"Is This a Real Neighborhood?": Universities, Urban Development, and Neighborhood Change in the Twentieth Century United States

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iv

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told, would have topped them all—I love and thank them for everything. And the same to

Adrienne, a future primary source for the twenty-first century, who has been my constant

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Table of Contents

List of Figures

INTRODUCTION

<u>Foreword: Implicit City</u>

In the novel *Invisible Cities*, Italo Calvino writes: "To distinguish the other cities'

qualities, I must speak of a first city that remains implicit. For me it is Venice."[1] For me,

that city is Dayton, Ohio, and like Calvino's narrator, my project on other cities'

historical qualities actually began (without my realizing it at the time) in Dayton in the

early 1990s, where I grew up in a diverse (racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically)

center-city neighborhood adjacent to the University of Dayton and another large

institution, Miami Valley Hospital. My parents were active in the neighborhood's

organization and its efforts to work with and at odds with the city, university, and

hospital. My mother served as neighborhood president for most of my childhood.

In my eyes, as a child and a teenager, the neighborhood kept my parents busy. We

often begged them at the dinner table to stop talking about the neighborhood.

Neighborhood Business involved fighting and cooperating with the city, things called

zoning, litter, crime, slum landlords (or slumlords), nuisances, liquor licenses, precincts,

meetings, associations, and crazy people (a catchall term not referring to the mentally ill

but to the way they explained to us kids the variegated personalities whom they

encountered in the course of these involvements.) The neighborhood seemed stressful to

my parents. They went to long meetings with crazy people. They worried about crime,

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[1] Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities,* (London: Vintage, 1997) 85.

nuisances, and slumlords. They fought against a liquor license for a bar where there had

been a shooting that required me to sleep in my parent's bedroom for a night because my

bedroom was at the front of the house and gunshots might come in through one of the

windows. They talked about these at first unintelligible subjects at meals, in the car, on

long walks with my siblings and me through the neighborhood. These issues became part

of my regular vocabulary and part of my small universe as a child.

There was never a dull moment in this universe. We chased criminals. We woke

in the middle of the night to the smoke of arson and the screaming of sirens. The Fourth

of July brought over a month of the intense shelling of fireworks. Neighbors with

flashlights tried to disrupt a prostitution ring in our alley. A man named Eddie lived under

our porch for months before my mother found his blankets. Violence and shootings were

rare but not unheard of; instead, problems included public nudity and urination, petty

property crime, and regular updates on whether the "neighborhood felons" were jailed or

free. Importantly, as young children, my siblings could not imagine that anyone

anywhere lived differently, and the only times we encountered the late 20th century

American suburbs (visiting relatives), we found them decidedly strange and creepy in

their difference: quiet, homogenous, with those mysterious, frustrating cul-de-sacs that

stymied our attempts to walk "through" those spaces.

There was nothing dangerous or unusual to me about my neighborhood when I

was a child. It was the safest and most familiar place I knew. I knew almost everybody on

the three blocks of my street, except for the couple my parents called the Recluses, whom

nobody knew. Keeping to oneself was so unusual in my neighborhood that other

neighbors also knew this couple by that moniker. I was allowed to bike and walk all over

the neighborhood so long as I watched out for bad drivers and stray dogs. People talked

to us from their porches and said, "How are you doing? It's a nice night," when we went

on walks. Or they stopped my mother, neighborhood president, to tell her about their

problems. While adults in the neighborhood lobbied for a grocery store, the term "food

desert" not yet part of my vocabulary, I loved that the three major businesses to take up

shop on the neighborhood's ailing commercial strip were all competing dollar stores:

Family Dollar, Dollar General, and Dollar Tree. My siblings exulted at the ways in which

fifty cents went a long way at these places. As I grew older, I knew that other people

thought my neighborhood was dangerous or undesirable (students from the adjacent

university who lived on the side of campus closest to my neighborhood referred to it as

the "dark side" of campus), but their stance was laughable, shortsighted, and silly. They

were stereotyping, my parents said.

As I grew older, I gradually realized that most middle-class white Americans my

age did not grow up in neighborhoods like mine. The choice to resist the lifestyle that

many of their friends and relatives were choosing in the early 1990s was an unnatural and

privileged choice for my parents, since many of the people who lived in our

neighborhood did not have other options. It was a choice that they had to carefully think

about and explain to their peers, and eventually, their children, when we asked why some

of our friends weren't allowed to come over to play in our neighborhood.[2]

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[2] This is even stranger from the vantage point of the 2010s, as the neighborhood has gentrified to some
extent and is seen as desirable among the young. Children I grew up with who were once not allowed to
come over to play are now renting as young professionals in my neighborhood. Joggers abound (when

In high school American history, I stayed after school one day to argue with the teacher after he suggested that the story of postwar U.S. cities was one of decline, disinvestment, and decay: that nobody lived in cities anymore. I was outraged and also flummoxed. "Of course people live in cities!" I said, thinking of all of the people who lived in my neighborhood. He clarified that he meant, of course, that nobody would choose to live in central city Dayton, and I disagreed with that statement as well. I truly couldn't believe the national narrative presented by the textbook and the teacher when the one in my neighborhood was a story of optimism, advocacy, and activism, even in the face of difficulties.

Similarly, I once attended a neighborhood meeting in which the attendees discussed an ethnographic paper written by (and presented to the neighborhood as part of a service-learning class) an undergraduate Sociology student from the adjacent university. Although one undergraduate sociology student's paper can hardly be held to represent broader university-city relationships, the disjuncture between the student's experiences walking in the neighborhood and the neighborhood residents' reactions was telling. In this case, the student made statements in her paper that had everyone at the meeting laughing, which was not her intent. She presented her foray into the neighborhood as a kind of dangerous saga she was surprised to have survived, including sentences such as "Nobody tried to kidnap or sell me drugs." Since the student was not in attendance, one neighbor read her paper aloud, and had to pause numerous times so everyone could finish laughing. It was not that neighborhood residents felt the

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once, anyone *running* down the street was universally assumed to be involved in criminal activity), and a very popular hipster coffee shop sits across from one of the dollar stores.

neighborhood was perfect and had no problems (that was far from true); they laughed because the student's assessments of neighborhood issues were so far off their own.

This particular anecdote illustrated to me the paradox that someone with academic expertise and knowledge could be so far afield in their impressions to the extent that it was amusing to neighborhood residents living in the same place on a daily basis. Another example of this brand of paradox was that frequently professors who brought students into the neighborhood for "community outreach" or "service-learning" caused more trouble for neighborhood leaders than they solved, at least in the eyes of neighborhood leaders whose opinions I overheard. The issue, according to neighborhood residents, was that they always come in with their own objectives or course goals rather than asking what the neighborhood needed and beginning there. I now bring awareness of these disjunctures to my own academic research on neighborhoods other than my own, as well as a desire to tell the stories of urban history from neighborhood perspectives.

In addition to this awareness, I can recognize in different times and contexts familiar undertones of activism and organizing in postwar American neighborhoods: for example, the local tensions, the tired people voluntarily gathering in churches at the end of long workdays, the diverse and conflicting impulses that drive residents to volunteer, the ways in which my mother's urban leadership has been part of a longer historical pattern of women's leadership of neighborhood associations. Too little distance is dangerous, and for this reason, I don't write about Dayton in the 1990s/early 2000s but acknowledge it instead as my implicit city, the place and time from which the other places and times have seemed different or similar.

5

Surveying the neighborhood, c. 1996. Source: Author's family photograph (author is the older girl in the photo.)

Introduction: Cities, Universities, and Neighborhoods

This dissertation examines urban neighborhoods as nexuses of a set of processes that are much-studied and inseparable, yet rarely analyzed together: urbanization, neighborhood change, grassroots organizing, place-making and memory, the growth of higher education, the emergence and flourishing of the social sciences and professions, and local and national planning and housing policy and action. It analyzes these processes by focusing on one of their important intersections: center-city neighborhoods adjacent to universities. Neighborhood districts adjacent to urban public land-grant universities

provide a fitting window into the legal, political, and institutional conflicts over space

and land that escalated during mid-twentieth century urban renewal battles and continue

to reverberate in contemporary discussions of public-private partnerships, eminent

domain, and institutional impact and outreach.

Between 1945 and 1975, unprecedented federal funding for planning, housing,

and highways poured into U.S. cities of all sizes; some of this funding was earmarked

especially for the expansion of urban universities, colleges, and hospitals. Since

community planning and surveys were requirements for this funding, when adjacent

universities expanded, residents in each case study neighborhood debated their

neighborhood's future by considering from every angle its current problems and their

historical origins. In each neighborhood, residents also fought with city and university

officials and planners over the future of the area. While I focus on the postwar period, the

discussions, conflicts, and changes of those years are closely connected not only to

present-day issues but also to late nineteenth and early twentieth century national, local,

and social debates over cities and urban life. Moreover, as I will show, by charting the

fall or decline of the city, the urban interpretations of this period produced particular

narratives of prewar urbanization and change and altered previous narratives—they

reconfigured the "rise" of the city. They also suggested a new paradigm for renewal and

redevelopment that persists to the present but still positions itself against partial

interpretations of the past—they invented a university-specific vision of renewal

intrinsically contingent upon proof of "decline" from a previous "rise," with the rise more

connected to the growth of universities, and the "decline" important but falsely

unconnected to institutions.

Although I focus upon neighborhood/university interactions, this study is not only

or even mostly an analysis of "town versus gown"—other scholars have chronicled those

conflicts.[3] Rather, it might be better understood as an analysis of the impacts and

contentions of gown *within* town. First, in many cases the geographic and imagined

boundaries between university and neighborhood have been permeable and in flux; to

draw a line "between campus and community" is not possible.[4] Second, in each case, the

university has expanded or encroached upon the neighborhoods in which it was originally

situated. Third, part of my analysis examines the movements of urban scholars and

reformers between university spaces and neighborhood spaces—literally, these are

movements *within* the city. Last, but not least, neighborhood residents also traversed both

neighborhood and institutional spaces; to separate the two spheres is falsely dichotomous.

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[3] For a recent overview, see "Town Meets Gown: Urban Institutions in the Postwar American City: Introduction," *Journal of Planning History* 10 (2011): 3-4, accessed July 7, 2011, doi: 10.1177/1538513210397521. In a notable example--Columbia University in New York--Michael Carriere notes: "Drawing upon the language of Cold War anticommunism, the university […] undertook such a self-proclaimed 'war on blight' in an attempt to 'liberate' the surrounding community from the horrors of urban decay." Carriere, "Fighting the War against Blight: Columbia University, Morningside Heights, Inc., and Counterinsurgent Urban Renewal," *Journal of Planning History* 10 (2011): 5-9, accessed July 7, 2011, doi: 10.1177/1538513210392882. For earlier twentieth century conflicts, see also sociologist Robert Carroll's catalogue of contested relationships. Robert L. Carroll et al., *University-Community Tension and Urban Campus Form, Vol. 1* (Cincinnati, OH: University of Cincinnati Press, 1972). For contentious relationships in this period, see also: Dick Cone and Paul Payne, "When Campus and Community Collide: Campus-Community Partnerships from a Community Perspective," *Journal of Public Affairs* 6 (2002): 203-227. A growing number of recent works have focused on university/neighborhood conflicts and university development projects within neighborhoods. Stefan M. Bradley explores conflicts and collaborations between black Columbia students and Harlem residents in *Harlem Vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the Late 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

[4] The Ohio State University Archives, Harold L. Enarson Papers (RG 3/j/43/5), "University District Organization: April 1973." "Profile of the University Community Part III" prepared by the University District Organization in April 1973. The preferred citation form for OSU archival sources deviates somewhat from Chicago Style archival footnote formats. Wherever I use Ohio State archival sources, I use their preferred citation.

This dissertation examines these trends over the course of the 20th century in five chapters ranging in time from 1890 to 2015. I use a comparative case-study approach across three sites—Chicago, Illinois, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Columbus, Ohio. In each of these sites and at the national level, I use a mixed-methods approach at the intersection of the social sciences and humanities. I juxtapose a variety of sources including quantitative data such as Census and survey data, geographic sources (historical maps and atlases), business sources (real estate advertisements and reports), personal narrative sources (oral histories and interviews with long-term residents), and institutional and city archival sources (city planning minutes and university expansion plans).

Complicating "Rise and Fall," "Death and Life:" Tropes and Frameworks of Urban Change

Allison Isenberg writes: "Stories of downtown's twentieth century rise, fall, and possible resurrection have become ubiquitous in America [...] Such theories constrain our understanding of the urban past and similarly limit current and future policy choices in ways that contribute further to disinvestment."[5] By extending Isenberg's framework to central city neighborhoods and adjacent universities, I explore how contestation rather than "rise and fall" defines the local, neighborhood stories of urban change and development.

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[5] Alison Isenberg, *Downtown America*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 8-9. Isenberg calls her aim one of "reorientation toward recycling and rebuilding" (4).

Rise and fall (with the implicit possibility of renewal) is not a narrative distinctive to any of these neighborhoods or cities or even to discussions of urban history. In fact, the narrative of "rise and fall" is so embedded within popular and scholarly discourse so as to be almost unlimited in its usage and analytic potential. "Rise and fall" is not a framework limited to discussions of neighborhoods and cities. Secondly, they show that when individuals and scholars discuss how neighborhoods "rise and fall," they do so as part of a broad discursive regime.[6] They use the terms to understand cities by which they also understood other kinds of changes.

The cross-disciplinary currency of "rise and fall" helps explain why "rise and fall" inflects urban history so strongly. So too does the historically inter- and multi-disciplinary nature of the urban historical field. Scholars draw upon a variety of disciplinary approaches to study the urban past, and urban studies have long been considered a sprawling field.[7] Given this currency of "rise and fall" in many disciplines and the large number of scholars who have studied some element of the historical urban past from different disciplinary angles, it is not surprising that studies coming out of many fields have arrived at a similar framework for understanding American urban change over time: rise and fall.

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[6] Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse" in R. Young, ed. *Untying the Text* (1971), 52-64; following Foucault, "rise and fall" might be seen as a kind of "discursive formation."

[7] See, for example: William M. Bowen, Ronnie A. Dunn, and David O. Kasdan, "What is Urban Studies?" *Journal of Urban Affairs* 32 (2010): 199-227; Clay McShane, "The State of the Art in North American Urban History," *Journal of Urban History* 32 (2006): 582-591; Carl Abbott, "Borderland Studies: Comments on Clay McShane's 'The State of the Art in North American Urban History,'" *Journal of Urban History* 32 (2006): 598-597.

In fact, tropes such as rise, fall, and renewal have been embedded within American urban histories and urban historical analysis for over a century. [8] The popular and scholarly story of American urban history from the late nineteenth century to the present has often been framed as one of rise and fall, or life and death.[9] Indeed, from its inception as a "professional" pursuit, American urban history has defined itself in part by the construction and demolishment of "tropes" of urban change, or "stories" about cities. For example, the early twentieth century urban historian Arthur Schlesinger Sr. wrote *The Rise of the City* to counter Frederick Jackson Turner's influential frontier thesis, to offer an alternative narrative for American history. Schlesinger argued that the "story" of American history was not the "settling of the frontier," as Turner famously wrote, but rather the "rise of the city."[10] Following Schlesinger Sr., urban historians confronting a range of topics have deployed "rise and fall" as an explanatory framework.[11] This work

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[8] See Nick Yablon, *Untimely Ruins: An Archaeology of American Urban Modernity, 1819-1919*, (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2009) for a discussion of early 19th century imaginations of urban ruins and desolation. See also Thomas Bender*, Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth Century America*, (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975) and Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1978).

[9] An early and influential periodization of the "rise" of the city can be found came in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr.'s *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (New York: Macmillan Press, 1933). In her influential book, Jane Jacobs famously argued against the planning impulses of the time, which she argued would "kill" vibrant cities (Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, (New York: Random House, 1961)). Eric Monkkenen periodizes urban history in three distinct stages: the pre-modern city before 1830, the growth of the city ("rise") between 1830-1930, a period which he notes was characterized by "a dynamic and historically unprecedented expansion of cities," and a third stage after the Depression in which Monkkenen calls the period of "the decentralized metropolis." (Eric Monkennen, *America Becomes Urban: The Development of U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780-1980* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 4-5.)

[10] In a retrospective review, Andrea Tuttle Kornbluh calls this book "the invention of American urban history" and notes that Schlesinger offers a counterpoint to Turner's frontier thesis by emphasizing urbanization (rather than westward expansion) as the prevailing theme and force in American national development. Andrea Tuttle Kornbluh, *Review of Arthur Meier Schlesinger, The Rise of the City, 1878-1898*. H-Urban, H-Net Reviews. September, 1998.

[11] See, for examples: Jeffrey S. Adler, *Yankee Merchants and the Making of the Urban West: The Rise and Fall of Antebellum St. Louis*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Samuel Zipp, *Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York* (New York, NY: Oxford University

relates to the research from History and other disciplines that discusses and analyzes the "fall" and "decline" of the city. These scholars have variously charted urban "decline."[12]

"Rise and fall" also exists as less calculable but no less powerful humanistic impressions. Marked in popular culture, in film, and in print, discussions of the growth and decline of cities continue to the present. These discussions proliferate in a variety of media. From Charles Loring Brace to Jacob Riis to Lewis Mumford to Richard Florida, various reformers, theorists, activists, and writers have explored the cultural, social, and economic meanings of American urbanization and city life. A huge swath of urban historical scholarship illuminates the interactions, opportunities, tensions, problems, and possibilities that were part and parcel of the "rise" of the city—or what has been identified as the mass movements of migrants into American cities in the second half of the nineteenth century, Monkonnen's period of expansion. As more and more people moved into cities and cities grew physically and in population, outcries for reform accompanied this "rise" and middle- and upper-class native born reformers worried about the effects of the city upon urban residents and upon their own standing.

Press, 2010); Robert Fogelson, *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall 1880-1950*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003) and John C. Teaford, *Cities of the Heartland: The Rise and Fall of the Industrial Midwest* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993); The language of "rise and fall" has proved a powerful organizing principal for works of urban and metropolitan change, including works that are not syntheses of urban history. For example, in *Bourgeois Utopias: the Rise and Fall of Suburbia*, Robert Fishman argues for a "rise and fall" of suburbia in a different (but overlapping) temporal period of the "rise and fall" of the city. (Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: the Rise and Fall of Suburbia,* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).
[12] In a report for the Brookings Institute, Katharine L. Bradbury, Anthony Downs, and Kenneth A. Small detail population loss in major cities in *Urban Decline and the Future of American Cities.* (Bradbury et al, *Urban Decline and the Future of American Cities* (Washington, DC: Brookings Inst Press, 1982). See also: Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Glenn Yago, *The Decline of Transit: Urban Transportation in German and United States Cities, 1900-1970* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984). The "rise and fall" of the city has also been explored in other media at different points in time. For example, a 1939 documentary film, about forty-five minutes long, tells a kind of "rise, fall, (and possible rebirth)" story of cities in the United States. *The City*, Directed by Ralph Steiner and Willard Van Dyke, (American Institute of Planners through Civic Films, Inc, 1939).

Noting that "the proclaimed decline of cities has framed the lives of those who came of age in the United States in the last half of this century," Robert Beauregard traces the multifaceted documentation of decline in American media, or what he identifies as a "discourse on decline."[13] Beauregard defines this discourse as "a wide-ranging and national debate about the ills and illusions of cities confronted with population loss, experiencing riots, suffering diminishing employment, facing a shrinking tax base, losing the white middle class, and watching as houses, infrastructure, and factories became rundown and abandoned."[14] Scholars such as Colin Gordon, Robert Fogelson, and Brian Robick have interrogated the meanings and uses of terms such as "decline" and "blight" in planning and legal contexts.[15] Following these scholars and along with Beauregard in particular, I define "decline" as a metaphor, process, and an image more far-reaching and powerful than a single, measurable trend.

While the "discourse on decline" has reached proportions that extend beyond measurable trends and patterns, decline is not disconnected from the set of trends scholars have identified as the urban crisis. Robert Self, Thomas Sugrue, and others have detailed the political, social, and legal mechanisms that undergirded the changes characterized as the "decline" or "fall" of the central city and the federal and local policies that spurred

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[13] Robert Beauregard, *Voices of Decline: The Postwar Fate of U.S. Cities*, (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1993), ix.

[14] Ibid, x.

[15] Colin Gordon also compares contemporary use of the term "blight" to its historical development in Colin Gordon, "Blighting the Way: Urban Renewal, Economic Development, and the Elusive Definition of Blight," 31 *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 306 (2003-2004); Robert Fogelson, *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall 1880-1950* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003); For a longer discussion of the concept of blight and urban renewal projects, see B.D Robick,*Blight: The Development of a Contested Concept (Unpublished Ph.D.,* Carnegie Mellon University, 2011). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses,* 399. Retrieved from http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/864740266?accountid=14586

postwar suburbanization, increasing socioeconomic and racial stratification, and

segregation across the United States in the second half of the twentieth century.[16]

Scholars have termed this combination of postwar problems including depopulation,

deindustrialization, and disinvestment the "urban crisis."[17] Likewise, scholarship on

postwar suburbanization illuminates the intricate and falsely invisible mechanisms by

which private and public forces subsidized movement out of central cities and into the

suburbs—for some, and in the process, they have questioned the usefulness of

overarching tropes. Andrew Wiese, for example, complicates the misconception that

surburbanization was "white flight" and shows the ways in which African-Americans

also moved to suburban areas.[18] Examination of how "rise and fall" and a "discourse on

decline" elide certain protests, patterns, and contingencies at the neighborhood level is

not to deny important attention to and acknowledgement of these processes that comprise

the urban crisis. Rather, it makes it possible to examine the ways in which grassroots

organizations, activists and residents made sense of these problems at that moment in

time and tried to find solutions for them. It also makes it possible to critically examine

how individuals and institutions deployed concepts such as "decline" to meet specific

policy and planning goals and to benefit certain stakeholders, as scholars have begun to

do. [19]

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[16] On suburbanization and metropolitan history, see Matthew Lassiter, *The Silent Majority* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).
[17] Robert Self, *American Babylon*; Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, and Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline*.
[18] Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own*: *African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
[19] Colin Gordon, "Blighting the Way: Urban Renewal, Economic Development, and the Elusive Definition of Blight," 31 *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 306 (2003-2004); see also Chapter 7, "Inventing Blight," in Fogelson, *Downtown*, 317-380 and Zipp, *Manhattan Projects* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Moreover, mid-twentieth century university and planning efforts to measure, define, and ultimately combat this decline of the postwar central city significantly affected memories of the prewar urban histories of cities by suggesting these periods were golden ages or idyllic periods before a decline or fall after World War II, when demographic and historical evidence suggests otherwise. They also changed conceptions of urban change today by suggesting that the only hopes of cities lie in the possibilities of a plethora of –re words: reclaim, revitalize, renewal, and redevelop.

Parallel to but distinct from a narrative of urban "rise and fall" is one of "life and death." In works that influenced not only the emergent field of urban history but all social scientific approaches to urban analysis, led by Park and Burgess, early Chicago School urban sociologists thought of the city as a living organism and organized their studies accordingly. Comparing cities to living beings, the sociologists framed their studies according to the "life" and "death" of cities and sections of cities.[20] For Chicago School urbanists, the "rise" and "fall" of neighborhoods was the natural inevitable course they would take as they followed the life-course model of organisms. Furthermore, past and contemporary boosters and amateur historians have promoted their cities with sweeping narratives of prospect and progress.[21] Historical economic cycles of "boom and bust" and their impacts on local places have contributed to the power of "rise and fall" or "life and

[20] The most notable are the works of Park and Burgess on Chicago: Robert Ezra Park, E. W. Burgess, and Roderick Duncan McKenzie, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967). For scholars who have questioned and revisited this model of urban theory for the twenty-first century, see Dennis R. Judd and Dick Simpson, editors, *The City, Revisited: Urban Theory from Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
[21] See, for example, Carl Abbott, *Boosters and Businessmen: Popular Economic Thought and Urban Growth in the Antebellum Middle West* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981).

death" as organizing narratives of urban change.[22] We see the impacts of this framework

today when for, contemporary planners, the adjectives "vital" and "vibrant"—both of

which come from the Latin root for "life"—proliferate in urban planning objectives and

even when "vital signs' are taken for cities.[23] There is interest not just in the "life" of

cities but also in their "death." The most vivid contemporary examples originate in

Detroit.[24] Nick Yablon calls this a "distinctive urban imaginary of dereliction and

decay."[25] Yablon traces how this popular fascination with ruins, which represent the end

or "death" of cities, is not only a contemporary phenomenon as epitomized by Vergara's

work or a twentieth-century phenomenon as Robert Beauregard carefully voices but one

with roots from the inception of American urbanity. For Yablon, who shows how ruins

and fascination with them emerged at the moment American cities started to grow, urban

ruins are "revelations of the unstable, uneven development of American cities belie those

linear narratives of urban progress (or decline) more often cited by historians."[26]

Responding to, growing from, and in dialogue with these various traditions at scales

ranging from the local to the national, American urban historiography has been caught up

in tropes and narratives: rise, fall, decline, revitalize, death, and life.

 This study returns to the framework of "rise, fall, and renewal" throughout the

course of the twentieth century stories of three neighborhoods. To destabilize a

framework or a trope so comfortable for urban residents and scholars past and present is

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[22] On "boom and bust," in general, see Sherry Olson, "Downwind, Downstream, Downtown: The Environmental Legacy in Baltimore and Montreal," *Environmental History* 12 (October 2007): 845-66.
[23] There are countless examples of this language in planning and popular use. See, for example, Kasper Koblauch, "Toronto's Vital Signs Wavering," *The Toronto Star*, 10/1/2013.
[24] See, for example, Camilo J. Vergara, *American Ruins* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2003).
[25] Nick Yablon, *Untimely Ruins: An Archaeology of American Urban Modernity*, 1819-1919 (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 2.
[26] Ibid, 14.

not easy. Nor is there always a tidy metaphoric replacement. Except in quotations, I try to avoid using the terms "rise," "fall," "renewal," or "decline" in my own analysis. If I must, I first qualify what specific pattern I note has changed according to one of those frameworks. It is also only possible to read against the grain of the trope by first reading along it, so when historical and contemporary actors call upon these tropes, it is important to uncover what references they intended.[27]

Why interrupt and step back from a practice that has proved professionally, intellectually, and personally fruitful for so many urban residents and scholars? By applying personal narrative analysis to the stories of both neighborhoods and individuals, and by bringing these analyses into conversation with demographic studies and surveys about the same neighborhoods, I show how over the course of the twentieth century, social science struck a chord with lived experience in a resonant, if not representative, way. To do so requires a careful examination of what exactly "rise, fall, and renewal" has meant in the neighborhoods and to the individual urban residents who negotiated these tropes in their everyday lives, and importantly, to which kind of residents these tropes have most closely matched their own life experiences. These residents, in their memories and their "memory-making businesses" have disproportionately written the urban

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[27] Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Archives and Arts of Governance," *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 87–109. In this article, Stoler notes that "a turn to the social and political conditions that produced[…] documents" (91) and Stoler cites works that analyze the social underpinnings scientific categories: Ian Hacking, *The Taming of Chance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994); Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998). See also: Ian Hacking, "How Should We Do the History of Statistics?", in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991) and Ian Hacking, "The Looping Effects of Human Kinds," in *Causal Cognition: A Multidisciplinary Debate*, ed. Dan Sperber, David Premack, and Ann Premack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 351-83.

histories of their neighborhoods. Only by dismantling and questioning the powerful

tropes of urban history can we begin to hear the hidden voices of contention—those

residents who imagined alternative possibilities for their neighborhoods—and only by

attempting to correlate memory with demographic trends can we begin to understand how

some memories might be lost and others magnified.

Indeed, more than fabrication or exaggeration to be dismissed or dismantled,

nostalgia and the imagery of memory are compelling categories of analysis in urban

studies, especially when their patterns and changes are examined alongside demographic,

political, economic, and geographic patterns of change. Moreover, the tropes, narratives,

and stories of change ubiquitously and unobtrusively embedded in popular and scholarly

urban history—what we talk about when we talk about U.S. cities, or the very building

blocks of local and national urban history—beg to be analyzed as experiential, cultural,

social, and indeed *social scientific* constructions rather than as natural, inevitable, and

uncomplicated processes. In the ensuing chapters, I trace how over the course of the

"long" twentieth century (between 1880-2014) the powerful convergences of

mathematics and memories, and of personal experiences and planning studies, of

architecture and allegory have created a shared national narrative of the "rise," "fall," and

possible "renewal" or "revitalization" of the city built from countless, more complicated

local stories and produced in spite of clamoring local protests and suggested counter-

narratives.

Destabilizing Data and Decline

Thus, even when to do so undermines our own claims of expertise, urbanists must acknowledge the malleability of urban data, the uncertainty, bias, and contingencies attached to our predecessors' most confident assertions, and the degree to which studies of the city are motivated not by an objective search for urban information but by economic and real estate development goals. During the postwar period, various actors including residents, urban planners, policymakers, and university officials intensively studied my case study university district sites in order to pave the way for various types of urban and university development and redevelopment. As they did so, they struggled to construct the mechanisms by which they could quantitatively describe the decline of the city in order to remake and to renew it to serve their own ends. Along the way, they normalized, expanded, and abstracted the concept of urban blight or urban decline--what I call negative urban change--in order to gloss over the real contradictions, inequalities, and problems inherent in their plans.

I suggest that "blight," "urban decline," and negative urban change comprised a discursive framework with which a host of individuals (often at cross-purposes) grappled in order to advance their own urban ends and to make sense of broader national, demographic, and policy changes and patterns. I further suggest that urbanists must destabilize "urban decline" and neighborhood change in order to understand them. I do not deny negative urban change in cities in the postwar United States, but I raise the questions of what change was bad and good for whom, and why. I draw attention to the

ways in which some of the typical and well-worn tropes of urban history elide the

uncomfortable complexities of the past by allowing their users to evade specificity.

Gentrification literature that has focused on later and contemporary moments in global

urban history remains incomplete without an examination of the foundations for

gentrification that were built even as center-city neighborhoods supposedly declined.

<u>Producing Urban Narratives and Knowledge</u>

Over the course of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, universities became

huge producers of knowledge about urban change, including knowledge of "rise and

fall." Importantly, in the historically high-mobility neighborhoods I examine, the

universities as institutional "neighbors" outstay most, if not all, human residents.

Universities and other institutions have their own "rise" or progress narratives. For U.S.

universities, the moment of their accepted "rise" parallels the "fall" of the American

city.[28] The G.I. Bill subsidized increased access to a college education to returning

veterans at the same time as other federal policies impelled suburbanization for some.

Additionally, just as the discourse on decline and urban "fall" reached its fevered pitch in

the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Baby Boomers further drove the expansion or "rise"

of higher education.

Scholars have examined the relationships between universities and urban change.

Bringing together essays about both European and American cities and universities,

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[28] See Louis Menand, *The Marketplace of Ideas* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010); Thomas Bender, ed., *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Maurice Berube, *The Urban University in America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978).

Thomas Bender's edited *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present* suggests the importance of exploring "town-gown" linkages and provides a basis for comparative discussions.[29] A number of recent works have discussed postwar relationships between particular American universities and cities.[30] Other studies have focused on university land-use and real estate practices.[31] A body of pragmatic and prescriptive scholarship on university-community partnerships has also emerged.[32] The variety of diverse cities and universities examined in these studies shows that there is a national—even a North-American—prevalence and recurrence of certain themes: conflicts over real estate and student housing in off-campus neighborhoods, the late twentieth century evolution and emergence of university-community partnerships, and the increasingly common viewpoint of an interconnected and interdependent future for urban universities and their cities. Universities and colleges of vastly different sizes and characteristics interact with diverse municipalities in different geographic regions and at

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[29] Thomas Bender, ed., *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[30] Stefan M. Bradley explores conflicts and collaborations between black Columbia students and Harlem residents in *Harlem Vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the Late 1960s* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009). Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005). Judith Rodin discusses the University of Pennsylvania's past and contemporary involvement in surrounding West Philadelphia neighborhoods: Judith Rodin, *The University & Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and into the Streets* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

[31] For examples, see Perry and Wiewel, eds., *The University as Urban Developer Case Studies and Analysis* (Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2005). They also edited a global and comparative volume as part of this study: Perry and Wiewel, eds., *Global Universities and Urban Development: Case Studies and Analysis* (Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2008).

[32] Examples include: Mary Jane Brukardt, ed., *Creating a New Kind of University: Institutionalizing Community-University Engagement* (Bolton, MA: Anker Pub, 2006). George R. McDowell, *Land-Grant Universities and Extension into the 21st Century: Renegotiating Or Abandoning a Social Contract* (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 2001). David Nichols, *University-Community Relations: Living Together Effectively* (Springfield, IL: C.C. Thomas, 1990). Victor Rubin and Berkeley University of California, Institute of Urban & Regional Development, and University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum, *The Roles of Universities in Community-Building Initiatives* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, Berkeley, Institute of Urban & Regional Development, 1998.)

every level of the urban hierarchy.

Over the course of the twentieth century, intertwined issues of urban and neighborhood change, federal urban policy, universities' growth, and changes in American higher education converged. University narratives of urban change—and justification for their own actions—often oversimplified or ignored the historical contexts in which they operated. Changes in local urban places and institutions occurred within a larger national landscape of conflict and change in the 1950s and 1960s. Becoming more attuned to their national "places" than to their local contexts, urban universities fought for stability and for their place within changing cities and metropolitan areas. Ohio State turned inward from Columbus and called itself a "city within a city."[33] Across the nation, the popular "ivory tower" metaphor expressed this viewpoint.[34] In surrounding neighborhoods, residents organized themselves to fight for their own stability against institutional expansion and increased numbers of students living independently in off-campus campus.[35] The ensuing town-gown conflicts noted by Carroll and others cast a powerful shadow over later university-community interactions, at Ohio State, in other cities, and at the national level.

Across the nation, university and neighborhood actors have contested the issue of

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[33] Jane Ware, "Big Campus," *OSU News Digest*, August 26, 1988. The Ohio State University Archives, Information File, "Brief Facts: 1966-1994."

[34] For example, consider Judith Rodin's subtitle in her discussions about the University of Pennsylvania's recent interactions with surrounding Philadelphia neighborhoods: Judith Rodin, *The University and Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and Into the Streets* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

[35] Michael Sutcliffe, a geographer studying neighborhood organizing in Columbus, Ohio notes that in the 1960s, activism became "more intense, more exclusionary, more concentrated in space." He connects "the defensive and exclusionary character of post-1960s activism resulted from concerns expressed by activists with the protection of specifically their homes […] from external threats. These threats arose from the form of urban development taking place during this period." Michael Sutcliffe, "Neighborhood Activism in Sociohistorical Perspective: Columbus, Ohio, 1900-1980," Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University (Phd thesis), 1985.

campus/community boundaries and town-gown relationships. Likewise, scholars in

various disciplines have examined and questioned the role of the university within the

city. Bringing together essays about both European and American cities and universities,

Thomas Bender's edited collection, *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins

to the Present,* suggests the importance of exploring "town-gown" linkages and provides

a basis for comparative discussions.[36] Maurice Berube's *The Urban University in

America* is a (now dated) look at urban universities' interactions with surrounding

neighborhoods.[37] It builds upon an even earlier work, Parke R. Kolbe's *Urban Influences

on Higher Education in England and the United States*, a 1928 study of "the development

of an urban type" of postsecondary institution.[38] The institutions Kolbe describes are

many of the same schools that reappear in later "town-gown" and "university-

community" literature.

Other studies have focused on university land-use and real estate practices. *The

University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis*, edited by David C. Perry and

Wim Wiewel, compiles case-studies of university real-estate involvement in cities as part

of a larger Lincoln Institute of Land Policy project.[39] Edited by Wiewel and Gerrit-Jan

Knaap, *Partnerships for Smart Growth: University-Community Collaboration for Better

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[36] Thomas Bender, ed., *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[37] Maurice Berube, *The Urban University in America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978).

[38] Parke Rexford Kolbe, *Urban Influences on Higher Education in England and the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928). Kolbe's work is interesting for its analysis of urban universities in the mid-1920s. He writes, for example, "More than forty percent of all college students in the United States are being educated in cities of 100,000 people or more. Beyond all question the amazing increase in college attendance in the last two decades has taken place largely in the institutions situated in the larger cities." (112-113); he also discusses the "municipal university" as a "type" distinct from a state university, a distinction no longer made in the present.

[39] Perry and Wiewel, eds., *The University as Urban Developer Case Studies and Analysis* (Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2005); Perry and Wiewel, eds., *Global Universities and Urban Development: Case Studies and Analysis* (Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2008).

Public Places, brings together case studies of universities applying and teaching growth management strategies in surrounding urban and suburban communities.[40]

In the past twenty years, a body of pragmatic and prescriptive scholarship on university-community partnerships has also emerged. A useful example is David J. Maurrasse's *Beyond the Campus: How Colleges and Universities Form Partnerships with Their Communities*. Maurrasse seeks "to determine whether or not community partnerships (can) be compatible with the missions of institutions of higher education." Concluding that they are compatible, he looks at the factors that are important for successful partnerships.[41] This body of scholarship is connected to an earlier set of studies that discuss and question an "urban mission" for universities (often compared to the "rural mission" of nineteenth-century land grant institutions.)[42] Related to this body of literature is a set of case study "best practices" articles and examples: shorter pieces that provide snapshot case examples (sometimes promotional or self-referential) of university-community "success stories."[43] Although they may not be academic or

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[40] This book straddles several thematic sets of works with its focus upon both physical planning and land-use and upon ideas about university-community partnerships. Wim Wiewel and Gerrit Jan-Knaap, *Partnerships for Smart Growth* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2005).

[41] David J. Maurrasse, *Beyond the Campus: How Colleges and Universities Form Partnerships with Their Communities* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 181.

[42] Examples include: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, *Fulfilling the Urban Mission* (AASCU: Washington, D.C., 1985); Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *The University and the Community: The Problems of Changing Relationships* (Paris, France: OECD, 1982); H. Peter Marshall, *The Challenges of a Community Development Role for the Public University: Description and Analysis* (Morgantown, WV: Published for the Community Development Division, National University Extension Association by the Office of Research and Development, Center for Extension and Continuing Education, West Virginia University, 1976).

[43] An example of this kind of hybrid piece is a PAS memo written by a firm of architects provides "brief case studies from urban areas (to) illustrate innovative ways" university and city planners have partnered. The piece includes Ohio State as an example. Saratoga Associates Landscape Architects, Architects, Engineers, and Planners, P.C. "Town-Gown Partnerships for Success," *PAS Memo*, May/June 2006. Available at: <http://www.saratogaassociates.com/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/town-gown-partnerships-for-success.pdf>.

historical in nature, these pieces draw upon both academic work on university-community relationships and upon perceived histories of the institutions and neighborhoods in focus. In this way, just as the line between university campus and city neighborhood is often blurry, so too are the boundaries between scholarly work on town-gown relationships and promotional or public relations pieces about these interactions.

Sharon Haar's recent work *The City As Campus: Urbanism and Higher Education in Chicago* crosses disciplinary boundaries to discuss interconnections between the physical spaces of urban higher education within the city, the historical and contemporary planning of these spaces, and the educational missions and objectives of urban universities.[44] This work follows (but builds upon) another tradition of scholarly literature, one concerned with the physical spaces of the university: its design and planning. Paul Venable Turner's *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* is one of the earliest works to examine the physical distinctiveness of American universities.[45] Richard P. Dober's *Campus Landscape: Functions, Forms, Features* and *Campus Architecture: Building in the Groves of Academe* are notable recent works concerned with issues of physical space, appearance, and planning.[46]

What's In a Name? Community, Neighborhood, and the Power of Place

Terms such as "neighborhood," "district," and "community," all of which I will

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[44] Sharon Haar, *The City As Campus: Urbanism and Higher Education in Chicago* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

[45] Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1984).

[46] Richard Dober, *Campus Landscape: Functions, Forms, Features* (New York: Wiley, 2000); Richard Dober, *Campus Architecture: Building in the Groves of Academe* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996).

employ throughout my discussions, are inherently constructed and complicated, fraught and disputed. Deployed in one geographic dimension, the terms attempt to delimit and stabilize space, which scholars have shown is multi-dimensional, unlimited, and unstable. It is also personal, and one resident's conceptualization of his or her "neighborhood" may differ from another's.

Scholars have discussed the challenges of understanding "neighborhood" as a concept and suggested various means of doing so. Geographer Deborah Martin suggests the possibility of defining neighborhoods as constructions based upon events, interactions, conflicts, and defenses.[47] In this way, she argues that a "neighborhood" is useful not because it is a particular and specific concept—easy to discuss according to typologies, stages, and scales—but because it is contingent (as a concept, and as a place) upon perceptions and social interactions. In this way, she makes a case for the "negotiated significance" of neighborhoods; neighborhoods are difficult to define or mark as concepts because they are negotiated, understood, and fought over, and even changed by people daily, but these are the events and interactions that "enact" the concept of a particular neighborhood.[48] In my discussions, I place myself somewhere between scholars who problematize the concept of mapping or delimiting space at all and scholars who discuss the problems inherent in mapping but proceed anyway. Along with Martin, I locate the importance of "neighborhoods," "district," and "community" not as specific and consistent spatial units but as spaces imagined and enacted by the residents who find meaning and definition in them.

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[47] Deborah Martin, "Enacting Neighborhood," *Urban Geography* 24 (5): 361-385.
[48] Ibid, 380.

Research Design: Comparative Case-Studies

Urban scholars have debated the most effective methods of grounding national

patterns at local scales, of explaining the broader contexts of local patterns, and of

analyzing urban issues at various spatial scales. My project also employs a comparative

case-study framework distinct from both focused single neighborhood studies and broad

aggregate studies of numerous locales. This approach allows me to analyze how local

stories and experiences hardened into a shared, national narrative. It is thus neither the

story of a single, specific locale nor a place-less pattern observed from above. However,

as a comparative analysis, its design does to some extent set up a framework for its

results.[49]

In my analysis, I explicitly differentiate between the center-city neighborhoods

and institutions I use as case studies and other forms of "town-gown" relationships, of

which there are many. In my three case-study cities, the universities are not the sole

institution or actor influencing the neighborhood or town, as in the prototypical American

college town. These neighborhoods are also all distinct for their central position in the

cities, for their dense urban settings, and for their status (whether in the past or in the

present) as lower-income, mid-income, or mixed-income neighborhoods. The result is a

certain type of power imbalance between the neighborhood and the university not

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[49] Nancy Green, "The Comparative Method and Poststructural Structuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13, 4, (Summer 1994): 3-22.

encountered as often in other types of settings, such as the case of a wealthy

neighborhood or enclave bordering an institution.[50]

Yet these three cases are not entirely unusual or distinct, for they also represent

and share attributes a number of similarly situated city/university relationships in the

U.S., in cities both large and small. While focused at the level of the central-city

neighborhood, I focus outward to broader development and policy trends. Other scholars

have examined suburbanization and metropolitan case-studies to illuminate these trends,

my study begins at the level of the center-city neighborhood and looks outward from

there to engage with metropolitan and national patterns, including suburbanization.[51] In

other words, my work investigates how these trends and patterns played out and were

perceived at a neighborhood level while situating the neighborhoods within their broader

contexts.

Despite its attention to particular locales, my project transcends local interests and

local history as traditionally defined. Within the past ten years, urban historians have

pointed out both that "all politics is local" and that "all politics are global."[52] The

resounding implication is that cities—particular local spaces with municipal boundaries

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[50] An important caveat, of course, is that there are major differences between types of institutions. For example, David J. Maurasse notes: "The type of institution is clearly a central factor shaping the nature of these partnerships, although every institution has a particular tradition, which may or may not be related to its institutional type." Maurasse, *Beyond the Campus*, 182.

[51] On the importance of metropolitan case studies and attention to suburbanization, see Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Carl Abbott, *The New Urban America: Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); Kevin M. Kruse and Thomas Sugrue, ed., the *New Suburban History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006); Ruth McManus and Philip Ethington, "Suburbs in Transition: New Approaches to Suburban History," *Urban History* 34 (2007): 317-337.

[52] Jonathon Stoffer, "All Politics Are Global: Nineteenth-Century New York History in Its Own World Wide Web," *Urban History* 32 (2005): 345-351. Also, Thomas Sugrue, "All Politics is Local: The Persistence of Localism in Twentieth-Century America," in *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History*, eds. Meg Jacobs, William Novak, and Julian Zelizer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 301-326.

and governments—cannot be separated from wider spheres of national and global urban networks. Nor can these national and global spheres be understood without studies of specific local urban spaces. Recent urban scholarship reflects a shuffling and shifting of both objectives: the need to contextualize particular cities within the nation and the world, and the desire to understand national and global patterns as they occur in particular localities. My study uses close local cases in a broader national context in order to examine both close distinctive happenings and larger patterns.

Social Realities of Institutional/Neighborhood Relationships

In two of the three case study cities (Columbus and Minneapolis), initial land grants for the universities predated intensive urbanization in adjacent neighborhoods. Though its opening as a university was stalled for years by funding issues and eventual bankruptcy, the University of Minnesota was first established in 1851 and operational by 1867 on a bluff across the Mississippi river from the city of Minneapolis but within the limits of St. Anthony (a few years later, in 1872, St. Anthony and Minneapolis merged). Situated on farmland about two miles north of what were then the city limits of Columbus, Ohio State was founded in 1873 as Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College. As scholars of campus planning and building have shown, this particular

situatedness was not accidental. A pastoral idyllic separate from (but accessible to) urban centers marked the concept of the ideal college campus.[53]

On a more practical side, as land-grant institutions, these early universities had a heavily agricultural bent, one which required access to farmland and space for animals, barns, and the like. As James Thurber wrote of a fellow college newspaper reporter's beat: "... the cow barns, the sheep house, the horse pavilion, and the animal husbandry department generally [...] was a genuinely big 'beat,' for it took up five times as much ground and got ten times as much legislative appropriation as the College of Liberal Arts."[54] Far from the much-glorified contemporary ideal of the early university as a place devoted to the "life of the mind," in late nineteenth and early twentieth century land-grant institutions, in terms of space and money, there were many more resources devoted to the life of the swine.[55]

Although imagined at least by some as pastoral refuges, the institutions quickly became urban but never sought to identify as such. Marked by this contradiction, an interstitial and to some extent, insular identity emerged. State universities also differentiated themselves from a set of urban-serving city universities that emerged on the heels of the Morrill Act and sought to educate urban residents via night schools, nurse training, and associated fields. In these places, tensions developed between urbanization and assumed attendant ills and a more rural campus ideal as city and university stakeholders imagined a separation between city and university which did not exist.

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[53] Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1984). On Turner's ideal, see also Sharon Haar, *The City As Campus: Urbanism and Higher Education in Chicago* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).
[54] James Thurber, *Thurber Carnival* (NY: Harper, 1999), 267.
[55] Louis Menand, *The Marketplace of Ideas* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010).

<u>"To Hurry Up a Costly Pile of Stone and Mortar, As If the Idea of a University Was</u>

<u>Comprised in a Building or Buildings:"[56] Land Grant Legends and Legacies</u>

As states worked to establish land-grant educational institutions, they saw their

task as more than erecting buildings and procuring land for campuses. Carved out of state

land to serve a public good, land-grant institutions held a core mission that scholar

George McDowell has called a "social contract": "Both by virtue of their scholarly aims

and whom they would serve, the land-grant universities were established as people's

universities."[57] Though portrayed by some as the natural continuation of public secondary

schooling (e.g. grade 13), and imbued with an agricultural mission, these universities

were suffused nonetheless with grandiose ideas about freedom, research, and elevated

levels of education and civic engagement for the common man. Mark Nemec has written

that "universities legitimized and formalized the state's authority."[58] According to

Nemec, between 1870-1920, "university leaders often worked as institutional

entrepreneurs [...] they needed to find relevance for their school's research-based

expertise." In search of this relevance, Nemec traced how "university leaders gradually

linked the solutions their institutions offered with the problems and challenges the

developing state faced."[59]

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[56] University of Minnesota Board of Regents, "Annual Report of the Board of Regents to the State," (Saint Paul, MN: WRM Mitchell, Incidental Printer, 1861), 9.
[57] McDowell, *Land Grant Universities and Extension into the 21st Century: Renegotiating or Abandoning a Social Contract* (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 2001), 3.
[58] Mark Nemec, *Ivory Towers and Nationalist Minds* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 2.
[59] Ibid, 7.

As land-grant institutions, my case study universities were founded under particular state and national ideologies and purposes and retained these ties. As they grew, urbanized, expanded, and came into conflict with 20th century neighborhoods, these land-grant schools' associations with progress and the public good were both burdens and tools. They were burdens because angry residents expected universities to act for the good of the public, when, in the case of private universities, the expectation may have been different). But they were also tools that allowed these universities to call upon their roles in the state and the nation to justify unilateral decisions and displacement for the broader good of expanded access to higher education.

Chapter Outline

Chapter One introduces readers to the layered histories of each of the three case-study neighborhoods and institutions by moving between the past and the present. This chapter plays with (without buying into) the well-worn urban trope of "rise and fall" to situate the readers within places which understand their histories using such tropes. I suggest ways in which the story may not be so simplistic. In this chapter, I tell the broad story about how institutional neighborhoods have influenced the urban histories of adjacent urban districts. Rather than make a specific argument about how and to what extent this has occurred (which happens later in the dissertation), I offer a set of questions and complexities and disjuncture(s) which set the stage for future chapters. In other words, I raise the broad questions that the rest of the dissertation will answer. I do this

within the specific contexts of three places, my case study neighborhoods: The University District neighborhoods in Columbus, Ohio, the Near West Side neighborhoods in Chicago, Illinois, and the University Alliance neighborhoods in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

In Chapter Two, I trace the influences and interactions between growing educational institutions and growing and changing neighborhoods in the first half of the twentieth century. Institutions represented some of the most stable "neighbors" in quickly changing urban spaces. In my three case study cities, each neighborhood shaped and was shaped by adjacent institutions. Since universities were small compared to their postwar sizes, popular memory may view university and institutional influence as benign or nonexistent in this period, a kind of "golden age" of the university as a "good neighbor." In fact, though less visible than later university-sponsored clearance and development, university influence and interactions of this period were significant. I show how universities slowly amassed a relative stability and wealth of resources compared to surrounding neighborhoods, which were characterized by a demographic, architectural, and economic flux, traits I also examine. The coalitions, resources, and connections universities leveraged in this period set them up to initiate large-scale urban renewal in the postwar period.

Next, Chapter Three uncovers the sharp conflicts between universities and surrounding neighborhoods in the post-WWII period to illuminate how these tensions unfolded and their effects upon the urban social landscapes of university districts. In this chapter, I show how in a period of "urban decline" and "urban crisis," universities rose to prominence, grew in size and footprint, and capitalized upon local uncertainties about

neighborhood futures. I analyze how my case study neighborhoods changed in the postwar period, as well as how their institutional relationships evolved, especially as universities' impacts grew and their access to federal urban renewal funding expanded (and allowed the institutions to expand). This chapter unveils the stories of why, in these contexts, urban residents, planners, and institutional actors came into conflict over urban spaces, in these cases, neighborhoods adjacent to large universities. I make the case that the hidden contexts and stakes of these conflicts and contestations are important because they alter misconceptions which oversimplify how people and institutions both countered, argued about, and conceived of the "urban crisis" and urban change at the local, neighborhood level.

In Chapter Four, I focus on the underlying motivations and contested goals of the various stakeholders and actors—university, city, state, and neighborhood—involved in the conflicts described in Chapter Three. I suggest that universities played significant roles developing not only real estate and urban plans, but also concepts about what the city should be like, and what characteristics comprised both urban "blight," and conversely, an urban ideal. I suggest that universities were able to use the blurred and contested boundaries of "blight" as a local development tool, which neighborhood residents unsuccessfully contested with alternative definitions of good and bad neighborhoods.

In my final chapter, (which I consider a hybrid final chapter/conclusion), I examine how the reverberations of the mid-century conflicts (discussed in Chapters Three and Four) have affected both contemporary perceptions of the prewar period and

also universities' planning and public relations strategies from the mid-1990s to the present, as universities and communities look backward to a perceived prewar "Golden Age" and forward to a restoration of false urban ideals. I suggest that universities have shaped the urban histories of adjacent neighborhoods as well as the forms of the urban landscapes, but have also erased the histories of their own sometimes negative effects on those neighborhoods.

CHAPTER ONE

RISE AND FALL
WALKING INTO THE URBAN PAST IN THREE UNIVERSITY DISTRICTS, 2015
TO 1890

Introduction: A Confused Pedestrian Encounters University Districts

Walk through the urban neighborhoods that border three large land-grant

institutions, and you may wonder where campus ends and the city begins, a nuance

revealed perhaps only by a university's internal planning map of real estate currently

owned and of interest for future purchase. Conversely, as a pedestrian in search of a

public restroom or a respite from the early spring wind, you may experience all too well

the tightly demarcated borders of the institution in the form of gates, fences, and locked

doors. Dizzyingly, you may have both experiences at the same place in the span of

minutes, as you round a corner or turn down another arterial road. Just as you wonder

where you are, or whether you are on or off campus, a wide variety of actors and

stakeholders—from university officials planning and guessing at the future bounds of

campus expansion to the neighborhood residents—have wondered the very same thing,

albeit from sharply different perspectives. The interfaces and interstices of campus and

center city have been uncertain, aspirational, contradictory spaces with histories marked

by blurred boundaries and conflicts, inflected by institutional decisions and plans and

also by national and state policies, by global events such as wars and migrations, and by

local and micro-local decisions and indecisions of mayors, city councils, neighborhood interest groups, and the urban growth machine.[60]

The city neighborhoods which border and even include parts of university campuses and their affiliated institutions such as research parks and hospitals are sometimes given the moniker of university districts; in some cities, people call them university communities, university areas, or even simply campuses (even when they are also separate city neighborhoods).[61] The names themselves reflect histories of negotiated, contested identities. In fact, various actors have affixed these three university districts with a changing list of labels; their identities have always been in progress and they continue to evolve. For example, I left one of these places, Columbus, Ohio's University District in 2010, and returned five years later to neighborhoods that had been renamed and "re-branded."[62]

University districts are spaces in flux in a variety of senses; they are places marked by the historical and contemporary transience of their human residents, in contrast to the relative stability of their institutional residents. They are also places in which historically scores of people have intensively experienced the space at the

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[60] On the urban growth machine, "John Logan and Harvey Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1987); for the original theory, see Harvey Molotch, "The City as a Growth Machine: Toward a Political Economy of Place," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 82, No. 2, 1976, 309-332.

[61] As Margaret O'Mara writes: "Universities are potentially ''good neighbors'' or ''bad neighbors'' for a ''community'' that may encompass a neighborhood, a city, or an entire metropolis." Margaret O'Mara, "Beyond Town and Gown: University Economic Engagement and the Legacy of the Urban Crisis," *The Journal of Technology Transfer* 37, no. 2 (2012): 235.

[62] For example, the Peach District (accepted and promoted by some, rejected by others) is a new name for a section of the southwestern University District. According to Courtney Hergesheimer of the *Columbus Dispatch*, "The University District Organization lists the Peach District as a neighborhood on its website, calling the name 'largely irreverent — relating to the previous non-identity of the area and the desire to be something else other than South Campus.'" Hergesheimer, "Peach District's Origin a Little Fuzzy," *The Columbus Dispatch*, Monday March 4, 2013,
<http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/local/2013/03/04/peach-districts-origin-a-little-fuzzy.html>

pedestrian level, creating, as Michel de Certeau writes, "the urban text they write without being able to read it."[63] Let us go then, to experience three university districts in the present--and walk into their pasts as we encounter as pedestrians the questions, controversies, and disjunctures of the built environment and as observers the social landscape of these places. By walking in each of the three places, it is possible to map out not only the present-day geographic contours and demographic and architectural characteristics of three sites (which will be the focus of this dissertation) but also to map the historical contradictions one encounters in the present, dissonances that raise questions about each area's past. With the rise and fall of each footstep, we can read the built environment in the present and walk into the past via selected sites and stories— almost all of them narratives of rise and fall—which will illuminate the broader questions and themes this dissertation will discuss.

