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Black Architectures: Race, Pedagogy, and Practice, 1957–68

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Architecture

by

Rebecca Meejoo Choi

2020

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2020

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Black Architectures: Race, Pedagogy, and Practice, 1957–68

by

Rebecca Meejoo Choi

Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

Professor Dana Cuff, Co-Chair

Professor Sylvia Lavin, Co-Chair

Between 1964 and 1968, protests against anti-Black racism and police violence transformed cities across the United States. Against the backdrop of the civil rights movement and the emergent Black Power movement, these so-called “race riots” elicited a diverse groundswell of political responses from architects, city officials, universities and activists alike. On the one hand, this racial unrest sowed the seeds for discriminatory “law and order” measures that increased policing in Black neighborhoods while pathologizing and criminalizing Black neighborhoods. On the other hand, the “riots” encouraged a generation of thinkers, designers, and activists to critique and resist a white-led architecture and design world. This dissertation brushes against the archival grain and the existing scholarship by centering the Black architectural imagination that was very much present, but often underestimated, in this time period. I examine architects and architects-in-training, writers, and cultural producers who

imagined Black futurities and created alternative life-worlds within, against, and in spite of the bastions of white elitism in architecture. At the same time, this dissertation reads the interrelationships between architecture, universities, city governance, and racial uprisings to narrate a new architectural history that takes seriously the role that race and racism played in shaping architectural pedagogies in the 1960s. Three case studies form the basis of this investigation: (1) the Civic Design Program at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia; (2) the Yale School of Art and Architecture in New Haven, Connecticut; and (3) an institutional collaboration between Columbia University and the Museum of Modern Art in New York City.

The dissertation of Rebecca Meejoo Choi is approved.

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2020

Dedication

For my 할머니, Chung Im Kim

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Abbreviations

AIA - American Institute of Architects
ARCH - Architect's Renewal Committee in Harlem
ASPA - The American Society of Planners and Architects
BAC - Boston Architectural Center
BEST - Black Environmental Studies Team
BOSS - Barnard Organization of Soul Sisters
BPP - Black Panther Party
CCC - Columbia Citizenship Council
CCPDC - Citizens' Committee to Preserve and Develop the Crosstown Community
CDP - Civic Design Program
CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
CUD - Council on Urban Design
FAR - Floor Area-to-Lot-size-Ratios
FHA - Federal Housing Authority
GAP - Goal Alternatives for Philadelphia
GSD - Harvard Graduate School of Design
HWR - Housing Without Relocation
HUD - National Housing and Urban Development Authority
LAPD - Los Angeles Police Department
MGRN - Morningside General Renewal Plan
MHI - Morningside Heights, Inc
NAACP - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NHRA - New Haven Redevelopment Agency
NUL - National Urban League
P/A - Progressive Architecture
RPP - Riverside Park Plaza
SAS - Society of Afro-American Students
SCLC - Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SDS - Students for a Democratic Society
SFH - Skyrise for Harlem
SNCC - Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
TAR - The Architects Resistance
TDRs - Transfer of Development Rights
UDG - Urban Design Group
US - United Slaves
YSA - Yale School of Architecture
WAC - Watts Action Committee

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INTRODUCTION: ARCHITECTURE'S COLOR LINE

One need only take a casual look at this audience to see that we have a long way to go in this field of integration of the architects. I almost feel like Mr. Stanley looking for Dr. Livingston—in reverse—in Africa. I think I did see one and wanted to rush up and say: Dr. Livingston, I presume!

—Whitney M. Young, Jr., AIA Convention Speech (1968)

In the summer of 1968, Whitney M. Young was invited to deliver a keynote speech at the annual convention of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in Portland, Oregon. A Black social worker raised in Kentucky, Young had developed a reputation as the charismatic leader of the National Urban League (NUL), an organization known for its advocacy work against racial discrimination of African Americans. A prominent leader in Black social movements and several civil rights organizations, Young held a long track record of fighting employment discrimination and increasing African Americans' access to jobs, housing, and education.¹ Speaking at the AIA convention, Young critiqued architecture as a white-led profession and highlighted the profession's pattern of discriminating against racial minorities, both in the academy and the establishment (symbolized by the AIA). Invoking Henry Morgan Stanley's infamous quip—"Dr. Livingston, I presume!"—to draw the stark contrast between Stanley's nearly white European audience members and the lone Black person among them, Young named the obvious racial

¹ In 1963, Young spoke in support of the Birmingham campaign for equal rights alongside James Farmer and Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, founder of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), respectively. In that same year he enlisted the League's financial support for what would become A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington. Like these and other leading civil rights organizations, such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the League pursued equal rights for Black Americans in education, employment and social services. Desegregating schools and addressing civil liberties were increasingly common themes in civil rights movements, but unique to Young and the League was how he emphasized combatting the racial inequality that pervaded urban centers. For more on Young's background see Dennis C. Dickerson, *Militant Mediator: Whitney M. Young Jr.* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004).

difference in the room.² His observation that the architecture community lacked racial diversity was followed by a sharp critique of the academy. Young explained:

When you go to a city-Champagne-Urbana, the University of Illinois is about the only major institution and within two or three blocks are some of the worst slums I have seen in the country. It is amazing how within a stone's throw of the School of Architecture you have absolutely complete indifference—unless you have a federal grant for research, and even then it's to study the problem.

Indeed, many architecture schools in the U.S. were located in large metropolitan cities and surrounded by working-class neighborhoods of color, which the architectural community *claimed* to represent. The disconnect was palpable. Architecture often studied Black communities as objects to be analyzed and problems to be solved. Young understood that “the disinherited, the disenfranchised, the poor,” and more specifically, the “black poor in this country,” were not the architect's clients.

In his articulation of the racial reality of the 1960s and the vexed dynamic between architecture and race, Young's speech serves as an entry point to this dissertation's examination of race, architecture, and power in the 1960s and 1970s. Young's invitation to speak at the AIA suggests that the architectural profession had some awareness of its race problem. In his speech, Young made clear that architects did in fact understand that poverty in the U.S. was racialized, even as he placed the problematic relationship between architecture and race in the United States on the historic record. Taking the field and profession to task, Young observed how race and the ideologies associated with a white racial frame resided in the built environment (architecture and urban spaces)—an observation that, in the last decade, urban historians, cultural studies scholars,

² African American membership to the AIA was logged as 3.6 percent in 2011. For the history of African American membership and leadership in the AIA, see Kathryn H. Anthony, “Designers and Critics of Color,” in *Designing for Diversity: Gender Race, Ethnicity in the Architectural Profession* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 81–99.

and critical geographers have confirmed and extended.³ Where I depart from Young, however, is how he focused his attention on the material output: the buildings, highways, and city blocks that, to him, demonstrated how architectural designs not only accommodated segregation but promoted and reified it. I focus on often overlooked structures of racism found in pedagogical, policy and legal frameworks that gave birth to new forms of discrimination.

Young himself conceded that architecture was neither completely indifferent to race and racism nor overbearingly involved in “solving” racism. In fact, the state of the field in the 1960s was complex.⁴ As I argue throughout this dissertation, architecture was not as indifferent to the politics of race in this historical moment as we have been led to believe. In reality, architecture *did* attempt to respond to the issues of race and racism that the civil unrest and uprisings of the 1960s brought to the top of the national political discourse. But architecture’s “color,” or its not-quite-so-whiteness, is difficult to see. Certainly, the field was not as white as we might have previously thought: there were Black architects and architects-in-training thinking against the architectural grain throughout this period, though their architectural visions have not always been at the forefront of the discipline. This dissertation pushes against the archival grain of existing scholarship by centering the various impulses of the Black architectural imagination that was very much present, but sometimes underestimated, in this time period. In this dissertation, I seek to narrate an architectural history that takes seriously the role that race and racism played in

³ Rashad Shabazz, for instance, draws parallels between urban spaces and carceral spaces in his account of modernist public housing. Eric Avila has shown the spatial implications behind the pursuit of identifying oneself as white, namely the formation of white suburbs often referred to as the era white flight. See Rashad Shabazz, *Spatializing Blackness: Architectures of Confinement and Black Masculinity in Chicago* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015); Eric Avila, *The Folklore of the Freeway: Race and Revolt in the Modernist City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

⁴ While some architects in training were actively trying to equalize investment in the development of Black neighborhoods, others sought to maintain disinvestment (and wholesale removal of low-income housing, for example) to make room for mainly middle-income housing and commercial development.

shaping architectural pedagogies in the 1960s. Specifically, I argue that the racialization of American architecture as a discipline and profession constituted a coordinated, structural, and cumulative project that reproduced itself (1) in the buildings and urban spaces that made up the built environment; (2) in the kinds of pedagogies taught in the academy; and (3) in the projects that were deemed worthy of display in major institutional exhibitions. I forward this claim for the purposes of exploring the ways in which architecture, whether willful or naïve, reproduced systems of white supremacy. To do this, I examine the interrelationships between architecture, universities, city governance, and racial uprisings. I focus on three cities—Philadelphia, New Haven, and New York City (Harlem)—because of the extreme concentration of interactions at the University of Pennsylvania (UPenn), Yale University, and Columbia University and their respective neighborhoods. In addition, the majority Black neighborhoods in which these universities are located played important roles as centers of Black activism in the 1960s that took shape in the form of violent and non-violent protests.

On each of the three urban campuses, a different scenario unfolded. At UPenn in Philadelphia, the architecture department responded to racial unrest with a pedagogy that drew on sociological analyses of the city. At Yale in New Haven, architects-in-training created a workshop as an alternative learning environment to the studio. Architects teaching at Columbia in Harlem developed new policy that fundamentally changed urban development within the city. In all three cases, there were people mobilizing against and making demands of the university generally and the architecture department specifically. Architects and architects-in-training alike advanced their visions of Black architectures, which were approaches to architectural planning and design grounded in the Black communities surrounding these universities. Accordingly, each chapter in this dissertation seeks to (1) uncover certain architectural responses that have never

been claimed as a product of the racial unrest of the 1960s and (2) capture visions, imaginings, and renderings of Black urban futures that have been marginalized, ignored, or disavowed by architectural institutions. I draw on Black scholars, thinkers, and writers to trace the contours of *Black architectures*, a constellation of architectural planning and design strategies, visions, and practices that imagined new Black urban futures grounded in the Black community, Black struggle, and Black lived experiences. To that end, this dissertation narrates a new architectural history that considers seriously these Black radical architectural imaginings and their relationship to architecture, race, and power at this historical moment.⁵

Riots: “The language of the unheard”

From 1964 to 1968, cities across the U.S. witnessed frequent protests and demonstrations against racism and police brutality.⁶ During this brief period an unprecedented number of activists took a stance against racism and police brutality (and were largely met with white on Black police violence). With mediated coverage of such events, race relations in the U.S. became the center of political and cultural discussions and major point of contention.⁷ What is clear,

⁵ In the words of an oral history I conducted with architect M. David Lee, “It is not alternative history. It *is* history.” M. David Lee is a partner at Don Stull and Associates, Boston. Don Stull was hired to lead the Black Workshop, which I discuss in Chapter 2.

⁶ Over 157 widespread eruption of urban uprisings took place across the United States during the 1960s from Harlem, Chicago, Philadelphia, New Haven, Rochester, Omaha, Atlanta, Watts, and Dayton, among many others.

⁷ Racial unrest in the United States was not a subject of interest for only Americans. For example, Guy Debord of the Situationist International in France would write about American racial uprisings. And while the visual representation of uprisings is outside the scope of this dissertation, it should be noted that within the last decade, media and art historians who have addressed how the representation of race riots delineated racial difference and identity in visual terms. In *Zoo Renewal: White Flight and the Animal Ghetto*, Lisa Uddin draws direct links between theories upheld in critical race studies to describe how the imagery of riots reinforced the “urban processes of white racial formation.” P17. In reading the aerial imagery of burning buildings, Tom McDonough has argued how the visual output by certain artists were ineluctably influenced by highly mediated riot coverage. *The Decline of the Empire of the Visible or, The Burning of Los Angeles*. AA Files, No. 62 (2011), pp. 40-46. Guy Debord, 'The Decline and Fall of the "Spectacular" Commodity- Economy' (1965), in *A Sick Planet*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (London: Seagull Books, 2008).

through looking at architecture's response to the racial uprisings offered here, is that the understandings of race were quickly changing in various institutions and in cities. As a result, within four short years, a publicly acknowledged shift in the understanding of race relations had occurred. No longer could segregated public housing projects, the development of suburbs, and university cities be classified as simply a product of market-driven development patterns, but were then being demanded to be seen as a symptom of racially charged, pervasive fantasies for white middle-class urban formations.⁸ How discussions of race entered the architectural academy was in part due to the sheer scale, intensity, and number of uprisings being fought.⁹

The public imagination of American cities in flames became popularized through outlets such as *LIFE Magazine*, which juxtaposed chaotic urban vistas with “rioters” burning and looting storefronts. “Riots” were quickly recognized as a distinctly urban phenomenon and civic problem that required the attention of the entire public.¹⁰ Millions of readers saw the term “race riot” emblazoned over such photographs, and in this way, an unusual syntactical assemblage of ethnicity and activity were brashly entered into the American popular lexicon.¹¹ (Indeed, Andy

⁸ I have only listed the built dimensions of racism, but equally at play here are race-based policing, education and employment discrimination.

⁹ At the time, racial unrest was a new and specifically “American dilemma” set forth by Daniel Moynihan in *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*—or the Moynihan report, as it came to be referred—which became a popular bestseller in part due to the timing of its release in 1965 just weeks before the Watts Rebellion in Los Angeles, which propelled “race riot” into its place in the American popular lexicon. The report, for all of its unoriginal and deeply gendered conclusions (Moynihan blamed individual pathologies in Black families and its “matriarchal structure” as the source of poverty), made room for counter-ideas that pointed to the structures of racism rather than point to “pathologies.” It also made taking a position on the subject of racial inequality in American politics of paramount importance. How these discussions seeped into the field of architecture is barely addressed, if only recently acknowledged.

¹⁰ Books such as Jane Jacobs' *Death and Life of American Cities* and Charles Abrams' *The City is the Frontier* discuss the problem of the city in this moment.

¹¹ The noun “riot” was the source of enormous debate at the time, which I present during the chapter breakdowns. Thus, outside of direct citations, I will use the term riot without quotations. I acknowledge the ways in which Black activists on the left rejected the term as the dominant media's choice to feed the white imaginary of riot as mass violence in the streets, but I use the term throughout with Dr. Martin Luther King's famous statement—“a riot is the

Warhol's 1964 print *Race Riot*, which took images from a *LIFE Magazine* feature as the source for his red, white and blue silkscreens over monochrome images of young Black protesters being set upon by police dogs at a 1963 Birmingham Alabama protest, illustrates this point.) For white progressives on the left, "riots" demonstrated the reality that American race-conscious liberalism had not effected any tangible change for the poor, but more prevalently instilled a white middle-class fear that the "fire this time" might erupt in their own city.

Outside of the white mainstream, Black political activists drew attention to the bias that the term "riot" incited. According to one activist in Washington, DC, "[Riot is] just a term used to make us look wild, you know, like we're a bunch of savages."¹² Such perspectives were echoed in Black political magazines, which used terms like "Crusades" and "revolts" in association with Marx and Engel's conceptualization of proletarian revolts as the necessary vehicle of social change and class struggle. Most relevant for this dissertation was how the separate ideas of "riot" and "crusade" were both filled with a language of rebuilding, and architecture as a tool toward rebuilding. New liberals reframed "riots" as the reason for why renewal was crucial to cities, rather than asking how renewal contributed to entrenching the poor in poverty. Conversely, for Black Nationalists and Black Power activists, the fire this time was an opportunity to rebuild. For the "crusade" would bring "liberation of Black men and women from the tyranny, brutal repression and yoke of white racism...They [the rioters] our brothers have shown us the way...We must now plan, not destroy, to build and own our communities."¹³

language of the unheard"—in mind. I also do not use the term riot interchangeably with the word revolt because of its association with working-class revolts. I do use the term uprising as a stand in at times for the term riot.

¹² Revolutionary quoted in *Ten Blocks from the White House: Anatomy of the Washington Riots of 1968* (New York: Praeger, 1968), 163–65, as cited in Uddin, *Zoo Renewal*, 75.

¹³ Daniel H. Watts, *The Liberator*, September 1965.

Until recently, most studies of architecture in this period that have mentioned race “riots” have done so without elaborating on the specific demands made from Black architects and Black architects-in-training at universities and architecture departments in the wake of each uprising.¹⁴ These studies typically treat the “riots” as an amorphous and disembodied event that reflected the historical milieu of the civil rights movement; Black Power activism; student protests against the war in Vietnam; protests against urban renewal projects; school sit-ins and shutdowns; and experiments in counterculture. In other words, these narratives naturalize “riots” as routine events that punctuated the 1960s—*so* routine for this particular historical period that the distinct array of architectural voices, project proposals, and plans that responded to each uprising tends to fall out of focus.

While I uncover how architects in the academy responded to racial unrest, I also center objects, people, and stories that have been excluded in the now outdated architectural-historical accounts of the 1960s. In doing so, I make an effort in this dissertation to integrate the voices of Black revolutionaries and cultural producers, including prominent figures like Bobby Seale and Ron Karenga, the Black Panther Party and their *Intercommunal News Service*, and the leaflets of *The Liberator* and *Freedomways*, as well as local grassroots activists like Alice Lipscomb in Philadelphia and Bob Stewart and Richard Price, members of the Watts Action Committee in Los Angeles, and civil rights leader Robert Williams and broadcasts of his radio program, “Radio Free Dixie.”

¹⁴ Two exceptions include Craig Wilkins, *Diversity among Architects: From Margin to Center* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016). And Sharon Egretta Sutton and James Stewart Polshek, *When Ivory Towers Were Black: A Story about Race in America's Cities and Universities* (New York: Empire State Editions, 2017).

As a case study for architectural history, I chart these visions by following individuals who fully understood the conditions that they sought to change, subverting architecture's agency in the face of new race-conscious liberalism to transform the privileged space of whiteness into one that served the Black community.

Architecture, race and the maintenance of white supremacy

This is not to say that architectural histories that have focused on form as the central indicator of racism are not relevant to the questions raised in this dissertation. In the last decade, scholarship examining how buildings were constructed to enclose, segregate and oppress Black bodies has been extended through multiple perspectives: for example by Mabel O. Wilson who considers how lineages of racism permeated the built work of celebrated architectural figures as Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Latrobe;¹⁵ Dianne Harris who reads media representations of suburban tract homes as highly racialized tools for exclusion by constructing the ideal of white, middle-class domesticity; or Rashad Shabazz who draws parallels between urban spaces and carceral spaces in his account of modernist public housing, each recount the racism embedded in the end product of architecture.¹⁶ While this dissertation is in dialogue with these and other current literatures, it shifts focus away from the apparent end products of the profession—the building and urban spaces—and instead asks how architects in institutions and the academy were

¹⁵ Wilson's mode of investigation extends into the twentieth century as well, as she considers how architecture is wrapped up in a larger scenography of racial stereotyping. She describes how Le Corbusier fetishized Harlem through his lack of comprehension, evoking tropes of Blackness, "primitive, rhythmic, frenzied, abysmal, frightful, murderous, barbaric, explosive." Mabel O. Wilson, "Black in Harlem: Architects, Racism and the City." In Thelma Golden, Nathaniel Quincy Belcher, and Studio Museum in Harlem, *Harlemworld: Metropolis as Metaphor* (New York, NY: Studio Museum in Harlem, 2003), 31.

¹⁶ Dianne Harris, *Little White Houses: How the Postwar Home Constructed Race in America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Shabazz, *Spatializing Blackness*.

complicit in the *production* of America's segregated racial geographies. As a result, this dissertation begins to study architects who were working to maintain whiteness on the one hand and those architects who were not subsumed into the complex of white hegemony on the other.

The term *whiteness* is used throughout the dissertation not as a catch-all term for any architect who is racially white, but specifically as a logic grounded in a preoccupation with maintaining “the sense of and authority in being white” and all of the material benefits that accrue to whiteness.¹⁷ By providing examples of how architects invested in whiteness, this dissertation uses methods developed in critical race studies and Black studies and contributes to the rapidly growing work on architecture and race, as demonstrated by the invaluable work written by Charles Davis, Mario Gooden, Dianne Harris, Mabel Wilson, Sarah Lopez, Itohan Osayimwese, Anooradha I. Siddiqui, Brian Goldstein, and Irene Cheng who each address the construction of racial identity and racial difference. Many of these scholars have traced architecture back to the representational tactics of early eighteenth-century European legal and philosophical thought, backwards to a moment when Enlightenment thinkers such as John Locke, David Hume, John Stuart Mill, Immanuel Kant and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel sought to reconcile racial logic through emerging human sciences and encounters of global difference when traders, priests and conquistadores encountered indigeneity overseas. Civilizational teleology was arranged in such a way that even today the migrations, insurgent spatial practices and different forms of worldly identities can be traced to Enlightenment

¹⁷ For explanations of whiteness by critical race scholars in law advanced by Cheryl Harris and by figures such as Kimberlé Crenshaw. See Cheryl Harris, “Whiteness as Property”; George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment of Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*; Tukufo Zuberi and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008); David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 2007); Barbara J. Fields, “Whiteness, Racism, and Identity,” *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 60 (2001): 48–56.

globalizations.¹⁸ To a great extent, the disciplinary contours of architecture were arranged in the very same rooms (and sometimes by the same people) as those eighteenth and nineteenth-century discussions.¹⁹

Thus, while I am in dialogue with architectural history's engagement with race, I draw inspiration from theoretical sources from outside the field of architectural history, including Black Studies, African and African American studies, critical race theory, and critical geography. These interdisciplinary fields offer a crucial vocabulary that, until recently, has not been fully engaged in architectural history. This interdisciplinary scholarship on Blackness points to Black radical traditions that link acts of resilience against violence and oppression from chattel slavery to Jim Crow segregation.²⁰ The dissertation builds on this body of work to consider architectural examples of Black radical resistance. In thinking about various modes of Black architectural radicalism, this dissertation also insists on narratives that celebrate Black social life and cultural expression against the color line. I look to the genre-defining work of Robin D. G. Kelley and Katherine McKittrick, who consider Black creativity and cultural production as a response to social death, dispossession and insecurity that came from centuries of colonialism and slavery.²¹

¹⁸ Denise Ferreira da Silva, *Toward a Global Idea of Race* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Eze, Emmanuel Chukwudi. *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 2009.

¹⁹ There are numerous ways in which architecture was orchestrated as a part of Enlightenment thought: Jacques-Germain Soufflot's mausoleum for the heroes at the Pantheon (Voltaire, Rousseau), designed with Quatremere de Quincy, perpetual secretary of the Beaux Arts; Christopher Wren who was head of the Royal Society; and Thomas Jefferson are some figures who greatly inflected architecture with enlightenment thinking.

²⁰ In thinking about Black radical traditions, I am taking up an expansive epistemology of Blackness that departs from linear or fixed notions of Black identity in the United States. Instead, understanding Blackness as an epistemology—a way of knowing and inhabiting multiple lifeworlds and possibilities—is a project less concerned with stable categories of racial identity but the new possibilities that are created when we re-arrange the “whens” and “wheres” of Blackness in non-linear, non-causal ways. See Michelle Wright, *Physics of Blackness: Beyond the Middle Passage Epistemology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015).

²¹ Robin D. G Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 2008). Another important text that informs my thinking is Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 2007).

Robin D. G. Kelley asserts in *Freedom Dreams* that during the 1960s, Black freedom seekers across the globe were inspired by Third World revolutions in Africa, Asia and Latin America. United in their solidarity for “oppressed people of color around the world,” Kelley explains that before urban rebellions erupted across the U.S. in the mid-sixties, the ideas of Third World liberation had already gripped the attention of emergent Black radicals whose call for revolution will be called “Black Power,” were “not an outgrowth of the civil rights movement’s failures, but existed alongside, sometimes in tension with, the movement’s main ideas.”²² Kelley complicates American history’s treatment of Black freedom movements as distinct generational movements, showing instead how these ideas were circulated through radio programs, pamphlets and magazines, reaching revolutionaries at home and abroad. Understanding Black revolutionary thought as constituted of the blurring and overlapping of Black political philosophies is a key foundation that this dissertation builds on. Civil rights activism and Black Power were not isolated movements, and the porosity between cultural producers and activists—from the academy to the streets and back on multiple continents—is the set of concerns that this dissertation seeks to contribute to. Black architectural producers were not only inspired by and inflected through Civil rights activism and Black Power, but carried these ideas through in distinctive and surprising ways both through built work, practice, and teaching.

On the idea of Black Architectures

In conceptualizing a theory of Black geographies, Katherine McKittrick foregrounds the narratives of Black, female, subaltern and minority subjects in the historiography of geography. For McKittrick, in offering powerful counter-narratives to the oppressive and racist ideologies of

²² Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*, 62.

plantation systems, the Euclidian grids that organized such plantations and as these devices extended out into the forming of Black American “ghettos,” she emphasizes the production of a “black sense of place” that was created in distinction to the profane spaces of oppression. In putting forward Édouard Glissant’s call for a Black history that exists *despite* plantation-centric and colonial economic regimes, McKittrick emphasizes Black resilience that centers Black lives as the subjects rather than objects of history.²³ Both McKittrick and Glissant’s approach are part of the larger Black radical tradition, which points the way for pursuing the decolonization of architectural history.²⁴ Indeed, the naming practices within this tradition—*Black Geographies*; *Black Marxism* (Cedric Robinson, 1983); *Black Metropolis* (St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Jr., 1945); and *Black Jacobins* (C.L.R. James, 1938)—provide a method of understanding how Blackness may create new critical vocabularies for architecture.²⁵ For Robinson, his point was not that Marxists were Black, but rather that re-thinking the history of socialism through Black bodies moves us toward another kind of analysis of racial capitalism entirely. I extend McKittrick’s concept of *Black Geographies*—those spatial zones built, maintained and flourished through everyday Black life—to think about the possibility of Black architectures—that which is built for Black social life to thrive and not be contained. I do not claim to invent the term *Black architectures*; rather, I acknowledge these works and am adapting

²³ Édouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, trans. Betsy Wing (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

²⁴ Katherine McKittrick, “On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place,” *Social & Cultural Geography* 12, no. 8 (2011): 947–63; Katherine McKittrick, “Plantation Futures,” *Small Axe: A Journal of Criticism*, no. 42 (2013): 1–15; Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

²⁵ A series of historians have created work that center Black radical thought at the center of historical debates where they had typically been sidelined. The Trinidadian historian C.L.R. James first published *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* in 1938, a history of the Haitian Revolution of 1791–1804; Cedric Robinson’s 1983 *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* follows suit in its sweeping history of the European and Atlantic worlds in terms of Black resistance and economic violence.

their mode of thought to thinking about architectural history, while also considering the ways in which these convergences with architecture open up new insights, questions, and possibilities.

Black architectures carve out a space for the interpretation of the built environment and architectural practice in which Black lives and Blackness take center stage. Centering this intellectual and commitment practice, Marcus Anthony Hunter (*Black Citymakers: How The Philadelphia Negro Changed Urban America*, 2013) and Katherine McKittrick (*Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*, 2007) follow the examples of both CLR James and Cedric Robinson, arguing through their scholarship that centering Blackness as ontology and practice is not merely limiting ourselves to a discussion of Black peoples' interpretation of previously white discussions. Even more, it is the reinterpretation of history, citymaking or geography through the lens of Blackness. In this conceptualization of *Black architectures*, I pay homage to this tradition of both reinterpretation and active ontological resistance to master narratives and white worldmaking.

Review of Chapters

The dissertation is divided into three thematic chapters.²⁶ In the first chapter I argue that there are sets of ideas and approaches related to race (and anti-racism) that informed certain portions of architectural pedagogy as it was taught in the School of Fine Arts at the University of Pennsylvania (UPenn). To do this I begin with a discussion of the visual techniques developed by W.E.B. Du Bois and Denise Scott Brown, followed by a history of the formation of Penn's

²⁶ The dissertation begins with the year 1957 not only because it is the year that the Civic Design Program at the University of Pennsylvania is established, and is the subject of my first chapter, but because it is also the year when the supreme court upheld its 1954 decision that urban renewal practices were constitutional. See, *Starr v. Nashville Housing Authority*, 354 U.S. 916 (1957).

Civic Design Program, with a theoretical questioning of the term “fieldwork” as it came to hold new meaning in urban-oriented design education.²⁷

How the University of Pennsylvania used architecture and planning curriculum as a white liberal instrument to remake west Philadelphia into a “university city” is part of a more complicated history of the architecture program at Penn than has previously been understood. In Philadelphia—as it was the case in cities across the U.S.—the city was bound up in federal land grants and renewal policy that helped render a fantasy of white bourgeois urbanism into reality.²⁸

Architectural historians who have studied the emergence of research practices in the field of architecture have often studied research through the characterization of architects. In “The Postwar Legacy of Architectural Research,” Avigail Sachs focuses on William Wurster at UC Berkeley. In her account, both Berkeley’s status as a top recipient of federal and military funding, as well as Wurster’s belief that research offered architects scientific knowledge that was “objective, impartial, and rigorous” produced a fertile ground for excitement around the idea of architectural research. Wurster developed a “comprehensive research policy” that outlined how research funds could be secured through outside sources, but definitions were intentionally left out in order to “protect their freedom of choices of topics for research.” The flexibility of what Sachs called “what is and what is not” research demonstrated an assumption that any type of knowledge derived from research had a durability to it.²⁹ In examining architecture’s relationship to the human sciences, Joy Knoblauch outlines how architects such as Christopher Alexander,

²⁷ The urban was not only a historical description of a physical location distinct from the rural, but increasingly during the era of renewal and later riots, the term urban also became a psychological characterization or profile in need of improvement.

²⁸ Uddin, *Zoo Renewal*.

²⁹ Wurster called “systematic and deliberate investigation.”

Peter Eisenman and Mario Gandelsonas tried to develop a “type of mechanical objectivity.” This “objectivity” was in fact created within a growing research economy in the sixties and seventies that subscribed to the idea that data-driven and rule-based social science research produced “technologies of truth.” Both Sachs and Knoblauch root their reading of architectural research as it was intimately tied to the rise of science-based knowledge production accelerated during the Cold War. Both historians have challenged the tired monographs of that period’s architects whose self-proclaimed rejection of either social engagement or applied social science have been retired in favor of a more complicated triangulation between architects, their intellectual products, and a national allegiance to social science research.

I am adding to these existing historiographies of architectural research by focusing specifically on urban research practices. The approach taken in this chapter includes a methodology advanced by urban sociologists. From studio courses and student output, theories, and professional project proposals, the architecture and planning faculty developed methods of architectural “fieldwork” focused around mapping, photographing and diagramming Philadelphia.³⁰ The term fieldwork has become so naturalized in our field that it almost does not bear a history. However, a close analysis of both the student work and instructor’s projects coming out of UPenn reveals that we can trace the introduction of “fieldwork” to a particular historical moment. Specifically, I argue that fieldwork originated in a historical moment when urban tension was at its peak and when urban reformers hired architects and urban planners to conduct “fieldwork” as a means to understand the city and thus rehabilitate it. The creative

³⁰ The connection between sociology and city planning was not only taking place in the university, but in City Planning Departments, who hired sociologists as consultants to help with their vision plans. For example, “Plan for New York City” hires William Whyte. The New York City Planning Commission and Charles Harbutt, *Plan for New York City 1969, A Proposal: Volume 1, Critical Issues* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1969).

strategies associated with fieldwork such as diagraming and photographing have performed a double duty for architects functioning as an aesthetic image and as data which could inherently carry a latency of truth.

With a generous grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, a newly established Civic Design Program offered to train architecture and planning students how to shape, humanize and improve an “urban environment” increasingly overtaken by “blight.”³¹ These terms were commensurate with much of the language used by postwar urban reformers who regarded the city as the most expedient problem to solve. The Civic Design Program at UPenn believed that the urban designer would be the salve to the city in crisis and described how the “architect...[is] today being challenged to create a new kind of urban space”³² In keeping with this conviction, studio courses began to include Philadelphia as their research topic, so much so that the editor of *Progressive Architecture* speculated that Philadelphia itself would serve as a “laboratory and an important subject matter of the school.”³³

To understand how a thoroughly white research program took its research subjects from neighborhoods of color that abutted the university, I look to feminist scholar bell hooks.³⁴ For hooks, studying whiteness “allows for the recognition that progressive white people who are anti-racist might be able to understand the way in which their cultural practice reinscribes white

³¹ Perkins transcribed lecture. Penn’s CDP would usher in a new era that emphasized the relevance of an urban design education across architecture and planning schools in the U.S.

³² School of Fine Arts Bulletin 1952-3 LII: 24 Box (May 9, 1952) p11. On the topic of producing new urban spaces see Neil Brenner and Oxford University Press, *New Urban Spaces: Urban Theory and the Scale Question* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019).

³³ Jan Rowan, “The Philadelphia School,” *Progressive Architecture* 42 (April. 1961): 130-63.

³⁴ Again, I am using *white* and *whiteness* generally to refer to a *logic* rather than a stable category of racial identity. I do refer to *white* people throughout this dissertation, and I am situating them in a broader epistemology or logic of whiteness that is concerned with defending the material benefits that accrue to whiteness or is concerned with studying others as passive objects of analysis.

supremacy without promoting paralyzing guilt or denial.”³⁵ Indeed, the city-as-project was not a simple object of study. The sociologist, Marcus Anthony Hunter, knows and tells this history well. His account of urban renewal in Philadelphia teaches us how architects, planners, corporate leaders, developers and politicians worked together to develop West Philadelphia—at the expense of poor “seemingly vulnerable” Black neighborhoods—into a “university city.”³⁶ Hunter focuses on Black activists who maintained and disrupted the renewal franchise in the Seventh Ward.³⁷ Thought about in this way, the architectural output of work produced at Penn from 1957-1967, when the changing racial geography of Philadelphia was most visible and under scrutiny from both white and Black coalitions, prompts us to ask how architects and planner responded to race relations, beyond the role as co-conspirator in the construction of racially asymmetrical geographies. While this urban history seems unrelated to the introduction of fieldwork into architecture, I argue that the socio-political context of Philadelphia, which included both Black activism in the face of a white racial economy, was the history of the origins of urban research as it developed at Penn.³⁸

The second chapter presents a group of Black architecture students at Yale University who established a collective and studio course called the Black Workshop in the months following the New Haven riots of 1967. Between 1967–68, the Black Workshop was an outlet for a radical Black architectural imagination. The group, which was made up of Black students at

³⁵ bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End, 1992), 168. Reprinted in Uddin, 17.

³⁶ Robin D.G. Kelley reminds us that politics were not simply those in power, but everyday dissenters, activists, what he calls rebels, that produces a politics. Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1996).

³⁷ Anthony Marcus Hunter, *Black Citymakers*.

