct representation of municipal representatives. This condition would have consequences in the following decades of the 1980’s and 1990’s as demographic growth and Cuban immigrant political empowerment transformed the city’s political status and new constituencies mobilized towards municipal incorporation.

The 1962 Highway Act: Crossroads for U.S. Metropolitan Transportation Planning

Gian-Claudia Sciara, University of California, Davis

The 1962 Highway Act was a key federal initiative shaping regional scale planning. The Act “signaled...the devolution of transportation decision-making from state and federal highway engineers to local metropolitan planning agencies” (Mohl 2008, 195). This paper examines the evolution of metropolitan planning in four key dimensions (participants, information, outcomes and control), and the role played by the 1962 Act in that evolution. The “3-c” policy included in Section 134 of the 1962 Act and the regulations issued later broke new ground. They made federal transportation expenditure in urban areas contingent upon a transportation planning process that was continuing, cooperative and comprehensive in character, and that involved the state *and* local communities. The law signaled a restructuring of transportation planning and decision-making in metropolitan America.

In the first half of the 20th century, transportation decision-making had privileged state highway departments as the key participant, had located spending control with those

departments, and had defined potential outcomes of federal investment and its informational inputs to favor highway construction. The early 1960s marked a turning point. Following longstanding calls for more regionally scaled, urban-focused entities to address metropolitan transportation and by disappointment with uneven efforts to create them, the 1962 Highway Act was an important first step in joining rural focused state-level planning with vibrant but under-resourced city-based transportation planning to consider metropolitan interests.

The 1962 law broadened participation in decision-making, by shifting some control from state highway departments to urban officials, and by bringing urban officials into the realm of federally-sponsored planning. Section 134 stated that the federal government would not approve...projects in any urban area of more than fifty thousand population unless...such projects are based on a continuing comprehensive transportation planning process carried on cooperatively by States and local communities.

Only 160-words, Section 134 of the 1962 Highway Act presented broad ideals and values for guiding federal investments in metropolitan transportation: planning and decisionmaking processes should be comprehensive, continuing, and cooperative. Yet, the brief paragraph was short on executive detail. It provided no operating guide for realizing the 3-c vision, leaving unspecified for instance the precise nature or form of state-local consultation desired.

This paper considers how, over time, subsequent federal policy and regulation elaborated the 3-c vision. Using the lens of institutional analysis and development theory, it explores how federal policy and rules have specified over time key components of the regional transportation decisionmaking arena. These components include the participants involved in and informational inputs to regional transportation planning, as well as the potential outcomes of metropolitan transportation planning and the allocation of control over those outcomes (Ostrom 2005). Tracing the evolution of these components, this paper concludes that the 1962 law set the stage for urban stakeholders to play a larger role in transportation decisionmaking than the original law had suggested. It also finds that the 3-c framework has provided a flexible foundation upon which new planning concerns, such as environmental protection and fiscal constraint, could be addressed over time.

SESSION 4J: Planning and Managing Public Health

Chair: Louise Nelson Dyble, Michigan Technical University

Comment: Adam Zalma, Hunter College

When You Have a Landfill, Everything Looks Like Garbage: Evolutions and Limitations of Problem Framing in Municipal Solid Waste Management

Lily Baum Pollans, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

It has been long accepted in planning and social science that how a problem is framed plays a significant role in the solutions that are considered. The field of municipal solid waste presents a particularly good example of this phenomenon; trash has been framed as a problem related to everything from civic hygiene to city image to urban greenhouse gas emissions. Using a variety of examples from around the United States over the last 150 years, this paper traces the evolution of the “problem” of garbage, identifying three main threads: trash as aesthetic problem, as public health problem, and as environmental problem. Each of these

framings is complex and multi-faceted, and heavy with the same moral baggage that accompanies material waste itself. They have been developed and employed at different points in time, in different combinations, towards different sets of interests. Perhaps most importantly, they have resulted in radically different policy outcomes.

Aesthetic and public health framings of solid waste emerged as part of reform movements in 19th and early 20th century industrial cities, and were intertwined with the development of the new profession of sanitary engineering. City boosters began to view visible waste as a symbol of the social and physical chaos of the industrial city. City planners, civic architects, and local politicians began to mobilize for pristine streetscapes, an image that perhaps reached its apex in “The White City” of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition. Meanwhile, John Snow’s discovery that tainted water supplies carried cholera prompted a recasting of waste—in this case human waste—as a public health threat. At the time, both of these framings led to the same conclusion: collection and removal of waste was paramount for the health—both physical and economic—of the city.

Both of these framings continue to structure policy approaches to municipal solid waste to this day. It is only in the wake of the development of an additional category of framings—solid waste as an environmental problem—that policy makers have seriously considered novel, and truly sustainable, solutions for solid waste management. The environmental framing has contributed to waste and environmental justice discourses, as well as debate about waste as a consumption problem, and the relationship between waste disposal and greenhouse gas emissions. But, it also comes with blinders and limitations.

The history of waste management in American cities can be read as a response to these three framings; this paper will draw on a examples from New York, Seattle, and Boston to explore the way that these framings have structured—and limited—waste management practice.

Where Do You Go When the Hospital Closes?: Not-for-Profit Health Systems, Hospital Closures, and the Shifting Geography of Urban Health Care Access

Andrew T. Simpson, Duquesne University

In October of 2009, the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center (UPMC) announced that it was closing the community hospital it had acquired only thirteen years earlier in the struggling mill town of Braddock, Pennsylvania due to unsustainable operating losses and declining patient volume. UPMC’s decision was another devastating blow for a community that had seen its population shrink and its good paying steel jobs dwindle as a consequence of deindustrialization. The closure set off a wave of protest, especially when the public linked it to another choice made by the not-for-profit health system—a decision to build a new \$250 million dollar hospital in the nearby and much wealthier suburban community of Monroeville—a community which was already served by an existing hospital owned by a rival health system. Braddock’s Mayor John Fetterman summed up the public’s reaction to the situation in an interview with the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* where he noted that “health care for poor people is a guaranteed loser...but you have to ask, is health care a right or a privilege? Do some people deserve it and do some people don’t?”

The closure of poor performing urban hospitals like UPMC Braddock is not unique. Using Western Pennsylvania as an example, this paper will examine how efforts by not-for-profits health systems to plan for an uncertain future intersected with questions of health care access .

The decision by UPMC and its not-for-profit rivals to build integrated delivery systems as hedge against national trends like the expansion of managed care and proposed health care reform has had important effects for local communities like Braddock and Monroeville as this decision, and the quest expanded for market share, has led to numerous community hospital acquisitions and expansions, but also to painful hospital closures.

In order to show how not-for-profit health system planning changed the geography of urban health care access, the paper will draw from an emerging literature in urban history, business history, and the history of medicine about the growing importance of health care as both an industry and a commodity for post- industrial regions like Western Pennsylvania. It will conclude by complicating Fetterman's important question about the meaning of health care for vulnerable populations by asking what is the best way for "profitable" not-for-profits like UPMC to fulfill their obligations to the communities they serve.

Noise Pollution Control: The Lost Chord of Land Use Planning

Laura Solitare, Texas Southern University

Within the annals of modern city planning, city noise holds an odd place. City noise is by far the most widespread environmental pollutant, affecting all populations. Yet, awareness of the history of noise pollution and its control are essentially non- existent in the U.S. planner's repertoire. Furthermore, it appears that noise abatement has all but disappeared from the national agenda. However, as this paper will show, controlling noise was once a leading theme in the history of land use planning.

For this paper, I define city noise as noise that occurs in public spaces. It can either be generated in those spaces, such as noise from children playing outdoors or it can travel into those public spaces, such as noise from construction or landscaping. It also includes transportation generated noise, including airplanes, vehicle din and horns.

The paper will discuss the history of creating land use regulations to control city noise throughout five different periods: 1) the Progressive era (late 1800-1900s), when "anti-noise" reformers were focused on quieting the city to make it a better place for workers and a healthier place for citizens; 2) the Zoned City era (1910s-1920s), when, starting with the City Beautiful movement, noise abatement becomes a goal for most city master plans and zoning ordinances; 3) the Modern Transportation era (1930s-1940s), when the rise of highway din and airport noise cause geographically widespread noise pollution; 4) Urban Renewal era (1950s-1960s), when noise is used as a factor for designating an area a "slum" under the Federal Urban Renewal Program; and 5) Environmentalism and Devolution era (1970-present), when noise pollution is briefly on the national agenda, but then is quickly, and ineffectively, pushed off to local governments.

The purposes of this paper are to describe the role that noise abatement historically played in U.S. land use planning and to develop a research agenda to address the sprawling gap caused by the U.S. planning profession's failure to meaningfully address noise pollution in the United States.

Demolishing Disease: Slum Clearance, Tuberculosis, and Planning Public Health, 1920-1960

Brandon Ward, Georgia Perimeter College

Tuberculosis was a major public health challenge of the twentieth century, necessitating a multi-faceted disease management approach that included medical professionals, public health officials, philanthropists, social service workers, and urban planners funding and coordinating efforts to attack the disease and its environs. In Detroit, efforts included not only a containment strategy of sanitariums, but also efforts to attack the affliction at what planners and policymakers saw as a haven: the slums of the inner city. To better understand and coordinate efforts, public health officials and city planners combined to develop a slum clearance policy that proponents believed would eliminate the refuge of disease. Their efforts included developing a series of tuberculosis maps that indicated where the tuberculosis hot spots existed, and the maps informed their plans to demolish entire neighborhoods. Unsurprisingly, the maps reinforced the racial and spatial imaginations of map-makers, who saw the tuberculosis threat in African American neighborhoods, even when the statistics did not validate their claims. While metropolitan scholars have used Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) maps in recent decades to demonstrate the state's power in creating and enforcing racial boundaries and inequalities, this research provides an innovative perspective on how the state interpreted racial inequality and public health threats and imposed slum clearance solutions that did not solve housing, poverty, environmental, and health crises, but merely displaced them. Based on primary source collections from the Bentley Historical Library and the Reuther Library and Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, and evidence from the black Detroit newspaper *Michigan Chronicle*, my paper contributes to metropolitan, public health, and urban planning history, illuminating often overlooked intersections of research.

SESSION 4K: Postwar Redevelopment in the Sunbelt

Chair: Aaron Shkuda, Princeton University

Comment: Aaron Shkuda, Princeton University

Learning from Pittsburgh: San Francisco's Blyth-Zellerbach Committee and the Ferry Plaza Park

Damon Scott, Miami University

Following the marginalization of the San Francisco Ferry Building with the opening of the Bay Bridge in 1936, San Francisco business leaders engaged in a twenty year-long campaign to revitalize "the foot of Market Street"—which had been the traditional gateway to the city. As a major post-war planning priority, the Chamber of Commerce pushed plans for a World Trade Center complex modeled on New York's Rockefeller Center. After initially receiving backing from city and state officials, the World Trade Center project fell apart after project planners and the State Division of Highways failed to reach an agreement on how to incorporate the planned Embarcadero Freeway into the design. As the highway engineers proceeded with their plans, a new group of San Francisco business leaders—inspired by Pittsburgh's Point State Park and adjacent Gateway Center development—pressed city leaders to establish an aggressive urban renewal program to re-establish the centrality of "Embarcadero-Lower Market" area. An essential element of the project plan was a new, locally-funded park that would minimize the aesthetic and economic impact of the Embarcadero Freeway. In this paper, I will chart efforts by business elites in San Francisco to build local support for ameliorating "freeway blight" in the

interest of securing federal funds for the adjacent Golden Gateway urban renewal project. I will show how urban renewal plans to modernize downtown San Francisco were, in part, modeled on the successes of the Allegheny Conference in advancing Pittsburgh's Gateway Center.

The Way Texans Do Things: Sunbelt Stadiums, Racial Geographies, and New Sporting Publics of the 1960s

Benjamin D. Lisle, Colby College

Stadiums have long been celebrated as democratic spaces, where strangers from different classes, races, and genders assemble. The claim that the stadium is a sort of community center and expression of civic spirit has been a primary justification for their public funding. The belief that the stadium can and should be a site of democratic diversity today is threatened by increasing economic segregation and stratification within the stadium walls, prompting prominent public intellectuals to use the "skyboxification" of the stadium as a metaphor for economic inequality throughout society.

This paper argues that the exclusionary qualities of the stadium emerged, ironically, not long after public funding was regularized in the early 1960s. It looks particularly at the roles that the Houston Astrodome (opened in 1965) and Texas Stadium, in suburban Dallas (1971), played in developing stadium spaces defined by racial separation and economic stratification. First, each new stadium replaced old sporting grounds located in black neighborhoods, removing sports spaces to suburban areas. Geographical barriers of entry were amplified by stadium designs that economically sorted visitors in unprecedented ways—with the development of luxury suites and private clubs for the wealthy and restrictive season-ticket packages that priced-out many working-class fans. This re-spatialization—both inside and outside the stadium walls—reinvented traditionally diverse stadium contexts and crowds, producing a narrower version of the American public, prefiguring the un-democratic stadium of today.

Planning the Knowledge City: Urban Renewal and University Expansion in 1960s Austin, Texas

Andrew Busch, Miami University

Since World War Two the role of research universities in the American economy has grown dramatically. From their relationships with the department of defense to their role in producing creative knowledge workers and their products, universities have become primary generators of economic activity. Their privileged status has also led to increasing power among universities and their officials. In cities, universities have had a significant and increasing effect on the production and reorganization of urban space.

While scholars have explored how powerful universities used urban renewal funding to reshape neighborhoods to their advantage, much research is still needed to understand the particularities of university expansion and the communities affected by geographic change. The University of Texas's expansion provides an important case study. Long a driver of economic growth in Austin, in the postwar years the school experienced a large influx of students and, like many large research universities, took on an entrepreneurial role in attracting investment and generating revenue, which required physical expansion. To facilitate research, the university opened a suburban research campus. On the main campus, urban renewal funding was used to clear land for new stadiums and a large, two tiered interstate highway. The essay argues that siting the new stadiums in urban renewal areas, initially characterized as a public

benefit, was actually a way for city and university leaders to further contain poor minority residents away from the city's most prominent cultural attractions.

SESSION 4L: Graduate Student Workshop

BY SPECIAL APPLICATION ONLY

PAPER SESSION 5: SATURDAY, NOV. 7, 10:30 AM - 12:15 PM

SESSION 5A: Planning: Histories of the Global South

Chair: Nancy Kwak, University of California, San Diego

Comment: Nancy Kwak, University of California, San Diego

In-Between: Urban Transformation and Apartheid's Ending in Cape Town

Sharóne L. Tomer, University of California, Berkeley

Cities are 'works in progress'. They are constantly being made and re-made, imagined and re-imagined. Acts of urban transformation take place through a range of scales and sites of action: from large-scale plans executed by built environment professionals and the state, to small-scale informal practices that articulate individual voices.

A poignant lens for understanding the range of methods of urban transformation is Cape Town during democracy's early years. The ending of apartheid brought the potential for transforming cities that had been designed to manifest separation and control. Architects, planners and urban designers offered alternative visions for the city that would reflect the new democratic dispensation. New housing schemes were formulated, school designs reimaged, and transit interchanges planned for across the city. At the same time citizens, particularly those marginalized under apartheid, began to organize and agitate to reclaim and transform the city in ways that represented their identities and improved their lives.

In this context, planning and architecture have operated in spaces and as professions 'in between'. Their work and affiliation often moves back and forth between the grassroots and institutions of power, operating in the city's center and periphery, articulating the spatial dimension of social change. In this paper I will discuss two interconnected sites in Cape Town that architects and planners were involved in transforming, which together illustrate interplays of practices from 'above' and 'below'. The paper will argue for understanding urban transformation as an assemblage of practices, which are at times oppositional, at times parallel, and sometimes even collaborative. The Cape Town cases illustrate the limits of binary planning histories, which see urban transformation as from either above or below, adding the 'in-between' to the lexicon of transformation modes.

Imagining Development: Experts, Plans, and the Making of Future Medellín

Monica I. Guerra, Tulane University

Medellin has rapidly risen to fame as a 21st century model of urban reform. Urban experts, though, have long used the city to develop creative tools in ordering, managing, and mapping poverty. In 1947, a national law mandated regulatory urban plans for all municipalities in Colombia. Architects Josep L. Sert and Paul Weiner, contracted out of Town Planning Associates in New York, created the city's first master plan [1948-1952]. At this moment, Colombia also took central stage as the testing grounds for the World Bank's first international mission led by New Deal economist Lauchlin Currie [1949- 1953], setting key priorities for urban development across the country.

This article examines how these two imaginaries of development emerged, specifically examining the interplay of economic and architectural expertise in shaping urban agendas. As such, this paper argues that visions of modern city making legitimized the role of technical knowledge in formulating social rationales of intervention and ordering territory in the city. To that end, these experiments provide a framework towards understanding the longer histories behind Medellín's ascent to global fame and make two important contributions to existing urban theory. First, it makes a case for tracing how planning ideas are exchanged together with how they take root in different forms across the globe. Second, it affirms the importance of studying Latin America as a hub for innovative planning experiments in creatively adapting to rapid urban change.

Inventing a "Caribbean Paris": Imperial Inroads, Urban Works, and the Emergence of Republican Havana

Guadalupe García, Tulane University

This paper examines the proliferation of maps, surveys, and urban works projects during the 1898 U.S. military of Cuba. It traces the relationship between imperial imagination and the built, lived environment of Havana by examining the impact of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in Havana from 1899 to 1902. I argue that urbanism and the public works projects generated during the U.S. occupation were extensions of a much older, Spanish colonial project where the configuration and use of space (both real and imagined) were key components of ensuring political hegemony by producing spaces fit for public consumption. The paper offers a critical examination of the role of the Corps of Engineers in urban spaces, inviting connections between Havana and contemporary cities across the U.S. and Global South.

Chair: LaDale Winling, Virginia Tech

Comment: LaDale Winling, Virginia Tech

Layered SPURA: Creative Collaboration in a Contested Space

Gabrielle Bendiner-Viani, The New School

The Seward Park Urban Renewal Area (SPURA) on New York's Lower East Side is a site of a more-than-forty-year-old failed urban renewal, where much was demolished in the late 1960s, little was rebuilt and more than 1,800 families were displaced, most of whom were of low income and most of whom were people of color. Located at the potent intersection of the historically Jewish, Puerto Rican, and Chinese Lower East Sides, SPURA is now a collection of parking lots and underdeveloped blocks, facing new development slated to break ground in the summer of 2015. Meanings are contested, claimed by multiple groups, and often at odds with each other, making "community" far from unitary, and exposing differing ideas of who "owns" the future of the rapidly gentrifying / gentrified Lower East Side. Because SPURA was created by many of the most powerful elements that have shaped American cities (immigration, urban renewal, fights over affordable housing, discrimination, urban disinvestment, and gentrification, to name a few), a public consideration of this place helps us understand both the site itself and many other cities and neighborhoods in which we live.

I began my six-year teaching, research, and public art *Layered SPURA* project in 2008, thinking about how to use public history, humanities and art practices to spur more productive conversations about the future of this site (<http://buscada.com/project/visualizing-spura/>). My primary goal, in conjunction with "City Studio: SPURA for the Public", the New School Urban Studies class I have taught for five years, has been to create collaborative creative exhibitions as spaces for exchange, bringing together public and oral histories, art and research practices, students and communities. My long-time collaborators, housing activists Good Old Lower East Side (GOLES), have suggested that these exhibitions have acted as "peacemaking things."

In this piece, which emerges from the manuscript I am developing for the University of Iowa Press' "Humanities and Public Life" series, I will discuss the complex history of SPURA—on which no major work has been written—and the multiple activist approaches that have changed the course of top-down planning at the site. I will reflect on how my *Layered SPURA* project engaged with these histories and activists, how it developed and changed over time, its critical pedagogies of collaborative engagement and use of creative work in spurring dialogue. Finally, I will discuss how the project is responding to the changing SPURA site - as I am now working with local activist collaborators GOLES and SPARC, as well as members of the community board to create a permanent, co-created museum /memorial so that SPURA's histories of displacement and activism remain potent and present in the neighborhood today. Many urban planners and city officials grapple with sites as complex as SPURA in their own cities; many universities want their students to engage in "real world" questions and need to think deeply about the roles that their students play in those spaces; many artists consider a community-engaged approach as part of their work in the city — I hope that sharing and discussing the interdisciplinary and collaborative approach of the *Layered SPURA* project can help others in doing equitable collaborative work in contested city spaces.

Evolution of Community Planning Requirements in Federal Urban Renewal Statutes 1949-1968

Bell Julian Clement, George Washington University

National urban policies of the postwar decades were shaped by factors emanating from cities themselves, including the mounting voracity of real estate entrepreneurs, the anxious desire of municipal officials to placate restive urban communities, and the ignorance and arrogance of the nascent planning profession. However, these policies also were importantly molded by the constraints on and the capacity of the federal system institutions which produced them.