Site #1: Columbus, Ohio, and the University District Neighborhoods

We walk first into Columbus, Ohio's University District, one of my three case study sites. Approaching from the south and walking up northward on High Street, Columbus's downtown district and its poshest center city neighborhoods and entertainment districts (the Arena District, named for its sports venues, Victorian Village

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[63] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press: 1984), 93. On walking in the city, see: Gabor Gyani, *Identity and the Urban Experience in Fin-De-Siecle Budapest* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). See also Colin Pooley, "Getting to Know the City: The Construction of Spatial Knowledge in London in the 1930s," *Urban History* 31, no. 2: 210-228. Colin Pooley, "How People Moved: Researching the Experience of Mobility in the Past," *Local Population Studies*, 82 (2009): 63-70.

and Italian Village, upper class historic districts, and the Short North, known for its art galleries and nightlife), give way to a grittier streetscape. High Street, which the humorist and Columbus native James Thurber called the "main canyon of trade," stretches north from downtown all the way to suburbs and south in the same fashion. Geographically, it is the spine of Columbus.
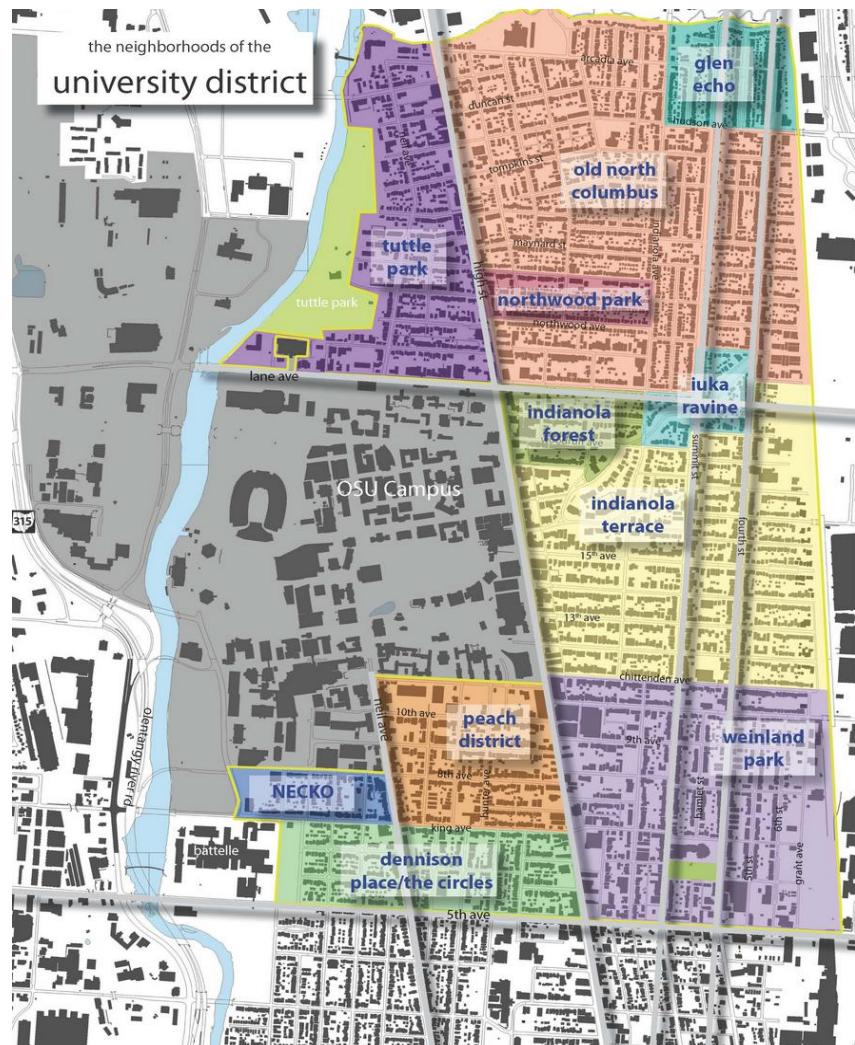
Figure 1. The University District Neighborhoods in Columbus, OH. High Street is the north-south street that bisects the center of the map, separating Dennison Place/The Circles from Weinland Park at the bottom of the map. Source: Campus Partners, Ohio State University, <http://campuspartners.osu.edu/where-we-work/university-district.html> (accessed 2 February 2016).
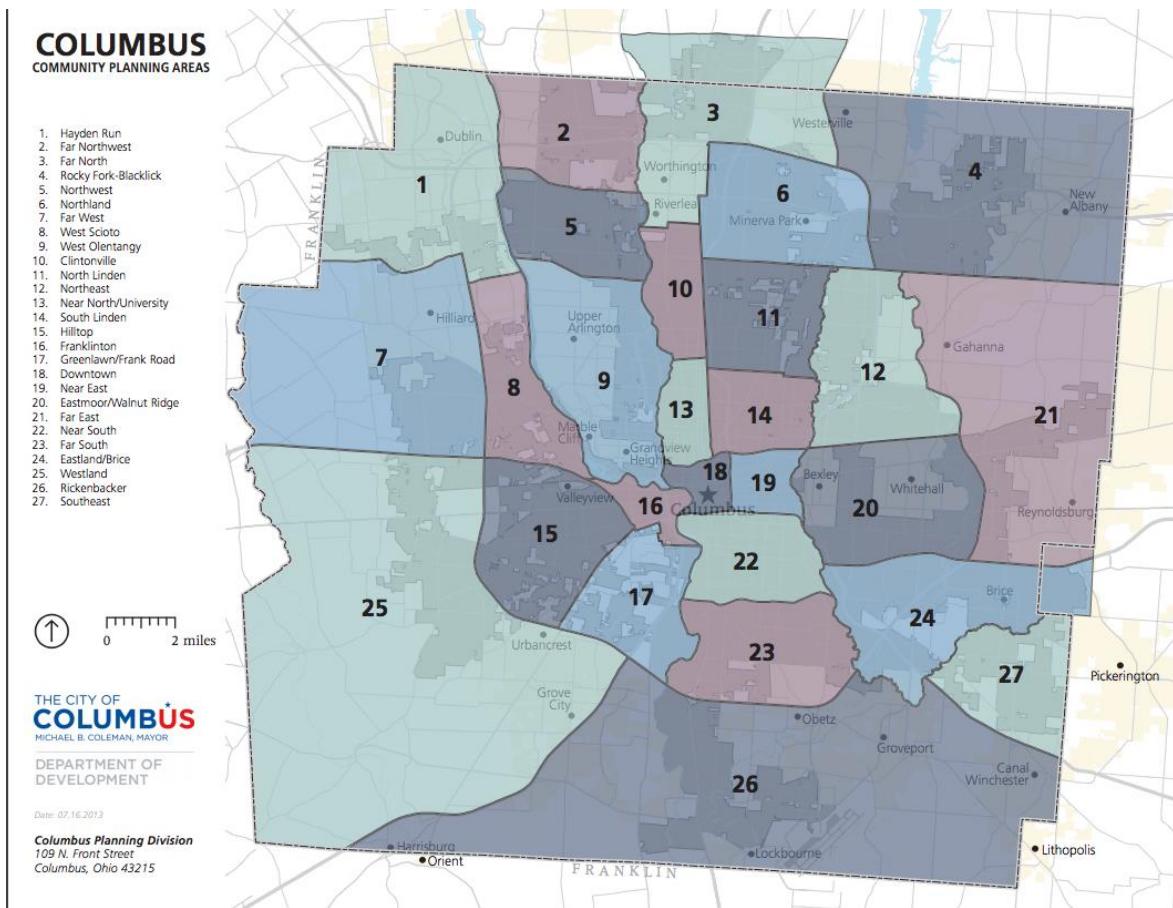
Figure 2. "Columbus Community Planning Areas." The University District is area 13. Downtown Columbus is area 18. Source: The City of Columbus Development, "Maps and Data," https://columbus.gov/uploadedFiles/Columbus/Departments/Development/Planning_Division/Map_Center/CommunityPlanningAreas.pdf> (accessed February 2, 2016).

We enter the District and one of its thirteen sub-neighborhoods, Weinland Park, as we cross the intersection of 5th Avenue and High Street. Notice the juxtaposition of tattoo parlor and pawn shop with a large, brand new grocery store as you continue northward into the District's southernmost sections. Continuing north, let's cross 9th Avenue, and just past some strip-style fast food development, we cannot help but notice a looming mixed-used development ahead on the east side of the street. This is the South Campus Gateway, a 150-million-dollar redevelopment project Ohio State spearheaded in

the early 2000s as part of a longer effort to "save" the southern University District, which

it called its south campus area.[64]

Figure 3. "South Campus Gateway plaza images." Paved pedestrian mall (a former public street) between commercial establishments in the South Campus Gateway. Source: Campus Partners, Projects, <http://www.campuspartners.osu.edu/> (accessed December 16, 2010).

The Urban Land Institute, which named the Gateway project a 2008 finalist for its

Award of Excellence, describes the results of the project as a "visionary collaboration

between the Ohio State University, the city of Columbus, and neighborhood stakeholders

in an effort to transform a 7.5-acre tract that straddles the university campus and a

distressed, low-income neighborhood."[65] A 2010 article in the business magazine

Columbus C.E.O. also glorified the transformation, They wrote: "Today, the decaying

buildings that once marked that troublesome stretch of North High Street are gone,

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[64] Jeff Long, "Can South Campus Be Saved? The City and OSU Tackle Mission Impossible," clipping from the News Digest from the Other Paper (February 4, 1994), Information File on University Area Improvement Task Force, OSU Archives.9. See also David Dixon, "Campus Partners and The Ohio State University: Transforming a Failing Commercial District," *Places*, 17, no 1 (Spr 2005): 46-49.
[65] Urban Land Institute, "Awards," <www.uli.org> (accessed December 16, 2010).

replaced by shiny new restaurants, apartments, office space and retail stores."[66] Yet some

neighborhood residents in the adjacent low-income and subsidized housing experienced

the change differently. In 2009, one reflected on the lack of financial benefit to

neighborhood residents from the development and mentioned fears that his neighbors

would be displaced: "there's nobody from this area working at Gateway. If nobody from

the area gets jobs, then redevelopment is not a financial boon...I don't have a problem

with folks with money. I have a problem when that means that others have to leave."[67]

Another neighborhood resident echoed his concerns about displacement and the price of

gentrification for her and her two daughters:

> Where I live right now, they're talking about, they're going to raise up the rent…I
> don't like that because I'm on a based income. I do like what they're doing to the
> neighborhood, with the brick walls, the hardwood floors, the new refrigerators
> and countertops, I really do, but everything is at a price, and a lot of us can't
> afford it. In the end, you may not be able to talk to me in a few years, because I
> may not be able to live here anymore.[68]

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[66] Jennifer Wray, *"Cleaning Up Campus," Columbus C.E.O,* November 2010.
[67] Interview conducted by the author with Weinland Park activist and social worker Robert Caldwell, July 2009. Columbus, OH.
[68] Interview conducted by the author with Weinland Park resident Leonette Lyles, July 2009. Columbus, OH.

Figure 4. "High Street and 10th Ave. W, looking north in 1970 (l) and 2015 (r)." The Gateway development spans both sides of the street, but its center consists of the buildings visible on the right in the 2015 image. Source (l): The Ohio State Historical Society Archives, MSS/AV Department, High Street Collection 5/6/5, Box 12, AV254-12-333, "High Street/Two African-American Women and a Boy Stepping Onto a Sidewalk." Source(r): Photograph taken by Meagan Van Brocklin, friend of the author, September 14, 2015.

The conflicting perspectives—a neighborhood saved, a neighborhood lost; a rising neighborhood, a falling neighborhood—allude to the complex ways in which Ohio State's historical presence has imprinted the surrounding areas around via both development and discourse. The result, when one walks into the southern University District neighborhoods in 2015, is a disjuncture between two different stories of change (and how many others?) and questions about how and why the south campus area changed, and what it used to be.

Continue to walk today in Columbus, Ohio, through the University District in autumn when the leaves are as red as the Ohio State flags draped over balconies and porch railings and flapping in air crisp with football tensions and expectations. When school is session, students stream with backpacks and hooded sweatshirts; they bob up and down the uneven sidewalks and through alleys and out of alleys and purposefully over crosswalks and zig-zaggedly catty-corner through traffic (without looking both ways). One of the nation's largest universities, Ohio State enrolls enough students to

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populate a mid-sized Ohio city and to overpopulate a good-sized Ohio town.[69] The

students swarm all over some of the streets, and yet there is not a single student in sight

on other streets. The invisible geography, the hidden contradiction of the District named

for the bordering University is that on some of the streets, one could walk every day and

almost never encounter a student.[70]

The center of the District is located approximately at 15th and High Streets, the

old entrance to the university. The entrance is now a gateway only for pedestrians; the

stone wall demarcates as much as it welcomes. A jungle of bikes, cars, buses,

pedestrians, High Street's and the District's rhythms ebb and flow both seasonally and at

the level of the individual day, depending on Ohio State's schedules. The pace of the

neighborhoods changes noticeably during OSU's intercessions and breaks—it becomes

quieter, emptier, entire blocks almost small ghost towns. When classes resume and the

students pour back into the neighborhoods, their presence--and detritus—fills and

overfills the district: cars, moving trucks, bikes, and students swarm the place, stand on

porches and at bus stops again. These undulating swells of activity and stillness repeat

themselves at a smaller scale during the day when the district changes according to the

prevalent schedules of its largest group of residents. Morning means streams of

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[69] Ohio State enrolled 58,663 students at its Columbus campus at the beginning of the 2015 academic year. The Ohio State University, "The Ohio State University - Statistical Summary (Autumn 2015)," <https://www.osu.edu/osutoday/stuinfo.php> (accessed February 3, 2016).
[70] The Ohio State University Archives, Information File on University District. For example, a *Columbus Dispatch* article by Alan Miller entitled, "OSU, city map campus-area clean-up" (12/14/1993) hints at the hidden geography the District in terms of where students will and will not live. He quotes Benjamin Brace (special assistant to the OSU vice president for business and administration), who noted in 1993: "The neighborhood is changing […] Going back 11 or 12 years, students have been leaving the southeast area and moving north. Students used to live on 7th or 8th avenues or on Summit Street. Not many do anymore. Those who do live there find their houses and their cars broken into. Eleventh and 12th avenues were the perceived line, and now it has jumped over them to Chittenden."

pedestrians walking to class, and in the afternoon and evening, back home again. On

weekends, another small migration to the bars and fraternity parties at nightfall, home

sometime in the middle of the night, and on Saturdays, if there is a home football game, a

massive flow of fans heads down Lane Avenue toward tailgating in the stadium.

Figure 5. "Fifteenth and High, Now and Then." On the left, looking slightly northeast at the intersection of 15ᵗʰ Avenue and High Street, Columbus OH. Source (l): Photograph taken by author. On the right, looking east into campus from Fifteenth and High Streets. Source (r): The Ohio State University Archives, "Alumni Gateway at Fifteenth and High, 1944," <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ohio-state-university-archives/12122324416/in/album-72157640116847575/ (accessed February 3, 2016).

15ᵗʰ Avenue eastward goes slightly uphill, and the first two blocks are a canvas of

confusion; mixed architectural styles, additions added onto additions added onto houses.

The setbacks impressive, the porches, the columns, the windows, the Tudor fortresses,

the sweatshirts hanging out to dry, the inflatable pool on the balcony, the boards set up

for cornhole (they call this game "beanbags" elsewhere), the trash from last night's

parties, the cars parked as closely as they can jam into the spots. Oversized letters mark

the houses of the sororities and fraternities; this is Greek Row at Ohio State.

Yet our walk takes us beneath this noise and activity as abruptly as a few blocks

north of 15ᵗʰ Ave, as head north on Indianola Avenue, which parallel to High Street,

perpendicular to 15th. At the intersection of Woodruff and Indianola, the Iuka Ravine

marks an altogether different University District giving a dissimilar impression than what

one experiences at 15th and High Street. Here, in the quiet shaded stillness of the ravine, the walker seems to descend beneath the noise and light of the bustling streets and enter a kind of nature trail. We go down the stone steps, and the contrast is immediate and startling. The concrete gives way to cobblestones, the predictable city grid pattern to a loopy path whose ending place is uncertain. The houses perched at the top of the ravine overlook it unobtrusively; some are almost entirely obscured by the trees and branches. It is hard to calculate from down in the ravine where in the grid pattern one will emerge.
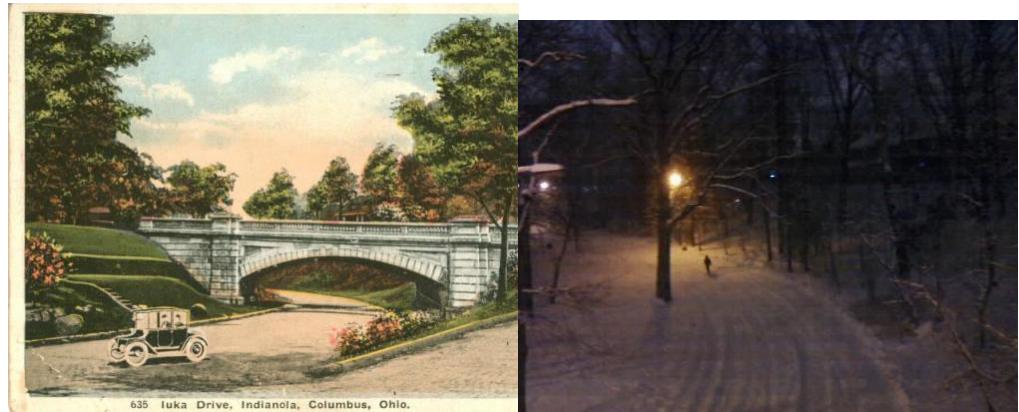
Figure 6. "Iuka Ravine, Then and Now." Then (l): A lone auto on a carefully landscaped Iuka drive in the 1920s. Now (r): A lone pedestrian walks down in Iuka Ravine through the snow, 2009. Source: (l) Columbus Metropolitan Library, Reeb, Deibel, Ruffing Columbus Postcard Collection, "Indianola Avenue - Iuka Ravine Arch Bridge," <digital-collections.columbuslibrary.org> (accessed February 3, 2016). Source (r): Photograph taken by the author, December 2009.

University District Neighborhoods in Columbus, Ohio

When the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College, later Ohio State University, opened in 1873 as a Morrill Act land-grant institution, founders situated its campus on

farmland two miles north of the city limits of Columbus.[71] Over the next fifty years, both

the city and the campus grew quickly. By 1912, real estate advertisements characterized

the neighborhoods around the university as a "thickly populated urban district."[72] Maps

from the 1870s show the college and only a few farms in the area, but by 1910, the city's

grid pattern stretched northward and around the campus on three sides.[73] Thus for most of

its existence, Ohio State University has been an urban campus surrounded by quickly

changing and densely populated city neighborhoods. In fact, interconnected city and

university growth challenge efforts to separate "town" from "gown" in my analysis of

changing city and university spaces.

Despite these urban contexts, Ohio State University has existed mostly in tension

with its identity as an urban campus. Preferring to call itself "a city within a city," Ohio

State's own discourse seeks separation from Columbus.[74] Similarly, the city of Columbus

today also separates itself from its industrial urban past and instead promotes itself as an

education and service center. [75] The nation's fifteenth largest city, Columbus owes it

[71] Raimund E. Goerler, *The Ohio State University: An Illustrated History* (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 2011).

[72] For example, a 1912 *Columbus Dispatch* article (as advertisement) entitled, "What Nature and Man Have Done for Indianola" contains the subheading: "Forest Trees and Surveyors Made Foundation for Beautiful Columbus Suburb." Despite the reference to the University District as a suburb, this article also emphases the urban character of the District: "The roughness of the land, together with their appreciation of their beauty, led the original owners to spare the old forest trees, which added another characteristic feature, exceptional indeed in a thickly populated urban district […] The thrushes and woodpeckers still return to their old haunts in spite of the encircling city." (italics added). *Columbus Dispatch*, Local, September 22, 1912. Copy provided to the author by neighborhood resident.

[73] "Columbus, OH" [maps], The Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1867-1970 (OhioLINK Digital Resource Commons), < http://sanborn.ohioweblibrary.org.oh0063.oplin.org/> accessed December 15, 2014.

[74] Ira Fink, "Community Relationships: The Ohio State University (Report): 1979. The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office Of (RG 10/6/054-V.F.), "Community Relationships: The Ohio State University (Report): 1979," Accession 183/90.

[75] The city's contemporary promotional website alludes to this historical pride in a diversified economy when it notes: "When it comes to great cities, many are better than Columbus at one thing. But no city is as good as Columbus at everything." http://liveworkplaycolumbus.com/ (accessed January 4, 2014).

growth and size to aggressive annexation policies over the course of the twentieth

century; when other Ohio cities were losing population, Columbus grew by expanding its

borders. Thus, it has never experienced a population decline.[76] In fact, since 2011,

Franklin County (most of which is the city of Columbus) has been the fastest growing

county in Ohio, and as the *Columbus Dispatch* proudly noted, has been "continuing to

defy the story line of decline and stagnation of the Midwest's large urban centers."[77]

Oddly, in fact, a declension narrative has flourished in the University District even as

Columbus as a city seeks to differentiate itself from the usual urban "fall" narrative by

pointing instead to its diversified economy. A historical sketch of Battelle, a private

research institution in the University District notes: "While other major urban centers

around it were experiencing difficulties, Columbus was prospering even during difficult

times."[78] While the city of Columbus takes pride in its defiance of patterns of decline, the

history of the University District nevertheless continues to be framed as one of rise and

then decline.

Examples of the rise and fall mythology of the University District abound today.

In a recently published commemorative pictorial history of the District, a photograph

labeled "the quiet before the storm" has a caption that reads: "In 1897, West Frambes

Avenue seemed residential but pastoral, even though Granville Frambes, a Union Civil

War hero, had sold his large farm to the fledgling college across the street a few years

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[76] For a discussion of metropolitan Columbus in the context of national urban development (including annexation and zoning), suburbanization, and planning, see Diane Burgess, *Planning for the Private Interest: Land Use Controls and Residential Patterns in Columbus, Ohio, 1900-1970* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1994).
[77] Bill Bush, "Franklin County's Population Growth Leads Ohio," *The Columbus Dispatch*, 3/15/2013.
[78] Thomas Langevin, *Battelle Memorial Institute Foundation, 1975-1982: A History and Evaluation* (Columbus, OH: Ohio Historical Society, 1983), 11.

earlier. To the right of the picture…young couples strolled in the woods known for an abundance of violets."[79] The modifier "residential but pastoral" reverberates in other contemporary memories of the prewar University District. Young couples, violets, and their pastoral strolls contrasts sharply with present-day University District imagery of "grittiness," "filth," and "Pottersville."[80] My terminology of Golden Age in fact comes from this book's chosen phrasing. In a chapter entitled "Neighborhoods Rising," the authors state: "If there was a golden age for every city, every town, every neighborhood, it would seem that the first and second decades of the 20th century would be the university neighborhood's time."[81] This pastoral portrayal of the neighborhoods' "rising" obscures the urban, working-class, and industrial aspects of the District even at this earlier period.

Unlike the other two neighborhoods in this study, the University District has been scantly studied by urbanists. The most notable exception is Roderick McKenzie, a Chicago School sociologist who surveyed Columbus extensively in the early twentieth

[79] Doreen N. Uhas Sauer and Stuart J. Koblentz on behalf of the University District Organization, *The Ohio State University Neighborhoods* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2009), 30.
[80] Ann Fisher, "University District's old times preserved," Commentary, *Columbus Dispatch*, March 7, 2008. Improved aesthetics are often listed as contemporary priorities for the University District, and trash collection is a frequent topic. In a 1994 newspaper article, City Councilman Matt Habash lists priorities for OSU and the University District and includes planting 900 trees, increasing trash storage container capacity, increasing bulk pickup, increasing street sweeping, and increasing enforcement of environmental laws. Alan Miller, "Habash has plan for OSU" *Columbus Dispatch,* May 13, 1994. These are not new topics. A 1973 document prepared by the newly formed University District Organization contains an extensive "Community Maintenance and Sanitation" section which suggests more trash cans, a "community code of maintenance," and spring clean-up days. An example of its rhetoric is the hope to "effect changes in the overall appearance of the community. Such physical improvements might affect attitudes insofar as people take pride in an attractive community while a trashy, deteriorating environment is treated in a trashy way." "Profile of the University Community Part III" prepared by the University District Organization in April 1973. The Ohio State University Archives, Harold L. Enarson Papers (RG 3/j/43/5), "University District Organization: April 1973."
[81] Ibid, 41.

century. Emphasizing the "flux of modern life" in general, McKenzie observed a "striking instability of local life" in Columbus to which he attributed a host of moral, social and economic problems. A student of Park and Burgess in Chicago, McKenzie wrote a dissertation that analyzed various neighborhoods in Columbus, including several in the University District, through the lens of ecological urban sociology. Though the accepted narrative of the University District's past emphasizes a disjuncture between a rise and "Golden Age" in the early twentieth century and a later fall, McKenzie's 1921 writings (based on research conducted in the 1910s) showcased a variety of continuities with the present. The urban University District of McKenzie's thesis was not some unrecognizable pastoral paradise, as memories based on "rise and fall" often portray the District of that era.[82] In one example, McKenzie debunked the symbiosis myth when he explained how the residents of W. 9th Avenue in the University District have "persistently acted as a unit to keep its western vista over the University farm free from obstruction."[83] Noting near constant changes in the residents of Columbus' then peripheral city neighborhoods such as those in the University District, McKenzie predicted further outward shifting to streetcar suburbs such as Bexley, Upper Arlington, and Marblecliff. [84] To McKenzie's trained eye, the University District was not a suburb but a city neighborhood.

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[82] See, for example, selected reminiscences in Emily Foster, *The Ohio State University District: A Neighborhood History* (Charlotte, NC: The History Press, 2014); see also Doreen N. Uhas Sauer and Stuart J. Koblentz on behalf of the University District Organization, *The Ohio State University Neighborhoods* (Images of America. Charleston, SC.: Arcadia Publishing, 2009).
[83] Roderick D. McKenzie, *The Neighborhood: A Study of Local life in the City of Columbus, Ohio* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1921).
[84] Ibid.

Today**,** students are demographically the largest group to reside in the University

District, but their presence is far from ubiquitous; nor are they a monolithic group. On

certain streets, you are just as likely to encounter children or elderly dog-walkers. Men

and women in suits stride up and down the southern stretch of High Street, but walk a

few blocks east, and enter the territory of one of Columbus' most violent gangs.[85] From

public housing to fraternity housing to scattered, small mansions, the University District

houses a variety of groups and people, its zoning map a rainbow tapestry of hues and

uses.

From the flowing wetland grasses along the banks of the murky Olentangy River,

in the district's northwestern area, where a bike and pedestrian path trails the river and

students and others walk, children roller-blade, the homeless camp; the trim, brightly

painted Victorians and carefully maintained circle gardens in the southwestern University

District; the squat stately brick rowhomes interspersed seemingly at random throughout

the District. This is a District of differences: different neighborhoods clustered under the

same umbrella label, contested histories and futures, and more density and diversity than

any other contemporary Columbus neighborhood. The curators of the past in the

University District are the smallest group in number. They are atypical residents: long-

term residents and homeowners, both minority groups historically in the University

District. Yet the largest neighbor and constituent in the District is Ohio State, and the

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[85] Weinland Park, in the southeastern University District, was and is home to the Short North Posse, a gang
that emerged in the 1980s and which has faced mounting opposition from Campus Partners (Ohio State's
redevelopment office), Columbus police, and federal investigators. In the narrative of Weinland Park (its
past and future), the presence of this gang looms large, and questions remain about the extent of the gang's
supposedly waning influence in the face of redevelopment. See Michelle Sullivan, "Weinland Park
Rebuilds After Decades of Gang Violence," *Columbus Monthly*, October 2014,
<http://www.columbusmonthly.com/content/stories/2014/10/weinland-park-rebuilds-after-decades-of-
gang-violence.html>

narrative of rise and fall associated with the university's own growth predominates but raises more questions than it answers.

"Placing" the Urban Past in a Narrative of the Rise, Fall, and Renewal of the City

The narrator of a 2011 documentary about the University District in Columbus, Ohio juxtaposed two scenes to illustrate relationships between Ohio State University and the neighborhoods around it. In the first scene, set in the present, an elderly woman, nameless for fear of retribution, complained about her neighborhood and said, "it's not good […] It's noisy, vulgar, and I don't want to leave my house, but I don't know what I'm going to do."[86] In the second scene, the narrator described a very different environment. In doing so, he contrasted the present with the past, but he mixed his tenses in order to make his point. He said, "The 1900s usher in a golden age for the University District. Innovative leaders and residents collaborated on improvements in education, government, the arts and other disciplines. That's what a University is for. It was the one that attracted the best intellects of the time."[87] This blurred division of "then" and "now" has characterized University District discourse since the mid-twentieth century in discussions and debates about the area. Similarly, a recently published community photographic history drew contrasts between "symbiotic relationships between the neighborhoods and educational, industrial, and business systems that were located in the

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[86] Sam Hendren, "Columbus Neighborhoods Documentary Profiles University District," 10/6/2011, <http://wosu.org/2012/news/2011/10/06/columbus-neighborhoods-documentary-profiles-university-district> accessed 1/13/14. See also: Jonathan Putman, Mary Rathke, Kelli Trinoskey, and Brent Davis, *Columbus Neighborhoods*, Documentary (2011; Columbus, OH: WOSU-TV), Television.
[87] Ibid.

district" in the early twentieth century and, later "decades of difficult times" beginning in the 1960s.[88] Commentators ranging from documentary narrators to past and present residents to university stakeholders have invested in a narrative that paints the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a kind of golden age from which the neighborhood declined or fell over the course of the twentieth century. This narrative assigns a prominent but contentious role to Ohio State University in the changes. Various interpretations portray Ohio State as the precipitator of decline, as an inactive witness, and, alternatively (according to university discourse), as the neighborhood's savior. No matter the account, there is one constant: perceptions of the University's role in urban change significantly affect contemporary understandings of the University District neighborhoods and their past.

Many interconnected forces shaped the twentieth century history of the University District neighborhoods in Columbus, Ohio. As the example above shows, one particular narrative came to stand out as the story of the community and the university's role within it. This is a narrative of rise, fall, and the possibility of renewal. It is a narrative that has galvanized support from diverse stakeholders at cross purposes in the past, and today— university officials, city planners, and long-term neighborhood resident activists.[89]

[88] Doreen N. Uhas Sauer and Stuart J. Koblentz on behalf of the University District Organization, *The Ohio State University Neighborhoods*, Images of America (Charleston, SC.: Arcadia Publishing, 2009).

[89] Tim Doulin, "OSU-area group studies home-ownership incentives," *Columbus Dispatch*, March 6, 1992. From The Ohio State University Archives, "Information File on University District." In a 1994 newspaper article, City Councilman Matt Habash lists priorities for OSU and the University District and includes planting 900 trees, increasing trash storage container capacity, increasing bulk pickup, increasing street sweeping, and increasing enforcement of environmental laws. Alan Miller, "Habash has plan for OSU," *Columbus Dispatch,* May 13, 1994. See also the recent series in the *Ohio State Lantern* (OSU student newspaper) about the University District as a "disposable neighborhood." One article from that series quotes University Area Commission president Ian McConnell, who stated, "The lack of identity in the predominantly student populated core area reduces a student's sense of place in the community, allowing

Today, these stakeholders seem to be invested in seeing the imagined and idealized

University District of the past as a model for its future. It is a model that troubles one

resident of low-cost housing, who explained on the one hand how much she enjoys

having students live in her neighborhood but on the other, how they drive up the rents so

much that she does not expect to be able to live there much longer.[90] It also troubles a

public housing activist whose hopes that Ohio State's recent building project—part of the

push for "renewal"—in the southeastern University District would employ more

neighborhood workers than it had to date.[91] Examined closely, it is a model that

represents only a selective, partial story of the University District's tumultuous past and

as a model it limits future development to the restorations of a false ideal. Importantly, it

silences the many mid-century conflicts that debated the future of the neighborhood and

elides past voices of dissent as well as alternative histories of the neighborhoods.

Site #2: Chicago, Illinois, and the Near West Side Neighborhoods

To walk into Chicago's Near West Side, we walk west from the Loop, Chicago's

central business district. We could also hop on either the pink or the blue lines, both of

which will drop us off at sites on the Near West Side at the Illinois Medical District or

UIC campus, respectively. As we walk west on Jackson or Van Buren Street and toward

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for lower standards, which in turn leads to a decline in quality of life across the district." In the same
article, Campus Partners staff member Steve Sterrett calls the student neighborhood "a place you could
come and people didn't care didn't care too much about graffiti, it just was the way it was." Dan
McKeever, "State of the District: In Search of An Identity: 'A Disposable Neighborhood,'" *The Lantern:
The Student Voice of the Ohio State University*, May 26, 2009.
[90] Leonette Lyles, Interview conducted by the author, July 2009, Columbus, OH.
[91] R. Antonio Barno, Interview conducted by the author, January 2010, Columbus, OH.

Halsted, the core of Chicago's business district gives way to the Greyhound bus depot

and a smattering of warehouses and parking lots. We cross over the massive Dan Ryan

Expressway on a bridge intended for both pedestrians and cars but dominated by cars

whizzing quickly in and out of downtown, and when we glance south, a huge concrete

expanse fills our field of vision: this is the circle, or interchange, where the Dwight D.

Eisenhower Expressway, formerly Congress Avenue meets the Dan Ryan Expressway,

and both give way to the city and downtown.

Here, if we pause for a moment, with highways surrounding us, we are actually

standing in the heart of the old Near West Side, once Chicago's most densely populated

residential area, now one of the city's busiest freeway interchanges, a place so altered that

its former neighborhood residents would likely not recognize it today, especially if they

could stand at street level of the highway itself and look around:

Figure 7. "Looking west on the Eisenhower (Congress St.) Expressway from near that highway's
intersection with Van Buren Street, 2015, Chicago, IL." The UIC campus is mostly south of the highway
but includes a few buildings north of it.
Source: Google Street View photograph, <https://www.google.com/maps/@41.8757333,-
87.6479201,3a,75y,263.07h,88.9t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1s_yt6Dn2CBzvboyGja_rJ6g!2e0!7i13312!8i6656
> (accessed February 3, 2016).
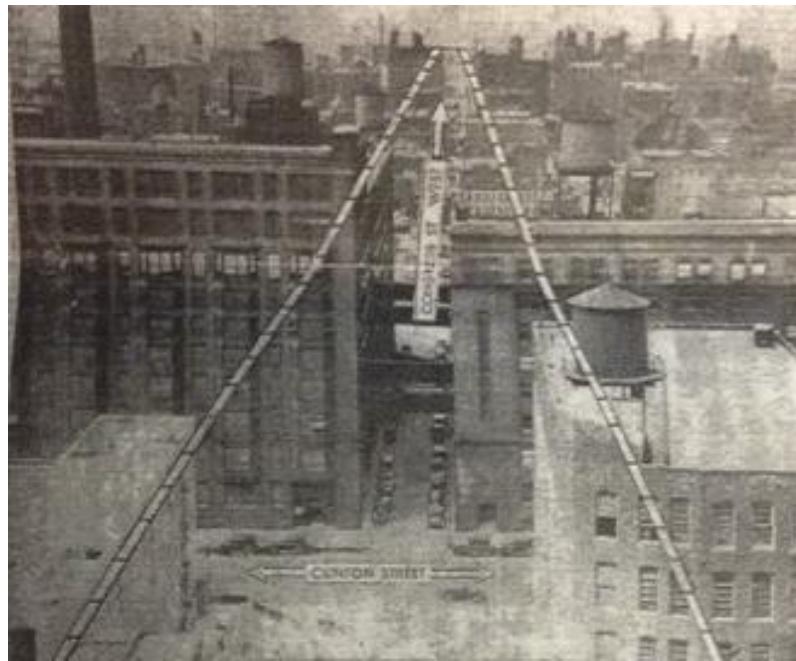
Figure 8. "Congress Street, 1938." Buildings on the Near West Side in the way of the route of the Congress Street (Eisenhower) expressway photographed in 1938. Compare to the top photo shows Congress looking west from Clinton St, which is three blocks east of Van Buren. Source: West [Near West] Side Community Collection [Box 6, Folder 5], Special Collections, Chicago Public Library.

Having crossed over the wide freeway, as we stand at the corner of Van Buren and Halsted Street, we notice the Greek restaurants and shops that line both sides of Halsted Street. The National Hellenic Museum is on this corner. At rush and lunch hours, the streets bustle with commuters and diners. Ogilvie and Union Stations are a short walk away, and the green and blue trains are not too far a walk either. Just west of the loop, the streets surrounding Halsted have gentrified since the 1980s and are now known as the "West Loop" neighborhood.[92] The neighborhood association brags about its restaurants, art scene, and loft housing and calls itself "one of the hottest neighborhoods in

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[92] See, for example, "The West Loop," <http://www.choosechicago.com/neighborhoods-and-communities/intro/west-loop/> (accessed 25 September 2015.)

Chicago."[93] This commercial strip on Halsted, the city maps and guidebooks tell us, is Greektown.

Although Greektown still exists on maps of Chicago, its characteristics and boundaries have been distinctly altered by Chicago's twentieth century building and renewal efforts and by the construction of the University of Illinois' Chicago campus. The Eisenhower freeway bisected the area first; then the university campus further encroached. Whereas Greektown in the early twentieth century was a crowded immigrant and industrial neighborhood--it was named primarily for is residential characteristics as a home for Greek immigrants but housed other immigrant groups in addition to Greeks, including other Eastern Europeans—today's Greektown is a consumer-driven tourist attraction that profitably commodifies the former neighborhood by selling Greek food and wares and selling history via the Hellenic museum.[94]

In 1963, in the midst of the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) construction in and around the Greektown area, one former resident reflected on the changes and visited his old neighborhood:

> The building I was born in—in the heart of Greektown—was one of the first structures built after the (Great Chicago) fire. When I learned it was going to be torn down to make way for the University, I rushed out to Harrison and Halsted (the intersection) and was in time to see a huge machine leveling the ground

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[93] West Loop Community Organization, "History of the West Loop," <http://westloop.org/about/history/> accessed (25 September 2015.)

[94] Jerome Krase's concept of an "ethnic theme park" (of he which writes: "Despite displacement of most of the "natives" the most famous of American Little Italies are preserved as spectacles for the appreciation of tourists") applies here to Greektown and just to the south, to Chicago's Little Italy. Jerome Krase, "Italian American Urban Landscapes: Images of Social and Cultural Capital," *Italian Americana* 22, no. 1 (2004): 17-44. See also Jerome Krase, "The Spatial Semeiotics of Little Italies and Italian Americans" in *Industry, Technology, Labor and the Italian American Communities*, Edited by Mario Aste, et al., (Staten Island, New York: American Italian Historical Association, 1997), 98-127.

where my birthplace once stood. For old time's sake, I picked up a half a brick. I use it as a paperweight.[95]

Faced with the destruction of his birthplace, this resident, Constantine Orphan made sense of the changes through a common national trope in twentieth century American history of the assimilation of immigrant communities in suburbs. He explained: "There are a few Greeks still living in Greektown, but the majority have moved into the suburbs and other sections of the city, where they have educated their children and become integrated into the community."[96] Although these processes themselves were closely connected with local and federal renewal policy, the same policies that later cleared the land for the building of UIC, in Orphan's account, they were separate and unrelated; representative of new and old ways. Orphan did not see the building of the university as part of a broader set of federal policies and plans that facilitated suburbanization and changed the landscape of center city neighborhoods but rather as a "trade" fitting with what he implied was a natural process. He noted: "Greektown will soon be gone. In its place, the University of Illinois will be built to disseminate knowledge and culture […] Where my old rickety birthplace stood, the University plans to construct its fine arts building. I like the trade."[97] Orphan's account reveals how individuals interact with trends of local and national change within the framework of their own personal experiences but may miss connections when tropes normalize or naturalize their experiences.

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[95] Contantine Orphan, "Goodbye, Greektown," in *Inland: The Magazine of the Middle West*, Spring 1963. On a nostalgic remembrance of "old" Greektown, see also: Michael George Davros, *Greeks in Chicago* (Chicago, IL: Arcadia Publishing, 2009).
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.

Heading toward the intersection by Orphan's birthplace, we walk south on

Halsted and across the freeway, passing the massive blue line UIC stop. At the corner of

Harrison and Halsted, we see the main section of UIC's campus in front of us. We stand

on what is a historically contested corner. Unlike the intersection of 15th and High in

Columbus, where we see hints of various stages of urban development inscribed on the

landscape in the form of additions to structures, at Harrison and Halsted, just by looking,

we cannot see the layers of contention associated with this rather empty, stark entrance to

the UIC campus. In fact, this corner once named the entire parcel of land designated for

intensive mid-century urban renewal: the Harrison-Halsted site. One of the city of

Chicago's first residential urban renewal sites, Harrison-Halsted was meant to transform

a community that badly desired affordable, safe housing. Instead, in a whirlwind decision

that confused and angered many local residents involved in the project, the city of

Chicago and the University of Illinois trustees designated the parcel for the building of an

urban branch of the University of Illinois. Florence Scala, one of the neighborhood

residents who opposed the decision, later reflected, "I don't believe so much in people

anymore."[98] She said this after her failed campaign to prevent the decision, a grassroots

legal protest that ascended to the state and federal levels.

Scala was a first generation Italian-American whose earliest and most formative

childhood experiences took place a few blocks south on Halsted near Taylor at the

famous Hull House settlement. In what Scala and others viewed as a betrayal, the Hull

House--the area's earliest large-scale educational institution--bowed to the university on

the site selection issue with only the condition that the Hull House structure itself be

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[98] Studs Terkel, *Division Street America* (New York:Pantheon Books: 1993), 8.

saved. Today, we see part of the original settlement sandwiched between the modernist

squares of the UIC campus.

Figure 9. "Looking northwest toward Harrison from the Halsted Street sidewalk." The building behind the flag dumpster is the Jane Addams Hull House museum. Behind it (to the left in the photo) is the UIC Student Center. Source: Photograph taken by the author, April 2013

Instant Campus? The Near West Side Neighborhoods, the Hull House, and the

University of Illinois at Chicago

Many of the countless scholars encountering Chicago's Near West Side

throughout the years have begun their studies by stating that the Near West Side is one of

the most, if not *the most*, studied neighborhoods in all of the United States. Prior to the

1960s, scholars would have also opened with a line about how crowded, poor, and

multiethnic the place was—"teeming" has been a favorite adjective to describe the Near

West Side. The Near West Side teems no longer, and playing fields and gymnasia for

college *teams* have all but replaced the earlier crowds. The dubiously named UIC

Flames—officials debated whether this mascot would evoke the wrong kinds of

60

associations for a nascent urban campus in the 1960s whose urban image they were already worried about—have replaced the wooden tenements built shortly after—and many before—the namesake flames of the Great Chicago Fire.

According to several accounts, that disaster placed the neighborhood's problems in the public eye and spurred city officials and businessmen as well as reformers and social and housing activists to do something about the "ten square miles" that they identified as the worst in Chicago.[99] Since the late 1800s, then, reformers, activists, planners, stakeholders, and entrepreneurs have focused on the Near West Side as a locus for change, development, and experimentation.

None of these stakeholders were as famous as Jane Addams and her Hull House, which opened at the turn of the century and became one of the nation's most well-known social settlement houses.[100] Though originally slated to be torn down during mid-century urban renewal, part of the Hull House complex still stands today buttressed on all sides by the UIC campus buildings (see Figure 9). Sharon Haar and other scholars have documented the work of female Progressive reformers who saw the Near West Side neighborhood as a laboratory for social reform.[101] In the same period, the emerging University of Chicago School of sociology scholars and students used the Near West Side and other Chicago neighborhoods as a laboratory for different ways of examining the city and urban change. In fact, female Hull House workers teamed up with Department of

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[99] See Chicago Plan Commission, *Ten Square Miles of Chicago: Basic Facts: a Report to the Chicago Land Clearance Commission* (Chicago, Ill: Chicago Plan Commission, 1948.)

[100] See Bryan and Davis, *100 Years at Hull-House* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990).

[101] Rima Lunin Schultz, "Introduction," *Hull-House Maps and Papers: by the Residents of the Hull House* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Sharon Haar, *The City as Campus: Urbanism and Higher Education in Chicago* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

Economic statisticians to administer one of the earliest systematic surveys of urban social

and economic conditions, an alliance the next chapter will discuss.
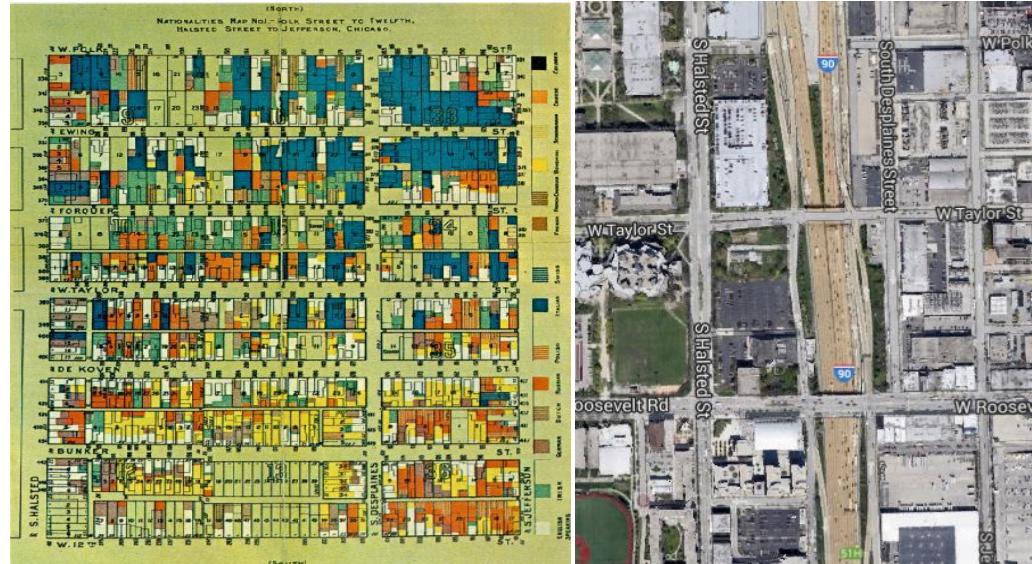
Figure 10. "Maps of Halsted-Taylor Street Area." On the left (l), a Nationalities Map developed by female
Hull House settlement workers in 1890. The colors represent different nationalities residing in a section of
the 19th Ward of Chicago. None of these structures are extant. The area shown is now the Dan Ryan
Expressway and the eastern edge of UIC. On the right (r), the same area in 2014, shown by Google Maps.
Source (l): Residents of Hull-House. Nationality Map 1. Digital image. Homicide in Chicago, 1870-1930.
2008. Northwestern University School of Law. <homicide.northwestern.edu/pubs/hullhouse/Maps/>
(accessed February 3, 2016). Source (l): Google Maps, (accessed March 2014).

To write about the Near West Side is to experience feelings of deep redundancy—so

much has already been written.[102] But to experience the Near West Side in 2015 as a

pedestrian aware of all the stacked texts, plans, and studies already written is to

experience feelings of deep confusion and disjuncture. Is this the same place? There is

little left to orient oneself to the maps and images of the pre-1960s documents, and thus

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[102] I set out to plan a walk on the Near West Side, to map a route to take me by some of the sites (some
gone and some still extant) predominant in narratives of the neighborhood's past, but I realized that this too
has already been examined. In the late 1990s, history professor Gerald Danzer wrote a series of pamphlets
called "Walking About UIC: Reading Urban Texts" as part of an introduction to the liberal arts series at
UIC. As I was examining these brochures, Danzer himself walked into the UIC Special Collections to
search for something unrelated, the first (and only, I expect) time I have encountered the author of a source
at the archive while reading that very source. Gerald Danzer, "Walking About UIC: Reading Urban Texts,"
Office of the Chancellor-Publications-UIC Annual Report (1992/93-2001), Box 1, UIC University
Archives.

what does remain stands out starkly in the cityscape and in one's mental landscape. The

"spine" of Little Italy is east-west Taylor Street, where University of Chicago sociologist

Gerald Suttles first encountered and then wrote about groups of juveniles (his word)

standing on every street corner. Architecturally, Taylor Street is more intact than other

streets in the area, but gone are the gangs and throngs, the smells and the sounds. In their

place, students, hospital workers, and occasional tourists bustle at the shift changes and

lunch hours, but the place is oddly quiet at most other times.[103]

The UIC campus is a renowned example of high modernism, which is to say (as

my mother did when I made her walk it with me instead of visiting, say Navy Pier) that it

can be fortress-like and overwhelming to the everyday pedestrian. The wind that picks up

in the wide open spaces between the high concrete towers puts the "brutal" in

Brutalism.[104] The Blue Line of the "El" rumbles almost constantly between the eight

lanes of the Eisenhower Expressway, the Congress Street freeway that bisected the Near

West Side in the early 1950s and was the first urban renewal project to displace residents

in the area.

Known as an "instant campus," when it was built, UIC is the "youngest" of the

three institutions in my study.[105] After much controversy surrounding its development, it

opened in the mid-1960s as Chicago's first public college and Mayor Richard M. Daley's

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[103] Gerald Suttles, *The Social Order of the Slum* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1968).

[104] See, for example, the commentary and virtual tour offered at University of Illinois-Chicago, "Historic Netsch Campus at UIC,"< http://www.uic.edu/depts/oaa/walkingtour/1c.html> (accessed February 3, 2016).

[105] One chronicler noted: "It's a new, almost instant, campus, not yet finished, a commuter campus without dormitories or a faculty row." Jory Graham, *Chicago: An Extraordinary Guide* (Chicago, IL: Rand McNally, 1968), 122. UIC has found resonance in the phrase in its institutional historical accounts. See for example: University of Illinois-Chicago, "Historic Netsch Campus at UIC," "Instant Campus," <http://netschcampus.uic.edu/1c.html> (accessed February 3, 2016).

pet project.[106] Prior to the selection of the Near West Side for the UIC campus, an experiment in community-oriented planning developed by the Hull House and funded by the Russell Sage foundation had begun on the Near West Side.[107] This effort brought together residents of different ethnicities, races, and economic backgrounds to study their own neighborhood and plan for its future. The records of this group show how neighborhood residents envisioned "decline" differently than the planners also intensively studying the Near West Side in this period. Feeling that the City of Chicago and the Hull House had betrayed their own stated goals and initiatives, many of the residents involved in the planning group eventually protested the UIC campus plans.[108]

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[106] See George Rosin, *Decision Making Chicago-Style: The Genesis of a University of Illinois Campus* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1980) for the details, deals, controversies, and chronology of the campus development. For an overview of the copious resources and accounts of the university site selection, planning, and development, see the University of Illinois-Chicago Library, Research Guides, "Researching UIC History: Archival Resources," <http://researchguides.uic.edu/UICHistory> (accessed February 3, 2016).

[107] The most definitive account of this project is found in Paul B. Johnson, *Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal: The History of the Near West Side Planning Board and A Citizen Participation Project* (Chicago, IL: Hull-House Association, 1960). For citizen perspectives, see also the Florence Scala papers and the Eri Hulbert papers at the University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections. For the project grant applications, see the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation Papers at the University of Chicago Special Collections.

[108] Jack Mabley, "City's Little People Were Sold Out," *Chicago Tribune*, March 1, 1961, Eri Hulbert papers, Folder 40, Box 1, University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections.
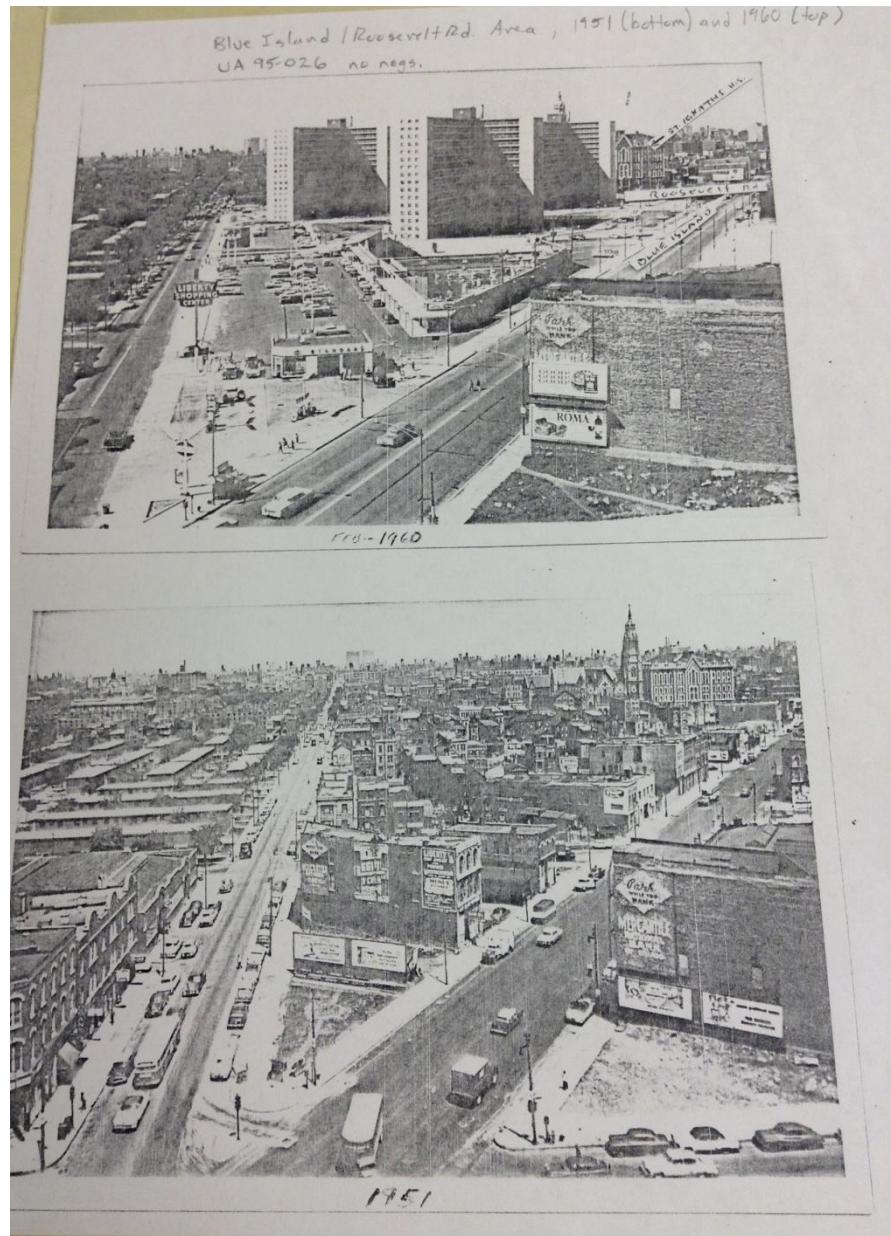
Figure 11. "Blue Island and Roosevelt Road Area." Looking northeast from Roosevelt and Blue Island toward the heart of the Near West Side neighborhood (below) and UIC's campus (above.) An "Instant Campus," and a neighborhood "instantly" altered almost beyond recognition. Source: University of Illinois-Chicago University Archives, UA-95-026.

Like the other areas in my study, the Near West Side has not always gone by the same name, even officially. In the late 1800s, before the growth of greater Chicago endowed it with the adjective "near," it was known simply as the "West Side." Several

65

distinct areas within it had additional names: Greektown, Little Italy, Little Bohemia, Skid Row, the Bloody 19th (Ward), the Hull House Neighborhood. In the early twentieth first century, most of the names have not remained; but a plurality of place names still demarcate the district. A map of the Near West Side of Chicago in 2014 shows the influence of UIC; one section is called University Village. The moniker Little Italy remains, but it signifies a smaller and mostly commercial area than in its past. Other neighborhoods within the Near West Side are Fulton Market, Fulton River District, Greek Town (also vastly changed since Greektown of the late nineteenth century), the Medical District (named after the University of Illinois's medical campus), Randolph Market, Tri-Taylor, West Haven, and West Loop. The Near West Side is known as Community Area # 28 today to the city of Chicago and its planners, as it was in the mid-twentieth century during its times of highest intensity planning.[109]

Rise and Fall or Fall and Rise? Conflicting Tropes on the Near West Side

The narrative of neighborhood change on the Near West Side stretches farther back in time for a Golden Age or a "rise" than either of the other two sample neighborhoods. An online blurb for The University of Illinois Hospital and Health Sciences System Office of Community Engagement and Neighborhood Health Partnerships explained:

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[109] For an overview of the Near West Side as a geographic district and neighborhood, see "Near West Side," Encyclopedia of Chicago, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/878.html> (accessed February 3, 2016).

> The area's history goes back to 1851, when Chicago extended its municipal boundaries. By the early 1920s, the Near West Side was home to more than 200,000 people, including some of the city's wealthiest residents. The neighborhood surrounding Union Park was called the "Bois de Boulogne of the West Side." Successive waves of immigrants brought changes in the area's ethnic composition and began a slow decline.[110]

This blurb periodizes a decline at the moment when others note a "rise" in the neighborhood, measured by the population growth that occurred in the late nineteenth century when immigrants moved into the neighborhood in the highest numbers. In this case, the "rise" or Golden Age is understood as the time at which the wealthiest residents lived in the neighborhood, when its population peaked. It is also characterized with a comparison to a prominent French park popular with urban middle-class leisure--the Bois de Bologne--in marked contrast to the later waves of eastern European and working-class immigrants who moved to the Near West Side. Writing a historical report in 1940, M.A. student Adelaide Holloway gave a similar definition of the "rise" of the neighborhood. Holloway noted: ""During the period from 1857 to 1875, the area was […]well settled and during the 60's Ashland Avenue became the Gold Coast of the period […] The promotion of Ashland Avenue as a fashionable residential district had been achieved by Samuel H. Walker, who had begun his activities in the real estate business back in

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[110] Near West Side, "Neighborhoods," <http://hospital.uillinois.edu/about-ui-health/community-commitment/community-engagement-and-neighborhood-health-partnerships> (accessed March 5, 2014). For more on this office's contemporary neighborhood interactions, see Wim Wiewel, Frank Gaffikin, and Michael Morrissey, "Community-university partnerships for affordable housing," *Cityscape* (2000): 27-45.

1837."[111] Holloway marks the "decline" of the neighborhood in terms of socioeconomic

status and not raw population figures. She wrote further:

> As early at the '90s the neighborhood began to decline…by 1900 Ashland and
> Jackson Boulevards were definitely losing their social prestige. Also, as the cost
> of keeping servants increased, the expense of maintaining these old homes
> became prohibitive, and their owners sold them and moved into apartments. Some
> were used as clubs for a while, to be taken over later by religious institutions,
> labor organizations and roominghouse keepers and the period of transition and
> decline of the neighborhood had definitely begun.[112]

For Hollowoy and other prewar chroniclers of the Near West Side's past, the decline of

the neighborhood was understood as increasing not decreasing population. Eri Hulbert, a

community planner and Hull House resident noted in 1949: "When my father was born a

few blocks from here in 1880, it was an area of new but congested housing…Only nine

years later, when Jane Addams asked city officials where the most congested area in

Chicago was, they told her to go to Halsted and Blue Island and there she would find

it."[113] While Holloway and Hulbert identified a "fall" on the Near West Side in the late

nineteenth century, by 1977, other individuals had identified a different "rise" and "fall."

In a review of *Ira Berkow's Maxwell Street: Survival in a Bazaar*, Robert Cross wrote:

> In its heyday, Maxwell Street was a tawdry stretch of shops and stands, vendors,
> hustlers, pimps, and poverty on Chicago's Near West Side…Maxwell Street
> would eventually lose its character. Urban renewal was coming in; expressways
> were encroaching. Now, the Maxwell Street neighborhood bears little

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[111] Adelaide Holloway, "The Brown School District," Chicago Teachers College, January 1940, pg. 13 of
typed manuscript. West [Near West] Side Community Collection: 1857-1953, Chicago Public Library,
Harold Washington Library Center, Special Collections, Neighborhood History Research Collection, part
of the West Side Community Collections.
[112] Bolding is added. Ibid, 15-16.
[113] Eri Hulbert to a Hull House audience in 1949, quoted in Paul Johnson, *Citizen Participation in Urban
Renewal and the History of the Near West Side Planning Board and a Citizen Participation Project
Sponsored by Hull-House Association* (Chicago, IL: Hull-House Association, 1960), 10.

resemblance to the area recalled by the people who survived. Most of old Chicago is fast disappearing.[114]

Looking back after urban renewal, Cross and others identified the exact period of Holloway's and Hulbert's decline as the rise of the neighborhood as an ethnic enclave for various groups and a place with what Cross calls "character."[115] In this view, the urban renewal that destroyed parts of the neighborhood for freeways and the UIC campus was the decline or fall of Old Chicago. By the early 1990s, when another round of UIC expansion threatened to redevelop the Maxwell Street area of the Near West Side once again, activists and residents anticipated this as a new fall of the area, which a 1990 newspaper article describing the early 1960s-1970s wrote had "seen better days." To illustrate a perceived fall, this article evoked a rise during an earlier period that was itself identified at the time as a fall. To further muddle the tropes, UIC itself billed this 1990s project as "revitalization."[116] Similarly, a mid-1990s article discusses what is alternately framed as a "rebound, a "revival," the neighborhood "reborn" and "revitalized" on the Near West Side spurred by the Chicago Bulls and the United Center.[117] At the same time, others worried about the impacts of this project on affordable housing in the area.[118]

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[114] Robert Cross, "The Pushcart Ghetto: You Can Smell The Onions, Hear the Accents," *Chicago Tribune* (1963-current file); October 16, 1977; Proquest Historical Newspapers, F3.

[115] See, for example, Ron Grossman, "Slicing Up a Tradition; As Change Looms, Old-Timers At a Maxwell Street Deli Chew on the Memories," *Chicago Tribune* (1963-current file); October 16, 1977; Proquest Historical Newspapers, C1.

[116] See R. Weber, N.Theodore, and C. Hoch, "Private choices and public obligations: The ethics of university real estate development," in *The University as Urban Developer*, ed. D.C. Perry and Wim Wiewel (New York: Sharpe, 2005), 285–299.

[117] Ron Grossman Flynn McRoberts, Tribune,Staff Writers. "Near West Side Rebounds Like Its Bullish Neighbors, Community Thriving," *Chicago Tribune,* June 7, 1998. http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/418672389?accountid=14586.

[118] Edward Walsh and *Washington Post* Staff Writers. 1995. "Chicago Tries to Replace 'Castle' With Community," *The Washington Post (1974-Current file)*, Oct. 28, 1995.