³⁸ Penn’s Civic Design Program was geared toward teaching urban design was the first of its kind in the nation. Harvard established its center for urban studies in 1957, Berkeley’s College of Environmental Design 1959, Harvard’s Urban Design program in 1960, Cornell in 1967, and MIT in 1970.

the Yale School of Architecture, were creative and prolific in their output. This chapter examines the output of the Black Workshop against the backdrop of Yale University and the racial geography of New Haven. The aggressive renewal strategies of the New Haven Redevelopment Agency from the 1950s to the 1970s separated Yale University (the city's "symbolic heart") from the low-income neighborhoods that "offended the sensibilities of the university" by building fortifications of walls, ring roads, highways, and high-rises. The campus of Yale University has never been classified as an enclosure, yet a close analysis of the NHRA's tactics (which "obligingly" allowed much of the renewal efforts to take place in the predominantly Black neighborhoods that bordered Yale), alongside the work of the Black Workshop reveals several disparities. The Black Workshop actively sought to reconcile the disparity of a white discipline with the neighborhoods that geographically surrounded them, yet political containment and geographic disappearance appeared to be at the top of the agenda for the Yale School of Architecture, which provided the group with a space off campus. The unusual fact that each of the members' student files are still housed in the President's papers (as well as within the architecture school) belies the fact that they were under university surveillance. Through archival and oral histories, the chapter presents how the Black Workshop defined and shaped Black lived experience through their community architecture projects against the backdrop of (and in spite of) the racist practices of an ivy league architecture school.

Workshop members served as a resource to Black residents dislocated by urban "renewal," teaching self-empowerment and self-determination. The chapter shows how architecture students interfaced with the community, teaching community members how to read plans and develop a political voice to participate in city planning commission. The chapter compares this type of community interfacing with the Black Workshop's written manifestos,

publications and student work. I link them to Black Power ideologies that were prominent in contemporary news articles due to the 1967 New Haven Riots and the polarizing arrest of prominent Black Panther Party member Bobby Seale in 1969.

Despite the fact that the Black Workshop was anything but quiet, they have received scant historical analysis. In addition to archival research, in this chapter I was prompted to find out more by way of conducting oral histories with a Black Workshop member and interlocutors. The content on the Black Workshop fits within a broader history of Yale and its pedagogical advancements in the 1960s. Thus, the chapter begins with situating the Black Workshop among other Yale School of Architecture student groups, who each in their own way were seeking new forms of expression and activism. In the years since its formation and dissolution (1968–71), the little coverage that the Black Workshop has received has been conveniently supportive of the YSA’s own historicization and promotional narratives. Robert Stern and Jimmy Stamp’s history of the YSA, *Pedagogy and Place*, calls them the most “formidable group” on campus, who wanted to be separate from the school.³⁹ Perhaps Black Workshop member Roland Bedford said it more succinctly:

We never wanted to be outside the school [...] it was convenient for them to believe we didn’t want to be part of the school [...] They wanted to keep us close, but not too close, not inside Rudolph’s Arts and Architecture building, but still part of the campus [...] In fact, it was actually 200 feet away, if you walked out of the Arts and Architecture building and turned, there was the Black Workshop [...] As long as ordinary students scattered throughout the school, that’s OK. No one cared. As soon as you call yourselves, Black Workshop, then you’re called vulnerable, it’s convenient.

This and other accounts can be found in the chapter, alongside examples of the Black Workshop’s community activism. For example, Ron Bedford can be seen standing up in the back seat of Charles Brewer’s convertible Peugeot, calling out to Dixwell and Hill residents to attend

³⁹ Robert A. M Stern and Jimmy Stamp, *Pedagogy and Place: 100 Years of Architecture Education at Yale* (New Haven (Conn.); London: Yale University Press, 2016): 313.

a Workshop meeting on urban renewal projects.⁴⁰ The Black Workshop fundamentally inverted common tropes in community and participatory planning ideologies: the Black Workshop sought to transfer their interpretation of participatory design with action in the street rather than an analysis of the street.⁴¹ This type of community-based activism, relying on street-level visibility is also echoed in the Black Workshop's off-campus storefront space, where they painted the façade purple, stretching its edges as lines into the street. In the manner of Max Bond's Architects Renewal Committee of Harlem, I read the Black Workshop's Chapel Street headquarters as not simply a studio space for the students, nor even a site of refusal to the education model offered at Yale. Instead, it was a space for survival and provides a third and specifically architectural way out of the standstill for Black architecture students and the university's neighboring black community. Other popular planning approaches developing at the time such as advocacy planning are also questioned and rejected by the Black Workshop as a "white caretaker" tradition, and the chapter outlines their alternative approach to interfacing rather than "advocating."

The Black Workshop, civil rights struggle, and the Black Panther Party's presence has never been discussed in the YSA's history, even though they show up as clippings and addendums in the university archive. Here, they are presented as yet to be studied, instrumental pieces of evidence required to write a synthetic history of architectural education at the YSA; one that foregrounds Black life at the center of change in architectural education.

⁴⁰ A constant advocate within Yale for the Workshop was admissions officer Charles Brewer, with whom many of my oral histories were conducted.

⁴¹ Such analyses of the street can be seen in other studios at Yale at this time, for example Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi's Learning from Las Vegas studio.

The third chapter turns to Harlem and the subject of air. It is a tale of two architectural visions for Harlem that both express, through drawings, a future for the district of Manhattan that radically reinterprets the airspace above the urban fabric of the 1960s. The first section of the chapter considers a proposal from the Black poet June Jordan and her collaboration with Buckminster Fuller and Shoji Sadao titled *Skyrise for Harlem*. Published in *Esquire Magazine* on the heels of the Harlem uprisings of 1964, in which Jordan was directly involved, *Skyrise* featured an almost impossibly high series of twelve vast conical towers soaring above Harlem.

The chapter continues by switching to the emerging, creative modes of city governance that were happening, in which architects actively carved out a role within Mayor Lindsay's administration. To do this I look at *The Threatened City*, a report that staged a set of circumstances that the City found itself engulfed in, in which architecture could be a means for reorganizing and *renewing* the urban fabric. Among the members of Mayor Lindsay's Urban Task Force (who assembled this report and promptly landed themselves jobs in City administration) were a group of architects— Richard Weinstein, Jonathan Barnett, Jack Robertson and Giovanni Pasanella—who happened to be teaching at Columbia when the curator of MoMA requested their involvement in a major exhibition he was planning.

The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal, mounted at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City in 1967 is presented as a full institutional address of architecture's intersection with discourses on race, design, and the city. Four university-based architecture teams were invited to think through what a future Harlem could look like. In this context, I examine how the group of Weinstein, Barnett, Robertson, Pasanella along with the help of a lawyer, Donald Elliott, successfully re-wrote policy for how developers could begin banking air rights. This is where the second drawing comes into play: *Housing Without Relocation*, the group's proposal

for *The New City* exhibition, demonstrated how this policy could work through architectural drawings.

None of these connections were merely coincidental. They provide a basis for which I present a theory for the wholesale financialization of air itself via a cross-analysis of both the plans and possibilities that could have been in *Skyrise for Harlem*, against the plans for policy that indeed became a reality through their demonstration in *Housing Without Relocation*.

The aim of this last chapter is to demonstrate how, through a surreptitious and highly choreographed mechanics of abstraction, MoMA, the City of New York and the architects who both worked in civil service and participated in in *Housing Without Relocation* served to extend rather than alleviate racial difference in Harlem. While there are many ways to investigate this activity, *Housing Without Relocation* displayed at MoMA was chosen as an optimum case study because of the circuitry of institutional correspondences between the city and the Museum. Few museums in the 1960s had the ability to drum up such connections. Its tentacles went far and its influence was widely felt, and had real consequences for people living in Harlem. *The New City* sets this phenomenon in high relief, and the chapter presents how a resource-rich arts institution attempted to engage with resource-poor communities in Harlem.

By the time the exhibition is mounted and opens to the public in 1967, whatever mention or investment it has in Harlem does so without addressing racial issues to the average museum goer. MoMA's architecture department considered itself representative of a broader architectural culture that consistently favored "whiteness," demonstrated in the white architects they chose to exhibit, no proposals by Black architects or the voices of the majority Black residents the Museum are included in *The New City*.⁴² A close examination of the exhibition also reveals how

⁴² Even though June Jordan and Fuller's projects were circulating and perhaps even closer to architecture circles, the Architect's Renewal Committee in Harlem (ARCH), a Black architecture collective had already established

the Museum as well as Columbia's proposal, *Housing Without Relocation* supported "racially contingent forms of property and property rights," what legal historian Cheryl Harris has called, the ideological foundations for "whiteness as property."⁴³ In this measure, *Housing Without Relocation* provides an exemplary case study both for how whiteness, like property, is invested in, but also, as George Lipsitz notes, "a means of accumulating property and keeping it from others."⁴⁴

Racial self-consciousness is a theme that permeates literature surrounding *The New City*. Writing in 2019, Thomas Hines discusses the failures of urban renewal. By writing a supportive review of *The New City*, Hines described the exhibit as a "productive" exploration of "pressing issues" in a "socially volatile" part of the city. Hines' meanderings, while failing to mention Black or Puerto Rican life in Harlem, blindly slides into essentialism like "native vitality."⁴⁵ Architectural history's fixation on the physical properties of renewal in Harlem amounts to a critique of the exhibit in which race is coded: the rhetoric establishes the Black community as a "them," usurping the architecture and lives into a racist architectural discourse that leaves the history of whiteness intact. For Robert Stern, the "historic architecture of Harlem has served its changing population remarkably well," surmising that "good architecture is essentially color-

credibility with residents living in Harlem and made themselves known amongst architecture circles at an AIA meeting on the topic of "Housing Problems in Harlem" in 1964, one year before Drexler began his plans for *The New City* show.

⁴³ Harris explains "even as legal segregation was overturned, whiteness as property continued to serve as a barrier to effective change as the system of racial classification operated to protect entrenched power." For Harris, regulatory devices, as those produced by a real estate economy, set to preserve the purity of a neighborhood by describing what is good versus bad, clean versus unhygienic, were precisely "the set of assumptions, privileges and benefits that accompany the status of being white have become a valuable asset that whites sought to protect."

⁴⁴ George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment of Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*, reprinted in Uddin, p17.

⁴⁵ Thomas S. Hines, *Architecture and Design at the Museum of Modern Art: The Arthur Drexler Years, 1951–1986*, 1 edition (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2019).

blind.”⁴⁶ If architectural historians cannot bear to say “Black,” then their efforts to sidestep racist museum policies serve to entrench the racial absences in the discipline.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ One notable exception to this is Mabel Wilson’s review of the Harlem exhibition. Golden, Belcher, and Studio Museum in Harlem, *Harlemworld*.

⁴⁷ Maurice Berger, “Are Art Museums Racist?,” *Art in America* 78, no. 9 (1990): 68–77.

1

We must study, we must investigate, we must attempt to solve.

W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, 1899

By introducing personal field investigation, by visits to neighborhoods and communities, by study of social economic problems of the family and social political organizations, and by first-hand contact with the city and rural Landscape, the student [...] becomes aware of the social basis of his art and is prepared to serve mankind more sympathetically and effectively.

G. Holmes Perkins, Civic Design Program, 1956

In this chapter, I argue that the site analysis that is so central to architectural education today can be traced back to a moment in the mid-twentieth century when tense race relations were fundamentally changing the way that architects were taught and asked to produce work; even more, its origins can be traced further back to the sociological work of W. E. B. Du Bois, whose methods paved the way for fieldwork as it is understood in architectural education today. The introduction of “fieldwork” techniques from outside the discipline brought in new tools and ways of perceiving the urban environment. Examining the work of two seminal figures—the graphs and diagrams by W. E. B. Du Bois and the photographs and statistical charts of architect and planner Denise Scott Brown, both of whom studied South Street in Philadelphia’s Black Seventh Ward—I analyze the visual techniques they used in their “fieldwork” on South Street. Taken collectively, the maps, diagrams, statistical charts, tables, and photographs created under this aegis of “fieldwork” shifted the focus of architectural education away from the apparent study of buildings to and toward a pedagogy that affirmed tables, graphs, and charts as new means for decision-making. By examining Du Bois’s *The Philadelphia Negro* and its connections to Paul Davidoff’s theory of advocacy planning and Denise Scott Brown’s visual

techniques, I argue for a genealogy of planning theory in the U.S that recognizes Du Bois's role in establishing the conditions for urban planning fieldwork that came later. Even as Du Bois's influence can be located in the fieldwork methods that emerged in sociology and planning in the twentieth century, an apparent erasure of a racial analysis accompanied the incorporation of these methods into the university.

In this chapter, I begin with W. E. B. Du Bois's engagement with Philadelphia's Seventh Ward as both an example of (1) engaged fieldwork that captured the complex and changing realities of a Black neighborhood and (2) a methodology more invested in representing Black life, in all of its ever-changing dimensions, than using data to explain or justify any narrative of Black people. Du Bois understood the importance and possibilities of data to elevate his research on the racial reality of Black communities in the United States, but he did not fall into the trap of reducing data to an end in itself. Focusing on Denise Scott Brown and Paul Davidoff's lasting contributions to architectural education in the Civic Design Program at the University of Pennsylvania, I argue that, even as they drew tacit inspiration from Du Bois's approach to fieldwork, their visual and theoretical methods departed from Du Bois's commitment to understanding race in its complexities and overlooked key questions of positionality and epistemology. Instead, Scott Brown and Davidoff's work function in line with other white liberal solutions to cities that represented Black life as static and fixed in space and time. In their urban research fieldwork, Davidoff and Scott Brown valorized data as the empirical conduit of truth, which may partially explain their reception and longevity in architectural education today. Much like site analysis, these visual and theoretical techniques that have been incorporated into architecture and planning have overlooked a racial analysis.

W. E. B. Du Bois on South Street, 1899

In the summer of 1896, W. E. B. Du Bois was invited by Katherine Davis and Isabel Eaton of the Philadelphia Settlement Movement and Susan P. Wharton on behalf of University of Pennsylvania (Penn) to study, investigate, and attempt to solve the problem of poverty in Philadelphia's Seventh Ward.⁴⁸ Three years later, Du Bois published the result of his study, *The Philadelphia Negro*. It highlighted Du Bois's interest in reading a specific place and the people living there.⁴⁹ In his study of Black urban life, Du Bois outlined the trajectory that urban sociology would take two decades before the Chicago School of Urban Sociology launched America's inquiry of domestic race relations into the realm of a social scientific discipline.⁵⁰ The Chicago School's urban diagrams visualized the complexity of the city through concentric rings, zones that produced a visual lexicon for urban growth and transformation with wide import on the practice and education of architecture and urban planning.

Du Bois took a direct methodological approach to urban sociology, producing datasets, maps, and diagrams based on his own ethnographic observation. Paralleling the social investigation and research practices of the Philadelphia Settlement, Du Bois mobilized what he

⁴⁸ For the story of how Du Bois was invited to Philadelphia, see V. P. Franklin, "Operation Street Corner: The Wharton Centre and the Juvenile Gang Problem in Philadelphia, 1945–1958," in Michael B. Katz and Thomas J. Sugrue, eds., *W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and the City: "The Philadelphia Negro" and Its Legacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998). For an interpretive reading of Du Bois's methods for fieldwork, see "An Atlas of the Wayward," in Saidiya V. Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Riotous Black Girls, Troublesome Women, and Queer Radicals* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 2020), 82–111. Poverty was a common thread in Settlement research, Hull House Papers, like Charles Booth's study on London poverty.

⁴⁹ Du Bois's study included 37 wards. He clarifies that the African-American population in each ward was different according to class, but he explains that his focus on the Seventh Ward was driven by (1) the fact that it was the historic center for Black settlement and (2) his observations of a variety of issues concentrated in the Seventh Ward. Du Bois, *Philadelphia Negro*, 61–62.

⁵⁰ On the history of social science research on race as it developed in the U.S. see. Gordon, Leah N. *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America*. 1 edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

called “systematic fieldwork,” which included walking down South Street, observing street life on Broad Street, and interviewing families on Pine Street.⁵¹ Interviewing over two and a half thousand households, Du Bois amassed eight hundred hours of interview data on educational attainments, health patterns, leisure activities, divorce rates, criminality, and mortality. Du Bois advanced “actual observation of human action,” and criticized the “car-window sociologist.”⁵² In this way, personal field investigation distinguished Du Bois from the founders of sociology—Auguste Comte, Karl Marx, and Max Weber—whom he criticized as “armchair theorists” who produced their scholarship in the office or library. Du Bois put the science into sociology, and translated his datasets into two-hundred charts, maps, graphs, and diagrams.⁵³

For Du Bois, the promise of the scientific method was more than an intellectual exercise or a simple approach to obtain and understand information; it was a response to the long-standing ways in which sociologists studied Black people, which in the late nineteenth-century relied on theoretical speculation and social Darwinism.⁵⁴ The sociologist Herbert Spencer was one of the first American evolutionists whose virulent racism, filtered through his teaching and academic pursuits in the 1890s, widely influenced sociological thinking in the U.S.⁵⁵ When Du

⁵¹ The Philadelphia Settlement was started by two women was a group of social workers that sought to improve the lives of the poorest of society through social advocacy programs. Based on the Hull House movement, Edinburgh school.

⁵² Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*. See in particular Ch. VIII. Du Bois’s criticism will be echoed by architects working in Watts who claimed that the city was only interested in conducting “drive by” studies of Watts that I will discuss in chapter two of this dissertation. Du Bois W. E. B., *The Souls of Black Folk* (Xist Publishing, 2015).

⁵³ Du Bois outlines his method in Chapter 2 and lists the general condition of the Negroes Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt. *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*. New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1899.

⁵⁴ James B. McKee, *Sociology and the Race Problem: The Failure of a Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

⁵⁵ Responses to this common sociology of the 1890s were to be found but perhaps not discussed is the role that architecture played in this type of sociological perspective. For example, the act of building in Booker T. Washington’s industrial education, according to Mia Bey “promised to provide black laborers with the skills and discipline needed to compete more successfully in the Darwinian struggle.” Bey identifies the social Darwinism inherent in Washington’s doctrine, but nonetheless architecture’s role is clear, even if reduced to a mode of

Bois began his study of Philadelphia's Seventh Ward, he had just completed his PhD in sociology at Harvard, where he had witnessed firsthand the predicament of American sociology and its adherence to so-called "natural laws." Nevertheless, Du Bois believed in the power of research as a means to obtain and assess facts, something he made visible in over five hundred pages of *The Philadelphia Negro*. Du Bois moved to Philadelphia with his wife, where they lived, worshipped, imagined, and dreamed for a year in the Seventh Ward while he produced this expanded study, far beyond what he was hired to do.⁵⁶ In the hands of Du Bois, data took shape in vibrant charts and maps that illuminated the fluid and changing realities of urban Black life in Philadelphia. These maps narrated a struggle for equality—a quest for housing, employment, and parity in education.

Du Bois studied Black poverty as a means to understand the material realities of Black life. "Du Bois did study poverty," writes sociologist Tukufu Zuberi, "but American poverty was not the object of his study [...] the object of Du Bois's study was the African American community of Philadelphia."⁵⁷ Rather than merely study Black poverty, Du Bois used his study to connect the political and economic exclusion of Black Philadelphians to the problem of the color line. Historian Robin D. G. Kelley provides insights on Du Bois's global view of the color line as it operated on numerous scales, explaining how Du Bois "began to analyze how race and class worked together to sustain capitalism, imperialism, and racism in the modern world [...]"

production. The research developed for the *Philadelphia Negro* can also be understood as a response to Washington's approach, which Du Bois was highly critical of.

⁵⁶ The secondary literature on Du Bois that has informed much of my thinking about him and his methods include Nahum Dimitri Chandler, *X—The Problem of the Negro as a Problem for Thought* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2014); Marcus Anthony Hunter, *Black Citymakers: How The Philadelphia Negro Changed Urban America*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015); and Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*.

⁵⁷ Tukufu Zuberi, *Thicker than Blood: How Racial Statistics Lie* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 83.

Du Bois argued that the imposition of the color line on a world scale, whether in the form of Jim Crow or colonial rule,” were the very means through which Western European fortunes, created by “colored” labor, was amassed.⁵⁸ In Philadelphia, as in other parts of the U.S., Du Bois’s emphasis on the color line made clear that regardless of perceived attitudinal differences between the rural south and the urbanizing north, structural factors were causing deleterious effects that concentrated Black poverty and insecurity.

One year later, on the heels of completing the *Philadelphia Negro*, Du Bois was invited to display his sociological studies within the *Exposition de Nègres d’Amérique* at the 1900 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris. Du Bois shared over sixty diagrams, charts, maps and tables from his study *The Georgia Negro: A Social Study*. The content showed within the *Exposition de Nègres d’Amérique* included an array of what Aldon Morris called “infographics.” Similar to how he deployed visual techniques in the *Philadelphia Negro*, Du Bois drew relational counterpoints to fixed statistics such as “education statistics, the distribution of African-American populations across the nation, a comparison of literacy rates in the U.S. relative to other countries”⁵⁹ that were often used to feed existing racially-motivated biases. The main feature of *Exposition de Nègres d’Amérique* was a map of the Black Atlantic World that made visible the linkages between ports in “West Africa to the coasts of Brazil, Santo Domingo, The American South, and Portugal.”⁶⁰ The map—labeled “Routes of African Slave Trade” by Du Bois and his team—sought to provide the “primarily white European and American audience

⁵⁸ Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2008), 43.

⁵⁹ Whitney Battle-Baptiste and Britt Rusert, eds., *W.E.B. Du Bois’s Data Portraits: Visualizing Black America* (Hudson, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 2018), 11.

⁶⁰ Mabel O. Wilson, “The Cartography of W.E.B. Du Bois’s Color Line,” in Battle-Baptiste and Rusert, *W.E.B. Du Bois’s Data Portraits*.

[...] a visual history lesson on the [...] slave trade.”⁶¹ In the context of the Universal Exposition in Paris, a venue that had historically demonstrated progress both at home and abroad through the map, showing the lines of the transatlantic African slave trade had a double meaning: using the map as a representational device not only demonstrated directionality and territorial reach, but here, it also represented separation, dispossession and deprivation of Black people from freedom and their humanity. At the bottom of the map, Du Bois included a caption: “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.”⁶² Speaking at the First Pan-African Conference, held in London in the summer of 1900, Du Bois explained his position on the color line:

How far differences of race—which show themselves chiefly in the color of the skin and the texture of hair—will hereafter be made the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization.⁶³

Du Bois was thinking geographically about how exclusion—operational at both the global scale down to the urban scale of Philadelphia—manifested in specific places.

His map of the Seventh Ward, for example, delineates precisely how the color line was spatialized. Du Bois described Black Philadelphians living in the Seventh Ward as a class, not a community, living in a “city within a city—who do not form an integral part of the larger social group.”⁶⁴ (The Seventh Ward had never been afforded the basic municipal rights required to be

⁶¹ Wilson, “Cartography,” 38.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ W. E. B. Du Bois, as quoted in Wilson, “Cartography.” Originally from a speech, “To the Nations of the World,” that Du Bois gave at the First Pan-African Conference held in London in 1900.

⁶⁴ Du Bois used the term *community* specifically as it related to the Latin *communis*. As Vittoria Di Palma has suggested, the signification of a community in the history of architecture its relationship to land. Derived from the Latin *communis*, “signifying a community, or the common body of the people of any place or, more broadly, any collective entity... The word is used in the expression of concepts such as common law, common wealth (or common weal), and common good, all of which ultimately find their roots in the Latin notion of *res publica* (concern of the people), from which our notion of republic is also derived...” For Di Palma, the term *community* in describing seventeenth-century land diggers has always had a legal footing tethered to land, with rights accorded to

classified as a community.) Du Bois's interest in highlighting the complexity of "community," or the idea that the Seventh Ward operated as a "city within a city," is made visible throughout *The Philadelphia Negro*. This impulse becomes most coherent in his maps.⁶⁵ In studying the "physical environment of the city," Du Bois documented Black Philadelphians' struggle with poverty, crime, and access to labor. At the same time, Du Bois captured the racial reality of a "progressive" city like Philadelphia, whose commitment to racial segregation, exclusion, and neglect precluded Black Philadelphians from integrating into the workforce and the distinct geographies of the city's thirty-seven wards. The Seventh Ward, with its racial and class division, epitomized Philadelphia's maintenance of the color line, which Du Bois saw as more "peculiar" and "conspicuous" for Black Philadelphians:

in the case of the Negroes the segregation is more conspicuous, more patent to the eye, and so intertwined with a long historic evolution, with peculiarly pressing social problems of poverty, ignorance, crime and labor, that the Negro problem far surpasses in scientific interest and social gravity most of the other race or class questions.⁶⁶

This struggle came to a head in Philadelphia, a city that was no different from many other northern cities whose more conservative inhabitants both feared and rejected Black southerners migrating north. Philadelphia served as a precarious space: a site of both welcoming and rejection. In this way, Du Bois trod new ground in foregrounding how certain inhabitants, Black

that community willing to, in particular, farm and cultivate wasteland. Vittoria Di Palma, *Wasteland: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 32. However, Du Bois used the term community specifically as it related to concepts of common law and commonwealth. For Du Bois, black Philadelphians lacked political identity—never afforded basic municipal rights to be classified as a community.

⁶⁵ Cities within cities were not uncommon in the United States. Jews, Italians, and other unassimilated groups had long lived in separate quarters, but Du Bois saw segregation as distinct for Black Philadelphians, who unlike ethnic Europeans would, by mid-century in the era of white flight, would according to Eric Avila, would "discover" themselves as white. For Avila, the idea of white flight was a reconfiguration of identity as much as it was about the physical reconfiguration of spaces of whiteness as a spatial idea. On post-war concept of white flight see Eric Avila, *The Folklore of the Freeway: Race and Revolt in the Modernist City*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014). For a particularly succinct history of Jewish enclaves, see Daniel Schwartz, *Ghetto: The History of a Word* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019).

⁶⁶ Du Bois, *Philadelphia Negro*, 3.

Philadelphians, struggled to gain political identity during Reconstruction after emancipation. Du Bois described how “certain peculiar social problems affecting the Negro people are plainly manifest.”⁶⁷ For example, segregation in its “sections and houses” influenced or inhibited social development as much as the “the surrounding world of custom, wish, whim, and thought which envelops this group and powerfully influences its social development.” Paraphrasing Du Bois, Saidiya Hartman has described Seventh Warders coming together as a result of racism: “it was only the color line that cordoned them together.”⁶⁸ The color line was a delineator in the double sense of the word.

Du Bois created a visual analog for this descriptive observation, visualizing his datasets through a series of hand-colored maps. At first glance, Du Bois’s maps formally resemble those of Charles Booth in *Life and Labour of the People in London*.⁶⁹ Published as seventeen volumes from 1889 to 1903, Booth’s maps visualized poverty by color-coding areas based on the severity of poverty.⁷⁰ In his maps of the Seventh Ward, Du Bois similarly produced a color code to categorize the statistics he gathered into a series of classifications and degrees of Black poverty from “middle classes and those above”; “Working people—Fair to Comfortable”; “The Poor”; “Vicious and Criminal Cases” and “Residences of Whites, Stores, Public Buildings, etc.” which Du Bois left as blank white space of the page (*Figure 1.0*). Where Du Bois departed from Booth was the way he worked to delineate spaces on the map, filling in and ascribing them special value across the surface of the map. The base layer of the map registered the boundaries between

⁶⁷ Du Bois, *Philadelphia Negro*, 3.

⁶⁸ Hartman, *Wayward Lives*, 113.

⁶⁹ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (London: 1889).

⁷⁰ Du Bois was known to consult Charles Booth’s study. See Hartman, *Wayward Lives*, 110; Zuberi, *Thicker than Blood*, 81.

buildings, streets and blocks, and the parcels (both the parcels facing the street and the back alleys), and the areas Du Bois filled in with the colors: green, blue, red, and black hues animated the map as indicators of the everyday bustle of Black social life in the Seventh Ward. For Hartman, Du Bois's poverty map did not show poor, vicious and criminal, middle class and above, or working people; they reflected "residence, morality, aspiration and need" in a manner that operated like a "moving picture"—a "living image, a story in motion."⁷¹ For Hartman, while Du Bois's maps on the most basic level "reflected the expansion and density of the black quarter, made visible the different classes that constituted the race, and documented the segregation of the Negro from the rest of the city," they also visualized this information in such a way that represented how "the Negro was not fixed but a changing and variable entity."⁷² Du Bois's visualizations of static statistical data "tried to render the great vicissitudes of black life and represent historical development over the course of the century." Indeed, it was the graphic lines of the parcel map that created a static frame and a semblance of physical boundaries of the Seventh Ward in such a way that illustrated "a city within a city," a form of radical autonomy that supported the bustle of everyday Black life.⁷³ Without knowing it, Du Bois created a theory for a kind of urbanism that would lie at the center of architectural debate through the 1960s and 1970s.

Up until this point, I have demonstrated how Du Bois set two precedents: (1) the method for fieldwork and (2) a model for representing statistical data of Black Philadelphians as

⁷¹ Hartman, *Wayward Lives*, 110.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Hunter, *Black Citymakers*, 10.

relational and not fixed. In this next section, I show how Du Bois extended his visualization techniques to imagine Black Philadelphians' futurities with his use of the diagram.

Détourn-ing the Diagram

Pushing against the longstanding discussion on racial inferiority of Black people in sociology at the turn of the century, Du Bois made the case that it was structural racism that would be the most significant obstacle toward advancement.⁷⁴ Du Bois arrived in Philadelphia in 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was passed, a landmark Supreme Court case that upheld segregation, gave constitutional power to “separate but equal” doctrine, and created a new form of control after emancipation.

Black Studies scholar Alexander Weheliye outlines how Du Bois's use of visual graphics “forcefully underscores the constitutive relationality at the core of Du Bois's thinking, especially as it pertains to the categories of the Negro.”⁷⁵ For Weheliye, Du Bois's use of visual data was an intentional tool to abstract the realities of Black life from the data that underscored the color line:

statistics, graphs, tables and charts [...] diagrammatically desediment the Negro as a ‘natural’ phenomenon so as to recreate the Negro as a statistical figuration, one that is created by chance via the violently imposed effects of the color line.

Du Bois's descriptive diagrams, however, encode “racial formation beyond phenotype and heredity, instead historicizing the relational materialization of the Negro category in a U.S.

⁷⁴ For the history of Fisk and Howard University studies on the problem of structural racism see, Leah N. Gordon, *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

⁷⁵ Alexander G. Weheliye, “Diagrammatics as Physiognomy: W. E. B. Du Bois's Graphic Modernities,” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 15, no. 2 (October 2015): 25.

American, urban post-emancipation environment.”⁷⁶

Before architects would discover the diagram as a representational technique that both used data and translated it to produce something wholly new, Du Bois had already been excavating its possibilities to represent the Seventh Ward as a space that contained multitudes. Reclaiming the Ward, Du Bois used the diagram as an instrument to make the undetected vagaries of the color line visible.⁷⁷ The diagram had a projective function, noted Weheliye, to “generate a new model of truth.” In rehearsing the diagram’s etymological origins in the Greek *diagramma* (a line drawing without shadows), Weheliye’s analysis gives way to a discussion about the sign and the signified.⁷⁸ In reading how Du Bois graphically deployed black ink, the line, and the geometry of the square, Weheliye sees Du Bois’s “sly maneuver” of placing the statistic of Black residents living in Philadelphia, “spatially [...] above the one for whites” as way to visualize “intangible hierarchical physiognomies of power” of the color line. Through his diagrams, Du Bois graphically draws attention to (and subverts, however briefly) the “global color line,” whose primary function to delineate the hierarchical distinctions between black and white bodies is momentarily suspended (*Figure 1.1*)

For Hartman, these same diagrams “captured the primary and secondary rhythms of black life” and operated as a proleptic device that “anticipated the cinema...recording the movement of the Negro from small towns to the city and the steady movement forward over the course of

⁷⁶ Weheliye, “Diagrammatics,” 25. Weheliye writes, “The abstraction of the statistical data and their visualization provides Du Bois with the means of encoding racial formation beyond phenotype and heredity, instead historicizing the relational materialization of the category Negro in a U.S. American, urban post-emancipation environment.”

⁷⁷ Weheliye relied on Deleuze to illustrate how the diagram was an instrument that made “perceptible the abstract forces of power” visible.

⁷⁸ Anthony Vidler, “Diagrams of Diagrams: Architectural Abstraction and Modern Representation,” *Representations* 72 (Autumn 2000): 1–20.

time.”⁷⁹ In other words, for both Weheliye and Hartman, Du Bois’s diagrams carried a liberating power that disrupted existing sociological studies that “fixed” Black bodies into “moral categories” of failure and difference that were commonly recycled.⁸⁰

Indeed, it was precisely in developing a systematic method of fieldwork that produced descriptive visualization for the data that he gathered that Du Bois was able to offer “a true portrait of the Negro as changing and variable, not as an outcast of evolution,” yet his diagrams also functioned as urban diagrams that reconfigured the narrowly conceived idea that the Seventh Ward was a “slum.” Du Bois wrote, “the slum is not a simple fact, it is a symptom and that to know the removable causes of the Negro slums of Philadelphia requires a study that takes one far beyond the slum districts.”⁸¹ Du Bois was especially interested in exploring these complex social problems that he saw were simultaneously being spatialized and named as slum districts. Understanding the complexity of slums meant understanding the long evolution of how African-American populations first occupied West Philadelphia, grew and spread in and out of

⁷⁹ Hartman, *Wayward Lives*, 110; Weheliye, “Diagrammatics,” 25. Weheliye reads Du Bois’s diagrams as making visible “the abstract forces of power without which the Negro would not exist: the global color line.” At the same time, he was also pioneering a type of urban research that the Chicago School would champion two decades later.

⁸⁰ In his disdain for photography, Baudelaire described the photography as “art’s mortal enemy” and antithetical to his “passion for roaming” the photograph had a way of “fixing” images. Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): 30.

⁸¹ Du Bois is not the only Black scholar at the turn of the nineteenth century that is excluded in the history of architecture. For example, the work of Fredrick Douglas is never referenced in the genealogy of environmental design, even though his 1854 lecture “The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered” relies heavily on the scientific connotations of climate, which he used to argue that different races were determined by climate. Climate for Douglas was the foundational concept that would help him subvert polygenetic theories of black inferiority. Thinking through Douglas would help release the centrality of climate to mere matters of technological rationale as it’s often regarded in discussion of the architecture of ‘man’s environment’. Similarly, architecture’s inclusion of Booker T. Washington as indicated above would offer a different history to studies related to design-build discourse. Early in his study Du Bois cautioned against conflating “slum districts” with physical environments. The danger of flattening the term slum with an urban physical condition comprised merely of material degradation would become common practice in sociological studies of federal renewal programs. Reading the Black Seventh Ward as a configuration of vibrant black identities structured around churches, schools, and residences, rather as a physical condition.

the Seventh Ward.