This paper examines the role of these federal exigencies in shaping postwar urban policy, looking specifically at the evolution of federal community planning requirements. A result of bargaining among development interests, city representatives, agency managers, and elected officials, these requirements evolved rapidly from the “workable program” mandate of the 1954 Housing Act, the “community renewal programs” of the 1959 Housing Act, the “community action” components of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act and the 1966 Model Cities Act, to the “neighborhood development programs” of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

In each phase of this evolution, policy outcomes were influenced by changing federal system relations and objectives. National policymakers’ deepening involvement in urban affairs led to a stronger partnership between federal and local governments in program implementation and to federal investments in building local planning and administrative capacity. Institutional politics in Congress – particularly the tug-of-war between entrenched conservatives and a rising liberal caucus that left its imprint both in internal procedural battles and in arguments about inter-branch and inter-governmental allocations of power – also helped determine urban policy outcomes. Willingness and ability to assimilate planning expertise and experience at the federal agency level was an additional influence.

This inquiry uses the records of congressional committees on urban affairs, government operations, and appropriations; legislative histories of federal urban renewal statutes; and records of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to explore the evolution of federal community planning mandates. I aim to identify the impact of federal system institutional politics in shaping these mandates, and to gauge the adaptive capacity of the federal urban bureaucracy in responding to urban policy experience in this period.

In Transition: Community Organizing and University Interventions in a St. Louis Neighborhood in Decline

Susanne Cowan, Montana State University

After World War II, St. Louis, went into decline, losing over 60 percent of its population between 1950 and 2010, a higher percentage than any other city in the country. Like many other older American cities, the decline of St. Louis can be attributed to three major forces: deindustrialization, suburbanization, and white flight. As older homes and industrial jobs in the city declined, new jobs and new homes in the suburbs enticed a population shift out of the urban center, into St. Louis County and beyond. After the passage of Shelly versus Kramer in

1948 outlawing the long standing racial covenants in housing in St. Louis, white fear of integration furthered this out migration, as many former middle class white neighborhoods went into “transition.”

One neighborhood that experienced this “transition” in the 1960s and 1970s was Skinker DeBaliviere, located in northwestern St. Louis, an area that had historically been characterized by some of the most expensive housing and exclusive private streets in the city. This area had recently seen an influx of African American’s moving in after being pushed out of the older central neighborhoods by redevelopment. On the border between St. Louis City and St. Louis County, and adjacent to Washington University, one of the most prestigious universities in the country, this neighborhood experienced competing pressures of decline and renewal. As the neighborhood faced increasing vacancy and disinvestment, the university, the city government, the long-term residents, and the newcomers struggled to assert their vision for the future of the neighborhood. The responses varied from bottom up community cleanup campaigns to top down redevelopment proposals by the city. In these projects, neighborhood organizers tried to prevent homeowners from moving out, and thus fight the fear that racial transition and decline were unstoppable and totalizing processes, as described in the Chicago School models. Instead they aimed to establish a racially diverse and economically stable neighborhood, which allowed for demographic change, without reactionary white flight and subsequent physical decay.

Washington University became highly involved in shaping the future of the neighborhood helping to form The Skinker DeBaliviere Community Council (SDCC) in 1966 to create a central community forum for the various neighborhood associations, churches and other non-profit groups working in the area. The School of Architecture became particularly involved in the planning of the neighborhood with their work with the Community Design Workshop, which applied participatory design for planning open space and infill housing. The neighbors sometimes used the university to achieve their goals, but also viewed the student activists with suspicion, as trying to assert their anti-renewal and anti-government approaches to urban development onto their neighborhood. To this day the University remains a leading force in the fate of the neighborhood, which has retained a diverse mix of wealthy homeowners, student renters and lower to middle income African Americans. This case study examines the way that community organizing and University intervention can shape the stabilization of urban neighborhoods undergoing racial transition. In doing so it challenges the standard models of white flight, urban decay and gentrification as inevitable processes that follow a predetermined sequence of events, by showing the complexity of how non-governmental actors can shape neighborhood development.

SESSION 5C: Negotiating Public Space

Chair: Michael Kahan, Stanford University

Comment: Daphne Spain, University of Virginia

Before Parks: Public Landscapes in Colonial American Cities

Anne Beamish

By the late 19th century, American municipalities were busy building public parks for residents' leisure and social activities. Parks have become so ubiquitous that it is difficult to imagine cities without them. But what types of public spaces were available to city dwellers in the 17th and 18th centuries? Shared public space in most cities consisted of the streets, public markets, cemeteries, docks and often some type of open space or green used for grazing and military exercises. Though there was limited time and space for public leisure, some of these open spaces gradually transformed into places for strolling or "polite walks."

Though Americans were well aware of parks in Europe and especially London, such as St. James's Park, they never referred to any of their own public landscapes as parks until the 19th century. This paper argues that today's park has its roots in the utilitarian village green, common, square, and parade ground. Using historical newspapers, journals, and city documents, this paper traces the emergence of these public landscapes as places of leisure in 17th and 18th century Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

Each city took a slightly different path. In 1634, four years after its founding, Boston designated 48 tree-less acres on the outskirts of town for grazing cattle and military parades. But within thirty years residents had adopted the Common for social strolling. John Josselyn visited Boston in 1663 and compared the Common to London's Moorfields, describing how "the Gallants a little before Sunset walk with their Marmalot-Madams, as we do in the Moorfields, &c. till the nine a clock Bell rings them home to their respective habitations." It wasn't until 1724 that the first row of trees was planted in the Boston Common followed by a second row in 1734 and enclosed on two sides by a fence to "prevent despoiling of its herbage by carts and horses." In 1740 the "mall" was described as "two rows of young trees planted opposite to each other, with a fine footway between in imitation of St. James's Park."

The movement to make utilitarian public spaces more attractive for social strolling occurred in other cities. New York had a designated common, known as "the fields," which was not fenced until 1785 but fifty years earlier in 1733 the city set aside a tract of land and enclosed it as a bowling green "with Walks therein, for the Beauty & Ornament of the Said Streets as well as for the Recreation & delight of the Inhabitants."

Unlike Boston and New York, Philadelphia was originally planned by William Penn to have five green spaces specifically designated for public use. Centre Square was intended for a meetinghouse, government building, market, or school, but it remained vacant with no clear boundaries and was "left rather to the mercies of the elements and nature." Two cart roads ran through it and it was used for a variety of military drills, horse races and exhibitions. In 1798 it was converted to a commercial pleasure garden. The four smaller squares located in each of the town's four quarters were intended to be used "as the Moor-fields in London" but public walks were not built and the squares were left vacant or used as market places. The first site in the city created as a "pleasing and inexpensive source of amusement" was the grounds of the State House. In 1785 Samuel Vaughan, an English merchant and enthusiastic gardener, went about "improving and adorning the yard, as an embellishment to the city" by planting a great variety of trees and shrubbery, and making it a place for a "delightful promenade."

These very modest and utilitarian colonial public landscapes did not begin as places for leisure, but residents slowly began to experiment, gradually creating the demand for public parks and the conditions for the future transformation of cities in the 19th century.

Philadelphia's Fairmount Park: A case study in Planning, Conservation, and Preservation

Emily T. Cooperman, ARCH Preservation Consulting, Philadelphia

Philadelphia's Fairmount Park, established in the 1850s, has long been recognized as one of the nation's largest urban park systems, and for its role as the location of the Centennial Exposition, one of the most important world's fairs in American history. It has never, however, achieved the recognition of, most notably, Olmsted and Vaux's Central and Prospect Parks, whose establishment followed the creation of the Fairmount Park.

This relative lack of recognition can easily be traced to a number of factors, perhaps most notably the lack of a single, "master" designer with fame equivalent to that of Olmsted. Another factor in its relative lack of recognition is the park's development over a particularly long period of time: from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. Both the long duration of the development of the park and its "failure" to be designed by single individual have resulted in the perception of Fairmount Park as an incoherent landscape whole whose importance is lesser than parks created within a shorter period of time.

This paper will reframe the history of the park as a single, cohesive entity whose history is tied together by interwoven narrative threads of important themes of American planning, conservation, and historic preservation. The paper will begin by identifying the land of the future Fairmount Park as one with specific associations developed in the eighteenth century with respect to the interaction of particular constructions of American nature, culture, collective memory, utility, and beauty. In contrast to the land used for Central Park, the Schuylkill River and Wissahickon Creek watersheds, which would become Fairmount Park in the mid-nineteenth century, had already acquired crucially important, national associations that were key in the creation of the park. The paper will trace these themes through such important events as the Centennial Exposition, and the connection of the forces that made Fairmount Park to the creation of American national historic and natural sites. The paper will conclude with the more recent history of the park and historic preservation forces that have affected it in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Building Neighborhood Commons: Collective Labor for Community Development

Alison B. Hirsch, University of Southern California

This paper will introduce the concept of "Neighborhood Commons" developed and deployed by landscape architect Karl Linn beginning in 1960 in North Philadelphia. With local residents, Linn and his University of Pennsylvania students transformed vacant lots into gathering places meant for "extended family living, based not on blood relationships but on mutual aid and intergenerational support that would generate the growth of neighborhood community," in Linn's words. Linn used such tactics of "neighborhood renewal" to remediate the damaging social effects of "urban renewal" clearance and displacements in numerous declining American cities.

The paper will both situate Linn's concept for "Neighborhood Commons" in the socio-political context of American cities at this time, as well as demonstrate how the development of this concept was an outgrowth of his early personal circumstances fleeing Germany for Palestine in the 1930s, founding a kibbutz (Maagan Michael), and then studying psychoanalysis under Wilhelm Reich, one of the most radical figures in the history of psychiatry. Ideals of the

kibbutz and Linn's ultimate rejection of Zionism will be central to the critical situation of his work in racially-polarized cities of the 1960s.

Prior to the 1960s, like most American landscape architects of the time, Linn made his living in the burgeoning suburbs, creating, what he called retrospectively, "landscapes of affluence" and "isolation," particularly for women and children who had little access to collective space compounded by the loss of extended family networks and the kind of multigenerational support he recognized in pre-industrial American settlement and on the kibbutz. According to anthropologist Melford Spiro, who is included in the preparatory material for Linn's "Community and Confrontation Seminar" at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the idea of the kibbutz was based on the "moral value of labor" (specifically on the land) as a "uniquely creative act, as well as an ultimate value." This certainly persisted in Linn's consciousness when developing his theories of community development. The ideals of collective labor for the production and management of common assets drove Linn's establishment of neighborhood commons in major cities nationwide.

Karl Linn (1923-2005) continued his work on neighborhood commons for the remainder of his life. In the 1980s, building commons, to Linn, became a peacemaking response to the nuclear arms race. At this time, he co-founded Environmental Designers for Nuclear Disarmament (EDND) and Architects, Designers, Planners for Social Responsibility (ADSPR). The paper will conclude by addressing how the commons responded to evolving social circumstances of the subsequent decades and how theories of the commons might contribute to healthful city-making today.

Newport, RI's Queen Anne Square Controversy: History, Gender, and Urban Design in the 21st Century

Catherine W. Zipf, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

In 2011, the Newport Restoration Foundation commissioned Maya Lin to redesign Queen Anne Square in Newport, RI. The fourfold goal of the project was to activate a key part of the city's urban fabric by giving the City of Newport a well-designed space created by a world-class designer to honor the memory of the Square's creator and NRF founder, Doris Duke.

Surprisingly, the project met with considerable opposition. Some didn't like Lin's design. Others argued that it didn't appropriately honor Duke's memory. Still others were happy with what was there and categorically did not want change. Many were concerned about the expense the new plan would bring to the city. Pitting just about everyone against just about everyone else, the project divided Newport's upper, middle, and lower classes along multiple lines. Lawsuits were filed, zoning decisions were challenged, and environmental concerns were reported to the RI Department of Environment Management.

Over the next two years, the controversy played out publicly. Questions were raised as to how to determine which stakeholders should have a say over the design of a city-owned site, whether the NRF had jurisdiction over a space it originated but did not own, and whether wealthy donor interests, which appeared on all sides of the controversy, trumped those of other residents. Other questions centered on the history of the site, which was created by Duke in the 1960s and therefore did not meet most Newporters' definition of "historic". Accusations of gender bias, extending from Duke, the founder, and Lin, the designer, permeated the entire discussion. Despite all this, Lin's project moved forward and was completed in June, 2013.

The Queen Anne Square controversy yields insight into the process of creating 21st-century urban spaces. This paper will examine these issues in order to better understand how history and gender play into urban design of the very recent past.

SESSION 5D: Complicating Suburbia in Los Angeles

Chair: Becky Nicolaidis, University of California, Los Angeles and University of Southern California

Comment: Phil Ethington: University of Southern California

The Remaking of Los Angeles: Latino Suburbs, the Case of South Gate, 1966-2014

Mercedes Gonzalez-Ontañon, Claremont Graduate University

This paper investigates the demographic transformation that has taken place in the South Gate area in the last 45 years. It is divided into three sections; the first section explores the reasons behind the influx of Latinos to white working and middle-class South Gate in the mid-1960s. It posits that in the wake of the Watts Riots of 1965, housing and job opportunities opened for Latinos in the South Gate area. Latino motivations for moving to South Gate did not differ from the white one; they moved to the area for high paying industrial jobs and to partake of the suburban dream of home ownership. White flight created housing vacancies and brought down property values. In the second section (1978-1982), I trace the economic restructuring and manufacturing plant closings leading to unemployment, loss of city revenues, and deepening poverty of the area. I also look at the ramifications of reindustrialization, the rise of low-wage, non-union jobs, (sweat shops) and the use of garage living. In the third section, 1984 to the present, I suggest that while deindustrialization transformed the area from a working and middle-class community to an immigrant enclave, South Gate has recently experienced an economic and cultural resurgence. Drawn to an exuberant Latino clientele, merchants flocked to the area. I also point to adaptation and accommodation strategies reflected in South Gate's immigrant community's transition to U.S. living such as, the creation of social, cultural, and economic networks, the pooling of resources to purchase real property, and a new use for real property (the 'professional garage sale').

Deindustrialization and the Evolution of the Working-Class Suburban Dream in Southeast Los Angeles (1965-1990)

Graham McNeill, Claremont Graduate University

By the 1940s, large sections of the Southeast LA metropolitan area had become heavily industrialized. In contrast to many other highly industrial US localities, Southeast LA was also largely suburban in character. While working-class residents remained predominant in many of these Southeast LA suburbs, post-WWII prosperity led South Gate and other neighboring suburbs to take on an increasingly middle-class appearance by the 1950s and 1960s. Rather than occupational status, race and homeownership became the key markers of social and political identification at this time, as many white Southeast LA suburbanites embraced anti-integration politics in an effort to maintain their racially privileged positions in the highly segregated LA metro region. Nevertheless, a growing number of upwardly mobile Mexican-

American families managed to find housing in sections of Southeast LA beginning in the 1960s. Later, when the area experienced a severe economic decline with the shutdown of many neighborhood “smokestack” industries in the 1970s and early 1980s, an aging population of white residents and younger Latino newcomers struggled to retain elements of the fabled suburban dream in Southeast LA. In the process, residents were forced to wrestle with the contradictions of industrially driven suburban prosperity. This was particularly evident when many Southeast LA municipalities became embroiled in political controversies over industrial redevelopment schemes during these years. By the mid-1980s, the threat of suburban poverty eventually contributed to development of a newly dominant political coalition in South Gate that pursued a combination of industrial redevelopment and housing code enforcement aimed at recreating a degree of suburban prosperity. Meanwhile, though the South Gate City Council remained mostly white, the more blatant forms of white suburban exclusionism that had dominated local politics less than 20 years prior had become much less significant. However, a new kind of suburban exclusionism had taken hold by this time, as many residents came to support stringent housing code regulations and enforcement practices aimed at insulating the neighborhood from marginalized poor and immigrant populations deemed threatening to local property values and school quality.

The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same: Demographic Transition, Local Politics, and the Persistence of the Suburban Ideal in Southeast Los Angeles County

Jake Wegmann, University of Texas, Austin

The last half-century has witnessed a dramatic demographic transition in the Gateway Cities of southeast Los Angeles County. In a group of 14 adjacent communities stretching from Florence-Firestone to Compton to Bellflower to Bell Gardens, the population nearly doubled from 1960 to 2010. Bucking the norm in US metropolitan regions during this period, this inner suburban area, already largely developed by 1960, has surpassed much older Eastern cities such as Washington and Boston in both total population and density.

The dramatic population increase has been accompanied by an equally dramatic demographic transition. The overwhelmingly white populace of the early 1960s changed over to one that was 82% Latino by 2010. The demographic composition of political representation on local city councils and other local governmental bodies took decades to reflect the majority Latino population of the area, but now the political transition is largely complete (Pastor 2013).

In this presentation, I explore the curious persistence of the *suburban ideal* in local political and media discourse (Purcell 2001). Even as homeownership rates have plunged, even as new residents with dramatically different priorities have arrived and gained political representation, and even as the built environment has undergone drastic urbanization since the days when cities such as South Gate were a jumble of single-family houses, agriculture, and industry (Nicolaidis 2002), the priorities of single-family homeowners appear to remain as paramount as they were in the mid 20th century. While political corruption, as most famously recently seen in the City of Bell (Hogen-Esch 2011), might seem like a ready explanation for a failure to address the needs of the non-single-family homeowner majority, I argue that it is not convincing.

I argue that the real explanation for the persistence of the suburban ideal stems from the *informalized* nature of a high proportion of the housing stock added in recent decades. Widespread informal housing provision, coupled with omnipresent *code enforcement*, has

inhibited the formation of political alliances that might otherwise challenge the hegemony of the suburban ideal in the local political and media spheres. Instead, a rhetoric of *law and order* that reflects the priorities of a relatively small sliver of the population is predominant, with a resultant reliance on code enforcement crackdowns as nearly the only policy response to overcrowded and unsafe housing conditions.

SESSION 5E: Themes in Postwar Preservation Planning

Chair: Jeffry Diefendorf, University of New Hampshire

Comment: Rosemary Wakeman, Fordham University

Preservation Planning and the Transformation of Urban Renewal: A New Generation of Historic Districts in Boston, 1977 to 1983

George Walter Born, Boston University

Against the backdrop of an increasingly challenged urban-renewal program, a case study in historic preservation planning from Boston provides a window into significant changes in American cities, where groups previously not acknowledged in the planning process now participated actively in making decisions about the built environment. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, residents of three contiguous nineteenth-century neighborhoods – St. Botolph Street, the Bay Village, and the South End – finding that the existing redevelopment-authority plans were not meeting their needs, petitioned their city government for official designation as historic districts. To an extent greater than earlier similar efforts, a diverse coalition of new and long-term residents, owners and renters, whites and blacks, as well as heterosexuals and gays forged a successful path through public hearings and city bureaucracies to win the protection they sought. With the designation of these areas during the early 1980s, Boston had substantially expanded its commitment to historic preservation and demonstrated a new way to go about it.

Existing studies of historic-district creation typically focus on earlier periods; this chapter from the recent past provides a link to more contemporary concerns. In so doing, it draws from previously unconsulted sources, such as city records, newspaper accounts, and personal interviews. Utilizing methodologies of urban sociology and social-movement theory, I argue that preservation activists broadened their strategies during this critical period, expanding beyond their origins in historically white, property owning neighborhoods to engage productively with racial, ethnic, economic, and sexual minorities to accomplish the urban-policy goals they sought.

Preservation as Counter-culture: Struggles for Community, Authenticity, and the Birth of Official Historic Preservation in Two Pacific Coast Cities

Alexander B. Craghead, University of California, Berkeley

Official planning for historic preservation was largely a child of the 1960s, however the motives behind these efforts often made the term “historic preservation” oxymoronic. Two West Coast case studies are illustrative: Portland, Oregon’s Skidmore District, and Oakland, California’s Victorian Row. Both preservation projects emerged in the late 1960s to early 1970s,

and both consisted of groups of disused or underutilized commercial structures from the mid-late 19th century.

There were no Penn Stations here, no great national landmarks. Yet in examining the planning documents, promotional literature, and sundry support material produced for these projects, the preservation of notable architecture was never the primary motivation. Rather, each of these districts represented attempts by city planners, politicians, and citizen activists to create new interpretations of the past that spoke to the immediate concerns of their time. To quote a 1967 report on Oakland's Victorian Row, preservation efforts were a battle against "dynamic urban changes... resulting in the loss of community identity and the subsequent merging of cities into amorphous masses."

The nascent embedding of historic preservation into urban planning at this time can in some ways be read as a form of counter-culture within the profession. In each of these cities, the emergent historic preservation movement tapped into narratives about loss, authenticity, and a sense of community values that ran in opposition to contemporary lifestyles. Through preservation, it was hoped that citizens could access "an era that many feel was more relaxed and easy-going than our present day." These concerns were less architectural than social, and less historical than contemporary.

Relatively few historians have investigated the beginnings of these three projects, and when they have been studied rarely have they been treated with a critical eye for their cultural meanings. Yet if we are to understand the politically fraught landscape of historic preservation today, we must understand its roots in a sentimentality that addressed contemporaneous ideas of the good life, and only addressed architectural merit or historical import in the most cursory of ways. These two case studies provide an excellent window into these very non-historical roots of historic preservation planning.