Particularly stark in the Maxwell Street example, these tensions undercut a simple

narrative of rise and fall and suggest instead many rises and falls and many paradoxical

conceptions of rise and fall co-existing on the Near West Side.

Another paradox inherent in descriptions and discussions of the changing city

through the trope of rise and fall is that while urban change itself is often understood in

vivid life-course terms (life, death; growth, decline; rise, fall), specific urban

development changes instead often appear impersonally described in the passive voice.

Histories of the Near West Side are particularly dependent on the passive voice, with

intransitive verbs masking the human costs of its past: UIC was developed; the

neighborhood was razed; the highways were built. Lilia Fernandenz has shown how

Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago "became casualties" of urban renewal policies

with the "successive displacement" they experienced.[119] Fernandez's study also shows

how "renewal"—a word associated with hope and positive change—actually meant the

opposite for these residents.

While the University District in Columbus aspires to the model of a symbiotic

university-neighborhood relationship based on past perceptions, past stakeholders

envisioned the Near West Side as a model for a future university community. In doing so,

they implicitly disregarded the histories of the District in order to reconfigure the area.

For example, in a 1967 newspaper article published just after the opening of UIC, Joan

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http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezp2.lib.umn.edu/docview/90343157
3?accountid=14586 (accessed February 4, 2016).See also Pauline Lipman, "Contesting the City: Neoliberal
Urbanism and the Cultural Politics of Education Reform in Chicago," *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural
Politics of Education* 32, no. 2 (2011): 217-234. Lipman cites G.N. Schmidt, "Chicago Bulls to help
resegregation, gentrification of West Side. Substance News," *Newspaper Title,* March 24, 2009. Retrieved
April 1, 2009, from http://www.substancenews.net/articles. php?sectionArticle&page665.
[119] Lilia Fernandez, *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago* (Chicago,
IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 93.

Pinkerton portrays the Near West Side of Chicago as "another Hyde Park." She praised "a residential and intellectual community" emerging on the Near West Side with attention only to university-related development. In a discussion of a home bought by a university faculty member, she traced the history of the area through the example of this single structure. "During the good years," she noted, the home was owned by a family in the wine business. Those "good years" contrasted with "successive waves of immigrants" who were renters. The final cycle Pinkerton identified positively as "university people." The current owners, Pinkerton wrote, have "restored elegance," to the house, which they said cost less to remodel than it would have cost to buy a new home. The article enumerated the number of faculty families (6) and students (60) living in the neighborhood but fails to count any other group of residents or to account for displaced groups.[120] The only non-university affiliated resident interviewed, activist Oscar D'Angelo, railed against student parties but openly encouraged "rehabilitation" and implicitly denigrated low-income and African-American residents; for D'Angelo, it seems, the university development was means for development and demographic shifts he considered desirable—so long as students were kept in check. Considered implicitly desirable in Pinkerton's article, these characteristics of a university community obscured decades of conflict and change on the Near West Side in favor of an uncomplicated chronology.

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[120] Joan Pinkerton, "Another Hyde Park Develops Around Circle Campus," *Chicago Tribune (1963-Current File),* March19, 1967. http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/179149690?accountid=14586.

Site # 3: Minneapolis, MN and the University Alliance Neighborhoods

We could approach the University Alliance neighborhoods in Minneapolis from downtown Minneapolis via two different routes, and depending on the walk, experience two distinct impressions of the University Alliance neighborhoods and the University of Minnesota. Taking the Hennepin Avenue bridge across the Mississippi River would lead us into Marcy-Holmes, the city's oldest neighborhood, originally St. Anthony, a separate settlement from Minneapolis which was the site of the first University of Minnesota building on what is today known as the "East Bank" of the university's campus. Or we could take Washington Avenue through downtown Minneapolis into the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood and the university's newest buildings, the "West Bank" campus expansion project of the late 1950s and early 1960s.
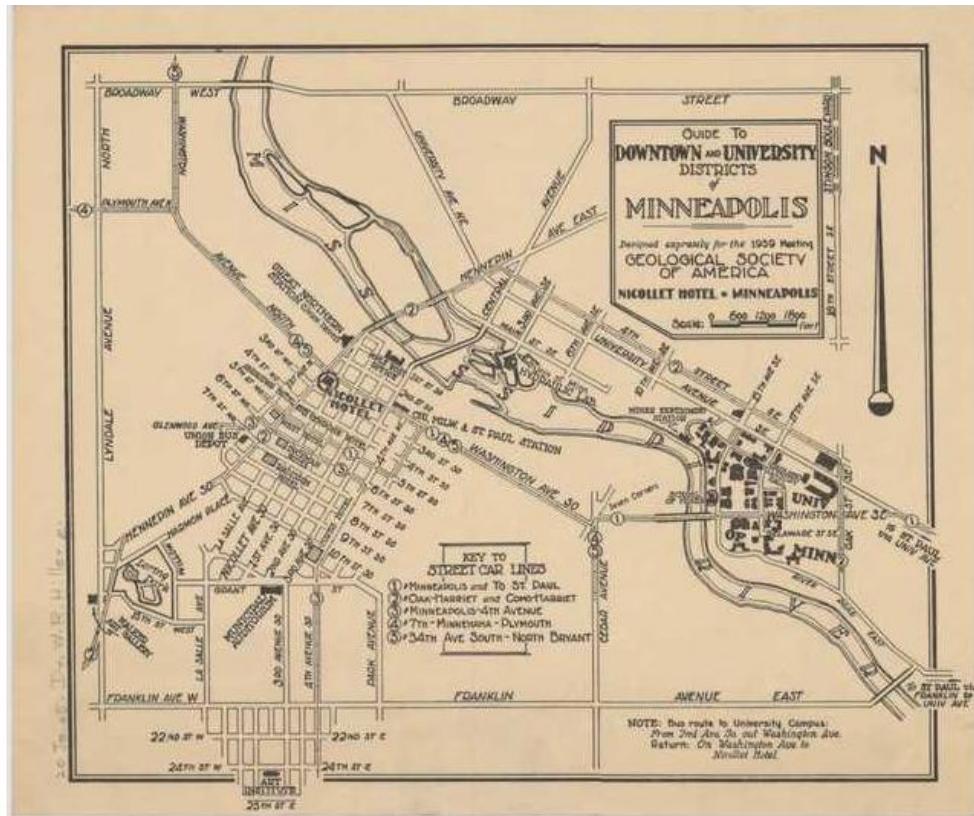
Figure 12. University District, Minneapolis. This 1939 map shows the walking options to reach the University Alliance neighborhoods from downtown Minneapolis. The west bank expansion is not on the map because at that point in time, it had not yet occurred. Note the Hennepin-University route to reach the university area, and the Washington Ave. S. route (both marked on the map). Source: Minnesota Historical Society, "Map of the downtown and university districts of Minneapolis. Created for a meeting of the Geological Society of America held at the Nicollet Hotel in 1939." G4144 .M52C5 1939 .G8 2F.

More than mere pedestrian options for accessing the site, these routes exemplify the different impacts the University of Minnesota has had on its surrounding neighborhoods. The walker must consider how each walk hints at the contrasting urban contexts in which the university has developed. Following the Hennepin-University route, we arrive at the corner of University Avenue and 14th Avenues in the compact commercial section of Marcy-Holmes known as Dinkytown for its student-oriented development and distinctive streetscape. If we head northeast along 14th Avenue, we will

73

notice the juxtaposition of new and older developments. Dwarfing the surrounding commercial buildings, a large mixed-used development by Opus Properties combines "luxury" student apartments on the upper floors and chain retail (Starbucks and Target Express) on the ground level. In 2014, a preservation group railed against this and similar developments with the rallying cry: "Keep Dinkytown Dinky!"[121] The group hoped to protect the single-story commercial development dating to the early 20th century by designating the strip a commercial historic district.

One hundred years ago, developers flocked to the same intersection in Minneapolis' emerging University District. In fact, a 1905 ad by P.D. McMillan and Co. in the *Minneapolis Evening Journal* called the intersection of 4th and 14th "the last good corner in the University District" and promised developers it would be profitable for years to come: "Permanent income can be had by purchasing the corner and erecting a building--Tenants Waiting...This is a much more permanent location than any on Nicollet Avenue. Business will never grow away from this corner. Four Thousand Students and Professors are permanently located here (more than are employed in either our lumber or grain business)--will continue to grow with the Northwest Country and never will be driven out of business. Will give a permanent income for generations to come."[122]

There are stark parallels between each century's business- and capitalist-oriented approaches which emphasizes students as consumers and features student oriented development. Despite these similarities, and the area's long history as a commercial

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121 Drew Wood, "Keep Dinkytown Dinky," *MSP Magazine*, July 27, 2015, < http://mspmag.com/Out-And-About/Articles/Features/Keep-Dinkytown-Dinky/> (accessed February 3, 2016).
[122] *Minneapolis Journal*, Friday Evening, June 2, 1905, Minnesota Digital Newspaper Hub, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, <http://newspapers.mnhs.org> (accessed February 3, 2016).

district driven by changing student preferences and housing demand, the sense of loss and urgency surrounding the latest developments hint at how selected layers of the past themselves are seen as having value. Advocates working within Preserve Historic Dinkytown called upon Bob Dylan's description of the area as "kind of like a little village, untypical from the rest of conventional Minneapolis" to support their vision for the preservation district.[123] Another resident cited remembered: "much more of a little village, a self-sustaining village than it is now...There was a grocery store, a butcher shop, a candy store, a dry cleaner, gift shops, a bakery—Gordon's bakery. Different generations ran it."[124] *Was* Dinkytown ever a village, and, as these selected memories hint, seemingly uninflected by the vast institution next door to it? In the Preserve Historic Dinkytown campaign, the forms of language ("village") and the chosen themes emphasized as positive (small businesses, lack of conventionality)--and the ones not selected ("permanent income for generations to come!") hint at the ways in which the university has affected the district and also at the ways in which various individuals resist that connection, a story which has long, convoluted roots in the twentieth century urban development of both the city and the university.

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123 Bill Huntzicker, "Development in Dinkytown, Part 1: 'There's a nice vibe, it'd be easy to mess that up," *Twin Cities Daily Planet*, February 12, 2013, <http://www.tcdailyplanet.net/development-dinkytown-part-1-there-s-nice-vibe-it-d-be-easy-mess/> (accessed February 3, 2016).
124 Ibid.
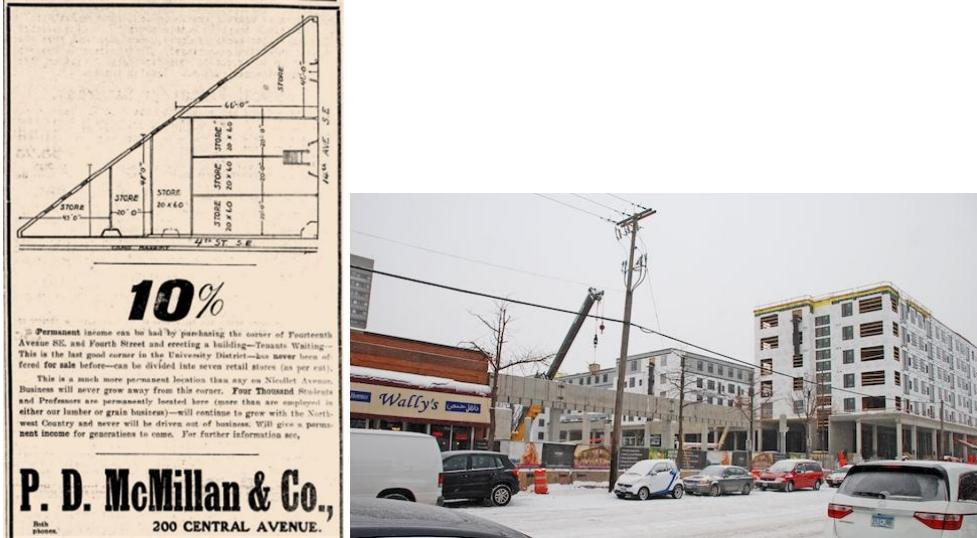
Figure 13: "The Last Good Corner, Then and Now." On the left (l), ad for "the last good corner" in the University District; on the right (r), just northeast of that corner, Opus mixed-use development under construction on Fourteenth Avenue in Minneapolis' Dinkytown area. Source (l): Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota Digital Newspaper Hub, *Minneapolis Journal*, Friday Evening, June 2, 1905, <http://newspapers.mnhs.org>(accessed January 13, 2015). Source(r): Twin Cities Daily Planet, Bill Huntzicker, "Property Owners Attack Dinkytown Plan, Seek More Meetings." December 16, 2013. <http://www.tcdailyplanet.net/property-owners-attack-dinkytown-plan-seek-more-meetings/> (accessed February 3, 2016).

We continue through the Dinkytown commercial area and onto the East Bank campus of the University of Minnesota. Hemmed by the Marcy-Holmes neighborhood (formerly called the University District), by the railroads, and by the Como and Prospect Park sections, the University of Minnesota expanded across the Mississippi River in the late 1950s/early 1960s, into a neighborhood very different from the ones surrounding the east bank campus. We can see this expansion (the West Bank campus) by taking the Washington Avenue bridge, which bears the loads of a daily stream of pedestrians, bikes, cars, and light rail trains.

In some senses a culmination of over 60 years of University of Minnesota officials' concerns about how to best connect the east and west sides of their campus across the Mississippi River, a new light rail line opened in 2014; it makes the trip across

76

the long bridge in about thirty seconds flat. Over its full route, it cuts through each neighborhood adjacent to campus except Marcy-Holmes; the university's resistance to the Green Line routing also represents the tensions the University has long had with city and regional planning groups such as the seven-county Metropolitan Council, which spearheaded the light rail.[125]

Riding the train across the river, the magnetism of the Mississippi encourages almost everybody to glance up out the windows, even for a just a second, as the train glides over the usually glittering river. College students using their "U-Passes" to hop across campus for classes look away from their screens, downtown business and service workers (the line connects the downtowns of Saint Paul and Minneapolis) track their gazes momentarily up and out the window. A shared moment, a common view, and then everyone returns to their chosen distractions. Many of these people, like me, must take this train every day, twice a day. But still, we look down at the river.

If we had looked down at the river in the first half of the twentieth century, we would have also seen an entire small city of shanties along the lowlands—the Bohemian Flats, they were called (and still are, even in their current role as a university parking lot). The flats were home to the immigrants and workers whose hands powered the growing milling industries along the river and upstream downtown. University students looked down, then, too. One such former student, in a letter written to the WPA chronicler who set about to capture the stories of residents of the Bohemian Flats before the city of Minneapolis finished its land acquisition there, remembered: "I mourn deeply that they

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[125] On opposition to the light rail, including from the University of Minnesota, see Laura Yuen, "Central Corridor: A Slow Training Coming," *Minnesota Public Radio News*, April 27, 2010, <http://www.mprnews.org/story/2010/04/20/centcorridor1-delays> (accessed February 3, 2016).

should be destroyed, for they were the one bit of atmosphere in the whole city of Minneapolis…They were a real inspiration to paint…The people were deeply suspicious of us because they sensed that we were making pictures for the newspapers to bring about pressure to have them removed from the hollow."[126] A resident of the flats said simply: "Every summer the artists came from the University with their big canvases."[127]

Just as students and others could look down from the university bluffs to the flatlands, flats residents could look up on both sides of the river and see vastly different neighborhoods: upstream and to the northeast, the big sub-divided mansions and apartments side by side in what is now the Marcy-Holmes district, downstream to the southeast, mostly shielded by trees and hills, the wealthy enclave of single family homes in Prospect Park, and across the river from that enclave, downstream to the southwest, the crowded and growing immigrant neighborhood (now Cedar-Riverside) where many flats residents eventually moved.

We can step off the light rail and into the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood adjacent to Minnesota's west bank campus. Up a steep flight of stairs, we find ourselves on Cedar Avenue, a long block away from the historical Seven Corners intersection. In the early twentieth century, Seven Corners marked the epicenter of the sixth ward neighborhood, and the area received the current name Cedar-Riverside only in the context of mid-20th century urban renewal plans for its total alteration. Not far from the city of Minneapolis' industries, railroad hub, and its vice districts, the late nineteenth/early twentieth century

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[126] Letter to Gladys Fleischauer from Dewey Albinson, WPA/Bohemian Flats collection, MNHS, St. Paul, MN.
[127] Interview by Gladys Fleischauer of Mamie Groacoat, February 19, 1938, WPA/Bohemian Flats collection, MNHS, St. Paul, MN.

neighborhood housed recent immigrants, single transients, and most of Minneapolis's

then-miniscule African-American population. Like the Near West Side, it was served by

the Pillsbury Settlement House for years before other institutions such as the university

became the area's predominant ones. As residents of the old neighborhood moved

outward into other sections of the city, local officials worried the neighborhood, with its

ample (albeit aging) affordable housing might become home to newer, poorer migrants,

including more African-Americans, and slated the area to be largely given over to

freeways and institutions, including the university, the small private college of Augsburg,

and several hospitals. Today, as on Chicago's Near West Side, the imprint of these

institutions and the roar of two different freeways is impossible to ignore. Yet residential

sections and affordable housing remain, despite midcentury plans to obliterate that

particular strength of the area. The question of why and how this happened has been

examined by scholars.[128] Yet in the conflicts that ensued over the space of the

neighborhood, the underpinning ideologies, values, and conceptions about perceived

good and bad neighborhood change have much to offer urbanists, as does the ways in

which the University of Minnesota played the role of developer both of land and

discourse.

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[128] In particular, see Randy Stoecker, *Defending Community: The Struggle for Alternative Redevelopment in Cedar-Riverside* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1994). See also Judith Martin, *Recycling the Central City: The Development of New Town-In Town* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1978).

Figure 14: "West Bank, Then and Now." On the left, Seven Corners, looking down Washington Ave., 1934, and right (r), in the present. Source (l): Minnesota Historical Society, "View of Washington and Cedar Avenues, Minneapolis, MN, 1934," Taken by Joseph Zalusky, May 19, 1934. Printed by AJ Raymond, January 29, 1937. MH5.9 MP2.2.165. Source (r): Photograph taken by author.

One Alliance, Fragmented Narratives of Urban Change

Mention the University Alliance neighborhoods or the longer moniker of the University District Partnership Alliance to a University of Minnesota student or a Minneapolis resident, and one might be rewarded with a blank look. Of all of the areas in my study, the University Alliance neighborhoods have the least recognizable status as a unified group—they are far more well-known as separate neighborhoods: Cedar-Riverside, Marcy-Holmes, Southeast Como, and Prospect Park. Unlike the University District and the Near West Side, the University Alliance is not an entity created by city planners in the twentieth century for municipal planning purposes. Instead, it is a much more recent creation founded by the State of Minnesota Legislature in 2007 with the objective to "define a vision for the future development of the District that recognizes the advantages of living close to a major urban University and the need for a livable environment."[129]   Contention and community concern about the building of a new

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[129] "The Alliance—Better Together: Neighbors, Businesses, University, City," from the University District Live Near Your Work website. < http://www.livenearyourwork.net/alliance.php> (accessed February 3, 2016).

80

football stadium impelled the founding of the alliance, and to date, reception of the

seven-year-old alliance has been mostly positive, at least to those few who know it exists

and are involved with it.[130]
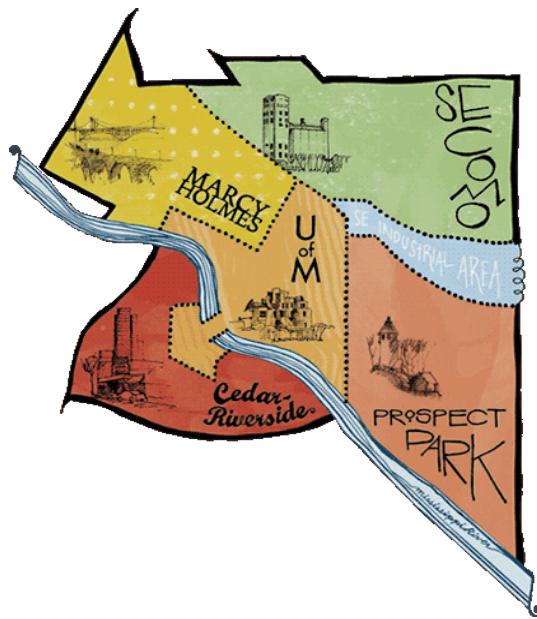
Figure 15. "The University Alliance Neighborhoods graphic." Source: The University District,
"Neighborhoods." <http://livenearyourwork.net/neighborhoods.php> (accessed February 4, 2016).

Thus, the level of differentiation and fragmentation of the University Alliance

neighborhoods is magnified by the geography of the area—bluffs, freeways, railroads,

and the Mississippi River separate some of the neighborhoods from one another, and the

University of Minnesota itself is situated on two sides of the river. But the other areas

under study (the University District and the Near West Side), while more conflated as a

single district than the University Alliance neighborhoods, show similar levels of

fragmentation upon close examination. In those cases, it is more hidden.

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[130] Arvonne Fraser, "Five Years In, University District Partnership Celebrates Successes in Southeast
Minneapolis," *Twin Cities Daily Planet*, December 27, 2011.

A mid-twentieth century urban renewal planning article by David R. Goldfield

frames the history of Cedar-Riverside in familiar terms and calls upon well-worn tropes

of change. In a discussion of the rise of the city, Goldfield writes: "Hard-working

Scandinavian and Eastern European immigrants joined a growing populace to provide the

sinews for progress. Their ethnic neighborhoods added a cosmopolitan atmosphere to the

old frontier settlement."[131] Goldfield moves from this rise of the city to its fall, using

similar abstractions. He writes:

> By the 1950s, the same malaise that was striking other American cities began to
> affect Minneapolis. The waterfront area had become a refuge for rats; rust was the
> only presence on the railroad tracks, auto traffic clogged and polluted
> downtown… The old ethnic neighborhoods were in decay and depopulation;
> industrial flight threatened the city's economic base. It was a sad but familiar
> urban story."[132]

In his discussion of Cedar-Riverside, Goldfield uses the sub title "Revitalizing the

neighborhood." In this section, Goldfield writes, "Private initiative began to transform a

deteriorating neighborhood into what hopefully would become a model community.

[They] held some hope for at least the partial redemption of the neighborhood since the

University of Minnesota began locating its West Bank campus in the community in

1959."[133] Yet interviews with residents of Cedar Riverside and their personal

recollections and oral histories contest this chronology and the logic of abstractions like

fall, redemption and revitalization. In fact, these residents actively protested the

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[131] David R. Goldfield, "Historic Planning and Redevelopment in Minneapolis," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 41, no. 1 (1976): 77.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.

University of Minnesota's location of its West Bank campus in their neighborhood.[134]

For them it was not the redemption or revitalization but rather a fight. In the case of

Cedar-Riverside, neighborhood activists trace their own involvement as a call to a battle

of sorts in this fight over contested futures of the neighborhood.

Three Districts, Many Narratives of Rise, Fall, and Renewal

While present-day discourse and community memory define Columbus's

University District by perceptions of what it once *was*, by the myth of a Golden Age

before WWII and a decline or fall from that ideal over the course of the twentieth

century, other neighborhoods reveal different narratives of the past, present, and future.

On the Near West Side of Chicago, Illinois, contemporary discourse questions whether

the university's mid-twentieth century growth saved or destroyed a neighborhood

alternatively remembered as a vibrant ethnic enclave or as one of Chicago's worst slums,

without considering either conceptualization an oversimplified trope.[135] In the Cedar-

Riverside neighborhood of Minneapolis, Minnesota, contemporary histories trace an

undulating rise and fall process: a rise of the neighborhood in the late nineteenth century

as a thriving community of immigrant workers, its subsequent fall when those workers

moved out, another rise as a bohemian enclave, a fall (or a rise) when the community was

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[134] Randy Stoecker, *Defending Community: The Struggle for Alternative Redevelopment in Cedar-Riverside*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).
[135] Compare, for example, David Halvorsen, "Chicago's 'Little Italy' Section May Flourish Again: A Renaissance is Stirring on the Near West Side," *Chicago Tribune* Sept. 12, 1965; Proquest Historical Newspapers, A4. With Jane Addams, "First Days at Hull House," in Bryan and Davis eds., *100 Years at Hull-House* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1969), 12.

threatened by university expansion and urban renewal, and then another rise as residents rallied for community-based planning.[136] In each case, diverse memories, experiences, and stories of continuity and change comprise the histories of each neighborhood's continuities, changes, and university interactions and conflicts; the rest of this dissertation will explore these nuances and variations. Yet overarching tropes of change compete to explain the past in abstract terms neither as neutral nor as natural as they might appear.[137] As much as they have influenced the urban development of adjacent neighborhoods, educational institutions have also influenced the urban histories and narratives of change in their neighboring districts. The complexities and disjuncture(s) which we have walked into in three sites raise questions which only can be answered with a closer look at the three sites and institutions over a long range of time, from as long ago as the late nineteenth century to as recently as the present. Urban public land-grant universities have had deep and important effects upon their immediately surrounding areas--the creation and formation of university districts--as well as broader impacts upon the ways in which Americans have understood and grappled with urban change at the national level. Cutting across and intersecting with the formative events and trends of the twentieth century, the huge growth of U.S. universities, while often portrayed as separate and distinct from the growth of cities, has in fact been tightly connected--and universities themselves closely

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[136] Randy Stoecker, *Defending Community: The Struggle for Alternative Redevelopment in Cedar-Riverside* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1994).

[137] I use the term "trope" somewhat differently than its most known historical theorist, Hayden White, who argues in *Metahistory* that all historical writing fits into one of four "tropes:" metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, or irony. I do not argue that all urban historical writing fits into one of these tropes, but rather that these tropes have permeated discussions of urban change to the extent that they are no longer really seen as "tropes" but as natural processes. I use the trope to refer to the broad rhetorical category for turns or figures of speech. White would likely classify my use of the term as concerned mainly with "metaphor."

84

involved--with changing urban policies and patterns. These important connections are

most apparent in the areas just next door to universities, their university districts.

CHAPTER TWO

SURVEYING THE CHANGING CITY:

NEIGHBORHOODS, INSTITUTIONS, AND THE PRODUCTION AND

DESTRUCTION OF URBAN EXPERTISE IN THE PREWAR PERIOD

<u>Little Italy, Chicago, 1893</u>

Imagine a strange man in a suit on your doorstep with a big sheaf of papers. He is sweating and in a hurry. He speaks quickly to you in English, which is your second language, and says that he is with the government and needs to come inside your apartment. When you let him in, he starts writing very quickly on the papers. He looks around and asks you a lot of questions. This would be intimidating no matter what the questions were, but he is asking you about your family, your parents, your wages, your house. He wants to know when you came to the U.S. and if you are working. He asks how many children you have had and if they are in school. You worry because your husband is not home, and you are not sure he would like you to have let this man inside. You know the answers to some of the questions, but not all of them. Perhaps you are angry at the man for his intrusion; perhaps worried; perhaps preoccupied by what you need to do once he leaves. No matter the case, you are relieved when the man leaves, and you watch out the window as he goes right next door to knock on your neighbor's' door. For the rest of the afternoon, as you work, you also keep your eye out the window at the man, who goes to every door on the street. You are comforted to know that you and your family

were not singled out for the questioning, yet still you wonder what it all could have been about. You will talk over it with your friends, your husband, your relatives, your neighbors, but slowly, the matter will drop from your mind as the summer grows hotter and new worries and preoccupations surface. Eventually, you may forget it altogether, but you will live on, without knowing it, as a single tabulation in an aggregate table of more than 83,852, in a book of analysis and statistics called The Slums of Great Cities *soon to be handed over to the President of the United States himself, Grover Cleveland, and to both the Senate and the House of Representatives.* [138]

Over one hundred years later, this will be your historical imprint, the shadow of your world copiously recorded, analyzed, and saved. You may never know, and may not care, about the significance of that visit from the government worker that day in early summer, 1893. Others will know; they will use the information gleaned from the report to form a kind of map and sketch of your street, your neighborhood, your segment of Chicago in 1893. The Near West Side they imagine will be framed by the government worker's categories, by his questions, by that short little visit he made to a street, to a block, where he so clearly didn't belong. If they wonder how you *imagined and understood and lived in your neighborhood, they will not be able to tell. You may not live long enough in the same place to undergo another visit from another government worker, or a surveyor, or a real estate man, or a university professor, or a settlement worker, but they will come over and over again into your neighborhood, which is quickly becoming*

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[138] Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, and United States, Bureau of Labor, *The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894). You will appear also in Carroll D. Wright, *The Italians in Chicago*, American Immigration Collection, (New York: Arno Press, 1970.)

one of the "most studied" places in the world. Over the years, their visits will carry the

weight of political, legal, economic, and social stakes that may only become apparent as

time passes. For they will always come with a purpose, an agenda, an interest driving the

information they collect. Apart from these stakes, which together over the years will

change your neighborhood beyond what you could have imagined in 1893, which will

render it unrecognizable, the surveys and information collected will alter your

neighborhood too. These productions and accumulations of knowledge--some will say

"expertise"--about the city will amass great power over the course of the century about

to unfold, a century that will enshrine and celebrate expertise. Once mastered and

marshaled, the knowledge created about the city will become a tool that can be deployed

to enact urban policies: to build, to tear down, to evict, to displace, to redevelop, to raze,

to reshape. Those people able to read *your records strategically, the masters of this*

expertise, these *will be the ones who are able write the story of the urban past and of its*

future.

Surveying University Districts: Central Arguments and Questions

The biggest stakes in prewar interactions between institutions and neighborhoods

lay in the twofold, intertwined processes of data collection and conceptualization: in the

ways in which studies and surveys of the early twentieth century city produced particular

forms of knowledge and equipped institutions with that information, and in the

information itself, rich, intimate, social, demographic, and economic portraits of place

which went well beyond describing contemporaneous conditions to prescribing futures and norms. Neighborhood residents were at once crucial to these processes and invisible within them; their local knowledges of place remained outside the categories of the surveys.

A new urban history of "University Districts" or urban neighborhoods adjacent to research institutions must take into account the impacts of the university upon the neighborhood under study, including the kinds of hidden interactions such as the one imagined at the beginning of the chapter, that surely occurred in the process of data collection. This approach requires not throwing out the vast rich social scientific data accrued but rather analyzing the circumstances and assumptions of its production and how these may have affected or shaped the results in invisible ways. Furthermore, it requires considering the historical effects of repeated studies upon local places and national power relationships. Paradoxically, the same studies which have yielded data that provide the best tool for understanding early twentieth century neighborhoods also bear the risk of obliterating forms of local knowledge and experiences constitutive of these places. In no other urban area is this paradox more evident than in what I and others have termed "university districts," or sets of neighborhoods adjacent to and surrounding what are now twenty-first century urban postsecondary educational institutions; because they were so intensively studied that their identities were forged by these kinds of studies, at the expense of other and alternative accounts. While the institutional histories of universities are often narrated with little or no mention of the institution's ongoing and evolving urban contexts and effects, the histories of surrounding neighborhoods have

89

often *only* been told in connection with projects bound to or sponsored by their neighboring institutions. This paradox traces back to the early twentieth century.

A harbinger of the ways in which academics, social workers, government workers, professionals, and private businessmen would traipse, map and tabulate, the double-layered, three-month, intensive data analysis by the U.S. Department of Labor brought together actors from a local educational institution--the Hull House--and from the federal government. This project was one of the earliest such partnerships, but other partnerships and studies followed as the social sciences flourished and national concerns about urban living environments continued to grow. From the ground up, these early forays into university districts have built understandings of the urban past, have structured conceptions of space and place, and have launched a series of disciplines whose practitioners (of which I am one) study the contemporary, historical, and future city.[139]

As many scholars have traced, the neighborhoods adjacent to urban educational institutions, particularly universities, found themselves situated perfectly to become "laboratories" for intensive study of the city, of urban life and urban inhabitants.[140] The case of the Hull House-Department of Labor study epitomizes such an approach even as it exemplifies also the conflicting motivations and methods of such examination. Yet neighborhoods examined as urban "laboratories" were more than just blank, static spaces for study. People lived in them. Their knowledges of the city and their experiences of the city existed but were not always captured by social scientists; and they remained to some

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[139] Martin Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology: Institutionalization, Diversity, and the Rise of Sociological Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).
[140] Sharon Haar, *The City as Campus.*

extent unknown to the survey takers and social workers. I argue that urban

professionals—a catchall term I use to refer to a disparate group of educated, middle and

upper class reformers, scholars, businesspeople, and health workers who made a living or

found a calling by studying, remedying, and/or otherwise attacking a host of perceived

urban ills experienced by others—invented particular conceptions of urban space in order

to try to make sense of it, including even the idea of "neighborhoods" and "districts."

The maps they created are what we scholars can access today as sources and they

underlie our most basic contemporary discussions of the city, particularly in the fields of

policy and planning, but also in urban history-- but along the way, we have largely lost

access to other voices and conceptions of the city, such as the one that the imagined,

unknown narrator and Hull House district resident might have provided.

This three-part chapter delves into the mindsets, methods, and mixed results of

early urban surveys and surveyors of university districts using evidence from the urban

studies conducted in my three case-study university districts and by the U.S. Census. In

the face of limited evidence from neighborhood residents themselves, it is easy to

foreground the urban surveyors because they left such copious and meticulous records.

Their findings have structured our understandings of the city for over a century. Working

at cross-purposes, my chapter structure seeks to unsettle and de-naturalize their approach

in several ways. First, in <u>Part I:</u> <u>Methods and Research Design: Who the City Surveyors</u>

<u>Were and Where they Went</u>, re-inserts the survey-takers themselves back onto the

neighborhood streets they surveyed, as I imagine how their presence affected the places

and people they studied (a consideration they rarely took into account). Second, I

examine how the categories and definitions constructed by surveyors produced particular forms of knowledge while making other forms less visible. Next, in <u>Part II: Data and Results: What They Found in University Districts</u>, I use the data and results produced by the surveyors to re-survey three early twentieth century university districts; my survey reads both against and along the grain of earlier surveys to identify the particular characteristics of prewar districts which affected their postwar futures. In <u>Part III: Significance and Conclusions: Why It Mattered and What It Changed</u>, I zoom out to look at the broader ramifications and social realities of pre-WWII university-neighborhood interactions and connections, including, but not limited, to those documented by the city surveys themselves. In these ways, my chapter is both "about" early surveys of the city, and it itself an alternative social survey of prewar University District neighborhoods.

<u>I: Methods and Research Design: Who The City Surveyors Were and Where They Went</u>

<u>Surveying the City</u>

For over three months in the spring and summer of 1893, "four government schedule men" from the U.S. Department of Labor stayed at the Hull House settlement on Chicago's Near West Side. During the day, these men, "special agent experts," walked door to door in the tenement neighborhoods adjacent to the Hull House. They canvassed

the neighborhoods for social and economic data and took down details about each

dwelling and its inhabitants.

According to the orderly scientific survey methods emergent in this period, the

experts filled out a "tenement schedule" that contained twenty-six items in total and a

larger "family schedule" with forty-three items for each family member. In doing so, the

men ordered and quantified what more qualitative observers called: "frightful

conditions...the cesspool of the world...wretchedness" undergoing "a constantly

progressive change for the worse"[141] and what the eventual report of the study called a

district "which there can be no difference of opinion as to whether or not (it is a slum

district.)"[142]

At the end of each day, when the men concluded their survey work, a group of

women living at the Hull House made copies of the information the government men had

gathered before it was sent off to Washington. The Hull House workers then used this

information to make brightly color-coded maps of the neighborhood in which they lived

and worked. In an effort to draw the attention of the public to the plight of the

neighborhoods, the Hull House women compiled the maps for publication and

distribution.[143] Scholars today have noted how their results reveal more about the creators

of the maps than about the neighborhood; that their categorization schemes and

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[141] "Breathing Spaces and Playgrounds Are Needed For Chicago's Crowded Children: Frightful Condition of Streets and Alleys Where Little Ones Find Recreation," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Dec. 26, 1897, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, 25.
[142] Ibid. See also: Carroll Osborn, "The Slums of Great Cities," *The Economic Journal*, 5, no. 19 (September 1895):. 474-476.
[143] Rina Lunin Schultz, ed, *Hull-House Maps and Papers: by the Residents of the Hull House* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

renderings reflected more about their Progressive-era viewpoints of American society, immigration, and race than they did about the neighborhoods themselves.[144]

As for the government workers, some of their results were "of a rather startling and unexpected nature."[145] In their testing for pathogens, for example, they found better air than they expected; they also found that workers' wages were not significantly lower than workers living in better parts of the city. They found further that such survey operations were almost prohibitively expensive. To pay the experts to undertake the daily trekking from tenement to tenement in the heat of the Chicago summer in order to gather information to be tabulated and analyzed by other experts would cost far more to replicate across many cities than the $20,000 Congress had allocated for the project in 1892.[146] The Hull House women did not think that similar investigations should happen in their neighborhood anyway, at least not without a clearly defined purpose. Reflecting on the project, Hull House resident Agnes Sinclair Holbrooke, who led the map-making effort, wrote: "The painful nature of minute investigation, and the personal impertinence of many of the questions asked, would be unendurable and unpardonable were it not for the conviction that the public conscience when roused must demand better surroundings for the most inert and long-suffering citizens of the commonwealth." [147] Despite Holbrooke's concern, the Department of Labor's study ushered in a new century of many more "minute investigation(s)" on the Near West Side and elsewhere as well.

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[144] Rina Lunin Schultz, "Introduction," *Hull-House Maps and Papers: by the Residents of the Hull House* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006).
[145] Carroll Osborn, "The Slums of Great Cities," *The Economic Journal* 5, 19 (September, 1895): 474-476.
[146] Carroll Wright, *The Slums of Great Cities.*
[147] Agnes Sinclair Holbrooke, "Map Notes and Comments," *Hull-House Maps and Papers,* 58.

<u>Urban Sociologists and Academic Social Scientists</u>

A few decades after the Hull House survey and in another section of the Midwest, in Columbus in 1917, sociologist Roderick McKenzie walked up and down the streets in the University District, adjacent to Ohio State University, doing research for his doctoral dissertation, eventually published as *The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in Columbus, OH*.[148] Together with his students, McKenzie surveyed the residents of Northwood Avenue, a few blocks northeast of Ohio State's campus. He asked each resident whether they approved of their street's annual garden competition and their neighborhood newsletter. McKenzie confined his study to one street in order to test a hunch he had about neighborhood associations. He suspected that the spatial scope of what individuals thought of as "their" neighborhoods might be smaller and more personally defined than the kinds of definitions of "neighborhood" McKenzie was developing with fellow Chicago School sociologists Robert Park and Ernest Burgess. Burgess's students and colleagues are well-known for their fieldwork in the city of Chicago, but McKenzie left Chicago for his doctoral research and looked to Columbus and the University District for his urban laboratory.[149]

Northwood Avenue in Columbus at the beginning of the twentieth century did not resemble the Near West Side of Chicago at the same period of time. Northwood Park, the

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[148] Roderick McKenzie, *The Neighborhood: A Study of Local life in the City of Columbus, Ohio* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1921).

[149] On McKenzie's influence, see Dennis W. MacDonald, Beyond the Group: The Implications of Roderick D. McKenzie's Human Ecology for Reconceptualizing Society and the Social," *Nature and Culture* 6, no. 3 (Winter 2011): 263-284; David A. Smith, "The New Urban Sociology Meets the Old: Rereading Some Classical Human Ecology," *Urban Affairs Review* 30, no. 3 (1995): 432-457.

slightly larger neighborhood that included Northwood Avenue and its neighboring street to the south, Norwich Avenue, was almost entirely white and entirely native-born. 79 percent of its 2,000-odd residents were born in Ohio. 43 percent of heads of household owned their homes, and only one individual roomed with a non-related family in a District in which rooming and boarding was very common.[150]

Other streets in what would become the University District came closer to resembling Chicago's Near West Side, but Northwood Avenue represented a different kind of city: an almost-suburb and an outer-ring urban street of larger single-family homes. While Chicago observers commented upon the crowded conditions, dirt, and disease on the Near West Side, Columbus observers supposedly called Northwood Avenue "the most beautiful street in Columbus."[151]

The sociologist McKenzie lived on Frambes Avenue, a few blocks south of Northwood. Frambes shared some characteristics with Northwood but also contained distinctive urban forms that connected it to the growing campus next door: a few fraternity homes, a boarding house, some students living alongside McKenzie and his wife, and wealthier professionals who owned their homes. Streets north, east, and to the far south of the District housed railroad and industrial workers as well as student boarders. Despite its monolithic name, the University District has always been defined by its differentiation; it is not surprising that thirteen different neighborhoods jostle today for recognition that is distinct from the District-wide moniker.

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[150] IPUMS-USA, Steven Ruggles, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Josiah Grover, and Matthew Sobek. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 6.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2015.

[151] *University District*, "Oakland and Northwood Avenues," <http://www.universitydistrict.org/northwood.php> (accessed January 25, 2014).

McKenzie's walks and canvasses yielded a sociological portrait of a landscape of small-scale neighborhood organizing. McKenzie located five organized streets in Columbus in the 1910s: "several streets have formed organizations to promote the interests of the residents on a single street or city block […] As far as can be ascertained these local organizations are all confined to the northern and western sections of the city, regions which are comparatively new, and for the most part occupied by home-owners."[152] Of these five organized streets, four were located within the present day boundaries of the University District: Northwood Avenue, Oakland Avenue, W. Ninth Avenue, and Glenmawr Avenue. McKenzie noted that Oakland, Northwood, and Glenmawr all organized to "promote street beautification," but all did so for different reasons. Residents of Northwood were concerned about property values, residents of Oakland wanted to win a prize during the city's centennial celebration, and residents of Glenmawr organized in order to protest the city's neglect of its grassy median and to urge the city to pass aesthetic improvement ordinances. West 9th, on the other hand, organized responses to perceived outside threats as well as those within the neighborhood: "The street has persistently acted as a unit to keep its western vista over the university farm free from obstruction. It has also had several experiments in cooperate (sic) action in fighting the intrusion of objectionable structures within its units."[153] That so many of Columbus' organized streets in the early twentieth century were located in the University District could be an error, a result in McKenzie's less intimate knowledge of other sections of Columbus. It also indicates an early tenuousness in the relationships between

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[152] McKenzie, *The Neighborhood*, 354.
[153] Ibid.

the University District neighborhoods, greater suburbanizing Columbus, and Ohio State. With the exception of Glenmawr, which was farther north in the District than the others, the organized streets all closely bordered the growing university.

Across the country, urban sociologists and other urban social scientists accounted for an important faction among the various groups conducting urban surveys.[154] Fanning out from Chicago and moving every few years from university to university, these mobile men produced some of the most cited and detailed social studies of prewar twentieth century cities despite not staying in any single city for very long. Another Chicago trained sociologist, Manuel Elmer completed his doctoral degree in 1914, a few years before McKenzie graduated from the same program.[155] After five year stints in Fargo, ND, and Lawrence, Kansas (at Fargo College and the University of Kansas respectively), Elmer moved to Minneapolis in 1919, where he spent seven years refining his study of the social survey, among other topics, before moving to Pittsburgh.[156] While in Minneapolis, Elmer lived in the Second Ward in what is now the Prospect Park neighborhood, at 133 Arthur Avenue Southeast, in a 3-bedroom home built in 1910.

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[154] The literature on the history of sociology and social surveys is vast. On the Chicago school's influence as its practitioners moved on to other institutions, see: Gary Lee Bowden and Jacqueline Low, *The Chicago School Diaspora: Epistemology and Substance* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013). On the Chicago School in historical context, see: Andrew Abbott, *Department & Discipline: Chicago Sociology at One Hundred* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Fred H. Matthews, *Quest for an American Sociology : Robert E. Park and the Chicago School* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977); Lee Harvey, *Myths of the Chicago School of Sociology* (Aldershot, Hants, England : Brookfield, Vt., U.S.A.: Avebury ; Gower, 1987); Rolf Lindner, *The Reportage of Urban Culture: Robert Park and the Chicago School* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Roger A. Salerno, *Sociology Noir: Studies at the University of Chicago in Loneliness, Marginality and Deviance, 1915-1935* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland &, 2007).

[155] Guide to the Manuel Conrad Elmer Papers 1907-1980, "Biographical Note," Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, < https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/scrc/findingaids/view.php?eadid=ICU.SPCL.ELMER> (accessed February 6, 2016).

[156] Ibid.

Elmer owned this home free and clear, indicating a higher socioeconomic status than others in his city and ward.[157]

Elmer's focus while in Minneapolis centered on the methodology of the community social survey, and he conducted an extensive study of the Tuttle-Columbus section of what is now the Como neighborhood, also in Ward 2, apparently at the request of that neighborhood. Elmer's and other sociologists' rather short sojourns in Minneapolis contrasted with the longer experiences of the representatives of the Tuttle-Columbus area, one of whom they quoted as saying, "Say folks, I have lived here for twenty-four years and I don't know anything about my own community."[158] Citing community concern about a range of urban issues from park space to gambling, Elmer noted that the neighborhood leaders asked the university to assist them with a self-survey and even offered payment: "It was decided that a community survey should be made. The department of sociology at the university was asked to direct the survey. This was consented to with the proviso that the community *would do the work* and provide a maximum of $250.00 for getting the results."[159] The department's request for community participation was about more than just the education of a community in survey methods; it was a true manpower issue, and it may have reflected trust issues as well. The small-scale, detailed social data collected from over 800 households for the Tuttle-Columbus survey was both labor-intensive and invasive, including questions about employment, marriage, citizenship, income, and housing.

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[157] 1920 U.S. census, Hennepin County MN, Minneapolis city population schedule, p. 71, dwelling 125, family 162, Manuel Elmer; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed February 6, http://ancestory.com.

[158] Manuel C. Elmer, "Educational Aspects of a Community Survey," *Journal of Social Forces* 2, no. 1 (1923): 2.

[159] Ibid, 3.

The survey may have been initiated by the community (we have only Elmer's account of the chain of events), but the university framed the community's ability to take on the survey themselves as destined to fail and the involvement of Sociology students as crucial for success: "Here were 120 active, alert, busy, sometimes critical, individuals (the neighborhood residents) willing to do something. This is where failure often begins. The work they were to do had however been prepared for them." Elmer went on to say that an "advanced class in Methods of Social Investigation, composed of about 40 students trained in fieldwork" teamed up with the neighborhood committee to spearhead the survey and guide the 120 neighborhood representatives through a series of plans, meetings, and survey-taking exercises, leading to the 1922 publication of fifty pages of results and several academic articles by Elmer.[160]

Pausing for a moment to imagine the pragmatic logistics involved in this partnership yields results beyond the data collected by the students and residents. 120 neighborhood residents plus 40 students (and one assumes, Manuel Elmer himself) canvassed a space housing just over 4,000 residents over the course of a few months. By their count, they "missed" only 41 families. In an age before automobiles became common, this was most certainly a walking survey, and one conducted in person in informal meetings and encounters on stoops and in front yards, surely not without conflict between community participants and members of Elmer's advanced methods class. Although the available records are silent about the ways in which these individuals negotiated their partnership, socioeconomic divisions between Elmer's advanced students

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[160] Manuel C. Elmer, *The Tuttle-Columbus Neighborhood: The Report of a Community Study, Carried on Co-operatively by the Department of Sociology of the University of Minnesota, and the People of a Growing Community in Southeast Minneapolis* (Minneapolis: University Print, 1922).

(graduate students most likely from wealthier families, but we cannot know for sure who they were) and the working-class Tuttle-Columbus residents (the largest category of employment in the data collected by Elmer et al. was "laborer") must have inflected the collaboration and the survey.[161] We know that committees were formed; specific tasks were assigned, with careful divisions kept between university experts and lay residents: as Elmer tactfully put it, "Phases of the study which required the work of trained persons were carefully done by persons equipped to do so."[162] These findings ranged from the abstract and moralizing ("Most things which are of permanent value must be worked out slowly by the persons most directly affected" and "it is in the duty of every father and mother to know their community and participate in its activities") to the concrete (literally: "there should be a viaduct across the railroad tracks.")[163] In the end, Elmer concluded, the data they collected was of value to social scientists in general and to the Tuttle-Columbus community specifically, thus seemingly the perfect balance of a public good and an academic product.

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[161] Elmer, *The Tuttle-Columbus Neighborhood.*
[162] Elmer," Educational Aspects of a Community Survey," 3.
[163] Elmer, *The Tuttle-Columbus Neighborhood.*
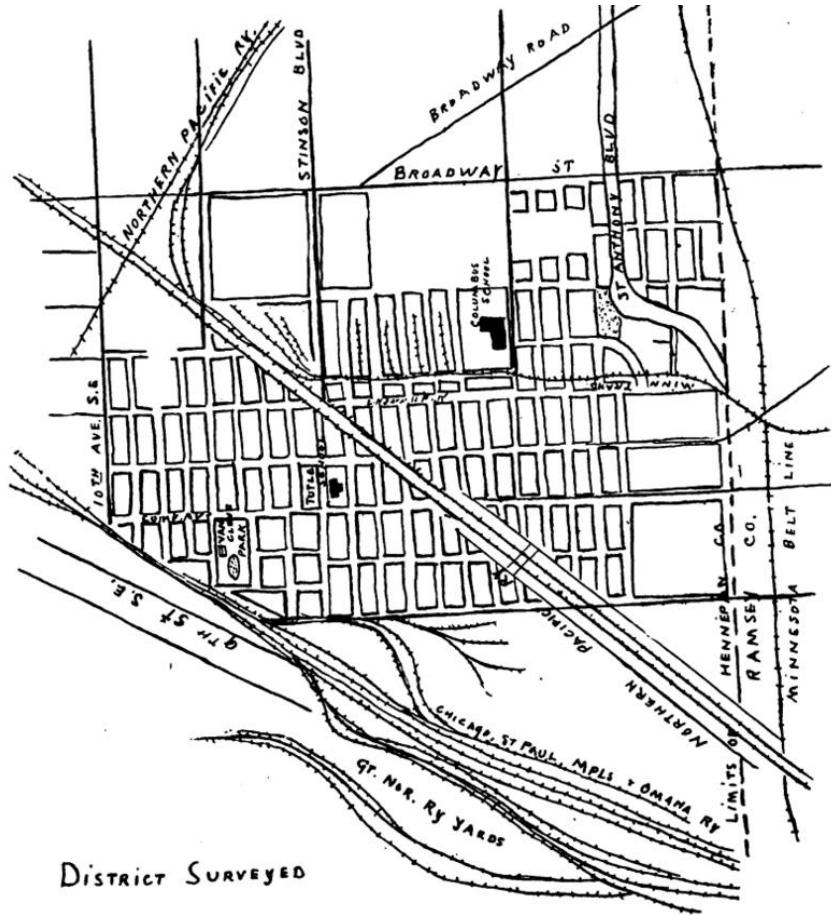
Figure 16. "The Tuttle-Columbus neighborhood (now Como) surveyed by Manuel Elmer, his students, and its residents." Source: Elmer, *The Tuttle-Columbus Neighborhood,* 6.

Yet this partnership, however "co-operatively" conducted, left its records only in the words and figures of the 40 students and one professor, as 50 pages of clinical diagnosis of neighborhood problems and reports on neighborhood demographics. The experiences of the 120 other resident-participants (and indeed, the specific tasks they were allowed to do) remain unknown, as do the details of the daily lives and experiences of the nearly 4,000 Tuttle-Columbus residents who remained uninvolved in the study beyond a casual encounter. These missing people were the ones whose school attendance

records and citizenship papers were examined so closely by others. The terms, categories, and frames were all Elmer's, carrying on a long tradition in his scholarly field.

Despite the imbalances in the imprint this project left, and indeed, because of them, this survey is emblematic of the documentation of early twentieth century university district neighborhoods. Situated in broader uncertain and social contexts (in the case of Tuttle-Columbus, the list of perceived community problems included alcohol, gambling, and threats from industrial encroachment), actors and prominent stakeholders in the neighborhood perceived the nearby university as separate from these troubling contexts and may have even looked to it as a possible source of solutions. The survey also reveals early twentieth century university districts as places patrolled and parsed by university affiliates, whether pulled there by their own academic interests, by the community, or by some combination of the two. However, the survey also reveals that when universities (via affiliated urban experts such as sociologists) deployed their expertise to record the conditions of the places around them, they separated the university at the same time from its surrounding community, foregrounding their own frames, and silencing community perspectives.

<u>Social Workers and Settlement Actors</u>

 A few years earlier in Minneapolis in 1915, 25-year-old Louise Pye too had gone door to door in the Seven Corners area of South Minneapolis in what would later be called the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood. As a member of the "Neighborhoods Committee" at the

Pillsbury settlement house, she paid monthly visits to as many families as possible. The

Pillsbury House, founded a decade earlier by prominent businessmen John and Charles

Pillsbury, was located near the intersections of Cedar and Riverside Avenues, at the

center of the neighborhood. Pye, who lived in south Minneapolis's wealthier fourth

ward, reported each month to the settlement's Executive Board, which consisted mostly

of prominent businessmen who lived in other, still farther-off sections of town, including

Marcy-Holmes, the neighborhood where Pye had been born, where the settlement's

namesake Pillsbury (father of John and Charles) had lived just a block south of Pye's

birthplace on Fifth St. SE.[164] Identified in the meeting minutes as "Miss Pye," and as

head of the Neighborhood Visiting Committee, Pye paid Cedar-Riverside residents

upwards of one hundred visits per month over the span of several years in the 1910s. Her

job title was "Friendly Visitor."[165]

Unlike McKenzie, whose findings survive in the form of his prolific urban

sociological scholarship, Pye's records are not extant, and references to her work in the

neighborhood exist only obliquely in the minutes of the Pillsbury House Board of

Directors. On October 11, 1915, they noted that: "Miss Pye had canvassed two thirds of

the district." On December 14, 1914, the secretary's minutes note: "Miss Pye reported

four hundred and fifty calls made by her in the neighborhood since September 1. She had

found many were unemployed." The reports never state how Pye described what

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[164] "M Louise Pye" 1916, Minneapolis, MN, USA. Ancestry.com. *U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995* [database on-line] (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011). For Pye's birthplace and her neighbors on 5th St. SE, see Minnesota Historical Society. Minnesota State Population Census Schedules, 1865-1905. St. Paul, MN, USA: Minnesota Historical Society, 1977. Microfilm. Reels 1-47 and 107-164.

[165] "Miss Pye's report showed that she had made 115 calls during the month," (November 9, 1914), Pillsbury Waite Neighborhood Center records, 1911-1966, Box 2, Folder: "Pillsbury House Minutes, 1911-1914."

happened during her interactions with neighborhood families, but as the head of the

"Neighborhood Committee," she was responsible for understanding the social, health-

related, and economic contexts of the people the settlement served. The title "Friendly

Visitor" belies the systematic undertones of Pye's work. She may have also delivered

Christmas flowers, but like McKenzie in Columbus, Elmer and his students, and the

schedule men in Chicago, Pye clearly kept a rigorous log of her visits and carefully

planned her methods. For example, the March 8, 1915 director's meeting minutes note:

"Following an interesting report by Miss Pye on the methods employed by neighborhood

visitors, the meeting adjourned.[166]

If she had journeyed across the Mississippi river between her birthplace and

workplace, Pye would have left a neighborhood with striking similarities to the section of

the University District Roderick McKenzie patrolled and entered-- one with equally stark

parallels to the Near West Side of Chicago. The shaded streets of southeast Minneapolis

where Pye was born had been a separate municipality until 1872--the town of St.

Anthony. As with the University area communities in Columbus, the District in which

Pye resided was also defined by its proximity to the state land-grant University, the

University of Minnesota. It was known still sometimes as St. Anthony or Old St.

Anthony or by the broad geographic moniker "Southeast," but increasingly, as the

century dawned, its identity as a University District was solidifying.[167] By 1920, Pye's

neighborhood—later called the University District and then later yet Marcy-Holmes—

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[166] Pillsbury Waite Neighborhood Center records, 1911-1966, Box 2, Folder: "Pillsbury House Minutes, 1911-1914."
[167] See references to the area as "the University District" in various ads found in the *Minneapolis Journal,* 1902–1904, Minnesota Digital Newspaper Hub, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, http://newspapers.mnhs.org (accessed February 6, 2016).

contained almost 9,500 residents, all but a few of whom were white. Most were native-born, but about 15 percent had immigrated to the U.S. Among immigrants in Marcy-Holmes, the mean year of entry to the U.S. was 1893, earlier than the overall University Alliance area's mean of 1896. By contrast, in the neighborhood where she worked immigrants made up almost 40 percent of the population in 1920 and had a mean year of entry of 1898, more recent than the District-wide average.[168] In fact, the Pillsbury House and its predecessors in the area had been founded to serve the immigrant population in the neighborhood.

Pye's work across the river at the Pillsbury settlement house in what became known as the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood was connected to the growing University of Minnesota across the Mississippi, closer to Pye's home. Indeed, the University of Minnesota's School of Social Work invited Pye to give guest lectures, and she also talked to urban Sociology students, perhaps some of the same students involved in Elmer's project. The Head worker at the Pillsbury House during part of Pye's time there, Belle Mead, served as head resident from 1917-1932, when she resigned in order to become "connected to the Department of Sociology at the University of Minnesota."[169] Though affiliated with the Pillsbury settlement house, Pye's, Mead's, and others connections to the University show the interconnected interests of settlement houses and universities. Indeed, in Chicago the Hull-House shared similar ties with the University of Chicago and its departments of Sociology and School of Social Work. The web of connections

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[168] IPUMS-USA, Steven Ruggles, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Josiah Grover, and Matthew Sobek. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 6.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2015.
[169] Mary Hale, "A History of Pillsbury Settlement House," Pillsbury Waite Neighborhood Center records, 1911-1966, Box 3, Folder "Pillsbury Settlement House."

included those among the growing networks of early twentieth century U.S. settlement houses. Pillsbury House founders communicated with Jane Addams at the Hull House and hosted Hull House visitors. In this way, despite their differing histories and missions, settlement houses and urban universities shared (and, importantly, as scholars have noted, sometimes contested) the turf of their outreach and scholarship as well as a broader role in the urbanizing, quickly changing early twentieth century industrial cities: as some of the longest-lasting "neighbors" in their urban settings. Over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, this role allowed them a disproportionate influence over the future of their cities via the information and knowledge they produced and disseminated, the social connections they fostered, and the real estate they slowly amassed.

Government Workers: Local, State, and Federal Surveyors

The Hull House study discussed at the chapter's outset marked one of the earliest federal surveys of urban conditions, but as the twentieth century progressed, such studies proliferated at every level of government. Between the Hull House survey and the landmark 1940 Census, which was the first U.S. Census to include a detailed housing schedule, a wide range of local surveys happened in cities across the country, sponsored by emergent city departments of planning and city engineers. Rampant depression-era municipal tax evasion made the collection of tax and real property values a nationwide project. In addition, during the 1930s, the WPA co-sponsored numerous municipal survey projects. For example, in Minneapolis, City Engineer Herman Olson teamed up with

107

WPA workers to measure a range of urban problems from house fires to code violations to juvenile delinquency.[170]

At the federal level, the United States Census represented the largest scale urban survey undertaken. Over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, the Census, which had previously only asked questions about people, added housing-related questions and, by 1940, an entire housing Census. The massive and (aspirationally, at least) all-encompassing composition of the Census required that federal Census administrators utilize local personnel. In contrast to trained sociologists or social workers, the Census apparatus included procedures to transform ordinary people into quasi-urban experts. Census officials devoted entire binders and booklets to the selection and training procedures for enumerators, who were supposed to be selected on the basis of their having passed multiple tests and worked their way through numerous "narrative examples" designed to test their capabilities of correctly enumerating thorny situations, including the following tricky details from a 1940 workbook: "Dr. Owens uses his sun-parlor throughout the year as an office," "the house at 1418 Elm St. is locked," and "he doubts very much that the house had been built for use by more than one family."[171] They also instituted an increasingly elaborate system of checks and balances involving supervision and oversight of enumerators.