The link between Du Bois's approach to visualization of "fieldwork" and arrival of urban-oriented research through "fieldwork" in architectural education has never been made, perhaps because it undermines the tendency for architectural education to focus on teleological sketches of hero figures and their concepts.⁸² Considering Black life in 1899, Du Bois shaped the trajectory of urban sociology decades before Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess. This fact, considered in the light of the enduring role that the Chicago School's urban models would play in architecture's own formulations of urbanism, insists that Du Bois's work be understood as an alternative history of urbanism in the U.S.

In this way, Du Bois's study of the Seventh Ward becomes an entry point to discuss the changes in architectural education during the 1950s and into the 1960s. The University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia provides a particularly clear example of the currency that urban research would hold, and in particular "fieldwork" as it was promoted by a group of architecture and planning faculty in the newly established Civic Design Program. In the following section, I argue that in their emphasis on using the method of fieldwork to observe the built space around them, both Du Bois and the architect and planner Denise Scott Brown, who was teaching at Penn and practicing in Philadelphia, set up a sociological contribution to the way architecture and planning would be taught. While their methods were separated by decades, both took distinct approaches to fieldwork, and both emphasized or deployed new visualization techniques.

Venturi Scott Brown and Associates' Crosstown Community on South Street:

⁸² At a time when architectural education in the U.S. was still largely Beaux-Arts influenced, Du Bois's work predated many of the conceptual mapping strategies of city districts as a facet of architectural practice and education.

“Philadelphia’s ‘Mason-Dixon Line’”

In 1967, Denise Scott Brown unknowingly traced the footsteps of Du Bois with a camera in hand, walking down South Street toward the historic district of Philadelphia’s Black Seventh Ward.⁸³ In rehearsing her own understanding of the practice of fieldwork, Denise Scott Brown searched for a type of social organization of street life along South in the manner that she had been taught by William Whyte and Herbert Gans during her master’s education in City Planning at the University of Pennsylvania.

The same South Street that Du Bois observed in 1899—and that Denise Scott Brown sought “to understand” sixty-eight years later—had undergone radical change.⁸⁴ By the 1960s, an aggressive Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority established in 1945 had unveiled the city’s plan to build an eight-lane expressway through South Street in 1947.⁸⁵ Referred to by protesters as “Philadelphia’s Mason-Dixon Line”⁸⁶ for its function to create a physical separation between “‘white middle and upper class community’ and the ‘poorer and greatly neglected Negro area,’” the highway, named the Crosstown Expressway was set to connect the interstate highways I-95 and I-76 (the Schuylkill Expressway) built in 1951 (*Figure 1.2*). According to sociologist Marcus Anthony Hunter, the mere anticipation of the Crosstown Expressway prompted many “to

⁸³ When Du Bois wrote *The Philadelphia Negro*, he referred to the area as the Seventh Ward. I use the term “Black Seventh Ward” as Hunter names it in *Black Citymakers*.

⁸⁴ From an interview with Denise Scott Brown on Hidden Philly (hiddenphilly.org). It is an example of creating a static image from urban research, obfuscating the complexities of the relationship between Black bodies in space as constantly moving in the way that Du Bois saw it. Here, I analyze what Scott Brown claimed as guiding principles of urban research to that of Du Bois. Situating her work within the long history of the study of South Street, renders a starkly different problem.

⁸⁵ Hunter, *Black Citymakers*, 114–115. Hunter offers a fulsome chronological history of the Black Seventh Ward after Du Bois left. In the chapter, “Philadelphia’s ‘Mason-Dixon Line,’” Hunter outlines the impact of renewal plans and the activist work of Black Philadelphians who worked against renewal.

⁸⁶ The Mason-Dixon line was the arbitrary line drawn in 1763 between the northern “free” states like Pennsylvania, and the Southern states.

forgo property maintenance and to sell their businesses [...] at wholesale prices. While some residents with means were able to move out of the declining area to neighboring wards, nearly 6,000 black residents were left behind in dilapidated housing with no idea if, when, and where they would have to move.”⁸⁷

Walking along South Street, Scott Brown would have noticed the remnants of this type of flight at work. Leftover storefronts like “King’s Confectionary” caught her attention, and she photographed two Black school children standing next to the former shop windows filled not with candy, but with advertisements for the films *The Wild Bunch* and *The Split* showing at the Globe Theater.⁸⁸ (Figure 1.3) She captures a momentary exchange of glances between herself and the schoolchildren, appearing as though the children are smiling for her. Scott Brown’s photographs were taken while she and her husband Robert Venturi were at work on an “alternative proposal” for South Street (submitted under the aegis of Venturi, Scott Brown, and Associates). Her images of storefronts, storefront signage, window displays, perspectival views of streets, and street corners were all recordings of spaces that she had personally made while wandering the neighborhood, perhaps considering what the crosstown expressway would have done to it.

In 1968, Venturi and Scott Brown were introduced to the Citizens’ Committee to

⁸⁷ Hunter, *Black Citymakers*: 116.

⁸⁸ This photo and many others of this kind of documentary photographs have only recently become visible in promotional editorials in anticipation of her forthcoming book *the Wayward Eye*. *The Wayward Eye* from Venice to Venice which displayed most of her well known photographic studies of Venice Beach and the Las Vegas Strip as exhibition mounted at the Venice Biennale also put forward by the Betts Gallery in Venice. The film posters actually date DSB’s photos that are undated. Most of the photos in her collection of photographic studies of South Street are presented in *Wayward Eye* as “studies.” This photo, that includes posters with *Split* (1968) and *The Wild Bunch* (1969) whose release dates of 1968 and 1969 respectively, must have been taken after their study of South Street dated 1968 and published in *Architectural Forum* in 1971. Denise Scott Brown, “An Alternate Proposal that Builds on the Character and Population of South Street,” *Architectural Forum*, 135 (1971): 42–44.

Preserve and Develop the Crosstown Community (CCPDC), led by Alice Lipscomb and George Dukes, two Black residents (Hunter calls them Black Seventh Warders).⁸⁹ Two stories exist on Venturi Scott Brown's involvement with the Crosstown Expressway and the CCPDC. Venturi Scott Brown Associates explain that their involvement with the Crosstown Expressway began when the CCPDC approached them to produce an alternative plan that I will detail later in this chapter. The other story is that Venturi had inherited his father's fruit store on South Street, and through this connection Venturi Scott Brown encountered the CCPDC.

In another of Scott Brown's photographs, "BLACK POWER" is scrawled across the glass of an empty storefront window in yellow spray paint (*Figure 1.4*). A flyer of Councilman Jim Tayoun is seen taped over a yellowed sheet of torn paper, held up by ripped tabs of box tape reading "rummage sale." Read as collection of materials, the photograph suggests itself as an assembled collage image that followed the principles of "disjunction and fragmentation." Collage as art, according to art historian George Baker, is a "language of depletion and deletion, more destructive than constructive in essence."⁹⁰ While Baker is describing the medium of collage as carrying aspects of "precarity" by way of its "provisional and handmade" nature, the terms precarity, provisional, disjunctive and destructive, were terms that began to show up in the lexicon of the American sociologists. In this exact moment of the late 1960s, when Scott Brown chose to photograph the collage-like condition of South Street—in need of what she called "rehabilitation"—began to use the long-standing method of "documentary" photography as a

⁸⁹ Hunter spends significant time introducing readers to Lipscomb, who cites historian Robin D. G. Kelley's to describe Lipscomb as an activist with "infrapolitical" ambitions. Infrapolitics is a term Kelley is borrowing from James Scott. For Hunter an example of infrapolitics is the "sociopolitical history that gave rise to the Crosstown Expressway" and offers a local fight against renewal, stressing the CCPDC's role rather than merely the presence of the NAACP as instrumental in inciting change.

⁹⁰ George Baker, "Viva Hate," in *Richard Hawkins: Third Mind*, ed. Lisa Dorin, Ali Subotnick, and George Baker (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 41.

tool to convey a certain kind of dilapidated character to poor Black neighborhoods.⁹¹

At first glance, it might seem as though Scott Brown was trying to demonstrate a certain sensitivity to race by photographing Black children and signs that read BLACK POWER. However, the result of her camera served to abstract the neighborhood through her lens. Scott Brown's images ultimately fixed bodies in space and time, contrary to the ways in which Du Bois's charts and graphs represented change over time.⁹² If Scott Brown's photos presented Black neighborhoods as static spaces of disparate textures, ad-hoc materials, chain link fences, clapboard shingles and slat fences, then Du Bois's figures did the opposite: Black life could be seen as fluid, moving, and improving. Scott Brown's image making was a process of abstraction that pieced together particular parts of a neighborhood, contributing to the problem of the slum being perceived as a simple fact. If the slum was a product of the color line that could be cartographically identified, then photography was a method for reproducing it. This assembly is what Lisa Uddin says contributed to the creation of "slum myths" that "subsume the particularities [and underlying human scale] of actual places with an abstraction of urban disequilibrium and menace."⁹³ While Scott Brown was not necessarily attempting to create a

⁹¹ Venturi Scott Brown Associates, *The Philadelphia Crosstown Expressway*. Urban renewal photos of this kind can be found in both popular press, newspapers and of course city planning departments who hired photographers to document neighborhoods they could deem blighted and in need of renewal. For a history of renewal in Los Angeles and the use of photography in the redevelopment plans of Chavez Ravine, see Dana Cuff, *The Provisional City: Los Angeles Stories of Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002).

⁹² Hartman explains that Du Bois's diagrams represented "change over time; they detailed the advances and regresses, the stops and starts of history, offering a visual account of black movement—rush, strike, and swarm." Hartman, *Wayward Lives*, 111.

⁹³ Alan Mayne, as quoted in Lisa Uddin, *Zoo Renewal: White Flight and the Animal Ghetto* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 74–90. The myths "subsume the particularities (and underlying human scale) of actual places with an abstraction of urban disequilibrium and menace." Uddin, *Zoo Renewal*, 74–90. Uddin cautions how slum myths conflate "actual places with an abstraction of urban disequilibrium." She offers a history of both federal urban renewal photographs and media portrayals of Black poverty. Uddin, *Zoo Renewal*, 74–90, 110–113.

slum myth, her own sense of removal—abstracting the neighborhood through the camera lens—was a crucial component for her version of “fieldwork” to occur.⁹⁴

Learning Fieldwork: Scott Brown’s Student Years at Penn

Scott Brown learned this type of observation as a form of “fieldwork” during her studies at Penn. Trained as a planner, Scott Brown studied in the City Planning Department at Penn as it was undergoing significant changes. G. Holmes Perkins, the Dean of the School of Fine Arts at Penn, was introducing a new program called Civic Design that tried to combine the sister disciplines of architecture, city planning, and landscape architecture into one school. Scott Brown studied under Herbert Gans during her master’s education, and she participated in a studio led by David Crane, a planner who had worked as a research assistant for Kevin Lynch and arrived at Penn to head the Civic Design program from MIT.⁹⁵ For Gans’s class, Scott Brown submitted a comparative analysis of housing in the U.S. and her hometown of Johannesburg, South Africa. (*Figure 1.5*) During her years at Penn, she recalls that Harry Sternfeld disapproved of Perkins’ goal to emphasize “Housing, Urban Renewal, Welfare Projects and similar collective and mass complexes” rather than “Sangallo or Michele Sanmicheli to understand, or achieve their unity of simplicity, vigor, dignity, grace, distinction, and refinement.”⁹⁶ Juries, as Scott Brown recalled, were a “grand interdisciplinary affair,” where

⁹⁴ She explains that South Street was “A most important lesson was the need to understand and respond to an urban context that is broader than the physical.” In referring to her studies on Las Vegas, Denise Scott Brown claimed. Denise Scott Brown and A Papadakēs, *Urban Concepts* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990), 7.

⁹⁵ Gans’s work with Lynch resulted in alternative plans for the new city of Chandigarh. For a description of the studio: see David A. Crane. “Chandigarh Reconsidered.” *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*. AIA, May 1960: 32–39.

⁹⁶ Jan Rowan, in Strong, Ann L. *The Book of the School :100 Years: The Graduate School of Fine Arts of the University of Pennsylvania*. First Edition. UNIV OF PA+PRESS, 1990.

conversations around “economics, law, demography, transportation studies, and other areas of planning” drew faculty members like William Wheaton, Lewis Mumford, Robert Geddes, Charles Abrams, Paul Davidoff, Herbert Gans, Robert Mitchel, and Martin Meyerson from City Planning, Ian McHarg from Landscape, and Louis Kahn from architecture. In short, Penn was a space of interdisciplinary exchange and discussion, even if the faculty disagreed on the methods for teaching architecture. In describing the conversation from juries during her years as a student at Penn, Scott Brown recalls that architects such as Louis Kahn “sat shaking his head at what the social planners had wrought. His critique of the social was that they planned for statistical entities such as ‘2.5 people.’” Kahn cautioned planners that the city was indeed “for people,” but the complexity of urban design required more than oversimplified numbers.⁹⁷

During her studies at Penn, Scott Brown recalls how Gans had an impact on her thinking. Gans had recently completed his PhD in the doctoral program at Penn (in 1957).⁹⁸ With his previous history working as a planner for the Chicago Housing Authority (1946) and briefly for the federal government's Division of Slum Clearance, Gans was hired as an assistant professor in the City Planning Department. During his time at Penn, Gans began his study on Italian-American families living in Boston's West End, which culminated in his book, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (1962). One of the key components of the book was “fieldwork,” or what Gans called “participant-observation.” Combining methods of “urban fieldwork” that he had learned under Everett Hughes at the Chicago School of Sociology and professional work experience that exposed him to urban renewal projects, Gans

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ His dissertation, titled “Recreation Planning for Leisure Behavior: A Goal-Oriented Approach” was completed under the guidance of social scientist and planner Martin Meyerson in 1957.

came to “observe” a “vibrant” “tight-knit community” that should be saved rather than razed precisely through his ethnographic fieldwork. In other words, it was through the act of going and living among his sample group and observing that Gans registered in his schema of evidence that Boston’s West End was a “tight-knit community.”⁹⁹ Crucially, he argued the “extensive fieldwork” was key to dislodging top down approaches to city decision-making, a philosophy he would impart on his student, Scott Brown. After studying under Gans and asking for a teaching position at Penn, Scott Brown initiated a research studio that extended both Gans’s emphasis on fieldwork and David Crane’s emphasis on hand-eye coordination learned from Lynch.

In the following sections, I detail how fieldwork coincided with Penn’s broader emphasis on social science research and how the Graduate School of Fine Arts within Penn responded to this shift in the university with the formation of the Civic Design Program and the faculty hired to teach urban research within the program. I then describe how the legacy of “fieldwork” as it was taught by Denise Scott Brown via Herbert Gans exists in the practice of site analysis today. Crucially, as architecture and planning adopted “fieldwork” from urban sociology and incorporated it into architectural pedagogy, fieldwork itself lost its most important component: its commitment to address issues of race and racial inequality that were connected to urban planning. By examining the visual output of Denise Scott Brown’s “fieldwork” as she taught them in the classroom setting of the studio and within her own architectural practice, I argue that the architectural studio became the place where engaged fieldwork lost its way.

The Civic Design Program at Penn

The Birth of Urban Design Research: “A Community Service Institution”

⁹⁹ Herbert J. Gans, *Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York : London: The Free Press, 1982).

The Civic Design Program (CDP) at the University of Pennsylvania was born, rhetorically at least, out of a pressing need to train architects how to design cities. Established in 1956, the Civic Design Program at Penn was one of the first in a series of new urban design programs that were formed in the United States.¹⁰⁰ The CDP stressed research, in particular, urban-oriented research. Offered as a two-year supplement to degrees in architecture, city planning and landscape architecture, the Civic Design program was the much-needed nexus between the department of architecture's Beaux-Arts design agenda and city planning's emphasis on social research as a pathway to reform cities.¹⁰¹ (*Figure 1.6*)

Established during the ascendancy of urban renewal, cold war politics, and what has recently been described as the era of American social science regime, where enhancing social science methods in the School of Fine Arts such as establishing a Civic Design Program and a PhD Program in City Planning demonstrated the currency that research knowledge would come to hold and most relevant to this for this chapter is the point that this took place in the moment of racial tension.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ The formation of urban design programs at Harvard (1960) MIT (1970) Cornell (1967). From 1956 to 1967 the U.S. witnessed variations of the GSD's urban design Program. Wheaton, William L. C., "Memorandum regarding a program in urban criticism," *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, accessed February 2, 2020, https://rockfound.rockarch.org/digital-library-listing/-/asset_publisher/yYxpQfeI4W8N/content/memorandum-regarding-a-program-in-urban-criticismRockefellerArchiveCenter,RockefellerFoundationrecords,projects,RG1.2,series200.R,box456,folder3900

¹⁰¹ Penn Architecture Bulletin, The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania [hereafter AAUP] G. Holmes Perkins [hereafter GHP] Call No. 054.319-20.

¹⁰² Herbert Gans would be one of the first to graduate from this program, Schrum explains how City Planning was considered to be a useful doctoral program. Based on what was called the Educational Survey, a four-year study designed to promote the concept of "professional experts," the Educational Survey was instrumental to the advancement of higher education in universities across the United States, and the results of the survey quickened the School of Fine Arts to form a graduate program (which included the PhD in City Planning), renamed the Graduate School of Fine arts.

The CDP was under the purview of architect and planner, G. Holmes Perkins who was recruited from Harvard by the President of Penn, Gaylord Harnwell, to transform the School of Fine Arts, and in particular transform the architecture department. G. Holmes Perkins' arrival at Penn in 1951 was timely. Like many cities across the U.S., Penn collaborated with the city of Philadelphia for urban renewal funds, and carved West Philadelphia into the university city it is today. No university campus used urban renewal funds more aggressively than Penn. Spanning 80 blocks and using over a dozen separate renewal assistance funds, Penn's campus expansion was directed west toward the city's historic core, dividing the city and expediting white suburban affluence and central-city poverty.

The residue of urban renewal universities on cities is not unfamiliar: Mies' IIT campus in Chicago, McKim White and Mead's Columbia Master Plan for Morningside Heights are well known, the politics of these campus expansion plans had far reaching consequences on architecture's self-identity, and nowhere more transformative than at Penn. In an opening statement for a university-wide convocation, President Harnwell (1953–1970) defined the tenants of a top tier research university: “a university is a community of men and women united in their concern with the significant problems of men and devoted to the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge relative to these problems.”¹⁰³

Arguing that the university needed to adopt and emphasize social community services, Harnwell informally renamed the school a “community service institution.”¹⁰⁴ To do this, Harnwell both physically and organizationally restructured Penn; he halted the previous agenda

¹⁰³ Ethan Schrum, “Administering American Modernity: The Instrumental University in the Postwar United States” (2009): 83. Gaylord P. Harnwell, address at opening convocation, 25 September 1953, 5, UPNB (Box B63, Folder3), UPA.

¹⁰⁴ Schrum, “Administering American Modernity.”

to relocate Penn to the suburbs in Valley Forge in favor of developing the campus inside the city.¹⁰⁵

As chair of the physics department for 15 years before accepting the position as president of the university, Harnwell acknowledged the growing reliance on research to advance not only the sciences, but all aspects of “technology life.” Here, research and “educated manpower,” would provide the “essential know-how in science, technology, business management and human relations.”¹⁰⁶ If Penn promoted this type of specialized research as a teachable science, then Harnwell’s agenda for society to rely on higher education for all things pertaining to the business of human relations would be fulfilled, and architecture and city planning would serve a particularly expedient role in facilitating this vision.

Perkins was ready to implement Harnwell’s vision. As both director of the City Planning Commission and the Dean of the School of Fine Arts, Perkins was poised to transform the school into a “community service institution.” As early as 1952, G. Holmes Perkins seized the opportunity to fulfill President Harnwell’s vision and reified how architecture should participate in the shaping of cities, remove “blight” and improve conditions that expressed the society. From his experience teaching at Harvard, Perkins believed in the positive role that modern science, steeped in scientific research, could have on architecture. His readiness to cultivate architects equipped to address the complexities of large-scale projects was in part due to his own experience as an architect planner.

¹⁰⁵ John L Puckett and Mark Frazier Lloyd, *Becoming Penn: The Pragmatic American University, 1950-2000*, 2015.

¹⁰⁶ For more on the state of university as a tool for the government, see Stuart W. Leslie, *The Cold War and American Science: The Military-Industrial-Academic Complex at MIT and Stanford* (New York: ACLS History E-Book Project, 2005); Gaylord P. Harnwell, notes for Baltimore Alumni Club speech, April 20, 1956, p. 2, AR, Box 1053, Folder: Speeches 1954-1960, UPA.

Before he was recruited from the Department of Regional Planning at Harvard (1945), Perkins worked for the National Housing Authority in D.C. in 1942 and was most recognizable to an architecture audience for his project proposal titled *Housing Economics*, featured in Architectural Forum's *The New House 194X*. As the project title suggests, Perkins in collaboration with Robert Little, put forward a design scheme that detailed the economic benefits that a simple dialogue between the fields of construction, planning and finance would render.¹⁰⁷

Perkins was well versed in the world of federal and state funding and applied his firsthand knowledge as the former director of the housing authority's Urban Development division to expedite federal support for Penn's campus expansion. Supplementing his deanship with a position as chairman of the City Planning Commission, Perkins oversaw much of the physical development of Penn. He not only navigated through the red tape of zoning regulations, but balanced the desires of university trustees as well as his own agenda to build his legacy on the Penn campus. In these ways, the intersection between city government and the University is clear.

Perkins' commitment to the city, and much of the structural changes to what would become the Graduate School of the Fine Arts, was a product of his experience working under Joseph Hudnut at the Graduate School of Design.¹⁰⁸ When Hudnut established the GSD in 1936, Perkins was already part of the young faculty and witnessed the changes that Hudnut would advance, in particular Hudnut's belief that practicing the city would be the architect's greatest

¹⁰⁷ He is also part of The American Society of Planners and Architects (ASPA) which was established in 1944 and spearheaded by Joseph Hudnut.

¹⁰⁸ This mixture was a product of rivalry between Hudnut and Walter Gropius slowed Hudnut's decentralist vision to locate urban design alongside proponents of the Garden City movement. See Jill Pearlman, *Inventing American Modernism: Joseph Hudnut, Walter Gropius*. Every architect and planner from Christopher Tunnard to Lewis Mumford taught at the GSD, and would go on to eventually head their own institute or program in urban design.

asset. But Perkins would depart from Hudnut's ambitions by shifting urban design away from the first architects at the GSD who identified themselves as urban designers. These architects emerged in American academic circles during the 1920 and 30s and they claimed a concern for the improvement of urban life and described the possibility of a new and ordered, modern way of living. This pursuit was particularly coherent at Harvard, where lectures and courses on urban design emphasized architecture's unique role in constructing the city. Led primarily by European educators, concepts such as Le Corbusier's, 'towers-in-the park,' Ludwig Hilbersiemer's 'vertical city,' and Cornelis van Eesteren's functional zones were kept alive by Walter Gropius and later Josep Lluís Sert.¹⁰⁹ In 1936, American cities faced similar issues that modern architects tried to address in Europe at the turn of the century including overcrowding and congestion. The GSD made clear that architecture's relationship to the urban came in the form of infrastructure. One only needs to recall Sert's frontispiece for *Can Our Cities Survive* to remember the role that transportation infrastructure would play in crafting the architect's vision of the city, united as a vast freeway network. But the possibility of architecture's participation in physical building and infrastructure to support unfettered growth belied the role of social instability rather than building in forging architecture's relationship to urbanism.

Not surprisingly, European models—CIAM urbanism in particular—were advanced at the GSD as appropriate solutions to urban issues of their time. One uniquely American issue not discussed was the major influx of Black southerners migrating into northern cities, and the urbanism of racial segregation that would ensue. As reform-minded elites sought to reorganize society from an agrarian to an urban order, architecture schools taught students to respond with

¹⁰⁹ Eric Mumford, *Defining Urban Design: CIAM Architects and the Formation of a Discipline, 1937–69* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

low-income housing which adhered to European standards of light, air and green space.¹¹⁰ In this way, architects contributed to the Progressive reform movement with physical building, but never expanded their agenda.

Architecture did not address or even question certain injustices in the design and planning of residential areas segregated by race, and as a whole, architecture did not participate in much of the conversations around race relations research amongst sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists.¹¹¹ By establishing an entirely new program that would train architects in pragmatics of planning and conversely training planners how to design, the CDP tried to distinguish itself from the physical planning emphasized by the urban designers at the GSD, and opened up the possibility for architectural education to be in tune with the changing nature of the city, with habitants, and a chance to directly address race relations in Philadelphia. Among the faculty that Perkins would hire to help him carry out this vision was sociologist Herbert Gans, who would make a lasting impact on the CDP and on architectural education to come.

From Fieldwork to Site Analysis

Of course, Perkins understood the changing nature of urban focused studios in the 1950s and saw the merit of requiring an early research phase before developing designs, explaining the change in studio processes as one where “Knowledge began to replace intuition.” A practice that would combine the principles of design and research was to found in urban design. To accomplish this, his faculty hires were not simply architects trained in planning, but planners and architects trained in law and urban sociology. Herbert Gans, Paul Davidoff, and Denise Scott

¹¹⁰ Tridib Banerjee and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, *The New Companion to Urban Design*, 2019.

¹¹¹ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 2007): 5–6.

Brown each arrived at Penn independently and for distinct reasons. By 1960 however, they would decide to develop an entirely new technique for “researching” they called conducting “fieldwork.”¹¹²

The import of fieldwork into the CDP can be traced to the sociologist Herbert Gans who was also one of the first planners to receive his doctoral degree in 1957 from Penn’s PhD program in City Planning. Gans began teaching in the City Planning Department immediately after completing his degree and taught young Denise Scott Brown, who entered the City Planning department as a master’s student in the fall of 1958. Prior to studying at Penn, Gans received his master’s degree in sociology at the University of Chicago (1950), where “fieldwork” was being taught. According to Everett Hughes, who taught students in sociology, social psychology, and anthropology in the Chicago School of Urban Sociology, fieldwork was a method where “you get close to people, you study them, and you develop a theory out of your head and out of your data.”¹¹³ Thought to be a particularly useful tool for understanding one’s specific urban condition, fieldwork was taught in courses such as Introduction to Field Studies, which, according to Gans, was “the only qualitative option at Chicago” and considered distinct from the “survey research” taught at Columbia.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Perkins inherited faculty such Louis Kahn, Lewis Mumford, William Wheaton, and Ian McHarg, whose teachings, architectural approach, and theoretical thinking made an impact on students and faculty such as Denise Scott Brown. These faculty would chime in like a choir, offering push back and dialogue, and they were mostly influential in their steadfast relationship to modern architecture. Ann Strong and George E. Thomas, *The Book of the School: 100 Years* (Philadelphia: Graduate School of Fine Arts, 1991).

¹¹³ Herbert Gans, describing his experience taking courses with Everett Hughes. Strong and Thomas, *The Book of the School: 100 Years*, 380.

¹¹⁴ Herbert Gans, in an interview in David Apter et al., “The Chicago School and the Roots of Urban Ethnography,” *Ethnography* 10, no. 4 (2009): 379. Full quote: “I was among the qualitative researchers, though we had no name for ourselves at that time, and ethnography as a separate field had not been invented yet.”

The import of fieldwork in architecture can be most readily seen in the practice of site analysis performed by architects and planners. While Hughes was describing how to observe people, site analysis often involved getting students into the site and close to the buildings and surrounding objects, infrastructure, or open spaces. After observation or study of the location, site analysis provided the student with basic “data”—what Perkins would consider knowledge-led designs rather than intuition—to develop a concept for their project. Site analysis is absolutely fundamental to the architect-urban planner in training; it is taught and practiced so readily in architectural education that it has become as a kind of common sense. Its centrality in architectural pedagogy at Penn and specifically within the Civic Design program is unmistakable. Site analysis at the CDP was one of the central and perhaps simultaneously most up-for-grabs, because it was one of the most complex methods out of the tools taught in urban-focused architecture studio instruction then and now, so much so that there is, now, a lot of literature on site analysis in terms of how we teach it, how to do it, and what it means. However, there is very little information about where it comes from. Architecture circles very rarely recognize its origins and how its origins have or have not influenced current architectural pedagogy. The core term from which site analysis derives is fundamentally fieldwork. At Penn even with the force of the trio of Gans, Davidoff and Scott Brown, “fieldwork” as it endured through architecture came to mean the visual image-making through mapping, cataloging and photographing, with little connection to the original significance of ‘fieldwork’ as it was developed to understand race relations.

In the hands of the Chicago School, fieldwork was developed to explicitly address urban planning issues and for figures such as Louis Wirth and Herbert Gans, as part of the second

generation.¹¹⁵ Urban sociologists used fieldwork to address urban planning issues as they were connected to issues connected to race and racial inequality. In 1991, Herbert Gans republished his widely assigned essays, each significantly rewritten to highlight some of the racial issues that were inherent to the questions he was interested in unpacking but were not explicitly stated. Referencing the title of his most popular book, *People and Plans: Essays on Urban Problems and Solutions* (1968), Gans titled the reprinted book *People, Plans, and Policies: Essays on Poverty, Racism, and Other National Problems*. The title change alone suggests Gans's desire to address race. He is also more candid about his motivations in the preface, where he admits that city planning as he entered the field in 1950 was too focused on "land-use-related" issues. He writes, "I was struck by how much it was...dedicated to a set of narrowly architectural goals and to land use and design programs for realizing them."¹¹⁶ This observation, he explains, led him to write a critique on city planning practice that heavily focused on "urban problems" as a factor of misappropriated land-use rather than

urban problems, poverty, joblessness, the scarcity of decent jobs [...] racism and other kinds of inequality. These were really far more serious and wide-ranging urban problems than the land-use-related ones the city planners of the time were dealing with, for their effects touched nearly everyone, non-poor as well as poor people.¹¹⁷

In the 1991 reprint, Gans explicitly claims that his interest in social policy and his critique of planning at the time were wrestling with issues around "poverty and racism and racial inequality" even if he did not explicitly state them as such in the majority of the essays he wrote

¹¹⁵ Gans was not the only person bringing in different methods, ideas and theories from their education outside of architecture into the architecture and Civic Design Program at Penn. A collective discourse was being developed at Penn with people like Lewis Mumford and Louis Kahn who were teaching at Penn at the same time. I refer to this vibrant conversation in the section on the history of the CDP in this chapter. AAUP, GHP 1957-58, Faculty, Call no. 054.243.

¹¹⁶ Herbert J. Gans, *People and Plans: Essays on Urban Problems and Solutions* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1968).

¹¹⁷ Gans, *People and Plans*, ix.

during the 1960s,¹¹⁸ and *People Plans and Policies: Essays on Poverty, Racism, and Other National Problems* allowed him pivot and re-present material in manner that emphasized certain racially motivated questions. However, it would be safe to assume that, at the time, sociologists like Gans coming from the Chicago School were in fact not fully aware that their studies had a racial component¹¹⁹ in the way that Gans retroactively admits that it did.

Even when academics presented social science research and used their research in a range of planning projects and antipoverty programs, and even if they used social scientific data in a way that included racially-motivated ends in the way that Gans could look back twenty years later and amend, sociologists presented data in a such a way that fixed the data as static information. This particular aspect or import of social science research is particularly visible in student work produced in the Civic Design Program at Penn, where instructors taught students to pull statistical data such as census tracts and use these data as evidence for legitimating certain design decisions. To understand the difference between fixed data and dynamic data, one would need to revisit the work of Du Bois, who made social science research primary to his study of Black Philadelphians and deployed it in a such a way that revealed a community in flux, ever-evolving, and by no means fixed in space or time.

In her role at Penn, Scott Brown experimented with new visual modes of data representation that promised to reconfigure this familiar practice of survey and analysis. Learning how to analyze, rather than create goals, was key. In her research studios focusing on South Street in Philadelphia, Scott Brown tested different methods of conducting “fieldwork” for

¹¹⁸ One exception the report Gans was commissioned to write for the Kerner Commission and Moynihan Report that I will detail later in this chapter.

¹¹⁹ Perhaps the one significant exception is Drake and Clayton’s *Black Metropolis*. St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Clayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

architecture and planning students by emphasizing how to think through new formats for visualizing surveys and traditional site analysis. This ambition shone through in her students' work, which included statistical data represented through charts and spreadsheets.

In one particular student's final project, statistical information on the number of existing parking garages (*Figure 1.7*) was presented as her facts. In this way, statistical charts that took stock of items such as the number of housing types according to housing needs served as evidence to support a specific type of "rational" intervention or goal (*Figure 1.8*). As Scott Brown developed planning's reliance on social scientific data, the format for visualizing the fieldwork also developed. In her South Street Studio, student output was entirely made up of statistical charts.¹²⁰ In the same way that Scott Brown's photographs present themselves as factual representations, Davidoff's charts presented real information in the abstracted form of straight lines, figures, and numbers. I read these charts as "signifiers of spatialization" and operating in the same terrain as her maps and photos.¹²¹

A central concern for the studio was trying to figure out how to create a process of goals or decision making based on statistical tables. This involved going out, observing, counting, and graphically presenting their data as a series of numbers. Even though the statistics and data accumulated was geared toward training the student in "fieldwork," the tabulated and statistical information gathered began to be used solely as a reason to impose certain design decisions.

Denise Scott Brown's Studio Course

¹²⁰ Student work produced studio entitled Architecture 802 A South Broad street, offered in 1964 and 1966 rendered student reports, written reports with quotes from Ralph Elision are part of the work students submitted. The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection [Hereafter AAUP VSBC].

¹²¹ Donna Haraway, "Deanimations: Maps and Portraits of Life Itself." Peter Galison and Caroline A. Jones, *Picturing Science, Producing Art* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 184.

Denise Scott Brown and Paul Davidoff each based their courses on a goals-oriented approach: Scott Brown, with a studio on South Street, and Paul Davidoff, on the concept of Goal Alternatives for Philadelphia (GAP). (*Figure 1.9*) Denise Scott Brown, who was one of the first city planning faculty members hired by Perkins to teach urban design in the CDP, recalls her years teaching: “I was trying to see architecture and urbanism—physical urbanism—as being determined by forces within the society, and in the environment, and in the technology—as being a facet of the culture of a society.”¹²²

When Denise Scott Brown taught the introductory course on urban design, she included two new sections that were not in David Crane’s course taught the year before.¹²³ One was a section on the teaching method and course objectives, which gave students the opportunity to gain a working knowledge of

1. The nature of vision and perception and the principles of design
2. The nature of urban form and its constituents
3. Means of communication of ideas to others using different tools and techniques,
4. A systematic approach toward solving problems of form
5. The broadest field of city making – philosophy, history, goals, values, ideals, processes, etc.