How to Converse with the Royal, Imperial and Bourgeois Past? Ambiguities in Planning a 20th Century Modern and Democratic Scandinavian Capital City

Laura Kolbe, University of Helsinki

It is now over 50 years since the launch of widespread legislative measures to protect historical buildings, monuments and areas in European countries and United States. My intention is to introduce some aspects of the post-war planning and urban conservation movement in Scandinavian capitals cities (Copenhagen, Stockholm, Helsinki and Oslo). In the post-war period, often called as "the golden age" of metropolitan development in Nordic countries, the high-rise housing activity reached all capitals. A more cosmopolitan, modernistic and technocratic approach had a great impact on traffic planning and architecture. These capitals counted upon substantial urban expansion and big investments, as well as planning of communication systems like better undergrounds, harbor, motorways etc.

Modernist movement was strong in all four countries. "A living city is not an artificial museum" - attitude was a solid force. Within a couple decades the historical royal, imperial and bourgeois cities were transformed into modern "urban machines". Numerous old buildings were destroyed to make way for up-to-date constructions, usually close to the central traffic areas, like railway stations and main thoroughfares. The key word was renewal (*sanering*) of the old city centre. A new power dimension was presented in the capital planning: big-city dreams were combined with desire to attract private business and companies.

These measures were supported by the semi-socialist municipal policy. New or second urban centers were planned and (former) epicenters of power were destroyed, renewed or marginalized in the city scape. As a result of this fast urban change the rise of public interest in conservation grew, initially led by a minority group of intellectuals, urban culturally oriented middle-classes and specialists within the field (museums, heritage societies). Attention was focused on threats to specific buildings and monuments, especially those related to royal, imperial and bourgeois par and medieval times (old town). The ability of this movement to voice its concerns through media was great.

During late 1960s a greater concern was placed on the heritage issues, and the question of preserving the “old town” became part of local policy. My paper presents in comparative manner this shift of urban attitudes, which influenced the planning principles. A general hypothesis is that all countries in Scandinavia wake up rather late, although the first phase of preserving the old town environment occurred already at the turn of the 20th century. The second phase was followed up by the general “wake up” of attitudes, especially after the cultural revolution of 1968. The modernistic city planning was criticized and gradually replaced by considerations of the architectural and milieu values of cities and old town were protected.

SESSION 5F: The Image in Urban Planning

Chair: Andy Shanken, University of California, Berkeley

Comment: Andy Shanken, University of California, Berkeley

Jane Jacobs and the Image in Urban Planning

Peter L. Laurence, Clemson University

While Kevin Lynch became well known for *The Image of the City* (1960), Jane Jacobs wrote *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) during the same years, with the same foundation support, and with a similar interest in the idea of “the image” of the city. The original goal of Lynch’s research on “The Perceptual Form of Cities” was to generate “new forms, new values, new imagery.” Jacobs’s goals were similar. Her research was motivated by the idea that there were two “dominant and very compelling mental images of the city” that had come to shape the thinking of both citizens and city planners. One was “the image of the city in trouble, an inhuman mass of masonry, a chaos of happenstance growth, a place starved of the simple decencies and amenities of life, beset with so many accumulated problems it makes your head swim.” The other image was of “the rebuilt city, the antithesis of all that the unplanned city represents, a carefully planned panorama of projects and green spaces, a place where functions are sorted-out instead of jumbled together, a place of light, air, sunshine, dignity, and order for all.” In the 1950s, the idea of “the image”—as artifact, media, perceptual phenomenon, and conceptual paradigm—captured the imagination of architects and city designers. In this context, this paper considers Jacobs’s goal of presenting a new image of the city, “not drawn from mine or anyone else’s imagination or wishes but, so far as this is possible, from real life; an image more compelling to the reader than the abstractions, because he is convinced it is truer.”

Kevin Lynch, the Perceptual Form and Urban Design

Clement Orillard, Institut d'Urbanisme de Paris

How to represent the common visual experience of a journey in the city? This topic appeared early in planning history without being a key element in its theory. However, between the forties and seventies, the development of new discourses about the townscape or the urban landscape gave importance to the topic of urban sequences. In connection with the burgeoning of the new field of urban design, graphic tools were developed by several groups of theorists such as: Gordon Cullen and the editorial board of the *Architectural Review* in London, Kevin Lynch and his colleagues at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Denise Scott Brown with students and professional associates in Philadelphia. Among them, the work of Lynch and his colleagues, was the only to propose a scientific and comprehensive approach with the publication of *The View from the Road* in 1964. This paper will first discuss the development of these tools during the birth of urban design and their relationship with photography and then will detail the work of Lynch's group showing the limits of an urbanism of perception.

Matrix of Endless Difference: Kevin Lynch's "Poly-Centered Net" as Utopian Urban Form

Anthony Raynsford, San Jose State University

In 1961, just a year after the publication of his seminal book, *The Image of the City*, Kevin Lynch proposed a new, ideal metropolitan pattern which he dubbed, the "poly-centered net." In contrast to such competing models as Wright's Broadacre City, the British New Towns, or the star-shaped metropolis focused on a single, dominant urban core, the poly-centered net would be both decentralized and differentiated, both divided into contrasting types of space and anti-hierarchically connected within one vast, accessible network. More specifically, Lynch described dense nodes of specialized activities connected by a triangulated net of transportation, all interwoven with a second net of 'open space,' interweaving and overlapping with the first. Planning historians have paid little attention to the poly-centered net as an urban model, in part, because Lynch used this phrase only sporadically, often substituting different language, such as "network of small, intensive urban centers," for the same basic idea. Nevertheless, a close reading of Lynch's numerous writings and manuscripts, including *The Image of the City*, reveals the poly-centered net to be the primary utopian form, underwriting Lynch's advocacy of an 'imageable city,' binding together an urban society that appeared to be unraveling at the seams, both spatially and politically. This social and political motivation became explicit in a 1967 paper that Lynch delivered to the American Institute of Planners, declaring that the networked linking of differentiated centers "might encourage social interactions over a broad geographic base, less tied to class and race." The question that Lynch posed and that poly-centered net was supposed to resolve in the face of the various urban crises of the 1960s was, namely: how can the metropolitan region be simultaneously pluralistic, allowing maximal choice of particular environment, and collective, allowing the totality of the metropolitan region to be experienced as a continuous matrix, open to all? Investigating the social and political assumptions behind Lynch's poly-centered net provides insight in to the wider intellectual culture of American planning in this period, including debates over sprawl, congestion, mixed use, neighborhood units, and segregation.

In this paper I trace the Lynch's poly-centered net to three interrelated sources: 1) the cybernetic theory of the "distributed net," being promoted by Lynch's colleagues at Massachusetts Institute of Technology as a means for creating multiple redundant pathways for sending any type of message and avoiding the vulnerabilities of centralization; 2) ecological discourses of adaptation and wholeness in which the urban environment become a semi-autonomous 'system' to be regulated and channeled, but not master planned; and 3) Cold War political discourses on consumer choice, the 'open society' and pluralistic democracy. Lynch's utopianism must then be understood as an interweaving of these stands, constructing the metropolitan region a matrix of endlessly shifting and differentiating zones into which anyone might enter or leave at will, thus as the built manifestation of an open-ended society without hierarchy or privileged center. Using archival material from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Institute Archive, as well as representative publications from the period, I argue that Lynch's model of the poly-centered net marks an important moment in a much large paradigm shift in the social and political representations of American urban planning in the turbulent period of the 1960s.

Bird's Eye Views in Early Twentieth Century City Planning

Wolfgang Sonne, Technische Universität Dortmund

Bird's eye views seem an obvious means when it comes to urban planning. However, the history of bird's eye views for planning purposes is shorter than one would suspect, and after a first flourishing period they have not only been abandoned by functionalist, technical and social planning strategies but also criticized as misleading. This paper will focus on the now classical bird's eye views of the early twentieth century by Burnham/Guérin, Schmitz, Wagner, Saarinen and others. It will examine their techniques and their purposes. It will ask for the reasons of their appearing and vanishing. And it will finally discuss the role such visual representations can play in the business of mastering the ever visually perceivable form of the city.

SESSION 5G: Transnational Diffusions of Planning II

Chair: Robert Fishman, University of Michigan

Comment: Robert Fishman, University of Michigan

The Garden City Three in New York, April 1925

Mervyn Miller, Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation

Today we value conferences for a blend of professional innovation, scholarship and networking: it was ever thus. From April 20-25, 1925 the International Federation for Town and Country Planning held its biennial conference in New York, jointly with the National Conference on City Planning of the United States, at the Pennsylvania Hotel. The event was attended by international delegates, headed by a triumvirate of founding figures of the Garden City Movement. Ebenezer Howard (1851-1928) had published his book *Tomorrow: a peaceful path to real reform* in 1898, which led to the foundation of Letchworth Garden City in 1903. Masterplanned by Barry Parker (1867- 1947) and Raymond Unwin (1863-1940) it had set

planning and housing standards for the twentieth century. Howard had founded the International Garden Cities Association in 1913: by 1925 fifteen countries had affiliated, many represented at New York. Fifty years since his first visit to the United States this was to be his last. Parker had undertaken consultancies in Oporto, Portugal and Sao Paulo, Brazil and was planning and designing many public housing estates in England. Unwin had entered government service in 1914 and after planning housing for munition workers during the First World War had become Chief Architect in the Ministry of Health responsible for monitoring the national public housing program. He had first visited the United States in 1911, when he met John Nolen, who became a firm friend.

The conference attracted contemporaries and younger generation planners including Clarence Stein and Lewis Mumford, who left distinct impressions of the three and was particularly drawn to Parker. Unwin was accompanied by G. L. Pepler and I. G. Gibbon from the Ministry and re-connected with Thomas Adams, first manager at Letchworth and now in charge of the New York Regional Plan. Parker made fruitful connections with the Canadian planner Naulon Cauchon and Jay Downer, Consulting Engineer and Executive of Westchester County Park Commission, which would influence his master plan for Wythenshawe, Manchester's Garden City satellite.

The event, which juxtaposed decentralization and Garden Cities with the crowded urbanism of Manhattan will be reviewed both by published sources and hitherto unreleased private correspondence of Parker and Unwin.

Ebenezer Howard's Scheme and the Development of the Amazonian Territory

Renato Leão Rego, Universidade Estadual de Maringá

In *Cities and Frontiers in Brazil* (1979) the American geographer Martin T. Katzman associated the colonization of northern Paraná state to a 'planner's dream of success', while the development of the Amazonian territory was portrayed as a 'nightmare'. The planned settlement scheme in Paraná state was initiated in the late 1920s by a British company and, less than five decades later, had ultimately settled one million people in an area the size of Connecticut. Dozens of planned new towns had been created accordingly and efficient infrastructure, good transportation links, fertile soil and encouraging coffee harvests favored immigration and settlement in this affluent but remote unpopulated area. In contrast, the Amazonia development was part of an early 1970's governmental policy to occupy outlying areas and integrate the national territory, following on from the recent construction of the *Transamazônica* road. A series of connected, regularly spaced new towns was created along the road in order to stimulate agriculture in small rural plots and bring the benefits of town life to the countryside. Despite their different outcomes, according to Katzman, the settlement program for the Amazonian territory 'borrowed elements from the northern Paraná scheme'. However, the American geographer did not state that the very thing that was borrowed from the successful northern Paraná enterprise was Ebenezer Howard's scheme, which had been adapted to a new agricultural region.

Focusing on planning diffusion and the creation of planned new towns in Brazil, this paper analyses the governmental plan for the development of the Amazonian territory, while keeping in mind northern Paraná's private settlement scheme and Howard's original idea for the social city. Their underlying common features will be presented in this comparative study; particularly the comprehensive planning of town and country, the creation of town clusters

surrounded by green belts, and the proximity of hierarchical, connected and limited urban settlements attached to rural areas. Adaptations and innovations to the plans will also be commented on.

The Proliferation of the American Urban Design Model in the Philippines, 1916-41

Ian Morley, Chinese University of Hong Kong

The contribution of modern urban designing to the US' colonial narrative in the Philippines is not yet thoroughly understood even though its impact was immense: four monumental City Beautiful-inspired plans were implemented in Manila, Baguio, Cebu, and Zamboanga prior to 1913; more than thirty large-sized Classically-formed civic centres were established in the provinces before 1916; a major zoning plan was proposed for Manila by the early-1930s.

Reshaping the appearance and morphology of Philippine cities, in part to demonstrate a new colonial age had begun/Spanish rule had ended, the urban planning paradigm instigated by Daniel Burnham in 1905 (via his Manila Plan) was vital to the American quest to propagate modern civilization and cultural progress in East Asia. Utilized by the colonial government, the Philippine Commission, to thus articulate 'advancement', express American sovereignty, and build the Philippines 'in our own image', the forging of the 'modern Philippine city' disassociated Philippine society from its 'backward past' and all that it entailed. Yet how was this paradigm taken up? Who put Burnham's urban design model into practice, particularly after the 'filipinization' of the colonial civil service from 1916? Accordingly, did the legacy of the 1905 paradigm endure, and if so how?

In this paper attention is given to the evolution of urban designing in the Philippines between 1916, i.e. the date of the passing of the Autonomy Act, and the outbreak of World War Two in Asia. Focusing upon the Pensionados Program, the scholarship scheme that paid for Filipinos to be educated in universities in North America, the work grants an overview of the actions of the Bureau of Public Works (BPW) and the role of Filipinos within it. The paper's findings seek to deliver insights not only into the education of Filipinos but their role within the BPW, *and* their rise given that by the 1920s they held the top bureaucratic posts associated with architectural and spatial designing. As such the paper examines factors shaping a planning narrative that ultimately bore fruit post-1945 in the form of Quezon City, a city designed by a former Pensionado, Juan Arellano, albeit with assistance by William E. Parson, the individual personally selected by Burnham to execute the 1905 Manila Plan.

SESSION 5H: Can Architects be Socially Responsible?

ROUNDTABLE

This roundtable, loosely inspired by Margaret Crawford's 1991 essay of the same title, will gather a number of scholars who look at the social projects of architects, the structural limits of their agency and the meaning of social responsibility in different historical and national contexts. Writing in 1991, Crawford argued that the American architectural profession's limited capacity to control the building process and its elitist identity had made social responsibility within the field impossible. Architecture, she claimed, was bound to a pre-modern system of

patronage to which it continued to cling using timeworn institutional buttresses and ingenious representational strategies.¹ Given the rise in the last ten years of renewed interest in architects' social agendas, the institutional and economic structures shaping architects' efficacy in these matters require renewed critical attention. Moving beyond the social critiques offered in Crawford's original essay, this panel seeks complex framings drawn from contemporary scholarship in urban studies, city planning, history and architectural theory and criticism. Panelists will consider questions such as: How does economy shape the ethical and political identities of design professionals? How have architects' definitions of ethics and social responsibility changed over time? How do architects practice their politics on the ground? The selected panelists represent a diverse range of geographical and temporal interests, including considerations of race, humanitarianism and pedagogy as they define architects' social practices. The panel will also work to reframe radical design activism of the 1960s in relation to both an expanded historical context and pressing contemporary concerns.

Moderator: Kenny Cupers, University of Basel

The Political Economy of Social Concerns in Architectural Education

Anna Goodman, University of California, Berkeley

Over the course of the twentieth century, educational institutions have been one key site for exploring social agendas in the field of architecture. Building on my research on hands-on and community-based learning in design education, I will consider how architecture schools have served as both models of alternative practice and spaces for the production of socially oriented professionals. While Crawford's analysis follows those which see architectural practice, and education in turn, integrally linked to circuits of capital accumulation, class privilege and expertise (Stevens 1998; Larson 1993; J. R. Blau 1984), case studies and ethnographic perspectives reveal that the on-the-ground practice of architectural politics is far more complex. Still, "alternative" pedagogies do respond to the larger economic systems and political cultures of their historical and geographical contexts. In my brief presentation, I will explore questions related to how funding for so-called socially oriented architecture is obtained and how program leaders articulate design agency in relation to broader political goals. What are the mechanisms by which architects represent and support these often-temporary experiments in social practice? How are the practical and material concerns of building for the underprivileged articulated in relation to ideological commitments, and what are the consequences of these representational strategies?

Architectural Activism and the Gradual Approach to Radical Transformation

Brian Goldstein, University of New Mexico

Looking back, both architects and historians frequently idealize the 1960s, imagining designers at the ramparts with their peers in the broader social movements of the era. Yet, as I will explore in my remarks, the reality on the ground was always more complicated than one can glean from romantic portraits. On one hand, activist architects were concerned with reinforcing the value of architecture and its associated professions, such as planning, even as they voiced a critique of them from within. On the other, their activism on behalf of the frequently low-income, minority residents who had been left out of the design process

represented a real and substantial attempt to reframe the fundamental relationship of client and designer. These impulses were deeply interconnected. Architects did not merely seek to invert traditional roles, as Crawford suggests, but to craft a new framework, in which designers reinforced their expertise as *intermediaries* working to translate grassroots ideas into urban form. Using the lens of the Architects' Renewal Committee in Harlem, the nation's first community design center, I will explore some of the real pitfalls of this gradual approach, including an inability to make the fully devolved transition that many activists demanded. Yet I will also explore the ways that the architect acting as intermediary did much more than simply oppose unwanted projects. In Harlem, such advocacy enacted real and substantial outcomes that were both socially and physically transformative in the decades that followed the 1960s.

Can Society be Socially Responsible?

Andrew Herscher, University of Michigan

"The answer to the question 'can architects be socially responsible?' is, as the profession is presently constituted, no." Margaret Crawford's 1991 essay, titled after the question she compellingly answered in the negative, anticipated a subsequent shift in disciplinary imagination from progressive alternatives within architectural and planning practices to alternatives posed as "outside" those practices. In the past twenty-five years, these alternatives have been named and ratified by such terms such as "informal," "public," "spontaneous," "guerilla," "insurgent," and "DIY." Indeed, Crawford's own writing on "everyday urbanism" has been an important component of precisely this shift. While there are some significant distinctions between the work that these terms reference, most if not all of that work is animated by the assumption that spatial production "outside" the disciplines of architecture and urban planning opens urban space to otherwise excluded communities, interests, and even politics. In this presentation, I want to question the relationship of architecture and planning to the "society" that they have posed as outside their disciplinary precincts. Following Foucault, I want to suggest the need to de-ontologize "society" as something that exists exterior to or prior to the regimes that claim to know it, engage it, and act on it. My claim is that the critique of social responsibility in architecture and planning have yielded versions of "society" in which "society" is made to fulfill the social responsibility that the disciplines have understood themselves to be incapable of. In some sense, that is, architecture and planning have outsourced their social project to an entity that they call "society." This outsourcing thereby raises the question of how the "society" constructed by architecture and planning through such terms as "informality," "the everyday," and "the public" can itself be socially responsible.

Architectural Ethics: A Case-Based Approach?

Mariana Mogilevich, Pratt Institute

Can the contemporary practice of architecture be guided by an architectural ethics akin to that which informs medical ethics? And if so, what representative cases would illustrate and constitute a casebook for ethical thinking and action to guide architects? I will consider what role historians might play in developing such an ethical casebook. What are the historian's ethical responsibilities to students and the design professions? My research on the design and politics of the public realm in the American city of the 1960s and the question of architecture's

social “relevance” will serve as one possible source for cases in architectural ethics. At what scale—geographic and temporal—does the architect’s responsibility lie? What analogies can we draw between this earlier period of redefinition of the architect’s obligation towards cities and their citizens, and the vagaries of contemporary urban development? And finally, do environmental ethics today supplant the human or social obligations the architect might have been held to previously? Topics to be explored in my ten minutes may include Rio, Abu Dhabi, the Bush Presidential Library, among several other possibilities.

Who Builds Your Architecture?: A Case for Advocacy

Mabel O. Wilson, Columbia University

The construction of large-scale architectural and infrastructural projects in major cities around the world has proceeded at a dizzying pace. Cities compete to erect spectacular high-rises, museums, sports arenas, hotels, and other highly visible projects to solidify their stature as global leaders and to attract international investment. Yet behind the boosterism human rights reports and investigative journalism has revealed how the thousands of construction workers hired to build some of these signature projects, other less prominent buildings and massive infrastructural projects have been ruthlessly and routinely exploited. To understand how the global supply chain of the construction industry produces buildings, in other words how buildings are not only conceived by architects, but also how they are materialized by a network that mobilizes architects, construction workers, and a host of other actors, has necessitated an examination that deploys the representational tools and techniques of architecture along with a critical analysis that theorizes architecture’s entanglements within geopolitical and economic structures. The advocacy project *Who Builds Your Architecture? (WBYA?)*, begun in 2012, asks where is architecture within these circuits of the transnational supply chain of the construction industry? What actions—economic, ethical, political—might architects take to better the conditions under which workers build?