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[170] See, for example, Herman Olson, Hennepin (County) History Museum, Box B47: "Government Services," Folder: "B47.38," *The Minneapolis Property and Housing Survey*, June 19, 1934. Olson and the WPA teamed up to produce a variety of surveys and results found in assorted files at the Hennepin History Museum and the City of Minneapolis Tower Archives.

[171] Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Training Narrative—Housing," in Binder Vol. II: Enumeration Schedules and Instructions—Instructions and Forms for Processing Through Operation J, in "Scrapbooks Relating to the Census of Housing, 1940," Vol 2 of 4, P1-161, Entry 235, "Administrative Records of the Bureau of the Census—Assistant Director for Demographic Fields Records of the Population and Housing Division Scrapbooks," RG 29: Records of the Bureau of the Census, NARA DC.

As outlined by the Census, these procedures for training and selecting enumerators were onerous on paper, but in practice, the procedures were unevenly followed. To the frustration of central Census administrators, local authorities and supervisors regularly disregarded the guidelines and accepted less qualified enumerators, whether due to time constraints, local indifference, nepotism, or simply problems of supply. Similarly, enumeration district supervisors did not always perform the required cross-checking of different enumerators' work as instructed by the central Field Division officers.[172]

Census training and publicity materials anticipated public distrust of Census takers, perhaps reflecting known issues with data collection and interactions left out of results tables and summaries. In 1930, Pittsburgh's chief statistician Hal Correll authored a playlet "The Census Taker Comes," which was performed in public and parochial schools by over 70,000 schoolchildren in front of their parents to prepare them to be welcoming and open with Census enumerators. The script included stage directions for the recalcitrant householder ("to be played by a capable youngster") such as "she regards him with unfriendly eyes," "scathingly," "defensively," "bridling," and "petulantly" which might have emerged from Correll's own experience conducting municipal surveys. In what was essentially a morality play, the householder's stance eventually morphed into

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[172] References to these issues are woven the administrative files relating to the 1930-1950 Censuses. For one of the best examples of central census complaints about enumerator training and practices, see the Memorandum from Gertrude Bancroft to Dr. Shryrock, "Subject: Report on Census Training Program," April 25, 1950, in Folder: "1950 Census – Field Training," Box: "Administrative Records of the Bureau of the Census-Records of the Assistant Director for Demographic Fields, Records of the Population and Housing Division, General Records, 1947-1956, Filed Training-Sampling Plans, Box 1, P1-161, Entry 234," Record Group 29, NARA DC.

"eagerly," "earnestly," and "impressed"--all traits the Census desired each household respondent display in his or her interactions with the Census taker.[173]

In the 1900-1940 Censuses, increasing numbers of these enumerators were educated women not dissimilar from women such as Louise Pye and other settlement workers:

> The number of women enumerators has increased rapidly during the last three successive censuses, and indications are that more of them will be engaged in 1930 than ever before. Enumerators in the cities work for 2 weeks...while those in the rural districts are allowed one month...The pay averages from $5 to $8 per day. Women of high educational and clerical qualifications are often willing to work for the temporary period whereas men of corresponding ability are already well-appointed.[174]

We know little about who exactly enumerated the Census, for local offices coordinated the hiring of enumerators. In 1940, the Bureau publicized average figures that allow a glimpse of who enumerated the Census. In 1940, for example, on average, female enumerators were older than male enumerators. Male enumerators had an average age of 41, but most enumerators were between 20 and 29 years old. Only 2 percent of enumerators in 1920 were non-white, compared to 11 percent of the U.S. population that year (as enumerated by the Census).[175] From this information, coupled with Census hiring preferences for literate, experienced clerical workers, we know that with variation, the average prewar U.S. Census enumerator was a young, educated, white, male. On

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[173] See the memorandum and script in Folder, "P-2 Playlet- The Census Man Visits Ma Pitt: 1930," in Box: "Publicity Materials File of the Statistical Research Division, F-4 (Fourteenth, 1920) Census Printed Mate. To S-5 Supervisors Districts Sets of Maps, 1930, Box 232, P1-161, Entry 215," RG 29, NARA.

[174] Bureau of the Census, "Women Employed In Taking The Census," December 29, 1929, 3, in "Public Materials File of the Statistical Research Division, W-2 What the Bureau of the Census Does, The Permanent Bureau, 1928 to Publicity-Census of 1940, Box 234, PI-161, Entry 215. Department of Commerce, RG 29, NARA DC.

[175] Ibid, and IPUMS-USA, Steven Ruggles, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Josiah Grover, and Matthew Sobek. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 6.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2015.

average, these enumerators likely did not often talk to a householder in their own demographic.

The discrepancies between the composition of the U.S. population and that of the enumerators may explain some of measures the Census administrators took to try to publicize the Census. In an article, 1930 Director of the Census William M. Steuart urged the men of America to "tell the wife" what she needed to know to give accurate information to enumerators: "the 'woman in the home' will in many cases be the only person with whom the Census Bureau will establish contact." [176] Outreach to women also included the school plays mentioned earlier as well additional in-school efforts to teach children how to anticipate and understand the Census enumeration process.

Figure 17. "Male enumerators interviewing women." From publicity photographs taken in 1939 during the U.S. Census Bureau's trial Census in Indiana. Source: National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C. RG 29. Box: "Publicity Materials File of the Statistical Research Division, W-2 What the Bureau of the Census Does, The Permanent Bureau, 1928-Publicity-Census of 1940, Box 232, P1-161, Entry 215," Folder: "Publicity- Census of 1940."

These everyday interactions, were, of course, left out of the Census records themselves.

Yet enumerator letters and newspaper editorials make it clear that mutual hostility often

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[176] William M. Steuart, "The Woman in the Home," news release sent out for the 1930 Census, RG 29, NARA DC.

characterized the meetings between tired, frustrated enumerators canvassing unfamiliar

districts and neighborhood residents responding to invasive questions with ambiguity,

resistance, or downright refusal. One 1930 Census enumerator wrote to his supervisor to

express his displeasure about the conditions he encountered and congratulate himself for

his endurance:

> I have worked my district faithfully and conscientiously, at least 10 hours a day...I
> have been thoroughly handicapped in many ways...There are small dilapidated
> shacks where the people speak no English at all. There is one house which has no
> number...I have had, in many of the houses, no welcome, and no convenience. I
> had to sit in backyards, put my book on a box, or my knee, and write, but I have
> persisted...and do not wish to complain.[177]

Another wrote in to defend his mistake of originally leaving out a family living in a

garage: "I can hardly be expected to apologize for failing to peek into all the garage

windows in my district for a man instead of a bus."[178] The writers' complaints revealed

not necessarily the hard work and persistence the writers intended but the vast differences

in experience and cultures that separated them from the conditions and people they

encountered while doing their work as enumerators. Several more optimistic enumerators

referred to experiences interacting with such different people and neighborhoods as

"educational." Yet another 1930 enumerator wrote in to say that the U.S. Bureau of

Census should not expect a "complete" count when it paid enumerators so little.[179]

Enumerators' complaints largely centered on the difficult job of counting and

encountering people so unlike themselves. The enumerators who wrote in to share

positive experiences made comments that indicated they had been assigned districts that

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[177] Letter for J Friday, letters from 1930 Census enumerators, RG 29, NARA DC.
[178] Letters from the 1930 Census Enumerators, NARA DC, RG 29.
[179] Ibid.

felt pleasantly familiar to them, such as the enumerator who wrote that "Folks [...] treated

me delightfully. I was invited to lunch with the family several times and twice I had

afternoon tea," and the other who commented that "Until now, I did not know there were

so many nice people...in my neighborhood."[180] *Who* was counted hinged upon the

assumptions and norms enumerators bore with them as they canvassed districts unlike

their own.   As with the studies and records of sociologists and social workers, the vast

Census records we have to tell the untold social histories of university districts contain

untold layers themselves: of the people not counted, the contested encounters, and the

hostility and deception enumerators regularly experienced in the course of their counts.

<u>Real Estate Professionals</u>

Real estate professionals were also among the ranks of urban experts such as

sociologists, settlement and social workers, and government survey takers canvassing

prewar urban neighborhoods.[181] When the federal Home Owners Loan Corporation

(HOLC) produced its infamous redline maps of U.S. cities in the late 1930s, it did so in

collaboration with local real estate professionals who were already engaged in similar

efforts, as scholars have shown.[182] HOLC and other federal housing agencies such as the

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[180] Ibid, Letters from Nettie Newman and Marie Gorham.

[181] On how real estate professionals produced urban and suburban knowledge and conceptions of good and bad neighborhoods, see Paige Glotzer, "Exclusion in Arcadia: How Suburban Developers Circulated Ideas about Discrimination, 1890–1950," *Journal of Urban History* 41, no. 3 (2015): 479-494.

[182] Amy E. Hillier, "Residential Security Maps and Neighborhood Appraisals: The Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Case of Philadelphia," *Social Science History* 29 (Summer 2005): 2007-33. On the history and methodology of HOLC mappers, see also: Robert K. Nelson, "Introduction," Redlining Richmond, < http://dsl.richmond.edu/holc/pages/home> (accessed February 6, 2016).

FHA also relied upon local universities for socioeconomic and housing data.[183] As the

federal funding for housing and mortgage policy gained traction in the 1930s and 1940s,

the need for local housing, neighborhood, and real estate data also increased. Engaged in

their own escalating projects of professionalization, local real estate men met this need

with detailed booklets such as the one published by the Columbus Real Estate Board in

1930.[184] For this survey, the board divided Columbus and surrounding suburbs into 97

districts and enlisted two men to survey the housing units, both vacant and under

construction, in each district. The Board noted that it only had 150 total men available,

and so in some cases, a team of men surveyed two districts instead of one. In instructions

to the men, the Board wrote "we appreciate that we are asking you to do a tedious job"

but one important for "stabilizing building operations and rumors about vacancies [...]

and making real estate a more liquid commodity."[185]

From sociological studies of social conditions to settlement reports to Census

summaries to real estate valuations, the sheer amount of information available about U.S.

cities skyrocketed in the decades prior to WWII. This information was not neutral, nor

was it complete in any sense of the word. Given their proximity to the institutions at the

epicenter of such intensive data collection, university districts and their residents

underwent particularly frequent analysis.

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[183] For example, the HOLC federal files on Columbus drew upon data collected by Ohio State University.
[184] The Columbus Real Estate Board, *Real Estate Survey of Columbus, Ohio and Suburbs as of September 15, 1930* (Columbus, OH: Columbus Real Estate Board, 1930), 6, in folder, "Columbus, OH Security Map and Area Descriptions (Master File)," Box #104: "Home Owners' Loan Corporation: Records Relating to the City Survey File, 1935-40, Ohio," RG 195: Records of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, NARA College Park.
[185] The Columbus Real Estate Board, *Real Estate Survey of Columbus, Ohio and Suburbs as of September 15, 1930*, 6.

II: Data and Results: What They Found in University Districts

What was the yield of such exhaustive efforts to document the city? The simple answer to that question (and the one which emphasizes the limitations and lacunae of such studies) is that they found what they were looking for. Real estate assessors determined housing and land values, social scientists persisted until they got the answers they expected to their questions, and Census enumerators returned again and again (per their instructions) to try to find a time when the householder was at home. Thus, paradoxically, universities either directly produced or indirectly inflected the sources of historical data which can tell us the most about the urban histories of university districts from a lens which attempts to foreground the history from the neighborhoods' perspective rather than the universities' growth and development.

Yet by examining what these urban professionals found out about university districts in particular compared with the wider patterns and contexts they studied, it is still possible to use the data they collected (as well as the data they did not collect), the questions asked and unasked, to uncover an alternative social history of university districts, one which acknowledges and draws from but does not foreground the institutional contexts of these places. Ironically, the data collected by such studies and institutions is all that is available for such an undertaking. Using the types of sources produced by the surveyors discussed in Part I, we can glean partial glimpses of the common and different prewar characteristics and patterns of change experienced by the places which were becoming university districts.

Districts of Contradiction and Fine-Grained Difference

The canvassers of Chicago's Near West Side, Columbus' University District, and Minneapolis' University Alliance neighborhoods found districts of contradiction, by which I mean neighborhoods characterized by fine-grained differences and distinctions between today's neighborhood areas. In each of the three cities, closer geographic analysis at the level of streets and blocks yielded more differences, not more similarities.

In Minneapolis, leafy Prospect Park, which recently billed itself as an "eclectic academic enclave designed by denizens of the University of Minnesota's school of architecture," fought off unwanted developments and residents to protect its status as home to mostly upper-middle-class and wealthy white homeowners.[186] Less than a mile away, the Marcy-Holmes district found itself a meeting grounds between undergraduate and graduate student boarders and the city's aging elite, its larger homes used both by single-families and as large boarding houses, with its east river flats occupied by some of Minneapolis' poorest workers. Across the river, Cedar-Riverside was home to lower-income residents of a variety of religions and ethnicities; these recent immigrants and migrants, some newly arrived, lived in search of affordable housing close to downtown industry. These differences crossed wards and census enumeration districts but followed railroad lines and the contours of the river, the district a patchwork of difference. The area's shared connection to the growing University of Minnesota was its only common

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[186] "New Season of Minneapolis Walking Tours Begins," *Insight News*, May 12, 2015 http://www.insightnews.com/community/13565-new-season-of-minneapolis-walking-tours-begins> (accessed February 6, 2016). See "Race War Started in Prospect Park: 'We Do Not Want You,' White Residents Tell the Negroes," *Minneapolis Tribune*, October 22, 1909.

characteristic, but prewar differences among sections of the district would affect postwar divergences in each section's relationship to that institution.

Unlike in Minneapolis, where the neighborhoods closest geographically to campus were poorer, in Columbus the neighborhoods directly abutting campus to its east were considered moderately desirable, with poorer neighborhoods to the north and south of campus. In Columbus in particular, fine-grained distinctions at the level of blocks separated sections housing elite professionals such as doctors and lawyers from those which were home to clerks and policeman from those which housed cooks, railroad workers, and factory workers.

Ethnically more than socioeconomically diverse, Chicago's Near West Side, on the other hand, housed new arrivals in Chicago, whether from the southern United States, southern and eastern Europe, or Puerto Rico. In contrast to the districts in Minneapolis and Columbus, which were or had recently been considered among the wealthier or more desirable neighborhoods within those cities, the Near West Side was selected for the Hull House's settlement outreach precisely because it represented one of the neediest sections of Chicago. Far from homogenous, each of its sections, however, also differed at the level of neighborhoods, enumeration districts, and blocks.

Segregated, Integrated Districts

Most enumeration districts in the three case-study neighborhoods were predominantly white in the prewar censuses and studies, as was the U.S. in those years.

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For example, while the United States was 89.5 percent white in the 1920 Census and 9.9 percent black, the city of Columbus contained significantly fewer non-white residents: it was enumerated 90.3 percent white. The least diverse of the three comparison cities, Minneapolis was 99.3 percent white in 1920 and only .6 black, with a negligible percentages of other races.

Perhaps surprisingly, given its current population composition, the city of Chicago was proportionately less racially diverse than Columbus, Ohio, with 95 percent of its population enumerated as white and only 4 percent as black. Of course, Chicago in 1920 was much larger than Columbus and Minneapolis. With its 2.6 million people and over 108,000 black residents, Chicago's non-white population was the equivalent of a third of Minneapolis's total population (which was 378,000 in 1920) and one half of Columbus' approximately 234,000 residents.[187]

All three districts under examination were less diverse than the nation as a whole. Two of the three were also less diverse than their respective cities. The Near West Side of Chicago was 96 percent white and only 2.7 percent black in 1920. The University District in Columbus was 96.7 percent white and only 2.4 percent black. Only the University Alliance neighborhoods in Minneapolis were more integrated than their city on the whole: 97.7 percent white compared with 99 percent citywide.

In Columbus, enumeration district 227, bounded by Seventh Avenue, the Conrail railroad tracks, Fourth Avenue, and Fourth St. was an exception. Most individuals

[187] IPUMS-USA, Steven Ruggles, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Josiah Grover, and Matthew Sobek. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 6.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2015. All of the analysis in this section comes from analysis of this dataset.

enumerated in ED 227 were categorized as black or mulatto, but the ED contained a

sizable white population as well.
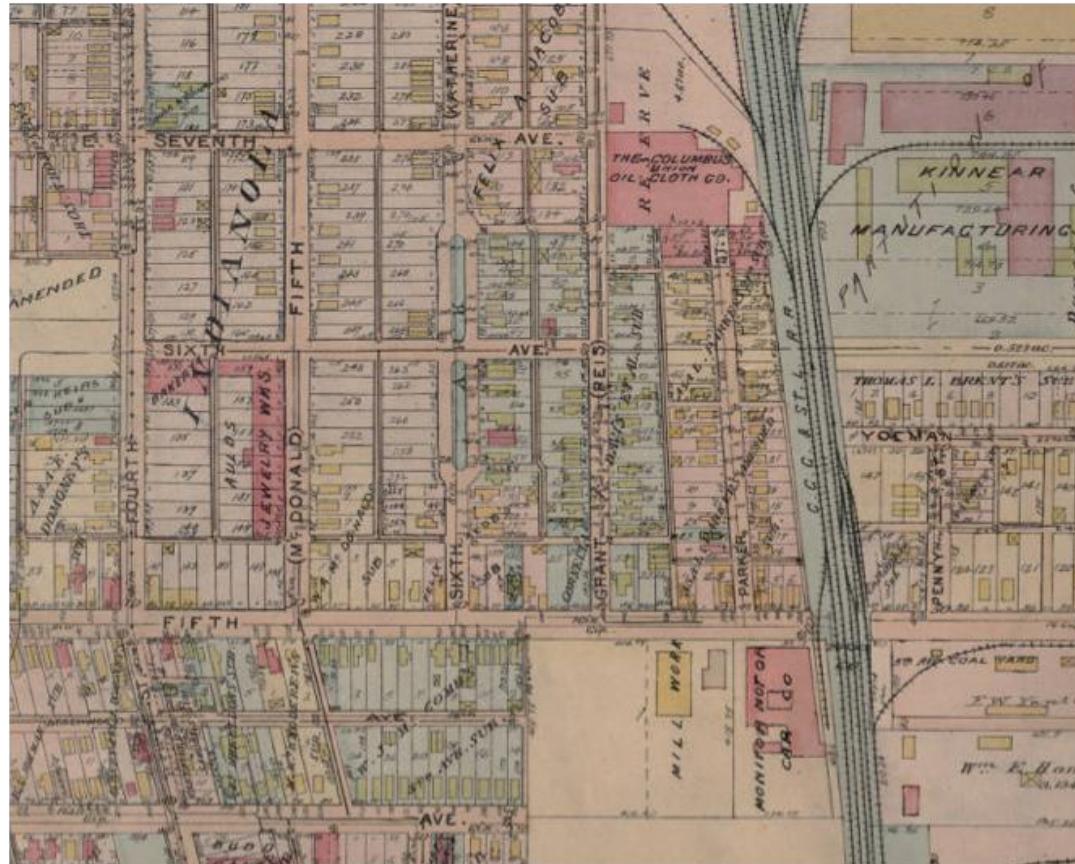
Figure 18. "ED 227 in Weinland Park, Columbus." Weinland Park was the most diverse neighborhoods in the University District in 1920. Within Weinland Park, one enumeration district, ED 227, shown above, was mostly black. However, within the same neighborhood, ED 234 contained only whites. Source: "1920 Baist Real Estate Atlas for Columbus, Ohio." G. Wm. Baist. Columbus Metropolitan Library. Columbus and Ohio Map Collection. <http://digital-collections.columbuslibrary.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/maps/id/33/rec/91> (accessed February 6, 2015).

Within Columbus' overwhelmingly working-class white, native-born 16th ward, analysis

of neighborhoods and enumeration districts shows that only a few enumeration districts

were *entirely* white. Most enumeration districts and most neighborhoods housed an even

spread of very small numbers of non-white residents. In other words, the small number

of blacks enumerated in the ward were not concentrated on a given block or street. For example, in Old North Columbus, EDs 274 and 275 contained less than five black individuals compared with over 700 and over 500 white individuals. ED 278 housed 15 blacks and over 700 whites. The scattering of black families in different enumeration districts throughout the ward shows that black families were able to live in and move into all sections of the University District and were in the process of doing so, probably as they left some of the predominantly black neighborhoods of south-central and east-central Columbus. In marked contrast to the racially restricted suburbs being platted at the same moment of time on the outskirts of Columbus, the University District neighborhoods represented an option outside the old center-city of Columbus for non-white residents.

In Minneapolis, on the other hand, the even more miniscule number of African-Americans enumerated in the 1920 census clustered in one neighborhood, the contemporary Cedar-Riverside district. In 1920, Cedar-Riverside was 5 percent black and 94 percent white, notable in a city enumerated as less than 1 percent African-American in that census year. Indeed, several of the University Alliance's neighborhoods were either entirely white in 1920 or housed just a few African-Americans. Chicago's Near West Side, black residents lived mostly in today's West Loop neighborhood, but also in the Tri-Taylor, Illinois Medical District, United Center, and University Village areas. Though it included sections enumerated as entirely white (for example, the Maxwell Street neighborhood), Chicago's Near West Side had more integrated sections than the

Columbus or Minneapolis districts, a characteristic supported by qualitative accounts of the area's composition.

Thus, to the extent that they offered some opportunities for non-white residents, these university districts represented exceptions within largely segregated cities. Yet the segregation within the districts (within and between blocks, enumeration districts, and neighborhoods) was more typical of the composition of early twentieth century cities. Whether the neighborhoods were imagined as integrated or segregated, both conceptualizations were oversimplifications of finer-grained distinctions.

<u>Redlined Districts</u>

Perhaps no source better contextualized these university districts within their broader metropolitan areas than the HOLC insurance maps which produced by that organization in conjunction with local real estate professionals and mortgage brokers. Using a classification system of A "Best," B "Still Desirable," C "Definitely Declining," and "Hazardous," these men rated residential sections of numerous U.S. cities based on insurance security throughout the 1930s.[188] The HOLC maps of the Columbus, Minneapolis, and Chicago districts for the most part did not endorse lending in the case-study areas (with a few, notable exceptions). Other scholars have well documented the

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[188] See Robert K. Nelson, "Introduction," Redlining Richmond, < http://dsl.richmond.edu/holc/pages/home> (accessed February 6, 2016); Kenneth T. Jackson, "Race, Ethnicity, and Real Estate Appraisal: "the Home Owners Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration", *Journal of Urban History* 6, no. 4 (August 1980): 419.

prejudices of HOLC insurers against specific groups and uses.[189] However, more than

any other neighborhood characteristics, HOLC insurers feared changing neighborhoods

as unstable for investment (change often meant racial change specifically but sometimes

meant change and uncertainty in broader terms.)

The HOLC maps also reveal the ways in which adjacent institutions affected

perceived values of place. In Minneapolis, HOLC descriptions (which accompanied the

maps as explanatory devices) marked the Prospect Park area as desirable (rated B) due to

its popularity among university faculty, even when its raters acknowledged issues such as

the need for rehabilitation of older homes:

> This area is an old developed section of Minneapolis and for many years there
> was a great demand for homes here by University professors which continues to
> some degree. The district is approximately 40 years old. There are many old
> houses in this section, but many new ones have been built [...] There is
> considerable rehabilitation needed. This area is close to the University of
> Minnesota [...] It has every modern conveniences and an atmosphere of culture
> prevails [...]This district is occupied mostly by professors and graduates of the
> University of Minnesota, and others whose income is derived from the University.
> It is a very desirable place for this class of people.[190]

For these HOLC map-makers, the "atmosphere of culture" leant by Minnesota

faculty and graduates outweighed potential negative factors such older central city

housing in area B21 (see Figure 19). However, the HOLC descriptions of several

adjacent areas reflected the ways in which proximity to the University could cause a

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[189] Kristen B. Crossney and David W. Bartelt, "Residential Security, Risk, and Race: The Home Owner's
Loan Corporation and Mortgage Access in Two Cities," *Urban Geography* 26, no. 8 (2005): 707-736. Amy
E. Hillier, "Residential Security Maps and Neighborhood Appraisals: The Home Owners' Loan Corporation
and the Case of Philadelphia," *Social Science History* 29 (Summer 2005): 2007-33; Jackson, "Race,
Ethnicity, and Real Estate Appraisal," 419-52.
[190] Guy W. Lalone et al., "Realty Map of Minneapolis, MN—Description of Areas," in Folder,
"Minneapolis," Records of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Home Owners' Loan Corporation,
Records Relating to the City Survey File, 1935-1940, Box: "Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri," RG 195.
NARA College Park.

neighborhood to receive a negative rating. In the case of one section of Stadium Village

rated C (See C13 in Figure 19), the HOLC descriptions noted undesirable characteristics:

> The area immediately south of the University grounds is an old established residential district which is gradually becoming an undesirable field for mortgage loaning because of the development of industries on the east, business on the north and the encroachment of the University southwest between this area and the riving...This area is developing slowly into a rooming house district, its chief desirability is its proximity to the University.[191]

In contrast, the descriptions of the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood (which was

rated D, or redlined—see D5 on the map) did not mention the University at all. Instead,

insurers downgraded the area for its ethnic and racial diversity as well as the age of

structures. Institutional development, particularly of hospitals, is mentioned as a negative

factor:

> This area was at one time occupied by many Germans, Irish and Scandinavian families of the so called middle class, many of them laborers and wage earners and small businessmen. For the past 20 years there has been no new development. Hospitals, parks and apartments have invaded it...At the present time, many Jews and Scandinavians and negroes reside in the easterly half of this area. The westerly half has many of the shifting population occupying the cheap apartments and rows. Down in the southeast corner of the area near the Adams school there is a considerably large negro settlement. The whole area is close the business center of the city.[192]

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[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid.
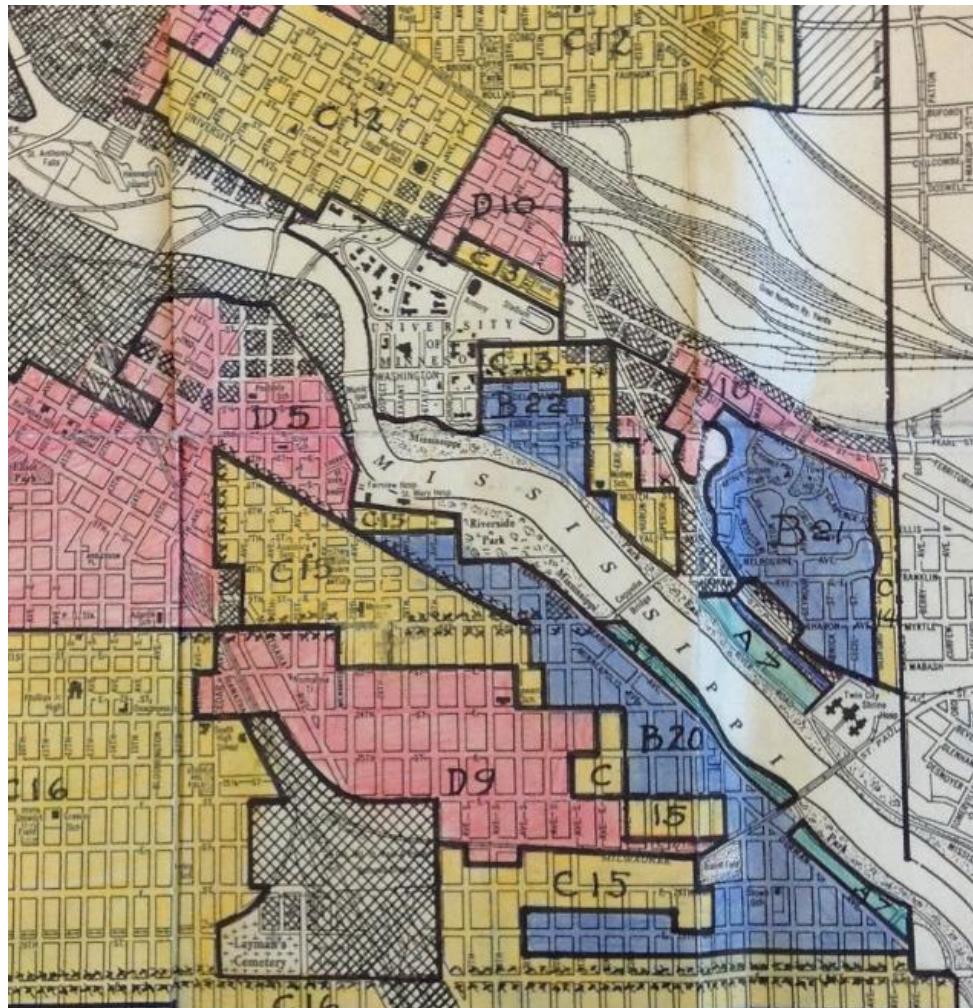
Figure 19. "HOLC Map of Minneapolis University Alliance and Surrounds." Source: Digitized by the author from Folder, "Minneapolis," Records of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Records Relating to the City Survey File, 1935-1940, Box: "Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri," RG 195. NARA College Park.

These variations in Minneapolis showed how neighborhood demography mattered more to HOLC insurers than proximity to the university, but also how the university and its student renters affected neighborhoods. The range of ratings from B to C to D revealed how HOLC insurers saw non-student professionals and faculty as the most desirable group (as in the first example, in Prospect Park), followed by student renters (the Stadium

Village example), followed last by non-student immigrants, non-whites, and low-income residents (the Cedar-Riverside example.)

My case-study university districts contained sections which represented the range of negative ratings (none were A-rated). The entire Near West Side of Chicago was rated D, and Columbus' University District was mostly rated C and B. The Minneapolis neighborhoods, shown above, varied from B to D rated. The C-rated sections best epitomized the defensive, shifting identities of prewar university districts. Situated adjacent to redlined rings around the central city, C-rated university district sections were often marked by the ambivalence of map-makers uncertain of the area's future but perhaps hopeful that University influence would prevail over other neighborhood changes viewed as less desirable, such as industrial development or racial change. They summed up their uncertainty with the C-rating, writing, as they did of Minneapolis' Marcy-Holmes section: "It has seen its best days although it is well located for residential purposes, being close the University of Minnesota."[193] The uncertainty of the HOLC map-makers, who were much more confident in many of their other metropolitan descriptions, was connected to these university districts' identities as neighborhoods in flux, defensive of a shifting twentieth century identity.

<u>Tenuous Districts, Defensive Districts</u>

In Columbus, unusually restrictive deeds from the same era reflected not a stable, well-established suburb, but an urban area in flux and uncertain about its future. In the

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[193] Ibid.

Indianola-Summit plat, all transactions bore restrictions instilled by the area's original

platter, William Neil. A 1913 deed from Henry Neil Trustee to Margaret and Alice

Poulton provides one of the earliest available examples of the stock language used for all

Indianola-Summit transactions of that decade and referred to with a shortened phrase in

subsequent years' transactions. Although the deed does not include the kinds of racial

restrictions that were common during this era, its restrictions prohibited a variety of

industrial uses and enact similar setback and cost of construction provisions used

elsewhere for early zoning:

> Grantees [...] shall never manufacture or sell, or permit or authorize anyone else
> to manufacture or sell, upon the said premises above described, or any part
> thereof, for any purpose whatsoever, any spiritous, alcoholic or intoxicating liquor
> of any kind or description whatever, or any wine, ale, beer or malt liquor of any
> kind or description whatever; and it also expressly agreed by and between said
> Granter and said Grantees[...] shall not at any time carry on or allow any person or
> persons to carry on upon said premises, or any part thereof, any slaughterhouse,
> tannery, fertilizer or bone factory, soap factory, brick yard or brick kilns for the
> manufacture of bricks; nor shall at any time permit the soil of said premises to be
> used for any manufacturing purposes whatsoever, and that no dwelling or
> business house or structure shall be erected on said premises, or any part thereof
> [...] that shall cost less than Twenty-five hundred dollars, and that any dwelling
> [...] shall have its front wall not less than twenty feet from the front line of the
> lot.[194]

Quoted at length, this restriction reflected Columbus' place nationally as a

stronghold of Prohibition and the early University District's elites' possible positions as

members of the anti-immigrant coalition backing Prohibition.[195] In their detail and

specificity, the restrictions on industrial uses (tanneries, brick factories, and the like) hint

at a University District threatened by industrial development. The "obnoxious uses"

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[194] Deed of Sale from Henry Neil Trustee to Margaret and Alice Poulton, 14 November 1913 (Recorded December 12, 1913), Franklin County, Ohio, County Recorder's Office, Columbus, OH.
[195] Daniel Okrent, *Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010).

referred to in deed restrictions centered upon worries about industrial and commercial

development rather than the neighboring university's expansion and encroachment. [196]

Over the course of the twentieth century, deindustrialization eliminated the likelihood of

factory development in the University District. In the prewar District, then, just as in the

contemporary District, residents debated best land-uses and took actions to block

perceived obnoxious ones. Postwar and contemporary popular memories and narratives

of a pre-WWII neighborhood Golden Age assume that the prewar District was a bucolic

suburb, when in fact it was an urbanizing, industrializing neighborhood wary of

surrounding brickyards and factories.

University District deeds may have lacked racial restrictions, but these restrictions

blanketed surrounding inner-ring suburbs. For example, every suburban mortgage

approved by one of the largest banks in the region at that time, the Columbus Citizens

Trust and Savings Bank, specifically prohibited grantees to rent or sell their homes to

blacks. Focusing on private sector real estate development during the 1920s, P.B. Stach

described how developers speculated on real estate and platted racially restrictive

neighborhoods in what later became the city of Columbus through annexation.[197] HOLC

real estate appraisal maps show that most sections of the University District were rated as

"declining" in 1936 with some sections rated "still desirable."[198] No sections of the

University District received a rating of "A," but notably, none received a "D" or

[196] Deed of Sale from the Chas. F. Johnson Realty, Co. to J.M. Stoughton, August 8, 1917 (Recorded August 15, 1917), Franklin County, Ohio, County Recorder's Office, Columbus, OH.

[197] P.B. Stach,"Deed Restrictions and Subdivision Development in Columbus, OH, 1900-1970," *Journal of Urban History* 15, no. 1 (1988): 42-68.

[198] See Columbus redline map (no section descriptions available) in Folder, "Columbus," Records of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Records Relating to the City Survey File, 1935-1940, Box 1: "Ohio," RG 195. NARA College Park.

"redlined" rating. The ring of redlined sections around the south and eastern University

District suggests a neighborhood struggling to hold onto a tenuous and aspirational

"suburban" identity in the midst of the rapid real suburban development and facing the

real possibilities of population shifts from Columbus' black population hemmed into the

center city neighborhoods farther to the south of the District and further industrial

development.

Early twentieth century neighborhood organizing in the University District also

suggests tensions between sections of the neighborhood and urbanization patterns in

Columbus. McKenzie described a city in flux in his study. A 1912 newspaper article

described the formation of the Indianola Improvement Association and gave this

description of the group: "The Indianola dwellers appreciate their blessings and intend by

every means to perpetuate and enhance them. With these ends in view, the Indianola

Improvement Association has been organized[…]There is a monthly meeting[…]at the

school house for the transaction of business, and it is hoped to have addresses presented

upon problems of interest to the society."[199]   Examined in the context of broader urban

changes in Columbus, the intensive neighborhood organizing (in the form of associations,

organized streets, and restrictive covenants attached to deeds) in the University District

suggests not a pastoral suburb, but a District defensive of a tenuous identity.

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[199] "What Man and Nature Have Done for Indianola," *Columbus Dispatch*, Local, September 22, 1912.

<u>Districts of Renters, Roomers, Lodgers, and Boarders</u>

In 1920, 45.6 percent of household heads owned their homes nationally and 51.6 percent rented.[200] In Columbus' University District, these figures were a bit lower. 43 percent owned, and 57 percent rented. On the Near West Side of Chicago, the contrast with national figures was starker. 86 percent rented, and just 14 percent owned their homes. In the University Alliance area, 68 percent rented and 32 percent of residents owned their homes.[201]

In University Districts in particular, in popular memory, the tag homeownership or owner-occupied frequently connotes single family homeownership. However, some homeowners had upwards of 3 lodgers within what appeared in city directories or official Census counts as an owner-occupied single family home. For example, in Columbus, at 39 W. Maynard Avenue, Frank and Dorothy Howard and their two teenage sons had four lodgers apparently unrelated to them: three women and a man (a saleslady, a nurse, and two stenographers, respectively.) Nathaniel Rhoades, a white carpenter, lived with his wife at the home they owned (with a mortgage), 66 E. 7th Ave. and lodged five female boarders employed in various professions and ranging in age from 20 to 45. At 124 W. 8th St, 59-year-old widow Laura Rathburn, who owned her home with a mortgage, rented to two men in their twenties (a salesman and a stenographer) and a 33 year old woman who worked as an "office girl." By April that year, Rathburn sold the property to her two

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[200] IPUMS-USA, Steven Ruggles, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Josiah Grover, and Matthew Sobek. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 6.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2015.
[201] Ibid.

daughters, Mabel and Norma Rathburn, who owned the home until 1933. Laura Rathburn was still running her lodging house as of the 1930 Census and had expanded the number of boarders to six.

Examining the living arrangements of unrelated boarders and lodgers in this way gives us a close look at the varied dynamics of dwelling composition at the neighborhood level and also at the ways in which a dichotomous understanding of "renter-occupied" vs. "owner-occupied" cannot account for actual household compositions in urban areas. In Minneapolis' Cedar-Riverside neighborhood, of the 2,191 boarders, lodgers, and roomers, only 413 of them (roughly 19 percent) lived in an owner-occupied dwelling. In Como, where there were only 133 individual lodgers, most of them (88) lived in owner-occupied dwellings. In Marcy-Holmes, about 32 percent of lodgers lived in owner-occupied dwellings, but about two-thirds of these renters lodged with renter-occupants. 36 percent of the 241 lodgers in Prospect Park lived with owner-occupants. Similarly, in Stadium Village, 38 percent of the 269 lodgers lived with owner-occupants. The benefits of examining renters within other households cut both ways: complicating "homeownership" by detaching it from "single family homeownership" as traditionally understood and pointing out additional layers of differentiation among various neighborhoods.

Rates of homeownership and renting in the prewar censuses underreported renting density in several important ways. In any given residential structure, if anyone living in the dwelling owned the home, that household was classified owner-occupied. If the head of household rented--e.g., no one in the dwelling owns the home--that household was

classified as renter-occupied. While this method seemed straightforward, it did not count roomers, boarders, and various "unrelated individuals" living in the dwelling as renters even though, as the categories "roomer," "lodger," and "boarder" imply, these individuals likely paid a form of rent to dwell in the structure. In fact, these people, who I have called "extra renters" were present in significant percentages in the case-study university districts. 5 percent (1,823 individuals) of the University District's population were extra renters in 1920. 14 (28,199 people) percent of the Near West Side's population were boarders/lodgers/roomers, and 13.5 (4,287 people) percent of the University Alliance residents were extra renters.

In some cases, these extra renters rented within the homes rented by householders, in effect doubling the number of renting family units within such homes. They also rented or lodged within the homes of owners. 26.7 percent (of all extra roomers) rented from owner-occupants in Minneapolis' University Alliance neighborhoods, 41.8 percent did so in Columbus' University District, and reflecting the lower overall rate of homeownership on the Near West Side, just 14.5 percent of extra roomers lived with an owner-occupant in Chicago. The existence and preponderance of extra renters in these University Districts accorded with national urban trends in the prewar period, when boarding and lodging were at their peaks. However, preliminary evidence suggests these arrangements were even more common in university districts, in part due to student boarders, but also due to the central locations of these districts. This characteristic made these some of these areas significant grounds for increasing numbers of student renters and boarders in the postwar period, but it would also result in postwar targeting of the

poorer sections of these districts for urban renewal. The presence (or absence) of student renters would later inflect planners' and university's perceptions of whether these kinds of arrangements were positive or negative uses.

<u>Districts of Students</u>

At the dawn of the twentieth century, Ohio State Board of Trustees secretary Alexis Cope bragged to a reporter at a hotel in a Washington D.C. that Ohio State did not face the difficulties of hazing like some other universities did at that time. He proudly attributed this non-issue to the fact that Ohio State lacked on-campus dormitories. Cope said, "at our university, the students board wherever they please in the city and only come in contact in class. Although the dormitory system may have its advantages, we are convinced that better order and discipline can be maintained without it."[202] By 1945, an Ohio State official worried that limited on-campus housing detracted from Ohio State's recruitment of potential students and wrote: "Because of limited capacity many freshmen [...] have had to go into private homes all over the city. Because of these conditions many prospective students [...] have decided not to attend the Ohio State University."[203] In the same report, OSU student service workers estimated that 25 percent of Ohio State students living off-campus boarded in substandard housing, some of which they noted were "practically slum conditions."

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[202] "Men Met in the Hotel Lobbies," *The Washington Post*, Jan. 19, 1901, 6.
[203] "A Study of Student Housing at the Ohio State University Together with Recommendations for a Future Housing Program," prepared by Bland Stradley (Vice President) (with assistance from others), December 1945, The Ohio State University Archives, University Housing: Office of (RG 6/m/2), "Housing Study: 1944-1949."

Many students lived in the districts immediately surrounding the universities, but they are difficult, if not impossible, to identify with certainty in the prewar Censuses. The Census takers asked a great deal about education (highest grade attained and whether currently attending school, for example) and occupation. "Student," however, was not an available occupational category, and many students worked while attending school and listed other occupations. Samples of the 1905-1906 Minnesota student address directory show that students lived throughout Minneapolis and Saint Paul, but the highest concentrations of students in the directory resided in the neighborhoods adjacent to campus, with most living in Marcy-Holmes and Stadium Village, followed by Prospect Park, Como, and last, Cedar-Riverside.
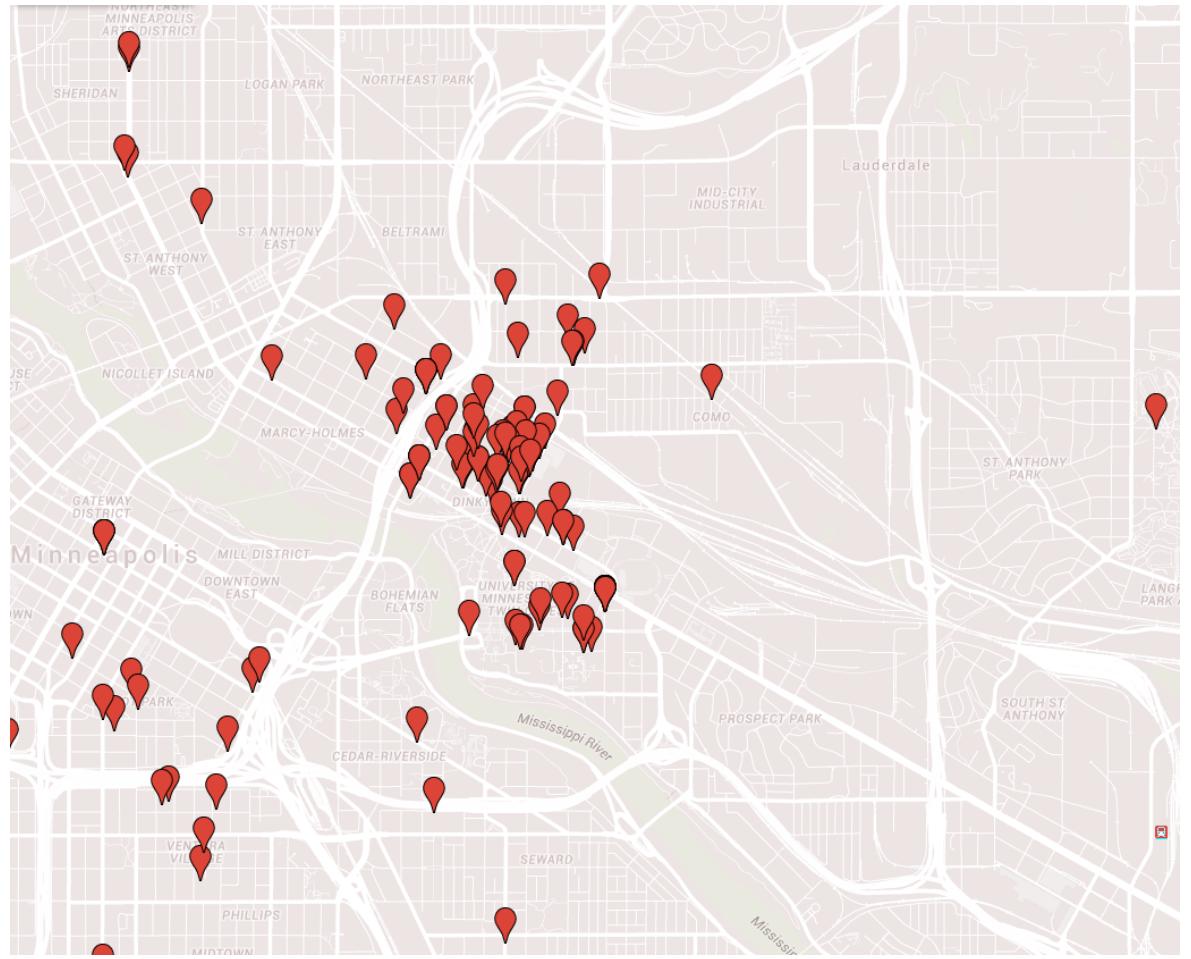
Figure 20. "Sample of UMN student addresses, Minneapolis/St. Paul, 1905." Source: Map created by the author from hand-entered student addresses from the 1905 student address book, University of Minnesota, Minnesota Historical Society.

Districts in Flux, People in Flux

These university district neighborhoods were changing, and they contained

changing populations as people moved frequently in and out of them. As I have noted,

census takers were not the only ones compiling information about cities in the prewar

period. A Pillsbury Settlement house workers writing in the early 1930s characterized the

circa 1890s Cedar-Riverside neighborhood as a place of poverty, vice, and poor housing

conditions:

> The location […] on Second Street and Cedar Avenue was very suitable for any kind of Settlement work. There were many families of working men in the district from Washington Avenue to the river and from Twelfth to Twentieth Avenue South. Many lived over stores or in two large apartment houses on Washington […] The old wooden houses on Second, First Streets, and Cedar Avenue were crowded with occupants […] The great curse of the district were the numerous saloons on Washington Avenue. Many were the families that suffered from a drunken father. There was a Red Light district […] on Tenth and Eleventh Avenues […] In very few apartments […] was there city water […] many of the backyards were piled up with mounds of rubbish.[204]

Notably, though it deplores their living conditions, the same account is

sympathetic to the "largely Scandinavian" residents of the neighborhood ("although there

were other nationalities, Irish, German, Bohemian, and others). The author, settlement

resident Mary Hale concluded her remarks about the troubling housing conditions by

noting that given these challenges, "it was a wonder they (female residents) made every

attempt to keep clean."[205]

In contrast to the poor conditions in what became later known as the Cedar-

Riverside neighborhood, Hale waxed poetic about the Bohemian Flats, the Eastern

European immigrant settlement along the west banks of the Mississippi River below the

neighborhood. She called it: "a picturesque part of the city […] tiny houses near the

riverbank, the narrow crooked lanes and tiny gardens […] a bit of the old world in the

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[204] Mary Hale "A History of Pillsbury Settlement House," 6, Pillsbury Waite Neighborhood Center Records, 1911-1966, Box 3, Folder "Pillsbury Settlement House."
[205] Ibid

new […] a great wrench when the houses were torn away to make room for the New

Barge Landing in 1927."[206]

Shortly after the time Hale was writing the history of the settlement, others at

Pillsbury House worked to compile a contemporary report based largely on data from the

1930 Census. The tone of the anonymous author(s?) is markedly different:

> This neighborhood encompasses a slum, the residence of negroes, the foreign born, and the lower middle class. The population is decreasing in the area. Houses have been demolished […] Between 25 and 40 percent of the population is foreign born white. The native white of native parentage are less than 29 percent of the total, while the native born of foreign and mixed parentage are about 4- to 44 percent of the whole. Unemployment is very heavy […] The conditions in the neighborhood create tremendous problems […] The housing is very bad. There are no playgrounds or parks nearer than Riverside.[207]

These three examples show how changes in ethnicity affected how reformers and

urban chroniclers described neighborhoods. As these university districts changed,

accounts of their populations and problems reflected the negative and positive

associations and biases harbored by urban professionals encountering unfamiliar spaces.

Because these neighborhoods were spaces in flux, with changing populations, we see

their changes through the eyes not of their residents, who moved on and away, but

through the social accounts of various professionals.

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[206] Ibid.

[207] *Agency Report: Pillsbury Settlement House*, for the Community Survey of Social and Health Work in Minneapolis, Under the Auspices of Community Chest sand Councils Inc. for the Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, July 1938. Pillsbury Waite Neighborhood Center records, 1911-1966, Box 3, Folder "Pillsbury Settlement House."

III: Significance and Conclusions: Why It Mattered and What It Changed

Defining Boundaries, Inventing and Delineating "Neighborhoods"

In Columbus, the sociologist McKenzie had noted with some confusion that his

Columbus-born students did not identify "their neighborhoods" according to the same

scales and definitions that McKenzie and fellow Chicago School sociologists were

developing.[208] For the most part, "neighborhoods" in Columbus and elsewhere remained

to some extent experiential, personal and open to interpretation in the late nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries.[209] For example, recalling the neighborhood of his youth in the

1920s, Minneapolis resident Walter Stone Pardee tracked the walks he had taken as a

boy, including landmarks such as the stores he visited and the buildings he saw

frequently.[210] He did not mention municipal or ward boundaries, nor did he even discuss

the "edges" later suggested by Kevin Lynch as important delineators (rivers, railroad

tracks, and other difficult-to-traverse physical bounds.)[211]

Examined from a postwar or a contemporary perspective that emphasizes the

supposed decline of neighborhoods, prewar neighborhoods by default also appear stable

and unchanging. Nostalgic interest in ethnic enclaves and other "lost" neighborhoods

bolsters a contemporary misunderstanding of these places as monolithic, uniformly

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[208] McKenzie, 35.

[209] This openness of McKenzie to acknowledge ways in which the ecological theories of the Chicago School might be limited have been called "exhilarating and dazzling" by a contemporary scholar who connects McKenzie with the new urban sociology as opposed to the old. David A. Smith, "The New Urban Sociology Meets the Old," *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 30, no. 3 (January 1995): 445.

[210] "Autobiography," (unpublished), Walter Stone Pardee Autobiography and Related Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.

[211] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960).

defined, and insulated from change. Yet my evidence suggests that prewar neighborhoods were just as—if not more so—unstable and undefined as contemporary and postwar neighborhoods may appear to be. Hence, as scholars have noted, it is difficult *in any era* to define what we mean by "neighborhood."[212] Like downtowns, center city neighborhoods bore the uncertainties and near constant changes of an age of rapid urban development and change, of competitive real estate speculation tax delinquency, Depression, and two world wars, and of large-scale migrations and mobility both within the United States and globally.

In my three case study areas, changes in the *postwar* period suggest a decline or fall from an earlier stability and a mid-century urban crisis centered at the level of the neighborhood. Played out in these local contexts, this well-worn urban trope expects a prewar apex or stasis and elides the complexities of prewar neighborhoods. These case study urban neighborhoods did not experience a singular postwar "fall" (or "rise" of "blight") but in fact were in flux in the prewar period as individuals and institutions moved around contested space.

In fact, although they experienced their own changes, universities and other institutions represented the most stable "neighbors" in their prewar urban contexts. As people moved from place to place, as industrial activity intensified and waned, as developers platted new suburbs, as businesses opened and failed, as real estate changed hands several times in a given year or even month, the institutions I examine amassed resources and grew gradually in place, a fragmented and slowly-paced stability that

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[212] I discuss this scholarship and how I place myself in it in the Introduction.

seemed remarkable only when compared to the vast shifts and uncertainties playing out all around them.

Importantly, actors affiliated with these institutions worked to define and delineate the uncertain conditions surrounding them. Armed with the tools of the emerging social sciences and relatively larger amounts of capital, these institutional affiliates—in whose ranks I include social workers, sociologists, University planners, and real estate researchers, planners, and surveyors trained by institutions—delineated space in order to analyze it according to the standards of their nascent disciplines or professions. These delineations became bound up with the fates of places, even though they contrasted, in some cases sharply, with individual experiences and perceptions of place.

Individual's Experiences of The City

Urban theorists have suggested that individual understandings of and experiences of the city differ markedly from official maps and plans for the same cities. Michel de Certeau contrasts maps with stories or what he also calls tours. These are what he calls "two poles of experience": a "discursive series of operations" (the itinerary) marked linguistically by movements and practices "you go…then you turn," and on the other hand, maps, "a projection of totalizing observations" which are marked by observations or sights and manifested linguistically by phrases such as "there are…this is."[213] For de Certeau, maps *erase* itineraries or stories; the people, "the figures," disappear. According

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[213] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 121.

to de Certeau, "the map gradually wins out over these figures; it colonizes space; it

eliminates little by little the pictural figurations of the practices that produce it." The

stories of individual residents are, as de Certeau puts it, practiced space, or "the street

geometrically defined by urban planning… transformed into a space by walkers."[214]

Kevin Lynch notes that in cities, the usual fragmentation of human perception is even

more limited: "most often, our perception of the city is not sustained, but rather partial,

fragmentary, mixed with other concerns. Nearly every sense is in operation, and the

image (of the city) is the composite of them all."[215] Lynch thus concludes that no two

individuals experience the same "image" of the city and that there may in fact be

significant divergences between different individuals' perceptions of the same city.[216]

Taken together, these theoretical insights suggest that absent planners' map-

making practices--which have the power to obliterate individuals' divergent and

experiential understandings of place--individual residents understood, defined, and

experienced "their" cities and neighborhoods primarily as walkers whose various senses

offered fleeting and fragmentary imaginations of place. This composite echoes other

urban theorists who have suggested similar spatial experience for individuals.[217]

Evidence of residents' conceptualizations of their prewar neighborhoods from my

three cases is scant. Yet the evidence that does exist supports the premise that individuals

defined their neighborhoods as urban pedestrians and not according to defined municipal

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[214] Ibid.
[215] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 2.
[216] Ibid, 6.
[217] See, for example: Tom Hall, "Footwork: Moving and Knowing in Local Space(s)," *Qualitative Research,* Vol. 9 (2009); Steve Pile, "Memory and the City," *Temporalities, Autobiography and Everyday Life* (2002): 111-127; Tim Ingold. "Culture on the Ground: the World Perceived Through the Feet," *Journal of Material Culture* 9, no. 3 (2004): 315-340.

boundaries. One of the most important projects of the early twentieth century was the process by which professionals produced ways of measuring and conceiving of urban space that were not individualized or pedestrian-based—as de Certeau would put it, how they erased itineraries with maps and plans. To say it even more simply, urban professionals invented the very concepts of neighborhoods and districts—and within cities, delineated their specific boundaries—in the prewar period. These inventions formed the bases of postwar urban planning, renewal, and redevelopment. After all, to declare that a neighborhood or a district was a "slum" or "blighted area," one first had to map out the neighborhoods and districts that comprised the city.

Institutional Definitions of Space

In late nineteenth and early twentieth century cities, the task of organizing and defining urban space first fell to municipal governments. City governments divided the city into political wards mostly for the purpose of delineating voting districts. "Neighborhoods" as planning units were postwar concepts which I will cover in the next chapter, but their foundations emerged in the prewar period. Individual neighborhood residents identified where they lived not by a commonly understood set of boundaries but rather by referring to local streets ("Taylor Street district"), groups of people ("Greektown), schools ("Marshall High School area"), parks, or other landmarks ("Iuka Ravine"). Geographic monikers--for example, "southeast Minneapolis" or "the west side of Chicago"--were broader, directional names connected with individuals' experiences

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navigating the city, not officially designated or bounded districts. Thus, institutions had

the power to invent "neighborhoods" both as concepts and as places. They could

delineate physical boundaries but also define space by their enveloping presence. In

Chicago, both of these processes were interrelated in the early twentieth century on the

Near West side.

Of course, as numerous scholars have traced, in Chicago, University of Chicago

social scientists had begun to study the city as a systematic organism. They organized its

component parts as neighborhoods. Famously, in Chicago, they developed the concept of

"community areas" and subdivided the city into seventy-seven such static community

areas which represented "moderately coherent social character across urban space at this

generalized geographical scale."[218] The process of defining community areas was

intertwined with the rise of zoning—Chicago sociologists used data from the Chicago

Zoning Commission to create their "base" maps. Once the city was subdivided in

community areas, sociologists began to compile data about the various areas. The

resulting base maps, filled in with data, organized the city so that data could be collected

and distributed about various sections, including the university districts under study.

Universities and associated professionals were the epicenters of these processes of

knowledge production and distribution. Thus, the effects of prewar universities on

neighborhoods went beyond materially and economically changing adjacent

neighborhoods (as they bought land, expanded, or found housing for their students). In

addition to the information they collected and distributed about changing urban spaces,

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[218] Maps created by Encyclopedia Staff, "Maps," "Chicago's Community Areas," *Encyclopedia of Chicago* (source: Newberry Library).

they also produced the definitions of neighborhoods which would continue to be used throughout the century, along the way destroying more experiential, personal, or local definitions of places.

Conclusion

By the end of the 1930s, the accumulating expertise and accelerating social and political clout housed in growing educational institutions proved the pivot point, the hinge upon which universities and cities would "team up" in the postwar period to leverage federal funding for large scale urban clearance and removal. The plans were meant to be mutually beneficial, to shore up cities' Depression-dwindled tax coffers and strengthen universities as center-city anchor institutions. However, as patterns of residential mobility swung outward in the postwar era, and as suburbanization and urban renewal for highway and institutions decimated center-city density, cities and universities faced a different sort of urban crisis which they met with the tools sharpened and the plans developed during the prewar period, with residents' voices already erased from the vast binders and tabulation sheets containing urban data.

CHAPTER THREE

CONTESTING THE DECLINE AND RENEWAL OF THE CITY:

UNIVERSITIES, NEIGHBORHOODS, AND REDEVELOPMENT

CONFLICTS IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD

At the dawn of the Cold War, as the United States Department of Defense

planned the slow decentralization of American cities, in part through the strategic funding

of universities and their research and development[219], and as urban planners, municipal

officials, and prominent private interests in cities across the nation marshalled the new

and developing tools of urban policy and renewal to wage a "battle" against the all of the

urban ills they perceived had accumulated over the course of the past century, the urban

dwellers of America gathered in church basements, in assembly halls, in front parlors,

and in settlement houses to engage in equally urgent coalition-building and activism. In

my three case-study cities and across the country, individual urban neighborhood

residents developed and deployed their own conceptualizations of their neighborhoods'

problems and potentialities; they drew upon changes they had witnessed in their lifetimes

and others they had just heard about to suggest ideal futures for the places they lived.