The second addition to the 1960 version of the syllabus included questions that asked, among other things, whether the student could find their way through Central Philadelphia or Levittown without a map; how long one should commute; the student’s “psychic and physiological reaction” to spaces; and whether the city could express the values of its inhabitants. With these course objectives, it is not surprising then that required reading included texts by György Kepes and Kevin Lynch, who were both influential in shaping design-oriented thinking in architecture.

¹²² Denise Scott Brown, oral history interview, October 25, 1990–November 9, 1991, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institute.

¹²³ David Crane was the head of CDP.

These terms and the five working methods taught and promoted by Scott Brown suggested that physical changes in the city were determined by social and cultural forces—philosophical, historical, ideological, and the like. Indeed, these terms echoed so much of the Chicago School of urban sociologists, who traced social structural forces to “technological development and demographic change” as the precursors of urban change.

The Chicago School emphasized the importance of large social structures; however, the architects missed the very reasons why the Chicago School emphasized social groups. In tracing the history of urban sociology and race relations, Leah Gordon points to how the Chicago School shifted their approach from studying the individual to “formal institutions—such as labor unions, government agencies, corporations, or neighborhood clubs—and informal social collectives” as shaping race relations and “systemic discrimination.”¹²⁴ Urban sociologists like Louis Wirth (who Denise Scott Brown assigned as a reading in her courses) intentionally shifted focus away from studying the relevance of individual attitudes in favor of stressing social and political collectives and systems, in order to study race through larger social structures.¹²⁵ In trying to “measure” racial tension, urban sociologists realized (albeit rather slowly and with significant resistance) that studying individual white attitudes about race as the “unit of analysis” was fundamentally flawed. In missing this crucial correction on the part of the Chicago School, the architecture faculty, including Scott Brown and Paul Davidoff (discussed in the next section), reinforced individual experience, individual observation, and modes of perception.

¹²⁴ Leah N. Gordon, *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015). Gordon also traces the concept of institutional racism to this moment when the Chicago School study shifts from individual to institutions as the thing that is informing racial attitudes.

¹²⁵ Zane L. Miller, “Pluralism, Chicago School Style: Louis Wirth, the Ghetto, the City, and ‘Integration,’” *Journal of Urban History* 18, no. 3 (May 1992): 251–79.

Denise Scott Brown has been the most outspoken about her teaching career and her self-characterization as a social planner: “Keeping these two together has been an aim of my life, from long before I came to America, but very much by being involved with the genesis of the social planning movement in America at Penn.”¹²⁶ Yet her syllabi oppose both her own self-characterization and what architectural history has claimed about her contributions.

CDP Studios: Paul Davidoff and Denise Scott Brown

In a parallel studio offered in the CDP, Paul Davidoff—a newly-hired faculty member in the City Planning Department—taught a course on “value formulation.” For Davidoff, the obscurity of whether it was value of land, property, or social value was the point. His studio course, GAP: Goal Alternatives for Philadelphia, examined how to create goals, rather than simply analyze.¹²⁷ In keeping with the maps and statistical data produced in CDP research studios, Davidoff’s course further reinforced Perkins’ “goals-oriented research” toward effecting a plan.¹²⁸

Trained in law, Davidoff translated much of his knowledge of legal research into “advocacy planning,” a theory of planning based on pluralism. According to Davidoff, the GAP was a theory of urbanism and planning that would include a concept of “democratic community planning.” The term would become foundational for his theory for advocacy, but at this stage,

¹²⁶ Denise Scott Brown, oral history interview, October 25, 1990–November 9, 1991, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institute.

¹²⁷ Planning Studio 603 GAP: Goal Alternatives for Philadelphia. Paul Davidoff. University of Pennsylvania, Department of City Planning, Spring Term, 1962. AAUP GHP Call no. 054. 291. 1962, Fall, City Planning. Paul Davidoff.

¹²⁸ He assigned Charles Abrams, “Urban Land Problems and Policies.” Under reading set “Housing, Real Estate, Residential Land.”

democratic planning simply meant including voices from the neighborhood. Davidoff assumed, of course, that the planning process could be improved by teaching white planners how to advocate. In the next chapter, I discuss this legal conceptualization of *advocacy* in more detail, through the lens of Black architecture students who criticized advocacy planning as paternalistic. In many ways, GAP outlined the contours of what would become advocacy planning (tested in his courses taught in the CDP) and emphasized how planners should focus on developing goals rather than remaining in the far too often, “familiar territory of ‘survey and analysis.’”¹²⁹ Davidoff believed that planning was “the sequence of choices involved in determining the appropriate future action.”¹³⁰ His training in law is visible in his approach to developing values, which were rooted in sourcing such as interviewing “informed leaders and client identification, as well as arriving at a value through precedents the student could cite such as: public opinion polls budget analysis.” These provided evidence to support a goal. Davidoff rooted his theory for GAP in “rational decisions” rather than “moral, preference, and criterion statements.”¹³¹ What I’d like to stress here is that, at first glance, Davidoff’s GAP theory suggests itself as a generic method to ensure a rational decision; upon closer examination, however, he is teaching legal method—advocacy, the practice and method of speaking on behalf of someone—as a technique to help students arrive at a “plan for Philadelphia.” At this stage, Davidoff’s theories appear to be innocuous. Davidoff’s GAP suggested a rational approach that attempted to remove the students’ subjectivities and their value judgements; it attempted to spatialize the city around both a legal

¹²⁹ Planning Studio 603 GAP: Goal Alternatives for Philadelphia.

¹³⁰ Planning Studio 603 GAP: Goal Alternatives for Philadelphia. AAUP GHP Call no. 054. 291.

¹³¹ AAUP, GHP Call no. 054. 291. Explaining how choices in the planning process followed three levels, Davidoff explained “first, the selection of ends and criteria; second the identification of a set of alternatives consistent with these general perspectives and the selection of a desired alternative; and third, guidance of action toward determined ends,” Davidoff announced the studio’s main concern: “the choices made at the first stage, value formulation.”

method and the individual by developing goals. Davidoff's theory of GAP was in dialogue with, rather than in opposition to, Denise Scott Brown's ambition. For Davidoff, before any "future action" (a concept, a plan) could be implemented, precedents would need to be set. Denise Scott Brown, however, believed that survey and analysis would be required.

By the time she published "Between Three Stools: A Personal View of Urban Design Pedagogy" in 1982, Scott Brown was already being perceived as a social planner. Accordingly, she conceptualized urban design pedagogy as resting on the three stools of planning, urban design, and architecture. Her interest in urban design as a practice linked to social concepts can be read in her less known essay "Paralipomena in Urban Design" (1989), in which she argues that "way of life and quality of life are concepts that interests the urban designers."¹³² These are concepts that Scott Brown is clearly continuing from her work with Gans. In the essay, she discusses her experience teaching design and commented on her philosophy toward the function of urban life, using terms like linkages, time, growth, complexity, and harmony to discuss what she deemed as the "essence" of urban design.

For me the essence of the urban design approach is that it concentrates more on relations between object and more on linkages, contexts and between places than on the objects themselves. It deals with long timespans. Incremental growth over time. Decision-making that is complex and fractionated and relations between different levels and types of decision-making. Urban design is the subtle organization of complexity the orchestration of sometimes inharmonious instruments the awareness that discord at a certain level can be resolved as harmony at another.¹³³

In emphasizing a way of life, her essay recalls Louis Wirth's famous text, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," which outlined the ways in which supporting social groups, social activism and in particular civic participation in city planning, could prevent cities from moving into zones of

¹³²Denise Scott Brown, "Paralipomena in Urban Design," in Scott Brown and Papadakēs, *Urban Concepts*, 7.

¹³³ Scott Brown, "Paralipomena in Urban Design," 7.

racial conflict.¹³⁴ For the urban sociologist, linkages, complexity, and harmony were characterizations of social relations between people, in particular “minority groups” who he saw forming relations to larger and more “complex forms of secondary social organization.”¹³⁵ Scott Brown’s use of these same terms exemplified how available sociological terms and urban sociological frameworks pushed architects to focus on social life, precisely the ‘essence’ of activities that were not already architecture. An anecdote of her student’s inability to design the white blank space on the page in between his neighborhood plan demonstrates this shift in her interest to open the student’s eyes to the “essence” of urban design and precisely on the “relations between objects...than the objects themselves.” In recalling the challenges of how to teach design through urban social concepts, Scott Brown writes:

I first realized the extent of the change required when helping a young Central American architect with some years of professional experience cope with the demands of urbanism in a new city project. His dilemma was what to show in the blank spaces between the streets in his neighborhood plan. He couldn’t design every house. Even if he could in the studio, he knew that in ‘real life’ he would not. Was there some way to suggest houses without designing them? Should the suggestion show an intended architectural character? Should this be the one he hoped for or the one he thought would happen? What, beyond their architectural character, was important to the plan about these houses? Even were he to design the housing for the first families in the neighborhood, how many others would follow, and how could he know their needs?¹³⁶

In describing these dilemmas, in particular, the idea that an architect could potentially “suggest houses without designing them” conveys Scott Brown’s struggle to represent certain characteristics of a house. In the case of her explanation to her student, the challenge to suggest something as concrete as a house, or to suggest something as subjective as character is precisely what Scott Brown was reticent to suggest in her own work, in particular how she represents and

¹³⁴ Louis Wirth, “Urbanism as a Way of Life,” *American Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 1 (July 1938): 1–24.

¹³⁵ Miller, “Pluralism, Chicago School Style.”

¹³⁶ Scott Brown, “Paralipomena in Urban Design.”

handles South Street. The actual street is merely suggested by the white space of the page, and the “character” of the street is suggested by photographs of building facades, which she generously cut out and placed to float in a sea of papery white space, Scott Brown offers buildings as the only image within the picture frame the reader of the panograph can hold on to. Was there a “real life” beyond what was represented in the South Street panograph that Scott Brown wanted to suggest but did not render in?

South Street has been edited, and while we can never know if the protests like those performed by Joreatha Lindsey and her three-year-old daughter Vivian were excised in favor of a suggestion of social bodies in the street, what we as readers of the South Street panograph are given are Scott Brown’s suggestions of what kind of life the street may have contained. Venturi, Scott Brown & Associates’ representation of South Street seemed to visually erase South Street’s long history as the social spine of the Black Seventh Ward. In their attempts to propose an alternative to the widely controversial project of the Crosstown Expressway, which planned to break through the predominantly Black neighborhood of the Seventh Ward and raze the popular South Street, the area was rendered into abstract space.

Homes Not Highways

Consider the photograph of a crosstown demonstration, a line of mothers with signs reading “HOMES NOT HIGHWAYS” (*Figure 1.10*). Joreatha Lindsey and her three-year-old daughter Vivian, inches taller than the poster she holds in front of her, march outside City Hall calling on the city to stop the crosstown expressway. Another image, taken by Scott Brown, is one from over ten thousand photographs in her archives.¹³⁷ (*Figure 1.11*). Her image operates

¹³⁷ Recently displayed in *The Wayward Eye* exhibition as part of the Venice Architecture Biennale, 2016.

like a perspectival photo essay, but it holds a different register to the American street scenes of billboards and signs that she is well known for. In the photo, hopscotch lines frame and guide a view down a street peppered with an even mix of cars, buses, people, and building types. The image stands in contrast to Venturi, Scott Brown & Associates' graphic layouts published in *Architectural Forum*, their set of alternatives to the Crosstown Expressway.

Three images make up the right side of a double page spread in the magazine feature, which includes a photograph of South Street as a dense commercial strip filled with billboards and storefront signs. The feature also includes perspective drawings that render a residential neighborhood with tree-lined streets and brownstone stoops in urban scenery, with banners hanging from buildings. In the center is a figure ground plan in cartographic accuracy depicting the open, undeveloped land and occupied storefronts (*Figure 1.12*). The map also catalogs the number of neighborhood amenities: churches, schools, libraries, hospitals parking lots and food halls. This map not only indicated what already existed but included what Venturi, Scott Brown & Associates were proposing as future changes. The map presents itself as a quantified site analysis, and thus South Street is now positioned to receive preservation, improvement, character and rehabilitation, terms Scott Brown used to describe the alternate proposal's "values."¹³⁸

The statistical diagrams produced by students in Scott Brown's South Street Studio resemble an abstraction of reality in order to re-inscribe certain properties back onto a territory, what Donna Haraway calls a "fetish map."¹³⁹ These images, produced for the pages of an architecture magazine, offer up a certain vision of the possible that is at odds with Scott Brown's

¹³⁸ Michelle Osborn, Denise Scott Brown, and Marvin Verman, "The Crosstown Is Dead, Long Live the Crosstown?," *Architectural Forum* 135, no. 3 (1971): 38–45.

¹³⁹ Donna Haraway describes maps as "models of worlds crafted through and for specific practices of intervening and ways of life." Donna Haraway, "Deanimations: Maps and Portraits of Life Itself." Peter Galison and Caroline A. Jones, *Picturing Science, Producing Art* (Routledge, 2014): 184.

photographic explorations of South Street. Both Du Bois and Scott Brown attempted to introduce new methods for understanding social life as they saw it taking place in the street, and both developed a set of visualization techniques to do so. Sociology, as evidenced by the visualization techniques deployed by the Chicago School of urban sociology, was already preoccupied with how to visualize urban systems toward digestible diagrammatic images. Visualizing something moving and making it static inevitably incurs a degree of loss. The question is whether the resulting abstraction can be put to productive ends. If, for Du Bois, South Street was a space of sociality, aspiration, mobility, and activity—things in motion that a photograph could not capture—then it was the fixing qualities of the photograph that, for Scott Brown, would make it seem like a real space that could be observed and pinned down. Narratives of the street and their explication through fieldwork reflected a growing emphasis on the importance of new forms of research in architectural and planning education.

The Civic Design Program at Penn was one of the most prominent programs to develop these evolving methods. Both studios attempt to provide a systematic theory of how to produce urban research, one by developing a theory or approach (Davidoff) and the other by producing a visual language to capture urban research in the form of photography (Scott Brown). Both studios manifest the currency of research in two ways: one in quasi-scientific, normative approaches and the other through visual abstraction.

This chapter argues, however, that the representations that Davidoff and Scott Brown produced were not neutral. Knowingly or not, architects and planners produced and reproduced moral categories of what was good for human life, as “life itself” was related to and constructed into visual representations of built environments. Reflecting on their work as white liberal solutions to cities that were increasingly described through a narrative of crisis provides an entry

point to think through the conventional reception and durability of these products in the field. For example, it is difficult to read David Crane's "capital web" as nothing more than an economic rehabilitation model. It is hard to conceptualize Davidoff's advocacy planning only in terms of its generic legal provisions. It is challenging to read the photographs of South Street by Scott Brown outside her monograph. Rather than speculate on the reasons why race was never explicitly discussed, written about, or represented by the faculty in question, this chapter engages what John Hartigan terms the "unfinished conversation" around race as a way to practice "recognizing and assessing the meaning of race in less certain contexts."¹⁴⁰

By placing Du Bois's work on *The Philadelphia Negro* in conversation with Paul Davidoff's theory of advocacy planning, and Scott Brown's photographs, this chapter argues for a new genealogy of planning theory in the U.S. that locates Du Bois as the predecessor to the fieldwork methods that emerged later, even if those later methods failed to substantially grapple with race and racial inequality in the way that Du Bois did.¹⁴¹ If this chapter confirms that race was not easy to see but was iterated through devices such as maps that need to be read through inference, the next chapter investigates how Black architecture students in the 1960s made race primary to architecture. Though Du Bois is often categorized as a sociologist, Du Bois's methodology gestures toward an alternative understanding of architectural planning and practice—one that might arguably engage in a Black proto-architectures, a radically expansive assembly of strategies, visions, and practices that gestured toward Black urban futures grounded in the Black community, Black struggle, and Black lived experiences in the United States. The

¹⁴⁰ John Hartigan, *What Can You Say? America's National Conversation on Race* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010): 182.

¹⁴¹ Hartigan is useful in particular for these discussing these three faculty members because race does not seem to be simply an oversight or blind spot. Especially for David Crane and Denise Scott Brown, who were both born in South Africa, these two faculty members would have been hyper-aware of segregation yet there is a conformity to whiteness that they are subscribing to.

Black architecture students I focus on in the next chapter follow Du Bois in this Black radical tradition of imagining otherwise.

2

Re-Contextualizing the Black Workshop at the Yale School of Architecture

The Yale School of Architecture (YSA) has long been the subject of historic periodization. It is studied as the site of student protests against the War in Vietnam, resistance to urban renewal, department shutdowns, and demands for pedagogical change.¹⁴² By presenting the Black Workshop in this chapter, I illuminate what has often been excluded in the history of what architectural historian Eve Blau and others have called “radical pedagogy.”¹⁴³ In other words, I re-write the Black Workshop as a Black radical project that was produced by and inextricably linked to the spatial, historical, and political contexts of the late 1960s. Emerging against the backdrop of politicized American student movements in the late 1960s, the Black Workshop—a collective of Black architecture students at Yale and New Haven community members seeking to make their architectural training relevant to them—re-imagined architectural education within the existing structures of the YSA. In doing so, they practiced and produced alternative Black architectures that militated against the status quo and brought Black radicalisms into conversation with architectural thought and practice. In rethinking architectural curricula, members of the Black Workshop built spaces they could call their own: they created a workshop-oriented studio space, developed new studio courses, and produced urban plans and housing projects that imagined alternative Black futures.

In this chapter, I argue that the members of the Black Workshop turned their school and field of study into a site of contestation where they discussed, experimented with, and conceptualized Black life and freedom in creative, relevant ways that drew inspiration from

¹⁴² Fredric Jameson, “Periodizing the 60s,” in *The Ideologies of Theory: Essays 1971–1986* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 179.

¹⁴³ Eve Blau, *Architecture or Revolution: Charles Moore and Yale in the Late 1960's* (New Haven, CT: Yale School of Architecture, 2001).

Black social movements of the day. Inspired by various modes of Black political thought, the Black Workshop militated against the disciplinary limitations of architectural pedagogy and inhabited an alternative mode of architectural planning and practice—one that might be understood as Black architectures, broadly defined as a radically expansive assembly of strategies, visions, and practices that gestured toward Black urban futures grounded in the Black community, Black struggle, and Black lived experiences in the United States. Specifically, I draw on interviews with Black Workshop members and archival documents to examine how three Black Workshop projects shed light on the complex, multiscalar strategies that informed the Black Workshop’s architectural activism. First, Black Workshop members engaged their architectural education as a conduit for community-control and self-determination. In various documents and texts, they articulated a “Black architects for Black communities” approach to pedagogy and praxis that challenged the disciplinary imperatives of architecture. Second, they conceptualized a Black Commune that centered Black sociality and life, using their technical training to re-draft architectural possibilities for Black communities. Third, they imagined a distinctly antipoverty architectural strategy through housing project proposals that used architecture to build solutions that considered the needs of the people living in those buildings. In many ways, the scope of the Black Workshop’s interests and commitments exceeded that of the curriculum at YSA.

I begin this chapter by contextualizing the Black Workshop’s formation at Yale and in New Haven in order to better understand how the Black Workshop may have emerged within the university but cannot be understood exclusively within it. Emerging in a time punctuated by the New Haven uprisings in 1967 and the growing Black Power movement, the Black Workshop fashioned a philosophy—articulated in the founding document of the Black Workshop, the

“Raison d’Être”— that sought to use architecture to address relevant social issues in Black communities. I conclude the chapter by tracking the Black architectural impulses in the projects of Black Workshop members Harry Quintana, who conceptualized the Black Commune, and Roland Bedford, who used architectural design to reconceptualize low-income housing projects.

This chapter shows how the Black Workshop created a series of proposals that promoted visions of self-determination and community—what Robin D. G. Kelley might call “freedom dreams”—*through* architectural thought and practice. Taken collectively, these projects relied on a thread that held them together: they radically imagined alternative Black urban futures into architectural possibility.

“Radical Pedagogy” at the Yale School of Architecture

In the context of the YSA, the Black Workshop’s distinctive pursuits have not been historicized, despite their prolific output and unique contributions to radical architectural pedagogy developed there. Instead, scholars have primarily studied the various student groups formed by Yale architecture students, including The Architect’s Resistance (TAR), Group Nine, the Planning Forum, and those involved in the publications of the student broadsheet *Novum Organum* and the journal *Perspecta*.¹⁴⁴ The YSA’s attempt to write its own institutional history has also paid significant attention to the TAR collective alongside content generated by *Novum Organum* and *Perspecta*. When mentioning the Black Workshop, information remains short and fragmentary, wholly neglecting their contribution to the educational changes that took place at

¹⁴⁴ *Novum Organum* was formed in Fall of 1968, their first publication was released in November. The Architect’s Resistance was formed in 1968 and was a collective of architecture and planning students and young professionals in New Haven, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Tucson, Houston and Chicago. Group Nine was also a collective of students who offered planning and housing services to families in Knox County, Kentucky. The Planning Forum was a governance committee that included City Planning students and City Planning faculty at Yale.

the YSA.¹⁴⁵ This has been the tendency in recent architectural essays that have included a brief vignette of the Black Workshop's existence, but in each case, the Black Workshop's projects, written organizational goals, and activism remain unexplored, thereby leaving an opportunity for a much needed critical analysis of their contribution to architectural education.

While there is ample literature on the topic of radical architectural pedagogy as it was developed at Yale in the wake of key political protests, architectural history still often overlooks race in these related criticisms and histories.¹⁴⁶ For example Brian Goldstein's "Planning's End? Urban Renewal in New Haven, the Yale School of Art and Architecture, and the Fall of the New Deal Spatial Order" looks to the YSA as a site of radical design pedagogy in the era of student movements, and argues that Yale, while complicit with the city in carrying out urban renewal, was also a place where students battled against such development projects.¹⁴⁷ Goldstein identifies student group activism as the agents of educational change. Presenting the architecture student group TAR and the city-planning student group the City Planning Forum, Goldstein identifies dissenters within the YSA. The Black Workshop is discussed in Goldstein's essay and his work does good to describe the Workshop's instrumental role in cultivating what he called "an activist presence" in the YSA, but he does not detail their achievements or their distinct approach. For Goldstein, debates at the time around contested urban space were instigated and

¹⁴⁵ In *Pedagogy and Place*, Stern calls the Black Workshop "the most formidable of student splinter groups". In terms of scholarship on TAR and the content of *Novum Organum*, scholars like Brian Goldstein and the recent exhibition *Now What?! Advocacy Activism and Alliances in American Architecture since 1968* offer important insights into student group demands, including TAR's demands for curricula overhauls, challenges to the profession namely in their criticism of the American Institute of Architects (AIA). Robert A. M Stern and Jimmy Stamp, *Pedagogy and Place: 100 Years of Architecture Education at Yale* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016).

¹⁴⁶ Yale was not the only campus where student protests were being played out: Columbia and Berkeley being the most identifiable examples. On Columbia, see Sharon Egretta Sutton, *When Ivory Towers Were Black: A Story About Race in America's Cities and Universities* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2017).

¹⁴⁷ Brian Goldstein, "Planning's End? Urban Renewal in New Haven, the Yale School of Art and Architecture, and the Fall of the New Deal Spatial Order," *Journal of Urban History* 37, no. 3 (2011): 400–422.

led by architecture and planning students. Student movements, however, were only one part of the narrative. Black residents resisting urban renewal development and Black Power organizations such as the Black Panther Party provided a crucial format for student dissenters. At times, Black Workshop members worked directly with community activists. While Goldstein does describe how the Hill Neighborhood Union (1965) and the Hill Parents Association protested for greater neighborhood serving amenities, including “Freedom Schools, rent strikes, community-designed Housing,” he describes the activism within the YSA as distinct, rather than interrelated to those practiced by the Hill and Dixwell communities outside the university gates. Here, I present the collective action of the Workshop members as they collaborated with activist groups.¹⁴⁸

Crucially, I examine the Black Workshop within the expanding visibility of Black Power activism both on campus at the YSA through protests and circulating pamphlets and within New Haven and the immediate neighborhoods surrounding the university with the arrival of the Black Panther Party in the Winter of 1969.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ At the time that the Workshop members are producing models for community architecture, critics had not yet analyzed the politics of community action see, Alyosha Goldstein, *Poverty in Common: The Politics of Community Action During the American Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012). David Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology*, 1st ed. (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2004).

¹⁴⁹ As student agitators, often times working with outside activists, the student records of the Black Workshop members are partially housed in President Kingman Brewster’s Papers along with their proposals requesting funding from the University. Copies of these proposals are held in the Yale School of Architecture’s Administrative Records, but no student work has been retained. Most material resides with the former members themselves. Thus, while this chapter relies on the University’s archive, I also draw on oral histories and walk-throughs that I conducted and include observation, newspapers articles, archival data and student work collected from a former Workshop member in order to fill gaps within the institutional archive, in an effort to build what Lisa Lowe calls an “archive of liberalism.” Lisa Lowe and Ann Laura Stoler call these “historical traces” that point to uncover “that which is not written or that which is not visible in the archive.” My thinking responds to this set of questions: What role did architectural education play in supporting or rejecting Black identity in a city that had been racialized white since the first colonies arrived in the 1641? Where was the Black architect included (not the Arts & Architecture Building) and where did Black identity hold sway (Dixwell and Hill Neighborhoods)? What difference did race make? Where did race disappear? For this history of the Black Panther’s arrival into New Haven, see Williams, Yohuru. “No Haven: From Civil Rights to Black Power in New Haven, Connecticut.” *The Black Scholar* 31, no. 3/4 (2001): 54–66.

Interpreting the Black Workshop through their engagement with various forms of Black Power activism contributes to the historiography of recent scholarship that treats civil rights and Black Power activism not as discrete movements, but through “*intermovement*” relationships.¹⁵⁰ While American history has separated civil rights and Black Power as distinct generational movements, the Black Workshop, as a case model, complicates a clear trajectory between civil rights to Black Power and instead gives us a window to examine how architects were consciously blurring and overlapping Black political philosophies and working across political spheres.¹⁵¹ Robin D. G. Kelley’s explanation of Black revolution as blurring and overlapping Black political philosophies has been a key inspiration for this section. Kelley complicates American history’s treatment of Black freedom movements by explaining how civil rights and Black Power were never distinct generational movements but rather inextricably linked and overlapping movements that made up a long tradition of Black “freedom dreams.”¹⁵² My account of the Black Workshop members’ lived experience demonstrates how a variety of Black political philosophies informed the Black Workshop’s architectural output.

The Black Workshop as a Case Study in Black Architectural Activism

¹⁵⁰ Larry Isaac and Lars Christiansen, “How the Civil Rights Movement Revitalized Labor Militancy,” *American Sociological Review* 67, no. 5 (October 2002): 725.

¹⁵¹ In describing the life and contribution to civil rights of Robert Williams, historian Timothy B. Tyson describes the overlap between the two: “In fact, virtually all of the elements that we associate with ‘Black Power’ were already present in the small towns and rural communities of the South where ‘the civil rights movement’ was born.” Tyson argues that these distinctions have been “largely an intellectual architecture of political convenience.” Timothy B. Tyson, “Robert F. Williams, ‘Black Power,’ and the Roots of the African American Freedom Struggle,” *Journal of American History* 85, no. 2 (September 1998): 541.

¹⁵² Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2002). See in particular Chapter 3, “‘Roaring from the East’: Third World Dreaming,” 60–109.

As a case model for architectural history, the Black Workshop is an understudied agent in the institutional transformation of the YSA, but it also underscores the importance of how architecture was as a medium for Black radical politics. In other words, the Black Workshop should not only be understood in terms of its impact on the YSA architectural curriculum, but it should also be understood as part of longer Black radical tradition that exceeded the particular context of its genesis.¹⁵³ In bringing together a number of different Black voices from different backgrounds, goals, and pursuits—from students in undergraduate (B.Arch) and graduate (M.Arch and M.E.D) degree programs to community members—to articulate different versions of change and resistance, the Black Workshop demonstrates how dealing with racial inequality and racial oppression required both resistance and engagement within the institutional space of the university. And while architectural history has acknowledged resistant forms of student collective action, few studies in architectural history detail the idea of a radical pedagogy from the point of Black lived experience and Black identity. In this way, the Black Workshop as a recovered case study in architectural history and architectural pedagogy reminds us that there were unfulfilled directions in architectural education that could be rehabilitated or revisited today. More importantly, it reveals how architects engaged with the outside world differently, even if momentarily.¹⁵⁴

Scholarship on Black activism that I build my interpretation of the Black Workshop on points out how both before and after the supposed “turn” from civil rights to Black Power the

¹⁵³ Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 72. Robinson writes, “Black radicalism...cannot be understood within the particular context of its genesis.”

¹⁵⁴ I am building on the scholarship of Eve Blau and Brian Goldstein, who have focused on radical architectural pedagogy in the 1960s without much focus on the Black Workshop. Eve Blau, *Architecture or Revolution: Charles Moore and Yale in the Late 1960's*. (New Haven, CT: Yale School of Architecture, 2001).

civil rights movement and Black Power relied on Black collective action.¹⁵⁵ Susan Ferguson writes, “while over the decades black people may have shifted tactics and differed over strategies for liberation, they unified around an alternative vision of liberty and equality that rejected the national democratic myth and individualist prescriptions for social reform in exchange for collective action and group-based solutions to overcome their experience of racial exploitation.”¹⁵⁶ By focusing on the Black collective action as the common currency of both civil rights and Black Power, I argue that the particular elements that help define those movements—protests, boycotts, sit-ins, and rebellions—operated as visible events unavoidably influencing architecture students who were, for the first time, learning the effectiveness of unified collective action in their demand for educational change. For the Black Workshop, the studio became a collective place where ideas about collectivity and pedagogy were built-in to architecture.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ By Black collective action, I am referring specifically to civil rights social movement organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Urban League (NUL), and Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) rather than referring to the idea of Collective action as a general working-class labor organizing movement, (particularly because the NAACP, NUL, and CORE were formed precisely in response to labor movements such as building-trade unions who were resistant to racial integration despite federal laws that tried to desegregate them) The League of Revolutionary Black Workers is one example of such Black radical trade unions formed within the history of Black collective action in response to white supremacist trade unions. Another example, A. Philip Randolph’s hand in establishing an all-Black union with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (that took him 12 to create) serves as another model example for Black collective action. For more on this, see Beth Thompkins Bates, *Pullman Porters and the Rise of Protest Politics in Black America, 1925-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

¹⁵⁶ Karen (Jane) Ferguson, *Top Down: The Ford Foundation, Black Power, and the Reinvention of Racial Liberalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 69.

¹⁵⁷ In this way, the efforts of TAR, as the most written about architecture collective of Yale architecture students and young professionals cannot be understood outside of the understanding of groups Black activist groups who used collective action as tool to imagine a space of equality. While the TAR, Planning Forum and *Novum Organum* are not the primary objects of study within this chapter, as part of the YSA’s institutional history, their written efforts would be interesting to be claimed as a direct influence of a civil rights revolution, rather than as an example of the era’s “cultural radicalism” as Eve Blau has called them.

The history of how Black activism took shape in one of the bastions of white elitism is an important distinction from history of student movements as they played out in the YSA.¹⁵⁸ Blau's *Architecture or Revolution* and Stern and Stamp's *Pedagogy and Place* perpetuate two historiographic impulses. For one, they emphasize the YSA's leadership through the school's dean, Charles Moore. Second, they study self-selected groups of architects such as TAR that best reflect the context of American racial liberalism in the mid-1960s and the student movement's effects on the discipline. According to these historians, the origins of radical pedagogy were Moore's *First Year Building Project* or studios such as *Learning from Las Vegas*, organized by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown. With its focus on the Black Workshop, this chapter alternatively recounts how radical Black politics carved inroads against the ongoing force of white power in the academy. In these years, Black architecture students invested in alternative modes of urban and architectural investigations.¹⁵⁹ A key component of alternative Black pedagogy included Workshop members wrestling with what participatory and community architecture could look like.¹⁶⁰

In the context of Yale—a school surrounded by Black neighborhoods whose growing Black Power activism aligned with the demands and ten-point program of the nation's most visible advocate of Black Power, the Oakland-based Black Panther Party (BPP)—New Haven is

¹⁵⁸ The power differential between the Black Workshop and Yale because how Black activism took shape in the bastions of white elitism is an important distinction from the kinds of Black activism that is happening outside of the university gates, and the Black Workshop navigated both the YSA and community organizations such as the Hill Association.

¹⁵⁹ While outside of the scope of this dissertation, the idea of a white pedagogy can be further unpacked with a discussion of the "Whites and Greys." The debate between the Whites and Greys creates a false dialectic by framing the Greys as those self-proclaiming interest in human experience versus the Whites' emphasis on form, it does not account for the fact that both were thinking about a white identity and a white architectural condition.

¹⁶⁰ The conservatism in participatory and community planning is described by Karen Ferguson as directly tied to what was called the "urban crisis" of the 1960s and can be found in most recently Karen Ferguson's *Top Down: The Ford Foundation, Black Power, and the Reinvention of Racial Liberalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). Ferguson reads the foundation's interest to create black education outreach programs as example of social engineering.

presented here as a complicated site where issues around race, urban renewal, and architectural education converged.¹⁶¹ Here, the urban practices of the Black Panther Party in New Haven are presented as the BPP routinely mobilized self-determination as a way to teach Black New Havenites how to intervene in their immediate neighborhood and imagine alternative urban futures.¹⁶² The premise I put forward here is that the Black Workshop members both directly and indirectly drew from the Black Power movement, most prominently from the Black Panther Party and the BPP's emphasis on self-determination and separatism as pathways to producing self-governing communities.¹⁶³ Thus, the chapter also foregrounds how the Black Workshop took on place-specific and socially shared ideas about urban space.

Locating the Black Workshop within the Yale School of Architecture

The Black Workshop's Formation

The story of how the Workshop was formed is not a straightforward narrative. At the time of their formation, it included eight students: E. Donald van Purnell, Ralph B. Johnson, Joseph Middlebrooks, Richard K. Dozier, Reggie Jackson, Harry J. Quintana, John Coke, and

¹⁶¹ New Haven is not the only location where these three things (race, urban renewal, and architectural education) converged. Another good example is Morningside Heights in New York City, where Columbia architecture students engaged politics of race and urban renewal in the neighborhood surrounding Columbia University that I will detail in my next chapter.

¹⁶² A quick note on terminology: I use *Black Panther Party*, *BPP*, and *the Party* interchangeably to refer to the Oakland-based Black Panther Party throughout this chapter. BPP self-determination is distinct from Marcus Garvey's emphasis on self-help and uplift.