SESSION 5J: Los Angeles History 2.0: Place-Based Stories in the Digital Age

ROUNDTABLE

The proposed roundtable brings together scholars, journalists and practitioners who use social media to tell the history of Los Angeles. Participants tweet, blog, photograph and film the city from a variety of social and political perspectives. The discussion will focus on both the benefits and the drawbacks of using these online tools. Social media sites provide opportunities to connect and expand professional networks, share research and develop affinity groups that go beyond the traditional boundaries of the university or historical society. Yet, the use of social media also includes its fair share of risk. Issues of privacy, the oversimplification of complex issues, the ability to evaluate effective sources, the blurring of boundaries between personal and professional time, becoming a target of attack and the commercialization of content require careful consideration.

In this context, the participants will explore the way social media has provided a broader audience for their work, but has also brought significant challenges. Each participant will share their experiences and expound on the role social media has played in furthering the field as well

as their personal and professional goals. The roundtable's participants will also suggest strategies to navigate this fast-changing world while maintaining a sense of ownership and integrity.

Moderator: **Meredith Drake Reitan**, University of Southern California

Andrea Thabet, independent scholar, will discuss how blogging complements her scholarship and the ways that she has contributed to the development of an online community of local historians.

Victoria Bernal, independent writer, founded and moderates the @LAHistory twitter feed. She will discuss ways to build an online following through social media and strategies for successfully integrating history into a variety of communications.

Nathan Masters, University of Southern California, uses the rich visual collections of *L.A. as Subject* members to tell stories about the Los Angeles region. He will discuss how these stories are identified and provide an analysis of what makes some stories more successful than others.

SESSION 5K: The Mellon Urban Humanities Program

ROUNDTABLE

As it trains a professional lens on the built environment, planning and design education typically emphasizes *how* rather than *why*. In prioritizing procedure over analysis, this pedagogical model threatens to downplay complexity and obscure a panoply of realities of the built environment. Indeed, in most professional curricula, humanistic inquiry into the built environment is limited to courses in which "history and theory" ultimately serve, as Dell Upton and others have written, to legitimize professional practices and reinforce normative goals.

In 2013 the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation began an initiative in "Architecture, Urbanism, and the Humanities" aimed at bridging some of these gaps, in part by bringing together students and professors of urban planning and architecture with humanists for courses, cross-disciplinary discussions, and research collaborations. The grant has funded programs at more than a dozen institutions including Harvard, Princeton, Cornell, University of Pennsylvania, New York University, University of California Berkeley, UCLA, the London School of Economics, Washington University in St. Louis, and University of Michigan.

As the only scholarly society dedicated chiefly to the study of the urbanistic professions through a humanistic lens, SACRPH has convened this panel with P.I.s from Penn, Berkeley, UCLA, Michigan, and Princeton to discuss how they have worked across their universities to create humanities urbanism programs; the emerging research questions and methodologies in humanities urbanism; the new research and teaching collaborations that have come out of these programs; and potential future directions.

In particular the session will explore the kinds of collaborations that have encouraged graduate students in professional schools to think about the built environment outside of a professional discourse; how practices and approaches from the arts and humanities, including (but not limited to) urban photography and digital media, alternative forms of mapping, direct

interventions, fieldwork research, oral histories and ethnography, and archival research have been harnessed to this end; and what, precisely, has been gained by teaching the built environment outside the professional box.

Moderator: Aaron Shkuda, Princeton University, is the project manager of the Princeton Mellon-Initiative in Architecture, Urbanism, and the Humanities.

Panelists:

Eugénie L. Birch, University of Pennsylvania, is professor of urban research and education at the Penn School of Design.

Margaret Crawford, University of California, Berkeley, is professor of architecture at the College of Environmental Design.

Dana Cuff, University of California Los Angeles, is professor of architecture and urban design in the School of Arts and Architecture.

Milton Curry, University of Michigan, is associate professor of architecture and associate dean of the Taubman College of Architecture and Urban Planning.

Alison Isenberg, Princeton University, is professor of history.

Moderator: Aaron Shkuda, Princeton University

PAPER SESSION 6: SATURDAY, NOV. 7, 2:30 - 4:15 PM

SESSION 6A: Identity in Public Space: Negotiation and Contestation

Chair: Damon Scott, Miami University

Comment, Damon Scott, Miami University

Molding Our White Youth: Juvenile Delinquency, Recreational Space, and the Shaping of Adolescent Whiteness in Northeast Philadelphia, 1950-1965

Matthew Smalarz, University of Rochester

In the 1950s and early 1960s, white community officials, leaders, and parents in Northeast Philadelphia feared their public spaces were becoming havens for delinquent behavior, as white adolescents engaged in “unseemly” anti-social behavior that threatened the established social order of their quasi-suburban surroundings. The Northeast’s rapid “suburbanization” during the post-war era, although critical in shaping the area’s socioeconomic foundations, left many questions about its future social trajectory within the

city's changing physical dimensions. As delinquent cases increased, white community figures and parents targeted working-class and African-American social behaviors and influences, such as urban criminality, public housing and the trafficking of pornographic materials, for exacerbating social dissension among white youth in the Northeast.

Civic leaders, business figures, and white parents depicted juvenile delinquency as a community crisis that could only be addressed by controlling the socio-cultural and racial cohesion of their neighborhood's public spaces, especially their recreational facilities. Preserving Northeast residents' conceptions of racial and cultural hegemony over - and aesthetic control of - public space required campaigning for additional supervised and well-monitored recreational facilities that would counteract and rectify persistent anti-social developments and forces, which threatened their children's perceived virtuous, suburban lifestyles. In working with Philadelphia city planning officials to address juvenile delinquency and the physical sites in which it occurred, Northeast civic leaders and residents deemed recreational facilities critical public spaces that could dissuade and redirect impressionable white adolescents from subverting the socio-cultural value system through which their whiteness was defined.

Creating and Contesting an Everyday District Center: A New Civic Plaza for Columbia Heights, D.C.

Louis L. Thomas, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

In general, the twentieth century did not bode well for significant public space in the US city. Certainly, some lauded examples readily come to mind: Rockefeller Plaza, Seagram's Plaza and Paley Park in New York; Ghirardelli Square in San Francisco; the festival marketplaces such as Faneuil Hall in Boston or Harborplace in Baltimore. However, none of the above mentioned spaces are truly 'public' in the literal and legal sense of being ostensibly communally owned by a state or municipality. They are, rather, what authors such as Jerold Kayden have termed P.O.P.S.—privately-owned public spaces. This widespread phenomena goes back in history to any settlement not set up under the pretenses of democracy, or anarchy for that matter. However, given that US national identity is centered upon aspirational democratic ideals, that its most 'imageable' public spaces of late are technically private portends to the increasing neoliberal turn in the practice of urban design and global society more generally. Furthermore, most new public spaces are geared towards improving a city's global image or brand and bolstering its international competitiveness—a space *exchange-value* of sorts—rather than explicitly focusing on the everyday needs of local residents—a *use-value*. To offer a promising but problematic alternative, in this paper I will describe the planning and use of a thoroughly public example of an exemplary designed public space in the US urban context: DC's Civic Plaza in the Columbia Heights neighborhood, opened in 2009. Moreover, the plaza successfully serves the middle scale of Jane Jacobs' three levels of the city—the District—a scale too often overlooked by planners and urban designers. Indeed, of the underlying principals laid out in the 1997 *Community-Based* plan, number one was that "Development should serve residents first, then tourists and other visitors". Despite the neighborhood of Columbia Heights having been described as 'the downtown' for mid-twentieth century black DC, the commercial core was littered with abandoned lots for roughly the three decades following the April riots of 1968 in the wake of MLK's assassination. While protests of transit injustice early in the planning resulted in a realignment of the Capitol Subway to the central node of Columbia Heights, and

grassroots efforts fought to bring back commercial businesses, when the redevelopment did finally arrive at the turn of this century, rampant gentrification and dramatic shifts in neighborhood racial demographics were the result. Nevertheless, the neighborhood remains the most ethnically and racially diverse in the city, as the use of the Civic Plaza more or less reflects this reality. Additionally—and further supporting the plan’s goals—in a city too often overrun by tourists, there appears a relative lack of them in the Civic Plaza. I paint this complex narrative of a quotidian yet central neighborhood space through archival research, interviews with plaza users and various actors involved with the planning and redevelopment, as well as on-site observations. This research provides insights to the historical challenges of neighborhood revitalization and identity construction, as well as lessons for the design and implementation of everyday public space intended to primarily serve local residents.

Street Spectacle: The Festival of India Parade, Protest, and the Transformation of a Silicon Valley Suburb

Anisha Gade, University of California, Berkeley

As many scholars have noted, American suburbs are increasingly becoming immigrant gateways as well as becoming more ethnically diverse. As of the 2010 Decennial Census, Fremont, California, a suburban city in Silicon Valley, is the largest municipality in the continental United States with a majority Asian American population. Since Wei Li’s coining of the term “ethnoburb,” much has been written about the demographic trends, regional formations, industrial networks, commercial spaces, and private/domestic realms of multiethnic suburban places. Only a few studies have looked into the impacts on public space and the urban design of postwar suburbs experiencing such demographic shifts. This paper shows that as Fremont experienced an influx of Chinese and Indian immigrants beginning in the early 1990s, its suburban downtown public spaces became crucial sites of display and symbolic discourse for immigrant groups to negotiate their hybridized identities as émigrés, new Americans, and global citizens.

The Festival of India, now in its twenty-fourth year, consists of a pan-ethnic civic parade as well as a cultural arts celebration to commemorate the Indian Independence Day. Through ethnographic documentation, the materiality, aesthetics, and sensory experience of the two-day event are shown to transform the ordinary suburban downtown into an overwhelming expression of ethnic difference. The optics of the event also serve to underscore its symbolic significance for the participating groups; the racial periphery having achieved the means to literally infiltrate the (sub)urban core. In this manner, the event exemplifies the theory of place attachment, which states that through certain practices, participants develop psychological attachments to place.

What makes this particular ethnic parade noteworthy, however, is that because it also serves as a platform for multiple, competing agendas, this case study actually advances our understanding of place attachment. Every year, the Sikh minority groups protest this parade’s noncritical celebration of the modern Indian nation-state with a fervent display of their own. Calling attention to decades-old waves of ethnic riots in India and alleging the involvement of government officials, these protesters profoundly complicate the proud symbolism of this ethnic display in an American suburb. The situation is further confused when one realizes that some of the parade organizers are also Sikhs. Therefore the basic aims of both parade and protest – i.e. to consolidate their presence and claim the space of the city center – hold

contradictory symbolic significance for certain ethnic minorities. Members of the Sikh minority have conflicted allegiances. Therefore, the same site is differently significant for different groups/individuals, depending on the nature and degree to which their communal/individual identities are reflected in the event. By understanding the strategic alliances and fundamental tensions of one ethnic parade and its concomitant protest, suburban scholars gain a renewed appreciation for the possibility of differential place attachments and complexity of agendas in multiethnic enclaves.

SESSION 6B: Remaking the Deindustrializing City

Chair: Andrea Thabet, independent scholar

Comment: Brian Goldstein, University of New Mexico

Waste Incineration, Job Creation, and the Politics of Environmental Justice at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, 1986-Present

Rebecca Hayes Jacobs, Yale University

Today, redevelopment efforts along the New York City waterfront rely on neoliberal “sustainable” planning strategies. Claiming to foster community, create jobs, and improve the environment, many postindustrial waterfront sites are managed by local development corporations. In particular, at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, a 300-acre site along the East River, a local development corporation and partner organizations have publicized “sustainable development” projects at the Yard, which ostensibly benefit area residents by relying on a public-private approach to providing new jobs, fresh food, green space, and affordable housing. An examination of a multi-ethnic environmental justice coalition, which stopped the construction of a waste incinerator at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in the 1980s, can help reframe the meaning of “sustainable development” at this site today. In 1966, the Navy decommissioned the Yard, and a development corporation took over management on behalf of the city. In spite of promises to replace shipbuilding jobs through private industry, by 1986, the last major ship repair company based at the Yard had filed for bankruptcy. That year, citing the prospect of job creation, local political leaders embraced New York City’s proposal for a solid waste incinerator at the site, to be operated by a municipal contractor. At fifty-five stories tall, it would have cost the city \$550 million, and burned 3,000 tons of trash per day. Residents from the surrounding neighborhoods came to doubt the benefits of building the incinerator, given the costs it would have on their health. Working with the New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG), they formed a coalition called Community Alliance for the Environment (CAFE), bringing together African-American, Latino, and Orthodox Jewish residents. They used various tactics, including rallies, marches, and media events. After a decade-long battle, in 1996, Governor Pataki signed a bill that prevented construction on the incinerator from moving forward.

Although in recent years the language of the environmental justice movement has been co-opted and depoliticized by development corporations, real estate developers, and city officials in the service of “green” redevelopment projects, the environmental justice coalition to stop the Brooklyn Navy Yard incinerator did not hold the same principles as the institutional logic behind current plans for “sustainable development” at the Yard today. In the mid-1980s,

when the Yard was losing thousands of industrial jobs, area residents challenged the idea that “job creation” would solve all their problems, and instead focused on fighting for environmental equity. Revisiting their campaign against the incinerator highlights how neighborhood activists defined environmental justice in a way that was, and still is, at odds with a neoliberal approach to urban sustainability.

"From 'Redliners' to Reinvestors": Subdividing the City of St. Louis in the 1970s

Mo Speller, Johns Hopkins University

In the 1970s planners and city officials working with the newly developed Community Development Agency identified a major obstacle to their goal of improving life in St. Louis City; redlining. Some claim the term “redlining” originated with the color-coded Home Owner's Loan Corporation's maps used in New Deal housing policy, where red lines outlined areas considered at the highest risk for lending on the basis of their racial composition. By the 1970s, planners and officials in St. Louis were particularly interested in a new program being developed at the federal level, called Neighborhood Housing Services, designed to counteract the damaging legacy of redlining. However, rather than addressing lending discrimination directly, planners and city officials focused on small neighborhoods they believed demonstrated the initiative necessary for revitalization. Rather than addressing lending in a broader structural frame, planners and officials focused on a spatial fix—explaining how a handful of city neighborhoods could look and operate more like suburban ones, and therefore represent sound investments.

In hopes of encouraging neighborhood revitalization, planners allocated a large number of block grants toward closing streets to “non-residential traffic.” In many cases these barriers separated neighborhoods by race and class. Planners suggested that isolating neighborhoods from “non-residential traffic” would facilitate “community development” and encourage local lending institutions to provide loans in newly planned neighborhoods. A few of these experts began to promote a peculiar template St. Louis had inherited from the nineteenth century; the private street or “Place.” On a given “Place” homeowners would organize a Boards of Trustees in order to collectively own the street itself as private property. Noticing the powerful ability of private street homeowners to resist “neighborhood decline,” advocates of private streets during the 1970s promoted a variety of strategies for *public* streets that would use aesthetics to create the same sense of shared ownership that were incorporated into designs for neighborhood revitalization.

Using resident petitions, neighborhood restoration plans, and federal documents on the Neighborhood Housing Services programs, this paper raises several questions about urban governance, the legacy of redlining, and the role of property-owner rights in the shaping of cities.

“Nowhere to Go”: Struggles over Recreation Space in North Philadelphia, 1960s-1970s

Alyssa Ribeiro, University of California, Los Angeles

From the 1960s into the 1970s, black and Puerto Rican residents in North Philadelphia consistently pressed city officials and private businesses on the issue of recreation sites. Lacking formal play spaces, young people’s use of street corners, sidewalks, alleys, and vacant buildings presented both physical threats to children and cover for illicit activities. This paper traces the development of two sites – the Spring Garden Community Services Center and Cruz Recreation

Center – to show the interplay between residents, officials, and businesses in creating sanctioned recreation sites.

Spring Garden Community Services Center was established in 1968 in a former convent and backed by private financing. It leased offices to groups ranging from the YMCA to the Black Panthers, and drew additional support from United Fund monies and federal grant programs. Pharmaceutical company Smith Kline French financed swimming pool restoration and youth enrichment programs at the site. By the early 1970s, the center had become a million-dollar nonprofit corporation with little assistance from the City of Philadelphia.

Cruz Recreation Center arose from Ludlow Community Association's concerted campaign for a neighborhood recreation and social service center. Funding and location issues long hampered the city's response, but negative publicity generated by a 1966 television documentary finally pushed officials to obtain federal grant money for the project. Plans for the center required clearance of an entire block in a densely-populated neighborhood, and the potential loss of local employers at the recommended site presented residents and planners with difficult choices. After Cruz Recreation Center opened in 1973, residents remained in dialogue with city officials about the evolution of the space, achieving the addition of a swimming pool and a fence around the playing fields.

Overall, the combined and creative efforts of residents, city officials, and the private sector produced tangible results in an era of tight city budgets and downtown-focused redevelopment. For their part, city officials were motivated by public pressure and concerns about juvenile delinquency and racial violence, while some corporations actively sought better relations with their neighbors. Though residents, planners, and corporate benefactors approached recreation with different goals and priorities, all hoped to redirect neighborhood youth away from other urban spaces deemed more problematic.

Grounding Capital Mobility: Contests over Public Space in Two Steel Communities, 1909 and 2009

Chloe Taft, Yale University

This paper will examine the ways in which conflicts over public space uniquely materialize abstractions of capital mobility and its uneven social effects. I look at two sites that dominated steel production in the twentieth century to show how corporate agendas are spatialized and how community stakeholders seek to “ground” local benefits from these profit structures. In the early twentieth century, a discovery that Illinois Steel had quietly dumped slag to “reclaim” more than 200 acres from Lake Michigan in Southeast Chicago led to public outcry to “recover back for the people” this new (and legally state-owned) property and its lakefront access. In an echo of corporate rhetoric familiar during late- twentieth-century deindustrialization, Illinois Steel argued that plant expansion was the only way to create more jobs in the community and threatened to move its steel works across the border to Indiana. In 1909, the Illinois State legislature sold the disputed land to the steel company at a bargain price, cutting off public access to the lake for the next one hundred years.

The second site on which this paper focuses, the former Bethlehem Steel plant in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, reveals how residents continue to resist uneven power relations between corporations and communities in a postindustrial economy. In 2009, the Las Vegas Sands Corporation, the largest casino-resort developer in the world, opened a new casino on the site of the plant's former ore yards. It has gained distinction as one of the top- performing

casinos in the region based in large part on its aggressive marketing to the large Chinese population just an hour's bus ride away in New York. To many longtime white and Latino Bethlehem residents, however, these Asian visitors are the "wrong type" of public for the reinvigorated community space developers promised. Contests over Asian visitors' use of a new public greenway along former railroad tracks that cut near the steel plant, and accusations of transgressed boundaries when they sleep on park benches, publicly urinate, or move people's patio furniture, spatialize a critique the seemingly boundless flows of capital, people, and neoliberal policies in a global economy and reveal its uneven effects on both populations.

This paper draws on archival research, legal scholarship, and landscape analysis, as well as ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Bethlehem between 2009 and 2013. It moves beyond a focus on planning professionals and developers to argue that the landscape is a material expression of corporate profit structures as well as a site through which community members interpret and reproduce social and economic inequalities "on-the-ground."

SESSION 6C: Building Modern California: Los Angeles and San Francisco in the Early 20th Century

Chair: Jan Reiff, University of California, Los Angeles

Comment: Mitchell Schwarzer, California College of the Arts

Gardens in the City: San Francisco's Twentieth-century Residence Parks

Richard Brandi, Board member Western Neighborhoods Project, independent preservationist

The United States witnessed the introduction of many residence parks during the early 20th century. Residence parks were an attempt to combine the amenities of the country with the conveniences of the city by creating exclusive residential communities just beyond the edge of the city and close enough to commute by train or streetcar. Robert Stern in his magisterial book, *Paradise Planned, The Garden Suburb in America*, identified 954 garden suburbs in 35 countries and 145 garden suburbs in the U.S. by 1920. Stern noted two typologies of garden suburbs: the garden village, and the garden enclave. Garden villages, as the name implies are independent entities connected to the city proper by train, streetcar or automobile with their own shops and civic buildings. Riverside, Illinois is an ample of a garden village. The garden enclave, also called a residence park, is exclusively residential, often organized naturalistically and employing coordinated land use planning such as setbacks and landscaping. The result is model communities of quality houses with gardens and quiet, tree-lined streets.

At a time before comprehensive zoning, deed restrictions were used to control what was built, how the land was used, and who could buy. The deed restrictions also provided funds by taxing residents for the upkeep of the grounds via a home association. The restrictions were necessary to convince buyers that their neighborhood would remain single family residential at the same time banning agricultural uses. Restricted communities promised a 'park-like living in a city,' not a house on a farm.

This study looks at eight garden enclaves in San Francisco that were launched between 1910 and 1918: West Clay Park, Sea Cliff, Lincoln Manner, Jordan Park, St. Francis Wood, Forest Hill, Balboa Terrace, and Ingleside Terraces. There were other residence parks during this period but these eight include the better known ones or those that achieved notoriety at the time. Although ostensibly offering the same product and marketed to the same professional

and managerial classes (not the super rich), the parks varied due to the availability of land, site conditions, transportation access, experience and sophistication of the developer, and economic pressures. They range in size from 30 houses to 750, flat terrain to extremely hilly, perfunctory or extensive landscaping, and the standard grid or curvilinear streets. One of the better known tracts is St. Francis Wood, laid out by the Olmsted Brothers and the inspiration for Palo Verdes in Los Angeles.