To do so, they pored over books and pamphlets from the city and the government

to master the new lingo of urban renewal, rehabilitation, and conservation. They awaited

figures from the Census with the same anticipation the demographers did. They wrote

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[219] O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, Introduction. See also Hilary Moss et al. on how universities functioned as "influential public forces" in a variety of urban renewal efforts at this time, not only campus expansion projects. Hilary Moss et al, "Assessing the impact of the Inner Belt: MIT, Highways, and Housing in Cambridge, Massachusetts," *Journal of Urban History*, 40, 6 (2014), 1054-1078, accessed December 1, 2014, doi: 10.1177/0096144214536870.

letters to aldermen, city council representatives, mayors, judges, trustees, state senators, and U.S. Congressmen and presidents. They littered front porches and telephone poles with ALL-CAPS leaflets.[220] In Columbus, they went door to door begging people to join a new neighborhood organization for one dollar, telling them everybody could have a voice. In Chicago, they sat on broken chairs until 11 PM, talking into the night, finally noting in their minutes that it would be nice if they could somehow find the money to repair their seats. Schoolchildren drew pictures of what they liked best and least about their neighborhoods. Clergyman preached about urban renewal from their pulpits, and then left with their collars on to attend municipal planning meetings. WWII veterans visited the youth from their neighborhoods in juvenile jail to implore them to repent and return to improve their communities. Housewives navigated the bureaucratic layers of the city code enforcement and the municipal housing courts; they walked the streets of their neighborhoods taking pictures and notes to send to these entities in order to persuade them of problems and suggest solutions. By 1960, the scattered, small-scale prewar expert efforts at urban planning, surveying, and reform performed largely by university-affiliated or educated upper-middle class white men and women had morphed into a multi-faceted movement touching working-class urban residents of diverse races and walks of life, from kindergarteners to retirees to working mothers. Involving neighborhood residents as well as outside planners and professionals, often at odds with one another, it was a nationwide, democratic, contentious, splintered group effort.

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[220] See, for example, "FIND OUT ABOUT THE FUTURE OF YOUR COMMUNITY," UCA bulletin sent by Mary Riley, The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office of (RG 10/6/25), "University Community Association (UCA): 1964."

National-level renewal politics and planning strategies, suburbanization, and the broader outcomes of renewal (hopes, eventual failures, and displacement) have been more predominant in the historiographical literature on postwar urban change than the activism of local neighborhoods and residents, although scholars have examined local urban renewal conflicts.[221] In particular, the constellation of issues affecting American cities after World War II has been well-documented. Scholars have termed this combination of postwar problems including depopulation, deindustrialization, and disinvestment the "urban crisis."[222] In fact, the so-called "decline" of the American city has become so ubiquitous in both scholarship and contemporary parlance as to have become its own, uncomplicated trope, as scholars have begun to point out.[223] Lost in discussions that focus solely on the larger economic and demographic changes of this period are the ways in which everyday people interacted with the changes unfolding before them in the postwar period at the local level. Also obscured are the important ways

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[221] For an overview of recent directions in urban renewal scholarship, see Samuel Zipp and Michael Carriere, "Introduction: Thinking Through Urban Renewal," *Journal of Urban History*, 39, no. 3 (2013): 359-365. Zipp and Carriere suggest bringing "the history of ideas back into the history of urban renewal" in order to see "a less uniform set of origins, practices, and motivating impulses and a more ambiguous legacy of aims, intentions, and results" (361). On renewal as an effort to deconcentrate poverty, see Edward Goetz Glenn, *Clearing The Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2003.) On a national culture of planning, see Andrew M. Shanken, *194X* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009). On suburbanization and suburban culture, see Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic* (New York: Knopf, 2003). Among scholars examining at local residents involvement in conflicts, Samuel Zipp writes: "people caught in the turmoil of urban renewal reacted to the character of the new cityscape; they delivered judgements on the forms of urban renewal's city-rebuilding efforts as well as its effects" (11). Samuel Zipp, *Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.)
[222] See Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
[223] Allison Isenberg, *Downtown America*. For examples of a discourse or sense of decline, see Robert Beauregard, *Voices of Decline: The Postwar Fate of US Cities* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1993). Robert Fogelson, *Downtown America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003). On the usefulness of a trope of decline, see Timothy A Gibson, "The Trope of the Organic City: Discourses of Decay and Rebirth in Downtown Seattle," *Space and Culture* 6, no. 4: 429-448.

in which the actions, priorities, and (in)decisions of institutions, especially universities, played crucial roles in this age's urban outcomes.

Examining university district communities allows me to hone into these broader issues at that particular intersection in order to show how universities affected and interacted with urban neighborhoods at the moment of the American urban crisis, and also how urban neighborhoods interacted with and disrupted planning practices surrounding urban renewal, especially those spearheaded by neighboring universities. In this chapter, I illuminate how these interactions produced a strong narrative of "blight" and "decline" that served both institutional and (some) neighborhood needs at that time. Yet that narrative has obscured actual patterns of change, important debates, and contentions at this mid-century moment, issues this chapter uncovers.

Thus, this chapter unveils the stories of **why and when** urban residents, planners, and institutional actors came into conflict over urban spaces, in these cases, neighborhoods adjacent to large universities. I make the case that the hidden contexts and stakes of these conflicts and contestations are important because they alter misconceptions which oversimplify how people and institutions both countered and conceived of the "urban crisis" at the local, neighborhood level. In Chapter Four, which follows this chapter, I expand on the ways in which these urban narratives and myths have over time been useful to various stakeholders, including universities. That chapter, this chapter's companion, explores **how and in what ways** various actors have studied, constructed, selectively drawn upon, and utilized certain patterns, narratives, myths, and

memories of urban change, in the process sometimes blurring or eliding the conflicts described in this chapter.

Between 1945 and 1980, as residents actively grappled with national policies, nation-wide and metropolitan changes, and heightened institutional growth and expansion, they contested the ramifications of these changes at the local and neighborhood levels. In order to contextualize and to tell these interwoven and nested stories of conflict over decline and renewal, this chapter moves from the national level to the metropolitan (local) level to the micro (neighborhood) level. In order to show how different cities, and within cities, different neighborhoods, experienced and contested urban change, this chapter compares change over time in various neighborhoods within my case study cities.

Therefore, the brief contextual section of this chapter zooms out to summarize the broad patterns of urban change and reform unfolding at the national and metropolitan levels during and after World War II, as they affected universities and university districts in particular. These cross-cutting contexts underlie each individual neighborhood's and institution's experiences, creating intersecting local and national contexts. I explore these local experiences in the main section of the chapter. To trace their histories of changing conflict, this chapter "visits" different neighborhoods in each case study city at the moment of that neighborhood's heightened contentions—moments that stretched from the late 1940s to the early 1980s, with reverberations in some cases reaching to the present.

Introduction: Cities, Neighborhoods, Universities, and Urban Policy in the Postwar

Period

Decline of the City, Rise of the University

The tremendous growth of the postwar American university coincided with the so-called decline of the American city. Most universities grew in size and influence after WWII, and the percentage of the U.S. population attending postsecondary school skyrocketed.[224] Part of these broader trends, land-grant public schools grew more dramatically than most as they absorbed returning soldiers and expanded their missions to enroll tens of thousands of students. After World War II, the U.S. government passed a slate of legislative benefits for returning veterans. These benefits, passed as the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 but known as the G.I. Bill, included mortgage assistance, educational and job training benefits, among other benefits. Of the nearly 16 million returning veterans, 7.8 million used the educational and training benefits associated with the bill.[225]

Thus, postwar universities (in particular, land-grants) experienced a parallel, and opposite "crisis" after WWII, one different from the constellation of urban problems

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[224] On the postwar growth of universities, see: Hugh Davis Graham and Nancy Diamond, *The Rise of the American Research Universities: Elites and Challengers in the Postwar Era* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Christopher Loss, *Between Citizens and the State: The Politics of American Higher Education in the 20th Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012); Margaret O'Mara, "Beyond Town and Gown: University Economic Engagement and the Legacy of the Urban Crisis," *The Journal of Technology Transfer* 37, no. 2 (2012): 234-50.

[225] On the GI Bill's effects on university enrollment, see Glenn Altschuler and Stuart Blumin, *The GI Bill: The New Deal for Veterans,* Pivotal Moments in American History, (New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2009).

discussed in the postwar period as the "crisis of the city" or urban decline. While cities confronted population losses, concentrations of inequality and poverty, and racial tensions, universities dealt with population increases, growing access to a cache of federal and state funds, and increased tensions with surrounding residential neighborhoods over space, housing, and automobile traffic. Housing was an element of "crisis" shared by both cities and universities. In the broader context of population increases and construction stalls during the depression and WWII, cities, states, and the federal government considered housing as a crucial postwar problem.

Growing universities located in central cities faced a specific set of problems, their own housing- and space-related crises. In 1954, warning the state legislature about enrollment increases, University of Minnesota president James Morrill called the anticipated tide of new university students "a shadow that cannot be ignored." Morrill concluded that "never was there greater pressure" upon the university's existing physical infrastructure than there was at the moment.[226] At Ohio State, administrators voiced similar urgencies, and at the University of Illinois, enrollment pressures drove the decision to open an entirely new campus in Chicago. Across the United States, university officials appealed to regents, trustees, and state legislatures with similar predictions; they stressed the incapacities of the universities to educate the vastly increased numbers of students desiring a college education. Land-grant schools like Minnesota and Ohio State invoked their missions to serve the public by educating all qualified state residents who applied for admission.

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[226] James Morrill, *A Shadow That Cannot Be Ignored*, "Abridged and edited from, the opening chapter of the president's report...from July 1, 1952 to June 30, 1954," (Minneapolis, 1955), Minnesota Historical Society, Saint Paul, MN

The 1959 passage of Section 112 of Federal Urban Renewal Act gave university actors across the U.S. this ability to envision replacing perceived urban blight or decay with expanded university campuses.[227] Through this federal urban renewal funding available to partnerships between cities and universities such coalitions were able to target "substandard" areas adjacent to campuses for university-sponsored renewal. University officials and neighborhood activists who charted, worried about, and discussed the decline of the neighborhoods joined a national and international conversation about the fate of the center city, a discussion that pointed toward urban planning and urban renewal as solutions to an emerging sense of an urban crisis.

University actors also joined a network of urban universities concerned about campus planning, urban development, and the possibilities of postwar federal funding for higher education and urban land acquisition.[228] Focusing on particularly dramatic or contentious expansion cases such as the University of Chicago, the University of Pennsylvania, and Columbia University, scholars such as Margaret Pugh O'Mara, Sharon Haar, Michael Carriere, and LaDale Winling have examined these projects in other cities.[229] O'Mara and Winling have shown how changing national Cold War economic

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[227] O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 78.

[228] Universities functioned as "influential public forces" in a variety of urban renewal efforts at this time, not only campus expansion projects. Hilary Moss et al, "Assessing the impact of the Inner Belt: MIT, Highways, and Housing in Cambridge, Massachusetts," *Journal of Urban History*, 40, no. 6 (2014): 1054-1078, accessed December 1, 2014, doi: 10.1177/0096144214536870.

[229] For a recent overview, see Michael Carriere, "Town Meets Gown: Urban Institutions in the Postwar American City: Introduction," *Journal of Planning History* 10 (2011): 3-4, accessed July 7, 2011, doi: 10.1177/1538513210397521. In a notable example--Columbia University in New York--Michael Carriere notes: "Drawing upon the language of Cold War anticommunism, the university […] undertook such a self-proclaimed 'war on blight' in an attempt to 'liberate' the surrounding community from the horrors of urban decay." Carriere, "Fighting the War against Blight: Columbia University, Morningside Heights, Inc., and Counterinsurgent Urban Renewal," *Journal of Planning History* 10 (2011): 5-9, accessed July 7, 2011, doi: 10.1177/1538513210392882. Stefan M. Bradley explores conflicts and collaborations between black Columbia students and Harlem residents in *Harlem Vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the*

and political contexts made universities the new loci of urban development and how Cold War national policies inflected campus and community relationship.[230]

The postwar "rise" of the university was closely connected to the Cold War contexts these scholars explore, and also to a national crisis of urban "decline." The tools made available by the federal government were intended to shore up national defense via both cities and universities. These policies encouraged local actors to attack the "decline" of the city in part by facilitating and bolstering the "rise" of the university (both urban and exurban). This was the national context in which local institutions contemplated and planned expansion into surrounding neighborhoods, perfectly resolving (in the eyes of vested city and university interests, as well as in the view of federal policymakers) a joint crisis of the city and the university.

Postwar Community Organizing: From Local Interest Groups to Neighborhood Organizations

As city officials and prominent citizens agonized over the urban crises they perceived, and as planners began to implement large-scale plans for urban renewal and university expansion, other groups debated urban problems at a smaller scale. Alongside the burgeoning coalitions of citywide planning groups, there existed a constellation of

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Late 1960s (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Judith Rodin discusses the University of Pennsylvania's past and contemporary involvement in surrounding West Philadelphia neighborhoods in *The University and Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and into the Streets* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Sharon Haar, *The City as Campus: Urbanism and Higher Education in Chicago* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

[230] LaDale Winling, "Students and the Second Ghetto: Federal Legislation, Urban Politics, and Campus Planning at the University of Chicago," *Journal of Planning History* 10 (2011): 59-86, accessed July 7, 2011, doi: 10.1177/1538513210392882.

smaller, special-interest groups focused at the block, parish, or neighborhood level. At the end of World War II, neighborhood-level interest groups organized by individual residents (as opposed to those spearheaded by city government, settlement houses, or citywide causes) included civic associations, ethnic special interest groups, businessmen's groups, women's clubs, and organized streets/block clubs. For the sake of clarity, I refer to these smaller, special-interest entities as *local interest groups* as opposed to the contemporary term, *neighborhood organizations*.

The landscape of local activism and organization quickly changed at the war's end. As the sense of an urban crisis intensified, these smaller interest groups morphed, coalesced, and folded into larger, diversified community planning and advocacy groups and neighborhood organizations, some of which exist to the present. In contrast with the local groups in the prewar period, for the first time, many of these organizations explicitly delineated wider neighborhood boundaries than a particular block or a street; to some extent, they also expanded their purposes to encompass more than a single ethnic or interest group. However, these nascent organizations retained the impulses to exclude and to prioritize the interests of their most dominant members.

Characterized by these tensions and by the general tenuousness of unstable city neighborhoods facing continued patterns of change, including the arrivals and departures of different groups of people, these emergent neighborhood organizations retained an inward focus, instability, and infighting which contrasted with the supposedly rational and unbiased bent of the much-better-funded citywide organizations and professional groups such as the Boards of Realtors and downtown business interests, even as they

sought to emulate these other groups. Thus, in my case-study districts, this chapter also traces the emergence of modern-day neighborhood organizations or community planning groups, their underlying contradictions, and their emergence and adaptations to meet, contest, and in some cases, counter the prevalent planning trends. In each of my three case-study sites, neighborhood organizations actively engaged in the conversation about their area's urban futures; they asserted aims that in some cases contradicted the wishes of city planners and university officials. Though literature on urban renewal fights often positions neighborhood residents in opposition to planners, this dichotomy was not the case in all my case study sites, however.[231] Instead, neighborhood organizations and residents sometimes suggested alternative uses of federal urban renewal funding and emphasized some renewal aims over others.

The body of this chapter examines how university and neighborhood residents contested (their conceptualizations of) neighborhood change as they worked to construct concepts of ideal and non-ideal urban space and change, and on the ground, to effect change, to protect investments, and to grapple with the expanded scopes of federal urban renewal funding, municipal and regional planning, and metropolitan development. Although in all three of my case-study areas, major educational institutions were the dominant "neighbors" in these districts, they were not the only players in the discussions over mid-century urban futures. In fact, they were not even the earliest or most vocal voices in some of these conversations, whose other players included community organizations, religious clergy, local politicians, and importantly, individual

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[231] Herbert Gans, "The Failure of Urban Renewal," *Commentary* 39, no. 4 (1965): 29-37.

neighborhood residents. However, the underlying complexities of these voices and

contentions have been lost to dominant institutional narratives.

<u>Neighborhood Groups and Contested Conceptualizations of Urban Change</u>

<u>Inventing and Forming Minneapolis' University District</u>

Hemmed by the Mississippi River and surrounded by differentiated diverse urban

neighborhoods, the University of Minnesota cast its own powerful shadow upon longtime

neighborhood residents--mostly homeowners--who worried about the effects of the

institution upon their investments and quality of life. For many of these residents,

concerns about possible institutional expansion collided with their anxieties about

broader demographic shifts and changing metropolitan patterns. On the other hand, the

concerns of university officials and city planners about urban blight and decline offered

different conceptualizations of urban problems and possible solutions.

In 1948, a group of long-time residents and homeowners, businessmen, and clergy

in Southeast Minneapolis met in the basement of the First Congregational church to form

a neighborhood improvement organization. An article in the Southeast newspaper, the

Argus, listed a set of purposes for the group:

> Sponsored by a committee of prominent members of the community, the meeting
> is intended to give residents of the St. Anthony district an opportunity to organize
> a neighborhood planning and improvement association. Such an association
> would function as an instrument to encourage civic involvement, to keep the

residents alert and informed with regard to city planning and city zoning policies…and to provide for community action in solving common problems.[232]

At the first meeting of what would become the University District Improvement Association (UDIA) and later, Marcy-Holmes Neighborhood Association, the well-connected conveners of the group invited a slate of guest speakers indicative of the group's aspirations. These speakers invited to the first meeting included: Herman Olson, the head city planning engineer who supervised the city's involvement in the W.P.A. real property surveying projects that laid the groundwork for postwar renewal and planning, Mrs. Donald G. Paterson, former secretary of the Prospect Park Improvement Association, Alderman Wallace, and Marshall High School's principal. The newspaper article listed a number of citizens who sponsored the meeting and their addresses.

Proposed changes to the Minneapolis zoning code were the impetus for the meeting and the eventual creation of the UDIA.[233] The wealthier residents of Southeast Minneapolis had several good reasons to worry about citywide zoning changes. Living in an area long surrounded by railroad and industrial uses, they were used to worrying about industrial uses overtaking residential ones. Yet in the years immediately after World War Two, new worries emerged connected to their growing institutional neighbor: housing and traffic. The enrollment growth of the University of Minnesota spurred more demand among students for housing in the southeast area. Accordingly, long-term, non-student residents worried about perceived negative residential uses: apartments, apartment-hotels,

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[232] "Southeast People to Organize Improvement Association," *The Argus*, Friday, June 4, 1948.

[233] "Mrs. Gruner recalled that the UDIA had been formed in 1948 because at that time a revision of the 1924 zoning ordinance was under consideration." ("Ordinance Gets Nod from Southeast Action Group, 1960," Box 1: "UDIA-SEMPACC-Harrison Neighborhood," Southeast Minneapolis Community Organizations Papers, 1956-1980, University of Minnesota University Archives, Minneapolis, MN.)

and boarding houses. Students not living in the area still generated automobile traffic and parking issues. With the city of Minneapolis seriously considering an overhaul of its 1925 zoning act, Southeast Minneapolis took a cue from Prospect Park, which had proposed its own protective residential rezoning as early as 1941.[234] Prominent Southeast residents supported re-zoning, as they did various mechanisms of urban renewal. However, they sought to marshal and deploy these mechanisms *for their own purposes*, which were at odds with city and university objectives.

The name of the young neighborhood organization not only acknowledged a connection to the neighboring university, but it also strategically bound the university to the fate of the neighborhood, and vice versa. Until the formation of the UDIA in 1948, the area it comprised was known by a number of names, including informally as the University District, but more often, at the citywide level, it was still called Southeast Minneapolis, old St. Anthony, or the East Side.[235] Various neighborhood newspapers before 1948 took the tagline "Southeast" to delineate their circulation area. But they also further differentiated the district by streets and by schools. For example, in the early 1920s, the *Southeast Review* devoted subsections to: "Fourteenth Avenue News" "Heard in the Oak Street District" and "Happenings in the Columbus (school) District."[236]

There were two important implications in the choice, then, to organize as the University District Improvement Association rather than with a Southeast-tagged

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[234] "Rezoning is Proposed to Protect Residences in Prospect Park Area, Page 8, *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, May 17, 1941. University of Minnesota microfilm, Minneapolis, MN.

[235] Most frequently, it was early 20th century real estate advertisements that referred to the area as the University District, perhaps to orient would-be buyers to the advantageous location of properties and to bring up investment opportunities. See, for example, *Minneapolis Journal*, 1902–1904, Minnesota Digital Newspaper Hub, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul <http://newspapers.mnhs.org> (accessed January 13, 2014).

[236] *The Southeast Review*, December 3, 1921. MNHS microfilm miscellaneous newspapers.

moniker or at a closer geographic scale. The first, already mentioned, was that the new

group tied itself to the nearby institution rather than rejecting the connection and

maintaining an older, separate identity as "southeast." Hints of their concerns and

strategies found in meeting minutes show that this choice had at least two distinct

benefits: One, the UDIA billed its problems as interconnected with the university's

growth, thus implicating the institution in its problems and suggesting their partial

responsibility for solutions[237] and two, the UDIA marketed itself to a variety of distinct

groups (potential homebuyers and the city) as a commodity with added-value beyond an

ordinary neighborhood; as a centrally located, "university district," it could sell itself as

"highly desirable for residential living, owing to its location adjacent to the

University."[238]

While larger in scope and more organized than predecessor groups such as block

clubs, parish and school organizations, and businessmen's groups, the UDIA still

resembled smaller, ad-hoc neighborhood groups. Twelve years after its founding, in

1960, the UDIA maintained a reactionary stance: "Large UDIA meetings are held twice a

year, spring and fall, or whenever something very urgent and unusually important

arises."[239] As planning activity in the city of Minneapolis intensified and the University

of Minnesota's growth continued, with public and private discussions of its space issues

[237] "Background Information on the University District of Southeast Minneapolis," Box 1, Folder 1, Box 1: "UDIA-SEMPACC-Harrison Neighborhood," Southeast Minneapolis Community Organizations Papers, 1956-1980, University of Minnesota University Archives, Minneapolis, MN.

[238] Letter from Dr. Rodney G. Loper, President, UDIA, to Senator-Elect Hubert Humphrey, November 1970, Box 1: "UDIA-SEMPACC-Harrison Neighborhood," Southeast Minneapolis Community Organizations Papers, 1956-1980, University of Minnesota University Archives, Minneapolis, MN.

[239] "Ordinance Gets Nod from Southeast Action Group," 1960.

and future boundaries, southeast activists realized the need for a larger community planning organization.

In 1960, a number of smaller local groups, including the UDIA, banded together to form a larger planning organization, the Southeast Minneapolis Planning and Coordinating Committee (SEMPACC) "to coordinate the programs of Southeast Minneapolis civic groups in their efforts toward area improvement." In discussions of prewar urban organizing, the parish or church group was accepted as an important and basic local unit. Illustrative of the important role clergy and religious groups played even in postwar local groups, SEMPACC elected the University District's Hope Lutheran Church' pastor David Preus as its first chairman; Preus later reflected "I understood it […] as being a matter of Christian responsibility to help create healthy communities."[240] Preus's election as chairman and his stance—social justice melded with a concern about the survival and vitality of his specific congregation—reflected a basic paradigm for postwar religious urban activism among various denominations' church leaders, in Minneapolis and in my other case study sites.[241]

SEMPACC linked over twenty smaller groups in the broader Southeast region, an area which encompassed not only the University District but also the neighborhood districts of Como and Prospect Park. Each smaller group appointed two delegates to SEMPACC.

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[240] Robert Ylvisaker, "University Lutheran Church of Hope Celebrates a Rich Legacy," *Metro Lutheran*, <http://metrolutheran.org/2004/08/university-lutheran-church-of-hope-celebrates-a-rich-legacy/> (accessed January 25, 2014).
[241] On the involvement of various religious leaders in urban renewal in Chicago, see Berryl Satter, "'Our greatest moments of glory have been fighting the institutions we love the most': the Rise and Fall of Chicago's Interreligious Council on Urban Affairs, 1958-1969," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 22, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 33-44.

Groups Forming SEMPACC
Como District Improvement Association
American Association of University Professors
Dinkytown Merchants
East Hennepin Commercial Association
Marshall High School PTA
Marshall District PTA
Minnesota Student Association
Oak Street Merchants
Optimists' Club
Prospect Park Improvement Association
Southeast Catholic Clergy
Southeast Exchange Club
Southeast Services to Youth
St. Anthony Commercial Club
University District Improvement Association
University of Minnesota Faculty Women's Club
University Householders

Figure 21. "Groups that comprised SEMPACC." Source: Figure created by the author from SEMPACC by-laws.[242]

This growing scale of the community groups (from block or street or interest level to neighborhood level to planning area level) reflected the growing metropolitan scales of mid-century planning and a shift from neighborhood-focused study among urban professionals to metropolitan-wide work. Thus, in the twenty years after WWII, while urban renewal legislation and programs were unveiled at the national level and rolled out by eager city officials and planners at the municipal scale, at the local, neighborhood level, organizations like the UDIA and SEMPACC emulated institutional and municipal practices; in order to meet urban renewal changes on their own terms, they constructed their organizations to build off of smaller special interest groups and improvement

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[242] According to the SEMPACC bylaws, "Southeast Minneapolis citizens may become part of SEMPACC's program by being active in any of its member groups." Southeast Minneapolis Community Organizations Papers, 1956-1980, University of Minnesota University Archives, Minneapolis, MN.

associations such as the Prospect Park group, eventually building clout with larger, umbrella organizations such as SEMPACC.

In its structure, membership, and stances on local issues, SEMPACC was an organization that believed in professional expertise, and indeed, its leadership was a group comprised mostly of various professionals: a prominent local urban planner who shepherded the group through experiments in community planning, local political representatives, a number of University faculty and staff, clergy such as Preus, businessmen, and eventually, administrative representatives from the University of Minnesota. In short, SEMPACC brought together as much professional, academic, political, and economic clout as southeast Minneapolis could muster. Yet it also counted among its active membership housewives and PTO representatives from the local schools, and its meetings, in theory if perhaps not in actuality, were open to any southeast residents who chose to come. SEMPACC's grassroots elitism reflected both an emerging sense of attention to the importance of broad-based community coalitions and a longer tradition of elite urban activism.

A Tale of Two Cities; A Tale of Two Sections

Meanwhile, UMN administrators quietly planned its physical expansion away from the coalescing, organizing Southeast neighborhoods in the opposite direction, westward across the steep bluffs of the Mississippi River. This proposed expansion would cut the campus into one of the oldest, poorest, and most transient sections of Minneapolis, the

161

sixth ward's most destitute sections, part of the district that now encompasses the contemporary neighborhood of Cedar-Riverside but which was known as South Minneapolis in the early 20th century before that moniker became exclusive to neighborhoods even farther south.[243]

Ironically, some of the issues causing Southeast residents to complain about the negative influences of the University may have in part spared these areas from becoming target acquisitions for the campus' physical expansion. Planners cited the number of students residing in the southeast neighborhoods in apartments and fraternities as a reason not to extend the campus in that direction—the justification was that relocation of student housing would prove too difficult and disruptive.[244] Notably, the planners did not worry about relocation of non-university affiliated residents in the Cedar-Riverside area whom their plans would certainly disrupt; they considered these residents outside the purview of their concern.

In the late 1950s, the University of Minnesota quietly studied possibilities for its expansion. Although they preferred other locations, including several suburban options, their analysis pointed them across the river. A later report noted that: "the decision to expand across the river was based on studies showing that this was the closest and least

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[243] I choose to keep the names of these places constantly shifting and changing to reflect and draw attention to their actual status as such. I hope any confusion this choice introduces will be instructive and constructive rather than annoying. Please see the names and organizations index for the false impression of clarity.

[244] Of the SEMPACC area, William Middlebrook wrote in 1958: "It is now used intensively for student and faculty housing...Classroom expansion into this area would disperse housing and add further to the traffic problems. It would appear that the best use of this land would be for more intensive housing." William Middlebrook, *How to Estimate the Building Needs of a College or a University* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1958), 65.

expensive land available."[245] The unfolding of the University of Minnesota's growth and expansion after World War II is thus a tale of two sections (of the city)—the southeast neighborhoods, organized as units and as SEMPACC, which vocally asserted their preferences and prepared to deploy restrictive planning tools (such as zoning) to achieve their ends—and the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood, not yet named as such, which had no neighborhood organizations in place when the University planned the expansion of its campus across the river and into that area.

Billed as "the 'most daring' expansion plan in the University's history," advocates argued that the expansion across the river would "permit the University to progress with the times."[246] Indeed, university literature on the subject painted future university growth and expansion as unceasing, inevitable, and exciting markers of progress writ large. Neighborhood residents wishing to offer alternative conceptualizations for their neighborhoods were forced to do so within this discursive framework. The UDIA realized as much, and adopted an identity that celebrated growth while at the same time warning of its possible negative effects upon the neighborhood. They wrote: "If our Minnesota forefathers could, by any method, have foreseen the enormous growth to be enjoyed by both the University of Minnesota and the Twin Cities, they almost certainly would not have located the campus where it lies today."[247] Melding a pro-growth approach and an appeal to planning wisdom, the organization continued: "Since this

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[245] Juanita Pacifico Opstein, "The University Expansion Story," special issue of the *Gopher Grad*, (Minneapolis, MN: The Minnesota Alumni Association, 1958), 6. Accessed via the UMN Digital Conservancy.
[246] Ibid, 4.
[247] Background Information on the University District of Southeast Minneapolis, Box 1, Folder 1. Southeast Minneapolis Community Organizations Papers, 1956-1980, University of Minnesota University Archives, Minneapolis, MN.

demand and pressure for housing in Southeast Minneapolis will always persist, it is essential that living areas near the University should be conserved, planned, and developed with the utmost foresight, imagination, and wisdom."[248]

Echoing Morrill's warning cry and drawing upon state-level demographic projections and national patterns, planners and university administrators joined a national chorus of their counterparts at other universities, particularly state land-grant institutions; they collectively sounded the clarion of alarm over rising national college enrollments while simultaneously touting the grand plans they would enact to serve the hordes of future students. At Minnesota, administrators who worried privately over the effects of severing the main campus onto two separate riverbanks framed their decision as a thrilling opportunity. In a breathless feature disseminated to alumni, in part as an appeal for their donations to support the expansion, planners noted that: "The University landscape will be equally exciting: a campus touching both banks of the Mississippi, a modern covered Washington avenue bridge and instruction buildings that reach to the skies;"[249] they covered their concerns about a campus on two riverbanks by floating the idea of the bridge as an icon: "the *new bridge built for education*…[…] one idea […] for inclusion of classrooms on the bridge itself after the manner of small shops of Florence, Italy's Ponte Vecchio which spans the River Arno."[250]

Likewise, in public and private discussions, planners paid assiduous attention to plans of what university buildings and departments would go where on the new campus

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[248] Ibid.
[249] Opstein, "The University Expansion Story," 4-6.
[250] Ibid, 8.

West Bank.[251] In contrast, they mentioned no consideration to what would become of the neighborhood and its residents, only noting that in the affected area--bounded by Washington Avenue South, Nineteenth Avenue South , Fourth Street, and the Mississippi River--"wrecking crews are to begin clearing this area in the near future."[252] Similarly, planning maps in the 1960s showed most of Cedar-Riverside—once the densest residential neighborhood in the city—as institutional space (see Figure 24).

After the University of Minnesota's West Bank expansion, the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood's residents organized to deploy their own contested conceptualizations of urban rise and decline. The later solidification of Cedar-Riverside as a highly organized neighborhood centered around the beginning of a second, later round of urban renewal, institutional expansion, and redevelopment plans on that side of the river. Yet immediately after World War II and into the early 1960s, the voices and preferences of residents living in that area are comparatively silent in the historical record when compared with the vocal activists in southeast Minneapolis. This was not the case in Columbus, where local resident organizers had less success but much in common with the players in Southeast Minneapolis and SEMPACC.

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[251] The committee appointed to plan the expansion and study its effects compiled copious surveys of various university departments on whether they would be willing to move west; they exhaustively considered different types of concrete for building use and design.
[252] Opstein, "The University Expansion Story," 9.

"Is This a 'Real' Neighborhood?" Debating Community in Columbus' University District

As resident activists in Southeast Minneapolis debated issues such as zoning and confronted the simultaneous growth of the University of Minnesota and of national urban planning, in Columbus's University District, residents faced remarkably similar circumstances. Like Minnesota, Ohio State grew dramatically following WWII. As enrollment swelled, Ohio State officials debated how and whether to house their burgeoning numbers of students. Among university staff, a discourse of crisis and decline escalated after WWII when soldiers returned home and Ohio State enrollments grew as a result of the GI Bill.[253]

Long held worries about the effects of the off-campus environment on student life merged with the vastly increasing numbers of students taking up residence off-campus to mark a moment and a discourse of simultaneous panic and possibility. Bolstered by increased federal funding for campus improvements and tuition, campus planners and student services staff dreamed about new and expanded student residences and campus recreation and playing fields. At the same time, they framed their hopes with dire predictions about the dangers of urban, off-campus living and the inadequacy of off-campus housing stock.   Writing in a 1957 annual report, Assistant Dean of Men and Director of Off-Campus Housing A.E. Hittepole expressed concern about the numbers of young, unsupervised men living in off-campus apartments and wrote, "There has been a trend during the past year for boys to go into apartments that are unsupervised, and many

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[253] On the GI Bill's effects on university enrollment: Glenn Altschuler and Stuart Blumin, *The GI Bill: The New Deal for Veterans.*

166

times very poor places for them to live. We again recommend that serious consideration be given to prohibit single men from living in apartments."[254] Hittepole's solution: University dormitories could solve the problem of unsupervised young renters in the University District.[255] Hittepole's worries and sentiment were nothing new; before WWII, student services staff had been just as concerned about off-campus student living conditions. What *was* different in the postwar period was the ability of the University to act upon these concerns about urban decline and begin dormitory building campus expansions projects. Long-held fears of student vulnerability merged with escalating concerns about urban decline to propel Ohio State officials to plan for more on-campus dormitories.

Joining the University of Minnesota and other universities small and large, public and private, Ohio State planned ambitious expansion into surrounding University District streets beginning in the early 1950s. Operating in these contexts through its Office of Campus Planning, Ohio State University spearheaded an urban renewal project in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[256] This project, called the North Dorms urban renewal project, extended the northern boundary of the campus by declaring blighted and razing several University District blocks. Campus planners acquired the land and replaced the

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[254] The Ohio State University Archives, University Housing: Office of (RG 6/M/1), "Dean of Men's Office: Annual Reports: 1957-1958." June 1957 annual report by AE Hittepole (Assistant Dean of Men, director of Off-Campus Housing for Men).
[255] Ibid.
[256] In contrast to the University of Minnesota, Ohio State had a campus planning office in this period. One of the complaints of SEMPACC and others—and indeed one of their suggestions to keep the growth of the UMN transparent and in check—was that Minnesota found its own campus planning office. The contrasting case study of Ohio State reveals that even when universities had institutional planning apparatuses in place, it was not necessarily easier for neighborhood residents to be in communication and collaboration with such entities.

residential streets with on-campus student dormitories.[257] This urban renewal project

evoked conversations and controversies as residents and University officials analyzed and

debated complicated patterns of urban and demographic change as they jointly worked to

stave off their divergent visions of what the postwar "fall" or "decline" of the University

District neighborhoods meant.

While Ohio State planners contemplated campus expansion in almost every

direction (including across the Olentangy River, the western border of the main campus)

in this period, their ability to enact expansion depended upon access to federal urban

renewal funds, and this need limited their options to areas that could meet the federal

criteria for urban renewal. As scholars such as Colin Gordon, Robert Fogelson, and Brian

Robick have discussed, these criteria were not clear-cut.[258] At the local level, city

officials, planners (including OSU planners), and developers could first select an area for

renewal and then assemble the proof of its eligibility; in Gordon's words, they could

"blight the way."[259] It was in this context that in July of 1960, Ohio State University

campus planner James Clark worried in a private memo that the urban neighborhoods

east of Ohio State's campus might not be "blighted enough" to qualify for a federal urban

renewal project. The area's eligibility depended, Clark noted, upon whether the area

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[257] See The Ohio State University Archive, Campus Planning: Office of (RG 10/6/26), "Urban Renewal: OSU North: 1960-61;" The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office of (RG 10/6/26), "Urban Renewal: Projects: OSU North: Improvements: 1964-66."

[258] B.D. Robick, "Blight: The Development of a Contested Concept, "(unpublished dissertation, Carnegie Mellon University, 2011) 399. In this unpublished dissertation, Robick focuses upon the transformation of the scope of the term: from one narrowly used by planners to "a wider array of ideas defined by individual interests." Colin Gordon compares contemporary use of the term to its historical development in Colin Gordon, "Blighting the Way: Urban Renewal, Economic Development, and the Elusive Definition of Blight," 31.

[259] Ibid.

needed to be "20 or 50 percent substandard."[260] Comprised of the blocks bounded by

Woodruff Avenue to the south, Lane Avenue to the north, High Street to the east, and the

Olentangy River to the west, the parcel of land eventually selected for the North Dorms

project was hardly the worst in the District at this moment of time. Rather, its proximity

to the campus and planners' ability to survey it in such a way as to measure sufficient

blight qualified the parcel for urban renewal. Importantly, its location fit with planners'

long-term hopes to expand the main campus northward along the river into the

northwestern University District.

In contrast to the University of Minnesota's decision to expand westward across

the Mississippi River into the adjacent area with the lowest land values and residents least

equipped to protest the decision, Ohio State planners hoped to expand the campus

northward into some of the University District's more stable neighborhoods with striking

similarities to Minneapolis's southeast neighborhoods, particularly the Minneapolis

University District. From the vantage points of vocal neighbors, some of whom were

among the wealthiest and least transient in the District, then, the designation of blight

stung. The contingency and contestability of the planners' conclusions was far from lost

on neighbors. In fact, neighborhood residents published a political cartoon that portrayed

campus planners spraying a can of "Instant Blight" over the neighborhood to qualify it for

urban renewal (Figure 21).[261] In the same year, neighborhood resident Charles Pavey

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[260] The Ohio State University Archive, Campus Planning: Office of (RG 10/6/26), "Urban Renewal: OSU North: 1960-61." James Clark, "Re: Urban renewal," Filed memo.
[261] This political cartoon shows a master planner's spray can of "Instant Blight" and includes the caption: "Tsk! Tsk! Look at the condition of that housing." The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office of (RG 10/6/26), "Urban Renewal: Projects: OSU North: News Clippings: 1961-1965," Clipping from *The Herald and the Booster,* 10/15/1964.

implored the Ohio State Board of Trustees to consider the urban renewal project an ethical breach: "This is, I am sorry to say, patently dishonest. This is not a blighted area and it is not a slum and [...] it hardly sets a good example for the University itself to adopt a philosophy that the end justifies the means."[262] A year later, a neighborhood newspaper editorial letter complained that, "By means of rigged inspections, any area can be declared substandard and ready for the bulldozer."[263] From the perspectives of neighbors in other sections of the District, the North Dorms project was a dangerous example of the expansive and unwieldy power of Ohio State as an institutional neighbor. The project left most University District streets physically intact and demolished only a few blocks of a few streets; but as community responses reveal, it had a much broader symbolic and psychological effect.

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[262] The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office of (RG 10/6/26), "Urban Renewal: Projects: OSU North: Improvements: 1964-66," Letter from Charles Pavey to the Board of Trustees of OSU (June 1964).

[263] The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office of (RG 10/6/26), "Urban Renewal: Projects: OSU North: Improvements: 1964-66." "Letters to the Editor: There's More to the Renewal Story," *Booster* (8/12/1965) Letter by Arthur Young (W. 8th Avenue).

Figure 22. "Instant Blight." This neighborhood political cartoon shows a master planner's spray can of "Instant Blight" and includes the caption: "Tsk! Tsk! Look at the condition of that housing." Source. The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office of (RG 10/6/26), "Urban Renewal: Projects: OSU North: News Clippings: 1961-1965." Clipping from *The Herald and the Booster,* 10/15/1964.

Despite these responses, Ohio State planners stood by assertions that the neighborhoods designated for renewal were blighted and declining. Not only was there tension over campus and community relationships, but neighborhood and university stakeholders also contested neighborhood conditions and planning possibilities in this period. Ohio State planners offered explanations of decline that justified and framed as natural and inevitable their own actions in the urban renewal project. OSU planners cited architectural change and increased density in the neighborhoods as evidence of "blight." As part of the project and its overall strategy for expansion, OSU planners hired an outside firm to study the University District and develop a plan in 1960. This plan had a

171

threefold purpose: to identify problems, to suggest solutions, and "to suggest proposals for guiding both the expansion of the campus, and therefore development and redevelopment of the neighborhoods toward a continually improving University and residential environment."[264] The plan explicitly equated the University District neighborhoods' fate with Ohio State's expansion needs. For Ohio State planners and the outside planners they contracted, development decisions made by Ohio State would direct the future of the neighborhood.

Vocal residents in the area responded by offering contested conceptualizations of urban changes, ones that acknowledged urban blight but implicated Ohio State's growth as a cause of urban decline, not a model for the area's future. Neighborhood residents and organizations pointed out what they perceived as the detrimental effects of the aggressively expansive neighboring institution:

> The growth of the University has created an economic demand for more business and dwelling units immediately surrounding the campus. This has resulted in conversion from single family homes to multiple dwelling and commercial uses. This increased density has resulted in overcrowding, excessive vehicular traffic, and strip commercial development; all blighting factors. Maintenance has declined. A further element of uncertainty within the neighborhoods is caused by the knowledge that the OSU campus must expand, but when, where, and how far?[265]

Thus, University District residents and neighborhood organizations at the time identified Ohio State's possible expansion as a blighting factor in the neighborhood. They offered an alternative vision of university development held in check by neighborhood

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[264] The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office Of (RG 10/6/11), "City Planning Commission and University District Study: 1960-1964, Folder 1 of 3
[265] Ibid.

needs.[266] In addition to frustration over communication breakdowns, fears of subterfuge

on the part of Ohio State prompted suspicion and dissent among University District

residents and landlords as the North Dorms project took shape and was executed.[267] In

particular, the 1962-65 fight and community backlash over Harold Zieg's Lane Terrace

apartment building epitomized the conflicts that characterized the project. Several years

before news of the North Dorms project became public, Zieg, a developer, had

constructed the apartment building on the site eventually chosen for renewal. For Ohio

State planners, the apartment was a problem because it was situated on land planned as

open green space around the dormitories. It could not be declared "substandard" for

urban renewal (because it was newly built) and could not be demolished with the

justification of the need for more student housing (because it already housed student

renters).[268] Its possible (and eventual) destruction was a rallying point for larger

neighborhood protests of the project as residents attacked the inconsistencies they

identified surrounding Ohio State's plans for the building.

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[266] Indeed, the consultants who surveyed neighborhood residents emphasized that OSU officials were working with a population of people who were not adversarial but rather hopeful. In a summary of his study, consultant Ira Fink wrote: "Unlike some universities I am aware of, I did not encounter an attitude among the community that they felt betrayed by the University. What seemed to be the problem instead was something that is perhaps more elusive: that is a sense that OSU could do more to be a neighbor in its neighborhood." The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office Of (RG 10/6/054-V.F.), "Community Relationships: The Ohio State University (Report): 1979," Accession 183/90.

[267] See, for example, a letter sent from Eileen Ryan Jones to Columbus Mayor M.E. Sensenbrenner about Ryan's suspicion of the Columbus Planning Commission and OSU Office of Campus Planning's University District preliminary plan (May 1964). The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office Of (RG 10/6/11), "City Planning Commission and University District Study: 1960-1964 (Folder 2 of 3)."

[268] A true urgency about student housing permeates the public and private rhetoric and writing of OSU actors about this project. For example, in 1964, one OSU official commented to a campus planner: "property acquisition is troublesome, but we have the larger problem of how we house students." The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office Of (RG 10/6/26), "Urban Renewal: OSU North: 1964-1966." Letter from Gordon Carson to James Clark (February 1964) about the schedule of building for the North Dorms that urges expedition of building.

Ohio State officials' and planners' handling of the Zieg case reveals how Ohio State attempted to distance the university from the Zieg case specifically and from the urban renewal process more generally, leading to accusations of secrecy and collusion. Though the University worked closely with city officials in what both parties referred to as a "gentleman's agreement," Ohio State public relations material about these issues routinely cast all responsibility for the project upon the city of Columbus.[269] Planners and administrators deeply involved in the urban renewal process and influential at local, state, and federal levels distanced themselves from the outcry. They blamed instead the city government, which purchased the land for the project, and the federal government, which sponsored the urban renewal process. In a memo, OSU head planner John Herrick explained the official position to a co-worker who was corresponding with Zieg: "since it is the city and not the University that acquires and clears the land in an urban renewal project, the decision on the Zieg property will be made in City Hall," and "we are asking our Board of Trustees to say that they will buy from the city whatever land the city decides to acquire and clear." He concluded: "You were truthful in what you said to Mr. Zieg […] We have not and do not propose to take Mr. Zieg's apartment, but if the city should acquire and clear the property we should of course buy it when it is made available for resale."[270] This sequence of events was exactly what happened, and

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[269] A letter from the ME Sensenbrenner (Mayor, City of Columbus) and Patrick Phelan (Director, Department of Urban Renewal, City of Columbus) to Novice Fawcett (OSU President) and John Herrick (Executive Director of Campus Planning). The letters iterates a "gentleman's agreement" between the City and the University, promises that the pooling credits will be used in the University district, and that the City "will take full account of the fact that these credits would not exist except for the past and continuing capital improvements program of the University. The letter includes other platitudes directed toward the University by the City. (February 1965)

[270] A letter to Gordon Carson (Office of Business and Finance) from John Herrick from May 1962. The letter is in response to questions about the Zieg apartment on N. High Street and its inclusion in the urban

Herrick's technical reasoning rankled neighbors who promised that the "ghost" of Zieg Terrrace would continue to haunt Ohio State planning and expansion efforts.

Therefore, like residents in Minneapolis, active residents in Columbus attempted to work within Ohio State's rhetorical framework: in this case, the crisis of the city. Residents blamed lack of city building regulations, increased high-density construction, decreased homeownership, student riots, rising parking and trash problems, and increasingly high general neighborhood instability as different negative characteristics of blight. The convergence of their concerns with Ohio State planners' use of blight to justify renewal secured the periods' pivotal place in contemporary discourse as a "breaking point" or period of "decline," even when the details of that "decline" are in fact contested.

Neighborhood residents and organizations acted to curb these threats, to protect stability, and to restore a perceived prewar Golden Age. They did so using some of the same organizing mechanisms emergent in this period across the United States. They organized an umbrella neighborhood association: the University Community Association, which formed in the 1950s.[271]Alarmed by some of the changes occurring in the neighborhoods around them, the UCA organized as an umbrella organization that brought together various university district constituencies. UCA defined the University community for perhaps the first time officially as "bounded on the north by Glen Echo ravine, on the south by 11th Ave., on the west by the Olentangy River, and on the east by

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renewal plan. He writes, "This apartment was specifically excluded from acquisition in the development plan," The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning, Office of (RG 10/26), "Urban Renewal: OSU North: 1962."

[271] Phone interview conducted by the author with Rev. David McCoy, January 2015.

the New York Central railroad." Just as SEMPACC's organization left out what became

the Cedar Riverside neighborhood, the poor section across the river, the original UCA

left out the Weinland Park neighborhood, the University area's poorest section.

In Columbus as well as in Minneapolis, more complex community organizations

mobilized in response to the intensified planning and expansion efforts of those

universities. The growing complexity and scale of these community organizations in the

postwar period also reflected and was in response to an increasingly complex and

multifaceted urban political and planning apparatus, one that deployed professional

planners at various levels of government, from municipal to federal. Neighborhood

organizations modeled this multi-scalar structure as they developed from groups

organized at the small-scale level of blocks, streets or what I called special interest

groups earlier in this chapter into broader umbrella organizations.

Like the formation of the University District improvement Association in

Minneapolis, the formation of the UCA represented a different and new kind of

organizing. Just as the UDIA in the delimited the bounds of a new University District in

Minneapolis, the UCA gave geographic limits to what had been often called the nebulous

University community in Columbus. Its formation came at a time when Ohio State

planners were questioning whether the area counted as an actual, cohesive residential

community. In fact, in 1964, one OSU official commented to a campus planner:

"property acquisition is troublesome, but we have the larger problem of how we house

students."[272] When an outside planning company was commissioned (as part of urban renewal requirements) to conduct a study of Ohio State's current relationship with its neighborhoods, an OSU campus planner scrawled a comment in the margin next to a discussion of the neighborhood: "is this a *real* neighborhood?"[273] The formation of UCA, which named, delineated, and unified the area, represented a counter-assertion by some neighborhood residents that they were, in fact, a "real neighborhood." Yet it simultaneously epitomized the tenuousness of such a claim in the face of Ohio State's growth and broader urban changes. In this, it represented the aspirations of certain, self-selected residents and businesses more than reality.

Like the UDIA, the UCA, at least in its rhetoric, was more inclusive than older neighborhood organizations. Unlike the UDIA, the UCA charged dues to individual and business members. Membership was open to anyone living in or owning a business or property in the geographic limits of the newly defined University community area. In 1964, for example dues were one dollar for individuals and two dollars for businesses. Also like the UDIA, the UCA was a group of older, long-term, home-owning residents. As an organization, the group had a specific stake in promoting stability and homeownership, a bias probably reflected in its membership. Also like the UDIA, the UCA brought together various prominent local professionals under the umbrella of a

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[272] Letter from Gordon Carson to James Clark (February 1964) about the schedule of building for the north dorms. The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office Of (RG 10/6/26), "Urban Renewal: OSU North: 1964-1966."

[273] Review of the University District study from July 1964 entitled, "Analysis of proposal to connect Indianola, Summit and North Fourth Street into a single, 2-way, semi-limited access arterial street." Annotated by James Clark (August 1964). The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office Of (RG 10/6/11), "City Planning Commission and University District Study: 1960-1964 (Folder 2 of 3)." (Emphasis added.)

community improvement organization; among its leaders were professors, clergy, and business owners.

Just as in Minneapolis, where local activists formed a larger organization, SEMPACC, in Columbus, a broader organization followed on the heels of the UCA in response to the growing complexities of urban development and renewal. A local clergyman whose church was the only building spared during Ohio State's urban renewal project and who was active in University District neighborhood organizing, the Rev. David McCoy called the UDO, which formed in the 1960s "an organization of organizations." Unlike SEMPACC, which residents initiated and ran, and whose members then debated whether they should strategically extend membership to the University of Minnesota, UDO had Ohio State involvement from its inception; in fact, the University funded the formation of the group, which would bring together the various associations within the University District area (including the UCA), the businesses along High Street, and the University.[274]

In one sense, Ohio State's efforts to quietly spearhead another, broader-based District-wide organization reflected the resurgent pushback they received from residents and associations during and especially after the North Dorms urban renewal project. An OSU proposal in the late 1960s to use urban renewal credits in the southwestern University District never succeeded.[275] Noting opposition by another neighborhood organization, SCCA (South Campus Area Association), OSU planner Jean Hansford

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[274] Phone interview conducted by the author with Rev. David McCoy, January 2015.
[275] For more information on the Homestead urban renewal proposal, see The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office Of (RG 10/6/26), "Urban Renewal: Projects: Area South of Campus: 1962, 1966-68, 1970."

wrote, "The major problem is citizen participation and cooperation because the last attempt in this area was killed by accusations of 'land-grabbing,' and the like."[276] The echoes of an unsuccessful restraining order against the North Dorms Urban Renewal project reverberated with each new project or plan proposed by Ohio State stakeholders. According to a quotation from the suit's attorney in the *Columbus Dispatch*, the 1964 lawsuit alleged that, "the area in the OSU North project is not blighted but […] the renewal project is a subterfuge or conspiracy to obtain the land for OSU." [277] As the neighborhood residents' unsuccessful contention mounted, it captured community and city attention; even for those unaffected directly, the project symbolized a new set of tense relationships between Ohio State and the District and, for neighbors, the threat of more expansion.

These tensions between smaller neighborhood associations and residents within the UD continued as Ohio State's grip upon area planning efforts continued and surged again at the close of the twentieth century, as different sections of the University District unaffected by mid-century expansion but very much affected by Ohio State's development today faced their own sets of university-community tensions.

"This We Choose to Call PROGRESS:" Community-Involved Planning in Chicago

In Minneapolis and Columbus, residents who contested urban development in university areas did so in the face of intensified university growth and expansion.

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[276] Ibid, a memorandum written by Jean Hansford (November 1968).
[277] "OSU North Restrainer is Slated." *Columbus Dispatch* (7/12/1964).

Minneapolis and Columbus residents lived adjacent to large, land-locked institutions, and those residents who organized did so because they saw the writing on the wall, so to speak. As SEMPACC put it, "some […] residents viewed the university's growth with apprehension, considering it to be a monster which would ultimately swallow the community."[278] On the other hand, on the Near West Side of Chicago, which was home to a number of institutions (notably, the Hull House and several hospitals) but not a university, the local context was markedly different.

Instead, the district's identity was as one of Chicago's most needy areas--though stakeholders disagreed about what, exactly, it needed. As Chapter 1 explained, various Near West Side chroniclers had agreed the neighborhood was "in decline" from as early as the late nineteenth century, as population in Chicago and especially on the Near West Side skyrocketed. By the postwar period, residents and actors who spoke about the neighborhood did so by utilizing the discursive frameworks of "decline," "blight," and "crisis," but they did so because these concepts proved especially motile and mobilizing. The prognosis was one of possibility, not of pessimism. Residents struggled to frame their experiences in the terms of the planners but also to push against those terms. "Your facts are not conclusive and we agree that there is 'blight,' in the neighborhood, but this does not mean that something can't be done," wrote neighborhood resident Ernest

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[278] Mrs. Neil Yaeger (Acting Secretary), "SEMPAC General Meeting Minutes," December 11, 1963, page 6. In Folder: "SEMPACC—General Meetings, Minutes, Agendas, 1960-1964," Box 1: "UDIA-SEMPACC-Harrison Neighborhood," Southeast Minneapolis Community Organizations Papers, 1956-1980, University of Minnesota University Archives, Minneapolis, MN.

Mategrano to the *Chicago Sun-Times* in 1950.[279] "This is not the best neighborhood, but

it is a happy one," noted an anonymous Mexican father in a Jack Mabley article. [280]

Thus, the Near West Side at the turn of the twentieth century and into the postwar

period was prominent as one of Chicago's most destitute areas. Yet it was also notable

for its proximity to the central business district ("the Loop"). This positioning made it

desirable in the eyes of businessmen and developers who sought to take advantage of its

location. Crucially, the Near West Side by 1945 was also adjacent to the expanding

Chicago "Black Belt" of south and southwest Chicago. As housing crunches (and the

pulls, as Beryl Satter has noted, of real estate speculators) in those historically segregated

districts pushed black residents to move outward, Chicago's various interests feared that

the Near West Side would undergo racial change.[281] Unlike many neighborhoods in

Chicago, it was already integrated and quite diverse.[282]

Therefore, planners, business interests, city officials, and neighborhood residents

had different goals and desires for the place in the postwar period. On, the surface, they

all operated within the same discursive framework—they used "blight" to talk about

different possibilities. Yet this surface commonality obliterated the crucial differences

between how residents and others perceived the neighborhood's problems. These

differences would play out over the course of the first three decades of the postwar period

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[279] Ernest Mategrano, "Gentleman," letter to the editorial board of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, Near West Side Community Committee Reports, Housing Committee Correspondence and Reports, July 1947-July 1950, Folder 399, Box 30, University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections.
[280] Jack Mabley, "City's Little People Were Sold Out," *Chicago Tribune*, March 1, 1961, Eri Hulbert papers, Folder 40, Box 1, University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections.
[281] See Beryl Satter, *Family Properties (*New York: Macmillan, 2009) and Arnold Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
[282] For Near West Side (community area 28) demographic change over time, see *Local Community Fact Book of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

on the Near West Side, as that neighborhood became the epicenter of urban renewal

attention and later, renewal controversy, in Chicago.

The most important distinction between "insider" and "outsider" views of the

place and its problems was that "insider" activists—neighborhood residents—focused

broadly on housing problems and "outside" causes of urban decay, particularly absentee

landlords and the inability of resident homeowners to obtain funds to maintain their

properties. "Outsiders"—among whom I include planners, outside private interests, and

various city officials, the urban experts I discussed in Chapter 2—framed the

neighborhood's problems as those of the people. In their view, the Near West Side could

be saved from "blight" via a "clearance" of its residents (and modernization of its

structures), a change which would alter the racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic composition

of the area. Thus, for outsiders, the problems of people and housing were intertwined.

Although they framed their discussions of "blight" around housing and density, these

outsiders often slipped and blurred their language, revealing that their renewal hopes for

the area involved changing not only the built environment but its inhabitants.[283]

Residents initiated planning for the Near West Side's future through at least two

streams of organizing, both of which emerged outside of official city and planning

channels. The first, and oldest, were neighborhood organizations and interest groups that

had existed for years but had a changing younger leadership. For example, returning

WWII veterans who had grown up on the Near West Side emerged as a vocal cadre of

younger male leadership in the postwar period, especially through the West Side

Community Committee. Acknowledging "blight" while advocating a "self-help"

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[283] Chapter 4 will explore these blurred definitions of blight with more depth.

approach to the neighborhood's problems and future, these men offered plans for the neighborhood that stood in stark contrast to the city's plans for clearance.[284] One of the group's leader, Anthony Sorrentino, surveyed and mapped various vacant lots throughout the Near West Side. With their piles of trash and debris, these lots were evocative visual representations of the broader "blight" planners sought to fight and "clear" on the Near West Side.[285] In Sorrentino's sketches, however, each lot was notable for the neighborhood uses Sorrentino envisioned for it. Where others saw blight, Sorrentino mapped playgrounds, ballfields, and community gardens (See Figure 23).[286]
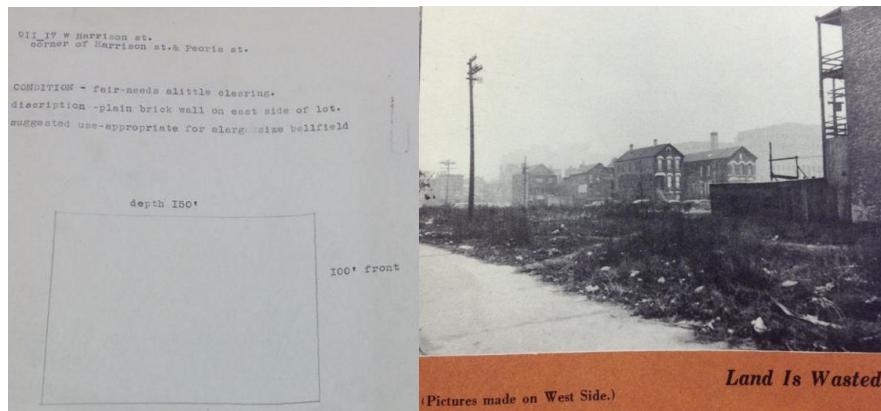
Figure 23: "Appropriate for a Large Size Ballfield?" Conflicting outlooks on land-use on the Near West Side. Source (l): "Map of Harrison and Peoria Streets, Chicago, Drawn and annotated by Anthony Sorrentino, February 21, 1940. Folder: "Clean Up Committee Correspondence and Notes, January-February 1940," in Box 16, "Near West Side Community Committee Records," Richard J. Daley Library Special Collections and University Archives, Chicago IL. Source (r): Image from unnumbered page in Chicago Land Clearance Commission, *Report for 1950*, Folder: "Chicago Land Clearance Commission- -press releases and reports, 1951-1958," in Box 15, "Near West Side Community Committee Records," Richard J. Daley Library Special Collections and University Archives, Chicago IL.