¹⁶³ The Black Workshop centered Black lives as self-determined agents who were interested in, to borrow a term from critical geographer Rashad Shabazz, "spatializing blackness" in New Haven. Rashad Shabazz, for instance, draws parallels between urban spaces and carceral spaces in his account of modernist public housing. Demonstrating how carceral power and techniques of confinement were deployed in the Black neighborhoods in Chicago, Shabazz illustrates the consequences of living in these spaces by tracing the degree of mass incarceration of black men from housing projects like the Robert Taylor Homes. Rashad Shabazz, *Spatializing Blackness: Architectures of Confinement and Black Masculinity in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

Charlie Louis, all working towards degrees in architecture or urban planning.¹⁶⁴ The original Workshop members and faculty who supported them describe the formation of the Workshop in different ways. The description of the Workshop published in *Pedagogy and Place*, for example, describes them as a group of Black students who were admitted as “recruits” by Charles Moore.¹⁶⁵ As the book explains, Moore authorized Charles Brewer, professor and co-chair of the YSA Admissions Committee, to accept ten young men who Brewer had met at a conference on gang violence held in Detroit.¹⁶⁶ *Pedagogy and Place* creates a compact origin story of ten prospective Black “recruits” arriving at Yale as a group and formalizing themselves as the Black Workshop. Based on oral histories, this narrative not only belies the distinct values and lived experiences of each individual student, but it has also contributed to the scant and varied perspective of the Workshop’s origins.¹⁶⁷ Indeed, in its early incarnation, the Black Workshop included ten Yale students and began as a student group in the Fall of 1968, but the Workshop was never a neatly formed group. In fact, their formation was neither the product of Brewer’s “recruitment” nor Moore’s “blessing,” but rather a result of the organizing efforts of students who had each carved inroads into Yale and the YSA through a broad range of professional and lived experiences.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Purnell, Middlebrooks, and Quintana were working toward their M.Arch degrees; Ralph Johnson, toward his joint Master’s in City Planning and M.Arch degree; and Coke and Louis, toward their Master’s in Environmental Design and M.U.S., respectively. Richard Dozier was the only undergraduate of the group working toward his B.F.A.

¹⁶⁵ Stern and Stamp, *Pedagogy and Place*, 313–14.

¹⁶⁶ Charles Brewer, interview with the author, August 2019.

¹⁶⁷ Where the Black Workshop is remembered by those who knew the Workshop members well, interacted with them on either a personal or administrative level and thus have commented on their formation.

¹⁶⁸ According to Brewer’s recollection recounted in *Pedagogy and Place*, he had recruited students from a conference on Gang Violence in Detroit and in the months before the start of the Fall semester. In my three-way interview with Brewer and Bedford, Brewer recalls ten young men with their families in the University’s registrar’s office waiting on Brewer to fulfill his promise. Brewer did recruit students, two men, but

One of the founding members, Roland (Ron) Bedford, recalls the formation of the Black Workshop as follows. Bedford was surprised to find other Black students at Yale upon his arrival, and ultimately sought solidarity with other Black students—Richard Dozier studying architecture and Reginald Jackson studying graphic design. Each were searching for funding and in their combined efforts to secure financial parity with white students in the YSA a conversation began.¹⁶⁹ The conversation centered around what education for the Black architect in training would look like. As far as Yale was concerned, the Black Workshop was formally established on November 18, 1968, when the YSA offered the Black Workshop a space on 1081 Chapel Street in a former bookstore (currently the site of the Yale Center for British Art).¹⁷⁰ Funding sources were always the Black Workshop members' major obstacles, and some resources were given to workshop members Bedford, Dozier and Jackson in the form of teaching associate appointments.¹⁷¹ The school also provided \$2,000 to renovate their storefront space, though ultimately the amount of money needed to carry out their ambitions would never be realized (both the YSA and Yale claimed no available funding). Discussions around potential outside

other founding members of the Black Workshop were either existing students or new admits who formally applied to the YSA. Bedford interjected to remind Brewer that he had housed his two recruits and their families in his home with his wife. Yale also was one of the schools to begin recruiting minority students mainly Black students. Alongside other schools such as Columbia's student rebellion that had shut down the school for one full semester and through the summer. See also Stern and Stamp, 313.

¹⁶⁹ Other documents, including "Black Students Needs at White Universities: A Case Study – Yale University," outline the Black Workshop's financial need.

¹⁷⁰ Richard Dozier published an article titled the Black Architect at Yale in 1971, where he describes the formation of the Black Workshop, who first called themselves the Black Environmental Studies Team. The archival material that I've found in the special collections at Yale, only have documents submitted with the letterhead of the Black Workshop and for this reason, I have only analyzed projects submitted by the Black Workshop and not the B.E.S.T. The most recent description of the Black Workshop is in the YSA's own historicization of itself, Pedagogy and Place, where Robert Stern describes the BW as ambiguous—as neither an autonomous operation or a university program. From the university's perspective, this ambiguity was their own framing, a useful approach to prevent the BW from establishing a clear footing within the University.

¹⁷¹ Yale Manuscripts and Archives. Yale Bulletin design and planning January 22, 1970, given by Charles Moore. This bulletin also shows that Paul Davidoff is teaching visiting lecturer in Planning.

funding would also create friction within the Black Workshop, who at its peak membership held at least 18 members.¹⁷² In the spring semester of 1970, students received course credit for the Black Workshop course, which was made up of primarily M.Arch students for whom course credit was offered in terms of hours.¹⁷³

By the spring semester, the Black Workshop had a logo and submitted their first set of demands—which included setting up a studio course, summer program, and technical service organization for community members—to the YSA in the form of a statement of purpose titled “Raison d’Être.” The 1968–69 academic school year saw the formation of many student groups within the YSA: The Architect’s Resistance (TAR), Group 9, and The Planning Forum. Group 9, those involved in the publications of the student broadsheet *Novum Organum* and journal *Perspecta*. Each student group were inspired by the context of the 1960s, where questioning architectural modernism and the role of the architect were at the forefront of YSA student’s concerns. For example, the same time Black Workshop begins thinking about alternative educational models for the Black architect, The Architect’s Resistance published “Architecture, For Whom does it Serve?” and questioned the Nuclear Arms Race. TAR were similar to the many student movements across universities in the world who were thinking deeply about American imperialism, global colonialism, institutional power and authority and what counted as expertise.¹⁷⁴ By the 1969–70 academic school year, an internal split within the School of Arts

¹⁷² This is the number I calculated based on student profiles found in the Brewster Records.

¹⁷³ Interview with Sam Chauncy explains this, and I only have access to student records because they are in the Presidents Papers that require more investigation as to why they are there in the first place.

¹⁷⁴ A large body of literature on student-led protests demanding the elimination of classes inherited from the Beaux-Arts exists. For histories revisiting the 1968 student riots and their effect on culture, see: Ambasz, E. “Looking back to see if we saw ahead.” *Domus*, (939), 34-37 (2010). Remembering the 1968 student riots and their effect on culture. Frampton, Kenneth and Alessandra Latour, “Notes on American Architectural Education: From the end of the Nineteenth Century until the 1970s,” *Lotus International* 27 (1980): 4- These publications from architecture

where the City Planning Department would be dissolved overnight would help build visibility to the Black Workshop.¹⁷⁵ Many of these groups would identify with the Black Workshop's goals and within a year, YSA and planning students who were not formally members of the Black Workshop would participate in Black Workshop projects as a part of a studio called the Black Workshop, which was included as a part of the course offerings in the 1969–70 academic school year. By the Spring of 1970, the Black Workshop had split into two factions, with Jackson, Bedford, and Dozier forming a splinter group under the same name. The Black Workshop as a cohesive group working toward shared goals had existed for less than two years.¹⁷⁶

New Haven: Renewal, Riots, and the Black Workshop's Philosophy

The country in keeping of the 'American Myth' of rising to the call of democracy has responded with an incredible downfall of 'rhetoric' and the programs to support the 'Myth' i.e. 'War on Poverty,' Concentrated Employment Programs, Self-Determination, etc. This list is as long as the myth itself and just as paternalistic and elusive. To debate the programs or their true intent, or effectiveness is as ambiguous as attacking the 'American Dream' and would be in our opinion an insult on anyone's intelligence, knowing we would only be discussing semantics.

The Black Workshop's "Progress Report," 1969¹⁷⁷

students demonstrates that there were student movements on Yale campus other than the Black Workshop. Groups such as the TAR were concerned about American imperialism, "the arms race."

¹⁷⁵ The history of Planning Department being dissolved and the Planning Department and the School of Architecture, and role of the Planning Forum, is evidenced in letters and pamphlets printed and distributed, special editions of the *Novum Organum* and even *New Haven Daily Press*, a newspaper article written by a former planning student to describe this disillusionment. Black Workshop helps send out fake acceptance letters.

¹⁷⁶ The Black Workshop's founder Richard Dozier would reconceive the Black Workshop as the Black Environmental Studies Team in 1969.

¹⁷⁷ The Black Workshop, "Progress Report," February 19, 1969.

The racialized spatial politics of New Haven—and their connections to Yale—shaped the thinking and political commitments of the Black Workshop. As minoritized architecture students, the Black Workshop’s focus on a new educational model revealed their struggle to define their own priorities and political voice within an existing pedagogical framework that seemed to perpetuate urban renewal in New Haven rather than address the needs of the Black community. The Black Workshop’s focus on community needs carried multiple layers of critique that began to suggest their skepticism of the architecture profession’s ability to develop a social and political consciousness within design, as demonstrated by YSA faculty’s collaboration with urban renewal in New Haven. YSA faculty and their involvement with the city’s redevelopment agency, the New Haven Redevelopment Agency (NHRA) and the City Plan Department, had been well documented in architecture magazine *Progressive Architecture* (P/A).¹⁷⁸ As the magazine stated, “Many Yale staff serve as consultants to NHRA, and no doubt have contributed enormously to the city’s planning.”¹⁷⁹

Context of Renewal

Given Yale’s location within New Haven’s original nine-square grid (considered the “nucleus of New Haven... the city’s symbolic and geographic heart”), any campus design decisions directly affected neighborhoods located in all four quadrants surrounding the main campus.¹⁸⁰ During the height of New Haven’s renewal years from the 1950s to the 1970s, a city

¹⁷⁸ Elm Haven in Dixwell, Farnham Courts in Wooster Square, and Quinnipiac Terrace in Fair Haven were the first public housing projects to be built in New Haven, before the NHRA was established.

¹⁷⁹ *Progressive Architecture*, 148.

¹⁸⁰ When Yale moved its campus to New Haven in 1716, the “Yale College House” was drawn at the center of New Haven, which followed a nine-square grid. Scully attributes the grid configuration to historical precedents from Roman gridded colonial cities to Greek city-states to the British new towns of the 17th century, but hones in on John Archer’s theory that New Haven’s plan was inspired by the Biblical Ideal city of Old Jerusalem. Vincent Scully,

redevelopment agent claimed Yale “builds hungrily...and although it has a gentleman’s agreement with the city not to build toward the center, it actually builds all over the place.”¹⁸¹ All of this was accomplished with the help of the NHRA, which “obligingly” allowed much of the renewal efforts in the predominantly Black neighborhoods bordering Yale. The alliance of Yale and the NHRA facilitated an urban renewal machine that involved selling city-owned land, clearing it, and funding the building of projects that surrounded university property. Most of the aggressive clearing took place in the Hill neighborhood south of campus and Dixwell north of campus to make room for new ring roads, highways, and high rises that would further fortify Yale’s campus from “low-income neighborhoods” that “offended the sensibilities of the university.”¹⁸² These two neighborhoods—Hill and Dixon—became the focal points of the Black Workshop (*Figure 2.0*).

“Yale in New Haven: An Introduction,” in Catherine Lynn, Erik Vogt, and Paul Goldberger, *Yale in New Haven: Architecture & Urbanism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2004), 11–36. It is important to note that although Vincent Scully’s account of New Haven begins with the New England colonies, it does not mention the destruction of the Pequot tribe led by Sassacus in 1637 or the three other Indian tribes: the Mohegans led by Uncas (in Connecticut), Nyanatics (in present-day Rhode Island), and Narragansetts (in Massachusetts). For this history, see Alden T. Vaughan, “Pequots and Puritans: The Causes of the War of 1637,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (April 1964): 256–69; Alden T. Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Alden T. Vaughan, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620–1675* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1965). By 1830, as New Haven became industrialized with construction of the railroad, New Haven grew exponentially with European immigrants occupying Chapel Street, just south of Yale.

¹⁸¹ *Progressive Architecture*, January 1968, 134–56.

¹⁸² According to the P/A report: “In 1960s New Haven, the low-income areas were not exclusively African American and tended to be more racially mixed than in larger cities.” For example, the claim “the population of Dixwell and the Hill was predominantly African American and Puerto Rican by the late 1960s, yet the areas also contained areas of contiguous all-black and all-white blocks.” See “P/A Observer, Urban Planning and Urban Revolt: A Case Study,” *Progressive Architecture* (January, 1968), 134–156. For a history starting in 1900 of Dixwell and Hills, see *Tomorrow is Here* p.13 and Elizabeth Mills Brown, *New Haven: A Guide to Architecture and Urban Design* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), 16 who explain Dixwell and Hill as part of four neighborhoods deemed “slums”: “As early as 1900 four distinct slum areas had formed: Dixwell (primarily African American), the New Township (Italian), Oak Street (early known as “Morocco Street”), and the Hill (primarily eastern European and Jewish).”

Three Dixwell schools “with a reportedly 80 percent Negro enrollment” were sold to Yale, which gave Yale space for Eero Saarinen’s Stiles and Morse Residential Halls. From the city’s perspective, Yale’s decision to hire an internationally recognized architect to help build the university’s architectural presence coincided with the Mayor’s vision to restore “an elegance and grace to this city.”¹⁸³ Leveraging modern architecture as a tool to build “bold, generous architecture that dares to mark the place and make the urban experience more intense,”¹⁸⁴ projects included the Ingalls Ice Rink (1953-58), the Morse and Stiles residential colleges (1962) by Saarinen,¹⁸⁵ Gordon Bunshaft (during his time at SOM) designed the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (1963), Paul Rudolph, the Art and Architecture Building (1958-61) and Philip Johnson, the Laboratory of Epidemiology and Public Health (1964); each of which were

¹⁸³ The mayor of New Haven, Richard C. Lee (1954-70), in championing the city’s development plans, implicitly suggested that urban renewal would complete the unfulfilled City Beautiful planning projects. “We are restoring an elegance and grace to this city,” he explained in an interview, “and it’s fun, exciting to think what can be done.” He also praised Rudolph’s design for the Temple Street Parking Garage. “It is not only functionally excellent, but it is eye catching...It is not only functionally excellent, but it is eye catching...It is completely different from any building anywhere.” For this history see Rachel D. Carley, *Tomorrow Is Here: New Haven and the Modern Movement* (New Haven, CT: The New Haven Preservation Trust, 2008). Accessed May 16, 2020, <https://docplayer.net/14332253-Tomorrow-is-here-new-haven-and-the-modern-movement-the-new-haven-preservation-trust.html>. The President of Yale would sharpen his campus design program, claiming: “A great university should look at architecture as a way of expressing itself. It can do this only by choosing to use the very best architects of its generation, men who see history as a continuous stream, not a stagnant pool.” Griswold’s quote in Walter McQuade, “The Building Years of a Yale Man,” *Architectural Forum* (June 1963), 87-90.

For a history of urban renewal in New Haven, see Norman I. Fainstein and Susan S. Fainstein, “New Haven: The Limits of the Local State,” in *Restructuring the City: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment* (New York: Longman, 1983), 27–29; and Vincent Scully, “Modern Architecture at Yale: A Memoir,” in Scully et. al., *Yale in New Haven*, 293–354, 343. For an alternative and critical history of urban renewal in New Haven, see Yohuru R. Williams, “Introduction: When the Colored Began Moving In, We Knew Our Neighborhood Was In Trouble,” in *Black Politics, White Power: Civil Rights, Black Power, and the Black Panthers in New Haven* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008).

¹⁸⁴ Robert A. M. Stern, “The Office of Earl P. Carlin.” *Perspecta* 9/10 (1965): 183–98.

¹⁸⁵ The Morse and Stiles residential halls were the project that first separated Yale from Dixwell, a separation that would deepen with the ring road highway. By 1953, the city had sold Yale 3 schools in the Dixwell neighborhood that had reported 80 percent of its student population as Black, and these were cleared to make room to build Morse and Stiles residential colleges. Money that was used by support any Yale related building projects would have been deducted from the city’s allotment of renewal money from the federal government. The precedent for a university claiming their intent to clean up neighborhoods deemed as “slums” was first carried out by the University of Chicago. *Progressive Architecture*, January 1968, 148.

built at the expense of neighborhoods bordering the campus, with aggressive clearing in the Dixwell and Dwight neighborhood.¹⁸⁶ But the President of Yale intended to sharpen his campus design program, claiming that “[a] great university should look at architecture as a way of expressing itself. It can do this only by choosing to use the very best architects of its generation, men who see history as a continuous stream, not a stagnant pool.”¹⁸⁷

These projects were Yale buildings, but the YSA faculty were also involved in renewal projects in New Haven off campus.¹⁸⁸ For example, Paul Rudolph, who began his appointment as director of the YSA in 1958, designed the Temple Street Parking Garage (1958), which praised by the Mayor as “not only functionally excellent, but it is eye catching...It is completely

¹⁸⁶ Other identifiable architects involved in the building of Yale campus as well as being involved in New Haven’s renewal projects are Paul Rudolph, Marcel Breuer, Gordon Bunshaft, Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo, Eero Saarinen, Edward Larrabee Barnes, and Louis Kahn. For this history see, Carley, *Tomorrow Is Here: New Haven and the Modern Movement*. By the time the Black Workshop is formed, Kingman Brewster is the new president of Yale is even more enthusiastic about architecture’s capacity to make Yale imageable than Griswold. The clearing of Dwight and Dixwell fell under the city’s Dixwell Renewal Area and Dwight Renewal Areas. The history of Yale’s relationship to New Haven’s redevelopment goals, see Brian Goldstein, “Planning’s End? Urban Renewal in New Haven, the Yale School of Art and Architecture, and the Fall of the New Deal Spatial Order,” *Journal of Urban History* 37, no. 3 (May 2011): 403–404.

¹⁸⁷ Griswold was Yale’s President when for the first wave of renewal. Kingman Brewster would be the next president. Griswold, as quoted in Walter McQuade, “The Building Years of a Yale Man,” *Architectural Forum*, June 1963, 87–90.

¹⁸⁸ As I outlined Penn’s use of renewal dollars to build a ‘university city’ in Chapter 2, New Haven had also received millions in urban renewal dollars as early as 1954 with the passing of a second and more nuanced Housing Act. While I argued in Chapter 2 that Penn strategically established the Civic Design Program as a way to legitimate its role in redeveloping Philadelphia as an epistemological matter by claiming to study rather than ‘renew’ the city, Yale’s role in New Haven’s renewal projects is an equally contested story. Like many universities such as Columbia in Morningside Heights and the IIT expanding into neighboring communities near Chicago’s Southside, Yale has a similar history. New Haven’s aggressive redevelopment approach alongside Yale’s complicity in the city’s ambitious agenda to develop helped New Haven gain the status of a “model city”—an image that quickly deteriorated in the face of the New Haven riots in 1967.

In this context, Moore fit Yale’s President Kingman Brewster’s long-term image of Yale. Unlike Penn, who actively leveraged itself as an applied research center that could offer direct value to the city, policy makers, and even communities through the idea of urban research, Yale consistently exercised distance from the politics of the city. Brewster publicly announced his position that “Yale cannot solve the problems of New Haven nor can it be its banker or redeveloper.” In this way, choosing Moore seemed prescient. Moore had already established a reputation as the “laid-back” architect interested in regionalism and phenomenology. He was also on his way to becoming one of the leading proponents of a post-modern architecture. Most important for Brewster was that Moore was outwardly the complete opposite of YSA’s former Dean, Paul Rudolph, whose professional practice was identifiably linked to renewal projects.

different from any building anywhere.” Built as part of downtown Oak and Church Street redevelopment, the Temple Street Parking Garage was followed by Rudolph’s most celebrated project, the Crawford Manor Apartments (1962-67), an elderly residence funded by redevelopment money.¹⁸⁹ Charles Moore, who was acting chair from 1965 to 1971, designed the Church Street South Housing project (1968) that included a mix of both low and high-rise public housing units.¹⁹⁰ Together, New Haven and the YSA faculty who helped Yale realize much of the changes that took place in New Haven had spent \$237 million on a “reconstruction program since 1953, and [...] \$6 million annually on anti-poverty programs since 1962.”¹⁹¹

The New Haven “Riots,” 1967

From the Black Workshop’s point of view, these urban renewal funds were not being used to support poor neighborhoods surrounding Yale’s campus. In the summer of 1967, a short two years before the Black Workshop established their goals and demands from the YSA in writing, racial uprisings erupted in neighborhoods near Yale. In 1968, four months after the uprising, *Progressive Architecture* (P/A) published a special report on the city’s unrest titled “Urban Planning and Urban Revolt: A Case Study.”¹⁹² In this report, P/A provided an hour-by-

¹⁸⁹ *Progressive Architecture* in reviewing the project claimed Rudolph was “able to grasp the more brutal components of city living—concrete, cars and sky-high balconies—and turn them into positive, workable advantages.” And perhaps more infamously remembered for being compared to the Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi’s Guild House. Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi, “Ugly and Ordinary: Architecture or The Decorated Shed,” *Architectural Forum* (November 1971): 64–67; Part 2, *Architectural Forum*, December 1971, 48–53.

¹⁹⁰ Yale and New Haven’s collaboration can be marked by the years 1792, 1889, 1919, 1953, and, finally, 1969, when roughly 2,400 acres—approximately one-third of New Haven’s entire land area—were allocated for renewal.

¹⁹¹ “Urban Planning and Urban Revolt: A Case Study,” *Progressive Architecture*.

¹⁹² The report was nestled in their annual “Design Awards” issue, which had built a reputation for awarding both faculty and student projects produced at Yale to a degree that the magazine was often referred to as the “Yale Alumni Magazine.”¹⁹² The piece on the riot was 22 pages, with 3 spreads dedicated to an hourly chronicle of the five day event as it began on a Saturday afternoon in August of 1967. At “5:55 P.M. The white owner of Tony’s

hour replay of the uprisings, P/A described key moments such as the location of where crowds formed, featured vignettes describing the scale of urban renewal development near the University,¹⁹³ and included a brief explanation of the newly-legislated Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, often referred to as the Model Cities Program, which offered funding for housing, education, general rehabilitation and improvement projects, and recreation and health programs. Requiring now-familiar terminology such as “maximum feasible participation of the poor,” P/A reported the two primary reasons for the “riots.” One reason was what they called a “nationwide ‘Negro Revolution,’” and the other, the existence of “ghettos” given the degree of “renewal” construction taking place in greater New Haven.¹⁹⁴

In response to P/A’s coverage of the “riots,” city-supported publications on New Haven reflecting the city’s attempt to document its own history did not understand why P/A editors, who had in the past reviewed the YSA faculty’s urban renewal projects favorably, suddenly changed their position.¹⁹⁵ According to one such report, P/A “seemed to reverse opinion by using the city as a case study to probe the relationship of urban renewal to street violence” to the point where the report seemed to suggest that renewal itself was the cause of the riots.¹⁹⁶ The object

Snack Bar on Congress Avenue, in the predominantly Negro section called the hill, shoots Julio Diaz, A Puerto Rican, as crowds mill around outside,” the architecture magazine reported.

¹⁹³ For example, key sites included crowds forming in front of the headquarter of the Hill Parents Association (HPA), when looting was reported, how police violence was enforced, the time tear gas and fire bombs were released, when Mayor Richard C. Lee declared the streets of New Haven to be in a state of emergency, and when the curfew was lifted on Day 5. Peter M. Green and Ruth H. Cheney, “Urban Planning and Urban Revolt: A Case Study,” *Progressive Architecture* (January 1968): 134–56.

¹⁹⁴ For the editors of P/A, the riots were a result of two things: renewal and “Negro Revolution.” The editors could not even identify the community activism informed by Black Power with the Black Panthers in New Haven, but simply generalized site-specific Black activism as a nationwide “Negro Revolution.”

¹⁹⁵ Carley, *Tomorrow Is Here: New Haven and the Modern Movement*.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

lesson that P/A offered—a lesson whose stakes were too high for the Black Workshop to disregard—had been lost on the city.¹⁹⁷ The Black Workshop needed to intervene.

The Black Workshop's Philosophy

The Black Workshop grounded its philosophy and approach to architecture in an analysis of the uneven structures of power in New Haven, which they referred to as “many broad and quite elusive variables [of] white racism.”¹⁹⁸ In a critique of urban poverty programs that was more precise than the coverage by the P/A, Black Workshop members directly linked renewal to the mistreatment of Black people. Indeed, the impact of asymmetrical power structures on Black neighborhoods could not be confined to a singular event critiqued en masse by dissenters on August 19, 1967. Instead, it constituted a deeply-threaded pattern in the regional history of New Haven's urban development—one that required a new tactic, rooted in an architectural education tailored specifically for Black architecture and planning students, to unravel.

It is not surprising, then, that the Black Workshop saw the Yale architecture curriculum and New Haven's renewal efforts in simultaneous view. Both Yale and New Haven were adopting modernism's penchant for concrete highways and high-rises to shape a regional image of modernism replete with vertical landmarks and, perhaps most importantly, its commitment to render the region racially white through a “total obliteration of the ghetto image.”¹⁹⁹ How the Black Workshop marshalled against these terms are demonstrated in their alternative

¹⁹⁷ Territorialized poverty is still not fully understood and is still very much present in city politics today.

¹⁹⁸ Black Workshop, “Raison d'Être,” p. 1, February 1969, Kingman Brewster, Jr., President of Yale University, Records, RU 11, Box 26, Folder 1, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT (hereafter cited as “Brewster Records”).

¹⁹⁹ According to the *New Haven Register* in 1964, the “ghetto image” that needed to be eradicated were two areas above the school: (1) the triangle area between Dixwell Avenue and (2) Goffe Street, west of Elm Haven. *New Haven Register*, as quoted in Carley, *Tomorrow Is Here*, 47.

pedagogical agenda as well as their effort to build alliances with Black residents living near the Yale campus.²⁰⁰

The Black Workshop's alternative pedagogical agenda as well as its effort to build alliances with Black residents living near the Yale campus distinguish it from other student groups like The Architect's Resistance and architectural outlets like the P/A. But the Black Workshop's point of view on the violence of renewal practices and police brutality was also distinct.²⁰¹ In P/A's view, both police violence and renewal violence were a "symbol and a cause of greater social ills."²⁰² The Black Workshop considered this combination not simply a representation, but the root cause of asymmetric geographies that contributed to the production of racialized ghettos, a position that Black Power activists articulated in writing in the immediate aftermath of the 1965 Watts "Riots".

²⁰⁰ Kingman Brewster Papers, Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University. Scully's book on Yale and New Haven does not mention the Black Workshop even though he mentions the Black Panthers in referencing Eero Saarinen's Ingall's Ice Rink.

²⁰¹ Other portrayals of police brutality that the Black Workshop were attuned to were connected to American imperialism, such as para-military techniques such as radio dispatching and helicopter surveillance. According to the *Liberator*, these techniques that were used as those developed for insurgency in "Vietnam, Santo Domingo, the Congo and elsewhere" were used in Watts. The *Liberator*, Sept 1965, Watts: Politics of Poverty, Bob Steward and Richard Price of the Watts Action Committee, 7–9. For example, instead of using the traditional technologies such as figure ground maps, the Los Angeles Police Department drew boundary maps to indicate conflict zones, using codes to indicate types of events. P/A portrayed a similar approach by the New Haven police and state police as they patrolled in small groups for almost 20-hour shifts, introducing Mayor Richard C. Lee's as he "paces the floor in his map-lined basement command post." P/A 1967.

P/A's report was not written with the synthetic precision of the essays in the *Liberator*, nor did they even treat Black Nationalism as a coherent model of Black Power. But in moment of 1967, P/A's report delivered (for the first time to a white architectural audience) the idea that American race-conscious liberalism had not effected any tangible change for the poor. They reported that New Haven had received \$930 per capita in renewal funds (New York received 46\$ per capita), indicating 7,000 residents of which 40% of New Haven's African-American population was "relocated."²⁰¹ Over 5,000 housing units were constructed but were built with middle to upper middle-income groups in mind, only deepening the concentrated pockets of poverty in the city. New Haven launched fifteen redevelopment project areas, the largest of which were jointly developed with Yale. Scully described Yale and New Haven's relationship as an "unhealthy alliance." For this and other texts describing this relationship see Scully, "Modern Architecture at Yale: A Memoir."

²⁰² Peter M. Green and Ruth H. Cheney, "Urban Planning and Urban Revolt: A Case Study," *Progressive Architecture* (January 1968): 134–56.

In the *Liberator*, a monthly political magazine and leading intellectual incubator of Black Nationalist thought, Watts was the “greatest crusade of the 20th century” that activists long predicted.²⁰³ Contributors to the *Liberator* such as the Watts Action Committee (WAC) made precise connections between the “so-called War on Poverty” and the riotous response in the streets. In one piece, two members of the WAC—Bob Stewart and Richard Price—argued that

[t]he War on Poverty must become more than just another opportunity to point out the fraudulent nature of U.S. Liberalism. It must be an opportunity to organize and involve in struggle the broad masses of poor, with the Black community as a vanguard, around concrete demands based upon the real needs of the people...It must be an ideology that has its testing ground not in the parlor, but in the streets.²⁰⁴

For the WAC, poverty programs were “highly overrated Power Structure propaganda.” Stewart and Price presented a photo pairing that framed poverty not only as a social phenomenon but one that was spatially and historically produced. Watts’ destruction, they explained, had long preceded the August 1965 riots; for Stewart and Price, the photo of Watts in ruins before the 1965 riots elucidated the fact that the city had already been damaged in “a long continuing process” that was merely “accelerated” by the rioting of August 1965.²⁰⁵ (*Figure 2.2*).

In a manner resonant with the WAC’s skepticism of poverty programs and commitment to direct action organizing, the Black Workshop members adopted what historian Robert Self has called “emancipatory politics” practiced by Black Nationalist groups and Chicano activists

²⁰³ The *Liberator* magazine was published by the Black Nationalist organization Liberation Committee for Africa (LCA). For a history of the *Liberator* and the LCA, see Christopher M. Tinson, “‘The Voice of the Black Protest Movement’: Notes on the *Liberator* Magazine and Black Radicalism in the Early 1960s,” *The Black Scholar* 37, no. 4 (2008): 3–15; and Christopher M. Tinson, *Radical Intellect: ‘Liberator’ Magazine and Black Activism in the 1960s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

²⁰⁴ Bob Stewart and Richard Price of the Watts Action Committee, “Watts: Politics of Poverty,” *Liberator*, September 1965, 7–9.

²⁰⁵ While not part of this dissertation, the history of visual culture of urban renewal that used photography especially as it was used as evidence to build a case to raze public housing is distinct from how I see the WAC using photography. See, Cuff Provisional City: Los Angeles Stories of Architecture and Urban Renewal.

across the U.S.²⁰⁶ Inspired by Frantz Fanon’s anticolonial thought, the Black Panther Party in Oakland and other Black Nationalist organizations of the 1960s adapted Fanon’s political language to fit the conditions they were facing in the United States as Self argued “that vast segments of the American landscape were ‘internal colonies’ the ‘liberation’ of which required both new ideologies...and new tactics including ‘off the pigs!’—the Panthers’ infamous anthem.”²⁰⁷ The popular “off the pigs!” ethos formally arrived in New Haven in 1969, when the Black Panther Party established chapter headquarters in New Haven’s Dwight neighborhood and began distributing their newspapers around campus. According to a Party leader in New Haven, “Yale is one of the biggest Pig organizations.”²⁰⁸ With the Black Panther Party quickly gaining local and national visibility, the Black Workshop’s political views increasingly coincided with the Party’s politics.²⁰⁹ (*Figure 2.3*)

As a movement concerned with what scholar-activist Ananya Roy has called “community liberation,” the Black Panther Party foregrounded the importance of granting black communities freedom to determine their own destinies by developing services and programs such as the Breakfast for Children Program (*Figure 2.4*), the Sickle-Cell Anemia Research Foundation, the

²⁰⁶ In reading the Black Panther Party in Oakland, Self has argued that, “following the work of Frantz Fanon, students, Chicano activists, and a variety of Black nationalist groups adapted an emancipatory politics.” Robert Self, “‘To Plan Our Liberation’: Black Power and the Politics of Place in Oakland, California, 1965-1977,” *Journal of Urban History* 26, no. 6 (2000): 762.

²⁰⁷ Self, “‘To Plan Our Liberation,’ ” 762.

²⁰⁸ Doug Miranda, as quoted in John Taft, *Mayday at Yale: A Case Study in Student Radicalism* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1976), 19. Miranda would lead the speech rally at Ingalls rink.

²⁰⁹ Bass, Paul. Paul Bass and Douglas W Rae, *Murder in the Model City: The Black Panthers, Yale and the Redemption of a Killer*. (New York: Basic Books, 2009), Ch1. The BPP sets up their headquarter in a three-story apartment complex called Eden Courts in Dwight. Yohuru Williams has described New haven as favorable climate perfectly primed to accept the Black Panther Party.

Community Learning Center, and the Intercommunal Youth Institute that provided food, health care, and education to Black Oaklanders.²¹⁰

If the BPP's spatial praxis included offering social services, the Black Workshop emphasized the planning literacy and education. In their words the Black Workshop explained, "we have found that at present Black architecture and planning students are not educated sufficiently to cope with problems relevant to their community's needs but rather in 'traditional,' establishment, personal, [and] monumental architecture."²¹¹

The "Raison d'Être," Part 1

One of the best ways to grasp the largely unrealized architectural pedagogy of the Black Workshop is by examining one of their texts they called "Raison d'Être," written collectively by the workshop members. Seeking funding, the Black Workshop submitted the "Raison d'Être" to President Kingman Brewster's office.²¹² In it, they outlined the purpose and objectives of the Black Workshop including their goal "to create a completely new educational process for architects and planners."²¹³ Developing an alternative educational process was one of the key

²¹⁰ The Black Workshop borrowed language from Black Power's most prominent organizers, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, as the Black Workshop described the need to "decolonize" American cities, which echoed the Black Panther Party's analysis of Oakland as a "colonized ghetto" like "other colonial cities of Asia or Africa: Shanghai, Singapore, Alexandria, and Hong Kong." The first demand in the BPP Ten-Point Party Platform and Program is "We want Freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community." Huey P. Newton and J. Herman Blake, *Revolutionary Suicide* (Writers and Readers, 1995). I have also published these observations about the BPP's neighborhood programs. See, Rebecca Choi. "Survival Pending Revolution: The Black Panther Party on View." *The Avery Review*, Issue 22.

²¹¹ Black Workshop, "Raison d'Être," p. 1, February 1969, Kingman Brewster, Jr., President of Yale University, Records, RU 11, Box 26, Folder 1, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT (hereafter cited as "Brewster Records").

²¹² Black Workshop, "Raison d'Être." Multiple versions and drafts of the Black Workshop's "Raison d'Être" exist in the School of Architecture, Yale University, Records, RU 1048, Box 2, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT (hereafter cited as "YSA Records").