Developers expected lot buyers to hire architects and build custom houses. This ideal was achieved during the early years but during the 1920s, some developers offered free stock designs and built speculative houses in order to spur sales. In spite of depressions, wars, inflation, and other economic pressures during the 20th century, these eight parks maintained their coordinated land use planning and have remained highly desirable places to live, either because were quickly built, or the developer persevered in spite of financial pressures, or they were governed by strong home owners associations that exercised oversight.

Building Los Angeles: The Architecture of Morgan, Walls and Clements

Tamara Morgenstern, independent preservationist

The Los Angeles firm of Morgan, Walls and Clements, the city's oldest architectural practice and one of the most active for several generations, contributed some of the most iconic and enduring landmarks to the urban setting. Working in the Italianate, Mission Revival and Beaux Arts styles, Octavius Morgan, Sr., the first registered architect in Los Angeles, partnering with Ezra Kysor, John Walls and Octavius Morgan, Jr., helped shape downtown Los Angeles and Hollywood starting in the boom years of the 1880s. The firm hit its stride when the Beaux-Arts trained architect Stiles O. Clements joined the group in 1920. Clements introduced an exuberant Spanish Revival aesthetic and subsequently designed some of the city's most notable Art Deco and Streamline Moderne structures, including the famed black and gold Richfield Building (1928) and the Mayan Theater (1927) in downtown Los Angeles, Hollywood's El Capitan Theater (1926) and the Art Deco Pellissier Building (1931) along Wilshire Boulevard.

The firm produced buildings in every conceivable typology, from the Italianate Pico House hotel (1869-70) in El Pueblo de Los Angeles to public schools, such as the PWA Streamline Moderne Thomas Jefferson High School (1936); the exotic Babylonian walled "city" of the Samson Tyre and Rubber Company factory (1929-30); and several automobile showrooms. Their prolific design of banks, theaters, commercial and civic structures, schools and apartments formulated an identity for the downtown commercial district and contributed significantly to the infrastructure of the many smaller, self-sufficient satellite communities of the region. Octavius Morgan, Jr. and Clements also assumed an active role in devising a Beaux Arts planning scheme for the city's central core.

As Los Angeles spread horizontally through the development of many interconnected urban clusters and its residents became heavily reliant on the automobile, Clements became one of the region's preeminent designers for the many new neighborhood supermarkets. His innovative work, including the design of a number of elegant and spacious Ralphs Grocery stores in a Churrigueresque mode, transformed the experience of marketing to high glamour. In 1929, Clements designed the Spanish Colonial Revival Chapman Park Market, one of the earliest auto-oriented markets in the United States with a grandly embellished façade along the street and a central court parking lot.

This paper traces the work of the firm of Morgan, Walls and Clements as it impacted Los Angeles urbanism from the city's early growth in the 1870s through the 1930s, examining how historicist and period styles, adapted to diverse building typologies, created a sense of place in line with the vision of the region's planners and founders. Particular focus will be placed on the innovations in supermarket design made by Clements in the twenties and thirties, demonstrating how he adapted these commercial structures to the exigencies of decentralized community planning.

"The Continuous City" of "Homey Homes": Los Angeles 1900-1920

Laura Redford, independent historian

In the words of one Los Angeles Realty Board (LARB) member from 1911, Los Angeles was to be a "continuous city."ⁱ Around the same time, the Chamber of Commerce worked with the local developers to advertise Los Angeles as a "City of Homey Homes."ⁱⁱ What later urban historians and planners would identify in Los Angeles and disparagingly come to call "sprawl" was not a hapless or arbitrary building scheme without a plan. In the era before formal planning commissions endowed with authority by local or regional governing bodies, real estate developers and brokers acted as informal planners for their cities. The men who developed, sold, and marketed real estate in the city *purposefully* built and advertised Los Angeles this way.

This paper will look at two organizations whose interlaced vision of the city resulted in the Los Angeles we know today. First, the Chamber of Commerce to presented single family homes as the image for Los Angeles in its promotional literature. Early on Los Angeles boasted some of the highest home ownership rates in the nation. Second, the LARB supported low-density, sprawling residential community development, as evidenced in a political battle over street car expansion. This event also underscores the intertwined relationship between the transportation networks and real estate developers. Promoting the ideal of a sprawling city filled with single family homes for the region was an intrinsic component of the financial success for real estate investors and developers. These principles, firmly in place in the first two decades of the twentieth century established the foundations for the massive development in the 1920s. Subsequent decades continued this focus.

SESSION 6D: Interwar Housing Questions

Chair: Sarah Jo Peterson, Urban Land Institute

Comment: Marta Gutman, The City College of New York

Planning and Public-Private Partnerships as Essential Links in Early Federal Housing Policy

Kristin E. Larsen, University of Florida

Many historians have documented the divorce between housing reform and planning that marked the early years of the profession. Still key advocates for a government role in housing during the first decades of the twentieth century considered the two highly interconnected, taking the form of the garden city. Members of the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) translated the garden city into a uniquely American vision of complete communities with a proposed finance structure that partnered government and

entrepreneurial initiatives. This paper provides a closer examination of these lesser studied principles that informed early federal housing policy through the writings and advocacy of pioneer garden city planner and British government houser Raymond Unwin, and prominent RPAA members Clarence Stein and Henry Wright.

Excepting its short-lived World War I experiment sponsoring housing projects in centers of war-related industry, the U. S. government's sustained assistance for low-cost rental housing began during the Great Depression. Rather than the public housing strand and its translation from the vision of key players, such as Catherine Bauer, into the underfunded permanent program targeting the lowest income, this study examines a limited dividend alternative designed to create the complete community for a working class constituency. Integrating planning and public-private partnerships as essential tools to realize housing needs, this critical strand of housing policy transformed into the Federal Housing Administration's (FHA) garden apartment rental program.

Exploring the parallels and divergences of Unwin, Stein, and Wright's housing principles and advocacy further enhances our understanding of the roots of U.S. housing policy and programs. My comparative analysis addresses the appropriate role of the public and private sectors as well as the place of the architect and planner in these new government programs. Further, I examine the translation of these principles into the 1933 Public Works Administration (PWA) temporary public housing program and Congress's subsequent passage of the FHA's lesser known support for rental garden apartment development in 1935 as precursors to passage of the permanent public housing program of 1937. This analysis involves reviewing primary and secondary sources such as unpublished papers, lectures, government documents, letters, and contemporary publications and assessing critical junctures in U.S. housing history.

While Rodgers (1998), Peterson (2003), and Hall (2014) identify an enduring disconnect between planners and housers by the second national planning conference in 1910, Unwin, Stein, and Wright, and other housers like them, integrated regional planning and housing reform in their advocacy of a government role to create complete communities serving the middle income and working class populations. In particular, Stein's vision adapted the limited dividend strategy to engage private sector expertise and government support for a uniquely capitalistic strand of government housing, or investment housing as he called it, as an alternative to the more socialistic European model of public housing.

Fordism in Crisis: Welfare and Worker's Housing in Depression-Era Detroit

Michael McCulloch, University of Michigan

"Welfare work has minimized racialism. Detroit would have been on fire without relief."
-Frank Murphy, Mayor of Detroit, 1931.

The cultural ideal of the Fordist worker—disciplined on the assembly line and secure in the modern home its wages provided—was thrown into crisis by the worldwide depression of the early 1930s. Mass layoffs of industrial workers in Detroit raised the threat of mass foreclosure as many exhausted their savings, defaulting on debts accrued in the boom years of the 1920s. This paper examines the politics of Depression-era welfare in Detroit. It argues that as government, industrial leaders and the city's communist-led workers' councils negotiated issues such as employment and eviction policy they found common cause—though different means and meanings—for preserving the ideal of the secure worker's home.

Analyzing the records of the Mayor's Unemployment Committee, newspaper reports and editorials on welfare policy, and photographs of evictions and workers' political demonstrations, this presentation will unpack the contested meanings of the Fordist worker's home revealed by economic crisis. The Mayor's Committee, for example, brought municipal and industrial leaders and African American community leaders to the table seeking welfare solutions, but this body became deeply divided on the question of industry's responsibility to its former workers. The Committee also constructed a narrative of deserving and less-deserving welfare recipients that favored workers with families and workers expressing the humble desire to perform any work rather than to accept charity. Workers themselves, whose domestic lives were shaped in the paternalistic industrial culture of the 1910s and the welfare capitalism of the 1920s earnestly, and forcefully, called on government and industry to protect them from hunger and the repossession of their mortgaged homes and belongings. One result of these welfare debates was the widespread development and use of "Thrift Gardens," in which workers performed their celebrated willingness to labor for their livelihoods on land and with seeds provided by government and industry, transmuting the ideal of the thrifty home garden into subsistence scheme that preserved Fordist top-down power relations.

This project suggests a new significance for Detroit's largely abandoned worker's houses, often seen as mere "ruins" in the present: they index social contradictions that were built into the structure of the city from the beginning of its automobile-based industrialization. Finally, this paper will suggest historical lessons about the precariousness of working-class homeownership as a social model, badly needed in the wake of the subprime foreclosure epidemic that began in 2008, as workers continue to seek security amid crisis.

Demountable Housing for Sunbelt Port Cities: Now You See It— Now You Don't?

Kristin M. Szylvian, St. John's University

Historians of the World War II home front such as David Kennedy and Roger Lotchin have shown how U.S. cities were transformed by the migration of workers seeking employment in defense industries. Housing problems in port cities across the Sunbelt including San Diego, California, Beaumont, Texas, Savannah, Georgia, and Wilmington, North Carolina, emerged shortly after mobilization began and local shipyards and shipping terminals began hiring workers. Home builders, bankers, and realtors offered assurance that the private sector would provide all the dwellings needed for the expanding population. They wanted to keep President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Congress from authorizing the construction of public housing for defense workers, an action they feared would depress local real estate values.

After Congress appropriated funds for dwellings and community facilities for defense workers under the Lanham Act in late 1940, allied business interests in San Diego and other port cities devoted their attention to convincing federal officials of the need for "demountable" housing designed for portability, assembly, disassembly, and reassembly. They favored demountable housing because it made it possible for them to look forward to a postwar market that largely resembled the pre-war market. At the end of the war, the newcomers and the very houses they lived in would disappear, along with the threat of class and racial residential mixing.

Sources for this study include federal and local government housing and planning records and reports and newspaper accounts. I anticipate arguing that demountable housing turned out to be a mixed blessing for real developers in San Diego and other port cities. They

got their way in the short run, but the chronic shortage of affordable housing and desegregation made it politically difficult for business leaders to lobby for its removal. Thousands of the demountable units remain in their original locations today. Mostly privately owned, they offer housing for low and moderate income families in cities where the cost of living has risen sharply in recent decades. Now eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, they speak to the influence of real estate interests in federal housing policy, the faith placed in the industrialization of home building, and a lack of commitment to environmental and natural resource conservation.

SESSION 6E: Reconceptualizing Real-estate Development

AICP CM CREDITS [pending approval]

Chair: Sara Stevens, University of British Columbia

Comment: Sara Stevens, University of British Columbia

Social Uplift with the Thought of Profit: Capitalist Planning and Design for the Low-Cost Housing Market, 1936-1952

Elaine B. Stiles, University of California, Berkeley

In 1940, *American Builder* magazine characterized small, single-family homes selling for less than \$5,000 as the single greatest building market in the United States. From the late 1930s through the early 1950s, American merchant and community builders invested heavily in new housing development for America's lower middle and working classes. These efforts represented a war on multiple fronts for the homebuilding industry. On one side, builders were fighting the numbers, trying to shave costs off of their products to get them low enough in price to tap into what promised to be vast statistical market. On the other side, the industry was fighting the specter of government-sponsored building and public housing that could conceivably eradicate their single largest growth market. What ensued was a race among capitalist, free-enterprise homebuilders to produce faster, cheaper, and better-quality homes for the lower-income segments of the housing market as a resounding capitalist response to what they saw as a dangerous socialist housing agenda.

While the contours of this ideological conflict and its market-driven logic are generally well known, developers' experiences developing low-cost housing on the ground tell a more complex and politically ambiguous story. Using case studies from the western United States alongside the broader discourse on low-cost housing in popular building industry journals, this paper explores the experimental planning and design methods, housing values, and structural challenges that shaped builders' minimum house development in the years immediately pre- and post-World War II. This was a period of intense design and planning interest among builders, inspired by everything from wartime housing to the New Deal housing reform projects they railed against. The industry produced a series of alternative housing designs that demonstrated a distinct understanding of their markets' material and social needs. Developers also became defacto planners for low income housing development in their areas, finding themselves in the unexpected position of subverting planning policies or financial markets that effectively excluded single-family low income housing or indirectly prescribed appropriate

housing for certain social classes. Their activities reshaped the character and demography of the urban edge while probing the underlying ambivalence on the part of government and capital over the risks and rewards of expanded home ownership.

Good Density and Diverse Suburbs: Planning and the Non-residential Condominium

Erica Allen-Kim, University of Toronto

This paper examines the recent history of suburban restructuring through cases studies that address questions of density and diversity. Beginning with the new towns of the postwar era, to the rise of edge cities and planned growth nodes, questions of socioeconomic and cultural diversity have accompanied debates about “good density,” sustainability, and urbanity. The increasingly heterogeneous population stemming from immigration policy reforms of the 1960s in the United States and Canada has significantly impacted the economy and built environment in suburban and exurban areas. Suburban typologies and landscapes are appropriated and transformed by this diverse set of users and developers.

I examine how Latinos and Asians have appropriated the commercial condominium concept in North America as a pathway to property ownership. Although the study of ethnic economies is well established, the role of privately-owned commercial spaces as central to trans-Pacific and trans-American history has yet to receive scholarly attention. By situating the development of the ethnic condo mall within a broader context of suburban restructuring in the United States and Canada since 1965, this study offers a view on how global and local forces interact with everyday practices in the designed space of the shopping center. For example, by focusing on forms of shopping and leisure, my research considers how generic shopping center buildings operate as flexible containers for economic and cultural diversity.

This paper engages in a conversation with recent research within the social sciences and design profession to consider the impact of immigration and transnationalism on the ongoing transformation of suburbs. Land-use conflict in national cases such as the Vancouver “monster house” or Richmond Hill’s Chinese condo-mall indicates a need to examine the historical roots of suburban economic or political restructuring and increasing density within a broader framework of culture, identity, and ideology. I first situate the non-residential condominium within a longer history of condominiums in North America before focusing on the interactions of planners, local developers, and foreign or immigrant investors on the densification of downtown Toronto and the metropolitan region. Using a historical lens, I connect these recent retail condominium development projects to evolving planning theories and policies in the GTA.

The Merchant Crusaders: Eichler Homes and Fair Housing

Ocean Howell, University of Oregon

By the mid-1960s, the Civil Rights Movement could count some major victories, ending legal discrimination in public education, the workplace, and the ballot box. But thanks to the efforts of the real estate lobby, the campaign for fair housing lagged far behind. Groups like the California Real Estate Association (CREA) and especially the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) aggressively lobbied at the state and federal levels to prevent passage of anti-discrimination laws and to weaken and repeal those that had already passed. Arguing for the sanctity of property rights, their spokespeople often referred to Fair Housing as “forced housing.” There were a handful of liberal developers who refused to toe the NAREB line, and

insisted on selling homes on an open-occupancy basis. However, these developers typically operated at a loss--open housing was risky business. Most observers viewed these homebuilders as exceptions that proved the rule, and even their supporters described the liberal homebuilder as the "crusader," giving the impression of a Don Quixote engaged in a noble, unwinnable fight.

Without disputing the prevailing interpretation of these developers, this essay demonstrates that there is much more to the story. There was, in fact, another kind of homebuilder whose influence is yet to be appreciated. These were profitable developers who insisted that they were simple merchant builders, out to make a buck like anyone else, but who nevertheless sold homes on an open-occupancy basis, *and also engaged in Civil Rights activism behind the scenes*. I refer to these developers as the "merchant crusaders." Preliminary research suggests that there were a number of these builders around the country, but this paper focuses on the father-and-son team of Joseph "Joe" and Edward "Ned" Eichler, the founder and vice president of Eichler Homes, one of the largest suburban developers in California in the 1950s and 60s.

Drawing on reports and correspondence from the California State Archives, National Archives, Bancroft Library, and UC Berkeley's Environmental Design Archives, as well as reports and testimony from the US Civil Rights Commission, and personal accounts written by Ned Eichler, this study shows that the Eichlers wielded a great deal of influence in the campaign for Fair Housing, not just in California, but also at the federal level. Not only did they sell to all qualified buyers, the Eichlers also consulted with members of the US Civil Rights Commission, as well as officials at the Federal Housing Administration, Housing and Home Finance Administration, and Housing and Urban Development (HUD) about how to craft and promote Fair Housing. In turn, the Civil Rights Commission and federal housing officials routinely pointed to the Eichlers to illustrate why Fair Housing would not destroy the real estate market. Moreover, Ned Eichler was largely responsible for California's fair housing law in his capacity as the chair of Governor Edmund "Pat" Brown's Commission on Housing Problems.

Unexpected Outcomes of Unusual Relationships: Three Historical Episodes in the Urbanism of Las Vegas 1927-2000

Aseem Inam, The New School

Las Vegas is often either marginalized as a subject of serious study in histories of urbanisms, or it is portrayed as a city that is primarily emblematic of a place of leisure, spectacle and/or excessive consumption [including criminal or extralegal activities]. This paper proposes a shift in the study of the evolution of Las Vegas: that it can in fact be understood as the product of unexpected outcomes of unusual relationships.

Drawing from historical archives such as newspaper articles, government reports, and images of the period, as well as secondary sources such as urban scholars and Las Vegas historians, the paper focuses on three historic episodes that are particularly significant in the evolution of its contemporary manifestation:

— In 1927, several weeks before the announcement of the Hoover Dam's construction [originally called Boulder Dam], the city's business owners began to strategize on how to capitalize on the expected stream of thousands of dam workers and tourists to what was then a small town. In the coming years, business owners and political leaders liberalized gambling laws, established a small airfield, and built hotels, saloons and brothels in the 4-block

downtown area around Fremont Street. By the time the dam was completed in 1935, it served as a powerful financial stimulus not only to downtown Las Vegas, but also created a substantial water, power and construction hinterland in the entire region.

- In the 1940s and 1950s, members of the Jewish mafia and Mormon banking community came together to create an unexpected partnership. They were part of the unseen city, which would be more important than its naughty and glittering surface. Many of the downtown and Strip casinos during this period were run by Jews who had operated illegal casinos elsewhere such as Moe Dalitz at the Desert Inn and Stardust, and Eddie Levinson at the Sands and Fremont. Mormon banks—such as the Bank of Las Vegas, which lent \$15 million to gambling operators—provided a crucial source of funding in the absence of other sources. These two groups, who came from persecuted backgrounds, established a type of hidden partnership that would shape the city for decades.
- In the mid-1980s, Steve Wynn, a long-time Las Vegas entrepreneur, announced plans for a radically new type of resort on the Strip that would reinvent the typical hotel-casino model. The Mirage opened in 1989 with great fanfare as well as skepticism. In reality, the reinvention was combination of familiar elements of other Las Vegas resorts, including casino space, luxurious rooms and suites, separate villas, and large amounts of convention space. What was truly innovative—and led to the reinvention of the city—was the plethora family-friendly amenities such as a live “volcano” and “waterfall” on the Strip, a salt water tank with sharks and tropical fish, and a year later, habitats for white tigers and bottle-nosed dolphins. It was to set the tone for the newly reinvented Las Vegas for a decade.

These three unexpected outcomes of unusual relationships offer insights into the ways Las Vegas has evolved, not simply as a history of planning, or of primarily government interventions, or of only private initiatives. In this narrative, instead, major infrastructure construction projects leads to the substantial redesign of downtowns, largely hidden resource-driven partnerships are more interesting than the physical designs they yield, and a singular architectural intervention by a private developer leads to wholesale change in the surrounding urban fabric. Such a close examination of Las Vegas’s historical complexity reveals how sets of relational occurrences have helped shaped the city we know today.

SESSION 6F: Space and Power in East Asia

Chair: Max Hirsh, University of Hong Kong

Comment: Max Hirsh, University of Hong Kong

Speaking through the Mall: Junkspace, Street Markets, and Urban Conflict in Bangkok

Trude Renwick, University of California, Berkeley

The singing of the Chinese translation of “Do you hear the people sing?” from the popular musical *Les Miserables* in the Occupy Hong Kong protests and the use of the three fingered salute found in the *Hunger Games* series by anti-military coup demonstrators in Bangkok, are recent acts of dissent that emerge around malls, and harness popular culture, rather than the traditional imagery of urban protests. These cases are not alone; political groups are occupying spaces in and around the global forms expressing a diverse range of motives, demands, and engagement with the space of the mall itself. Not only does the

occupation of the mall spur one to ask why protests occur around this seemingly global space, but also how do the tensions that explode within these protests connect to the everyday life within these urban spaces?