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[284] See the Near West Side Community Committee records for full narratives of their programming and mission. Near West Side Community Committee Records, University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections, Chicago, IL.

[285] Thomas Furlong, "Blight is Blooming," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1946. Kevin Bale, "Determinants in the Perception of Visual Blight", *Human Ecology*, 13, no. 3 (September 1985),:371-387 http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezp3.lib.umn.edu/docview/17723712 3?accountid=14586 (accessed February 12, 2016).

[286] Compare Sorrentino's take to that of the Chicago Land Clearance Commission in its Report for 1950 in Figure 22.

At the same that Sorrentino and his cohort surveyed the vacant lots of the Near West Side, the Hull House was applying for grants to formalize and fund this sort of community planning, efforts which led to a second stream of residents' participation in planning. In the late 1940s, recognizing that the Near West Side Area would be one of the neighborhoods in Chicago eligible for any urban renewal legislation passed at the national level, the Hull House initiated a community planning board, an experiment that sought to innovate neighborhood and community organizing to include broad-based participation. In its inception and avowed mission, this effort was different from the organizations in Minneapolis and Columbus, which did not aim to be representative and, in fact, represented vocal minorities of homeowners within those areas.

The new planning group included both men and women on its leadership board, and it emulated the neighborhood's interracial and inter-ethnic composition, even though the various ethnic and racial groups existed with some tension at that time. Like the umbrella SEMPACC and UDO groups in the other districts, the Near West Community Planning Board brought together representatives from the area's multiplicity of smaller neighborhood and ethnic interest groups, from the Mexican Civic Committee to the Italian-American West Side Community Committee.[287]

The planning board's earliest actions was to fight the city of Chicago's designation of the neighborhood as "blighted" in order to change it from a clearance to a conservation area. The board successfully lobbied the city and the Chicago Land Clearance Commission to designate the area as "near-blighted" as opposed to "blighted,"

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[287] Paul B. Johnson, *Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal: The History of the Near West Side Planning Board and A Citizen Participation Project*.

a change that was actually critical for opening up opportunities for residents to remain in their neighborhood and involved in its planning. Whereas "blighted" areas typically were slated for full clearance and renewal, a fate usually ensuring high displacement of residents, "near-blighted" areas were eligible for conservation funding from the federal government. [288] While clearance funds went to bulldozers and construction companies to tear down buildings and literally, "clear" land, conservation funds were available to individual homeowners and neighborhood groups to enact small-scale, scattered improvements throughout the area. Planners opposed conservation using metaphors of agricultural blight and disease, noting that only full-scale clearance could stem and reverse the problems entirely. But residents favored conservation efforts and organized to inform their neighbors of the availability of funds, in part through the development of block clubs and block-level leaders.

In the mid-1950s, as development and renewal intensified on the Near West Side, and after the sudden death of Eri Hulbert, the Planning Board's Hull House leader, the Hull House affiliated planning movement gradually morphed into a broader movement with residents as leaders. A prominent example was Florence Scala, a second generation Italian-American woman who internalized and later dismissed the professional, rational goals espoused by Hulbert and the Hull House in their devising of the planning board. For example, Scala described the planning board's early mission of accomplishing

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[288] Ibid.

renewal "*by telling people the truth and digging up the facts, and doing the research, and laying it out for them so they really understand it.*"[289]

As part of the fact-finding missions of the Near West Side Planning Board, Scala and others embarked upon a surveying project that highlighted problem properties on the Near West Side, a piecemeal approach that contrasted with the blanket efforts of the city to designate the entire area as blighted. Scala remembered:

> I said to Eri, you know, I'm going to take pictures of the neighborhood, so when we have our meetings we could show these slides. 'Look at this alley, it's filthy, we've got to do something about getting the city to clean this alley.' And show these buildings with absentee ownership and so on. I ended up with most of these pictures, but the best of them were ruined in a fire we had in this building.[290]

Indeed, Scala visited, photographed, and submitted complaints about numerous neighborhood properties throughout the 1950s as part of these community planning efforts.[291] She organized her photographs with annotations of her actions to date, city or court action, and in some cases, the city's follow-through. With the date of each structure's demise, she noted: "wrecked," "razed," and "demolished," with what one must imagine was a degree of grim satisfaction. Her records indicated someone highly familiar with the neighborhood, its buildings, and its inhabitants. She often noted whether a building was vacant or inhabited. Despite her desire for buildings to be torn down, she occasionally registered concern for the inhabitants, noting that one duplex should be

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[289] Italics added, Carolyn Eastwood, *Near West Side Stories* (Chicago, IL: Lake Claremont Press, 2002), 154.
[290] Ibid, 157.
[291] Florence Scala, "Abandoned Buildings" and "Photographs, 1953-1963," Folders 45-46, Box 2, Florence Scala Collection, University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections.

demolished "if can get family out."[292] This building by building approach which took into account the possible fates of residents was very different from the city of Chicago's much-maligned disregard and displacement during its urban renewal projects.

"The Campus is Really On Land that Was Stolen:" A Chicago Campus for the University of Illinois

Although its main campus was located in the twin cities of Urbana and Champaign, the University of Illinois initially dealt with the swell of GI Bill students by holding lower division courses at an ad-hoc branch campus at Navy Pier in downtown Chicago. When their enrollment numbers showed no signs of declining, the University of Illinois trustees and officials began to search for a new site for a Chicago branch campus within metropolitan Chicago. Since most of their students came from the city of Chicago and its suburbs, university officials desired not only to expand their physical campus at Urbana-Champaign but also to build a new campus within greater Chicago. Having made the decision to open a new branch, the university embarked upon an intensive study and search for a suitable site. This process quickly became entangled with city and state politics, local race relations, and the dreams of planners and politicians. It involved finagling with major railroads and vying local interest groups. These factors surrounding the search and the analysis of various possibilities lent a narrative drama to the process, which local residents could and did follow closely in the Chicago newspapers.

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[292] Florence Scala, "Entry for 1340-1342 S. Sangamon Street," "Photographs, 1953-1963," Folder 46, Box 2, Florence Scala Collection, University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections.

A number of scholars, notably Gene Burd and George Rosin and more recently, Sharon Haar and Amanda Seligmann, have devoted entire dissertations, books, and chapters to the intricacies of the site selection process, which unfolded across the 1950s and involved numerous possible sites throughout the broader Chicagoland area, some of which were islands, airport, railroad yards, parks, and forest preserves.[293] Important to my analysis, however, is simply the fact (which they have well-documented in the course of their broader works) that none of the major actors involved in the university's expansions initially considered the Near West Side as a possible site.

Although it was not on the radar for site selection for the University of Illinois, it was on the radar for urban renewal. The Harrison-Halsted site was intended as a residential renewal site, a prospect which excited many of the residents involved in the Near West Side Planning Board. These leaders were in the process of planning for new affordable housing to replace the Near West Side's worst housing stock. The Harrison-Halsted site was a smaller parcel within the Near West Side area intended for mostly clearance, not conservation. However, the decision to clear the area for new residential development was one the neighborhood leaders, along with the Hull House, supported.

William Braden described the area's residents as feeling as though: "You bend down to pick yourself up by your bootstraps--and somebody comes along and gives you a kick." Florence Scala, the neighborhood resident who worked with the Near West Side

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[293] Gene Burd, "The Role of the Chicago Daily Newspapers in the Selection of the Chicago Campus for the University of Illinois," (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1964). George Rosen, *Decision-Making, Chicago Style* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1980); Sharon Haar, "Location, Location, Location: Gender and the Archaeology of Urban Settlement," *Journal of Architectural Education* 55, no. 3 (February 2002): 158. See also Sharon Haar, "Communities in Conflict: Conflicts in Communities,." in the proceedings of the 86th ACSA Annual Meeting and Technology Conference, 661-667; Amanda Seligmann, *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.)

Planning Board to survey blighted buildings, led neighborhood women who protested the site selection. She later remembered: "Stay here, we were told, and you'll be the nucleus of a new community. We had faith. We stayed, and we worked." No doubt galvanized by Scala's coalition, neighborhood teenage girls, part of a club sponsored by the Hull House, wrote to Mayor Daley: "Our parents voted for you, Mr. Daley, with the hopes you would make our community a better place to live...Now it seems to us that instead of building us up, you are letting us down...why do you pick on an area in which the community is just beginning to expand. We now have the impression you feel it is easier to move people than railroads."[294]

Residents rallied against the decision not only through relatively young organizations, such as the Near West Side Planning Board and social agencies such as the Hull House, but also through some of the oldest institutions in the neighborhood, its churches. According to Scala, upon the site selection announcement, confused residents gathered at two neighborhood churches, Holy Guardian Angel's school and Saint Francis. "This happened, you know, no planning, just people just ran there that night." Father Italo Scola, a young priest who had spearheaded an effort to build a new parish school and church for Holy Guardian Angels (at 860 Cabrini St.), called the decision "a crime against humanity," and Father Joseph Gallego of the predominantly Mexican-American Saint Francis parish said it would be "a great blow to our people."[295] Scola's successful

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[294] Clipping from Robert Weaver's file, William Baden, "Angry Residents Picket at City Hall In Protest of West Side U. of I. Site," Subject Correspondence Files, Robert C. Weaver, HHFA and HUD 1961-68, 1961, Record Group 207 Department of Housing and Urban Development, NARA, College Park, MD.
[295] 2 Priests Hit U of I Choice for Campus, *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Feb. 13, 1961, B5, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. See also: Dominic Candelero, *Chicago's Italians: Immigrants, Ethnics, Americans* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2003), 24.

effort to build a new facility for his Italian-American parish, using community donations, reflected an alternative vision of neighborhood renewal. Speaking just three years prior to the site selection furor, in 1958, Scola had said that "the new church marks the beginning of an effort to create the kind of neighborhood to which people (Italian-Americans) will return from the suburbs." [296] For Scola and his neighborhood parishioners who had donated to the building fund, the university's site selection decision--couched as renewal--effectively ended a renewal effort they felt they had only just begun.

Male civic and business leaders on the Near West Side were divided on the decision and allowed the neighborhood residents traditionally with the least political power--women, children, clergy--to represent the neighborhood interests to the city. The best-connected men on the Near West Side were members of the Central Area Committee, a business and planning interest group which supported the decision. Others stood to benefit indirectly from gentrification and students living in the neighborhood and patronizing their businesses. Others were too politically involved to speak out against the decision. Some have alluded that they may have allowed the women to become the spokespeople of the movement so that the city would not slam them with code violations. The community planning board had pressed the city in the previous decades to fund better code enforcement, particularly to deal with absentee landlords. During the site selection fight, city inspectors allegedly clamped down on any business that put its weight behind the dissenters. This occurrence or even the perception of it by

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[296] "Site of a New Church Gets Blessing," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 11, 1958, 19. http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/182109013?accountid=14586.

neighborhood residents reveals the ways in which order and expertise could seem

arbitrary and politically contingent, not ironclad and neutral.

Neighborhood residents fighting the decision found outside support within the

city of Chicago and nationally. They eventually saw themselves as a case emblematic of

the legal and other issues inherent in urban renewal. Hyde Park's Margaret Hulbert, the

widow of former Near West Side Planning Board president Eri Hulbert wrote to Robert

Weaver, the urban renewal administrator: "The immediate reason for my writing

concerns the decision of Mayor Daly of Chicago to offer the Near West Side (Harrison-

Halsted, Hull House area) to the University of Illinois for the site of their new institution.

This has been done in spite of the fact that the area had been officially designated and

approved for other uses."[297] Hulbert went on to refer to her husband Eri Hulbert's work

with the Near West Side Planning Board: "(their) objective was to repair and renew the

area for the people who lived and worked there-not for others who might covet the site

for its obvious advantages[...]I would not bother you if I did not believe this situation

involves nation wide problems."[298] Hulbert's fellow Hyde Park activist June Dolnick also

wrote to Jane Jacobs in New York to get her advice and support on the effort.[299] In

Jacob's reply, citing New York relocation plans she called "an exercise in the use of

inapplicable statistics for the befuddlement of the timid," Jane Jacobs questioned a New

York relocation feasibility study cited to justify expressway redevelopment in New York

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[297] Letter from Margaret Hulbert to Robert Weaver, March 14, 1961, in Folder: "General Correspondence, A-F, 1961," in Box 62, "Housing for the Elderly, General-Correspondence, A-L," Subject Correspondence Files, Robert C. Weaver, HHFA and HUD 1961-68, 1961, Record Group 207 Department of Housing and Urban Development, NARA, College Park, MD.
[298] Ibid.
[299] Letter from June Dolnick to Jane Jacobs, January 30, 1963, in Folder: "June Dolnick Harrison-Halsted Legal Correspondence, 1962-63," in Box 3, June Dolnick Papers, Chicago History Center, Chicago, IL.

and implied the Near West Side decision involved similarly unsound deployment of expertise.[300] During an age of the consolidation and strengthening of professional urban expertise, when city planners bolstered clearance plans with seemingly irrefutable statistics, this unlikely coalition of female activists re-imagined and reinterpreted outside planning visions for their communities and suggested alternative urban renewal strategies. Their protests emphasized the contingencies and biases in studies, statistics, and plans portrayed to the public as indisputable. Despite high visibility in the media, national collaboration, and carefully planned deployment of professionally sanctioned and official mechanisms of protest, these women were not successful; plans went forth as proposed for the clearance project, and the university opened four years later.

The Hull House, which had initially sponsored the Near West Side Planning Board as an experiment in community-based urban renewal efforts, was notably silent in the struggle. A few former Hull House residents--notably, by-then octogenarian Jessie Binford--aligned themselves in support of the neighborhood residents fighting the decision. The Hull House Board, however, officially supported the site selection and took pains only to make provision for the saving of the Hull House building itself as a museum. For some neighborhood residents, this decision represented a betrayal and a revelation that the Hull House had been an "outside" institution all along, even as its unique mission had positioned it as a part of the community. Drawing a line between her neighbors and the institution, Scala later remembered: "The misunderstandings never

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[300] Letter from Jane Jacobs to June Dolnick, February 15, 1963, in Folder: "June Dolnick Harrison-Halsted Legal Correspondence, 1962-63," in Box 3, June Dolnick Papers, Chicago History Center, Chicago, IL.

came from neighborhood people. It arose out of the Hull House Board's unwillingness to understand […] It was as though we were talking to a stone wall, a mountain." [301]

On April 20th, the Chicago Daily Defender published a short but telling blurb "Trustees Stick to Harrison Site." They recounted a chain of efforts that brought neighborhood residents into conflict with University of Illinois students, who supported the new campus site. The article noted:

> Housewives from the neighborhood clashed head-on with students from the (Navy Pier) branch. The clash occurred in city hall. Both groups wanted to tell their troubles to Mayor Richard J. Daley. The students, who for years have been complaining about inadequate facilities on Navy Pier, won. They got to see the mayor. The housewives were ushered into a conference room to cool their heels. The mayor told the students he agreed with the trustees.[302]

While media coverage focused on this image of angry housewives protesting rational decisions, techniques employed by Scala and the other neighborhood residents actually were grounded in the very reasoning used by planners. Indeed, by the time of the 1961 announcement, Scala had over a decade's worth of experience in urban renewal planning through the Near West Planning Board, which had even sent her to national conferences for training. Actions she and other leaders took to spearhead the protests included hiring a city planner as a consultant, pointing out discrepancies in earlier plans, appealing to the Hull House for support (though it was not given), organizing votes to delay the campus

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[301] Terkel, *Division Street*, 4-7.
[302] "Trustees Stick to Harrison Site." *Chicago Daily Defender* (Daily Edition), April 20, 1961, http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezp3.lib.umn.edu/docview/49383505 5?accountid=14586 (accessed February 13, 2016).

construction by denying a levy, and a presenting legal case they tried to take all of the way to the Supreme Court.[303]

In fact, as spokeswoman for the neighborhood residents who protested the decision, Scala dismissed Saul Alinsky's style at first "because at the time I was under the influence of the Hull House," she noted. She recalled how:

> We were really doing this our own way, which was different from the way Saul Alinsky was doing it. We were negotiating with all of the city departments, and Eri was going at it constantly. Not only did he have to do persuading, not only did he have to get the city officials to understand his position and decide that our goals were, he also had to worry about getting money.[304]

In this way, influenced by professional planning men and their interpretations of how to run an organization, Scala internalized the processes of logic and fact-finding which suffused planning and urban renewal discourse from this postwar period in the U.S.

Yet, as Sharon Haar has noted, media coverage of the protest focused on the role of the women and portrayed them as contributing to urban disorder.[305] The shouting, "angry women" were attributed phrases like "the first surveyor is going to get it in the head with a crowbar."[306] Also shouts of "Fraud!" and "how can you face us?"

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[303] Details about the fight over the Harrison-Halsted case are well documented in a number Chicago archival collections. Foremost, see the Florence Scala Collection at the Richard J. Daley Library Special Collections and University Archives, Chicago IL. See also the June Dolnick papers at the Chicago History Center, Chicago IL. For national perspectives, see the Robert C. Weaver correspondence files detailed above.

[304] Eastwood, *Near West Side Stories*, 157.

[305] Haar, "Location, Location, Location: Gender and the Archaeology of Urban Settlement;" See also Haar,"Communities in Conflict: Conflicts in Communities" 661-667.

[306] Peter Negronida, "Fights for Community." *Chicago Tribune (1963-Current File),* June 25, 1964, http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezp3.lib.umn.edu/docview/179516777?accountid=14586 (accessed October 15, 2014).

According to the article, the protest ended when Scala and Binford arranged for a meeting with Daley with both of them and Tibord Haring, a planning professional hired by the neighborhood for assistance. The article's author, perhaps for didactic purposes, notes that Scala quieted the "mob" by telling them that more could be accomplished in a "small meeting than by a yelling mob" and by announcing plans to appeal to President Kennedy if necessary since the federal government was slated to provide two-thirds of the funding (and the city the other one-third). She was quoted as saying: "We have to do this step-by-step. As a last resort, we can have a mob, but not like the mobs they have in Europe. Mr. Daley is going to understand what it is like to live in a real democracy."[307]

Despite Scala's emphasis on order, adherence to planning procedures, and democratic decision-making, an image accompanied the article of an "Irate woman."[308] The Chicago media's insistence on portraying the movement as angry and out of control provided a vivid and stereotypical image for their readers, and indeed, the legacies of this imagery have persisted in popular memory today. Yet these portrayals have obscured the ways in which Scala and the women sought to be a part of, not apart from, the official channels and procedures of planning and community organizing during the urban renewal period. Paradoxically, with its careful reliance on adherence to planning and renewal rationale, their movement's failure to impact decision-making and the local and national renewal processes revealed the irrationality and contingency deeply embedded in those policies.

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[307] Ibid.
[308] Ibid.

Referring to these crowds of neighborhood people who packed city hall at hearings to protest, Scala concluded: "even with all that display of strength and solidarity, the power was not there, in the people, to stop it (the site selection).[309] When the site selection was announced, all of the official channels aligned against the neighborhood. Female neighborhood leaders stood up for their visions for the future of the neighborhood but ultimately lost out to a much broader coalition of interests and experts, from city officials to planners to university trustees to local businessmen. When the university was completed just four years after the initial announcement, and the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle (later "University of Illinois at Chicago) opened, what was meant to be the nation's first experiment in community-based planning ended with an almost total displacement of the residents involved in that planning for "their" neighborhood's future.

Contesting Urban Utopias in Cedar-Riverside

Just as private and public interests in Chicago coveted the Near West Side for its location proximate to the central business district, in Minneapolis in the late 1950s and early 1960s, freeway construction and institutional expansion carved the old sixth ward into a hot commodity—a triangle-shaped wedge of land bounded by the river and two freeways and flanked by hospitals and educational institutions. Between 1965 and 1980, city officials, private investors, and neighborhood residents engaged in a struggle for the area's future. Each group prioritized opposite quasi-utopian ends. In contrast to the community movement in Chicago, which failed to stop the institutional renewal,

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[309] Eastwood, *Near West Side Stories,* 150.

redevelopment, and transformation of the Near West Side for the reasons discussed in the previous section, in Minneapolis, a vocal, organized group of neighborhood residents marshaled federal policy tools and their own institution building to successfully contest (some of the) development in their neighborhood.[310] The similarities and differences between the Near West Side and Cedar-Riverside development reveal how in areas with similar demographics, contexts, and histories, neighborhood outcomes might be very different.

Today known as Cedar-Riverside, this section of Minneapolis's University Alliance neighborhoods was left out of the 1950s southeast planning movement. Demographically and architecturally dissimilar from the southeast neighborhoods, and located across the river from that planning area, Cedar-Riverside was the grounds of the University of Minnesota's late 1950s West Bank expansion, as well as the growth and expansions of several hospitals and a private Lutheran college. Despite institutional incursions such as these, it remained an important site for low-income housing for Minneapolis residents, and increasingly, University students. Not only was this section of Minneapolis left out of the SEMPACC coalitions, it had no identity in the City of Minneapolis's preliminary plan of residential neighborhood. In the map below, the contemporary neighborhood of Cedar-Riverside appeared as a blank zone within the University "community" area.

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[310] Randy Stoecker's book *Defending Community* is the comprehensive account of the detailed events that unfolded between the late 1960s-1990s in Cedar-Riverside. Stoecker tells "the story of a community that overcame the odds against its own survival…by preventing the implementation of an urban renewal plan that slated the neighborhood for total demolition. And…by implementing community-controlled development." (30)
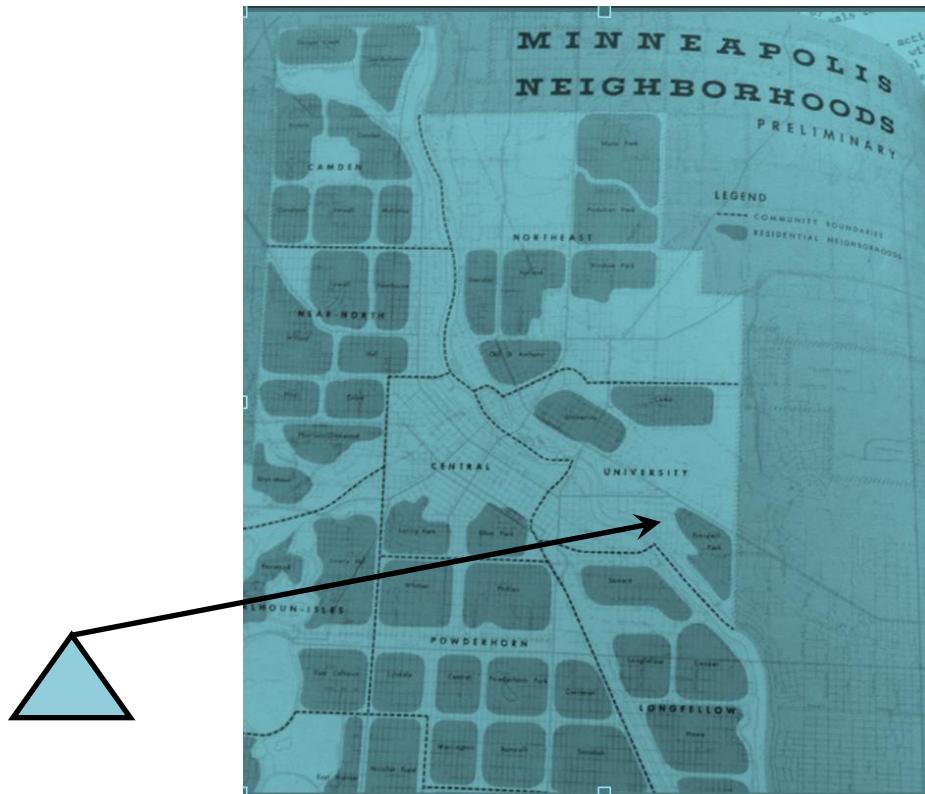
Figure 24. "Minneapolis Neighborhoods." The roughly triangle shaped wedge represents the unnamed, empty space on this City of Minneapolis planning map from 1965. The other neighborhoods within the University community are identified as University (now Marcy-Holmes), Como, and Prospect Park. Source: 1965 Workable Program, "A Review of the Progress Under the WORKABLE PROGRAM For Community Improvement for the Elimination and Prevention of Slums and Blight, Minneapolis, MN." Minnesota Historical Society, Folder: "Three Decades 1947-1977 Renewal in Minneapolis," Minnesota State Archives, Minneapolis: Published Records and Reports of City Offices and Agencies," Box 4, Minnesota Historical Society, Minneapolis MN.[311]

That map from 1965 starkly illustrates one version of a plan for the future of the

sixth ward, the city's and others' hopes that (in contrast with its older housing and low-

income, transient, non-white residents) the area could be a home for young professionals,

the urbane staff of the various institutions and the cosmopolitan elderly retired

professionals who would live near and walk to various planned amenities. Planners cited

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[311] 1965 Workable Program, "A Review of the Progress Under the WORKABLE PROGRAM For Community Improvement for the Elimination and Prevention of Slums and Blight, Minneapolis, MN," Minnesota Historical Society, Folder: "Three Decades 1947-1977 Renewal in Minneapolis," Minnesota State Archives, Minneapolis: Published Records and Reports of City Offices and Agencies," Box 4.

decreased population as a justification for renewal. However, they did not elaborate on the causes of decreased population, the most significant of which was displacement due to institutional expansion and freeway building.

In the City of Minneapolis's *1966 Plan for Riverside*, head planner Lawrence Irvin stated: "institutional expansion provides the nucleus for a reborn Riverside neighborhood."[312] Noting that Riverside "has the potential to be one of the most attractive sections of the city," Irvin emphasized the importance of redeveloping the area "because of the influence it will have in shaping Minnesota's youth for many years to come." According to Irvin's vision, the expansion of the University of Minnesota into the old sixth ward charged the city to utilize available urban renewal tools to intensify redevelopment of the area:

> The long-term neglect and decline of Riverside Neighborhood should no longer be tolerated. The Neighborhood is becoming the site where one of Minnesota's most economically, as well as socially important products—trained minds—will be developed, and the new environment should reflect the importance of this function to the State and to the metropolitan area[…]With the intelligent application of urban design principles by developers and designers engaged in the rebuilding of Riverside, a desirable, human environment with a coherent and unified visual image of positive character can be achieved for the Neighborhood.[313]

Irvin's urgent statement above reflects the growing importance of higher education and the burgeoning social and economic value associated with higher education, especially in a deindustrializing national economy. Irvin urged investment in Cedar-Riverside only after, and as a result of, the university's expansion. The plan

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[312] Laurence Irvin, *Riverside, the Next 25 Years* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis City Planning Commission, 1966), 31.
[313] Ibid.

attached symbolic weight to the neighborhood for its proximity to the university, and it also reflected an older environmental determinism and fear of the effects of the city and urban environment on students.

Thus, for Irvin and the city of Minneapolis, the newly demarcated Cedar-Riverside was (as shown literally by the blank space on the planning map) a *tabula rasa* for an urban utopia: one in which, as Irvin put it, the "the environment should allow everyone to perceive order, coherence and human scale as well as the social function of this Neighborhood. The environment and image of Riverside should be supportive of individual, family, and community activities and of the social values that are basic to a viable urban society and economy."[314] This vision for Cedar-Riverside contrasted with its history as a working-class and immigrant neighborhood, and the focus on order and coherence belied its historical reputation for the opposite of those traits (See Figure 14 in Chapter One for the busy "Seven Corners" intersection, a streetscape that broke every planning principal.)

In contrast to the Near West Side, where the city of Chicago had designated numerous urban renewal sites by 1960, Cedar-Riverside was not included among Minneapolis's early urban renewal forays.[315] Instead, Irvin's and others visions for the area remained in the planning stages in the mid1960s when they wrote about their visions for the area, with freeway clearance the only displacing force on the neighborhood. This

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[314] Ibid, 71.

[315] These focused on the historically black and Jewish north side of the city of Minneapolis and in the Seward neighborhood south of Cedar-Riverside. See Minneapolis City Planning Commission, *A Plan for the Redevelopment and Rehabilitation of Three Areas in North Minneapolis* (Minneapolis, MN: Minneapolis City Planning Commission, 1950). On Seward, see Robert Roscoe, *Milwaukee Avenue: Community Renewal in Minneapolis* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014).

changed in 1963 when a tiny coalition of university faculty and affiliates, all friends with

one another and eventual business partners, purchased a few investment properties in the

neighborhood and rented them to students and others.[316]

Although they claimed this initial attempt was an experiment in tax sheltering,

their purchasing accelerated as they realized the possible profitably of their investments

beyond tax sheltering. They also recognized the city government's and the university's

interests in redeveloping the area. Their holdings grew to encompass a portfolio of land

parcels, and an informal friendship burgeoned into an official corporation, Cedar

Riverside Associates. Their social capital and university-, city-, and business-connections

made it possible for these investors, Keith Heller, Henry McNight, and Gloria Segal, to

imagine plans much grander than acting as landlords over a few properties as they

realized the possibilities of obtaining federal and city funds to redevelop the area. Instead,

they hoped to capitalize off the triangle of land in the old sixth ward they now dreamed

could become an entirely new neighborhood and a new social experiment in city

planning.[317]

Their ideas perfectly coalesced with changing federal focuses in urban renewal

and funding. Stymied by community resistance, stalled and incomplete projects, and a

new political climate, the national urban renewal scene was shifting in the late 1960s.

One new program devised at the federal level was called New Town In Town, and federal

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[316] Letter from Cedar-Riverside Associates Inc. to Charles Krusnell, MNHRA, February 10, 1970, in Folder: "M 1-5 New Communities (Cedar Riverside) 1970-71," in Box 51: "Office of the Under Secretary, Subject Files of Richard C. Van Dusen, 1969-72, M 1-6," RG 207: General Records of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

[317] Cedar-Riverside Associates, "Descriptive Sheet," Folder: "M 1-5 New Communities (Cedar Riverside) 1970-71," in Box 51: "Office of the Under Secretary, Subject Files of Richard C. Van Dusen, 1969-72, M 1-6," RG 207: General Records of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

policymakers framed it in some ways as an antithesis to traditional urban renewal. Rather than redevelop or renew existing neighborhoods, the New Town program promised to create entirely new places within traditional urban centers and outside of them.[318]

The policymakers who devised New Town In Town saw the Cedar-Riverside project as emblematic of the type of renewal they wanted to fund. In their view, it was as much of a sure bet as any urban renewal proposal could be. The proximity of the university and its clear investment in the area through the West Bank expansion, the eagerness of Minneapolis to cooperate, the other institutions in the area (Augsburg, a Lutheran college, and several hospitals), and the sizeable land parcel already assembled convinced federal actors to fund the project and furthermore, inspired in them hopes that Cedar-Riverside could become a national model of New Town In Town and reverse the trend of middle- and upper-class professional whites from moving to the suburbs.[319]

Segal and CRA did their best to deliver. The first buildings constructed as part of the project were accompanied by an intensive advertising campaign designed to sell the project, a new community, and a new vision of urban life writ large. (Chapter Four will delve into these efforts and the ideologies underlying them in more depth.) In short, Segal and CRA hoped to gentrify Cedar-Riverside by attracting more white professionals to the area and selling them urban life, authenticity, and diversity, all goals not unfamiliar in twenty-first century cities.

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[318] For the authoritative account of how these programs developed and played out in Minneapolis, see Judith Martin, *Recycling the Center City: The Development of New Town In Town*, (CURA 78-1. Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota, 1978).

[319] Local and national media coverage seized upon this angle to describe the New Town In Town concept. For a press release framing HUD's support of the project, see Samuel Jackson, Assistant Secretary, June 28, 1971, in Folder: "M 1-5 New Communities (Cedar Riverside) 1970-71," in Box 51: "Office of the Under Secretary, Subject Files of Richard C. Van Dusen, 1969-72, M 1-6," RG 207: General Records of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Despite CRA's considerable clout and their clear plans for what they wanted the area to become, the Cedar-Riverside New Town In Town project never succeeded according to the terms and plans by which it was conceived. The federal government approved the New Town In Town project in 1968, but by 1978, CRA went bankrupt. In the intervening years, a series of grassroots neighborhood organizations formed to challenge the CRA plans: the Cedar-Riverside Project Area Committee, Cedar-Riverside Environmental Defense Fund, and the West Bank Tenants Union.[320]

These organizations successfully organized and united small numbers of vocal residents to oppose and redirect the project, as Randy Stoecker has thoroughly chronicled. Activists in Cedar-Riverside formulated their own plans in direct opposition to CRA's vision. Whereas CRA implicitly idealized a cosmopolitan urban district of professionals and up-market housing, activists idealized instead a diverse, countercultural and alternative enclave of affordable housing. These competing visions were both utopian in differing ways, and both organizations left out large numbers of neighborhood residents—the CRA, large numbers of residents who could not afford to live in the redeveloped housing, and the PAC the many low income and student residents who did not have time to participate in experimental self-governance.

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[320] Randy Stoecker, *Defending Community*. See also "West Bank History-when CRA Bought In," Folder, "Rent Strike History," Box 6, Cedar-Riverside Project Area Committee Records (129.I.6.8.F), Minnesota Historical Society.

"This Neighborhood is the Front Door to…Campus:" Forging Partnership, Rewriting
History

South of the UCA area, a separate section of the UD had grown since the early part of the century more connected to its neighboring industries than the neighboring institution. Part of the 13th ward, and what became known later as Weinland Park neighborhood, this section was the one noted in the previous chapter for its non-white and working-class populations. Like the Near West Side of Chicago, its location just outside the central, downtown business and residential districts meant that Weinland Park became a destination for African-American residents as residential patterns shifted following WWII.

Left out of the UCA bounds not only for its less pronounced institutional connections but also possibly because its demography and architecture did not match that organization's aspirations, Weinland Park represents a lower valued, poorer section of the overall district which did not experience mid-century University sponsored urban renewal. Unlike those University District neighborhoods in both Minneapolis and Columbus, which organized themselves to advocate for collaboration with the university or a solutions to university-related issues such as student housing and parking, but just as on the Near West Side, Weinland Park's first neighborhood organization was founded by a settlement house, the Godman Guild.

Ohio State chose to expand north and west rather than southeast into Weinland Park. Much as the University of Minnesota hesitated to cross the natural boundary of the

Mississippi River, OSU officials viewed High Street, Columbus's major north-south artery, as a major edge.[321] Thus, although land there was cheaper, they chose not to expand in that direction nor to acknowledge the wider community beyond the bounds of campus despite UCA's assertion of its bonds with the University and the University District Organization's connections with the institution.

In actuality if not in rhetoric, the boundaries between Ohio State's campus and the surrounding community were blurred, uncertain, and inconsistent. As it attempted to define its relationship to the neighborhoods around it in the mid-century years, to a large extent, the University delineated its responsibilities by defining (and sometimes revising) its borders. In an off –campus study from the 1970s, an OSU administrator stated: "The master plan […] has generally used a 'hard-edge' ('this is OSU's turf—that's your turf') approach in defining campus boundaries. This has been in part dictated by following street lines."[322] In 1980, an Ohio State official echoed this approach when he told a southwest University District resident concerned about physical damage to his street by Columbus city buses that, "I suggested […] that he might want to contact the City Engineer about the bus traffic on 8th Avenue since it is a City street not a University street. I also added that the matter is probably not a University concern since it is not our street."[323] This particular interaction involved an Ohio State official, an Ohio State campus planner, city of Columbus bus traffic, and a University District neighborhood

[321] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*.
[322] May 1979 letter from William J. Griffith to William E. Vandament The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning and Space Utilization: Office of (RG 10/10/9), "South of Campus Area Study: 1979," Accession 104/90.
[323] May 1980 memo from William Griffith to Jean Hansford. It refers to complaints made to COTA by NECKO resident Steve Hewitt about bus traffic on 8th Avenue. The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning and Space Utilization: Office of (RG 10/6/9), "King-Eighth Neighborhood Group (NECKO: 1977-1982,"Accession 104/90.

association (NECKO). Ohio State defined its relationship to the problem by denying ownership or possession. The street did not "belong" to the university, so it is "probably not a University concern."

Thus, Weinland Park maintained itself as an affordable, diverse, working-class neighborhood while its neighboring sections to the north and west fought to stave off OSU's advancements. Its challenges were not related to OSU development but rather to the broader urban crises of de-industrialization and suburbanization. Its reputation for danger and difference kept student renters and development away to some extent. Yet the boundaries between the predominantly student section to Weinland Park's north and Weinland Park were permeable. Student consumers swarmed southward to buy drugs, and low-income dealers survived by selling to a never-ending demand from thousands of OSU students. Bars catering to students took advantage of the lower commercial property values and the fact that residents did not possess the social capital or relationships with law enforcement that activist sections to the north and west deployed to keep such activity at bay. Thus on the abandoned pillars of the industrial past grew a community at once relatively unconnected – some would say, a world away – from its institutional neighbor. However, its fragile economies forged bonds with the University for the sake of economic survival. An underground entertainment industry catering to undergraduates popped up in place of departing industries, and the resultant noise and violence deterred would-be gentrifiers and students, keeping Weinland Park affordable for many low-income families and single female-headed households who occupied the row homes which once housed single male railroad and factory workers.

Ohio State's disinvestment in the neighborhood had impacts as strong as its acquisitive actions to the north. Looking back in 2009, one community activist wondered why OSU did not make any effort to employ low-income and jobless workers in Weinland Park. Even menial work at the university came with other benefits, most importantly, free access to a college education through tuition benefits for employees to take coursework.[324] Likewise OSU stood by as Brown versus the Board of Education altered the geography of educational access and urban inequality in Columbus in particularly striking ways.[325] Rather than interact, OSU built walls… and a narrative of the dangerous, "blighted" neighbor to the south. Content to be "its own city," OSU as an institution never glanced outward to interrogate its own urban contexts and the possibility for positive partnership. Yet its walls could not undo the fact that the neighborhood felt its impact in other ways, such as student-focused drug traffic and resultant gang violence. Weinland Park stands as an example of the effects of deliberate lack of university involvement in the mid-20th century. Ironically, it also represents the opposite extreme, intensified university sponsored development in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, when Ohio State's then-president Gordon Gee came to the realization that "This neighborhood is the front door to the Columbus campus…Its problems, therefore, are our problems," patterns and issues that the final chapter will examine.[326]

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[324] Ohio State now wishes to encourage more staff to live in Weinland Park—thus displacing current residents—rather than the solution the community worker suggested of making staff out of the current W.P. residents.

[325] Gregory Jacobs, *Getting Around Brown* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1998).

[326] Information File on University Area Improvement Task Force, The Ohio State University Archives, Information File, "Brief Facts: 1966-1994."

Conclusion

In Minneapolis, the SEMPACC (southeast) neighborhoods became so well-organized that the community planning group employed professional planners to lobby the city to form a master plan for the area, a plan they ultimately wrote themselves. They deployed a professional geographer to write a geographic prospectus on the area's past and future. (In Columbus, the UCA neighborhood leaders considered similar measures, and OSU planners sighed with relief when the residents dropped this idea.) In 1960, taking these moments and movements to their logical extreme, Minneapolis city planner Lawrence Irvin, who had just left his job as head planner in Columbus to take the Minneapolis position, proposed an urban renewal demonstration project which would train these lay residents to expedite urban renewal processes by surveying their own neighborhoods. The federal urban renewal officials hemmed and hawed over the proposal. Promising Irvin an answer soon, they kept it on hold for a decade before quietly tabling, and then rejecting, it. What was it about Irvin's proposal that invited this prolonged indecision, and ultimate discard? Why were Ohio State officials relieved when community leaders chose not to hire a professional planner? The Irvin proposal was both alluring and dangerous to the broader national urban renewal program. To blur the lines between experts and residents risked unraveling the seams of the renewal program itself, which was predicated on a belief in elite knowledge production and empirical fact-finding. By the late 1960s, as Irvin awaited the results of his grant, these seams were already frayed by the various conflicts and contestations nationwide over urban renewal.

As this chapter has shown, local urban renewal conflicts in University Districts involved fundamentally different and irreconcilable visions of what an ideal neighborhood should be. Local residents recognized the power of surrounding institutions and sometimes worked within their development frameworks, but more often, they protested the ideologies and goals underlying those frameworks and put forth alternative futures for their neighborhoods. Yet the nuances of these conflict have been lost, as the next chapter will continue to show, because both residents and institutions worked within the same discursive and policy frameworks—of renewal and blight—albeit with very different ends in mind.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHERE GOES THE NEIGHBORHOOD?

MAPS, MEASUREMENTS, MEMORIES, AND THE MAKING OF URBAN

DECLINE IN UNIVERSITY DISTRICTS

In 1959, David Walker of the Urban Renewal Association's Housing and Home

Finance Agency (URA's HHFA) wrote to Ohio State University campus planners to send

them the federal guidelines for urban renewal areas involving colleges and universities.

Walker emphasized that "the area covered by the development plan must be blighted or

deteriorating." In the margins next to that sentence, an Ohio State planner wrote "20 %

substandard."[327] In a separate document, OSU planner James Clark privately worried that

the area he was targeting for Ohio State's North Dorms development might not be

"blighted" enough for renewal, depending on whether 20 or 50 percent of the housing

needed to be substandard. He added that planners imminently would undertake a "blight

survey of the six-block potential clearance area."[328] Their exchange with Walker and

their private discussions reveal how Ohio State's planners had to grapple with the

definition and measurement of "blight" before they could initiate development for

campus expansion or apply for federal urban renewal funds.

Federal funding for postwar urban renewal required proof of blight and

deterioration, but federal administrators did not define those terms as legal or other

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[327] The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office of (RG 10/6/26), "Urban Renewal: Legislature: 1959, 1961."
[328] Ibid.

concepts.[329] These blurred boundaries of blight opened up a contentious century-long debate over the definition of blight, a debate which continues today. Legal scholar George Lefcoe noted that at the national level, during the urban renewal era, HUD administrators had "virtually unfettered discretion" when it came to defining and determining blight, and that they in turn "left local redevelopment agencies largely to their own devices in finding and declaring blight."[330]

Yet at the local level, uncertainty and improvisation prevailed. In Columbus, by 1960, Executive Planner John Herrick acknowledged to Ohio State's Board of Trustees that "it is not yet certain that the area can be qualified under HHFA regulations for total clearance."[331] To qualify the area for renewal, the University needed the city to assist with blight surveys. Herrick wrote: "The Mayor is unwilling to authorize the necessary interior inspections of homes to try to qualify the area unless he can be satisfied that the unused local credits at the completion of the project will be large enough constitute the city's share of a rehabilitation project in the adjoining areas."

In this chapter, I examine how universities played a crucial role in what Lefcoe calls this "ignominious history of the concept of blight" and what Colin Gordon and others have called "the use and abuse of blight."[332] Indirectly through their graduate and professional programs and directly through their planning offices, universities supplied

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[329] The definitive source for the legal genealogy of the term "blight" and is redevelopment uses past and present is Colin Gordon's "Blighting the Way: Urban Renewal, Economic Development, and the Elusive Definition of Blight," 31.

[330] George Lefcoe, "Redevelopment Takings after Kelo: What's Blight Got to Do With it.?" *Southern California Review of Law and Social Justice.* 17 (2007): 803.

[331] The Ohio State University Archive, Campus Planning: Office of (RG 10/6/26), "Urban Renewal: OSU North: 1960-61."

[332] Lefcoe, "Redevelopment Takings After Kelo," 807; Gordon, "Blighting the Way," 314. See also Martin E. Gold, and Lynne B. Sagalyn. "The Use and Abuse of Blight in Eminent Domain," *Fordham Urb. LJ* 38 (2010): 1119.

the experts who worked to define and construct this postwar planning grail: quantified, surveyed blight. In an era of legal, municipal, and national uncertainty about the measurement of blight, universities were notable as one of the few, if not the only, bulwarks of unassailable expertise. Through Title II of the Housing Act, they were also major beneficiaries of the federal programs their definitions helped to shape.

Scholars have thoroughly traced the historical and contemporary debates over blight and real estate development in the courts. To a lesser extent, they have examined the ramifications of blight in the city streets, where a vaguely defined concept, couched as a legal and planning term, had the power to displace residents, raze neighborhoods, and pave the way for university development and expansion.

In the postwar moment, "blight" was *both* a broadly felt or sensed discursive and cultural formulation *and* an (imperfectly) codified legal and planning concept. Depending on their disciplines and interests, scholars have tended to focus on one or another, epitomizing, in fact, Gordon's key phrase of "blight in the eye of beholder." [333] Importantly, none of these streams of information (produced by governments, planners, residents, or universities) about the changing city were as powerful as their convergence. When these various and varied sources of urban information came together to emphasize certain agreed-upon "desirable" and "undesirable" or "positive" and "negative" patterns of urban change--what I term the "making of urban decline" in the chapter title--they elided the real conflicts of this postwar urban renewal period as well the problems of the

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[333] Gordon sums this up most powerfully in *Mapping Decline*, when he writes: "For their part, local municipal and redevelopment interests appreciated the ambiguity of the law and the deference of the courts. Blight was in the eye of the beholder, and property was blighted when local officials said it was." Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline,* 196.

prewar period. The careful construction of the concept of urban "blight" also constructed a false urban ideal, an ideal through which the past city is misremembered and the future city planned.

The reams of information about the city collected by government bodies and planning agencies at the municipal, state, and federal levels during the mid-century urban crisis are important both for their macro-level national policy effects and for their micro-scale impacts upon individual residents, who used the information for their own, local purposes, as exemplified by the residents in Chapter Three who were deeply invested and interested in any data about neighborhood change that they could access. In this chapter, I explore how these official planning and surveying studies of negative urban change were not the only means by which actors studied the changing city. Local residents who augmented the studies and plans of official sources with their own ways of "making" and measuring decline: eyewitness accounts of experienced change, letters to the editor, scrapbooks, nostalgic columns in local papers, and memories of before or "back in the day." Thus, appending their own perceptions and experiences of the city to Census reports and real estate surveys, residents sought to "locate" their own data about decline within this broader corpus of city, government, and planning data. They sought also to produce their own data about their cities, sometimes to bolster, and often to counter other types of urban information. Yet universities pivoted expertly between these of sources of information, drawing upon residents' local data, planners' city data when it was useful for their plans, and alternatively, using national-level information such as Census data to justify other their own ends. For example, Ohio State's Office of Campus Planning

marshaled data from a variety of sources for its University District Study in the early

1960s. Planners commissioned a study of the neighborhood from a national architecture

and planning firm deeply involved in hospital and university expansion across the

country, Caudill, Rowlett, and Scott. They dotted the study's preliminary report with their

own planning findings and corrections, including their goals for campus expansion. They

also drew upon a study conducted by then-Director of the Columbus City Planning

Commission, Harold Buchanon, on university housing in other cities from Minneapolis to

Berkeley to Philadelphia to Seattle.[334] They drew up figures from the 1950 and 1960 U.S.

censuses to explain increasing density (a point of local contention) in the neighborhoods--

("the increase is considered natural and should be accommodated). The Ohio State

planners sent out a survey to University District residents as well, asking them questions

such as "Do you think there are any major groups of persons in the University District

that constitute a problem?"[335] In this way, balancing local expertise with access to

national experts and data, universities (through their planners and administers) compiled

a vast and powerful array of information about surrounding cities and neighborhoods.

As clearinghouses for research and data production and dissemination,

universities (as I have argue throughout the dissertation) were in a distinctive position

(via their planners and real estate offices, as well as their scholars) to deploy data more

effectively than cities, the federal government, or individual neighborhoods. Yet they did

not do so to universal agreement or acclaim; in fact, the opposite was true. Residents

sometimes hotly debated the stakes on which university actors pinned their definitions of

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[334] The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office Of (RG 10/6/11), "City Planning Commission and University District Study: 1960-1964 (Folder 1 of 3.)"
[335] Ibid.

urban decline and its solutions; these residents recognized how universities used their own power to pursue their own interests. The neighborhoods adjacent to urban universities became the contested sites of these negotiations. Explicating how and why various stakeholders understood and constructed measurements, legal definitions, and personal experiences of "blight" or negative urban change holds the key for analyzing why the outcomes discussed in Chapter Three played out as they did. In short, the concept of "urban decline" or "blight" in the postwar period was a moving target. Owning the definition of blight allowed actors to control a vision of the neighborhood's future. Universities were the major players able to assert these definitions of blight. This chapter will break down carefully examine some of these assertions (and counter-assertions) of blight in university districts, with the goal not of redefining "blight," but rather of "undefining" it.

The Building Blocks of Blight

Discovering and Defining Urban Blight

According to its earliest, technical definitions, blight referred specifically to inadequate housing. American planners who imported the term from England used it to refer to aged or obsolete housing. The growth of both the American planning professions and the surge of Progressive-era concerns about urban life led to a wider adoption of the

term as a utilitarian abstraction to refer to any area which was, as one Philadelphia city planner put it in 1912, "not as it should be."[336]

American and European concerns about the danger and ills of urban life were long established and frequently discussed in this period. The historian Thomas Bender has traced worries about the effects of (industrial) urban spaces to the early Republican nation. [337] Bender describes Progressive fears over the breakdown of the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies' preindustrial, kinship based "community" (*Gemeinschaft*) and its replacement with a more impersonal industrial urban "society" (*Gesellschaft*).[338] In his discussion of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, William Cronon characterizes late nineteenth-century Chicago as a place of alluring and frightening danger and vice for visitors.[339] Urban reformers and Progressives including Lawrence Veiller in New York City and Frederick Engels in Britain had variously documented substandard physical living arrangements of tenement dwellers and factory workers and worried about the effects of such arrangements.[340] While (as Robick notes), the term "blight" was used less often in this period, its usages reflected broader urban concerns of the time. These

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[336] Gordon, "Blighting the Way," 306. Gordon cites Robert Fogelson's quote of the planner, William A. Stanton, *Blighted Districts in Philadelphia, Proceeding of the Tenth Nat'l Conference on City Planning* 76 (1918) in Fogelson, *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall*, 348.

[337] Scholars have traced a deep American ambivalence about identifying itself as "urban:" in what Thomas Bender calls an "agrarian political philosophy [that] rested upon a particular conception of the significance of American history," a conception that glorified a middle landscape that was neither "urban" nor "wild" but rather was cultivated and rural: the tilled farm. Thomas Bender, *Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth Century America* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 7.

[338] Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1978). For further discussion of Tönnies, see also Philip Kasinitz, ed., *Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times* (New York: New York University Press, 1995).

[339] William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992).

[340] See, for example: Friedrich Engels, *Condition of the Working Class in England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968) and Lawrence Veiller, *Housing Reform: A Hand-book for Practical Use in American Cities* (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910).

concerns were characterized by intertwined aesthetic, social, and moral concerns about the effects of the urban environment upon individuals and families.

In 1938, Lewis Mumford painted the following vivid picture of a blighted area:

> Roofs leak; plaster cracks on the walls; toilets fall into disrepair; pools of water gather in the cellar; the little patches of green, that once served as playgrounds, disappear, covered over with cinders, torn paper, discarded boxes, twisted bedsprings and broken iron. What once may have been a street of fine mansions […] is converted into low quarters, boarding houses and tenements, usually crowded, often filthy.[341]

Yet planners, politicians, and policymakers were not the only individuals for whom the term proved useful--everyday people grasped onto it as a shorthand for their own set of unspecified urban woes. The agricultural undertones (as in potato or other crop "blight") resonated as the "rise of the city" overshadowed the farm and the frontier in the American mythos. This unexpected agricultural metaphor mixed with Cold War rhetoric in a familiar amalgam: that of the battle or war against urban blight.[342] A 1957 article entitled "How Goes the Battle Against Slums?" stated "Chicago has about 23 square miles of blighted land. An additional 56 miles has been designated as a "conservation area," meaning that it is rapidly becoming blighted."[343]

Defining the category of "blight" was the foundation for this process of examination and data collection--which earlier chapters have traced to the late nineteenth century, especially in center city neighborhoods adjacent to educational institutions. Yet

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[341] Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities,*(New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1938), 246.
[342] Michael Carriere, "Fighting the War against Blight: Columbia University, Morningside Heights, Inc., and Counterinsurgent Urban Renewal," *Journal of Planning History* 10 (2011): 5-9, accessed July 7, 2011, doi: 10.1177/1538513210392882.
[343] "How Goes the Battle Against Slums?" *Chicago Daily Tribune, March 30, 1957,* Retrieved from <http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/180085794?accountid=14586> (accessed February 3, 2016).

these "minute investigations" had begun before anyone--experts or the lay public--had settled or agreed on what "blight" really meant, except something different than what some people thought the city might be or ought to be.

In short, "blight" in the prewar period was not a neutral diagnostic; it was prescriptive, restrictive, and subjective. For example, to public health activists, blight meant the high incidence of certain diseases, such as tuberculosis.[344] To housing reform advocates, "blight" meant housing problems or dilapidation. To eugenicists, "urban blight" meant that certain ethnic and racial groups living in center cities reproduced at a rate that concerned these individuals.[345] To nativists, "blight" meant immigrant neighborhoods. And to some reformers, blight meant the opposite of some perfect ideal.[346] As scholars of prewar urban reformers have traced, a variegated and interrelated constellation of perceived negative urban impacts comprised the urban blight targeted by prewar Progressive urban reformers.[347] In that reform movement, the *documentation* of these urban issues was more important than their specific or measurable *definition*.

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[344] See, for example: Janet Greenless, "Stop Kissing and Steaming!': Tuberculosis and the Occupational Health Movement in Massachusetts and Lancashire, 1870–1918," *Urban History* 32 (2005): 223-246.
[345] Thomas C. Leonard, "More Merciful and Not Less Effective': Eugenics and American Economics in the Progressive Era," *History of Political Economy* 35, no. 4 (2004): 687-712.
[346] R.B. Stephenson, *Visions of Eden: Environmentalism, Urban Planning, and City Building in St. Petersburg, Florida, 1900-1995* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1997). Michael Rawson, *Eden on the Charles: The Making of Boston* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010).
[347] On various Progressive urban reform efforts, see: Lisa Keller, *Triumph of Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Michael Willrich, *City of Courts: Socializing Justice in Progressive Era Chicago* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); John C. Putnam, *Class and Gender Politics in Progressive-Era Seattle* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2008); Robert Lewis, *Chicago Made: Factory Networks in the Industrial Metropolis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Margaret Garb, *City of American Dreams: A History of Home Ownership and Housing Reform in Chicago, 1871-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Jennifer Fronc, *New York Undercover: Private Surveillance in the Progressive Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Jared Day, *Urban Castles: Tenement Housing and Landlord Activism in New York City, 1890-1943* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Peter C. Baldwin, *Domesticating the Street: The Reform of Public Space in Hartford*, 1850-1930 (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999); Robin Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

This focus changed in the postwar period, when federal urban renewal legislation hinged on defining blight more specifically. At this juncture, universities and affiliated actors stepped up to attempt to do so. They built off a concept of blight that, due to the work of urban professionals and university scholars, had evolved from Mumford's vivid early twentieth-century imagery into a more scientific, measurable, yet still disputed, concept.

Quantifying and Categorizing Urban Blight

Beginning in the late 1930s and accelerating in the postwar period, the Census and the social survey transformed blight from a poetic abstraction, a particular, unspecified but unpleasant aesthetic, into a quantifiable category. Once couched as neutral, scientific, and quantifiable, it had a broader power than before. Yet as a category, it bore the burdens and associations of its past usages. Its connotations--"an area that is not as it should be"--and malleability--one could "blight the way" for urban redevelopment--remained. No survey instrument could successfully surpass the baggage to the satisfaction of policy makers who ultimately sought a neutral, indisputable measurement of blight which could nonetheless prove highly flexible and airtight.

In 1935, Edith Wood noted that: "it has long been known to students of housing that the dwellings and neighborhoods in which a substantial fraction of the American people live are of a character to injure the health, endanger the safety and morals and interfere with the normal family life of their inhabitants […] but it is only since the

219

publication of the 1930 Census figures […] that is has become possible to *calculate* the extent of the evil with a greater degree of accuracy."[348]   Wood's discussion of the use of rental figures from the 1930 Census to "calculate" blight with "accuracy" marked an important turning point in the rationalizing of blight by the calculation of "substandard." Citing, for example, "dark rooms" and "an excess of street-level dust," Wood went on to provide examples and illustrations of "slums" and "blighted areas" with language and images similar to those in Mumford's description.   Wood juxtaposed her imagery with Census figures on rental and land values, which she noted were "as close an index as could be obtained without a structural survey."[349]   Wood's analysis suggested that Census figures and surveys could replace the more subjective use of "less accurate" descriptions and imagery and render slums and blighted areas as calculable.[350] Yet it is notable this imagery was still Wood's starting basis for her more quantitative Census analysis.

The enshrining of the expert and later, the scientist, meant that before urban reform could occur, such individuals needed to examine and diagnose the problems, to collect and produce data on which to base renewal and change. In the postwar period, jobs for these experts proliferated, and the various professionals fanned across municipal areas throughout the country, collecting information about each city.[351] The urgent need

[348] Edith Elmer Wood, *Slums and Blighted Areas in the United States* (Washington DC: Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, 1935), 3.(italics added)
[349] Ibid.
[350] The first Census of Housing was conducted as part of the 1940 Census and marked the beginning of the rise of housing-related questions in the Census and in other local surveys, an outgrowth out of the intense interest in housing surveys the federal and state governments had during the Great Depression.
[351] The shift to a more scientific concept of urban blight was a shift that paralleled the rise of the social sciences and social scientific discourses in the first part of the twentieth century. See, for example: Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and "Social

to collect data about urban problems (due to the available urban renewal funding described in Chapter Three), the expanding numbers of urban professionals and experts who could collect such data yielded increasingly refined and yet still expansive, subjective boundaries for blight and decline. The result, by the postwar period was blight "in the eye of the beholder"—veiled in a Census category or a survey table.

The power of "urban blight" and "urban decline" as categories and descriptions lay, perhaps paradoxically, in their ubiquity and utility both as expansive abstractions and as particular, narrow terms for an individual's experiences or an expert's surveys. Over the course of the twentieth century, and particularly during the urban renewal period in postwar U.S. cities, the bounds of blight both expanded and contracted. By their scholarship and research and by their development and expansion, urban universities formed the nuclei of both processes.

In the rest of this chapter, I will unsettle "blight" by examining specific urban issues and patterns experts and others associated with urban decline. To do so troubles the myth of any successful, clear-cut, or quantitative definition of negative urban change. For each issue, I will juxtapose neighborhood residents' views with those of planners, professionals, and various university stakeholders in order both to blur and expand the bounds of the conversation about urban decline that underpinned urban renewal in the U.S. Universities' roles as urban developers and their campus expansion efforts hinged crucially upon their ability to measure, determine, and authoritatively define "urban

Science in Ascendency, 1945-1970," in Theodore M. Porter and Dorothy Ross, eds., *The Cambridge History of Science: The Modern Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.) For the development of the Census in this period, see Margot Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988).

blight." By successfully veiling "blight in the eye of beholder" more successfully than

other stakeholders, such as cities and the federal government, universities were able to

counter the contestations described in Chapter 3 and advance a particular vision of the

postwar city and urban university.