²¹³ Black Workshop, "Raison d'Être." YSA Records

goals for the Black Workshop. This alternative educational vision included adding to the YSA curricula a new studio course titled the Black Workshop, taught by faculty advisors (and jurors) curated by the Workshop, and receiving degree credit for planning and design work they offered to neighborhoods near Yale (Dwight, Dixwell, and Elm).

By planning and design work, the Workshop proposed researching and developing “New Methods to finance housing, community control of schools and other community institutions, new construction methods, land acquisition and contractual proceedings.”²¹⁴ The Black Workshop’s argument for alternative forms of architectural education and practice and the language they used to express their goals suggests that they shared separatist ideology with Black power organizations such as the Black Panther Party. Demanding community control of Black communities, the Black Workshop explained their goals:

We, the Black Environmentalist Studies Team (B.E.S.T.), think that the local community should design and control its own destiny. We think that the Black community and other disadvantaged communities must have their own doctors, architects, lawyers, teachers, planners, etc., to serve their particular needs.²¹⁵ (*Figure 2.5*)

Echoing the terms of the Black Panther Party’s Ten-Point Program for Self-Defense, whose first demand declared, “We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community,” the Black Workshop utilized the BPP’s value of separatism as a pathway toward establishing powerful Black communities.²¹⁶ For example, before being elected as chairman of

²¹⁴ Melvin Mitchell, Casey Mann, Robert Jayson, and Harry Quintana, “Black Architects for Black Communities,” *Liberator* (February 1968). The Black Workshop’s interest in land acquisition can also be said to have been influenced the Black Panther Party’s practice of land banking of vacant lots.

²¹⁵ Black Workshop, “Raison d’Être.”

²¹⁶ There is a lot of confusion around the name Black Workshop and the Black Environmental Studies Team in terms of which name came first, and who was part of each group. According to former Workshop member Roland Bedford, the Black Workshop by 1969, had also splintered into two Black Workshops of the same name. For reasons to maintain the narrative that the Black Workshop was a cohesive group, this fact has been suppressed. For the purposes of this dissertation, the dissertation makes no endorsements to maintain an idea of ‘cohesion.’ Indeed, it recognizes the fact that different group members held different aspirations, but to see a kind of danger of ethnic absolutism that Paul Gilroy speaks of with regard to the need to make ethnic minorities into a unanimous voice

the Black Workshop, Harry Quintana—the most vocal of the Black Workshop members—best expressed the how the idea of community-control related to architects. In an essay, “Black Architects for Black Communities,” Quintana and his Black colleagues wrote:

usually hundreds of thousands of dollars in planning and design fees, slip outside of that community in to the hands of a rich, fat, overly developed, arrogant profession of agents and front men (white architects and planners) who are traditionally the apologists and rationalists for the very interests and institutions already breaking the backs of Black people.²¹⁷

The article asked why “Black leaders” continued to award projects to “famous designers” if teaching technical services such as drafting, graphic design and services designed to teach residents how to read plans could be carried out. For Quintana, this was a straightforward task:

While it may well require five to eight years to adequately train a design and planning professional, many other jobs in the planning process can be fulfilled by members of the community (secretaries, typists, surveyors physical and social – planning aides, draftsmen, and various other graphic technicians). The military seems to find no great difficulty taking practically any reasonably literate member of the society and providing him with the skills needed to perform satisfactorily in any one of the above listed jobs within eight to sixteen weeks.²¹⁸

With this critique in mind, the members of the Black Workshop engaged in multiple strategies of what might be considered Black architectures: (1) they engaged architectural education as a way of building “community-control,” or self-determination; (2) they conceptualized a separate Black commune that upheld and centered Black life and sociality; and (3) they focused on a housing

could be at play here. I do not want to flatten the variety of demands that the Black Workshop and its various iterations took on, and is a study that would require more analysis than this dissertation had room for. For the purposes of maintaining former Workshop members’ own desires to assume a singular image of the Black Workshop, I do support their position, especially in terms of the idea of “strategic essentialism” put forward in the late eighties by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. In terms of the Black Workshop, their “Raison d’Être,” under the section “What We Want Now!” speaks to the topic of separatism versus integration that is discussed by historian Robert Self, who sees the Black Panther Party’s separatist approach as distinct from the orders outlined by the Nation of Islam. Self, ““To Plan Our Liberation”: Black Power and the Politics of Place in Oakland, California, 1965-1977.”

²¹⁷ Melvin Mitchell, Casey Mann, Robert Jayson, and Harry Quintana, “Black Architects for Black Communities,” *Liberator*, February 1968.

²¹⁸ Mitchell, Mann, Jayson, and Quintana, “Black Architects for Black Communities.”

project proposal that sought to address poverty by way of the architecture. These projects were notable examples of the Black Workshop's complex, multiscalar strategy of combining various strains of Black political philosophies as they were written in the *Intercommunal News Service*, the *Liberator*, and *Freedomways*.²¹⁹ Figures such as Booker T. Washington (accommodationist), Whitney M. Young (integrationist), Huey Newton and Bobby Seale (separatist) all fed into the Black Workshop's writings. While these leaders of Black political movements are separated by generations and offered distinct approaches toward achieving Black political enlightenment, accommodationist, integrationist, and separatist philosophies can be identified through the individual lived experiences of Workshop members. The Black Workshop architecture students were looking for a space of equality both in the classroom and in the city. They engaged in dialectical struggle with various Black political thinkers, experimenting with and adapting the ideas that resonated with them to craft an architectural praxis grounded in the local Black community.²²⁰

In drawing from a long tradition of Black radical thinkers to inform their architectural thought and practice, the Black Workshop members expanded the limits of architectural

²¹⁹ By *Black politics*, I refer to Marcus Pohlmann's definition of Black politics as "the sum total of actions, ideas, and efforts aimed at creating better conditions for African-descended people in the United States." Marcus Pohlmann, *Capitalism vs. Collectivism: The Colonial Era to 1945; African American Political Thought*, vol. 3 (New York, NY: Routledge, 2003), xvii. Used in this way, the term *Black politics* describes a condition that makes Black Power groups appear as a monolithic category, I cut Black politics through a cross-sectional view, in order to understand porosity and overlap. For example, Black Workshop members also emphasized individual solutions such as manual drafting training as it was promoted by the Booker T. Washington at the Tuskegee Institute in the late nineteenth century.

²²⁰ The time periods within which they are working are separated. Explain the lived experiences that each were pulling from (Booker T. Washington) This is not a transhistorical narrative, in the sense that historians have produced, but Black political leaders, separated by decades are discussed here because they come up through the individual lived experiences of Workshop members who subscribed to and engaged in non-violent protests such as the (list the ones that Bedford attended) before pursuing their education at Yale, but also because I read the language and concepts the BW deploy are inflected by concepts sprouting around Black freedom struggle. In particular, Black power activists who were writing parallels between American ghettos and (global) colonies. Nunes, in particular writing in *Freedomways*.

pedagogy that had been bound by narrow disciplinary parameters. In their specific goal to provide what they called “technical services,” I argue that the main source of inspiration for the Black Workshop members were not the accepted names in architectural education at Yale, such as Paul Rudolph and later Charles Moore who developed procedures and methods, even though they were aware of the figures responsible for shaping architectural discourse, education and practice at the time. Instead, a range of Black political thinkers and philosophies informed the way that the Black Workshop thought about architectural education, which included thinking about the relevance of drafting as an inroad to the profession, how to teach and practice reciprocal engagement and what this training would look like if such skills were taught to community members.

While straightforward, this goal of community engagement was not easy to carry out. Even when YSA faculty were interviewed after the New Haven riots, the P/A reported that faculty “expressed great concern for involving the community in planning neighborhoods, but often were vague about how the dialogue should start...But because they do not want to alienate their chances of future work, the faculty with few exceptions, has seldom individually, or collectively offered strong advice or criticism” and this tendency was made clear in the Black Workshop’s demands for relevant studio courses.²²¹

The “Raison d’Être,” Part 2

The “Raison d’Être” was dated February 2, 1969, and in the document, the Black Workshop begins by explaining that the new push in American cities stems from “advocate groups.” The student members described their skepticism for a recently popularized concept of

²²¹ Peter M. Green and Ruth H. Cheney, “Urban Planning and Urban Revolt: A Case Study,” *Progressive Architecture* (January 1968): 134–56.

advocacy planning developed by Paul Davidoff, a planner trained in law.²²² The “Raison d’Être” was not the only written text that included Davidoff’s terminology “to advocate.” In an undated Summer Program proposal, the Black Workshop questioned the effectiveness of merely advocating for minority groups.

Environmental design seeks to accommodate those forces which act to create our environment. Today, after the advent of advocacy planners (whatever they were supposed to have been), we see that those forces are very complex and have an intricate, delicate relationship.²²³

There were multiple ways in which the workshop members would have been exposed to Davidoff’s theories. Published in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 1965, Davidoff’s “Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning” advanced advocacy as a methodology driven by public policy change. Trained in law, Davidoff’s indebtedness to the idea of advocacy came from the field of criminal law where advocating, as a legal term, implied representing victims or victimized groups against another. Advocacy in the planning and design profession was used in relation to representing who Davidoff called minority groups and low-income families.

As a public policy tool, advocacy could be “institutionalized” as plural planning method by a process called neighborhood level participation. For Davidoff, democratizing the planning process meant politicizing it. On her reflections of Advocacy Planning, Lisa R. Peattie described Davidoff’s views of planning as overtly political, marked by “pluralistic and partisan” attitudes. Moreover, Peattie explains that the concept of advocacy “can only be understood in the context of the management of modern American cities” that was increasingly in the period that Davidoff was writing considered to be in crisis.

²²² Davidoff was trained in law. For more on his biography see the previous chapter in this dissertation.

²²³ Proposal for Summer Program, p. 4, Brewster Records, RU 11, Box 27, Folder 4, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

Davidoff claimed that an effective urban democracy was “one in which citizens may be able to play an active role in the process of deciding public policy.”²²⁴ The widening of what and who were involved in public policy simply created for Peattie an ever-widening “management apparatus” within policy debates that shifted public policy from politics to one of expertise.²²⁵ An example of how Davidoff specified his ideas can be seen in his essay on “Democratic Planning” published in the School of Architecture’s student-edited journal, *Perspecta*, in 1967.²²⁶

The invitation to contribute to an issue of *Perspecta* concerned primarily with architecture is noteworthy. The content of the 1967 issue, both the type of contributors and the topics discussed were in tune with Yale School of Architecture’s early identification with the arts and featured Donald Judd, Dan Flavin, Claes Oldenberg, Robert Morris, and John Cage, alongside well-known practicing architects such as Robert Venturi, Shadrach Woods, George Nelson, and James Stirling. Nestled between an essay by Peter Cook on the megastructures of Archigram and Marshall McLuhan’s essay on the new invisible environments of the electronic age, Davidoff’s essay looks curiously out of place. The essay outlined the same constituent arguments as his essay first published for the American Institute of Planners, but in a condensed format. He wrote that advocacy planning always included “professional planners and designers to represent the interest of their client organizations.” In 1965, he stressed that these client organizations may have been minority or low-income families that needed advocates. By 1967, the essay in *Perspecta* points to what he called “the unrepresented in our society, the poor and the Negro [sic]” and went on to explain that the “advocates of the poor have in several cases

²²⁴ Paul Davidoff, “Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31, no. 4 (1965): 331–38.

²²⁵ Peattie references Harvey Brooks in her assessment of the growing presence of bureaucratic management in the planning of American cities, of which, for Peattie, Davidoff’s concept of “advocacy planning” is symptomatic of.

²²⁶ Paul Davidoff, “Democratic Planning,” *Perspecta* 11 (1967): 156–59.

been architects or architect-planners.” His description that architects have practiced advocacy was delivered in an explanatory manner that seemingly exposed the architecture student to the social dimension of the architect’s role. The problem, though, lay precisely in *who* Davidoff imagined as the people doing the advocating.

In “The Patrician Hangup,” Pat Goeters, a white architect who held a joint appointment in the Architecture and City Planning School at Yale, describes Davidoff’s advocacy theory as following the “white caretaker” tradition.²²⁷ In describing what this meant, Goeters writes,

He is relentlessly objective, dispassionate, uninvolved, detached from the ‘clients’ he advocates for. He seems to share the traditional patrician attitude that ‘we know what’s best for you.’ He suggests that a group of intellectuals with no other interest than the common good, no other passion than good will, no other commitment than objectivity can ride herd on government agencies, performing a kind of unfranchised gad-fly function.²²⁸

Goeters’ characterization of advocacy elicits the fact that Davidoff never imagined that the advocate architect would be Black. Still, Davidoff’s assessment of the architect—now considered an architect-planner and, more elaborately, an architect-advocate—diversified the architect’s expertise in a manner that the School of Architecture at Yale tried to avoid. Unlike the University of Pennsylvania’s Civic Design Program that developed a “civic design” program aimed to flatten the “essential activity of the three fields: architects, planners, and landscape architects” into one expert, Yale’s School of Architecture actively tried to separate the field of architecture from planning. This desire to separate would become finalized in 1969 when the

²²⁷ Pat Goeters, “The Patrician Hangup,” *Perspecta* 12 (1969): 45–48. Goeters was not the only architect-planner skeptical of Davidoff’s theory of advocacy. See Roger Starr, “Advocators or Planners?” A.S.P.O. Newsletter, December 1967; and Lisa R. Peattie, “Reflections on Advocacy Planning,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 34, no. 2 (March 1968): 80–88.

²²⁸ Goeters, “The Patrician Hangup,” 48.

Department of City Planning was shut down.²²⁹ While advocacy never gained momentum in the School of Architecture, the motivations underlying Black Workshop's skepticism for advocacy planning differed from those fueling the School's aversion to it.

The Black Workshop's skepticism of advocacy did not coincide with the School of Architecture's. Yet the Black Workshop's skepticism of 'advocacy' existed on multiple levels. Davidoff's theory of advocacy was only tangentially spatial, and rarely discussed in terms of targeting specific neighborhoods or specific minority groups. Using terms such "the Negro [sic]" was not only out of date by 1967 as an all-encompassing term for African-Americans, but singling out Black families was also inconsistent with his previous method.

Davidoff's theories were taught at Yale, and the Black Workshop students would have read Davidoff in their courses.²³⁰ For example, the transcript of Lancelot Oriah Bailey, a student on track to receive his Master's in City Planning, lists him as simultaneously enrolled in course codes "CP Black Workshop" and "PL138b Law of Planning," which would have taught Davidoff's theories.²³¹ If the Black Workshop students were not exposed to Davidoff in coursework, yet another opportunity to be exposed to Davidoff's theories would have been in *Perspecta*.²³²

The ways in which the Black Workshop engaged with Davidoff and used his terms belies the fact that they themselves were developing a distinct theory of participatory architecture.

²²⁹ For this history Goldstein, Brian. "Planning's End? Urban Renewal in New Haven, the Yale School of Art and Architecture, and the Fall of the New Deal Spatial Order." *Journal of Urban History* 37, no. 3 (2011): 400–422.

²³⁰ In the previous chapter, I describe Davidoff's courses at UPenn.

²³¹ Transcript of Lancelot Oriah Bailey, p. 4, Brewster Records, RU 11, Box 27, Folder 4, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

²³² While Davidoff's theories all still taught in planning schools today, his theories are not commonly taught in architecture school.

Advocacy was a mode of contention for the Black Workshop, whose members questioned the effectiveness of merely advocating for minority groups. Taking an approach shaped by Black Power ideas of self-determination and community-control, the Black Workshop suggested giving the local Black community “control of its own destiny.” One Black Workshop initiative was a community internship, through which “residents of the Black community with interest in developing technical skills in architecture, graphics and planning [would] be assigned to BW technical teams as interns.” The community internship program addressed both employment and education, widely recognized as the “two chronic problems in impoverished areas.”²³³

Philosophy of Drafting: Pathway to Self-Determination

Describing the Black Workshop’s efforts to create a “technical service organization” is noteworthy, as drafting skills for the Black Workshop were considered inroads toward self-determination. The banal bureaucratic nature of the term was distinct from the self-defined Beaux Arts identity that the YSA tried to uphold. Two ideas seem to capture the objectives of this technical service organization. First, it elevated technical training such as drafting and graphic design in the American architectural profession, elements whose use-value was in question at the time. Second, the term “technical service organization” acknowledges the centrality of “technical” training as it existed historically in Reconstruction-era industrial trade schools.

In *Drafting Culture: A Social History of Architectural Graphic Standards*, George Barnett Johnston traces the function of manual drafting in the architectural as early as the

²³³ Black Workshop, “Summer Program Proposal” Brewster Records, RU 11, Box 27, Folder 4, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

1900s.²³⁴ Describing a friction between what would become the “vocation” versus “academic authority” in the architect's education, Johnston describes how the role of the draftsman—at once integral to the “aesthetic, social, and technological knowledge about architecture” and the “epistemological link between constructions in the field and drafting board representations”—had, over time, been suppressed in favor of an academic engine steeped in a “university-based architectural education.”²³⁵ At the time of the Black Workshop’s formation, the YSA had firmly privileged the persona of the architect as a singular creative genius since it was formally established as a school within the School of Fine Arts in 1916.²³⁶

In *Pedagogy and Place*, Robert Stern and Jimmy Stamps emphasize YSA’s distinct origins in the art school, rather than in engineering or building science that commonly took place across the U.S.²³⁷ As an institutional promotion piece, the book includes black and white photos of figure drawing and painting studios as evidence of the program’s pursuit to develop a “community imbued with the esprit de corps of the Ecole” and a “shared pursuit of truth and beauty.” The YSA’s emergence within the School of Fine Arts was instrumental for Stern and Stamp, whose treatment of the YSA as a whole focuses on its early pedagogical alliance with

²³⁴ George Barnett Johnston, *Drafting Culture: A Social History of Architectural Graphic Standards* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008).

²³⁵ Johnston, *Drafting Culture*, 2–3.

²³⁶ Architecture courses were offered as early as 1879 in the School of Fine Arts. There was a distinct difference between the Beaux Arts, whose funding was supported by the French state, Yale would rely on endowments. Like Penn who established their Architecture program in 1890, the architecture program at Yale was modeled after the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and later the Bauhaus. In *Pedagogy and Place*, Robert Stern and Jimmy Stamps emphasize YSA’s distinct origins in the art school, rather than in engineering or building science that commonly took place across the U.S. As an institutional promotion piece, the book includes black and white photos of figure drawing and painting studios as evidence of the program’s pursuit to develop a “community imbued with the esprit de corps of the Ecole” and a “shared pursuit of truth and beauty.”²³⁶ Architecture’s emergence within the School of Fine Arts, was instrumental for Stern and Stamp, whose treatment of YSA as a whole focuses on its early pedagogical alliance with painting and sculpture. As boosters of a Beaux Arts driven model, the YSOA fed into the growing prestige of a Fine Arts education developing throughout the tail end of the 19th century. Stern and Stamp, *Pedagogy and Place*.

²³⁷ Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT) are notable examples of the latter.

painting and sculpture. In 1960, YSA's course curriculum for a four-year professional course leading to Bachelor of Science or Bachelor of Arts, as well as an extended seven-year program leading to a Bachelor of Architecture. The curriculum included courses such as First-Year Architectural Design, listed as "[t]he study of simple contemporary architectural problems, exercises in form, structure, and space to develop the student's awareness and imagination." This description exemplified what Johnston called an academically-driven education model. As the course title suggests, architectural design is then considered to include skills such as "awareness and imagination" rather than manual skills; demonstrating in high relief, Johnston's observation that "intellectual tools based in architectural theory and design methods, were indoctrinated into an elite and often elitist culture of architectural design." Even courses that taught mechanical drawing and graphic design were listed under the course heading "Means of Architectural Expression," suggesting even manual or practical skills like graphic lettering and drafting board presentation to make it more artistic than it actually was.

The "Raison d'Être" captures the Black Workshop's discontent to this method of architectural education. Teaching drafting skills was one salve for the issues of YSA's curricula. In their words,

We have found that at present Black architectural and planning students are not educated sufficiently to cope with problems relevant to their community's needs, but rather in 'traditional establishment', personal, monumental architecture.²³⁸

The relevance of drafting for the Black Workshop would be carried out under their "technical services." As a technical service organization, the Black Workshop also reminds us to think about the important role that drafting skills played in the early formation of industrial schools developed to educate newly-freed people during Reconstruction. Richard Dozier, one of the

²³⁸ Black Workshop, "Raison d'Être," Brewster Records, RU 11 Box 27, Folder 4, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

founding members of the Black Workshop, recalled the unprecedented uniqueness of the buildings on campus, design-built by African American students at Tuskegee.²³⁹ As shown by Mary N. Woods in her study of the architectural profession, the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama was one of the first institutes to emphasize drafting skills and offer courses in architecture and building.²⁴⁰ Alongside other land grant institutions such as MIT, Cornell, the University of Illinois, and Columbia, Tuskegee taught architecture within the field of engineering and industrial arts.²⁴¹

Woods presents Tuskegee as a school that relied predominantly on the idea of “self-help and self-sufficiency.” Booker T. Washington, the founder of the school, advanced the agenda of racial uplift and, most relevant to this dissertation, considered architecture as the tool that would help institute his race politics centered around social mobility.²⁴² In “Mind and Matter” (1895), Washington asks, “What is education?” and continued to explain the use value of manual training skills: “By education, the mind is strengthened, whether through the study of the classics or through mechanical drawing, or through the carpenter shop.”²⁴³ Washington considered the utility of drafting in the same way as many of the manual training boosters interested in hand to heart education at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1904, Washington wrote *Working with the Hands* and introduced educational agenda with what he called an “object lesson” that

²³⁹ Dozier eventually became Dean of the Taylor School of Architecture and Construction Science at Tuskegee.

²⁴⁰ Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 68.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid., 73.

²⁴³ Booker T. Washington, “Mind and Matter,” in *Afro-American Encyclopaedia: Or, The Thoughts, Doings, and Sayings of the Race; Illustrated with Beautiful Half-Tone Engravings*, ed. James T. Haley (Nashville, TN: Haley and Florida, 1895), 90.

taught students how to build from “top to bottom.” The object lesson included drafting and building which categorized as “systematic mental or menial training.”²⁴⁴

Through members such as Richard Dozier, the Black Workshop would have understood the value of such training and its relationship to professionalization of the Black architect as well as its use value for the communities living near the university.²⁴⁵ From the very beginning of the Black Workshop’s formation, creating a “new educational process for architects and planners” invariably included teaching skills such as drafting and graphic design. Interestingly, these were valuable skills they believed could be learned by the community and deployed to bridge the gap between “the people” and the government. For example, Washington’s explanation in *Mind and Matter* is useful here: “When the black man can make his education felt in producing a brick house or something that somebody wants to get hold of nothing causes friction to pass away soon.”²⁴⁶ If Washington believed that teaching the Black man how to build a house “causes friction to pass away soon,” then educating the community as the Black Workshop aspired to do, was imagined to lessen friction between the city officials agenda and the community.²⁴⁷ Perhaps

²⁴⁴ For Woods, reading Washington, the significance of Tuskegee was that Washington’s object lessons centered mechanical training: “carpentry, brick masonry, saw milling, blacksmithing, and wagon and carriage construction” and later by 1892, architectural drafting, within the architecture program.

²⁴⁵ It is unclear if the Black Workshop was aware of the procedures that lead one to be eligible to take the license exam. Licensure was one of the many “medals” that distinguished the architect and architect-type. (fn p.2) The architect-type was an individual who: “has an understanding of the problem, a desire to serve the community and an ability to define and solve the problem in terms of the needs of the community, but however lacks the ‘medals’ needed to be recognized as an architect, (i.e., experience degree, license by the outside community. In many cases the ‘architect-type,’ though with expressed ability and knowledge of the profession and community needs lacks some technical requirements needed to gain these ‘medals’ simply because he cannot get a relevant education according to his desires) in a university and consequently drops out or never attends.” Black Workshop letters Brewster Records, RU 11, Box 27, Folder 4, Yale University, New Haven, CT. On the topic of licensure, see Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 2.

²⁴⁶ Washington, “*Mind and Matter*,” 99.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.* There are at times inconsistencies with the Black Workshop’s aims to teach drafting to New Havenites, which aligns closely to Tuskegee’s manual training curriculum. But because Washington was an accommodationist and integrationist, reading the Black Workshop’s emphasis on drafting skills complicates the Black nationalist narrative of separatism implicit in the Black Workshop’s call for the Black community to have their own “doctors,

if we look outside of the established setting of Yale's white supremacy, we can see Washington's values at work. In the next section, I turn to the Watts Urban Workshop as a precedent for the work that the Black Workshop took up.

Watts Urban Workshop as Precedent

Watts was an inspiration to Black freedom seekers across the nation, and it was also the center for architectural inspiration amongst Black Workshop members. In a document outlining who the Black Workshop sought as instructors to lead their studio course, the Black Workshop listed Edgar Goff and Eugene Brooks, the founders of the Watts Urban Workshop, among names of well-known Black architects like Donald Stull and J. Max Bond.²⁴⁸ Goff and Brooks, two Black architects, established the Urban Workshop in an abandoned lumber yard on 107th Street just blocks away from the epicenter of rioting on 103rd Street, nicknamed Charcoal Alley (*Figure 2.6 and Figure 2.7*). Goff received his architecture degree from the University of Southern California (USC) and a masters in Political Science from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and had worked for the office of Victor Gruen, widely known for designing regional shopping malls across the U.S. and Brooks also continued on toward his master's in Planning (although he never completed it) after completing his B.Arch. at USC (*Figure 2.8*).

Fueled by the chaotic response of the race riots and the city's refusal to acknowledge the immediate needs of neighborhood of Watts, Goff and Brooks began hosting information sessions

architects, lawyers, teachers, planners, etc.” For example, when the Black Workshop echoes the kind of separatist language mobilized by the Black Panther Party.

²⁴⁸ “Proposal for instructors to lead studio.” Brewster Records, RU 11, Box 27, Folder 4, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

geared toward educating Watts residents about the planning process with the effort to teach “planning at the community level.” They offered seminars such as “Soul And T-Square and hosted discussion sessions called “Involvement is the Name of the Game,” putting into practice what the Black Workshop aspired to carry out in the neighborhoods near Yale.

For Goff and Brooks, Lyndon Johnson’s War on Poverty programs such as Community Action and Model Cities Programs were a much-needed policy, but the program also assumed that Black residents in Watts inherently knew how to participate in the planning process. Thus one the Workshop’s principal ambitions was to develop resources for Watts residents to develop their own “creativity, skills and leadership” and provide pathways for local people to have an effective say in the public policies affecting so much of their lives. As Goff and Brooks explained, “we were here already, we are not a dropped in group.”²⁴⁹

This pithy statement captures the Urban Workshop’s effort to operate as a resource to the residents of Watts. The workshop directors were born and raised in the neighborhood, and thus the architects believed they had credibility and inroads with the residents of Watts. Indeed, the Newly Legislated Model Cities Program under the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development was institutionally organized to address race and radical uprisings in the U.S.²⁵⁰ While recent scholarship on early community development program as a “double system of pacification”²⁵¹ it was clear the Urban Workshop members wanted to incite change from within this system: “We’re not against renewal, just against bad planning. We dig Watts. We want to

²⁴⁹ Ellen P. Berkeley, “Workshop in Watts,” *Architectural Forum* 130 (January–February 1969): 58–63.

²⁵⁰ Ali Modarres, “The Dialectic of Development in US Urban Policies: An Alternative Theory of Poverty,” *Cities* 20, no. 1 (February 2003): 41–49.

²⁵¹ Ananya Roy, Stuart Schrader, and Emma Shaw Crane, “ ‘The Anti-Poverty Hoax’: Development, Pacification, and the Making of Community in the Global 1960s,” *Cities* 44 (April 2015): 140.

stay here; we want to rebuild here... We can't plan for the black community unless we know what's going on in the white community, and vice versa.”²⁵²

In describing the programmatic structure of their office, the Urban Workshop described their work as 80 percent social planning and 20 percent physical planning. And by 1971, the Workshop had expanded to over 30 architects and planners. Including sociologists, and anthropologists, each bringing their disciplinary expertise to help teach empowerment. Yet when the Urban Workshop applied for Model Cities funds, that required the “maximum feasible participation of the poor,” the Urban workshop was denied funding. Mayor Yorty in the wake of Watts riots worried that participation would only fuel Black nationalism, and the city lost out on the first round of Model Cities funds.

The workshop's access to federal funds would come in 1971, which gave birth to one of the few published documents by the Urban workshop—a report called “The Community Planning Project for South Central Los Angeles.” The report included numerous agendas for Watts and the greater neighborhood of South Central Los Angeles including this plan to expand their office to include a community gallery and workshop display area, an urban planning training space, observation tower, seminar space, design/drafting/layout area, research library, and temporary arts/crafts laboratory. Each of these spaces were imagined by the Workshop to be the infrastructure needed to educate and potentially transform the neighborhood resident into an active participant and even producer of future Watts (*Figure 2.9*).

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²⁵² Berkeley, “Workshop in Watts,” 58–63.

design/drafting/layout area, research library, and temporary arts/crafts laboratory. Each of these spaces were imagined by the Workshop to be the infrastructure needed to educate and potentially transform the neighborhood resident into an active participant and even producer of future Watts.

In preparation for these future users, the Urban Workshop also designed programmatic models and diagrams such as this “citizen participation model.” (*Figure 2.10*) The model was designed to improve the visibility of the planning process, and the Urban workshop made it clear in this step by step guide that development of conceptual community plans begins with a variety of stakeholders: indicated at the very left of diagram as community organizations, church groups, property owners, tenants, and underrepresented residents who the Urban Workshop considered were not self-organized.

Goff and Brooks reclassified the participant-user as “paraprofessionals.” These para-architects were to be educated by the Urban Workshop in their workshop space that provided an arena to directly expose the residents of Watts to the city redevelopment process. In this sense, this photo collage designed by the Urban Workshop in 1971 as the cover art for their Community Planning project for the South-Central Community of Los Angeles, encapsulates many of the many of the primary concerns the Urban Workshop (*Figure 2.11*). This photo-collage consists of an oblique plan of Los Angeles that bleeds off the picture frame and serves as a backdrop for the activity taking place in the foreground where three Black children are studying what we can imagine to be a map of Los Angeles. The image performs a variety of enactments: the young resident learning to be an expert architect overseeing the transformation in the city through highway systems. But from the little that I’ve already described of the Urban Workshop, it is clear that this image was never meant to be read alongside the thematic of modernist super-highways and the expert architect giving form to the city. Rather, the photo-collage can be read

as more appropriately performing a radical break from modernist architecture and planning discourse, putting forth an enactment closer to the workings of participatory planning and the cultivation of what the Chicago School ethnographers called the “complete participant” in its specific modality of providing a voice to marginalized groups.

“Freedom City” and the “Ghetto Beautiful” Plan

What the Black Workshop would have learned from the Watts Urban Workshop was that practicing community architecture would have included a range of methods to approach the city—one such method would have been to create a separate “city within a city”—that were being explored by the Watts Urban Workshop and a Black Power group calling themselves US (an acronym for United Slaves), which had been established by local Watts resident, Ron Karenga. (fig 2.12) Unlike the Panthers, Karenga combined anti-colonial cultural nationalism alongside more left-wing manifestations of Black Power as means for enacting Black capitalism, economic development, and control of community organizations.²⁵³ Karenga, like the Urban Workshop, also established US in the immediate aftermath of the Watts uprising. In his declaration of Black Power, Karenga outlined a “seven-fold path of Blackness: to think Black, talk Black, act Black, create Black, buy Black, vote Black and live Black.”²⁵⁴

Integration, let alone equality, for Karenga in the post segregationist era could not simply be achieved through job training, self-help and education, but rather through radical separation from what he called the hostile white power structure. There is much that can be said about Karenga’s developmental perspective that emphasized separatism, but of particular interest here

²⁵³ For the difference between Karenga and other Black nationalist groups, as well as the distinction between the US Organization and the most identifiable Black Power organization, the Black Panthers, see Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2008), 93–95.

²⁵⁴ Ron Karenga, *The Quotable Karenga* (Los Angeles: US Organization, 1971): 162–70.

is the spatial manifestation of Karenga's separatist attitudes. Karenga pictured here in front of census tract maps was one of the first advocates to rebuild the neighborhood of Watts as a separate city within the larger city of Los Angeles (*Figure 2.12*). Not long after, in 1966, Black members of the National Urban League (NUL) were featured in *Jet Magazine*. In an article entitled "Seek to Make Watts a Separate Town in California," the magazine publicized the NUL's proposal for "Freedom City" which outlined the ways in which Watts could operate as its own city, complete with a separate police force and other municipal services. With language strikingly similar to Karenga's phrasing for an operational secession of Watts and the NUL's proposal for "Freedom City," the Watts Urban Workshop developed their own proposal for an independent Watts, with an urban concept they called "Ghetto Beautiful."

Unlike Karenga and the NUL, who were only essentially mobilizing their separatist agenda through an on-the-ground fight (for example, creating vigilante community task forces such as the Community Alert Patrol to offset LAPD police brutality), the Urban Workshop's Ghetto Beautiful plan was the first comprehensive urban proposal that utilized a separatist perspective as a way to "uplift" the Watts and surrounding Black neighborhoods, drawing on Karenga's ideas of separation rather than integration to rebuild Watts (*Figure 2.13*).

The Watts Ghetto Beautiful plan was proposed under a larger research goal entitled IMPACT (Improve Motivate Plan Act Communicate Together) that was never carried out, but the conceptual underpinnings of the Ghetto Beautiful Plan are worth investigating. Taking on Daniel Burnham's agenda for Chicago's City Beautiful movement at the turn of the century, the Watts Ghetto Beautiful plan, also was concerned with beautification: improving parks and public facilities in Watts. Drawn by one of the Urban Workshop's student interns, Robert Ballard, this

plan indicates streetscaping plans around the existing Southern Pacific Railroad corridor.²⁵⁵ Most of the Workshop's ideas to rebuild Watts as a separate city within a city are latent in their community plan titled "Community Planning Project: South-Central Los Angeles."²⁵⁶ In this document, the Workshop produced numerous maps that studied the heavy industrial sectors of Watts and drew artificial boundaries between Watts and local Black neighborhoods surrounding the area. All of this was an effort to test the feasibility of creating Watts as a separate city within the city of Los Angeles and helped them arrive at this final plan. The Ghetto Beautiful called for an improvement of "ghetto turf" and included plans for 115 acres to be transformed into an industrial center, an educational park, and housing, with the civic center, and is one of the most pointed examples of architecture using Black separatist thought as the basis for an urban plan (*Figure 2.14*).