Using the case of the Siam Square and Ratchaprasong Intersection in Bangkok, this paper first examines the mall, as a form of everyday urbanism that is not simply set as opposed to the "lower class" space of the street market, but encourages and at times incorporates such local economic activity. Siam Square and the Ratchaprasong Intersection serves as the modern economic core of the city littered with skyscrapers and luxury malls. This paper turns to the everyday spaces of the market, infrastructure, and religion that also make up this area in order to first demonstrate how the play and interaction between high and low classed spaces are not always a matter of removal or erasure of one over another through planning or architectural form. Although this portion of the city that is defined by the mall, it is, in fact, a space particularly conducive to such play.

The second portion of this paper then examines how this engagement and play present in the Siam Square Ratchaprasong Intersection as an everyday phenomenon plays out in the context of the protest. Although some of the most famous protests in Thai history revolved around the Democracy Monument and Sanam Luang – a monument commemorating transition to a constitutional monarchy and an open field directly next to the Grand Palace in the old center of the city— the past decade has brought a multitude of demonstrations to this new economic center of Bangkok. Unlike the ways in which previous protests have posed themselves as counter to this space of the mall in the past, the most recent demonstrations that take place around one of the key luxury malls reveals that urban spaces of insurgence can actually engage with the global language of the mall and global popular culture to make their demands. The mall is no longer solely a space that must be countered, even burned down, but in fact it is harnessed and engaged with through the act of protest.

Ultimately, *Speaking through the Mall* expands upon the work of James Holston, Aihwa Ong, Margaret Crawford, Abdoumalig Simone, and other scholars in order to connect the complexity of this urban space in the everyday with its use in the context of the protest.

A Built Communism: Revisiting People's Commune Mansion in Beijing in the 1960s

Ling Fan, China Academy of Arts

Chinese Communism can be traced from the very early belief of a communitarian life-work relation that detached from traditional family-state. It is a short enthusiasm and optimism that combined with Marxism and Maoism would eventually create a utopia of material and spiritual abundance to disillusion with this belief, and the ensuing search for individual pleasure and prosperity. This paper focuses on the Communist Mansion Project (also known as the People's Commune Mansion, or the Mansion, for short) in the early 1960s in Beijing. It is a realized utopian paradigm of the People's Commune movement in the epoch of Great Leap Forward movement, the Mansion expressed the rich urban experiences from a utopian vision to current day hedonism.

This paper will be unfolded into two parts. First is on the idea: I will trace the political and philosophical inception of people's commune movement in China and its urban and social consequence. Secondly is on the form: Synchronically, I will analyze key architectural experimentations of Communist Mansions at the late 1950s and early 1960s as invented urban typology. Diachronically, I will use the most enduring built example, People's Commune

Mansion project in Beijing, to unfold the history of the Mansion, from its radical revolutionary start to its post-reform fate.

First hand evidence is accumulated from Chinese scholarly papers of the time, archival drawings, sketches, official documents, and photographs. I also interviewed the architect-in charge (who has passed away two years ago) and old inhabitants of the buildings.

Bridge and Door: The Planning History of Luohu Checkpoint, 1978-2006

Zheng Tan, Tongji University

Border planning has become an increasingly significant topic in regional and urban studies. Luohu Checkpoint (Shenzhen), a gateway “city” on the boundary between Hong Kong and Shenzhen, China, engraved thirty years’ planning practices of post-reform China into a checkpoint complex. Luohu Checkpoint’s fate is determined by the political climate on both sides of the Shenzhen River. Standing in the vortex of border politics, regional integration and globalization, Luohu Checkpoint underwent the transformation from a control point to a transportation and business hub, with high development intensity and three-dimensional circulation organization. Luohu Checkpoint gained its development momentum from Deng Xiaoping’s 1978 economic reform and evolved into a terminal “city” in the new wave of the Hong Kong-Pearl River Delta integration in the 21st Century. Basically its current physical configuration is the result of an international design competition launched in 1999.

This study explores and analyzes the conflict between the developing awareness of civic space and enduring political tension in the case of Luohu Checkpoint. Reading from an overview of global border cities, such as the booming towns along the U.S.-Mexico border, Luohu Checkpoint embodies Shenzhen’s changing urban visions and self-identifications. Simultaneously it reflects the awkwardness of the state’s role in combating cross-border informal economic activities. The juxtaposition of militarized border control and (informal) economic prosperity reflects the paradox of China’s attitude to globalization — ambition and hesitation. It is noteworthy that the recent advancement of the national transportation network in China has posed new challenges to conventional geographical advantage based on proximity. The expanding capitalism in China is calling for new urban forms and infrastructures which can hardly be provided by the “old” town Luohu. In assembling a collection of episodes and notes into a history, the article attempts to give an insightful perspective to consider the inextricable disparity between the state and the everyday in contemporary China.

SESSION 6G: Planning and Obsolescence II

Chair: Sarah Schrank, California State University, Long Beach

Comment: Sarah Schrank, California State University, Long Beach

Japanese Commercial Streets, A Story of Unplanned Obsolescence

Carlos Balsas, State University of New York, Albany

Shopping is critical to the livability of urban areas. Shopping occurs in a variety of places and retail formats. Each of these places and retail formats serves distinct purposes and is patronized by slightly different individuals. Of central importance to this study is the Japanese

commercial street, particularly the shopping arcade known as *shotengai*. This paper attempts (1) to characterize the main features of this commercial format in Japan, with particular emphasis on the covered arcade, (2) to identify the reasons for its recent abandonment and renovation, and (3) to discuss the socio-economic forces leading shoppers away from these traditional streets and into western-style shopping malls. The argument is that the decline of *shotengai* represents a story of unplanned obsolescence, similar to what has occurred in a multitude of western cities and towns, where shopping districts suffered due to the opening of new malls in peripheral areas, revitalization programs were initiated, certain malls had to close, be torn down or rebuilt with different uses, while many other traditional retail areas experienced a revival. Although one can argue that shopping malls as real estate products are built mainly according to the planned obsolescence law and the building life-cycle theory, *shotengai* might be affected by broader unplanned obsolescence and aging trends. *Shotengai's* decline might be the outcome of an accumulation of a series of forces (i.e. space limitations, aging, store ownership, management and business models, reductions in demand, and deterioration of public space). I argue that the recent urban conceptualization known as shrinking cities reveals not only declining trends but also creates opportunities, especially for Japanese regional cities, so long as coordinated interventions are integrated in timely sustainable urban regeneration and community development strategies. It is in the interest of both the state and the civil society to commit resources, time and expertise to rewarding long-term commitments and to nurturing new civic leadership. This paper generates new knowledge and offers a set of lessons on the specific nuances of the Japanese shopping street at the beginning of the 21st century.

The Point of No Return: Double-edged Modernity in Downtown Detroit 1805-1951

Conrad Kickert, University of Cincinnati

Downtown Detroit is being rediscovered as a desirable center for living, working and recreation due to a long-overdue appreciation of its impressive supply of late 19th and early 20th century architecture. As downtown's unique but crumbling building stock is currently being transformed into the territory of the creative class in search of an authentic and inspiring environment, the fruits of downtown's history may prove to be its savior. As Detroit's past is rediscovered, the risk of unsubstantiated nostalgia lures. Contrary to the commonly accepted narrative of loss, downtown Detroit's heyday was short-lived and filled with adversity and uncertainty, leaving traces of only a brief moment of prosperity before the city's pioneering spirit sought its fortunes in the fields beyond. In fact, downtown's impressive collection of Beaux Arts and Art Deco buildings is as much the fruit of its short but strong primetime as its long subsequent decline in which buildings weren't in need of renovation nor replacement. This paper positions downtown Detroit's peak as early as the 1920s, as the seeds for the core's demise were planted in its period of most rapid growth. Soon after, downtown spiraled into a cycle of car attrition and an explosive mixture of perceived and actual obsolescence. The highly ephemeral spirit underlying Detroit's pre-war culture, economy and society is described as the basis for downtown's unique and layered present-day landscape.

Pilgrimage to Rhyolite: Lessons from an American Ghost Town

Elihu Rubin, Yale University

A light rain was falling in the Amargosa Desert of Southwestern Nevada when I pulled my rented Hyundai onto the paved road leading to the former town of Rhyolite. I had driven from Los Angeles through Death Valley to see the city in ruins. At its peak in 1907, Rhyolite was the leading metropolis of the Bullfrog Mining District, with modern infrastructure and an impressive business district. The town had a Nob Hill as well as a red-light district, and its population at its peak probably exceeded ten thousand. Named for the rose-colored volcanic rock found in the surrounding hills, Rhyolite was already in decline in 1909 and mostly abandoned by 1911. Hangers-on and caretakers remained off and on for years, but it had become known as a “famous ghost city” as early as the mid- 1920s.

In this essay, drawing on documents at the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley, as well as other reports, I trace the invention of Rhyolite as a “ghost town” over the course of the twentieth century, from the automobile trekkers of the 1920s, to self-conscious artists like photographer Edward Weston—he called Rhyolite “Nevada’s Athens”—to guide-book writers in the postwar period who formalized the ghost town experience for prospective tourists.

One goal of “ghost towning”—the hunt for abandoned settlements and industrial relics, often associated with the boom-and-bust cycles of mining districts—is to access these remote or difficult settings. Half the fun is getting there and basking in the obscurity. As a literary subject, the ghost town came to the fore with 1920s travel promotion. Guide- book writing accelerated in the 1950s and 60s, in step with the rise of affluence and mobility for some Americans. Ghost towns have long been the domain of hobbyists; but they deserve serious attention by historians of cities of urban planning. As an encounter with urban history, Rhyolite’s story encapsulates the patterns of boom and bust that are part and parcel of capitalist urban development. What does Rhyolite, and ghost towns more broadly, have to teach us about the politics of preservation and the trade-offs between accessibility and conservation? Moreover, what do these failed settlements have to say about urban sustainability today?

6H: Preservation and Politics in Latin America

Chair: Ana María Leon, University of Michigan

Comment: Ana María Leon, University of Michigan

Under One Umbrella: Historic Preservation in Havana, Cuba as the Link Between Social Services and Economics

Emily Dallmeyer, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

The needs of daily life and the concerns of historic preservation can be in competition, but in Havana, Cuba those two priorities support, rather than compete, with one another.

Through the integration of the preservation of social infrastructure and the preservation of the built environment, the Office of the City Historian of Havana prioritizes both people and place. The citizens do not simply live alongside, separate from historic preservation, because

the Office of the City Historian has tied the delivery of necessary social services to preservation projects. Rehabilitated historic buildings foster cultural productions, house medical services, and provide other important uses in Old Havana. Despite the positive impact of the office's work, the majority of the buildings of Old Havana have not been addressed. The incomplete work of the office motivate an examination of both the strengths and the limitations of the Office of the City Historian's historic preservation methodology. Through on site interviews, tours, self-directed exploration of the city as well as contextual reading prior to and after traveling to Havana in June 2014, this research builds a foundation from which a new analysis can be made of the historic preservation program in Havana.

The current visible decay in combination with critical scholarship demonstrate some of the limitations of the work of the Office of the City Historian. The successes that the office has achieved are the result of the autonomy that the office has from the central Cuban government as well as the comprehensive control the office exerts over the historic center. In order to address the remaining needs of the historic zone additional strategies should be employed. A long-term solution will need to include additional elements that empower the population to maintain their own homes, foster additional non-state owned businesses that cater to tourists as well as locals, and allow non-state owned organizations to provide services to residents that the office cannot reach in a timely manner.

The Office of the City Historian's program has begun to incorporate partnerships with non-state service providers and rental agreements with local businesses, but expanding the opportunities for additional types of businesses outside of social services and tourism based could be influential to maintain the historic district as a living city, rather than allowing it to crystallize into a more static, outdoor museum.

Still Standing: Memories of modern urban planning and military force in the National Stadium of Chile

Valentina Rozas-Krause, University of California, Berkeley

The creation of the National Stadium in 1938 was entangled with two fundamental dimensions of Chilean modernity: modern style and modern planning. As the centerpiece of a public urban development project, it followed the stylistic and humanistic premises of local architectural modernism, on the one hand, and on the other, was in tune with socio-political endeavors to modernize Chile. But the stadium became a space of horror in 1973, when the military dictatorship transformed this temple of modern sports into a prisoners' camp. Under the dictatorial Pinochet regime and its policies of economic neoliberalization, the National Stadium became symbolically obsolete and was allowed to deteriorate. While the National Stadium has been analyzed from other perspectives, the erasure of the stadium's humanistic ideals and its relationship to the deregulation of urban development and its attendant suppression of the modern planning practices that had focused on the 61-hectare sports complex has not been closely examined. An analysis of the National Stadium's dictatorial transformations reveals how the neoliberal project, armed with the strategies of amnesia and deregulation, has shaped local memory culture. Still standing today, the National Stadium bares traces of institutionalized forgetfulness as well as the oppositional tactics of memorialization organizations protesting neoliberal menaces of demolition and privatization: a case study that illuminates how material obsolescence and subversive memories are incorporated into the neoliberal city.

Telling History with Diverse Voices: Planning History and Diversity in UNESCO Inscriptions of Spanish Latin American Cities

Ana Maria Cabanillas Whitaker, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

Many Spanish Latin American cities retain significant evidence of their past in their historical centers (centros historicos). This is recognized by the inscription of twenty-nine (29) of them in the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organization) World Heritage Cities list which provides the basis for this study. The identification of cultural components is part of the UNESCO criteria for selection and may include pertinent historical periods, the city layout, significant land uses, important monuments and the contributions of indigenous and Spanish cultures.

Although much has been lost, most Latin American historic centers still show evidence of different historical periods through their structures and spaces. The UNESCO designations are often described as representing several centuries, however, a majority of the cities (48 percent) are highlighted as representative of the 16th. Century, at the beginning of the Spanish occupation.

In terms of layout, six of the short summaries justifying the UNESCO inscriptions mention “planned, orthogonal grids” and three descriptions define organic layouts. Only five summary descriptions mention the street system in particular.

The identification of land uses in the cities provides vital information on the cultural and social form of these cities as they often generate activities and establish relationships between different uses. The UNESCO descriptions often emphasize religious, and some governmental, institutional and industrial development. Fifteen inscriptions identify residential uses. Some of the designations describe changes of land uses over time.

UNESCO highlighted nineteen (19) cities as good representations of indigenous groups living/working with other groups and their interactions. These designations can be summarized as follows: ethnic and racial groups; the fusion of different cultures; specific urban forms to accommodate different groups; and pertinent concepts applicable to diversity.

This study is relevant in providing a comprehensive view of the designated Latin American historical centers, and the historical groups that shaped them. It can enhance preservation efforts as each of these “modern” cities face development pressures and assist in providing more comprehensive descriptions for future designations.

SESSION 6J: Who’s in Charge? Urban Redevelopment in the Age of Devolution

ROUNDTABLE

In 1949 the United States government created the urban redevelopment program to rebuild what were considered slums and blighted areas in the nation’s cities. Over the following decades the federal government expended large amounts of money and empowered local redevelopment authorities to undertake “urban renewal,” a controversial program that was much criticized for, among other things, renewing cities at the expense of poor and minority residents. In 1974 Nixon’s White House terminated federal urban renewal, beginning a four decade-long process of devolving authority over redevelopment to states and localities and expanding the role of the private sector, including non-profits.

Today, the redevelopment of American cities continues with many actors: state and local government agencies, non-profit organizations, philanthropic institutions, for-profit real estate businesses, and more, frequently operating in “partnerships” to carry out projects in cities, large and small, affluent and destitute.

In a time of gentrification in some cities and income inequality in most, it is worth pondering the new order that has evolved over the last forty years. How different is it from urban renewal, and if so, in what ways? Is it reshaping America’s cities for good or for ill? Is it democratic or autocratic? Who is benefiting and who is losing out? Who is in charge?

From their different perspectives, the members of this roundtable will consider the goals, methods, and results of the new era of urban redevelopment and grapple with what it has meant to carry out urban redevelopment in the age of devolution.

Moderator: **Brent Ryan**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Lizabeth Cohen, Harvard University

David J. Erickson, Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco

Lynne Sagalyn, Columbia University

Stacey A. Sutton, University of Illinois at Chicago

Alexander von Hoffman, Harvard University

SESSION 6K: Planing Perspectives Board Meeting

CLOSED MEETING

PAPER SESSION 7: SATURDAY, NOV. 7, 4:30 - 6:15 PM

SESSION 7A: Professional Planning: Contexts and Institutions

Chair: Robert Bruegmann, University of Illinois at Chicago

Comment: Robert Bruegmann, University of Illinois at Chicago

“Your City and You”: Exhibiting counter-narratives to Canada’s Plan for the National Capital

Dustin Valen, McGill University

In 1946 nine members of the Architectural Research Group of Ottawa (ARGO)—modeled after the Modern Architectural Research (MARS) group in Britain—organized and built the exhibition “Your City and You.” Opened at the National Gallery of Canada before touring across the country, the exhibition employed a distinctly modern idiom to endorse a participatory approach to town planning deeply committed to the lessons of a 1930s avant-garde. At a time when Canada’s federal government was promoting Ottawa’s “Plan for the

National Capital” being developed by the French urban designer Jacques Gréber as a model for urban renewal across the country, ARGO’s exhibition subverted this message by presenting planning as a fundamentally democratic discipline and challenging the role of the specialist. Faced with an acute housing shortage and crumbling infrastructures, for a generation of young Canadian architects whose longing for modernism had been stayed by the Great Depression and war years (and for whom the federal government’s reliance on foreign expertise and autocratic approach were anathema to the goals of the Modern Movement), with renewed public interest and a commitment to rebuilding came an opportunity to intervene in the future of Canadian practice and take charge of an emerging town planning tradition. Although many scholars have explained post-war urban renewal in Canada—including Gréber’s plan—as symptomatic of other North American trends, this paper explores how practitioners leveraged these events to advance modern principles in architecture and planning. Drawing extensively on unpublished archival material, I argue that through its simultaneous commitment to urban renewal and its patrimonial approach to instituting a Plan for the National Capital, Canada’s federal government actually urged a turn towards modernism by catalyzing opposition to the Gréber plan and unifying its discontents.

City Planning’s Reoccurring Obituary: Why Writers Repeatedly Misdiagnose the “Death of Planning”

Scott D Campbell, University of Michigan

This paper does not argue that planning is dead, nor that planning is either committing professional/scholarly suicide or should be euthanized. I instead revisit the long history of both planners and outsiders making these exaggerated declarations and examine their broader implications for a field that continues to show vital signs of life.

These obituaries have shifted over the course of the planning’s history: I trace the changing narratives of planning’s “near-death experiences” as mile markers of planning’s intellectual history. I focus on three specific “crisis” moments: the early cold war years when anti-planning/anti-Soviet rhetoric replaced New Deal centralized planning (Hayek 1945); the later attacks on planning and modernist urban renewal (Glazer 1958); and the contemporary era where either neoliberalism, privatization, or “self-organizing systems” ostensibly are displacing old-school planning (Fokkema and Nijkamp 1994).

How do we interpret these reoccurring declarations that “planning is dead”? Some might simply dismiss such statements as rhetorically disingenuous, given the uneven but nevertheless sustained proliferation of municipal planning departments, commissions, professional associations, academic departments and journals, etc. Now that planning is over 100 years old, even the habitual refrain that planning is a “young” (and therefore, by implication, a still tentative or unrooted) discipline increasingly feels passé.

These “end of planning” statements alternately express lament, nostalgia, distain or malevolence. Authors employ a variety of terms: “dead”, “irrelevant,” “antiquated,” “obsolete.” I identify several schools: (1) *End-of-life-cycle*: Planning was a child of the modernist industrial era. It had a good run, but it has been unable to free itself from these early 20th century origins and is ill-equipped to handle the complex post-industrial, globalizing information age. (2) *Loss of Power*: Planning has lost its authority, leading to a slow decline by marginalization and impotence (Hall 2014; Campanella 2011). Notoriously, Frank Gehry exclaimed: “Look, I went to city planning school at Harvard and I discovered that you never got to change a fucking thing or

do anything. Urban planning is dead in the US" (Williams 2009). (3) *The "walking dead"*: the "soul" of planning has died, long sold out: it's the handmaiden of capital (see, for example, Harvey 1985). (4) *Attempted homicide*: Vested interests aim to dismantle planning as an impudent impediment. (5) *Old planning must die to make way for the new*: "I do not lament the loss of the old city planning. I do hail the new city planning that is emerging" (Angotti). "The American model [of city planning] is dead and the sooner we wipe it out the better, simply because you do not have the natural resources to make sprawling cities" (Kant 2012).