Age of Housing and the City

According to its most general and earliest definitions, "blight" or urban decline

referred to fears of an aging center city. Of course, the notion of an "old" city was tied to

the opposite metaphor, ubiquitous in nineteenth-century urban boosterism, the "young"

city.[352] Andrew Shanken has shown how in the late 1930s and early 1940s, mature

economy theory (the theory that the American economy had "slowly lost its vigor since

the end of the frontier in the nineteenth century"[353]) yielded concerns among planners and

architects about the broader aging of society, including "fears of cultural senescence in

the city, seeing it as 'mature,' having reached the end of its lifecycle, or dying."[354] Taking

the Chicago School's ecological metaphor of the city as an implicit framework,

Chicago's Metropolitan Planning Council epitomized this framework in 1945 when it

declared:

> Chicago is at the crossroads of its future. The young vigorous city which sprang
> out of the prairies of the vast middle west in the early 1800's has now blossomed
> into one of the world's' greatest cities. In the next generation or two, this city

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[352] See, for example, Jon Stobart, "Building an Urban Identity: Cultural Space and Civic Boosterism in a 'New' Industrial Town: Burslem, 1761-1911," *Social History* 29, no. 4 (Nov., 2004): 485-498.
[353] Andrew M. Shanken, *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Home Front* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 63.
[354] Shanken, *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Home Front*, 65.

which 'just growed' will be almost completely rebuilt as the worn-out structures are replaced one by one.[355]

Two decades later, in 1962, the Minneapolis HRDA echoed this framework in its annual report: "Throughout history, cities have been founded, have grown, have matured and died, almost as individuals do.[356] By 1977, the same entity historicized the city as an aging person: "In 1947 Minneapolis was nearing its 100th birthday. The 'City of Lakes' had steadily grown to a population of 500,000 and was now bordered by several relatively undeveloped suburbs. The aging of the Central City was having its effect and foretold of changes to come."[357]

These city agencies echoed strains emergent in the 1930s as federal officials contemplated and laid the groundwork for an urban New Deal. Fred Catlatt, a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, stated in 1938 that: "neighborhood blight and age depreciation—those sinister, creeping, relentless foes of every residential neighborhood—are continually at work breaking down existing values and creating new sub-standard areas."[358] Although Catlatt did not define blight, he connected it to aging neighborhoods. Indeed, throughout the 1930s, newly-formed federal entities sent their employees throughout cities across the nation to survey the age, condition, and

[355] In Folder: "Committees-Planning Committee, 1944-1946 [462-3807], Box 462-783, Series III: Planning and Urban Renewal, The Metropolitan Planning Council Records, The University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections.

[356] The Housing and Redevelopment Authority in and for the City of Minneapolis, Charles L. Horn, Chairman, *1962 Annual Report*, "Why Urban Renewal?" in Folder: "Housing and Redevelopment Authority, Annual Reports, 1962-1963," Minnesota State Archives, Box 4: "Minneapolis, Published Records and Reports of the City Offices and Agencies," Minnesota History Center.

[357] The Housing and Redevelopment Authority in and for the City of Minneapolis, Charles L. Horn, Chairman, *Three Decades: 1947-1977 Renewal in Minneapolis,* in Folder: "Three Decades 1947-1977 Renewal in Minneapolis," Minnesota State Archives, Box 4: "Minneapolis, Published Records and Reports of the City Offices and Agencies," Minnesota History Center.

[358] Fred W. Catlett, Member Federal Home Loan Bank Board, "Rehabilitation of Sub-Standard Housing Areas," September 28, 1938, Office of the Research Engineer, Minneapolis City Tower Archives, 1.

composition of housing. City governments and planners welcomed the added manpower

agencies like the WPA provided to get surveys off the drawing board and literally onto

the ground. For example, in Minneapolis, the city planning department collaborated with

the WPA to conduct an extensive real property survey of the entire city. The project's

final report noted that purpose of the project was "to provide a modern and up-to-date

atlas of the city, complete with all revisions produced and rendered by advanced research

methods in regard to authoritative and official sources of information and with modern

methods of presentation."[359] Planners noted that until the collection of data for the atlas,

their most recent maps of neighborhoods and structures were from 1914. These

government-sponsored surveys provided cities with "modern" data from which to form

plans and policies. The "base" information in the maps--outlines of structures, estimated

values, and sometimes, ages--would become the template (see Figure 25) for the more

detailed surveys cities and planners undertook in subsequent decades. As in the case of

Figure 24, base maps were often produced in association with university experts, such as

the University of Chicago's sociology department, which produced that map and

deployed students to fill it in with various sub-projects and themes, from juvenile

delinquency to race to property values.

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[359] *Final Report and Statement of Accomplishment, Atlas of the City of Minneapoli*s, 1. Hennepin History
Museum Archives.

Figure 25. "Map of Chicago showing _____." A "base map" of Chicago produced by the University of Chicago to be used as a template for urban studies. Source: Ernest Watson Burgess Papers. Addenda, Box 302, Folder 7, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

At the neighborhood level, municipal surveyors regarded the age of structures as a proxy for their condition. On the Near West Side of Chicago, community organizer Eri Hulbert stated in 1949: "The housing, too, has been here a long, long time. It is mostly old and worn out, some of it built 75 years ago, much of it built over 50 years ago."[360] The FHA "redline" map descriptions also use the ages of structures as a blighting factor. Ranking part of the present-day Marcy-Holmes neighborhood a "C" grade, the mapmaker

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[360] Johnson, *Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal,* 10.

wrote: "Very little new housing has been constructed in this area during the past ten or 15 years. It has seen its best days…"[361]

Yet surveyors struggled to pin blight on age of housing alone. In the section of Minneapolis noted as having "seen its best days," the FHA mapmaker hedged: "although it is well located for residential purposes, being close to the University of Minnesota, has fine wide streets and tall wide spreading trees adorn the boulevards."[362] Implying that not all old structures were blighted, and that some, indeed, might be the opposite, a Minneapolis historic preservation planner lamented that Minneapolis lacked older buildings "worth" preserving: "There is no sizeable area or district, no 'old town' of shabby but sound buildings which gas lights and Victorian color schemes can restore to life. This[...]presents a different kind of problem than that encountered in cities that contain within them the remnants of an architectural Golden Day."[363] Age, then, could be one factor inflecting "blight," but age alone was not the simple predictor of blight some surveyors had hoped or implied.

Tax Revenue and Perceived Worth

In a different sense, the "worth" of housing entered conversations about urban blight and decline. City engineers and tax professionals classified sections of the city

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[361] Guy W. Lalone et al., "Realty Map of Minneapolis, MN—Description of Areas," in Folder, "Minneapolis," Records of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Records Relating to the City Survey File, 1935-1940, Box: "Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri," RG 195, NARA College Park.
[362] Ibid.
[363] "History," 15 in Historic Preservation-Mpls, Minneapolis Planning and Development Library, 75 Planning Department Office Files, Box 3, City of Minneapolis Tower Archives, Minneapolis, MN.

based upon their average per capita property tax delinquency. According to this measure, the most blighted areas of the city were those which owed the most outstanding taxes. Also in conjunction with the WPA, the city of Minneapolis conducted a study on blight and tax delinquency, concluding that "tax delinquency was a concurrent symptom of decay in 'blighted districts." The authors of the study denied the assumption of the general public that tax delinquency was caused by "a rising tax rate occurring at a time when there is general difficulty in meeting tax obligations because of the recession in business and employment." Instead, they concluded that tax delinquency arose from a variety of causes, one of which might be able to be classified as urban blight. They were excited by "the possibility that tax delinquency, if carefully analyzed as to area, extent and time, could be used a base factor in disclosing areas of property difficulty."[364] The concept that the worst areas of the city, or those in decline, might be those which were behind on taxes is one which was largely left out of planning conversations about urban blight, despite the interest with which city engineers and economists studied and mapped tax delinquency, particularly during the 1930s. Yet the underlying assumption that a blighted area was one which could be put to better and higher use--and yield more profit, whether in the form of city taxes or higher rents or higher sales--was perhaps one of the most important defining features of universities', cities', and developers' urban renewal plans. In this way, the notion that a blighted area was one not currently producing the money that it might someday yield means that blight was not about housing age alone but

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[364] Minneapolis City Planning Commission and Minnesota Works Progress Administration Projects, "Tax Delinquency in Minneapolis, 1912-1934 Inc," III, Office Copy, 4/4/1939, Hennepin History Museum.

about the potential of a neighborhood to become something entirely different, as well as to generate additional municipal tax revenue, whether property or employment.

Housing Condition or Quality

More vivid than back taxes owed, but more difficult to measure, housing condition or quality shot upward in popularity as a means of measuring urban blight after the concept was introduced in the 1950 U.S. Census. The 1950 Census procedural history noted that: "Housing analysts use information on the condition of the unit (dilapidated or not dilapidated) with information on plumbing facilities to classify dwellings as 'standard' or 'substandard' according to the Public Housing Administration's definition. A 'substandard' unit, according to this definition, lacks hot running water, private toilet, or bath, or it is dilapidated."[365]

Census enumerators in 1950 were instructed to appraise the interior and exterior of each dwelling-unit for a combination of three categories constructed to indicate dilapidation: one critical deficiency, several minor deficiencies, or inadequate original construction. Having observed any or all of these markers, the enumerator was to designate the unit "dilapidated," which meant that it was "below the generally accepted minimum standard for housing [such that it] should be torn down, extensively repaired, or rebuilt."[366] The inherent vagueness of the term "deficiency" belied the objective

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[365] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The 1950 Censuses--How They Were Taken* (Washington: U.S. Printing Office, 1955), 68.
[366] United States Department of Commerce, *Urban and Rural Enumerator's Reference Manual: 1950 Census of the United States* (Washington: Bureau of the Census, 1950), 84.

reasoning behind the criteria for dilapidation. "Critical deficiencies" were simply (and redundantly) classified as "serious" deficiencies. To overcome this ambiguity, the enumerators were given examples: "holes, open cracks, rotted, loose, or missing materials (clapboards, shingles, bricks, concrete, tile, plaster, floor boards) over a considerable area […] substantial sagging of floors, walls, or roof […] Excessive damage by storm, flood, or fire."[367] Minor deficiencies encompassed the ones above, when they did not cover a "considerable area." Other examples of minor deficiencies were: "shaky or unsafe porch, steps, or railings, broken or missing window panes (often the holes will be plugged with paper, cloth, or tin). Rotted or loose window frames […] Damaged, unsafe, or makeshift chimney […] Inside stair treads or risers, balusters, or railings that are broken, loose, or missing. Deep wear on doorsills, doorframes, outside or inside steps, or floors."[368] The final criterion, inadequate original construction, included: "makeshift walls, lack of foundation, dirt floors, cellars, garages, barns, and other similar places (not originally intended for living quarters) which have been inadequately converted."[369]

A guidebook showed enumerators photographic examples of "dilapidated" and "not dilapidated" units and pointed out the various levels of deficiencies. Among the warnings given to ensure uniform application of the concept were: instructions not to be fooled by fresh paint as a marker of "not dilapidated," urgings to return to appraise the house during the day if evening enumeration gave any doubt about its condition, and reminders to consider the interior and the exterior of the house separately and to mark the unit as dilapidated if either the interior or the exterior contained deficiencies.

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[367] Ibid, 84.
[368] Ibid, 85.
[369] Ibid.

Enumerators were also explicitly told to disregard neighborhood or race: "Follow the same rules whether the unit is in a good section or a poor section; whether it is in a white neighborhood or in a nonwhite neighborhood; whether it is in the country or the city." The structure's age was also to be disregarded: "A unit does not have to be old to be dilapidated." Yet despite the qualifying cautions, the construction of the deficiencies themselves seem to mark certain types of housing as more likely to be counted as dilapidated: *precisely* those in poorer sections where residents might have constructed 'makeshift' structures or have been unable to afford cosmetic repairs, older structures (with "wear"), and urban multi-family housing (for example, the prohibition against living in cellars, which was accompanied by an illustration in the guidebook of "makeshift living quarters in a cellar […] these places are damp and dark, and are a dangerous place in which to live.")

The Head of Housing Developmental Programs for the 1950 Census, J. Hugh Rose wrote that after comparing information during a field visit to Minneapolis, "it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the results of the project (to collect Census data on housing condition.)"[370] Rose noted the effects of broader neighborhoods on enumeration of condition:

> The very bad housing was usually properly classified by the enumerator, although in enumeration districts that consisted mostly of poor quality housing dilapidated dwelling units were more apt to be overlooked than in better E.D.'s. In E.D.'s that contained mostly sound housing, it appeared that the enumerator tended to be too severe in their appraisals.[371]

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[370] J. Hugh Rose to Mr. Wayne F. Daugherty, Memorandum, "Subject: Field Trip, September 17-27," October 1, 1952, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Instructions, Memoranda, and Manuals, Surveys, 1940-1962, Box 2, P, Entry 161. HM-2014, RG 29, NARA, Washington D.C.
[371].Ibid.

Moreover, although Census takers expected older housing to be enumerated

negatively, they were surprised to find that newer housing was downgraded as well. Rose

noted how enumerators assumed a connection between ad-hoc and temporary housing

and poor condition:

> by field check, I discovered that the 35 percent dilapidation among new units
> (built 1945-April 1950) appeared to be due to...veterans temporary homes put up
> by the University of Minnesota...There were between 500 and 600 of the
> veterans' housing units... All of those we checked had been called dilapidated by
> the enumerator even though they were good quality quonset huts and expandable
> trailers...the apparent conclusion to be drawn is that all temporary housing was
> enumerated as dilapidated...in the 1950 Census.[372]

The extent of the lack of reliability in the 1950 and 1960 Census housing condition

information remains to be fully uncovered.[373] Yet the problems with the data did not stop

a variety of stakeholders from using the housing condition question to define urban

blight. In fact, the Urban Renewal Administration encouraged local governments to make

use of the data in order to avoid public controversy, noting that the Census data inspired

greater public trust than more focused, local surveys.[374]

Distinctively situated with access to demographers and inside connections to

municipal planning entities, universities tapped into available Census data more easily

and adeptly than the general public. Especially when it came to their own expansion

plans, universities used Census information about housing condition to justify their own

development. For example, in Columbus, commissioning various studies, including

separate reports by national campus planning consultants Merrill and Caudill, by the city

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[372] Ibid.

[373] This is a planned future project of mine.

[374] Urban Renewal Administration, *Using Census Data for Urban Renewal Purposes* (Washington, DC:
U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962).

of Columbus, and by Kent Schwirian, a sociologist studying neighborhood change, Ohio

State officials collected a trove of demographic and housing Census data in preparation

for their North Dorms project.[375] In Chicago, university officials did not have to initiate

or commission as many studies on their own. For a formidable coalition of private real

estate research groups, public urban renewal and conservation entities (The Chicago Land

Clearance Commission, the office of City Planning, and the city's Urban Renewal

Department) wooed the University of Illinois planners and trustees with figures about

acreage, land assembly, and availability on the Near West Side, among other city of

Chicago possible sites. In Minneapolis, university officials literally wrote the book using

data for land assembly for campus expansion—then-Vice President and former

comptroller William Middlebrook authored *Estimating the Building Needs of a College*

or University: A Demonstration of Methods Developed at the University of Minnesota in

1958 using UMN as a case study.[376]

How the three institutions gathered data—and what data they collected—reveal

the different approaches and contexts of their expansion. Lacking existing data, OSU

collected information from external and internal sources about the neighborhoods

surrounding it, particularly out of interest in determining whether they could initiate a

Title II urban renewal project anywhere in the University District. Facing an

overabundance of city data, Illinois and UIC harnessed external data in a series of

"Chicago-style" political maneuverings that ultimately transformed an existing urban

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[375] Kent Schwirian, "Population of the University Community," in The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office Of (RG 10/6/11), "City Planning Commission and University District Study: 1960-1964 (Folder 2 of 3)."
[376] Middlebrook, *Estimating the Building Needs of a College or University*.

renewal project into a Title II project.[377] Disregarding detailed information about the

surrounding neighborhoods, and developing its expansion prior to the passage of Title II,

UMN looked inward to study its own expansion needs. The differing cases reveal that

Title II affected how a university justified and funded its expansion, but perhaps not

whether or where it eventually expanded. Other factors related to the perception and

measurement of urban decline or blight, such as land value, were also important.

Value and Land-Use

Developing its initial West Bank expansion before the passage of Title II of the

urban renewal act, the University of Minnesota cited land value and minimal disruption

of students/faculty living adjacent to campus as important factors determining where and

how its campus expanded. Low land value met proximity to determine expansion

targets—as one reporter put it, "this was the closest and cheapest land available."[378] The

relationship between land value, blight, and campus expansion cut several ways. As

discussed in the related section on worth and taxable value, "blighted" land was generally

seen as less valuable, or it was thought that less valuable land indicated blighted land,

according to economists and real estate mortgage brokers. Homer Hoyt's famous sector

model (based on Chicago) epitomized this framework.[379] Along with its housing

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[377] Rosen, *Decision-Making, Chicago Style.*
[378] Opstein, "The University Expansion Story," 6.
[379] Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1933).

condition question, the U.S. Housing Census between 1930 and 1940 and again in 1960 included a question on a homeowner's best guess at their house's value.

Yet the focus on value as a possible marker of blight also inflected a more complex calculus about the perceived possibilities of land values, one very much opposite the concept of blight or decline. In other words, a focus on low value as a sign of urban blight also reflected the idea that increasing values could eradicate blight or "renew" an undesirable area of the city into a desirable one. It was about growth and a gap between actual values and perceived possible values.[380] Perceived gaps made redevelopment and maximizing profit desirable for developers, boosters, and businessmen. These renewal schemes also offered solutions for municipal tax deficit problems and delinquent property taxes.

Type of Housing Unit: Apartments as Solution or Problem

Early reformers focused attention on the problems of blight as multi-unit housing, going back to earlier Progressive Era/ concerns about the negative moral and physical consequences of tenement crowding. In the early twentieth-century Near West Side, in Cedar-Riverside, and in the far southeastern University District, the multi-family homes of immigrants and African-Americans were often portrayed as a blighting factor. Urban multi-family apartments were contrasted negatively with the suburban ideal of a single-family detached home. However, as neighborhood demographics changed, the apartment

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[380] See Neil Smith, Gentrification and the Rent Gap," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77, no. (2005): 462-465; see also Eric Clark, "On Gaps In Gentrification Theory," *Housing Studies* 7, no. 1 (1992): 16-26.

morphed from a blighting factor into a positive solution to "renew" neighborhoods. For example, the 1930s FHA "redline" descriptions of Cedar-Riverside downgraded the area in part due to its multi-family housing and noted: "the westerly half has many of the shifting population occupying the cheap apartments and rows."[381] Yet by the 1970s, Cedar-Riverside Associates advocates portrayed grand high rise apartments as integral to the "multimillion-dollar plans for rebuilding the area into a skyscraper studded planned community."[382]

This change had more to do with people--the inhabitants of structures--rather than the structures themselves. This implicit tension—that the apartment building as solution or problem depended on the racial and socioeconomic characteristics of the inhabitants— is the crucible of a larger implicit tension in the "making" of urban blight and decline: that white middle- and upper-class families, especially homeowners, could inhabit almost any type of housing or neighborhood and it would not be characterized by the surveyors as "blighted" or "in decline." Although a host of other factors affected conceptions of one type of multi-family unit (the tenement) as emblematic of blight and another (the modern high-rise apartment) as representative of luxury, each housing type's typical resident was one of the most important markers, yet seldom mentioned specifically. In fact, unpacking blight as a neighborhood-wide phenomenon not contained by one particular facet of a housing unit such as its age or condition, and interrogating blight and decline as

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[381] Guy W. Lalone et al., "Realty Map of Minneapolis, MN—Description of Areas," Description of area "D-5," Minneapolis, in Folder, "Minneapolis," Records of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Records Relating to the City Survey File, 1935-1940, Box: "Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri," RG 195, NARA, College Park.
[382] Sam Newlund, "Cedar Riverside: Some Area Residents Balk at Redevelopment," *The Minneapolis Tribune*, January 31, 1971, IB, in Folder: "Cedar-Riverside," Hennepin History Museum, Minneapolis, MN.

intimately connected to people, rather than housing conditions, shows how blight and urban decline resisted the bounds of any particular definition other than one connected to race and socioeconomic status of urban residents. The next sections of the chapter show the contradictions of these expanded boundaries of blight and decline.

Expanding The Boundaries of Blight: From Housing Unit to Neighborhood/District

"To Create a New Neighborhood...To Efface the Memory of the Slum:" Blight as Neighborhood-wide Phenomenon

Early and mid-twentieth-century definitions of blight were based on characteristics of individual housing units such as age, taxes owed, or condition. Three related issues prevented any of these definitions from becoming ubiquitously accepted. First, in each of these cases, exceptions could be made: for example, the old house in the desirable neighborhood, or the home in poor condition undergoing repairs. Second, center city neighborhoods changed quickly: buildings were torn down or repaired, new residents moved in, problems such as crime and juvenile delinquency rose and fell. Third, and most important, federal urban renewal legislation provided funding on the basis of project areas, entire sections of cities, not individual parcels of land or buildings. Unlike municipal code enforcement, which targeted individual nuisance buildings, and which many neighborhood residents actively supported, urban renewal programming mandated large swaths of city land be designated blighted for renewal. City and university planners

and officials initiating urban renewal needed measures of blight which were not case-by-case, building-by-building, but which rather were broader in scope, the sum of the individual parts.

For all of these reasons, urban stakeholders began increasingly in the 1950s to see urban blight or decline as a neighborhood-wide phenomenon, one which could only be solved by the kind of broadly sweeping federal programs designed for slum clearance. Definitions of blight changed as federal programming evolved. Federal grants funded projects once they had been approved, but to get federal approval, cities had to show that areas were blighted. Thus, they could not draw upon those funds to develop surveys of blight or figure out which areas of their cities might qualify. Instead, city officials relied on a mish-mash combination of pre-existing data on blight from a variety of sources (the housing-related factors discussed above) and a broader sense of blight as a certain streetscape or urban area, one which was older, poorer, in flux, and high-density.
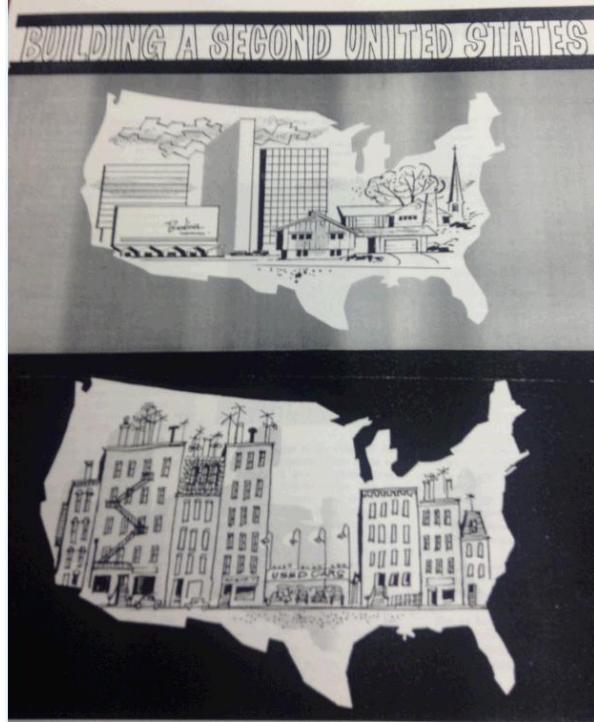
Figure 26. "Building a Second United States" showed the distinctive streetscapes associated with urban blight on the one hand (bottom image) and modern urban renewal on the other (top image). Universities fit into the image of a modern, organized city. Source: *Ohio Cities and Villages* (Ohio Municipal League, 1960) in Folder 41: "United States Court of Appeals for Seventh Circuit: the Harrison-Halsted Community, Group, Inc, et al V. Housing and Home Finance Agency et. al. [1962]," in Box 1, Florence Scala Collection, Richard J. Daley Library Special Collections and University Archives, Chicago, IL.

The Near West Side of Chicago of the early 1950s epitomized this streetscape. A 1956 urban renewal survey spearhead by the community conservation board and overseen by the city building department set out to survey blight on the Near West Side without really specifying what they were looking for. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* noted that 20 members of the city building department would survey the exterior of area buildings, and their basements and hallways in order to classify them as "good," "in need of minor repair," or "in need of major repair," a three-prong scale similar to the Census Bureau's 1950 condition question. However, the article also implied that their

238

examinations of blight would encompass more than individual building classifications: "Staff members of the (city survey) board will tour the area with 35 mm. cameras for photographs of the various kinds of buildings, streets, and blight conditions prevalent on the near west side…The project area, consisting of 237.4 acres, has been earmarked for $3,070,000 in federal funds for improvements."[383] The vagueness of the phrase "various kinds of…conditions" showed survey takers' ambivalence about what constituted blight. They knew they recognized the Near West Side as a blighted site, but no singular measure seemed sufficient to capture and quantify that blight.

Results from a Near West Side urban renewal report from the same decade supported these officials' confidence about the totality of blight in the district while at the same time revealing their ambivalence about the specific individual parts that comprised the sum of a blighted streetscape, a district in decline. Part of a booklet produced by the city of Chicago, Figures 27 through 30 disagreed on a single factor marking blight and suggested instead a set of unspecific visuals and partial statistics.

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[383] Erwin Bach, "Blight Survey Will Start Monday on Near West Side." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October18, 1956, 1-w
<http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/179925697?accountid=14586> (accessed February 3, 2016).
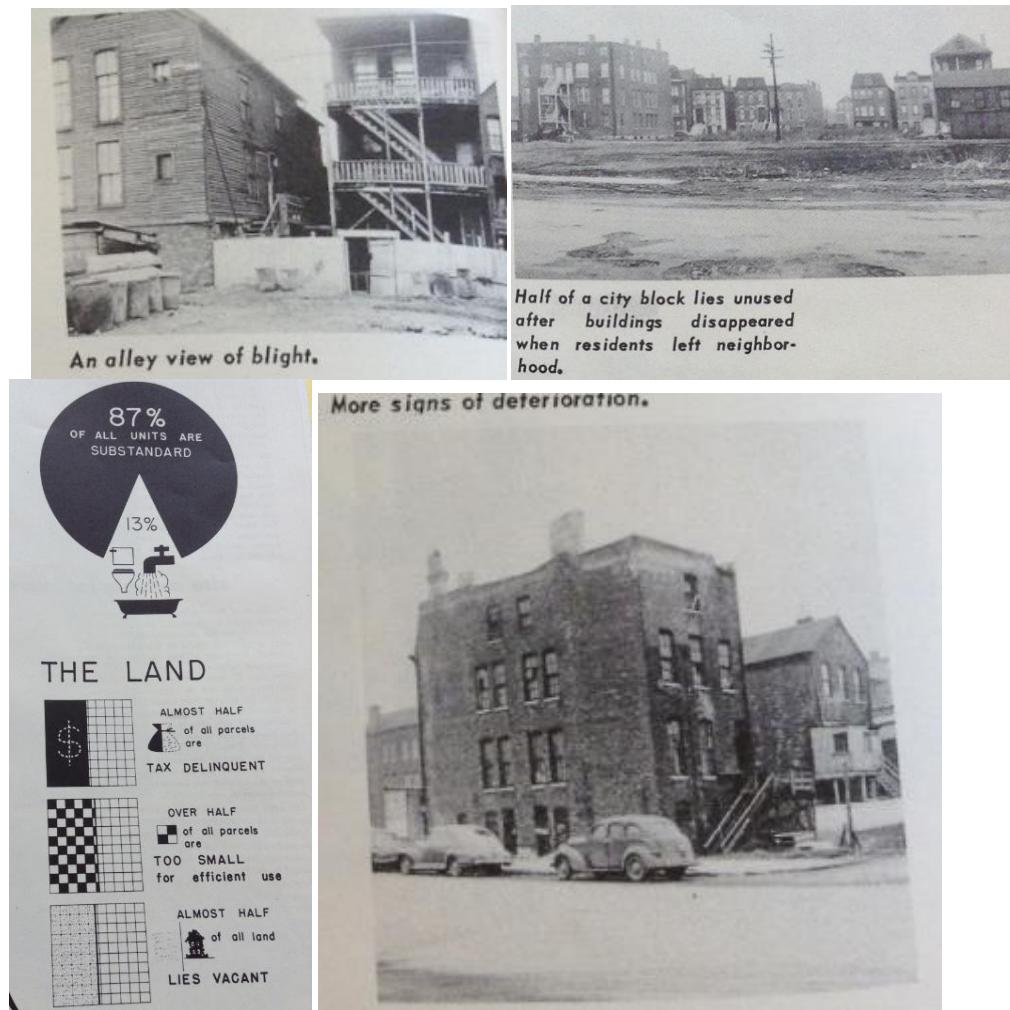
Figures 27-30: Illustrations of Blight on the Near West Side. Source: Chicago Land Clearance Commission, *Redevelopment Project Number Three*, June 1951, in Folder: "Redevelopment Projects-Project # 3- West Side Industrial, 524-4414,"Box 524-783, Series III: Planning and Urban Renewal, Metropolitan Planning Council Records, The University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL.

In particular, Figure 29, a graphic of statistics about Near West Side land-use,

hedged on the exact parameters of blight. The phrases "Almost half" and "over half"

hinted at the problem renewal surveyors found: that the converse was also true in terms

of these markers of housing quality. In other words, while "almost half" of all parcels

were tax delinquent, that also meant that over half (most parcels) were not behind on

taxes. No single factor captured blight definitely on the Near West Side, so the writers of the report chose instead to meld a variety of measures and complement them with pictures of what they considered visual blight on the Near West Side; Figure 30, "More signs of deterioration," while an evocative city streetscape, was unclear about what exactly these signs of deterioration were.

Planners had clearer ideas about what blight was *not*: single-family winding suburban streets with ample green-space and carefully delineated uses. Figure 31 shows what a 1940s Chicago neighborhood plan suggested "in place of the obsolescent gridiron plan of streets prevailing in the Near West Side and other older sections of the city today."[384] Influenced by Ebenezer Howard's "garden cities" ideal, the plan emphasizes "single family dwellings" (lower right corner) surrounding an elementary school and a playground.[385]

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[384] The Chicago West Central Association, *Chicago Prepares For Peace*, 1943, Chicago Public Library Municipal Reference Collection.
[385] Ebenezer Howard and Frederic Osborn, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow (*Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1965).
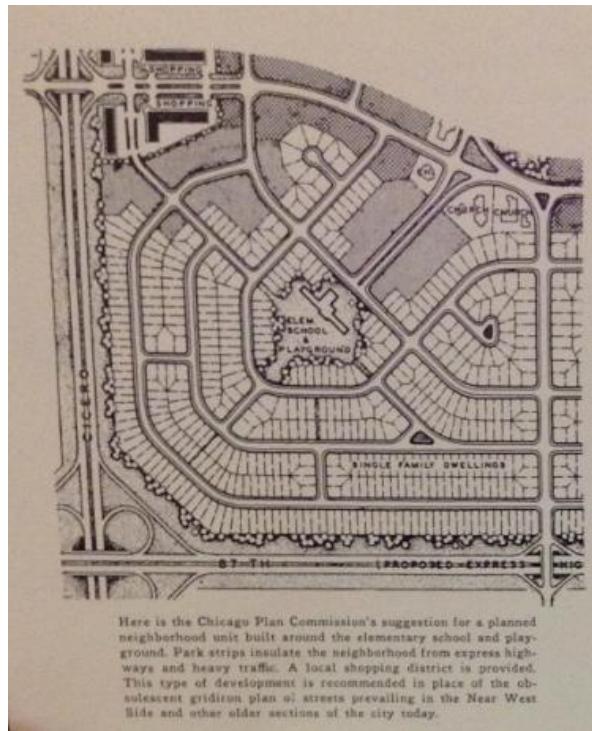
Figure 31. "Suggestion for a Planned Neighborhood" from *Chicago Prepares for Peace*. Source: The Chicago West Central Association, *Chicago Prepares For Peace*, 1943,Chicago Public Library Municipal Reference Collection, Harold Washington Library, Chicago IL.

On the same page of the booklet, a section entitled "A Warning for Landowners" quoted extensively from Homer Hoyt's *The Valuation of Land in Urban Blighted Areas*:

> If present trends of urban decentralization continue, individual parcels of vacant land in central blighted areas will have only a nominal value unless they happen to be needed by some existing industry or institution. This land has very little utility because few new buildings can be erected in piecemeal pattern upon it which will yield an economic return…A new residence placed in the midst of a slum takes on, chameleonlike, the character of its environment and loses upon completion half or more its cost because it is surrounded by slums. Hence, individual owners are helpless in resuscitating vacant urban sights…The full enhancement of the value of blighted land as a result of plottage can only be obtained where sufficient land is assembled to create a new neighborhood…this new neighborhood must be of sufficient size to efface the memory of the old slum and to create a new environment…In short, it appears to be evident that the destiny of each individual parcel of property in blighted areas is indissolubly bound up in the future of the whole area.[386]

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[386] Ibid.

Hoyt's quote, in the context of 1940s discussions about the Near West Side, proved prophetic about the direction of development in that area in the following decades. The phrase "unless they happen to be needed by […] some institution" became the fate of the place, as much of the area was given over for the grounds of UIC. Hoyt's explanation of the futility of small-scale improvement development "in piecemeal pattern" by "helpless" individual owners in the face of a creeping, inevitable, surrounding slums became the same argument for why large-scale urban renewal was necessary, instead of the "block-by-block," parcel-by-parcel conservation approach favored by neighborhood residents in the same period. Oddly, it was also an explanation that rendered the measurement of urban blight futile, illogical, and unnecessary, even when the policy and logic of urban renewal mandated such surveys. For if at any moment, any present non-blighted conditions of a neighborhood were about to be transformed, "chameolonlike," into a blighted slum, then measurements would show only a fleeting status quo. By this logic, any individual housing unit or plot land in a central blighted area was or would soon be blighted. The utility of using neighborhoods or districts as units of blight meant that individual, non-conforming, non-blighted conditions could be effectively ignored and elided in the descriptions of blight.

"Conserving" Neighborhoods, Fighting Blight: Blight as Incursion

This approach both rankled and silenced neighborhood residents who tended to emphasize the positive conditions of their neighborhoods and to suggest that via

243

alternative urban renewal policies such as conservation, blight could be reversed. Indeed, whereas most planners considered blight as a quickly spreading weed or cancer which needed to be entirely effaced and eradicated, at the scale of entire neighborhoods, neighborhood residents largely thought of blight at a more specific scale: as emblematic of whatever particular characteristics they did not like about their neighborhoods.

According to this logic, blight was resolvable at the small scale. Garbage could be remedied by trash cans and better collection; toward this end, the Near West Side Committee sponsored a trash can decorating contest.[387] Dilapidated housing could be resolved by better code enforcement and/or zoning, a major goal of neighborhood stakeholders in all three case study areas. Lack of upkeep—another blighting factor neighborhood residents associated with undesirable "others" within their neighborhoods, whether Appalachian migrants in Columbus' University District, or students, or low-income residents on the Near West Side of Chicago—could be resolved with social pressure to conform, as well as outside enforcement by the city. Other blighting factors—juvenile delinquency and crime on the Near West Side and in Cedar-Riverside—could be solved with intervention programs, policy, and community self-enforcement (what Anthony Sorrentino and others on the Near West Side called "self-help.") As discussed in the previous chapter, neighborhood residents organized at small, parochial but increasingly complex scales in the postwar period. Despite the local, grassroots origin of their organizing, they engaged with national programs for urban renewal. The important

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[387] Near West Side Community Committee, "It's An Inside Job," (brochure) in Folder 124, "Brochures, 1942-1959," in Box 9, Near West Side Community Committee Records, Richard J. Daley Library Special Collections and University Archives, Chicago, IL.

distinction from their approaches was that just as they saw "blight" as some undesirable

outside force or incursion into their neighborhoods, they also saw renewal funding as a

desirable and useful outside force which they could utilize to fight blight and conserve

their neighborhoods. For this reason, neighborhoods competed to become "conservation"

rather than "clearance" areas and to receive urban renewal funding, as the Near West

Side community organizations did.

Expanding The Boundaries of Blight II: From Neighborhood/District to People

City streetscapes and urban neighborhoods housed people. These urban residents

inhabited the structures surveyors classified as blighted due to their age, condition, or

other factors. It is clear from their records that just as urban survey takers found it

difficult to separate structure from block, neighborhood, or district, they also found it

impossible to think about housing and neighborhoods as blighted without also talking

about people as desirable or undesirable factors. The transition of the term "stock" from

one used to talk about people hints at the complex and interconnected ways in which

observers of the city—professionals and laymen alike—conflated people and housing.

Stock and Quality of Housing in the City of Chicago: 1950 and 1960

Frequently used in early 20th century discussions of eugenics and racial purity, the term

"stock" crossed over after WWII into discourses about housing. It is not coincident that

the use of the phrase "racial stock" in American published discourse declined just as the

use of the phrase "housing stock" increased (see Figure 32). Using housing-related

language to imply something about a district's human inhabitants (housing as a proxy for

people) was a trend that accelerated after WWII, as national conversations about the

urban crisis intensified. I have shown the ways in which planners, professionals,

academics and policymakers grasped for ways in which to measure and describe urban

blight in terms of housing, whether its value, its type, its construction, its worth, or its

age. With each measure, they were left wanting a more precise instrument to show the

blight they perceived but could not perfectly chart.
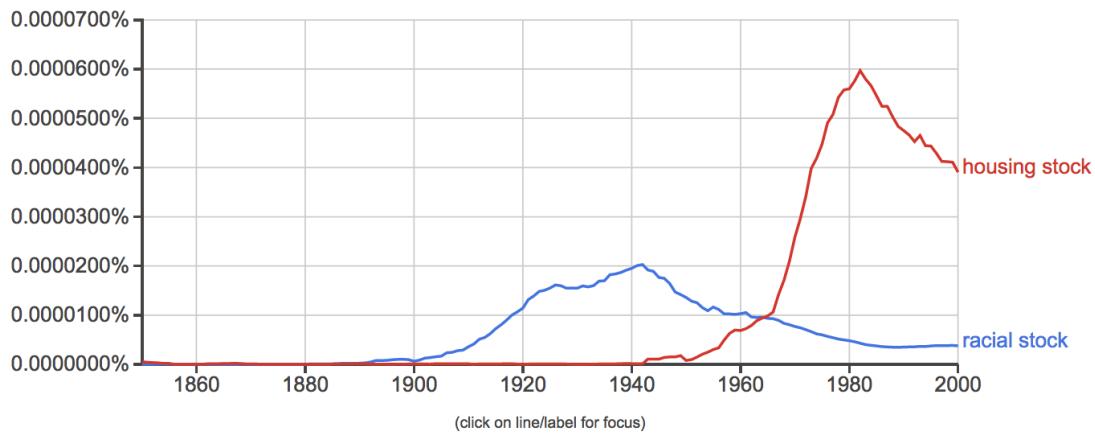
Figure 32. "Housing stock vs. racial stock from Google Ngrams." Source: Google Trends

Yet, these discussions of housing-related blight often instead referred directly or

indirectly to *people* as blighting factors. While historiography on the twentieth century

American city includes robust discussions of the intersection of white suburbanization

and discriminatory real estate practices, the historiography on urban renewal often paints

this set of policies as less inflected by discrimination than other elements of mid-century

housing and urban policy, even when its effects are acknowledged as deepening, rather than ameliorating, racial segregation.[388] Urban renewal is sometimes seen as at least in part an outgrowth of progressive housing reform movements earlier in the twentieth century. However, many of the actors who wished to renew the city did not want a more equal city, a more integrated city, or simply, better housing for a city's poor and minority residents. They wanted a whiter, wealthier city with residents who lived in normative family structures in a decidedly non-urban landscape of separate uses. They wanted the suburbs *within* the city, and we might consider the concurrent processes of urban renewal and suburbanization as different arenas competing for the same ends.

Edith Wood's discussion of blighted areas discussed previously highlights a photograph (Figure 33) of an "over-crowded basement home" that includes the caption "Note coal stove, oil lamp, low ceiling, and beds in living room" but makes no mention of two African-American men and one woman also in the photograph and in the room.[389] Likewise left out of all of the various housing-related means of discussing urban decline were people, or urban inhabitants. In their discussions of the age of structures, their tax values and delinquencies, their condition, and their form, urban planners and experts delicately skirted the issue of people in general. They seldom referred directly to race, religion, income, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and living/family arrangements, but it is possible to read between the lines of their allusions to explicate how these other categories powerfully inflected their definitions of urban blight. Urban blight or decline was ultimately more defined by the characteristics associated with groups of people

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[388] See Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*.
[389] Wood, *Slums and Blighted Areas in the United States*, 7 (Plate 11).

rather than by housing or city conditions. Although outspoken residents were often not

so careful with their language, universities and associated experts provided the categories

and terminologies by which to occlude this important distinction, using, for example,

terms such as housing stock which both implied and elided the presence of human

inhabitants.

Public Works Administration, Housing Division—Bulletin 1

PLATE II

FIGURE 1.—OVER-CROWDED BASEMENT HOME.
Note coal stove, oil lamps, low ceiling, and beds in living room.
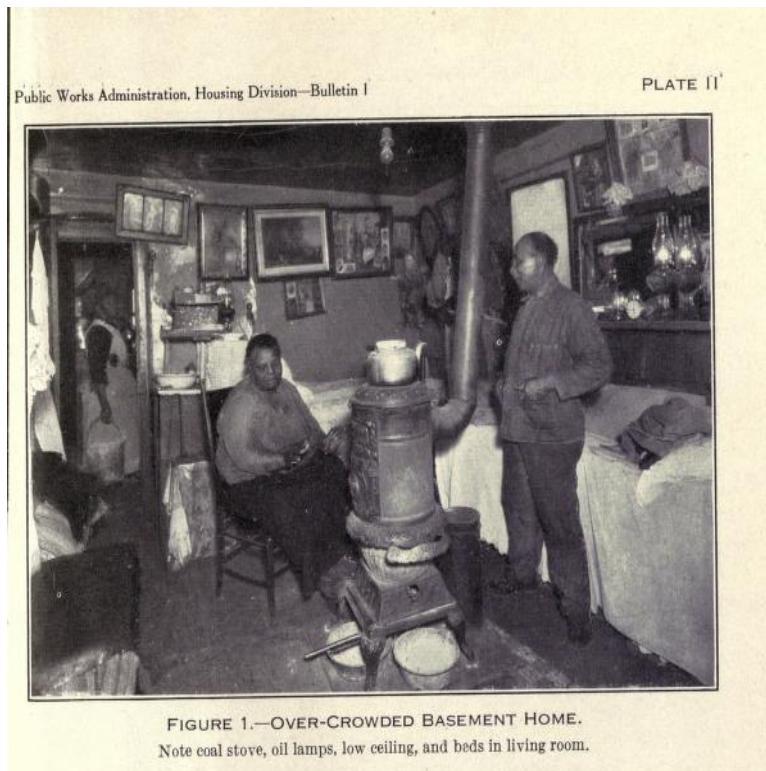
Figure 33. "Over-crowded Basement Home." Source: Wood, *Slums and Blighted Areas in the United States*, 7 (Plate 11).

Figure 33 (above), an image of an overcrowded basement home, directs readers to notice

the stove, low ceiling, and beds in the living room but does not mention the people in the

image, three African-American urban residents. Yet the people are examples of the

broader and various groups urban residents who had their opinions about the definitions

of urban blight and decline, and possible solutions, even as they themselves may have

been implicated by some planners and surveyors as human embodiments of blight, especially as throughout the 1950s and 1960s, blight's boundaries expanded from housing to neighborhood to characteristics of individual residents, especially their race.

<u>Racial Change as an (Unspoken) Marker of Blight:</u>

Compiling statistics on urban blight was tricky because, as the housing characteristics discussed above hint, so many perceptions of negative urban change were connected not to housing or neighborhoods but to people. Often residents were as blunt about these perceptions as planners and city officials were oblique. For example, when Nesta Smith, a longtime resident of Chicago's Near West Side, reflected on the "best years" of her neighborhood in a 1983 oral history interview, she specifically connected the "disintegration" of her community to changes it is racial and ethnic composition. She attributed its "best years" to prewar period, the same moment in time others had characterized the area as one of Chicago's worst slums:

> I think the best years would be--well, of course, I didn't know previous to the time. But I'm sure from the time Jane Addams came here until we left--I would say until about 1950. I think from then on, the neighborhood began to disintegrate a bit. More and more people moved out of the neighborhood. The Italians began to move away. The Greeks stayed some. Of course, by that time, we got some Blacks and Mexicans over here east of us a bit.[390]

Neighborhoods residents such as Smith made no effort to couch their fears and negative opinions about racial and ethnic neighborhood change, but others greatly labored to hide these views or left them unsaid entirely. For example, in a confidential

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[390] Oral History interview with Nesta Smith, August 15, 1984, page 14, Hull House Oral History Collection, Box 5, Folder: 5-76.

memo, Ferd Kramer, head of Chicago's Metropolitan Housing Council, wrote to Walter

Schaefer, a Northwestern University law professor, that "the situation…regarding negro

housing and race relations is extremely critical."[391] In the same time period, an extensive

confidential FHA report on the "current housing situation in the Chicago, Illinois area"

discussed a broad range of issues affecting the housing market in Chicago without ever

mentioning racial change and racially restrictive lending and real estate practices,

themselves posited as anti-blight measures. Identifying a serious housing crisis in

Chicago, the report simply noted: "The large number of units needed by in-migrant

defense workers and others so exceeds the number of units available." The "others"

mentioned are non-white residents most affected by the housing crunch.

As these examples show, the most unspoken and yet most important characteristic

of urban residents was their race. Scholars have traced how urban renewal, once it played

out, was effectively "negro removal," and this was a criticism leveled within the decade

most urban renewal programs rolled out.[392] In all three of my case study districts, some

actors viewed "blight" and negative urban change as racial change. Importantly, all three

of my case-study neighborhoods were predominantly white districts undergoing racial

change in the postwar period. As such, the studies and discussions of their decline invite

a careful examination of the ways in which race and racial change were bound up with

perceptions of blight and urban decline. Universities, likewise, seldom mentioned race in

their planning and expansion, or in connection to surrounding neighborhoods.

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[391] Letter from Ferd Kramer to Mr. Walter V. Schaefer, Northwestern University Law School, 5/19/1944, MPC Records, LHS-UIC.
[392] Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Particularly in Chicago, on the Near West Side, race affected residents', planners, politicians, and area businessmen's views of neighborhood change. These actors used the seemingly neutral term "blight" to couch their concerns about Chicago's long residentially-restricted and growing African-American population. As blacks in Chicago moved beyond the bounds of South Side "black belt" where redlining and restrictive covenants had confined them since the early 20th century, white neighborhood associations and residents of Chicago's West and Southwest side associated the possibility of integrated neighborhoods with blight.[393] Like Columbus' University District and Minneapolis' Cedar-Riverside, the Near West Side had always been predominantly white but racially and ethnically integrated to a greater extent than many other surrounding neighborhoods. This middle ground status made the case study neighborhoods contested landscapes. In Chicago, loop businessmen and Central Area planners/stakeholders advocated adamantly against the "deterioration" of the neighborhood they hinted was housing-related but which was actually tied to race. These downtown promoters feared the Loop itself would lose value if surrounded by predominantly African-American neighborhoods, and as other scholars have shown, midcentury actors assumed that once a single African-American family had moved into a neighborhood, they had "blockbusted" its value.

Very similarly positioned after WWII, Cedar-Riverside experienced the same pattern on a much smaller scale because Minneapolis never had a very large African-

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[393] The literature on race, racial change, and the history of Chicago is vast. For postwar change and neighborhood resistance specifically, see Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto* as well as Satter, *Family Properties*; Amanda Seligmann, *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.)

American population compared to other Midwestern cities.[394] Cedar-Riverside, like the

Near West Side, was best described in the immediate postwar period as an immigrant

neighborhood undergoing change. Planners and institutional actors feared what changes

might occur, and a chief concern was racial change. In 1966, Minneapolis planner

Richard Heath discussed the neighborhood's immigrant past (characterized as a heyday

and a peak) and what he perceived as its decline:

> Riverside Neighborhood reached its peak of population and activity around the
> turn of the century. For two brief decades, from 1890-1910, it displayed all the
> vitality, color, and solidarity of a functioning immigrant neighborhood...Its
> population in 1890 was almost two-thirds foreign-born, of whom about half were
> Swedish, one-fourth Norwegian, and the remainder German, Danish, Czech,
> Slovene, and somewhat later, Irish…As immigrants moved up the social and
> economic scale—a rapid move in this era of opportunity—they moved out of
> Riverside…Those who remained in Riverside were increasingly those who had no
> compulsion to leave, or strong compulsion to stay: the unmarried, the childless,
> the old folks whose children had grown—and the disadvantaged. The
> disadvantaged included not only the early immigrants who had failed to climb the
> economic ladder, but also the racial groups who had a much tougher climb. Negro
> residents of Riverside appeared in substantial number by 1910, some of them
> displaced eastward from the expanding fringe of downtown, most of them new
> migrants to the city between 1900 and 1920. By the latter date, some 650 Negros
> lived in Riverside or the area immediately to the west.[395]

Heath's speech above highlights the ways in which planners and other officials worried

not just about housing characteristics but also about the human inhabitants of such

structures. He draws stark contrast between Cedar-Riverside as a place of "vitality, color,

and solidarity" when immigrants inhabited to a neighborhood in decline when African-

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[394] See Chapter Two.

[395] Richard L. Heath, Planner CPC, "Riverside Neighborhood: The First Hundred Years," 2-4, Paper
delivered at presentation of Riverside Preliminary Plan Report to City Planning Commission, August 4,
1966, Hennepin History Museum, Minneapolis, MN.

Americans moved it. Yet in the next section of his speech, Heath moved away from describing the residents of the neighborhood and into a description of its housing:

> By the 1930s, trends had become problems—problems beyond solution by even the more stable residents who took pride in their neighborhood. A 1934 survey of houses in the area showed all in poor condition, one-third probably beyond reclamation, and one-tenth unfit for habitation…Overall, Riverside ranked among the poorest housing in the city. Its problems were less those of a slum than they were of sheer obsolescence. It still retained a core of old immigrant families and their descendants—about two-thirds of the now much-reduced population-mostly in the eastern part of the neighborhood.[396]

In this speech, Heath exemplified the blurry boundaries between people and housing, between race and space that had come to dominate discussions of urban decline and blight by the late 1960s when Heath delivered his paper. Although none of my case study districts were predominantly African-American neighborhoods, midcentury discussions of urban decline and blight centered around race and socioeconomic status, and planners' fears that central city land would undergo racial change (change which was already happening, in Cedar-Riverside, on Chicago's Near West Side, and which was seen as a threat in Columbus).

Students/University Development as Blight or Solution?

In this implicit calculus in which city and university stakeholders alike viewed low-income, transient, and non-white neighborhood residents as constitutive of blight, students and university development represented for some a solution to the problem of central city decline, even when students epitomized transience. In Chicago as well as in

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[396] Ibid, 4.

Cedar-Riverside, city and university officials lauded student-oriented development and campus expansion as renewal tools.

In Cedar-Riverside, the supporters of the New-Town-In-Town program portrayed student residents positively. An article on the development quoted a long-term resident, 77-year-old, Lawrence Osman on students as friendly and their transience as harmless: "'They stop and talk to me,' Osman said, 'We get along just fine. They keep moving in and out, but that makes no difference. Nice people move out, nice people move in. They are all good to me.'"[397] In Chicago, some businessmen and landlords were eager to cater to students and university workers with disposable income to spend in the area.[398] City officials concurred and viewed institutional use as an overall benefit, or "anchor," for the area; Chicago city planner Ira Bach stood by the city's actions years later when he reflected: "That community raised hell…But…the 100 acres we took and made institutional rather than residential became the anchor for the rest of the community. I don't think residential re-use of the kind we were planning would have had any impact at all."[399]

For non-student neighborhood residents, the opposite was true. They viewed transient students and university development as blighting factors, not solutions. The Southeast Neighborhoods' plan noted that: "University expansion has caused considerable demolition of housing around the campus and has been a distinctive factor

[397] Clipping, "The Community," 6, *Minneapolis Tribune*, Picture section, Sunday, December 9, 1973, Hennepin History Museum, Minneapolis, MN.

[398] William T. Corcoran, "Loud Voices and Discreet Silence," (unpublished seminar paper, 1999), 10, University Archives Record Group 000/00/09, Richard J. Daley Library Special Collections and University Archives, Chicago, IL.

[399] Arthur H. Rotstein, *The Circle Campus--:The Site was the Ball Game* (University of Chicago, 1971), 69, Richard J. Daley Library Special Collections and University Archives, Chicago, IL.

in much of the population loss in the University neighborhood."[400] Echoing the theme of

university as producer of blight, one former resident of the Near West Side indicated a

war not on blight but on her neighborhood in an article called "Instead of Cannons, They

Used Bulldozers."[401] She recalled "There's a college campus on the site now. I call my

neighborhood the Circle Campus parking lot. That's all we are for the campus and the

medical center. Our streets are choked with cars. Perhaps the college performs a needed

function. Yet there is nothing quite beautiful about the thing. It's walled off from the

community."[402] These conflicting perspectives on university and student influence on

urban decline show that a struggle over ideal neighborhood populations (whether

students, different ethnic groups, African-Americans, low-income residents, or others)

underlay the battle for the definition of blight.

"Watching it deteriorate before my eyes:" Residents' Perspectives on Neighborhood Change

When eleven-year-old Near West Side resident Earnest Gates first saw bulldozers

raze a home in his neighborhood in 1954, he and fellow children rejoiced at the change

because it gave them a place to play: "It was like WOW. We have a play lot. We can play

ball."[403] Gates, a member of one of the first African-American families to move onto

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[400] Comprehensive Planning Program for Southeast Minneapolis Planning Area, City of Minneapolis Planning Commission, undated (Box 5).
[401] Terkel, *Division Street*, 9.
[402] Ibid.
[403] Ernest Gates, interviewed by Laura Milsk, November 5, 1997, pg. 5 in Folder "2002-131-Ernest Gates," Neighborhoods, Keepers of Culture project oral histories and transcripts [manuscript], ca. 1996-1999, Chicago History Center. Chicago, IL.

prominently Italian-American and Greek-American South Leavitt Street, recalled the

neighborhood then as idyllic:

> there were no vacant lots, tree lined streets, landscaping, the whole bit. And I remember the neighborhood wasn't much different than the neighborhoods we saw on TV. There were six of us, and we all had our own bedrooms...I remember a grand neighborhood...It was healthy, it was still vibrant...Madison Street had everything that you needed. You didn't need to leave the street for anything.[404]

The first vacant lot, such a boon as a ballpark, was the harbinger of more insidious

changes, according to Gates. Gates remembered: "(But) then the buildings started

disappearing over the next few years. What was a real joy in one vacant lot, as you got

older, you start to see it happening all around, and you realize the neighborhood

was...*literally* was coming apart."[405] On what neighborhood changes occurred to impel,

Gates mentioned numerous factors. He said:

> You couldn't get a mortgage if you wanted to purchase a piece of property. You couldn't get insurance. The place had been redlined...So the working families, the tax base, was leaving, and leaving in a hurry. The people that were left, a lot of the buildings, were turned into kitchenette apartments, and they fell into disrepair...The neighborhood started to slide very rapidly after '68. [406]

In his discussions of neighborhood change on Chicago's Near West Side, Gates

exemplified some of the bundled patterns residents associated with negative urban

change. In this instance, Gates bundled discriminatory practices by mortgage lenders and

the insurance industry, out-migration of families, and architectural conversions as a set of

negative urban changes. Furthermore, with this list of changes recapitulated in an oral

history interview thirty years later, Gates shows the complexities of urban decline as

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[404] Ibid.
[405] Ibid, 6.
[406] Ibid.

experienced by neighborhood residents. Not a monolithic or singular pattern, negative

urban change was multi-faceted and tough to pin down. It was something residents such

as Gates and others may have perceived but been unable to define succinctly or exactly.

Likewise, Gates' list of positive characteristics of his neighborhood prior to the "slide"

are bundled, a set of positive patterns that range from the aesthetic—the trees and

landscaping Gates remembered—to the living arrangements (space for everyone), to the

commercial (you could buy anything you wanted on Madison St. Tellingly, the highest

positive characteristic attached to the neighborhood from Gates' childhood memory was

that it conformed to a middle-class American norm: it looked like the neighborhoods on

television.

Urban change for Gates and others was ambivalent, contingent, in process, and

not inevitable. Gates said: "I have these mixed emotions because *it was still my

neighborhood*, and I was watching it deteriorate before my eyes. I remember… feeling

very bad about what was taking place."[407] Urban blight was structural and economic, but

it was also visual and changeable in the eye of the beholder, as when Gates longed for

Chicago's wintry weather to cover up the physical signs he attributed to decline. He said,

"I remember…hoping that the winter would hurry up and settle because all of the

ugliness always went away…with the first snowfall. That would cover up everything.

Even the abandoned buildings didn't look as bad. All you had to do was clean the walks

and it looked like any other community."[408]

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[407] Italics added. Ibid.
[408] Ibid.

By the time he recounted these changes in the oral history interview, Gates was no longer an eleven-year-old; he was a long-term homeowner and community activist, a nearly lifelong resident of the Near West Side. He was involved in bringing the United Center sports complex to his old neighborhood and in promoting job training, single family development, and organized sports for teenagers. He was also active in the neighborhood organization the West Haven CDC, which sought to promote economic growth for the neighborhood in the future.

Gate's take on his neighborhood's decline also shows how mid-century discussions of the urban crisis were not limited to professional planning circles and municipal meetings. Even a child could and did have a take on how his city was changing. Instead, as the previous chapter hinted, residents in cities across the country engaged in a vast and collaborative, yet often divisive "data collection" project as they emulated and joined the various officials and professionals who were charting urban change at this time. More importantly, Gates' nuanced explanation of urban decline in his area contrasts powerfully with those residents and officials who implicated his own family in the making of urban blight or decline by associating the Near West Side's racial change as a sign of blight. Instead, the vast apparatus of statistics about the city served to veil negative attitudes and opinions about racial change.

"W.T.H. Does This Mean?" Mastering Blight

Mid-century renewal funding opened an opportunity not only for planners and

municipal officials to work toward measurements of blight; it was a context in which

neighborhood residents worked at cross-purposes to put forth their own conceptions of

blight and decline. In both University District and the Southeast Minneapolis

neighborhoods, well-connected and long term neighborhood residents, members in the

organizations discussed in the previous chapter, suggested alternative definitions of blight

and marshalled neighborhood resources to attempt to gain city and federal funding to

fight or mitigate the blight they perceived, much of which was connected either to

university expansion and effects or to low-income residents and non-white residential

racial change.