Members' Projects, 1968–69

Black Workshop members crafted architectural proposals that resonated with the work of the Watts Urban Workshop. For example, Black Workshop member Harry Quintana and Howard University architecture student Charles Jones also presented the possibility of creating a separate "city within a city" they called the "Black Commune." In this section, I explore their proposal for the Black Commune in more detail. I argue that the Black Commune showcased the innovation of Black architectural thinking and practice that sought to subvert the technologies of renewal and use them to re-center Black sociality and life. In addition, I also analyze the housing project

²⁵⁵ Robert Ballard worked as intern for the Watts Urban Workshop and wrote his Master's Thesis on the Watts Urban Workshop project plans such as the "Watts Ghetto Beautiful Plan" Ballard, Robert Blair. "The Watts' Urban Workshop.," 1968.

²⁵⁶ Urban Workshop., and Southern California Association of Governments. *Community Planning Project: South-Central Los Angeles: [Final Report]*. Watts, Calif., 1971.

proposals by Black Workshop member Roland Bedford to understand how he was using architecture as a means to imagine alternative antipoverty solutions grounded in the needs of Black residents and communities.

Harry Quintana, The Black Commune, and the Politics of Black Power

We don't care if an individual is a racist and we don't feel we have to go out of the way to rid him of racism. All that we want is that when a child gets called a nigger, spick, wetback, or redskin by a racist downtown, he doesn't have to come back to a community in which the institutions call him the same. Unfortunately, in our community presently the child gets called that by the school system, the church, the police, the merchants, the television, the everything, including the architecture.²⁵⁷

In keeping with the Black Workshop's conceptual solidarity with the Panthers' fight against "segregation, housing and employment discrimination, and redevelopment," the Black Workshop sought to gain political and economic power through self-determination and "community control" by designing its own commune, and later with its own public housing project that introduced a self-regulation of flows of capital through rent subsidies. Harry Quintana collaborated with Charles Jones, an architecture student in the Department of Architecture at Howard University, to develop a master plan for a "Black Commune." They asked, "What's wrong with our people's environment? The answer is simple—it was not designed for us and for our lifestyle, and we are not in control of it. The control of the environment is the most crucial need of any people."²⁵⁸ Quintana and Jones seized an entire neighborhood and redesigned

²⁵⁷ Harry Quintana and Charles Jones, "Black Commune in Focus," *Perspecta*, Vol. 12 (1969): 40.

²⁵⁸ Quintana and Jones, "Black Commune in Focus," 39.

mechanisms of what civil rights activist F. Nunes called “zones of poverty.”²⁵⁹ Nunes wrote, “A unique achievement of this Scheme is that zones of poverty are demarcated. Thus poverty is no longer seen as a condition, which exists at a particular stratum within the social structure, but as a phenomenon of certain areas. These areas are labeled communities.”²⁶⁰ In the particular moment in which Quintana and Jones were launching their criticism, the spatial and historical conditions that structured the neighborhoods surrounding Yale—majority-Black neighborhoods that were governed by and in service of a racially white elite class—had already produced pockets of disinvested neighborhoods with high poverty and unemployment rates.²⁶¹

For Quintana and Jones, the solution was a Black Community built by Black architects. With its focus on Black architects who were subject to institutional racism,²⁶² the Black Commune became the site where these architects practiced Black innovation, seizing the very technologies imposed by renewal that proliferated whiteness in New Haven through segregationist urban policy. “The Community,” they explained, “would build the buildings themselves. Thus the land and the structures would be owned by the community...The land could be acquired under the present Urban Renewal legislation even at a minus written down so

²⁵⁹ F. Nunes, “The ‘Anti-Poverty’ Hoax,” *Freedomways* (1970): 15.

²⁶⁰ Nunes, as quoted in Roy, et al., *Anti-Poverty Hoax*. Perhaps F. Nunes, writing in *Freedomways*, a Black political journal, was problematizing the concept of the community in his characterization of communities as zones of poverty.

²⁶¹ For the Workshop, the ‘community’ had been established first because of segregation, then (with urban renewal) labeled as impoverished and unhealthy needing rehabilitation.

²⁶² In illustrating this point, Quintana goes on to discuss Black architects access to projects. “Black people should be aware that there are 30,000 architects in the U.S.A. and that 10 % of these control, through everyday devious connections imaginable, 90% of all work done by architects. The remaining 90% of all architects split up the 10% remaining work. No great imagination is required to understand that statistically the Black designer will not show up in either of these percentage groups.” This piece was written in response to a project awarded to a white British firm to redevelop a Black neighborhood in D.C., near Howard where Quintana was originally an architecture student before transferring to Yale.

that Black People could have money to develop it.”²⁶³ Imagined as a community of 10,000 inhabitants, the key traits of the commune was its inherent communal dimension and the scale of the project (*Figure 2.15*). The number of residents would “decrease or increase” according to how the user saw fit.²⁶⁴ “There are no designated play areas, you play or recreate in the area you feel it when you feel it.”²⁶⁵ The emphasis of play, spontaneity and flexibility of form according social interactions and collective conjure the principles of say Constant’s New Babylon, (1956–74) or Cedric Price and Joan Littlewood’s Fun Palace (1959–61), but the “Black Commune” was not simply a rejection of the fixity of modern architecture and the ongoing hand of capitalism that would give rise to its form, but the Black Commune made an attempt to define a new dwelling scheme that centered Black life.²⁶⁶ In their site plan for an unnamed city, the principal objects guiding the form was an aggregation of housing scattered to form sinuous curves on the site. In opposition to public housing projects, the Workshop members called “vertical concentration camps” the Workshop offered an alternative typology through “living units.”²⁶⁷ In the diagram showing ‘multi-use units,’ the double loaded corridor of a typical residential high-

²⁶³ Quintana and Jones, “Black Commune in Focus,” 41.

²⁶⁴ Quintana and Jones, “Black Commune in Focus,” 42.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ I think the Service Diagram with multi-directional arrows can also be analogized to the Situationist’s psychogeographic map as a rejection of the existing city and its historical monuments can be read here. On the Situationists, see Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998); and Constant Nieuwenhuys’ *New Babylon*. See also Simon Sadler, “The Indeterminate Utopia,” in *New Babylonians: Contemporary Visions of a Situationist City*, ed. Iain Borden and Sandy McCreery (London: Academy Press, 2001), 89–95.

²⁶⁷ Quintana and Jones, “Black Commune in Focus,” 39. In *To Be Equal* in 1964, civil rights leader Whitney M. Young, Jr., argued that public housing was the social apparatus that produced the idea of the ghetto. Young called them “vertical slums” and describes them as a cancer: “Too long the cancerous sore of the ghetto has festered in our urban communities, spewing both human wreckage and the major portions criminal offenders: draining our body politic of treasure, robbing us of the meaningful contributions of hundreds of thousands of citizens whose lives and ambitions have been thwarted and truncated.” Whitney M. Young, Jr., *To Be Equal* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 185.

rise is replaced with living units where the plan of one dwelling unit does not form a discrete apartment, but is conceived also as a common space. Quintana and Jones write:

One D.U. may no longer have a need for a bedroom. The adjacent D.U. may have a need for another bedroom. Thus the bedroom is sealed off from the former unit and a new opening makes it accessible to the latter unit. Internally you can begin to visualize the variations of space. For a time the normal access to your apartment was up four floors, turn left and walk for a number of yards until you got there. Now things would change - you go up two flights, turn left, walk to another elevator, go up two floors, turn left and there you are. Your space changes as your need changes. Who knows - you might run into a very interesting person by being on the second floor, or a sweet thing in need of friendship. The interaction of the sharing of spaces, experience and experiencing different spatial sequences lead to the kind of communal sharing that our original ancestors experienced in their tribal setting.²⁶⁸

Indeed, the concept for a new kind of housing typology, where the project was built and rebuilt daily by its inhabitants became evocative of tribal Black communes, but their proposal for a Black commune can be read as the Workshop members refusal to “follow whitey’s rules for planning” and provide (if not executable as a buildable project) a sharp critique of public housing’s architectural features.²⁶⁹

With the formal composition of the brick as a basic unit geometry of the rectangle, in the hands of the Quintana and Jones, is not a solid object, but in fact , each brick is a unit volume that can be stacked to produce the variety of spatial arrangements as the quote suggests.²⁷⁰ In addition to housing, the site plan included the placement of “water holes” throughout the plan.

There are water holes in every compound. Water holes replace community centers as the central spot where everyone gathers to meet and socialize and outwardly emanate with their social life. In America the sculptured fountain or the bourgeoisie community center

²⁶⁸ Quintana and Jones, “Black Commune in Focus,” 40.

²⁶⁹ Quintana and Jones, “Black Commune in Focus,” 39.

²⁷⁰ An appropriate association would be Hassan Fathy’s “Nubian Vault” turned on its side, and emphasis on mud brick especially because Fathy also emphasizes participatory design. Also, a formal similarity to Soleri can be read here. Lastly a connection can be made to Marshall McLuhan, because at the end of the essay they thank McLuhan in addition to Venturi’s Complexity as informing their ideas: perhaps they are referring to McLuhan’s obsession with African tribes.

has replaced the water hole. In this water hole people will swim, lounge around the shore, stroll or do anything which one feels around water. Water is the basis of all life.²⁷¹

The freedom and openness that Quintana and Jones ascribed to African Villages was formalized to their jury, which included Stokely Carmichael. Their jury would have read their site plan made of sinuous S and C curves. The section through the site reveals the Commune as having a mountainous topography, where moments of looking down from above, or looking up from created topographic vistas. Porosity within the open spaces, which they called “water holes,” were echoed in the apartment buildings. Each dwelling unit of a typical apartment floor plan was made of a series of openings so as to facilitate the kind of “sharing of spaces” visible “tribal” setting they studied (*Figure 2.16*).

Designed in such a way that facilitated the production of communal relationships, the Black Commune mobilized architecture to support Black sociality rather than to suppress it, as Quintana and Jones argued conventional architecture did.²⁷² The communal symbiosis that Quintana celebrated in African tribal villages revealed themselves in the floorplan and through the medium of architectural models and drawings. The Black Commune idea of an architecture of support was facilitated through the frame of the commune. As Quintana and Jones saw it, it was through this idea of a commune-ity architecture operated at the scale of the building that it would extend out like a Metabolist project and grow into an entire city (*Figure 2.17*). For Quintana, thinking about architecture as the framework for Black social life would also expand during his participation in the Black Workshop, where ideas about producing an architecture for Black people by Black people would become the pathway through which the Black Workshop

²⁷¹ Quintana and Jones, “Black Commune in Focus,” 42.

²⁷² According to Quintana and Jones, the “child gets called a nigger, spick, wetback, or redskin” by “everything, including the architecture.” Quintana and Jones, “Black Commune in Focus,” 40.

would provide services to an already-formed community. In this way, architecture both precedes and follows from community; in other words, there can be no architecture without the community. Roland Bedford's words, another Black Workshop member, are illustrative here, as he describes the relationship between Yale and the surrounding Black community:

Yale sits next to the Black community, right? How many Black people from the community attend Yale? The Black people of New Haven clean the lockers, or are campus police or maintenance, but they're not going to the school there. They're not gonna go there, it's not a secret, they're not gonna go there, it's not unusual for the school to sit in a major site and not recruit from the community that borders that university.²⁷³

What the university claimed they were doing was not commensurate with what they were actually doing.

Roland Bedford, Community Architecture, and Blackness as Refusal

What if blackness is the refusal to defer to, given in the withdrawal from the eternal delay of, sovereignty?

Fred Moten, "Blackness and Nothingness"²⁷⁴

In the Fall of 1968, incoming architecture student Roland Bedford sat with anticipation in the newly restructured First-Year studio course offered at Yale. The studio brief asked students to think through a design for a medical facility that happened to be sited in a predominantly Black neighborhood in Baltimore. Bedford, the only Black student in the studio, was called out by the white instructor to describe the needs of the Black community there. Without ever having been to the city, nor spoken to any of its residents, Bedford refused to answer. "Just give me a flavor of the community," the instructor pressed. In feeling the problems of the question, the

²⁷³ Bedford, interview with the author, July 8, 2019.

²⁷⁴ Fred Moten, "Blackness and Nothingness (Mysticism in the Flesh)," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 112, no. 4 (October 2013): 751.

racism embedded in being asked to speak on behalf of an entire community just because he was Black, Bedford refused to answer and was reported to the Dean's office for discipline. The instructor's pushing on the idea of representation as enough was exactly the suspicion that putting on a community face in urban development projects was actually the same thing as getting community support.²⁷⁵ Unwilling to substitute his own body, Bedford was exercising what Édouard Glissant called a "consent not to being a single being"—at once rejecting the white instructor's stereotype of Blackness while performing an act of defiance.²⁷⁶

The studio topic was typical and was representative of the changes Charles Moore began to make as acting chair from 1965 to 1971. Reorganizing the First-Year Design Studio, Moore required studio instructors to include a social program in the studio brief, such as community center, public bath house, trailer park, or urban housing. Designing a medical facility in Baltimore was an example of Moore's heightened optimism to root foundational skills such as teaching basic design problems oriented in "form, structure and space" with a social program. In other words, the studio, as the standardized context-free site of architectural production and the most important course for the architecture student had been radically changed. This change has been attributed primarily to Moore,²⁷⁷ but it was the Black Workshop's fundamental resistance to

²⁷⁵ A field trip never took place. It was in this moment that Bedford was able to enroll in independent studies and focus on his thesis projects that were based on real-world work.

²⁷⁶ Édouard Glissant, "One World in Relation: Édouard Glissant in Conversation with Manthia Diawara," *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art*, no. 28 (2011): 5. This Glissant line is quoted in Moten, "Blackness and Nothingsness," 745. Moten asks, "What if blackness is the refusal to defer to, given in the withdrawal from the eternal delay of, sovereignty?" Moten, "Blackness and Nothingsness," 737–780, 751. On the idea of affirmation as a form of defiance as conceived by Glissant, see James R. Martel, *The Misinterpellated Subject* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2017): 236–37.

²⁷⁷ For this history change, see Moore. In the mid-1960s, as the architecture profession in the United States participated in an unprecedented number of new building projects that were predominantly developed through aggressive building tactics comprised of land seizure, displacement, and clearance of primarily low-income neighborhoods of color.

existing curricular frameworks that defined *how* one received course credit, *what* was considered acceptable architectural production, *who* the field imagined itself for, and *where* architectural thinking can occur, that transformed the privileged space of whiteness within the academy and radically expanded the very definition of architecture, even if momentarily. This transformation was not a straightforward shift. Moore seemingly expanded the approach to studio design, but the foresight of Moore's ambitions did not consider the narrowness of his faculty.²⁷⁸ Bedford recalled how the studio course did not know how to speak about or speak to the Black community—a reality he encountered first-hand as he sat in a studio lead by an instructor who Bedford believed was not equipped to teach about the community the students were expected to serve.²⁷⁹

Bedford arrived at the YSA with significant architectural experience. He had attended the Boston Architectural Center (BAC) while working as an office boy for the structural engineering firm Campbell, Albridge, and Nulty in Boston, worked for the Boston Housing Authority's Roxbury Community Plan, and was accepted to the Graduate School of Design (GSD) at Harvard before deciding to enroll at Yale.²⁸⁰ Attending Yale was pivotal for his career. He took

²⁷⁸ Stern and Stamp, *Pedagogy and Place*.

²⁷⁹ Another way to think about Bedford's response is to think through the term *sympathy*. Sympathy was, for Bedford and many of the Black architectural students in the YSA, a mode of thinking through the divided city. On the most basic level, if urban renewal are forms of an empathetic approach, sympathy in distinction to empathy means to have an understanding of duress. Bedford, while unwilling to substitute his body, understood the conditions that he sought to change. Focusing on Bedford's lived experience, at a time when Black identity only held sway in particular sectors of the city, inverts the typical line of questioning, and here I would like to argue that the primary concern of all architecture and urban planning in the sixties and seventies was about Black lives, and specifically where Black families lived within cities.

²⁸⁰ Roxbury Community Plan, a neighborhood with deep histories of Black settlement from an early influx of immigrants from the West Indies as well from African-Americans migrating north from the American South in the first half of the twentieth century. Roxbury was also the center for site-specific civil rights activism from the 1963 protest against segregation in Boston's public schools to a march led by Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1965 from Roxbury to Boston Common that led to the passing of the Racial Imbalance Act. David I. Oyama, "8000 Marchers in Roxbury Protest Segregation in City's Public Schools," *Harvard Crimson*, September 23, 1963, accessed <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1963/9/23/8000-marchers-in-roxbury-protest-segregation>.

certain steps, gained specific experience and developed an interest in the idea of practicing a not yet but soon to be popular approach to community design projects developing in urban planning, the idea of “community architecture.” In this way, Bedford was not only refusing to answer his first-year design studio instructor’s question based on principal grounds of being asked to speak as an ambassador of an entire community because of his race. He also knew the question was not an easy one to answer; it was one that required work and, most relevant to this chapter, a new architectural pedagogy, which the Black Workshop would aim to develop.

Bedford’s interest in what became known as “community architecture” was prompted by an incident that he encountered at the GSD the summer before his arrival at Yale. In 1968, Bedford attended the 12th annual Urban Design Conference on *New Communities, One Alternative* held at Harvard’s Graduate School of Design (GSD). The conference was both a platform to discuss topics such as the difference between a new town, community, and a city and to present the feasibility of a new prototype community developed by students at the GSD. José Luis Sert had received a \$90,000 grant from Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to produce a prototype community in neighborhoods near Cambridge with the GSD students, and the money funded a studio concept to plan a new community for 200,000 low-income people. The list of participating architects, planners, and critics included José Luis Sert, Kevin Lynch, Robert Gutman, Wolf Eckardt, William Wheaton, and Shadrach Woods. Scheduled across two days, the panel discussions included Physical Form, Regional Context, Community Process, and Implementation. Bedford was eager to listen to how experts in the field were creating a dialogue for architecture to think about the American city, especially as Sert’s keynote address acknowledged the need for “new and better housing and services of all kinds for the low-income

groups.”²⁸¹ The result, though, included project proposals that prioritized physical layout: in keeping with common approach taught at the GSD, the proposals assumed that both economic and social stability would occur as a byproduct of physical design. Planner Kevin Lynch, a participant in the conference asked if there was any mechanism or platform that allowed for “user participation”—by which he meant any interest in asking how users understood their immediate environment, a question that Bedford himself wanted to know the answer to. In recalling this event at Harvard, Bedford spoke of his experiences that was in part what brought him to Yale to study architecture.²⁸²

Ron Bedford’s inroads to architecture were by no means ordinary. He was unable to sign up at the Boston Architectural College—a vocational training college where any young man seeking architectural training could simply walk in and enroll in courses—but Bedford did not have a high school degree, which prevented him from enrolling. Bedford’s ambitions to pursue architecture were, at this moment, on pause. Bedford chose not to complete high school for the following reasons:

I spent some time in a project that you might know about, I didn’t grow up there, but spent some time there [...] Let me back up [...] From age nine until I was sixteen, my mother and six brothers and sisters lived in a one room, ten by thirteen room with a pot-belly stove. I worked in a grocery store from age nine to sixteen and it became clear that we needed more money so, I then forged my birth certificate to go into the Air Force.

At this point, no one was questioning if Bedford should finish high school or not. He was confronted with the structural issues of racism, and his decisions were made through necessity not justifiability. Bedford spoke of his time serving in the Air Force, his training as a combat

²⁸¹ Urban Design Conference, Harvard University, 12th, 1968., and Harvard University. Graduate School of Design. *New Communities: One Alternative: Proceedings*. [Cambridge]: [Harvard University], 1968.

²⁸² This event that Bedford experiences is roughly concurrent with the formation of the Black Workshop because Bedford meets Dick Dozier and Reggie Jackson in his first year first semester. Dozier and Jackson were, according to Bedford, already at Yale when he arrived. Roland Bedford, interview with the author, July 2019.

medic at Travis Air Force Base in California, and his experiences living and working on a Royal Air Force base in England from 1954 to 1957, when he ran a fifteen-bed field hospital in Suffolk. While he was in the military, Bedford took various side jobs and was able to send back money to his mother and his siblings for them to move into one of the newest housing projects in St. Louis, Pruitt-Igoe.²⁸³

Bedford never lived in Pruitt-Igoe, but his family did. Named after the African American combat fighter pilot Wendell O. Pruitt and former U.S. Congressman William Igoe, the complex has been memorialized in architectural history as an infamous housing development. According to Eric Mumford, “Pruitt Homes which opened in March 1955, had 17,630 units and it was planned for all-black occupants; Igoe Homes, with 1,134 units, was to be all white, but it soon also became all black after it opened in July 1956.”²⁸⁴ Bedford recalled the over 15,000 apartments:

We used to play with his kids, [Pruitt’s] brother, they lived on the same street that we lived in, because in those days, in 1956 there was segregation. Everything was segregated.²⁸⁵

The extant literature on Pruitt-Igoe often obscures how pervasive and explicit racial inequality was bound up in America with buildings generally, not just Pruitt-Igoe. Here, Bedford explained that the name of the famous Black fighter pilot who risked his life for the U.S. was used as a

²⁸³ For early write-ups of the promise and optimism surrounding the Pruitt-Igoe housing project, designed by architects George Helmuth, Minoru Yamasaki, and Joseph Leinweber, see “Slum Surgery in St. Louis,” *Architectural Forum* 94 (April 1951): 128–36. For a description of the social shortcomings of the project, see Lee Rainwater, *Behind Ghetto Walls: Black Families in a Federal Slum* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), first published in 1970 by Transaction Publishers. Pruitt-Igoe was made infamously problematic after Rainwater’s study, and it was featured in popular magazines such as *Time* and *Life* magazine when it was ultimately demolished. The first building as it was demolished ran in *Life* magazine in April 1972. See Katherine G. Bristol, “The Pruitt-Igoe Myth,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, no. 3 (May 1991): 163–71; see also the documentary film, *The Pruitt-Igoe Myth*, dir. Chad Friedrichs (Columbia, MO: Unicorn Stencil, 2011).

²⁸⁴ Eric Mumford, *Modern Architecture in St Louis: Washington University and Postwar American Architecture, 1948-1973* (Saint Louis, MO: Washington University in Saint Louis, 2004).

²⁸⁵ Roland Bedford, interview with the author, July 2019.

form of commemoration, but his family still could not live where they wanted to. For Bedford, early on, before he would even decide to attend architecture school, the relevance of the architect in the midst of the post-war boom in America was not the same celebratory narrative as it was displayed in the 1956 *This is Tomorrow* exhibit, which showcased American wealth and exuberance in the midst of intensive post-war building in the U.S. The relevance for the Black architect would be one that “worked directly with the people in the community,” a practice he began with the Black Workshop. In a photo of Bedford standing in the back seat of a convertible with his thesis advisor Charles Brewer, Bedford is photographed holding a megaphone, calling residents to attend a Black Workshop meeting.

Bedford knows better than anyone the shortcomings of public housing. He worked on the Portsea Row Housing Project, consulted on Charles Moore’s Church Street South housing development, and critiqued Louis Kahn’s public housing project before he backed out.

Bedford’s thesis work illustrates how student members of the Black Workshop produced thesis projects that were outside of the traditional topics that architecture students investigated.²⁸⁶ For Bedford’s M.Arch thesis at Yale, he submitted two projects, both of which would become realized: the Springfield Avenue Community school on 19th Street and Springfield Avenue in Newark, New Jersey, and a housing development called the Portsea Housing Project. Both were designed under the supervision of Charles Brewer. The Portsea Housing Project used 235(j) federal funds and was the first of its kind. After the federal government passed the first FHA loans, Section 235 was passed in 1968. It allowed Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to give mortgage subsidies to banks who loaned to low-income families. Section 235 was designed

²⁸⁶ From 1965 to 1969, common thesis topics included the study of Italian villas, the regional shopping center, and residential developments. Art, architecture, and art history theses and projects, 1915-1996, RU 259, Series 1, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

to allow those who were unable to meet even the baseline credit requirements to receive FHA insurance.²⁸⁷ The Section 235 program also allowed for mortgage rates to be offered as low as 1 percent to eligible families looking to buy a family home or condominium unit.²⁸⁸ 235(j) extended these incentives by offering loans to developers both private and non-profit housing organizations to build units and sell them to people that fell into the category they called low-income. The innovation behind 235(j) program was that it gave an eligible developers loans from private banks at the reduced rate of 1 percent. Developers would obtain a loan from a private bank within a given rate of interest, but under the 235(j) program, the federal government insured the loan and paid the bank the difference between the bank's actual interest rate and the 1 percent rate.

When a non-profit community organization in New Haven received 235(j) financing, it approached Charles Brewer to design seven row houses; Bedford volunteered to work out the designs. Bedford's approach to the project included turning the basement into an apartment. He argued that as household incomes for low-income families were already precarious, any additional rental income from a basement apartment would provide a much-needed buffer in the event of any job loss.²⁸⁹ What Bedford quickly realized as a design intervention quickly became stunted by policy not design foresight, and while his concept for an underground unit was not approved by the city, his ideas would come to fruition in a project that Charles Brewer's

²⁸⁷ Sengstock, Frank S., and Mary C. Sengstock. *Homeownership: A Goal for All Americans*. [Detroit, Mich.]: [University of Detroit, School of Law], 1969.

²⁸⁸ "No Room for Singles: A Gap in the Housing Law." *The Yale Law Journal* 80 (1970): 38.

²⁸⁹ This type of innovation was too forward-thinking for see Dana Cuff, 968, but this type of innovative policy is being advanced by architects today involved in both writing policy with a design vision integrated into their proposals for alternative regulations. See also: Dana Cuff, "The Architect's Lot: Backyard Homes Policy and Design," cityLAB, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/ad.2322>.

architecture office was commissioned to build: the Chamber Resident Homes, which included a space below grade to be utilized as an additional dwelling unit (*Figure 2.18*).

Roland Bedford is currently a practicing architect for the Housing and Urban Development and overseas projects under the Choice Neighborhood Program. Two projects at the time of writing this dissertation was being built in collaboration with the Boston Housing Authority.²⁹⁰ As Bedford negotiates multi-million-dollar deals for the Housing and Urban Development corporation, few architects practicing today have worked as hard as Bedford to ensure the communication gap between future users and the architect be lessened.

Communes, Workshops, and Alternative Futures

The Black Workshop created space for discussion in their own school. Even though the YSA provided the Workshop with a physical space, the relevance of the Workshop's interests extended beyond the scope of the curriculum at the YSA. This chapter shows how the Workshop created a series of proposals that promoted self-determination *through* architectural thought and practice. The scope of these projects was wide-reaching and covered a broad array of issues. Taken as a whole, these projects are linked in their alternative conceptualizations of Black architectural praxis, Black community, and Black life. Indeed, the thread that holds these projects together is the imagination and assembly of Black urban futures that might be called Black architectures.

²⁹⁰ It is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but I visited two projects under Bedford's purview, Whittier Choice and Old Colony are two public housing development facilitated by a Choice Neighborhood grant, and incorporated extensive neighborhood meetings, workshops, surveys, youth focus groups and public hearings. I spoke to one resident on my walk-through tour of the project during construction who was living in one of the public housing units planned for demolition and was eagerly in anticipation for the new units to be completed.

The next chapter continues this line of inquiry by thinking through the twin themes of architecture and urban renewal—first through the lens of a major public arts institution, the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, and, second, through a juxtaposition of Columbia University’s proposal for a housing project in Harlem with the work of Black female poet June Jordan and her collaboration with Buckminster Fuller. The alternative proposals that are examined in the following chapter are distinct from the separatist “city-within-a-city” proposals presented in Chapter 2, and they are better understood as grounded utopian projects envisioned for distinct inhabitants.

3

In the summer of 1966, Arthur Drexler, architecture curator at the Museum of Modern Art, wrote to Donald Elliott, a legal advisor to Mayor John Lindsay. In his letter, Drexler wrote, “We believe that the urgency of urban renewal problems in the United States is now so great that they must be admitted to the area of this Museum’s interest in modern architecture.”²⁹¹ According to Drexler renewal was in crisis, providing an opportunity for a progressive collaboration between the Museum and city governance.²⁹² When he wrote to the mayor’s office, Drexler was deep in preparations for an exhibition he would eventually call, *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal*, and he believed that a timely collaboration between the Museum and the City that could help educate the public on urban planning efforts.²⁹³ Creating a narrative that centered the Museum’s readiness to engage in civic affairs, Drexler explained how an exhibition such as *The New City* could pose as a vehicle for an exciting new vocabulary for architectural problem-making.

We have in the past, avoided exhibitions to town planning in part because there was little worth showing for its intrinsic architectural merit, and partly because the supposed social as well as architectural advantages have been in doubt. But we now feel that a useful service can be performed by acquainting the public, as well as architects, with the theoretical studies pertaining to urbanism that have accumulated over sixty years and are indeed a part of the heritage of modern architecture.²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ Arthur Drexler, letter to Donald Elliot, June 16, 1966 (1967), The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York, NY. Collection: MoMA Exhs. Series Folder: 818.23. Hereafter referred to as Letter to Elliott.

²⁹² One can say that MoMA’s cultural interest in poor or marginalized neighborhoods first found form in 1934 with *America Can’t Have Housing*. In it, the curators Philip Johnson and Alfred Barr presented the idea of “modern dwelling” as counterpoint to the “slum” conditions of tenement housing. Presenting an idea of modern dwellings through photographs and full-scale period-room style models, *America Can’t Have Housing* offered the general public a specifically modern solution to what they called the “problem of slums.” For a general history on the relationship between exhibitions and planning see Robert Freestone and Marco Amati, *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture* (Routledge, 2016): 247.

²⁹³ Drexler initially decided to call the exhibit “New Towns.” Letter to Elliott.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

This heritage translated to a particular approach on the part of the Museum: for “intrinsic architectural merit” to function, the museum relied on tangible geographical spaces that could best frame it. Reflecting on the need to target “problem” areas or New York City’s so called “ghettos,” Drexler chose upper Manhattan as the ideal site for architecture’s cleaned-up alternatives because it offered “the greatest possible number of problems,” thereby providing ample “opportunities for different kinds of architectural solutions.”²⁹⁵ In fact, Drexler further specified that “the most pressing urban ills” existed in the area between “96th Street at the south [and] 155th Street at the north” that excluded Central Park. Drexler’s “New City” was not just any city. It was Harlem (*Figure 3.1*).

Harlem had been shaped by over a century of unequal private property systems: redlining, predatory lending and uneven ratio of white homeowners to Black renters.²⁹⁶ Like many Black communities across the U.S. Harlem was built, demolished, rebuilt, invested, then disinvested by interests of real-estate capital.²⁹⁷ By 1967, Harlem had undergone several stages of disinvestment and the timing of *The New City* show was noteworthy.²⁹⁸ The show, mounted on the heels of the Harlem “riot” of 1964, was not inconsequential for architectural critic Reyner

²⁹⁵ “It is not the Museum’s intention,” he continued, “to champion these projects as solutions for specific areas, but rather to show with greatest degree of realism[,] the range of possibilities available to the community.” Letter to Elliott.

²⁹⁶ Jacob Riis in 1902 had described how Black renters had paid more in rent than white European immigrants: “he pays more rent than his white neighbor next door, and is a better tenant.” Jacob Riis, *The Battle with the Slum*, Macmillan 1902, p.110. On the history of race and real estate in Harlem, see Kevin McGruder, *Race and Real Estate: Conflict and Cooperation in Harlem, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

²⁹⁷ By real estate capital, I mean the practice of legalized dispossession of land through technologies such as urban renewal, preservation laws, foreclosures or market driven tactics practiced by the white wealthy elite to displace poor residents of color.

²⁹⁸ Andrew S. Dolkart, *Morningside Heights: A History of Its Architecture and Development*. Revised edition. Columbia University Press: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Banham, who observed the “depressingly conventional” nature of the four prominent architecture schools selected to participate—Cornell, MIT, Princeton and Columbia—who each submitted development schemes for Harlem.²⁹⁹ Most noticeable for Banham was the fact that “(no one proposed rebuilding Harlem so that it can be defended against Whitey when the fire burns up for the *last* time)...”³⁰⁰ As I have demonstrated in the previous two chapters on architecture’s response to racial unrest, the Harlem uprising elicited a range of architectural responses. For many liberals and conservatives, the “problem” of six days of violence in the City placed “law and order” at the forefront of civic politics. For dissenters, the uprising was a small revolution, an organized, liberatory attack on white supremacy. Most relevant for Columbia students and coalition groups of Black organizers in Harlem, the uprising was the first location-specific, street-level demonstration that operated as a type of pedagogy to be learned and duplicated in subsequent protests and revolts.

With the Harlem uprising and growing resistance to racist junctures between property and race that would follow in its aftermath, it would seem that an obvious place to begin an inquiry into architecture’s response to racial unrest would start with an examination of the legal arrangements associated with land ownership, or to start with the analysis of typical planning tools for maintaining white supremacy: blockbusting, redlining, policing, charging and sentencing that each operated at the scale of a geographic ground plane. However, during the late

²⁹⁹ According to Drexler, an exhibition of this scale and scope required both an “official relationship with the municipal government,” and the participation of architects of a certain kind teaching in architecture schools at “universities on the eastern seaboard. He chose the four schools who participated. In the early stages of the planning of the exhibit, Harvard, Penn and Yale were also considered as potential participants. Drexler, letter to Donald Elliot, June 16, 1966, MoMA Archives, New York, NY.

³⁰⁰ Reyner Banham, “Vitruvius over Manhattan” *New Society*, no. 7 (December 1967): 827–28. It must be noted that at the time of *The New City* opening protests on Columbia’s campus was already starting and protests such as the teacher’s, transportation and sanitation strikes had also taken place.

1960s in Harlem, particularly after Columbia University's efforts to "reform" the area was met by local community organizations protesting against reform-oriented development patterns, those in power searched for new policy-making strategies that would tighten developers' hold on an area that was already choked with discriminatory practices.

In what follows, I trace the web of connections that *The New City* spanned—between architects teaching in academia, the mayor's office, Columbia and the Museum, whom by promoting a seemingly race-neutral institutionalization of policy maintained racial divisions. These actors worked to orchestrate a set of surreptitious and highly choreographed mechanisms of abstraction that entrenched racial conflict in Harlem. I explore how city government and architects (who would eventually work in civil service) used policy and legalese to recode the "problem" of the city in the service of maintaining a white racial hegemony.