Writing the obituary of planning has long been an irresistible trope in ideological battles over the control of cities. Planning remains relevant by being a malleable, adaptive discipline; it reinvents itself despite -- or even because of -- these "near death" experiences.

The Kansas City Origins of the Most Important Residential Planning Conferences You Probably Never Heard Of

William S. Worley, Metropolitan Community Colleges of Kansas City, Blue River

The sometimes rarified world of historical research values original source material above all else. Usually, it takes shape in formal written works such as letters, speeches or literary works. Sometimes, when one is unusually fortunate, original source material comes in the form of recorded conversation about weighty topics that reveals the true beginnings of essential ideas or important practices or processes.

In May 1917, just as the United States was gearing up for a war it did not want, the Ninth National Conference on City Planning convened in Kansas City, Missouri. At this very important meeting, a sponsored organization, the American City Planning Institute emerged as an ongoing effort to bring continuing order to the previously rather loose process of urban planning. All of that is relatively well known.

What is much less well known is that a smaller, but quite important conference convened immediately following the National Planning Conference. This came to be known as the First Annual Conference of the Developers of High Class Residential Property. Both the National Conference on City Planning and the succeeding Developers' Conference were arranged primarily by J. C. Nichols, the 36-year Kansas City developer.

The National Conference was a public event and its proceedings were gathered together in a bound volume that could be purchased by any interested party. Those proceeding consisted almost entirely of the speeches and papers presented. The Developers' Conference was a private event at which no papers were given or speeches made. Rather, this group of a dozen men of similar profession simply met around a table for two days and discussed their work. Most importantly, Nichols provided a stenographer who took verbatim notes of the conversations. The Proceedings of the Developers' Conference were intended to be used as textbooks by the participants for each other and for their employees back home. They were never intended to be available to the general public.

The result of the intent is that the developers spoke quite openly about almost every aspect of their business as they conducted it at that time. They were unusually candid. Careful study of these transcribed conversations yields essential information about the state of planned residential community planning which was then in its early stages. The dozen or so developers comprised the core of what Marc Weiss later called "The Community Builders." This group included several future presidents of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, men who served simultaneously on national planning and realty boards of directors, and men who

contributed directly to the formation of the Federal Housing Administration in the 1930s and to the unprecedented post-World War II residential building boom.

This paper will assess the directions these men were going, not only at the outset of World War I, but also just after its conclusion, because verbatim Proceedings exist for 1918 and 1919 as well. This will be nothing less than an examination of the original ideas and goals of the people who gave America the planned communities of the 1920s, the transformations brought by FHA in the 1930s and '40s, and the less- planned, but extremely important burst of suburban developments in the late 1940s and '50s. From their work, the new towns of the 1960s—Columbia, Reston, Irvine and The Woodlands among others sprang. Using their concepts as a guide, the New Urbanism movement of the 1990s to the present continues to advocate for responsible and sustainable development in the 21st century.

Everything from deed restrictions and Homeowners Associations to physical planning, community development, homebuilding styles, and shopping centers came up. This paper will examine planned residential communities from the outset and demonstrate that much that is considered “new” in the last twenty years was under consideration or being tried almost 100 years ago. It all began to come together among the movers and shakers in Kansas City.

SESSION 7B: Planning Latin America

Chair: Guadalupe García, Tulane University

Comment: Guadalupe García, Tulane University

Urban Renewal as Crisis Management: Tijuana’s Redevelopment and the Predicament of the Mexican State

Christian Rocha, Vanderbilt University

This paper explores the Mexican federal government’s attempts to build a modern urban center in Tijuana and how these urban renewal efforts were embedded in a broader response to national emergencies. The time period studied is between 1960 and 1982. This interlude included the orchestration of a student massacre, a political crisis, a populist response to quell unrest, and finally a devastating economic crisis. By examining this case study, I posit that the Mexican government pursued urban redevelopment to bolster its legitimacy. The transformation of Tijuana, widely considered to be an immoral border “boomtown”, had the potential to salvage the regime’s tattered reputation.

In order to craft my argument I have examined blueprints, government memos, contracts, property deeds, memoirs, and mortgage information. A considerable portion of these documents come from underexplored and unorganized collections. Their inspection, however, brings a more nuanced interpretation of Mexico’s tumultuous urbanization and the decline of the country’s one party system.

Ultimately, the story of Tijuana’s troubled urban renewal complicates the dominant narrative of the collapse of Mexico’s post-revolutionary order. The rise and fall of the city’s redevelopment project brings attention to the government’s increasing dependence on expensive infrastructure to obtain the population’s consent. Similarly, it underlines the importance of the 1982 economic crisis on the fortunes of Latin America’s longest lasting one party system.

Cities from Peripheries: Working Education into Brazil's Planning History and Development Future

Kristine Stiphany, University of Texas, Austin

Third sector educational spaces in Brazilian informal settlements foster physical community upgrades, shape the interface between residents and government, and catalyze increased learning opportunities to counteract inequitable access to quality education. Established by residents who built their own homes and maintained over time by private and public institutions, these locally-rooted spaces ground the political and social volatility that shapes areas projected to experience the greatest growth in coming decades. Despite their cultural and spatial significance, educational spaces are omitted from canonical planning narratives and overlooked by development strategies that are predicated on context-sensitivity. Drawing on the case of São Paulo, Brazil, this article situates the evolution of educational spaces in informal settlements within a historical trajectory of Brazilian planning, and explores the potential of their role in urban revitalization that assimilates places to live and learn.

The primary data for this paper draws from ethnographic research undertaken between 2008 and 2014 in São Paulo, Brazil among informal settlement community residents, planners, architects, educators, and policy makers, coupled with content analysis of historical texts, plans, and policy documents related to Brazilian housing, development, and education policy.

Disasters, Urban Ecology, and the Environmental Planning of Mexico City

Matthew Vitz, University of California, San Diego

During the twentieth century, Mexico City, perhaps more than Los Angeles, had to fear disasters—both imagined and real. The best-known disaster threat the city faces is the earthquake, and suffocating clouds of smog the most recent. Yet, residents dealt with two other disaster threats during the city's explosive 20th-century growth: the flood and the dust storm. My paper argues that these two lesser-known threats have shaped the city's planning in ways largely unexplored by historians.

Only a city as unique as Mexico City could be simultaneously subjected to floods, a result of too much water, and dust storms, a result of too little. Located in a closed basin once covered by large lakes, the city can flood during its torrential rainy season (May-October) and can be pummeled by clouds of dust that form over dried lakebeds and deforested hillsides during its dry season. As the city grew at the end of the nineteenth century, the effects of these disasters worsened, threatening the elite's pretension of an urban modernity contingent on the control of dangerous environments. Deciding to prioritize the threat of flooding, the Mexican state constructed massive drainage infrastructure that quickened the desiccation of the nearby lakes. At the cost of controlling floodwaters, which were never eliminated, dust storms ravaged the city.

The dual threat of flooding and dust storms determined the city's highly unequal social geography and shaped its planning. Urban disasters not only reflect a city's development (e.g., its social and political fault lines), they also constitute it. In this paper, I explore how real and perceived disasters, borne out of urban interactions with the natural world, have played an important role in the social and political development of the western hemisphere's largest city.

Chair: Jason Henderson, San Francisco State University

Comment: Jason Henderson, San Francisco State University

Ticket Please The Right to the City via the Right-of-Way in the Long Civil Rights Era

Fallon Samuels Aidoo, Harvard University

This paper examines how communities of Greater Philadelphia assessed and redressed private divestment from public transportation facilities in the years that preceded and followed the bankruptcy of Penn Central in 1970. Unlike most histories of historic preservation, especially those concerning Philadelphia, the “City of Homes,” this case study of stewardship illustrates how civil society retains and sustains its right to the city via rights-of-way. The patrons of Penn Central train cars, stewards of its stations, regulators of its services and the owners of land abutting its properties recognized the writing on the walls—from crumbling overpasses to overgrown railbeds—as early as 1950. Amongst these observers of industrial decline, a community-based organization (CBO) celebrated for its curation of racially and religiously “integrated spaces” (Perkiss, *Making Good Neighbors*, 2014) stands out as a protector of Penn Central’s quasi-public buildings and landscapes. The CBO’s license to landscape private property of public utility enabled the newest body politic of the post-industrial city—the urban homesteader—to take up the physical, political and social work of critical infrastructure protection for back-to-the-city movements.

West Mount Airy Neighbors, Inc. (WMAN) not only played a leading role in public retention of private rights-of-way—land granted by public utility commissioners for private enterprises of people and goods movement. Through labor contracts, land concessions and art commissions, WMAN rendered the civic responsibilities, fiduciary duties and aesthetic standards of public access to Penn Central property along a geospatial gradient (visualized in the presentation using GIS). The property rights and propriety rules of railway conservators, I thus conclude, raise critical questions about the place of third-sector organizations generally and community-based organizations specifically in the planning, development and governance of just, resilient cities.

From the Revolving Door to the Sky Lobby: The Transformation of Los Angeles Hotel Lobbies as Semi-Public Spaces

Megan McLeod Kendrick, Woodbury University

This paper explores the historical transformation of the semi-public/semi-private space of the hotel lobby through an analysis of several hotels in downtown Los Angeles, such as the Alexandria (1906), the Biltmore (1923), the Statler (1952), the Bonaventure (1976) and the Wilshire Grand (to be completed in 2017). The paper will argue that lobbies act as thresholds between the public space of the city street and the private space of the hotel, and that the design and function of hotel lobbies have rendered them increasingly more and more separated from the urban “public sphere.” Whereas early downtown hotel lobbies functioned as practical spaces that connected the individual to the variety of urban services along city streets, over the course of the twentieth century, the design of lobbies has accentuated the divisions between the public and private spheres of downtown. The most current example of

this trend will include the “sky lobby” of the Wilshire Grand hotel, which although even further separating the space of the lobby from the street, may actually make other meaningful connections between the hotel and the broader urban landscape. The historical development of hotels in Los Angeles can be best understood in connection with specific urban narratives, such as the rise of the automobile, urban redevelopment, and globalization. In light of these historical contexts, this paper claims that the hotel lobby both mirrored and prompted larger scale changes in the way people experienced the downtown landscape.

Tunnels and Riverbeds: Quasi-Public Pathways in Houston and L.A.

Kyle Shelton, Rice University

Running beneath downtown Houston and crisscrossing Los Angeles are two unique urban pathways. Downtown Houston’s pedestrian tunnel system and the L.A. River represent central, if often invisible, elements of life in both metropolises. Each route is quasi-public, yet, a web of laws, social expectations, and physical barriers control each space. This paper considers the role these spaces played in the articulation of physical and cognitive boundaries in both cities during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It explores these pathways from the perspective of planning history, but with an eye towards connecting this past to the current-day challenges each space presents to planning professionals. These sites shed light onto “right to the city” debates, national conversations about urban environmental quality and renewal, and onto tensions surrounding the redevelopment of American downtowns.

The Houston tunnel system consists of nearly 6 miles of interconnected underground passages and skywalks. The tunnels cater to workers from downtown office buildings and house a range of restaurants and convenience stores. To access them pedestrians must enter one of several dozen public and private buildings connected to the system. Despite their daily open hours, from 6 am to 6:30 pm, in reality they are a closely regulated commercial space from which undesirable populations—namely the homeless—can be barred.

The LA River is a different kind of pathway. The river itself is public, but reaching its shores is often difficult as few public access points exist and barriers block others. The river has been both a major asset and challenge during the city’s history. It has served residents commercial, industrial, and recreational needs (and been the backdrop to many a Hollywood chase scene). But, it was also the site of disastrous floods and pollution. This paper will show how these systems have shaped and will shape development in their respective cities.

In the Name of the Pedestrian: Design, Planning and Regulation since 1945

David Smiley, Columbia University

As pedestrians now cheerfully meander across the asphalt of Times Square, we might wonder how such an urban transformation could take place. An examination of the role of pedestrians and pedestrianization in American architectural and planning literature since World War II involves the simultaneous development of a variety of overlapping thematic narratives: *consumption*, in which the pedestrian is part of the reshaping of the American retail landscape, including downtown congestion, suburban competition, and CBD revitalization; *policy and planning*, in which the pedestrian is a catalyst for changes in the regulation of streets (historically conceived for efficient movement), and pedestrian zones are reconsidered as part

of urban spatial management; *ecological or environmental*, in which walking in the city becomes part of an urban ecosystem implicating pollution, noise and public health as well as the management of urban infrastructures; *architectural*, in which a variety of design strategies shape particular urban experiences and conventions; *representational*, in which the figure of the pedestrian is examined as object, subject and metaphor, engaging the culture and politics of urban decision-making. More broadly, these themes are situated within the contested dynamics of urban renewal, the role of private property and the status of public space. The paper will offer short explorations of each theme in order to shape a map for a larger research project on pedestrianization and modernization in the US.

SESSION 7D: Re-writing the History of Planning

Chair: Carola Hein, TU Delft

Comment: Robert Freestone, University of New South Wales

Reconstructing Histories of Slum Clearance in Manila

Nancy H. Kwak, University of California, San Diego

Planning historians engage a wide range of disciplinary tools when constructing narratives about the past. While tools vary, historians have typically relied on government documents and formal plans to understand slum clearance programs in the US and Western Europe. In the Philippines, however, such records are mostly missing or destroyed. Government agencies retain only the most recent data, and no centralized repository exists. According to archivists, librarians, and government workers, most records from the era of Ferdinand Marcos have been destroyed.

Given these constraints, it is important to consider interdisciplinary approaches to a history of urban planning, and in particular slum clearance, in the Philippines. Perhaps most commonly, planning historians have reached consciously or unconsciously for anthropological and sociological techniques, immersing themselves in resettled or informal communities and mixing participant observation with oral history gathering. Economists provide data not usually mined by planning historians, but offering a critical resource for understanding government intention and reconstructing basic facts in the absence of formal government records. Architects and planners offer current assessments of past projects.

This paper will focus on the process of reconstructing planning history, and the role of interdisciplinary perspectives in the same.

Planning History Writ Large – Infrastructures: Transportation, Communication, and Life Lines

Domenic Vitiello, University of Pennsylvania

Networks that serve cities and connect them have played key roles in the evolution of cities and their interconnections. Transportation, communication, water, energy, and waste infrastructure systems have profoundly influenced people's experience of cities and regions. Going beyond the analysis of individual systems, this chapter of the forthcoming *Planning History Handbook* explores their role in writing planning history.

The history of infrastructure systems illuminates many of the great transformations in cities and urban life, including the origins of urban planning itself. Road, water, and sewer systems largely defined the planning of pre-industrial cities and regions, from the empires of China, Rome, and the Maya to early modern Arab cities, Europe and its colonies. Railroads, streetcars, telegraphs, coal, gas, and new water and sewer systems made urbanization synonymous with industrialization in the nineteenth century. The technologies and systems of the Second Industrial Revolution – steel, electricity, oil, telephones, automobiles, and airplanes – structured the metropolitan environments in which most city and suburb dwellers still live. Today, planners are seeking new ways to reengineer urban form and function with digital communication, big data, renewable energy, green infrastructure, high-speed rail, and plans for “aerotropolis.”

Focusing on planning for these infrastructure systems raises important questions about what planning is and how it has shaped cities and regions. These include: Who are the planners of these systems? How does their work intersect with other parts of planning history, including land use, real estate development, and social, economic, and environmental history? What does the history of infrastructure systems reveal about power and the politics of planning and urban development? What does this all suggest about path dependency in planning history? What is the place of technology in planning history; and how might planning historians transcend older historiography associated with technological determinism? This essay and presentation will reflect on these and related questions. It aims to frame a synthetic, critical history of planning for infrastructure systems, while at the same time exploring the historiographical contributions and challenges posed by an infrastructure-centric view of planning history.

Russian & Soviet Planning Histories: Reweaving Dropped Stitches

Maria C. Taylor, University of Michigan

Irina V. Kukina, Siberian Federal University

The historiography of planning, as with any historiography, requires access to primary sources, knowledgeable and committed scholars, and a reliable means of distributing the results to interested audiences. In the case of Russia and the U.S.S.R, foreign and domestic planning historians have faced a range of logistical, political and institutional constraints that have limited the development of a robust literature. Despite Russia’s long-established practice of urban and regional planning, its planning history is frequently left to a narrow circle of area specialists—political scientists, geographers, social historians more often than planning historians—and rarely awarded its due attention in Anglophone planning histories. Given the myriad moments of intersection and mutual influence in the twentieth century between planning in the USSR and in other countries of the first, second, and third worlds, this scholarly lacunae impoverishes general understanding of the international history of early and modern planning.

In many countries the advent of urban and regional planning (spatial or economic) is dated to the late nineteenth-century, with the discipline of planning history emerging thereafter. By contrast, in Russia most histories of the state are inseparable from histories of planning and begin in 1703 with Peter the Great’s founding and intentional design of St. Petersburg. Thence they progress through many examples of state-sponsored urban and regional planning prior to 1900, such as the official requirement under Empress Catherine the

Great that all cities in the Russian Empire have a general development plan. Other moments of contrast abound—and consequentially, points of interest for historians seeking to expand their understanding of planning’s international evolution. Russian and Soviet planning concerns and approaches often stemmed from origins shared with professional planning in Europe and North America including such touchstone ideas as the Garden City or the neighborhood unit, but developed under significantly divergent conditions during much of the 20th century. In the Soviet system, urban and regional spatial planning (planirovka, or gradostroitel’stvo [citybuilding]) was subordinate to sectoral and economic planning (planirovanie, as in the Five-Year Plans) yet planners and architects maintained a distinct disciplinary identity and set of concerns.

This paper begins by identifying key twentieth-century texts in Russian and English that shape our understanding of the main periods in tsarist and Soviet planning. We discuss the theoretical and methodological approaches used in these histories, and review the case study cities that Russian and Soviet planning theorists and historians have used as foci in their work. Russian-language histories of both classical and modern planning were highly inflected by political ideology, prioritizing certain theoretical and methodological approaches, model texts, cities, and themes. Other approaches and topics were stigmatized, even criminalized. International exchange occurred, but did not necessarily follow the routes established in Western planning (or planning history). As a result, this lesser-known region offers many points of surprising intersection.

Structuring Utopia: Edward Bellamy’s City and Regional Planning

Joseph M. Watson, University of Pennsylvania

In his two late-nineteenth century utopian novels, *Looking Backward* (1888) and *Equality* (1897), Edward Bellamy offers a coherent, if not exactly consistent, vision of the structures and institutions, both social and physical, required to support his ideal society. The first and more famous book is set primarily in a well-planned and visually stunning postmillennial Boston; the sequel describes a regional infrastructure of smaller villages spreading from the now diminished city. Within the small body of literature that has considered the relationship between these two novels, the tendency has been to consider Bellamy’s abandonment of the city as a regressive desire for preindustrial order. These critiques mischaracterize, however, the role that the evolution of the built environment plays within the two works.

By situating Bellamy’s work at the intersection of literary criticism and architectural and planning histories, this paper will argue that Bellamy’s elaborations of the built environment might best be understood as an evolving attempt to think critically about the material conditions necessary to support his vision of American society. The discrepancies between the two novels do not represent a rejection of the city but rather an attempt to expand the scale and scope of the built correlate for his envisioned social and civic structures. Conditioned by the previous decades’ industrial advancements, technological innovations, social upheavals, demographic shifts, and territorial expansions, architecture and planning function as dynamic means through which Bellamy mediates his evolving, critical embrace of the processes of modernization. While *Looking Backward* has often and rightly been understood as a prefiguration of the Garden City and City Beautiful movements, a new reading of *Equality*, a repositioning of the relationship between the two novels, as well as connections to other

region-scaled utopian visions can offer a new understanding of Bellamy's influence on the large-scale planning initiatives of the 1920s and 1930s.

SESSION 7E: Baldwin Hills Village: Race, Community Associations, and the Ethics of Preservation

ROUNDTABLE

This roundtable brings together historians, preservationists, and the public to discuss the topic of race, class and historic preservation in the context of twentieth-century housing, inspired by recent controversies at The Village Green, the Los Angeles apartment complex built as Baldwin Hills Village.

The Village Green was conceived beginning in 1935 by L.A. architect Reginald Johnson — with input from Clarence S. Stein — as a demonstration in planning and a jobs project that could take advantage of federal New Deal subsidies for production of up-to-date multifamily housing for low- and middle-income families. Constructed in 1941 and 1942, the finished product represented a pragmatic compromise of design elements and wartime building restrictions. This would be the first of multiple alterations and adaptations made to the design scheme over the next thirty years as owners and managers responded to environmental problems (including a massive flood in 1963) and social change.

In the early 1970s the community converted from rental housing to condominiums. It also began to racially integrate as the landlords promoting the conversion quietly lifted old restrictions. Previously, it had been a white-only enclave, despite mounting pressure to integrate from surrounding communities that were increasingly African American. (The complex contains many families of color, many of whom bought apartments in the early years of its condominium era, however the percentage of such owners has been declining beginning with the 2004-2007 real estate boom and subsequent bust.)