These residents worked within frameworks that hinged upon a blight and but left

it largely undefined. For example, according to the City of Minneapolis City Planning

Commission report, the chief goal for the Community Development Block Grant Funds

was blight elimination; their "Program Goals and Priorities" noted without elaboration or

definitions: "The first priority is to support programs that eliminate blight and rehabilitate

housing."[409]

In Minneapolis, the organized southeast neighborhoods applied to receive some of

this funding, part of a 1975 Block Grant proposal (which they eventually received). The

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[409] Minneapolis City Council, "Program Goals and Priorities for Third Year Community Development
Block Grant Programs," in Folder: "2nd S.E. Corporation, Block Grant Proposals, 1976-78," UMN
University Archives, SE Mpls Community Organizations, Box 4 of 6.

organization, 2nd S.E. Corporation (an offshoot of UDIA and SEMPACC) put forth its

definition of neighborhood blight and wrote:

> there is no practical alternative to the renovation of older sound housing in these residential areas. Housing is in demand and much is always needed...because of the central-city location of the project area, and because of the very stable and large institutions such as the University and the businesses in the nearby loop […]within a community where low-cost walk-up housing was built advantageously by the landlord sector with resulting decrease in community ownership and stability, the effort and thrust of the proposal, the subsequent use of federal monies, will be to in this small way help to reverse the long trend toward landlord-owned rental units and open the way with each renovation accomplished for a resident-owner to be added to the community-in general, helping to restore the balance toward a more healthy, more concerned citizenry.[410]

Comprised of a 12 person board and over 80 shareholders, 2nd S.E. Corporation

(and its earlier incarnation as 1st S.E. Corporation) represented a distinctive private-

public partnership which emerged in postwar city neighborhoods during the urban

renewal era: a citizen-initiated, privately funded corporation formed to apply for public

support and funding from the city and federal governments. Board members included

Ruth Meyer, a housewife and neighborhood resident who served as the president. Three

University affiliates: Maynard Pirsig, a law professor and former Law School Dean at

UMN, Frank Lassman, an Audiology and Speech professor, and Mildred Templin, a

Child Psychology professor.[411] Despite many of these individuals' professional

connections with the university, their definitions of blight were connected to university as

well, as when some residents who favored single family homes with (non-student)

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[410] 2nd S.E. Corporation, Environmental Review Record-Determination of Level of Clearance, Feb. 1966, in Folder: "2nd S.E. Corporation, Block Grant Proposals, 1975," UMN University Archives, SE Mpls Community Organizations, Box 4 of 6.

[411] These were the board members as of September, 1975. Ruth F. Meyer, President, and 2nd S.E. Corporation, Community Development Block Grant Application-2nd Year," 5, In Folder: "2nd S.E. Corporation, Block Grant Proposals, 1975," UMN University Archives, SE Mpls Community Organizations, Box 4 of 6.

owners issued complaints about new apartments, housing students, which planners touted as the markers of modern city living. For example, the UDIA wrote to their building inspector in 1961 to complain about the large air conditioners associated with the newly built apartments in that neighborhood. "Some of the new apartments are being built practically next to homes with half a dozen air conditioners going at one time one side of a building...a tremendous nuisance."[412]

In a continuation of the Southeast Minneapolis neighborhoods organizations' connections with planning fields, other members included a public school teacher, a civil engineer, and an architect, all residents of the neighborhoods. Although the University was not directly involved in the efforts of this corporation, high-ranking officials at UMN supported this group's Block Grant proposal and their efforts "maintaining the quality of the Southeast neighborhood and for recognizing the importance of preserving the character of such an important area of the city."[413] Despite this endorsement, and the university connections the group held, their abilities to debate and define and master blight were limited compared to those of university planners, who, for example, could and did write directly to city and federal urban renewal officials for clarifications of rules, regulations, and federal definitions.

For example, in a copy of the Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority's *Administrative Guidelines for Non-Profit Residential Rehabilitation*, a 2nd

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[412] "Noise Created by Air Conditioners," Memo from Alderman Robert McGregor to Building Inspector Joe Feilzer, Sept. 7, 1961, in Folder, "SEMPACC: Housing Committee," UMN University Archives, SE Mpls Community Organizations, Box 2 of 6.

[413] Letter from C. Peter Magrath (UMN President) in support of 1st SE Corporation to Ruth M. Meyer, President, January 22, 1975, in Folder: "2nd S.E. Corporation, Block Grant Proposals, 1975," UMN University Archives, SE Mpls Community Organizations, Box 4 of 6.

S.E. activist wrote comments such as "who makes it?" next to the passive clause "If the evaluation has been made and a decision has been made to acquire the property."[414] The anonymous neighborhood annotator also wrote: "how long?" next to the phrase "within a reasonable time," and "huh?" "next to "an agreed upon amount shall be allowed for the latter item, based on historical financial statements." Seemingly at wits end by page 13, the annotator wrote "W.T.H. does this mean?" next to the sentence: "The non-profit groups are responsible for adhering to the Board of Commissioners policy which forbids individuals from repeated participation in the Authority's subsidized housing program."

A glance at the flowchart provided in the same manual hints at the reasons why neighborhood groups found it so confusing:

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[414] *Administrative Guidelines for Non-Profit Residential Rehabilitation,* in Folder: "2nd S.E. Corporation, Block Grant Proposals, 1975," UMN University Archives, SE Mpls Community Organizations, Box 4 of 6.
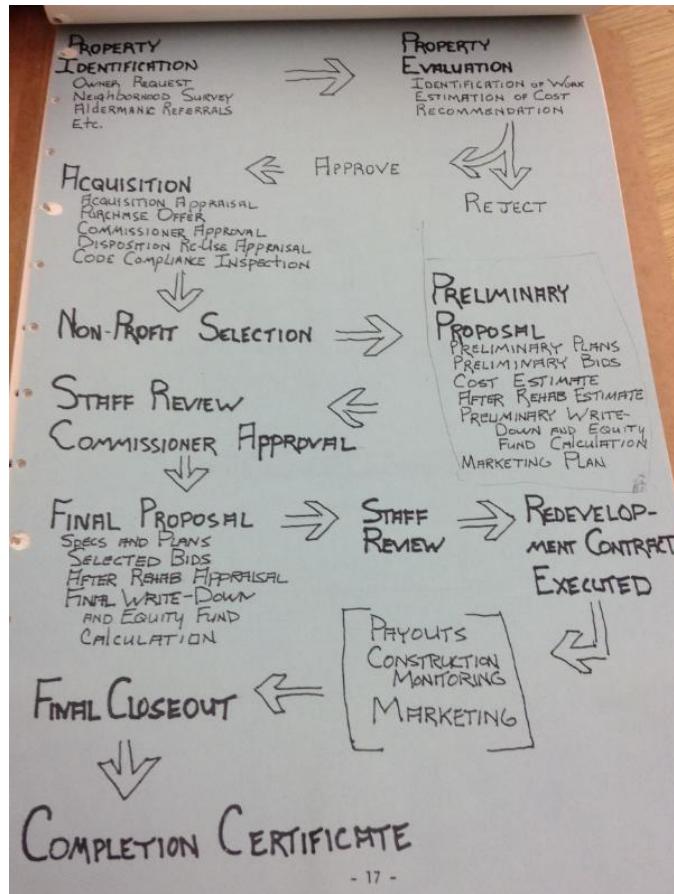
Figure 34. "Flowchart for Non-Profit Residential Rehabilitation." Source: *Administrative Guidelines for Non-Profit Residential Rehabilitation,* in Folder: "2nd S.E. Corporation, Block Grant Proposals, 1975," UMN University Archives, SE Mpls Community Organizations, Box 4 of 6.

These struggles of 2nd S.E. to master blight in order to promote their own

definitions of neighborhood decline represent the difficulties all neighborhood residents

hoping to do the same had in the thicket of local and federal protocols, definitions,

programs, and policies. If a wealthier white group connected to both the city and the

university could not figure out what policies meant, less elite groups stood little chance of

navigating this legal and policy landscape; however, though it is important to note that, as

in Chicago, they too attempted to do so, but faced much graver challenges in their daily

engagement with conceptions of blight.

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Forging Blight: Scam Artists, Fake Housing Inspectors, and Renewal Schemes

For well-connected neighborhood residents and activists were not the only individuals who sought to master the official plans, the policy changes, and the available tools of urban renewal, redevelopment, and conservation. Attracted to the public confusion and lack of clear information surrounding urban renewal, con artists swarmed to renewal areas to try out various money-making schemes. Thus, residents not only had to study city, state, and federal policies and plans; they also had to work to differentiate between legal and illegal establishments of urban renewal power. To do so, they faced a murky landscape of scam artists and fake housing inspectors whose forgeries of blight (in the form of housing conditions issues) preyed upon fearful, low-income, and often tenuously-housed homeowners attempting to follow city and federal guidelines to repair and modernize their homes.

For example, published intermittently in the mid-1960s, the Chicago Department of Urban Renewal's short-lived *Near West Side* community newsletter, frequently warned residents about scams and shoddy handymen, urging residents to trust only their own officers. In one newsletter, they wrote:

> We recently learned of a family who had been talked into a remodeling contract for $4,000. The work performed was shoddy. The materials were inferior. If a reputable contractor were doing the job, he would have used quality material, provided skilled workmanship, and above all...he could have remodeled the house for only about $2,000! We learned of this unfortunate incident when the owner came to us for help. By then, however, it was too late to do anything.[415]

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[415] *Near West Side News*, No. 1, Vol. 2, 8/64, 1, Chicago Municipal Reference Collection, Harold M. Washington Library Special Collections. Chicago, IL.

Residents actively sought to improve their homes and got stuck in a quagmire of

scams. Paradoxically, while promoting residential housing rehabilitation, the Department

of Urban Renewal's community newsletter portrayed a local landscape fraught with con

artists and financial scams to avoid. The article also warned:

> Always ask for identification from anyone claiming to be a city inspector. All
> Department of Urban Renewal Employees are required to carry their City of
> Chicago employee identification card. The card is pink in color...Housing
> inspectors are also required to carry their card which is white and has a
> photographer of the inspector on it.[416]

Residents hoping to avoid such problems in their resolution of housing issues

were directed to the Department of Urban Renewal's Near West Side site office,

portrayed in the newsletters as the district's sole bastion of reasonable renewal and clear

policy. However, due to the ongoing demolition and renewal on the Near West Side, the

Department's site office moved frequently as each of its temporary locations was

demolished one by one.[417] The office had a different address and a new phone number in

each of their community newsletter's first three issues. Supposedly a community

resource, this site was literally a moving target for residents desperate for information

about their neighborhood's fate.

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[416] Ibid, 2.

[417] *Near West Side News*, No. 1, Vol. 2, 8/64, Chicago Municipal Reference Collection, Harold M.
Washington Library. Chicago, IL. They moved again, according to the front page of the January 1965
issue, to 639 S. Ashland Blvd. No. 3/Vol 1 (1/1965), Chicago Municipal Reference. They had a different
office in each of their three issues, citing "new office hours, new telephone numbers, and yet another new
address." (The hours also changed from 9-5 to 8:30-4:30.) They moved again by the next issue, (vol 3, no 3
12/65) noting that: "That building (515 S. Loomis) is scheduled for demolition as have the other Service
Centers located on the Near West Side."

Near constant moving of the office ensured that working-class residents bent on locating them would have had to invest significant time and effort to keep track of their location and phone changes, barely leaving additional time for questioning the direction of renewal and the definitions of blight. That the Department blamed residents for falling prey to forgers of blight and scam artists when their own policies and even locations were so unclear epitomizes the bleakest moments in the history of urban renewal, the daily burdens born by the most vulnerable urban populations seeking to participate in what was billed as a moment of hope and opportunity for American cities.

Conclusion: "Blight in the Eye of the Beholder" and Blight Inversion

A characteristic attributed to blight or negative urban change could be transformed into a positive characteristic by residents with the wherewithal to "spin" supposed blight as a desirable trait. This phenomenon destabilized blight entirely in its inversion of planners' conceptions of undesirable urban space. But neighborhood residents in Cedar-Riverside sought to market the very disorganization of their shopping district as the "least plastic" and therefore the most desirable: "The West Bank surrounds the junction of Cedar and Riverside. It offers the most theaters, shops, services, and lifestyles…and the least plastic of any other area in town. Find it on the West Bank."[418]

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[418] Ad, "Find It On the West Bank," 1971, in Folder: "Cedar-Riverside," Hennepin History Museum, Minneapolis, MN.

Figure 35. "Find It On the West Bank." Source: Folder: "Cedar-Riverside," Hennepin History Museum, Minneapolis, MN.

This ad contrasted with the orderly conception of streets, neighborhoods, and business districts advocated by midcentury planners and represents a community's rejection of such as an ideal. As such, it epitomized a form of "blight reversal," in which residents countered definitions of blight by inverting them and marketing them as positive traits.

This upending of blight—blight inversion or blight reversal—represents the true unraveling of any notion of a quantifiable, neutral blight. Blight (or lack thereof) was both about perceptions and marketing (categories universities excelled at managing) and about deploying and asserting expertise and urban knowledge. At a moment in U.S. urban

history in which the notions of neutral, quantifiable blight and decline held a crucial cadence for policymakers and urban residents alike, universities were the actors most successful at defining blight for their own institutional ends. Thus, in the face of many competing plans and notions of blight and decline, universities emerged as the institutions best positioned (more than cities, neighborhoods, or other entities) to answer the question "*where* goes the neighborhood?" To answer the question meant also to imply and control a direction. Often, these answers and these directions left out conflicting perspectives and enabled a discourse of decline which hid its own discriminatory undertones, especially the ways in which decline and blight became seemingly neutral codes for low-income and minority residents.

CHAPTER FIVE

REMEMBERING RISE AND REVISITING FALL:

RECURRENCES, REVERBERATIONS, AND REVITALIZATION IN LATE 20TH and

21ST CENTURY UNIVERSITY DISTRICTS

<u>"On The Other Hand, the Neighborhood is Not a Campus:"[419] Old Questions, New</u>

<u>Contexts in 2015</u>

The cranes dangle against the familiar backdrop of the old North Dorms urban

renewal project in Columbus, and the new facades emerge almost every fortnight in

Minneapolis' Marcy-Holmes and Stadium Village neighborhoods. These districts in 2015

are changing as quickly as they did in the mid- twentieth century as universities,

developers, and landlords negotiate how and where to house students in the changing,

corporatizing public research university and global real estate markets. Students

themselves are actors and consumers, hedging indebted loan burdens to live in the latest

luxury development, or forgoing altogether these new apartments for an older home, once

a nineteenth century boarding house, now a student rental.

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[419] Editorial Board, "Neighborhood balancing act," *Columbus Dispatch*, May 9, 2014.
<http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/editorials/2014/05/09/neighborhood-balancing-act.html>
accessed 1/19/2016.

Figure 36. "Dormitory Construction in Columbus." North Dorms in the background, new dorms under construction in the foreground. Source: Image by Fred Squillante, *Columbus Dispatch*, in Mary Morgan Edwards, "Ohio State's new dorms offer spaces for community experiences," *Columbus Dispatch*, September 28, 2015.[420]

During discussions of the revision of a 1996 University District Development Plan, the *Columbus Dispatch* editorial board wavered in its forecast for the district. The editorial board acknowledged the district's importance as the home of a large university but also its place as the home of many non-University affiliates with interests beyond or at odds with those of the institution. Wavering between the seemingly incompatible goals of advocacy for both increased student density and protections for non-student homeowners, the board couched its ambivalence as a call for a "neighborhood balancing act."[421]

In doing so, the 2015 editorial board echoed older questions in new contexts: What should this neighborhood be? Who should live here? Where and how should

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[420] Image by Fred Squillante, *Columbus Dispatch*, in Mary Morgan Edwards, "Ohio State's new dorms offer spaces for community experiences," *Columbus Dispatch*, September 28, 2015. <http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/local/2015/09/28/New_Ohio_State_dormitories.html> accessed on 1/19/2016.

[421] Editorial Board, "Neighborhood balancing act." <http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/editorials/2014/05/09/neighborhood-balancing-act.html> accessed 1/19/2016.

students live? Neighborhood residents asked these questions of Ohio State during massive postwar increases in the numbers of Ohio State students renting in the University District in apartments and houses off-campus. They implored the university and city to enact something like a "neighborhood balancing act," whether through zoning, regulation of landlords, or university policy on housing. In 2015, the stakes were different, however: now, Ohio State's new policy of requiring all sophomore students to live on campus--and the new dormitories it built for this purpose on the same grounds as the North Dorms urban renewal project--meant that the District faced a new shift: sophomore students moving onto campus and out of off-campus housing.

"Who will live in campus-area rentals when all Ohio State sophomores are in dorms?" asked a Columbus Dispatch headline, voicing questions of landlords and residents. Of the new rules and addressing neighborhood concerns, an Ohio State community relations official said: "We don't necessarily want to jump the gun with solutions when we don't know what the consequences will be."[422] To some extent this statement mirrored former OSU President Harold Enarson's letter to Columbus Mayor Tom Moody asking for the postponement of decision about sponsoring a proposed historic district designation for the Near Northside neighborhoods in the late 1970s. Dismissing the neighborhood's application on the grounds that the area was "pleasant" but not architecturally significant, Enarson wrote: "the matter under consideration is of such importance to the public interest that a much longer postponement would be

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[422] Mark Ferencik,"Who will live in campus-area rentals when all Ohio State sophomores are in dorms?" *Columbus Dispatch,* September 23, 2014, <http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/local/2014/09/22/University-District-plan-does-not-address-sophomore-housing.html> accessed January 25, 2016.

warranted if required for the University to complete its very complex Master Plan process."[423] In his request, Enarson asked the City of Columbus to consider the University's development needs primarily in questions of University District urban planning and policy, and the neighborhood' secondarily.

Enarson concluded his letter with a defense of Ohio State's refusal to commit to specific action or inaction: "Because an institution's future plans must of necessity always be somewhat in doubt, as universities attempt to respond to changing public need, uncertainty is inevitable in a university neighborhood."[424] This sense of ongoing uncertainty, for Enarson an inevitable characteristic in university districts, certainly marked conversations and conflicts about neighborhood change and development throughout the histories of 20th century neighborhood/university interactions. For the institutions in question, an ongoing uncertainty provided flexibility and power, the reason Enarson lobbied so aggressively for it in 1977 and the reason, perhaps, for the 2014 Ohio State official's desire to wait to study consequences before finding solutions. Yet for those outside these institutions, and especially for neighborhood residents, the same "inevitable uncertainty" hindered community organizing efforts and placed neighborhoods at a disadvantage within national urban political, economic, social, and discursive contexts which saw the rise of "stable neighborhood" as an unequivocal (yet unproven) good, as Chapter Four discussed.

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[423] Harold Enarson letter to Tom Moody about the proposed Near Northside Historic District (November 1977), The Ohio State University Archives, Harold L. Enarson Papers (RG 3/j/15/11), "Columbus, City of: High Street Development: 1976-77."
[424] Ibid.

An urban historical narrative of ongoing, inevitable uncertainty in university districts has proven useful for university and institutional development but has limited and hindered neighborhoods seeking to suggest counter-plans or narratives. For this reason, the goal of a "neighborhood balancing act" seems contraindicated; something of a balance between neighborhood/community interests and university interests has existed in my case study neighborhoods only in a few, exceptional pockets of elite influence (the Prospect Park neighborhood in Minneapolis as a case in point.) If nothing can be planned with certainty except decisions, policies, and plans originating within or by institutions themselves, a balance does not exist, and it is unsurprising, then, that throughout the twentieth century, alternative neighborhood plans faltered in part by their inability to secure institutional commitment.

Uncertainty in a broader sense has been useful to institutions. As Chapters Three and Four highlighted, universities seized upon a sense of ongoing uncertainty in the 20th century about American cities, urban directions, and policy to direct discourses of decline and development in adjacent and other neighborhoods. In short, a broader, national sense of uncertainty about the intricacies of federal urban renewal funding, definitions, and bureaucracies benefitted universities and hurt neighborhoods. In the same way, the shapelessness and mutability of the important concept of "blight" helped universities but hurt neighborhoods seeking to question or reframe this concept.

Universities were disproportionately better able to master uncertainty; in fact, they were rarely uncertain for long. For example, if they faced questions about the kind of urban change occurring in adjacent neighborhoods, they could fund a study or

collaborate with urban authorities such as city planners to gain desired information. Even

federal urban renewal officials in Washington, D.C. (some of the hardest people for

ordinary citizens to contact successfully) were only a letter or even a phone call away. By

contrast, their neighbors, the residents of university districts, navigated uncertainty as a

daily reality at the neighborhood, local, and federal levels, particularly in their

relationships with adjacent universities. For example, a 1973 survey of neighborhood

residents prepared by the University District Organization found that:

> About half of those who saw it as a bad influence felt that University was a sort of
> uncommitted and uncoordinated giant that has taken minimum responsibility in
> relation to its 'overwhelming' impact on the community and with which it is
> extremely hard for community people to communicate, i.e., it is hard to find the
> person who can make a decision and get the body to move.[425]

Among the questions residents faced, then, were uncertainties about whom to

contact within the university. They also battled broader urban uncertainties such as those

faced by the neighbors on Chicago's Near West Side urban renewal project areas who

had to seek out new phone numbers and relocated Department of Urban Renewal site

headquarters on a seemingly monthly basis. Center-city residents, in university

neighborhoods ranging from poor to middle-class to elite could expect uncertainty as a

constant within otherwise shifting urban, planning, and policy landscapes.

By tracing these interactions over the course of the century, we can see how the

specifics have changed in important ways, even as an unbalanced uncertainty has

remained constant. A visit to Ohio State's contemporary University District and a quick

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[425] "Profile of the University Community Part III" prepared by the University District Organization in April
1973, pg 258.The Ohio State University Archives, Harold L. Enarson Papers (RG 3/j/43/5), "University
District Organization: April 1973."

look at its development directions hints at significant connections between present and past interactions, in particular, the concepts of uncertainty and (im)balances. In another, different sense, uncertainty is critical in the 21st-century, in particular, *historical* uncertainty.

Today, in the university districts I have studied, uncertainty about the past, and particularly about the history of conflicts and relationships surrounds ongoing interactions between universities and their neighbors. Universities have largely obliterated their roles and the negative impacts of their plans from the historical narratives about place and urban change that they and others draw upon today to justify and frame further development. The writers of urban history have not yet fully written these institutions back into their stories of 20th century American urban change—an imbalance this work seeks to change. This concluding chapter argues that past interactions and conflicts remain critical to the present but that a contemporary uncertainty and imbalance continue in recent university portrayals of change, plans for development, and community awareness/input.

By examining the recurrences, reverberations, and resonances of conflicts, questions, and topics related to university/neighborhood interaction present and past, I show how 20th century conflicts influenced a late 1990s-present institutional and city planning focus on the possibilities of revitalization. Today—as American cities again place their hopes in a plethora of "re-" words: hopes to reclaim, revitalize, hopes of renewal, and redevelopment—I redirect attention to the processes of knowledge production, institutional growth, and community protests that have underpinned

university districts since the early 20th century. Read through the lens of over a century

of interaction, refracted in particular by the mid-century urban renewal period, today's

university/community interactions, and the decisions made by contemporary institutions,

seem startlingly repetitive, continuations of longer, uneasy patterns of relationship.

<u>Recurrences</u>

In my three-case study neighborhoods, similar development and policy questions

and topics have re-emerged at the close of the twentieth century and the beginning of the

twenty-first. Although the details differ slightly, one similarity is the historical-contextual

vacuum in which the recurrences took place. An institutional focus on urban

revitalization closely parallels the mid-twentieth century refrain of renewal. The trend of

new and increasingly expensive student amenities such as dorms and recreation facilities

mirrors the first wave of this trend in the 1950s, when universities took advantage of

federal loans to expand their on-campus student life facilities.

<u>"City Within a City:" Recapping Federal Funding for Urban Engagement, Campus</u>

<u>Expansion, and the Rhetoric of a War on Blight</u>

In the post-WWII era, universities and cities worked together to qualify their

institutions and municipalities for federal urban renewal credits under Title II of the

Housing Act. Universities founded more extensive planning offices and apparatuses in

part out of an outgrowth of their expanded sizes and footprints but also in order to take advantage of available federal resources. As universities expanded and neighborhoods faced urban renewal, a period of university-community conflicts marked the late 1950s through the 1960s; as one scholar has written, turning inward, universities framed their actions as a counterinsurgency or war against blight they perceived around them in surrounding urban neighborhoods.[426] Robert L. Carroll pointed to the prevalence and national scales of such conflicts in 1970 when he wrote: "Conflicts between urban universities and their neighbors have become more severe and more common. Often the issues are physical expansion of the campus, or the effect of university activities on surrounding areas. The recent struggles at Harvard and Columbia are unusual only in intensity."[427] At my case study universities and elsewhere, this period of conflict was significant for both universities and communities; stakes and monetary reserves were high, with lasting impacts on the campus and urban landscapes.

In this period, university narratives of urban change—and justification for their own actions—often oversimplified or ignored the historical contexts in which they operated. Changes in local urban places and institutions occurred within a larger national landscape of conflict and change in the 1950s and 1960s. Becoming more attuned to their national positioning than to their local contexts, urban universities fought for national prestige and for a stable place within changing cities and metropolitan areas. Ohio State turned inward from Columbus and called itself a "city within a city."[428] Across the

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[426] Carriere, "Fighting the War against Blight," 5-9.
[427] Robert L. Carroll et al., *University-Community Tension and Urban Campus Form*, *Vol. 1*, (i).
[428] Jane Ware, "Big Campus," *OSU News Digest*, August 26, 1988. The Ohio State University Archives, Information File, "Brief Facts: 1966-1994."

nation, the popular "ivory tower" metaphor epitomized his viewpoint.[429] In surrounding

neighborhoods, residents organized themselves to fight for their own stability: against

institutional expansion and increased numbers of students living independently in off-

campus housing.[430] The ensuing town-gown conflicts noted by Carroll and others cast a

powerful shadow over later university-community interactions, at Ohio State, in other

cities, and at the national level.

<u>From "Renewal" to "Revitalization;" From "War" to "Partnership"</u>

In 1964, an OSU planner dismissed the neighborhoods around Ohio State with the

derisive footnote "Is this (even) a *real* neighborhood?"[431] Thirty years later, in 1994,

Ohio State launched a heavily publicized community partnership campaign marked by an

entirely different discourse about the surrounding area. OSU's president, Gordon Gee,

announced: "This neighborhood is the front door to the Columbus campus. Its problems

are, therefore, our problems."[432] University representatives traveled to Temple University

in Philadelphia, Columbia University in New York City, the University of Chicago, St.

Louis University, and Marquette University in Milwaukee to discuss models for

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[429] Rodin, *The University and Urban Renewal.*

[430] Michael Sutcliffe, "Neighborhood Activism in Sociohistorical Perspective: Columbus, Ohio, 1900-1980," (Unpublished dissertation, Ohio State University, 1985).

[431] Campus planner James Clark wrote in the margin of an outside consultant's neighborhood study of the University area: "Is this a real neighborhood?" "Analysis of proposal to connect Indianola, Summit and North Fourth Street into a single, 2-way, semi-limited access arterial street." Annotated by James Clark (August 1964). The Ohio State University Archives, Campus Planning: Office Of (RG 10/6/11), "City Planning Commission and University District Study: 1960-1964 (Folder 2 of 3)."

[432] Ohio State University Press Release, "Ohio State to Support Improvement Plan for University Area," (1-21-1994). The Ohio State University Archives, Information File on University Area Improvement Task Force.

university-led urban redevelopment.[433] A discourse of war and counterinsurgency had

given way to discourse emphasizing partnership, diversity, and inclusion.[434]

In the intervening years, shifting concepts of planning accompanied the shifting

urban contexts of universities. These changing notions of how power, empowerment, and

community action influenced, interacted with, and conflicted with university planning,

expansion, and outreach.[435] Embracing their part in a national trend of university-

neighborhood "engagement," the OSU actors discussed and debated best practices and

strategies.[436] Based upon visits to other institutions and community "town hall"

meetings, they produced a series of task force recommendations for the University

District. They also formed a "community redevelopment" organization.[437] In the late

1990s and early 2000s, this organization, Campus Partners for Community Urban

Redevelopment, carried out a mixed-use urban development project in the neighborhood

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[433] Alan Miller, "OSU seeks answers on crime," *Columbus Dispatch*, (4/5/1994), The Ohio State University Archives, Information File on University Area Improvement Task Force; Ohio State University Press Release, "Task force to hold public forums on University Area improvements," (4/15/1994), The Ohio State University Archives, Information File on University Area Improvement Task Force

[434] For an example of the changed emphasis, on the South Campus Gateway's website emphasizes that the project's beginnings occurred "in cooperation with the neighborhoods" and calls the planning process "community-based." "Project History," South Campus Gateway, < http://www.southcampusgateway.com/>. Also see Wray, "Beyond Gateway."

[435] On changing understandings of the role of the community in planning and redevelopment efforts--and of the role of the university--see especially: Peter Marcuse et al., eds., *Searching for the Just City: Debates in Urban Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31 (1964): 331-338; John Friedman, *Planning and the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Bruce McClendon, "The Paradigm of Empowerment," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 59 (1993): 145-147; Jacqueline Leavitt, "Inviting Partners to Partner," *Women and Environments* (2002): 7-9; and Kenneth M. Reardon, "Empowerment Planning in East Saint Louis," *City* 9 (2005): 86-99.

[436] On the trend of institutional community engagement, see Introduction. See also the call for such engagement in Henry G. Cisneros, *The University and the Urban Challenge* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1995).

[437] Alan Miller, *Columbus Dispatch* (June 3, 1994) entitled, "Corporation to be set up to improve life in OSU area," The Task Force's recommendations included 'improvements in public and social services in neighborhood," "comprehensive planning for the area," "early impact actions by the university and the city to establish a commitment to work together," and "community action programs led by the redevelopment corporation."

southeast of Ohio State's campus.[438] Campus Partners marshaled city and private resources and used federal eminent domain law to acquire, raze, and expand onto several surrounding neighborhood streets.[439] OSU officials touted the resultant development as a national exemplar of university-community cooperation and collaboration for urban redevelopment.[440]

Yet participants and observers noted that in many ways, the collaborative process was a failure. [441] Some neighbors viewed the new partnership and its projects—particularly the capstone "Gateway" development—with skepticism, disapproval, and anger. As David Dixon wrote: "Campus Partners and its planners were accused of trying to define the future of the university district for its residents, rather than with them."[442] Their viewpoints echoed those of the neighbors responding to OSU's heavy-handed urban renewal and expansion planning in the 1950s and 1960s. Especially according to

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[438] The Urban Land Institute, which named the Gateway project a 2008 finalist for its Award of Excellence, describes the results of the project as follows: "South Campus Gateway is a visionary collaboration between the Ohio State University, the city of Columbus, and neighborhood stakeholders in an effort to transform a 7.5-acre tract that straddles the university campus and a distressed, low-income neighborhood. Developed by the not-for-profit Campus Partners, the $150 million dynamic mixed-use development is the signature project in the organization's decade-long planning effort to revitalize the University District area. Using a complex layering of financing, the project comprises 184 apartments, 98,000 square feet (9,105 m2) of office space, and 249,000 square feet (23,133 m2) of retail stores, including an eight-screen cinema, a dozen restaurants, a university bookstore, and an organic grocery." *Urban Land Institute*, "Awards," <www.uli.org>. For more information, see also: "South Campus Gateway," Projects, Campus Partners for Community Urban Development, < http://campuspartners.osu.edu/index.php/projects/south-campus-gateway> and "South Campus Gateway," < http://www.southcampusgateway.com/> (accessed September 27, 2015).

[439] "History of South Campus Gateway," South Campus Gateway, Projects, Campus Partners for Community Urban Redevelopment, < http://campuspartners.osu.edu/index.php/projects/south-campus-gateway/history-of-gateway> (accessed September 27, 2015).

[440] See Jennifer Wray, "Beyond Gateway: Cleaning Up Campus," *Columbus C.E.O.*, November 2010, 12-15.

[441] Golden Jackson and R.B. Meyers, "Challenges of Institutional Outreach: A COPC Example," *Cityscape*, 5 (2000): 125-140. Jackson and Meyers write: "The OSU-COPC reflects a community partnership effort that broke down very soon after award of the grant."

[442] See, for example, David Dixon's note that, "controversy soon developed when Campus Partners and its planners were accused of trying to define the future of the university district for its residents, rather than with them." David Dixon, "Campus Partners and The Ohio State University: Transforming a Failing Commercial District," *Places* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 46-49.

university discourse, the planning and public relations processes in the two periods were very different. However, they shared undeniable similarities: neighborhood streets acquired by the university, housing demolished, and negative responses from neighborhood residents who perceived dishonesty and misuse of power on the part of the university forces.

Beginning in the early 1990s and continuing to the present—both in my case-study districts and nationally—"town-gown" conflicts, the subject of numerous 1960s and 1970s speeches, resolutions, and discussions have given way to "university-community" partnerships; in many contemporary usages, "town-gown" is a framework for cooperation and not a phrase coded for contention.[443] A "town-gown" website tracks articles about university-neighborhood conflicts and resolutions. A town-gown association conference organizes resources for collaborative planning projects.[444] Most notably, the Section 112 clause of the federal urban renewal act has given way to the Office for University Partnerships, an office formed by HUD to promote and fund university-community partnerships.

Compared to the martial language of mid-century urban renewal and its war on blight, The Office for University Partnerships introduced a language of cooperation. A guide to HUD's resources designed for colleges and universities has a preface that notes:

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[443] It retains some of its negative connotations. For example, in an article entitled "Sustaining a Town-Gown Relationship," St. Lawrence president Daniel F. Sullivan differentiates between St. Lawrence University's relationship with Canton as "very different from […] the typical 'town-gown' pairing […] Our neighbors view us as a true partner and not the proverbial 900-pound gorilla." Daniel F. Sullivan, "Sustaining a Town-Gown Relationship," *University Business*, June 2007. (In this example, Sullivan assumes that the implicit "town-gown" relationship is a negative one.)

[444] See "Town-Gown Network," <http://www.towngownworld.com/home.html> and "Town-Gown Association," <http://www.itgaonline.org>/ (town-gown association) (accessed February 17, 2016).

A new movement is taking place on America's college campuses. This movement is not based in *protest,* but in *promise*. It does not pit students or faculty against administrators or the university community against the larger community that surrounds it—instead, its goal is to unite them in very concrete and meaningful ways. But like other movements that have taken place in our colleges and universities, the burgeoning trend toward university-community partnerships is a response to some of the most fundamental challenges facing our society.[445]

This shift from adversary to partnership is clearer in public relationships material than in practice, as the case of Ohio State's two periods of development shows. In both the postwar period and the contemporary periods, universities such as Ohio State parroted the language of the federal funders (from "battles" to "partnerships") without significantly changing their approaches.

This "new movement" implies a distance or contrast from an "old movement" (perhaps not as positive or as based upon partnership). Yet discussions of the "new movement"—described using terms such as "outreach," "partnership," and (most common) "engagement"—does not often offer or reflect upon these contrasts, nor do they reflect upon historical reasons, contexts, or evolutions toward the "new movement." Instead, "urban problems" stand in as proxy or reasoning for the "new movement." The narrative portrays the "decline" of cities and universities' obliviousness to or separation from that "decline." For example, a *Chronicle of Higher Education* article about Marquette University in Milwaukee exemplifies the role of the university in this narrative. The article notes that, responding to the murder of students by a serial killer:

Marquette went to war. It blitzed the area in 1992-1993, buying whatever buildings it could. Its aim was to clear out the crack houses, flophouses, muggers, prostitutes, and thieves. It bought 11 properties. It remodeled, it demolished, it

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[445] "Town and Gown: The Urban Community and the University Community," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 22. no. 6 (April 1969): 7.

built anew. It spent 50 million doing so [..] Marquette presents a chastening lesson for other universities: Ignore the shifting fortunes of your community at your peril.

The same article goes on to note: "Usually, it has been urban universities surrounded by decay that have invested heavily in their localities."[446] Thus, in the contemporary moment, the role of the university is again as a delayed respondent to "decay." This narrative warns colleges and universities against the danger of ignoring the surrounding city. Yet it separates colleges and universities from the abstracted "decay" and does not question what role the university may have had in creating the "decay."

In another prominent national example from Yale and New Haven, the narrative is the same: a tragedy shocks a university, and university-initiated amelioration follows. In this case "heightened security" for the university, fears about damaged national reputations, and the breakdown of a "barrier" are the professed results of a student's murder:

> The murder devastated the campus and opened a gaping wound in town-gown relations […] But the Prince murder also marked a major shift in the way Yale interacts with the city. His death sped up a budding process of renewing town-gown relations and led to the security measures University community members take for granted today. Yale could no longer hide from the realities of a decaying city; any semblance of a barrier between Yale and New Haven vanished with one random, senseless act of violence.[447]

According to this article, Yale's relationships with New Haven changed entirely when a student was murdered. This narrative, similar to the one about Marquette's "awakening," separated town-gown relationships into two paradigms: then and now, or

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[446] Martin Van Der Werf, "Urban Universities Try New Ways to Reach Out To Their Communities," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 30, 1999.
[447] Danny Serna, "Murder revitalized town-gown relations," *Yale Daily News*, February 17, 2011.

negative and positive interactions. My case-studies have shown past relationships were not so simple.

Ohio State University's increased involvement in the southeastern University District followed a similar chronology according to the university's planning and public relations discourse. A recent article in the magazine *Columbus C.E.O.* sums up the popular narrative of Ohio State's mid-1990s sudden public efforts in the neighborhoods surrounding campus:

> In March 1994, OSU freshman Stephanie Hummer was abducted from Pearl Alley just east of High Street, raped and murdered […] The horrific incident jolted the task force into motion. It recommended the creation of a nonprofit redevelopment corporation to lead the revitalization of University District neighborhoods. Columbus developer Barry Humphries was chosen to organize Campus Partners for Community Urban Redevelopment, which formed in 1995, and became its first president…Today, the decaying buildings that once marked that troublesome stretch of North High Street are gone, replaced by shiny new restaurants, apartments, office space and retail stores.[448]

In this narrative, too, the story is of a university "jolted into motion." Interestingly, the choice "motion," "movement," and action provides a contrast to prevalent images of universities as motionless and "stuck" in place in "decaying" urban neighborhoods.[449] When used as an explanation for contemporary town-gown relationships, the "awakening" trope is a limited, oversimplified, and one-sided account

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[448] Wray, *Columbus C.E.O.*, November 2010.

[449] In a 1994 H-Urban discussion thread, in the midst of this discursive shift from battle to partnership, John Stobo explains this view of the unmovable urban college or university: "Universities are just too big to move […] A university is rather unique being economically speaking. Its contacts with the immediate outside neighborhood are relatively minor. It is unable to serve as any kind of locus for economic growth. Hence, when city growth brought 'poorer' people to the school's vicinity, there was little that the school could do. It could not move and it was unable to support a middle-class environment beyond its immediate vicinity. Most schools responded by 'bunkering down.' The main campus of Columbia, for instance, is a fortress, surrounded by walls and gates," John Stobo, H-NET thread "Urban Universities as 20th Century Land Grant Universities?", March 24, 1994< https://comm-org.wisc.edu/papers96/urbancollege.html> (accessed March 12, 2011).

of urban and university change. It fails to take into account each institution's past relationships with the neighborhoods, institutional changes, demographic changes, and larger national patterns of urban change.

This optimistic discourse of the 1990s portrays itself as without a history or constructs as much of a non-history as possible.[450] According to this ahistorical narrative, ignoring their own role in midcentury "battles" or "town-gown" fights, and their twentieth century longer impacts, universities conveniently instead "awoke" to the possibilities of partnership, at the exact moment that a national program intended to fund such partnerships emerged via HUD's Office of University Partnerships.

Among numerous missed chronological connections, the connection between the 1950s-1970s and the 1990s is notably unspoken. For example, Henry G. Cisneros' 1995 essay on "The University and the Urban Challenge" speaks to a 1969 *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Science* issue on "Town and Gown: The Urban Community and the University Community." In 1995, Cisneros stated: "Colleges and universities—which already play a significant role in the economic, social, and cultural life of a community—must become fully engaged in the welfare and vitality of their locale." This echoed without acknowledging the 1969 bulletin's announcement that: "In the end, the universities that possess or are able to create a stimulating, scholarly environment will be the ones in which students, teachers, and officials can engage in

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[450] For example, the institutions that were suddenly jolted into motion in the 1990s by the realization of the "decay" of their adjacent neighborhoods.

services designed not merely to maintain the urban community but to develop and improve it."[451]

Despite the apparent similarity of these messages, the differences are more noticeable. Cisneros goes on to state: "Through the Office of University Partnerships, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development encourages colleges and universities to expand the scope of their economic and social influence in their communities."[452] The 1969 *Bulletin*, on the other hand, cautions against increased involvement:

> In the attempt to arrive at solutions to these problems, a kind of megalomania of university officials sometimes becomes linked with the romantic optimism of some faculty members and students and coincides with the exaggerated expectations of many citizens about what a university can do. Many colleges and universities can accomplish little. Universities are subject to many different constraints, some of which stem from the conflicting interests of town and gown.[453]

The differences between the two essays suggest additional layers of difference between university-community relationships in the present and in the earlier twentieth century, differences rooted in the deep conflicts of the mid-century period.

A "long" view of changing twentieth century interactions requires attention to these shifting national patterns of relationships between different time periods. These missed chronological connections beg for historical analysis and context, particularly in order to complicate the "awakening" trope that frames many universities' accounts of

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[451] "Town and Gown: The Urban Community and the University Community," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 22, no. 6 (April 1969): 7.

[452] Andrew Cuomo, "Forward," in Tiffany C. Taylor, "An Introduction to HUD for Institutions of Higher Education. Revised," (Washington, DC: Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2000).

[453] "Town and Gown: The Urban Community and the University Community," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 22, no. 6 (April 1969): 4.

their urban involvement. The metaphor of the university as a sleeping giant obscures the important conflicts and interactions this dissertation has discussed, and significantly, dissociates universities from the urban environments in which they have long been very much involved and intertwined.

<u>Reverberations</u>

Now and in the past, universities have had a continuing effect on their surrounding urban districts. And yet, as Dick Cone and Paul Payne noted recently: "Not much literature is available that looks at the campus-community connection from a community point of view."[454] When that community connection is lost, so too are important connections between contemporary university-community interactions and those of the past, particularly the recurrences of themes.

For example, whereas Ohio State ushered in the turn of the twentieth century with its new discourse of partnerships, gateways, and front doors, in Chicago, the University of Illinois-Chicago began the 1990s with an aggressive expansion plan for the Near West Side. The plan expanded UIC's campus southward across Roosevelt Road into the Maxwell St. market area, the site of a historic market district known to some as "Chicago's premier racial and ethnic meeting and mingling place."[455] Then Mayor Richard M. Daley, son of Richard J. Daley, who originally spearheaded the campus site

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[454] Dick Cone and Paul Payne, "When Campus and Community Collide: Campus-Community Partnerships from a Community Perspective," *Journal of Public Affairs* 6 (2002): 203-227.
[455] See George Hemmens, "Moving Maxwell Street: An Historic and Economic Loss," *Chicago Tribune*, March 17, 1994, <http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1994-03-17/news/9403170159_1_maxwell-street-market-market-vendors-uic-board> (accessed February 3, 2016).

selection, lent his support to the expansions.[456] According to UIC's chancellor, the

university expansion included academic, mixed-use, and recreational facilities: "The plan

is to move our playing fields south and build more science buildings on that land. We'd

put some warehouse and other facilities in that southern parcel as well."[457] The university

planned to help the Maxwell Market relocate, but residents and vendors at that site

protested the expansion. "Society thinks they can just throw things away [...] They don't

realize that things can be saved and made into something. Just like they don't realize our

neighborhood can be saved and made into something."[458] The Chicago Tribune's

editorial board opined: "UIC might as well stand for University Isolated from

Chicago...city, business and neighborhood leaders say they have been rebuffed in

attempts to create mutually beneficial relationships."[459]

In 1999, Florence Scala, the activist who led the Near West Side community

protests throughout the early 1960s, talked about that movement. Unusual for her

longevity in one place, Scala represented an unusual source, an individual neighborhood

resident who spent her entire long life on one street on the Near West Side. This

distinctive lens allowed her to provide a window into community perspectives on campus

conflict and expansion, as well as to point out inconsistencies and broken promises on the

[456] Megan Garvey, "The Last Sale of a Faded Urban Market," *The Washington Post,* April 12, 1994. <http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/750874603?accountid=14586> (accessed February 3, 2016).

[457] Charles Leroux, "Cold Shoulder," *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 25, 1991. <http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1616022886?accountid=14586. > (accessed February 3, 2016).

[458] Kari Lyderson, "Maxwell Street's Farewell Blues: A Slice of Bygone Chicago Faces the Developer's Ax,", *The Washington Post,* December 1, 1998. 2, <<http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1620369512?accountid=14586> (accessed March 21, 2016).

[459] "Lessons from the UIC fiasco," *Chicago Tribune* March 14, 1991, 1, <http://login.ezproxy.lib.umn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1615852721?accountid=14586> (accessed March 21, 2016).

part of the university on the Near West Side. Bringing up UIC's plans to expand into the Maxwell Street area, interviewer Robert Young asked Scala for her take on the move. Young asked: "Do you see a repeat of what happened around here—do you think it's completely the same situation? Completely a different situation?"[460] Scala replied with a damning connection between this late 1990s expansion and the contested university site expansion of the 1960s:

> No, I don't believe it's a completely different situation, I think it stinks!! I think it's terrible! I'll tell you why. They decided the day after the bond issue was won, that they wanted it, that they were asking for 48 acres of land. If you check the public hearing in '61 and '62 you'll find that the University said: "We don't want any more land; this is all the land we'll need; we have no ambitions for anything else." And one of the aldermen [...] at that time said: "Aw, you're kidding me. You're going to want a sports stadium." And Dr. Parker and Dr. Haven said, "NO! this is an urban university, we absolutely do not want a sports stadium; we're NOT going to have a football team up here.[461]

Scala's reading of the parallel expansions also drew attention to similarities between the two Near West Side areas designated for UIC's campus development. "It's just so rotten again," she said, connecting the Maxwell St. area to the Harrison-Halsted site of the 1960s:

> Here is Roosevelt-Halsted area; one of the oldest slums in the city; THE oldest slum in the city; THE port of entry to Chicago from Year One. This is where everybody who came from Europe stopped and stayed for some time. And the last group are Negroes that are there, and they have been there, many of these negro families have been there for more than a generation, so [...] are really a part of their community [...]and yet they (the university) have the nerve, and the audacity to come into an area so poor; so badly in need of housing, to say that they want 48 acres of that land! I think it's terrible![462]

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[460] "Robert. H. Young, "Interview with Miss Scala," in Folder, "Florence Scala Collection--Florence Scala Interview--2/23/1999," 18, in Florence Scala Collection, Box 1, University of Illinois at Chicago University Archives.
[461] Ibid.
[462] Ibid, 19.

Scala joined other community members affected by the Maxwell St. plan to protest UIC's expansion to no avail. Today, the campus stretches south along Halsted Street, and the expansion includes the playing fields Scala scorned.


Figure 37. UIC Campus in 2016 and in 1971 (with the 2009 boundaries marked by a dotted line). Source (l): maps.uic.edu (accessed February 17, 2016). Source(r): University of Illinois at Chicago Master Planning, "Master Plan Update," *Campus Evolution* <https://www.uocpres.uillinois.edu/UserFiles/Servers/Server_7758/file/UIC/mastrpln/phase1/Campus_Evolution.pdf> (accessed February 1, 2016).

Her voice brimming with indignation, her life experiences as an activist an allegory still resonant in the city of Chicago to represent the everyday citizen fighting the corrupt political machine, Scala is certainly exceptional. Yet her point of view and the connections she draws represent an elusive perspective, that of a long-time community member witnessing and interacting with campus expansion and development. Calling out UIC for negative recurrences and reneged promises, her testimony offers a glimpse at the

importance of connecting contemporary university plans, promises, and pitches to those of the past.

Resonances

Thus distorted by time and discourse, echoes of mid-twentieth century development conflicts (and longer patterns of interaction) resonate in the present, stripped of their contexts. In Minneapolis, one can walk through the skyways and underground tunnels throughout the old Cedar-Riverside neighborhood without stepping foot outside on the streets. Pause for a moment in the skyway itself, and the UMN *Daily's* editorial board's 2013 article imploring students to "keep Riverside in mind," that "Riverside Plaza's legacy and ties to the University could be celebrated, not shrugged off" makes sense in face of the clear separation between the neighborhood and the campus.[463]

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[463] Cedar-Riverside's Neighbors," Cedar-Humphrey Action for Neighborhood Collaborative Engagement (CHANCE)," *Minnesota Daily,* September 25, 2013 <http://www.mndaily.com/opinion/letters-editor/2013/09/24/cedar-riverside%E2%80%99s-neighbors> (accessed February 2, 2016).

Figure 38. "Sunrise in the Hanson-Carlson Skyway at the UMN School of Business." The Riverside Plaza towers are in the background, with Hanson Hall, one of the most recent West Bank expansions, on the left. Hanson's back is positioned to Riverside Ave, the main boundary between campus and the neighborhood, thus walling off the institution. Source: Photograph taken by author, February 1, 2016
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After a spate of on- and near-campus armed robberies, the university recently

began limiting public access to buildings, especially those on the West Bank. "West Bank

Locks Up," read a recent *Minnesota Daily* headline. The graphic provided by the student

paper of buildings with restricted public access highlights a defensive formation of sorts,

the red buildings marking the interfaces of Minnesota's west bank campus with the

surrounding Cedar-Riverside neighborhood. The locking of the buildings bordering

Cedar-Riverside resonates with mid-century universities' turning their backs on cities,

delineating their borders, and suggests that a new discourse of partnership and

collaboration literally may not be as "open" as it seems.

BUILDING ACCESS PILOT PROGRAM BUILDINGS AND HOURS

Mondale Hall

Elmer Andersen Library

WASHINGTON AVENUE SOUTHEAST

Anderson Hall

Carlson School

Hanson Hall

Regis Center for the Arts

Barker Dance Center

Mississippi River
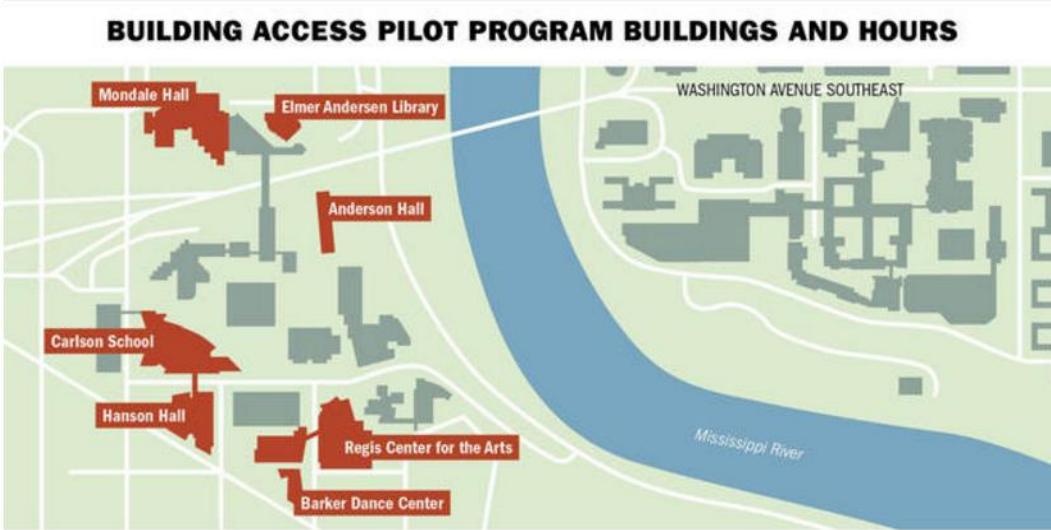
Figure 39. "West Bank Locks Up." Source: UMN Daily, February 3, 2014
<http://www.mndaily.com/news/campus/2014/02/02/west-bank-locks> (accessed February 1, 2016).

In Cedar-Riverside, on the Near West Side, and in Columbus, universities continue to evolve, to buy and sell land, to house and educate students; as long as they do so, the questions of their community and urban impacts become more crucial and more connected to local policy, economy, and history. This dissertation has argued that neighborhood and community perspectives—even when they are hidden, elided, in flux, or difficult to access—provide another side of the story that must be told. For they reveal the roles that universities have played not only in constructing campuses, buildings, and educational facilities, but also in constructing and obstructing narratives about neighborhood and urban change, their own roles in these processes, and their past and future impacts.

Future Questions and Directions

Broader Questions: Contested Spaces, Conflicting Urban Visions

Even as it took as its focus university districts as particular neighborhood case studies, this dissertation has brought up broader urban historical themes and questions that may be applicable to other central city neighborhoods and to many other fields of scholarship—modern U.S. history, urban history, policy history, social scientific history, demographic history, and the histories of race and ethnicity, urban activism, neighborhood organizing, and social surveys—that focus on city life.

Small Places, Larger Questions

Perhaps its most important contribution to 20th century American urban history has been this study's contention that small places--local neighborhoods within cities--had big ideas about urban problems and urban solutions. Within an urban renewal historiography which often portrays neighborhood residents and associations as reactive and reactionary to broader municipal and federal policies, or foregrounds the visions of planners and policymakers instead of those of neighborhood residents, my case studies revealed that residents instead were proactive in their desire to learn about federal urban policy and available renewal tools and to organize to utilize such resources. Furthermore,

residents did not accept or protest renewal as a monolithic program. Rather, they scrutinized plans and policies and favored some approaches over others.

In particular, the concept of "conservation" was galvanizing for residents perhaps because it allowed them to cherry-pick certain elements of their neighborhoods they favored and to isolate others as negative and unfavorable. "Conservation," and the related concept of "near-blight" appealed to residents more than "clearance" and "blight." More work remains to uncover residents' preferences for these aspects of renewal policy and to discover whether different groups disagreed about these concepts within diverse and changing neighborhoods.

The preference for conservation among residents also hints at possible connections with the emerging trends of historic preservation, historic districts, and early gentrification of central city neighborhoods. This "conservation strain," as I have termed it, suggests a broad counter-refrain to cries of the urban crisis and fears of urban decline. It draws attention to the fact that even as demographers, city planners, and policy-makers were quantifying and studying urban decline, as I have shown, others, mostly activist and elite citizen and neighborhood groups, were working assiduously to catalogue the very opposite traits: positive elements of their pre-crisis neighborhoods which they hoped to "conserve" or preserve. Given the histories of mid-century racial change and white flight, much work remains on the racist and discriminatory elements of this conservation strain. Yet evidence also suggests that residents were responding to demographic changes, patterns of changes in living arrangements, and to even broader changing social and cultural norms about ideal living environments and suburbs as a norm or ideal.

Thus, the complexities of conservation are another broader theme this study finds and engages with briefly which would merit closer analysis. Making a place—and a case—for neighborhood conservation movements would complicate and enrich studies of postwar consumption, suburbanization, metropolitan development, and popular culture. It would also connect later twentieth century patterns of a conservative backlash, preservation, grassroots gentrification, and emergent neoliberal urban policies with their roots in the postwar moment and throughout the 1960s and early 1970s.

More broadly, this study has revealed the important urban historical links across the long twentieth century. Increasingly, the post-WWII period has become an intensive focus of urban and metropolitan historians, but it has been studied largely apart from the prewar period and the roots of postwar issues in the New Deal and Progressive eras. Similarly, recent urban changes—gentrification, inequality, racial change, segregation—are often examined in isolation from their longer connections to the urban renewal era. This dissertation provides one way of connecting close case-studies across a wider range of time to begin to illuminate convergences and connections, as well as change over time, and difference.

Narrower Questions: University Districts

As much as this study has opened up broader questions within the urban fields, it has also brought up narrower questions about its particular focus, the University Districts themselves. In fact, in too many cases, these bigger questions have overshadowed the

296

important specific questions about how each institution affected the areas around it in material and concrete ways.[464] In its attempt to move comparatively over time—to draw big, chronological connections and conclusions across different institutions—the work perhaps inevitably obscured details that a purely case-study-based organization would have revealed. Individual articles about the particular institutions and districts under study will help fill this gap, as will future work focused on individual localities and case studies.

This study has navigated between local and national discussions. Obviously left out are regional comparisons, as all of the institutions under study are Midwestern. Examining other public land-grant universities throughout the country would help to establish whether or not these three Midwestern cities were part of a national trend (which I suspect) and the extent to which region mattered. Although a national discourse and crisis, the concepts of urban decline and blight may have had particular credence in the deindustrializing, diversifying Midwest.

Just as cross-regional comparisons would answer new questions, so too would comparisons across different types of institutions. This study took public land grant institutions as its focus. These institutions, carved out of public land ostensibly to serve a public good, galvanized a particularly sharp sense of public outcry when urban residents perceived that the institutions had abused or stepped away from their missions. Further attention to land-grant missions and legacies would strengthen this important element in institutional conflicts with neighborhoods. So too would attention to different or similar

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[464] I refer readers here to the other literatures on these places throughout the dissertation, but would also like to note my intent to discuss this in more depth in future work.

patterns with other types of institutions, including private institutions, religiously-affiliated institutions, and/or different types of public schools, such as those which began as private schools only later to become public schools and those which developed as "urban-serving" public universities.

The case-studies chosen have affected as well the range of topics analyzed in this study, and they have inflected the chronology of the study as well. Adding more institutions or additional case-studies would strengthen the national as well as the thematic and chronological analysis. Topics which could be bolstered include: race, ethnicity, and neighborhood change; immigration; urban renewal; community protest; neighborhood organizing; economic impacts of institutions; and recent global urban changes.

Obviously, this study has been most limited in its ability to analyze race (one of the most important themes in other studies of postwar urban renewal and displacement) as a category of analysis within urban renewal contexts and university development. None of the selected case study neighborhoods were predominantly African-American neighborhoods, which were also often targeted for renewal and clearance. However, these districts' interesting positioning as places in transition, neighborhoods which housed diverse groups of people, and places in which some feared the encroachment of black residents, has added an important dimension to work on race and urban renewal. By bringing in these tenuous or more liminal neighborhoods, ones particularly subject to questioning and planning for what each area should become, it is possible to analyze urban renewal policies through a broader metropolitan lens and from a perspective which

unsettles the idea that all neighborhoods which underwent urban renewal were somehow already in bad shape or blighted. This reveals that city officials and boosters, as well as policymakers and planners, often initiated renewal not in response to existing neighborhood characteristics but rather those which they feared might come into fruition in the future. When citizens, residents, and others discussed renewal and neighborhood "deterioration," they were not only commenting on past and present conditions, but they were also choosing from a set of perceived possibilities for the future. Not only were predominantly African-American neighborhoods disproportionately targeted for clearance and renewal—and disadvantaged by such policies, as scholars have shown—but neighborhoods which *might have soon* housed African-Americans were also disproportionately slated for renewal, closing off urban possibilities for minority and low-income urban residents. This contribution not only widens the lens through which we might consider the discriminatory mechanisms underlying renewal, but it also implicate universities in these processes.

This important contribution would perhaps be less visible in neighborhoods which were not both diverse and changing. Future studies focused on neighborhoods with other characteristics might reveal different motivations for renewal, especially university-sponsored development. However, this study's focus on city's and university's desires to "renew" changing neighborhoods by using university development and expansion as a development tool suggests that the capitalization on racial fears and discrimination was an important means by which universities were able to exert influence on urban development. In other words, it was not so much true that neighborhood residents

perceived university expansion and increased numbers of student residents in University

Districts as a good thing; rather, it was that they disliked these uses less than other

possibilities, including the possibility of non-white residents. In defensive changing

neighborhoods and cities, students were (and continue to be) the least unacceptable

"other," and universities were complicit in portraying and viewing them as such.

The "place" of students as consumers of housing and education, as urban

historical actors, and as subjects of debate about good and bad neighborhoods is another

category of analysis which brings up further questions and begs more work. Students'

interactions with space and neighborhoods, as well as neighborhood perspectives on

students as residents, offer rich archives for further work. In what it analyzes, and what it

fails to analyze fully, then, this dissertation offers a starting point for a host of additional

questions and projects about the U.S. urban past broadly and the role of universities

within it specifically.

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