The current debate revolves around the complex's landscaping. Although the complex as a whole was landmarked a generation ago, in recent years a group of owners and others have launched a campaign to restore the landscaping to how it looked in the 1940s. This group has engendered enthusiastic support of prominent national and local preservationists eager to associate themselves with a complex of high national profile and design pedigree serving a diverse population, and of a type of increasing historical interest: the mid-century garden apartment. In 2011-12, they convinced condominium association's board of directors to fund a cultural landscape report (CLR) authored, somewhat unorthodoxly, by residents (with some assistance from outside consultants).

Another group of owners and their supporters question whether there is sufficient evidence to justify restoration, the wisdom of removing adaptations, and the cost of the plan. Furthermore, they contend, the process has excluded community members and presented a set of false choices. Two outside reviewers, both planning historians active in SACRPH, concluded the CLR is flawed and requires revision.

This session explores preservation choices about historic significance (and treatment approaches), race and class, and the uses of expertise and technical reports in planning processes for housing communities (both The Village Green and others like it) engaged in collective decision-making.

Chair: **Matthew Gordon Lasner**, Hunter College, conceived of this roundtable after evaluating The Village Green's draft CLR in 2013. He is the author of *High Life: Condo Living in the Suburban Century* (2012), a history of condominium housing in the U.S., and several other articles and chapters on postwar U.S. apartments in Southern California and beyond. He is associate professor of urban studies.

Moderator: **Steve Moga**, Smith College, is assistant professor of landscape studies. Before earning his PhD he was a preservation planner and consultant in greater Boston and Los Angeles, including for the Southern California firm Historic Resources Group, where he worked on Baldwin Hills Village and other large-scale mid-century garden apartments like Chase Knolls and Lincoln Place. He is also a former resident of Sunnyside, Queens. At Smith he teaches courses on cultural landscapes and historic preservation.

Dell Upton, University of California, Los Angeles, is professor in the department of art history. He studies the history of architecture, cities, and material culture. His books and articles treat subjects ranging from pre-Revolutionary American architecture to critiques of New Urbanism and heritage tourism. They include *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New American Republic* (2008) and *Architecture in the United States* (1998). He recently completed a study of civil-rights and black-history monuments and urban politics in the U.S. South.

Teresa Grimes is a Principal Architectural Historian at GPA Consulting. She is widely recognized as an expert in the identification and documentation of historic resources and has worked on the rehabilitation of major landmarks including the Herkimer Arms in Pasadena and the United Artists Theater in Los Angeles. Her recent projects have included a Multiple Property Documentation Form for Latinos in Twentieth Century California and a LGBT Historic Context Statement for SurveyLA. Ms. Grimes has a B.A. in Political Science and a M.A. in Architecture from UCLA.

Alison Rose Jefferson is a historian and heritage conservation consultant who has recently earned a PhD in History from the University of California, Santa Barbara. She also holds a master's degree in preservation and previously worked at Historic Resources Group in Southern California. Her professional interests revolve around American history and the African American experience, spatial justice, historic preservation and cultural tourism in Southern California.

Michael Allen, Washington University, is founder and director of Preservation Research Office, in St. Louis. He had led architectural surveys, historic district nominations and rehabilitation planning efforts across the city of St. Louis, East St. Louis and other cities in Missouri and Illinois. His work emphasizes the social, economic and political dimensions of preservation planning in legacy cities. He is author or co-author of nearly 50 National Register of Historic Places nominations and a contributing writer to *Next City*.

George Rheault was an owner and resident of The Village Green for four years (2011-15) and a board director of The Village Green Owners Association from 2013 to 2015. He is an attorney licensed in California and New York and currently lives in Portland, Maine.

AICP CM CREDITS [pending approval]

Chair: David Freund, University of Maryland, College Park

Comment: David Freund, University of Maryland, College Park

The Rules of Residential Segregation: American Housing Taxonomies and Their Precedents

Sonia A. Hirt

It is commonly argued that zoning, the most common instrument of municipal land-use control, was inspired by West European, especially German policy advances in the late 1800s and early 1900s. But if this is the case, why is it that the most ubiquitous category used in American zoning ordinances, the single-family residential district, is so *specifically* American? As recent literature has shown, the single-family district is not widely used in Germany and other European countries. How and why did this US-European difference in municipal law-making emerge?

The paper explores two hypotheses for the particularity of US zoning, which are embedded in the early-20th-century historic context: 1) that in a country with an unprecedented influx of low-class ethnic and racial “others,” the single- versus multi-family dichotomy reflected widely held views that race and class divisions must be codified in space, and 2) that pastoral ideals regarding the supremacy of single-family homes were an integral part of the American experience more so than they were in Europe. These arguments have been individually discussed in the literature on American zoning. The class and race argument has been advanced by many authors such as Christopher Silver and Raphael Fischler. And pastoral ideals, especially the appeal of the single-family home, have been highlighted by Martha Lees and, again, Raphael Fischler, among others. However, these authors deal only with US zoning. In contrast, this paper explores the issue comparatively pointing to the contrasting ideological positions of early European and American zoning experts regarding social mixing and the spatial position of the individual household in the community.

The paper first defines zoning in the context of its historic affiliations and precedents. Next, it traces how today’s routine taxonomy of single- versus multi-family housing emerged in the United States and highlights how American methods differed from European ones. Finally, it explores the role of attitudes on social mixing in residential areas and the role of pastoral ideas in the development of the American concept. Data for the paper comes from landmark city ordinances from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the writings of some of the foremost urban planning experts and legal minds of the time, and secondary sources.

Excess Condemnation in the Progressive Era: Redistribution and/or Aesthetic Reform?

Jon Ritter, New York University

This paper investigates the history of excess condemnation as an eminent domain strategy for planning and financing improvements in American cities during the early 20th century. The few historians who have studied excess condemnation in the Progressive Era argue that reformers proposed it to achieve City Beautiful aesthetic reform rather than to recoup the “unearned increment” accruing to private interests from public improvements. This

paper reassesses this conclusion, identifying redistributive motives among reformers, while also taking Progressive aesthetic objectives seriously as public goods.

Analysis will begin with a review of the arguments for excess condemnation in these years, including those of Daniel Burnham in his 1909 Plan of Chicago and of others in civic organizations and municipal improvement reports. Examination of several projects in New York City will then identify Progressive aspirations for municipal funding through excess condemnation, with evidence drawn from primary documents, contemporary reporting, and archival sources, including photographs and maps. This reading will also emphasize the meaning of the City Beautiful approach to monumental expression at these sites, through a close reading of architectural plans and site maps.

The paper concludes by comparing these New York examples with an international precedent and a New Deal antecedent. Attention to the economic and physical factors shaping London's High Holborn and New York's Chrystie and Forsyth Streets helps us to recover both the aims and legacies of eminent domain in the Progressive Era.

House Rules: how policy has shaped single family houses in Southern California

Mark Vallianatos, Occidental College

Single family houses have played an iconic role in the development and planning of Los Angeles and other Southern California communities. House design and use have been influenced by a range of factors from economics to architecture to lifestyles. But policy is how jurisdictions have attempted to socially determine how houses should look and function and how people should live in the space of a dwelling. In this paper, I explore how building codes, zoning codes and other forms of public and quasi-public regulation have shaped the design and use of detached, single family houses in Southern California from the late 19th century to the present.

Scholars have addressed how the region's single family areas developed in relation to regional and city planning, transportation and employment patterns, how Southern California developers helped pioneer techniques for constructing large scale subdivisions; and how single family home ownership has been linked to culture, race, class and gender. Less attention has been paid to how specific policy changes helped shape these houses as individual dwellings and as spaces where certain types of uses and activities are allowed, forbidden, or regulated.

This paper examines the evolution of policies that impact detached single-family houses with a focus on building codes, zoning codes, and private covenants. Drawing upon archival research on adopted and proposed City of Los Angeles ordinances supplemented by research on other Southern California jurisdictions, I identify patterns in the ways that single family homes have been regulated. I explore how the single family house as a subject of regulation has been both a conservative typology subject to stability, preservation and moral panic and a locus of social and environmental change.

The paper addresses these themes through case studies on: relaxation and tightening of limits on who can live in, buy, design and build houses; regulation to 'harden' houses against natural and human calamities such as fires, earthquakes, landslides, crime and nuclear war; controversies over what animals can be kept on single family lots; regulation of yards and outside living for privacy, safety and appearance, including oversight of swimming pools, fences and landscaping; requirements and limits on renovation and change, from home additions and repair to 'blight' and hoarding; skepticism towards alternative detached dwellings: mobile

homes, RVs, houseboats, second units and garages, geodesic domes, etc.; rise of environmental requirements including energy efficiency and water use.

The paper concludes with reflections on how past policy debates over “how we should live” might influence future regulations of single family detached houses in the region.

SESSION 7G: Property, Redevelopment, and Planning, 1945-1980

Chairs: Paul Hess, University of Toronto, and Robert Lewis, University of Toronto

Comment: Wendell Pritchett, University of Pennsylvania

Columbia University and Comprehensive Planning in Upper Manhattan, 1945-1969

Themis Chronopoulos, University of East Anglia

In the postwar period, Columbia University in its efforts to reverse neighborhood decline developed a comprehensive plan that comprised of three main parts. First, Columbia attempted to fortify the boundaries of its neighborhood, Morningside Heights, so that urban blight would not spread from Harlem and other adjacent areas to the university’s immediate territory. Second, Columbia purchased hundreds of buildings inside Morningside Heights, not only for possible expansion, but also in an effort to dominate the neighborhood spatially and avoid unwanted building uses and users. Third, Columbia planned to expand northward in an industrial area called Manhattanville, in an effort to create additional laboratory space and to transform the area into a middle class residential neighborhood. These plans went beyond traditional understandings of public and private ownership and the use and definition of space. The university facilitated the redefinition of land use and valuation as well as the takeover of public parkland. The city government was heavily involved in this process, though not always in ways favorable to Columbia. Between 1949 and 1965, city entities supported Columbia's aspirations and became involved in the remaking of space, the confiscation and recalculation of land, and the development of modernist housing. This process slowed down in the early 1960s and was questioned by a new and more progressive city administration that came to power in 1966. Columbia University suspended its ambitious plan in 1969 after a student uprising in the previous year, intense opposition by neighboring Harlem, a city government reluctant to permit eminent domain, and a financial crisis that engulfed most institutions of higher learning in the United States.

Properties of Science: How Industrial Research and Suburban Property Relations Reshaped Each Other in Cold-War-era Pittsburgh

Patrick Vitale, New York University

In 1956, Westinghouse opened a sprawling new research center alongside the recently opened Penn-Lincoln Parkway in Churchill, a suburb fifteen minutes to the east of Pittsburgh. Westinghouse modeled the lab on the Bell Laboratories in Murray Hill, New Jersey, and trumpeted it as a place removed from the immediate demands of the firm where scientists could pursue blue-sky research. In fact, scientists rarely pursued such work and instead largely focused on research that was directly connected to the needs of Westinghouse’s manufacturing divisions. So why did Westinghouse go to such great expense to create a place that was

intended to guarantee the autonomy of scientists? This paper argues that one key reason the firm did so was to fit within existing property relations in Pittsburgh's exclusive eastern suburbs. By emphasizing the laboratory as a site of blue-sky research, Westinghouse was able to conform to a suburban community that prohibited all commercial and industrial land uses. Meanwhile Churchill modified its existing zoning code to welcome industrial research, which most residents agreed would be a highly esteemed neighbor. Using this example, this paper explores how suburban property relations and Cold-War-science shaped each other.

Property Rights, Redevelopment, and Toronto Ratepayers in the 1950s

Robert Lewis, University of Toronto

Paul Hess, University of Toronto

Property relations in downtown Toronto in the 1950s were transformed by an alliance of real estate developers, retail corporations, and city politicians. Among other things, this alliance introduced new planning technologies, attracted large-scale domestic and international capital investment, refashioned the social structure of large chunks of the downtown, and created a new modernist landscape aesthetic. These changes were not uncontested. One group challenging the reworking of property rights were Toronto's ratepayers. Finding themselves outside of the postwar alliance, neighborhood residents banded together to fight the refashioning of property rights, to defend their community, and to demand a less intrusive process for rebuilding central Toronto. They opposed the transfer of their property and eviction from their homes, and argued against the local government's legitimacy in the forced sale of their property to property developers for large scale development.

Our study examines two groups. The Bloor-Carlton Ratepayers' and the Bloor-Wellesley Ratepayers' associations emerged in the 1950s to counter these new practices. Using local newspapers, property records, government documents, and planning department materials we explore two aspects of these groups: 1) the ways in which property relations were central to their creation; and 2) the arguments and actions they deployed against the refashioning of property rights. Although both groups were ultimately unsuccessful, their ability to shape the decisions of the city's elites speaks to the capacity of a small urban social movement to reframe the structure, meaning and impact of property, albeit in contradictory ways. Paradoxically, while Toronto's ratepayers groups were extremely conservative in that they sought to defend existing property relations, they were partly responsible for the rise of a broader social movement by the late 1960s that overthrew the largely conservative local state that had worked with large-scale property developers to transform Toronto's downtown. This study of Toronto's ratepayer groups will provide us with a better understanding of the changing parameters of property relations and the place politics of postwar Canadian and American cities.

SESSION 7H: The Making of Urban America: Reflections on John Reps's Legacy

ROUNDTABLE

2015 marks a half-century since the first release of John Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

1965). Apart from the historical writing of Lewis Mumford and the largely urban (without much attention to planning) volume by Arthur Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (1933), Reps's volume was a pioneer. *The Making of Urban America* helped to frame the emerging subfield of planning history and has continued to be regularly used in planning and urban history curricula. How did *The Making of Urban America* define the study of planning history, how did it help to shape subsequent works by Reps and others, how has planning history evolved since its 1965 release, and are there aspects of this seminal volume that can (and should) frame ongoing explorations of planning history. These and other key questions will be examined in this session. This roundtable, composed of leading scholars and teachers in planning history, will examine the implications of the Reps legacy on their own work. While the author Reps probably will not be available to participate in the discussion, at the very least the panel moderator will seek to provide at least a brief introductory video prepared in cooperation with Reps that offers his own views on the meaning of this work, and how he intended to work to be used in teaching and research.

Moderator: **Christopher Silver**, University of Florida

Francesca Ammon, University of Pennsylvania

Eugenie Birch, University of Pennsylvania

Kristin Larsen, University of Florida

David Schuyler, Franklin and Marshall College

Mary Corbin Sies, University of Maryland, College Park

SESSION 7J: Suburban Crisis, Suburban Regeneration

ROUNDTABLE

This roundtable brings together some of the nation's leading voices on American suburbanization in discussion around the themes "suburban crisis, suburban regeneration." Over the past few decades, America's suburbs have experienced devastating decline and encouraging regeneration, all at once. The Great Recession, in particular, was a singularly suburban calamity, begun with the housing boom-and-bust that concentrated especially in suburban areas. The wreckage wrought by the housing bust triggered a spirited conversation about the viability of suburbs, even their legitimacy. Is homeownership an obsolete, destructive aspiration, many asked? Should we do away with institutions like Fannie Mae and the FHA, which supported home ownership for generations? Folding in concerns about climate change and sustainability, public health, and the nature of community, many critics have attacked suburbia as a dead end, as anathema to contemporary values and resources. Within and a part of this suburban crisis has been the stubborn persistence of racial inequality and exclusion, exploding in attacks against immigrants and recent high-profile shooting deaths of young black men in places like Sanford, Florida, and Ferguson, Missouri. Together, these pressures have prompted some to declare the end of the suburbs, sensing a fundamental shift away from the postwar suburban form and the values and inequalities it perpetuates.

At the same time, the suburbs were changing radically. New groups of people – many previously the targets of suburban exclusion – were settling in suburban homes and

apartments, refashioning the feel and lived realities of these neighborhoods. Immigrants, the poor, more and more people of color arrived, remaking their communities and often bringing new vitality — not to mention new values and politics — to America’s suburbs. The energy of this influx signals that the suburbs are in a fascinating period of regeneration and redefinition, an era when suburban history is being rewritten in profound ways. Suburban ideals are being redefined, progressive politics have found a footing in suburban places, and long-entrenched lifeways and exclusionary practices are being challenged and upended with new “moral geographies.” Efforts to retrofit older suburbs to fit these new realities suggest fresh ways of approaching suburban change — both social and spatial.

This panel brings together several leading academics, urban activists and design practitioners, into a discussion about the crises, challenges, and promises of American suburbs — where we’ve come from, where we are, and where we ought to be headed.

Moderators: **Becky Nicolaidis**, University of California, Los Angeles and University of Southern California; **Andrew Wiese**, San Diego State University

Wendy Cheng, Arizona State University

Joe DiStefano, Calthorpe Analytics

Manuel Pastor, University of Southern California

June Williamson, The City College of New York

Andrew Highsmith, University of California, Irvine

7K: Film, *70 Acres in Chicago: Cabrini-Green*

A screening of *70 Acres in Chicago: Cabrini-Green* followed by a discussion with director Ronit Bezalel and executive producer Judy Hoffman.

Twenty-years in the making, *70 Acres in Chicago* tells the story of the Cabrini Green public housing development located on the most hotly contested 70 acres of land in Chicago. With its prime central location, Cabrini Green was initially hailed as a public housing triumph, then more recently demonized as an urban disaster. It was demolished, bit and bit, beginning in 1995, and repackaged as a “mixed income” development. The mainly black residents of Cabrini were forced out, though there is still a remnant of Cabrini in the row houses. The few residents who were able to move into the highly relegated mixed income settlement, are negotiating through strange cultural territory. This encounter, between the former Cabrini residents, and the new white middle-class homeowners comprise the very real tensions of a newly constructed community in transition. The film uses personal stories, expert commentary, and informative history to celebrate the spirit of a unique community and to mourn its betrayal and destruction.

Ronit Bezalel has been creating social issue documentary films for over 25-years. Ronit began her career at the National Film Board of Canada, where she directed *When Shirley Met Florence* (1994). Her award-winning film, *Voices of Cabrini: Remaking Chicago's Public Housing* (1999), received a John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Award to catalyze dialogue about affordable housing issues in Chicago neighborhoods. *Newsweek* magazine selected Ronit as one

of the "Top 10 Women of the 21st Century" (Jan 8, 2001) for this work. Bezael holds an MFA from Columbia College Chicago, and a BA from McGill University in Montreal.

Judy Hoffman has worked in film and video for over 35 years. She was active in the Alternative Television Movement of the early 1970's, experimenting in the use of small format video equipment. During the 1973 International Visual Anthropology Conference, she assisted French ethnographer and filmmaker Jean Rouch. She researched a film project for him, and became deeply influenced by *cinéma vérité* and the idea of shared anthropology. Hoffman played a major role in the formation of Kartemquin Films, working on many of their film productions and was the Associate Producer on *Golub*, which debuted at the New York Film Festival. She is still an active member of Kartemquin.

The first woman film Camera Assistant in Chicago, Hoffman was an apprentice in IATSE, and worked on feature films, such as *The Breakfast Club*, but ultimately chose documentary. Her credits include numerous PBS series, including *Daley: The Last Boss*, for "American Experience," and Ken Burns' *Baseball*, *Frank Lloyd Wright*, and *Jazz*.

A major focus of her work has been with the Kwakwaka'wakw First Nation of British Columbia, producing films and videotapes about the reclaiming of Native culture. She was the Associate Producer on the award-winning *Box of Treasures*, a film tracing their efforts to repatriate cultural artifacts. For over ten years Hoffman directed a video training program on the N'amgis Reserve so that the Kwakwaka'wakw could make their own tapes, and she continues to work with them on their projects.

As the Acting Director of The Documentary Center of Columbia College in 1996, she along with Ronit Bezael developed *Voices of Cabrini*, about the destruction of public housing in Chicago. The update exploring issues surrounding mixed-income housing, *70 Acres in Chicago: Cabrini Green* recently premiered at the Black Harvest Film Festival. Hoffman's eclectic approach to documentary led her to direct a behind the scenes portrait of Britney Spears, called *Stages: Three Days in Mexico*, that was shot by Albert Maysles. She, in turn, was a cinematographer on Maysles' *The Gates*, a documentary on Jeanne Claude and Christo's Central Park installation, which aired on HBO in 2006. Hoffman has worked with noted feminist directors, such as Jill Godmilow, Michelle Citron, and Barbara Kopple, and has additional cinematography credit on *Howard Zinn: You Can't be Neutral on a Moving Train*; *Sacco and Vanzetti*; and *Nelson Algren: The End is Nothing, The Road is All*. She has also produced, directed, and shot numerous museum and gallery installations for the Smart Museum of Art, and The Block Museum, among others. She received a VOICE Media Activism Award from Chicago's Center for Community and Media in 1994, was a Visiting Artist at Middlebury College in 1997, and was the Guest Artist at the Big Muddy Film Festival in 1999. She was awarded the 2004 Nelson Algren Committee Award for community activists making a significant contribution to Chicago life. She received an MFA from Northwestern University, and holds an appointment at the University of Chicago, as Professor of Practice in The Arts, in the Department of Cinema and Media Studies.