The policy innovation that will be presented in this chapter is the concept of "banking air." The chapter presents how banking air became a creative tool and predatory instrument for the next iteration of urban renewal, a way to financialize and speculate on property without ever "getting dirty" on the ground. This instrument, I argue, became the next development construct that was implemented in such a manner that denied people of color access to property by re-packaging the air we breathe into a commodity that could be financialized—bought, sold and speculated on—across the five boroughs. With this reading of air, the chapter aims to contribute an architectural history to critical race scholarship that has emphasized the structures of racism as they are embedded in law, policy and property by extending the objects of evidence to include discussions around air and race beyond the important work of environmental racism.³⁰¹

³⁰¹ For a history of environmental racism that began largely in the 70s and 80s, see Siskind, Peter. "Shades of Black and Green: The Making of Racial and Environmental Liberalism in Nelson Rockefeller's New York." *Journal of Urban History* 34, no. 2 (January 1, 2008): 243–65. Robert D. Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class and Environmental Quality*, 2019; Robert Doyle Bullard, *Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the*

I do this by providing a unique architectural precedent that inverts the typical line of thought that describes how architecture adheres to existing zoning plans and building codes by presenting an architectural proposal that drove policy—that is, I ask how architecture inscribed the rules for city building by experimenting with and developing new regulatory channels rather than adhering to them. In this case, the traditional steps that make innovation possible, either through technical policy or legal changes, were actually informed by an architectural precedent first. I also examine how and where this inversion first took shape by examining the unlikely place of a museum exhibition as the site in which the idea of architecture as policy first took shape. In a unique reversal, the Museum provided an arena that was not simply a platform to explore and display their ideas to a public audience, rather, the exhibition operated as a political boardroom where the entrepreneurial agendas of the Museum’s President of the Board of Trustees, David Rockefeller, Drexler’s own political ambitions, and portrayals of architecture as policy were negotiated.

In capturing how an architectural idea could demand the creation of policy not yet in existence, the chapter investigates the Columbia Team’s contribution *The New City* exhibition. Their project, *Housing without Relocation (HwR)*, provides an opportunity to view this inversion of architecture’s relationship to policy. *HwR* also serves as entry point for the chapter to posit a deeper investigation into how the Museum offered a hypothetical application of *HwR*’s ideas in Harlem that would go on to be actualized elsewhere in the city. In its application, *HwR* ultimately contributed to the discriminatory policy-making strategies that would become woven

Grassroots (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1993). For an excellent account of the continued struggle against hazardous air quality in Harlem, see Venice Miller, Moya Hallstein, and Susan Quass, “Feminist Politics and Environmental Justice Women’s Community Activism in West Harlem, New York,” in *Feminist Political Ecology: Global Issues and Local Experiences*, ed. Dianne E. Rocheleau, Barbara P. Thomas-Slayter, and Esther Wangari (London: Routledge, 1996).

into the texture of the built environment of New York City (and elsewhere). Indeed, the idea that the Columbia team could call the project *Housing without Relocation* when, in fact, they were demolishing close to seventy-four blocks of Harlem stands in stark contrast to the projects purported aims. In surveying the landscape of Harlem and the architectural thinking that took place in the wake of the Harlem Riots, the chapter discusses a proposal by the poet and activist June Jordan that predated *HwR* by two years. As an architectural proposal that explicitly worked to improve Black life, *Skyrise for Harlem (SfH)* was a collaboration between Jordan, Buckminster Fuller and Shoji Sadao. Of the architects and designers active in Harlem in the years that bracketed the Harlem Riot and *The New City*, neither Jordan nor Richard Hatch and Max Bond of the Architect's Renewal Committee in Harlem (ARCH) were consulted by Drexler in advance of the show, speaking to a stark contrast between worlds, a form of curatorial apartheid that Maurice Berger calls "curatorial whiteness," or what might be called a practice of anti-Black architecture.³⁰²

Thus, the chapter contrasts *SfH* and *HwR*, two architectural proposals for Harlem that reveal a lot about the possibilities, legacies and limitations available to the architects involved. Despite important distinctions between their approaches, the interplay between thinking about air and built form in *SfH* and *HwR* offer clues for how air—in its manifest forms—could be either privatized, financialized and exploited through architectural means and legalese or mobilized as a tool for empowerment on the other. While both objects of study present different formats for

³⁰² Maurice Berger, "Are Art Museums Racist?," *Art in America* 78, no. 9 (1990): 68–77. The flow of money exchanged between *The New City* participants also speaks to the privilege white practitioners from elite universities experienced compared to the amount of money someone like Jordan received for her proposal for *SfH*. For example, *The New City* teams were each advanced 10,000 dollars, which did not include the multiple thousands of dollars they would receive for "materials" compared to the 500 dollars Jordan received from *Esquire*. For the budget of *The New City* see Series Folder 818.23, MoMA Exhibition Records 1960–1969, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York, NY.

this empowerment to take place, their comparison reveals how each proposal re-scripted the politics of air in architectural terms.

Another important component in this chapter is explanation of how air became the main commodity amongst a new breed of architects calling themselves urban designers. This new cadre of urban designers who were only beginning to be identified as a professional “expert” in city government, organized (through policy) the buying, selling and transfer of air rights. The transformation of New York’s zoning laws, and in particular the amendments to the City’s use of Air Rights (also known as Transfer of Development Rights, TDRS) to include the future exchange of air rights, were all tested out during the late 1960s and promulgated by members of the Columbia team. The idea of buying air rights and holding them in “legal limbo” for future sale was a process later known as “banking” air rights, harkening back to a longer history of packaging the environment for financial reuse in the City.³⁰³

In 1973, the first law that allowed the transfer of air rights to be used at a future time was passed, and while the Columbia team’s proposal, which included the transferring of air rights, ran the course of the exhibition with little fanfare (and has been historicized the least when compared to the range of racist and underhanded behavior that emerged from *The New City*³⁰⁴) their project is a pertinent place to recognize how air moved across borders in ways that other things did not. The Columbia team, comprised of Richard Weinstein, Jonathan Barnett, Jack

³⁰³ Richard Weinstein, UCLA Faculty Oral Histories, May 16, 1996. For the history of environmental modernism in New York see Matthew Gandy, *Concrete and Clay: Reworking Nature in New York City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

³⁰⁴ For example, Lucia Allais has written about the function of *The New City* for Eisenman who led the Princeton team. For Allais, *The New City* facilitated the foundation of the IAUAS and in turn, consolidated a new branch of architectural power. Charles Davis has written about Colin Rowe and his experience working on the exhibit as the foundation for his theory of contextualism, and Stanford Anderson has self-historicized the significance of *New City* as serving as a launchpad for what would become his study “On Streets,” which I will discuss in further detail in the conclusion of this dissertation.

Robertson and Giovanni Pasanella, understood full well that air at the time was a commodity that was subject to the least amount of regulation and therefore the most desirable thing to control. In the hands of the Columbia team, surreptitious “air rights” zoning laws were first fleshed out through a hypothetical architectural project, exhibited at a large institution, through the actual neighborhood of Harlem.

The transfer of air rights is analyzed in this chapter as not simply a regulatory tool, but a racially motivated form of *governmentality*, a term devised by Michel Foucault to describe a set of “institutions, procedures, analysis, and reflections” that made the exercise of a regulatory state power possible.³⁰⁵ Historians of architecture have used the term *governmentality* to describe how architecture has been implicated in the broader emergence of regulatory and managerial channels. In this regard, Felicity Scott describes how “forms of rationalization marked exactly the points at which architecture was deployed within a logic of governmentality, giving it a role in what Foucault theorized as the biopolitical regulation of the population.”³⁰⁶ If architecture was able to mold itself in the service of such points of rationalization, I extend Scott’s premise by providing an example of the way in which architecture provided the actual form of rationalization itself. In a similar vein, political scientist James Scott has described how late nineteenth-century urban planning practices in Chicago enabled “spatial facts” to be written into a landscape in which they previously did not exist.³⁰⁷ Building on this, both Scotts provide a useful starting point for retroactive descriptions of statecraft. However, this chapter goes a step

³⁰⁵ Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977–1978*, ed. Michel Senellart and Arnold Davidson (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 87–114.

³⁰⁶ Felicity Dale Elliston Scott, *Outlaw Territories: Environments of Insecurity/Architectures of Counterinsurgency* (New York: Zone Books, 2016), 93.

³⁰⁷ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (Yale University Press, 2020), 57.

further by closely following the network of individuals that experimented, discussed, and bargained against the creation of new such spatial regimes.³⁰⁸ For the creation of air as a commodity, architecture stepped in as a racially motivated form of governmentality that emerged in the immediate aftermath of the Harlem Uprising in 1964. Urban governance in New York took on ever more governmentality and was consistently being exercised in the way that Harlem and other neighborhoods in New York that were majority minority were managed: Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant, Queens, the Bronx, and Staten Island.

The chapter focuses primarily on Harlem, where the racism embedded in the response to mobilizing minority voices are presented as a form of governmentality that takes on specific and most important to this chapter, architectural form. As one of architecture's response to the race "riots," this shift toward architecture as policy emerged in the exact moment when visible unrest and audible collective voices of community-control organizations happening in the streets elicited unparalleled attention. While air and the financialization of air play an important role in presenting this history, equally relevant to this chapter are the players who implemented and deployed air rights as a race-neutral policy innovation.

In addition to mapping out the contours of a *governmentalized* architecture being practiced by architects-turned-urban designers who worked with the city in the 1960s, I argue that alternative Black architectural visions that engaged more poetic, radical schemes that challenged the status quo such as *SfH* existed. With this in mind, the first section of the chapter

³⁰⁸ Such intersections are successfully argued by Hillary Ballon, "The Physical City" in *America's Mayor: John V. Lindsay and the Reinvention of New York*, ed. Sam Roberts (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 132–149. See also Mariana Mogilevich, "Designing the Urban: Space and Politics in Lindsay's New York." (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2012); Deepa Ramaswamy, "Transactional Terrains: Partnerships, Bargains and the Postwar Redefinition of the Public Realm, New York City 1965-1980" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2018).

investigates how Jordan, a self-proclaimed Harlem activist directly involved in the uprising itself, would collaborate with Fuller on a one-off architectural proposal. Jordan and Fuller's project serves as the first object in the chapter's discussion of air and their architectural imagination of Harlem. Images of *SfH* appeared in four pages of the April 1965 issue of the popular men's magazine *Esquire*, and though the article was scarcely recognized by the architecture world at the time, this chapter places *Skyrise* in its context as a direct response to the Harlem uprising. The makers of *Skyrise* were deeply involved in city circles, with Fuller (at the macro level) and Jordan (at the neighborhood level) both providing specific sets of goals and aims for the project in terms of their knowledge of their own lifeworlds.³⁰⁹

I. *Skyrise for Harlem* and a Black Radical Architectural Vision for Harlem

Before Skyrise for Harlem

In early 1965, June Jordan—a soon to be influential Black poet, public figure, and political organizer—collaborated with Buckminster Fuller, an established white architect whose geodesic domes and idiosyncratic philosophies had inspired both practicing designers and a disparate set of emerging American avant-gardes in the late 1940s and 1950s. Born and raised in Harlem, Jordan entered Barnard College to study English in 1953 as one of four Black students. The same year her future confidante Malcolm X began organizing at one of Harlem's first Nation of Islam mosques, Temple Number Seven, just a few blocks from Barnard's campus. After a brief move to Chicago, Jordan became re-acquainted with Harlem in 1964 while working

³⁰⁹ Jordan's circles included Louis Lomax, author of *The Negro Revolt*; Jimmy Hicks, the editor of *Amsterdam News*; James Farmer, then head of national CORE; and many others. For a full list of her alliances, see June Jordan, *Civil Wars* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1981), xviii.

as an assistant on Shirley Clarke's documentary-style feature film *The Cool World* (1964), which was shot entirely on location in Harlem (*Figure 3.2*).³¹⁰ Commuting back and forth on the 59th Street Bridge from Queens to Harlem, Jordan described how she became "obsessed to understand" Harlem as a neighborhood that had been depicted and represented in films, poetry and literature. Jordan's relationship to Harlem, as she later expressed in her memoirs, were made up of a series of places: the Universal Truth Center (she attended as a child), the Palm Café on 125th Street (where she and Malcolm X would meet for coffee), or Malcolm X's Temple Number Seven (before he left the Nation of Islam) on Lenox and 166th Street as well as the many hours she spent commuting.³¹¹

It was on the set of *The Cool World* that a twenty-seven-year-old Jordan frequented Harlem and re-experienced the life of the street through her interviews with the film's actors as well as those members of the crew and the director who aimed to depict that life. *The Cool World* was about Harlem's youth and gang culture and was unique for casting Black teenagers from Harlem rather than professional actors, the film was later lauded for using "true-life ghettos for scenery."³¹² In recalling her thoughts on how the neighborhood of Harlem elided into the experimental space of film that sought to capture the complexities of Harlem's youth culture, the architecture of the street, and the sociality of Black life, Jordan wrote:

First there was Harlem and the people of Harlem, my own birthplace. Then there was a novel about Harlem, *The Cool World*, written by Warren Miller, a white man. Then there were the white people, Frederick Wiseman and Shirley Clarke, who elected to produce a

³¹⁰ The film was about the culture of gangs in the streets of Harlem and was also unique for casting Black teens from Harlem rather than professional actors.

³¹¹ The poems and letters included in *Civil Wars* were written between 1964 and 1980 and published as a collection in 1981. Jordan, *Civil Wars*, xviii–xix.

³¹² Amy Taubin writes, "The film is as much a document of uptown street life just before the period of Black Power as it is an early landmark in the history of American neo-realism." David Hudson, "Celebrating Shirley Clarke," The Criterion Collection, accessed January 16, 2020, <https://www.criterion.com/current/posts/6616-celebrating-shirley-clarke>.

film adaptation of the novel. Then there was the all-Black cast, except for the two or three very minor roles of a teacher and policemen. This case, primarily composed of Black teenagers chosen for their living resemblance to characters they were asked to portray, embodied a peculiar experiment of sorts...the cast consisted of kids found on the streets of Harlem and then taken back to these same streets...³¹³

Calling the film a “peculiar experiment of sorts,” Jordan lamented that the film depicted a road to social death as it was figured in the character of a fifteen-year old boy named Duke, played by Hampton (Hamp) Clanton.³¹⁴ Jordan wrote how the possibilities of moving out the “ghetto” were foreclosed for Duke’s character, a young boy embroiled in a culture of violence. When Jordan asked the actor, Hamp, “Could you be friends with Duke?” he replied, “Duke is like me.” In Jordan’s words: “This history of enforced impotency was embodied by Duke who was embodied by Hamp. This was supposed to be acting or in other words, this history was supposed to be somewhere untrue.”³¹⁵ In her attentiveness to see that in many ways, the characters in the film fundamentally dissolved the real lives in favor of caricatures of themselves, reality was turned into fiction. “Even if you put the thing on film, that’s what it is: a film about the death of another Black boy.”³¹⁶ The representation of street life in Harlem in *The Cool World* made legible social death for Black youth that was set to be viewed from a safe distance from the screen. For Hamp and the rest of the actors, street life and gang life were part of a reality that foreclosed other possibilities. A year later the Harlem Uprising happened, and Jordan reflected on Hamp’s reality in her writings and comparisons with James Powell.

³¹³ *The Cool World*. June Jordan, *Civil Wars* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1981), 3.

³¹⁴ By social death, I am referring to Orlando Patterson’s conceptualization, which has been taken up by many scholars since. Katherine McKittrick uses the term “death dealing work” to describe the racial state as it is described by Ruth Wilson Gilmore in *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Outside the scope of this chapter, but worth stating would be that the postwar federal anti-gang street crime acts (1968-70) that Gilmore outlines are precisely the kinds of “death dealing work of the racial state.”

³¹⁵ Jordan, *Civil Wars*, 13–14.

³¹⁶ Jordan, *Civil Wars*, 13–14.

“Sidewalk mushrooms of police”: Harlem “Riot” of 1964

On the morning of July 16, 1964, crowds began to form on 76th Street and 3rd Avenue in Harlem after news spread that an off-duty white police officer had shot and killed a Black boy named James Powell.³¹⁷ The uprisings that erupted later that evening in Central Harlem (alternately referred to as the Harlem Riot, the Harlem Race Riot and the Harlem Uprising) put the neighborhood in the spotlight: the racist violence of an off-duty police officer; the impunity with which his actions were met; the scale of the uprisings; the police brutality that confronted demonstrators. In the history of national unrest from 1964 to 1968, the Harlem Uprising has received scant attention, both in scholarly revisits and national reports being written at the time, but its influence (as much as the collective impact of racial unrest had in their respective cities in the 1960s) had a direct impact on June Jordan.³¹⁸

In “Letter to Michael” written in 1964, Jordan noted the significance that the “riot” had for *Skyrise for Harlem*; after thinking about the constrictions of “Black life in this country” through her experience working on the set of *The Cool World*, reading the news of the murder of a Black boy in Harlem had struck another chord for Jordan.

Newscasters seemingly competed in hysterical warnings and reports of official pleas to the Harlem community not to duplicate the preceding night’s terror. This was the first I knew of the Saturday night riot. I disbelieved, as a matter of principle, the hysteria and took off on my hour’s walk. Returning from the distant drug store, I scanned the paper and learned that funeral services for fifteen-year-old Jimmy Powell would occur that night. I had been shocked and enraged to read two or three days earlier of the murder of

³¹⁷ The origin point of the Harlem “riot” began across the street from where Powell was killed, at Robert F. Wagner Junior High School where Powell was taking summer school classes.

³¹⁸ The Philadelphia Uprising took place on August 28, 1964 and New Haven on August 19, 1967. The total number of nights of the Harlem uprising was six days, but it was separated between 3 nights in Central Harlem, followed by three nights in Bedford-Stuyvesant, a neighborhood in Brooklyn. For a full description of the hour by hour unfolding of events see Michael W. Flamm, *In the Heat of the Summer: The New York Riots of 1964 and the War on Crime* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 10.

this boy, half the size of the big, Irish cop wearing no uniform and electing to shoot a kid who allegedly held a pen knife...I decided to pay my respects to the boy.³¹⁹

The six days of “riots” in the streets were described by Jordan as a “warzone” with “Scores and scores of helmeted, white policemen ... in hubs of 25 or 30 each.”³²⁰ Jordan recalled her own experience caught in the ‘scene’ dodging bullets with friends from Harlem organizations, such as Dorothy Moscou who worked for the youth group sector of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP):

Buses began to arrive, taxis, civilian automobiles, fire engines with sadistic screeching—all vehicles jammed with policemen. The territory was clearly invaded. I could not believe it when still another bus would brake to a stop at that intersection and disgorge still another hundred combatants. Overhead, helicopters dawdled and dived and contributed to the unreal scene of a full-scale war with no one but enemies in view.³²¹

Her description transformed Harlem into a kind of science-fiction scene that turned the neighborhood into an unrecognizable tableau. In that same letter, Jordan described the after effects of her experience caught in the violence brought on by police presence.

I was sweating so much now from fear and from running back and forth that my dress, red ordinarily, was simply very dark. My hair was flat on my head with sweat like water streaming on my glasses making it difficult for me to see. [...] Instantly we were the duck targets for the cops who concentrated their fire on us. I began running and knocking people over. Someone grabbed me by the arm: JUNIE JUNIE. It was Bostic. I hugged him...It was the week after the Harlem Riot of 1964, a week of lurching around downtown streets like a war-zone refugee (whenever I heard a police or fire engine siren I would literally hit the pavement to flatten myself before the putative level of the flying bullets) that I realized I now was filled with hatred for everything and everyone white. Almost simultaneously it came to me that this condition, if it lasted, would mean I had lost the point: not to resemble my enemies, not to dwarf my world, not to lose my willingness and ability to love.³²²

³¹⁹ Jordan, *Civil Wars*, 13–14.

³²⁰ Jordan, *Civil Wars*, 18. Here is the full quotation: “Scores and scores of helmeted, white policemen patrolled the streets in hubs of 25 or 30 each [...] there were more policemen than people on any main street. [...] Dorothy Moscou and I threaded our way through sidewalk mushrooms of police. We were heading for the funeral of the boy. The presence of so many policemen began to make me nervous, frightened, and angry.”

³²¹ Jordan, *Civil Wars*, 18.

³²² Jordan, *Civil Wars*, 20.

Both her experience working on *The Cool World* and the Harlem Uprising were triggers that led Jordan to write to Buckminster Fuller and seem to be the reference points for *Skyrise for Harlem* that offered a visionary bird's eye perspective of Harlem that countered the film and media coverage of the "riot" that froze the actions of protestors under a stifling gaze. *SfH* was rendered as generous world, a city, a space in which Black life and her own life were not subject to violence and terror. Although the American landscape was hardly a neutral space that could be shaped by Fuller's ideological will for spatial expansion, Jordan filtered her and her community's experiences through Fuller's interests to produce something entirely new. In her memoir written in 1980, Jordan explained how she was reminded of the words of Fannie Lou Hamer, "Ain' no such a thing as I can hate anybody and hope to see God's face," that she set aside her hatred and in her post-riot malaise and wrote to Fuller.³²³

Jordan was aware of Fuller's radical architectural ideas, which ranged from expandable systems of educational facilities to his more popularly known geodesic domes and Dymaxion house.³²⁴ Fuller's architectures did not abide by a fixed definition of architecture as building or

³²³ Jordan, *Civil Wars*, 23.

³²⁴ Architecture historians who have studied June Jordan have discussed her work in relation to architecture's preoccupation with an eco-social movement in the 1960s. Charles Davis, in his essay "Race, Rhetoric and Revision: June Jordan as Utopian Architect" discussed Jordan's "textual descriptions" of architecture, describing how her words offer a kind of thick descriptive quality in the manner of Clifford Geertz. Davis observes the modernist tendencies in Jordan's work and lists her collaboration with Fuller on *Skyrise* as evidence of Jordan's "flirtations with professional architectural design culture." For Davis, Jordan's architectural inquiries are best seen in June Jordan's novel *His Own Where* (1971), he builds on Cheryl Fish's "ArchiTextural" reading of Jordan's work. Fish views Jordan's texts in terms of architectural characteristics, arguing how Jordan "textually and visually mapped the dimensions of psyche and race, political economy language and place." Davis praises Fish's reading and "renovates" Fish's inquiry of Jordan's textual descriptions of space and "materializes" them into architectural models, maps, and collages. Of relevance for both Davis and Fish, is the possibility to call Jordan an architect, which I extend in my analysis of *Skyrise*. In concert with Davis, who explains that it might be difficult to convince licensed architects that June Jordan was an architect. Regardless of her status within the profession, she is presented here as an important architectural agent, who possessed a particular sensitivity to the Black social life of Harlem. Toward these ends, what I would like to emphasize is the reception of her work at the time, looking to how she was excluded in the architectural discussions being had about Harlem at MoMA rather than taking the time to characterize her as an architect or not. Charles L. Davis II, "Race, Rhetoric, and Revision: June Jordan as Utopian

mass, but as a flexible tool that helped structure human experience.³²⁵ She first encountered Fuller in the Donnell Library in Manhattan through photographs of his design inventions.³²⁶ Fuller was one of those twentieth century architects (really a comprehensivist) who had always envisioned architecture as a tool that could reshape society from the scale of the individual unit to the entire world.³²⁷ She had read his books, *Nine Chains to the Moon* (1938), *Education Automation: Freeing the Scholar to Return* (1964) and others and Jordan agreed with his approach and believed that his architectural inventions could be the salve to a social precarity she saw in the streets of Harlem.³²⁸ Fuller, in short, was a resource with which Jordan felt the possibility for expansion. He had conceived of a world-plan radical enough to apply to her immediate circumstances.

Architect,” Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, 2014; Cheryl J. Fish, “Place, Emotion, and Environmental Justice in Harlem: June Jordan and Buckminster Fuller’s 1965 ‘Architextual’ Collaboration.” *Discourse* 29, no. 2 (2007): 330–45.

³²⁵ In describing this kind of radicalism, Simon Sadler offers Fuller as a key influence to architects such as Archigram who Sadler calls “the new prophets of architectural antiform.” Geodesic domes and the Dymaxion House were inspirations for architects drawn to the idea of “radical architecture.” For the history of this type of radical architecture, see Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture Without Architecture*, 5–8.

³²⁶ It is important to note that as Jordan was self-teaching herself the history of architecture, Jordan was listening to the complete collection of civil rights leader Robert Williams, whose news and music radio program, “Radio Free Dixie” had gained popularity among Black Power activists around the globe. Williams broadcasted “Radio Free Dixie” from Cuba, where he and his wife Mabel and two children sought political asylum and safety for his family from Klansman Death threats. Between 1961 to 1965, Williams’ hour and a half segment began with “You are tuned to Radio Free Dixie from Havana Cuba, where integration is an accomplished fact.” Radio Free Dixie created a global listenership, broadcasts were heard in Hanoi, Beijing, Harlem and Watts, epitomizing McLuhan’s “global village.” Radio Free Dixie was broadcast with the primary intention to reach Black southerners, but it’s reach was wide, and rebroadcast by local radio stations in, WBAI in New York City and KPFA in Berkeley New York and Berkeley when original live broadcasts would be scrambled by the CIA, for this history see Timothy B. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 2.

³²⁷ In “Planetary Homeboy,” Mark Wigley explains that Fuller was always interested in what technology could do for thinking about the future, the map, mapping, the ocean, technology for improved humanity. Fuller was a self-proclaimed “comprehensivist,” and thus it follows that his humanity was simply “all of us.” Fuller’s text is appropriately titled “comprehensive Anticipatory Design Process.” Mark Wigley, “Planetary Homeboy,” *ANY: Architecture New York*, no. 17 (1997): 16–23.

³²⁸ In particular, Jordan would have been impressed by Fuller’s ideas for an education system directly funded by wealth generated by technology. Jordan, “Letter to R. Buckminster Fuller,” *Civil Wars*, x.

In her letter to Fuller outlining her ideas for a *Skyrise for Harlem*, not only can we read Jordan's interpretation of Fuller's ideas about the "environment," but also of human innovation. It was perhaps in reading Fuller's books where Jordan learned how to see potential in an open landscape and to see how, with minimal provisions, humans could thrive. In her concept for *Skyrise*, Jordan asked Fuller how they might implement a design for a community of 250,000 inhabitants, one that would include "the participation by Harlem residents in the birth of their new reality."³²⁹ In early 1965, June Jordan and Buckminster Fuller walked Fifth Avenue and solicited their Harlem Plan to a number of New York publishing houses. The first publisher to offer them five hundred dollars was *Esquire* magazine.³³⁰ During the 1960s, the men's magazine had become known for its oversized pages, integrating literary "new journalism" with lifestyle articles, pushing it into mainstream popularity. Published in the April 1965 issue, the renderings of Jordan and Fuller's *Skyrise for Harlem*, illustrated by Fuller's long-term collaborator Shoji Sadao, benefited from the magazine's graphic-driven layouts. *Esquire* showcased Sadao's crisp, detailed drawings of the cone towers in plan, elevation, and section, alongside a large perspective drawing of the fifteen towers hoisted above Harlem. The project appears renamed as "Instant Slum Clearance" in the magazine (as opposed to Jordan's title *Skyrise for Harlem*), and it claimed to offer a "total solution to an American dilemma," with Harlem as the study.³³¹ Jordan wrote the copy text accompanying the images, stating that Harlem was

³²⁹ Full quote: "This relates to our design for participation by Harlem residents in the birth of their new reality. I would think that this new reality of Harlem should immediately reassure its residents that control of the quality of survival is possible and that every life is valuable." *Civil Wars*, p 26.

³³⁰ June Meyer to Buckminster Fuller, Folder 11, Box 33, June Jordan Papers, MC 513, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. Adjusted for inflation, \$500 USD translates to roughly \$4,000 USD today.

³³¹ June Meyer, "Instant Slum Clearance," *Esquire*, April 1965, 109–111. In the mid-1960s, June Jordan wrote under her married name, June Meyer.

life dying inside a closet, an excrescence beginning where a green park ends, a self-perpetuating disintegration of walls, ceilings, doorways, lives. It is also, of course, a political embarrassment for which no political solution is adequate. A housing project planted in the middle of a slum is not an answer.³³²

While she avoided using the term “architecture” to describe her theories about Black spatial futurities, it is clear Jordan was thinking specifically about a “Black sense of place,” to borrow a term from critical geographer Katherine McKittrick.³³³

During her time working on the set of *Cool World*, Jordan observed street life through the eyes of a group of Harlem youths, and the precarity of Harlem’s aging housing stock is echoed in her list of facts in the *Esquire* article:

1. A typical Harlem child will score *lower* on an I.Q. test in the sixth grade than he scored three years earlier in the third grade.
2. Nine-tenths of its housing units are more than thirty years old.
3. Half the youngsters live with one parent or with none.
4. Harlem has a population of a quarter of a million, but it doesn’t contain a high school.
5. Traffic deaths for Harlem youths appreciably exceed the rate plaguing the whole island of Manhattan.³³⁴

Neighborhoods without schools, parentless children and dangerous roads are the problems that Harlem is beset with, and these factors are offered as leverage for the ideas encapsulated by *SfH*.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ In describing the importance of Black geographies McKittrick foregrounds the silenced histories of Black subjects that are often “rendered ungeographic.” McKittrick asks to think beyond physical geographic frameworks such as “existing cartographic rules [that] unjustly organize human hierarchies *in place* and reify uneven geographies in familiar, and seemingly natural ways.” “Geography is not,” McKittrick explains, “secure and unwavering” and far too often “aligned with spatial processes that apparently fall back on seemingly predetermined stabilities, such as boundaries, color-lines, “proper” places, fixed and settled infrastructures and streets, oceanic containers.” Instead, McKittrick explains how Black geographies consider the “where” of Black subjectivity and the “knowledge, negotiations, and experiences” of African-American populations, ultimately allowing for material spatial configurations to “potentially fade away.” Such is precisely the central claim of June Jordan’s thoughts on the street. For Jordan, the street functions precisely at the level of McKittrick’s fixed cartographies. And we will see the street in “Skyrise for Harlem” appropriately dissolves in Jordan’s Skyrise plan. Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2006): x-xi.

³³⁴ Quote on housing statistics, June Jordan, R. Buckminster Fuller, and James Stirling/Michael Wilford Fond, Meyer, “Instant Slum Clearance.”

For Jordan, the solution is this proposal, which would “rescue a quarter million lives by completely transforming their environment. New Harlem will encompass a half million people by removing old limits in exchange for natural boundaries.”³³⁵

Mobility Is Key

If Jordan argued that planting housing in the middle of a “slum” was not a solution, then how did *Skyrise for Harlem* offer an alternative solution? *Skyrise for Harlem* was made up of a series of fifteen conical-shaped towers she described to resemble “abstract, oversized Christmas trees” which were connected by cross bars or “sky bridges” as Jordan called them (*Figure 3.3*). The sky bridges allowed for connectivity: fluid movement through and out of Harlem to neighboring areas such as New Jersey.³³⁶ *Skyrise for Harlem* helped alleviate the overloaded streets and bridges. “Various peel-offs into Manhattan give options to the driver” Jordan explained,

Now it becomes possible to travel from the Triborough nonstop over Manhattan Island and onto a newly created Riverspan Bridge at 125th Street into New Jersey. This bridge multiplies functional reasons for Harlem residents and the other island inhabitants to commingle and cooperate. The inconvenience of having “to go down into the city” in order to leave it will no longer paralyze northern islanders.³³⁷

Jordan and Fuller’s towers covered the northern tip of Manhattan, and the project plan included 720 public housing units, a design for a community of 500,000 inhabitants. Number 4 (*Figure 3.4*) of Fuller’s diagram shows a two-bedroom apartment unit with parking, with the entire cone

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ In the early design phase of *Skyrise*, Jordan described her relationship to Harlem as a series of negotiations with the city’s gridded infrastructure. In recalling how she commuted throughout the city, Jordan consistently named the subway lines she rode and the infrastructural lines she relied on (that she explained kept her exhausted) but allowed her to fluidly move throughout Manhattan, the “eighth Ave. Subway, the IRT Subway, and the N.Y. Central Railroad on 125th Street, the 59th Street Bridge.”

³³⁷ Meyer, “Instant Slum Clearance.”

integrating traffic ramps that snake through the tower with additional sky bridges to link each tower with its neighbor.

On the Matter of Air

A central component of this project was how much air space the towers occupied. In the section drawing, (*Figure 3.4*) the diagram illustrates how each tower stood almost ten times the height of Harlem's existing skyline, but it also depicts how fresh air would have been accessed through the hundreds of decks that formed a thick yet porous skin of each tower. Access to air was made possible by the towers' sheer height. In Jordan's words "Each tree town is one hundred circular decks high. The lowest level begins ten stories aboveground, above dust level and major cloverleaf-highway systems."³³⁸ Above the dust level, Jordan explained, is where "reconstructed Harlem" would reside. She continued to report that that "a comprehensive designer must conserve natural resources and yet control their effects. One of Fuller's solutions for this design problem will be seen in the sky."³³⁹ The towers performed a double duty of not only raising Harlem residents out from the polluted highways but suggested that design itself would be redefined through a consideration of natural resources first.

Indeed, the exchange of air in buildings was of special interest to Fuller. During the 1920s, his diagrams for the Dymaxion House indicated how bad air exited (*Figure 3.5*), and by the 1950s, Fuller was fascinated with the idea of creating a dome that would help locate oneself within the universe, what he called "Your Private Sky." Your private sky was planned as a

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Ibid.

transparent geodesic dome,³⁴⁰ with *Skyrise* each resident was given their own private sky. If Fuller's dymaxion homes had been criticized for being "disconnected from any fixed infrastructural links to the city" the *Skyrise* towers reconciled this link with elevated crossbars.³⁴¹ The fact that the towers were fastened by "inner and outer sets of suspension cables" (*Figure 3.4*) suggests, perhaps in keeping with Fuller's fascination with mobility, each tower could be unfastened from their cables and be made mobile.³⁴²

Ecological thinking in the 1960s was influencing architects by foregrounding issues of pollution, self-sustainment, and environmental degradation, yet in Harlem Jordan was able to see these factors at a neighborhood level. In "Following the Harlem riots of 1964" Jordan wrote,

A profusion of remedies for what was at last accepted as a critical situation appeared everywhere; nowhere, however, was environmental redesign given prime emphasis. Yet it is architecture, conceived of in its fullest meaning as the creation of environment, which may actually determine the pace, pattern and quality of living experience.

Her words are indicative of the level of urgency with which *Skyrise* was conceived. The environment was something to be recognized and created, and yet nowhere among the "profusion of remedies" for Harlem's situation could it be found. Issues around air in Harlem and the kind of condition, one might say, of the environment there were the realities of what we now call environmental racism—vermin infestation, pesticides and mold that contributes to asthma—that were prevalent in disadvantaged neighborhoods of color. Jordan's time in Harlem,

³⁴⁰Müller, Integral Lars. *Your Private Sky: R. Buckminster Fuller: The Art of Design Science*. Edited by Joachim Krausse and Claude Lichtenstein. Lars Müller, 2017, p 306.

³⁴¹ Beatriz Colomina likens Alison and Peter Smithson's House of the Future to Fuller's Dymaxion house and his fascination of air conditioning. Colomina, Beatriz. 2004. "Unbreathed Air 1956." *Grey Room* 15 (15): 28–59.

³⁴² Seventeen days after they published *Skyrise for Harlem* in *Esquire*, the project was published again in Fuller's hometown newspaper, *Southern Illinoisian*, titled "Cone Sweet Home."³⁴² (See *Figure 3.20*). Squeezed onto page five, between articles on a new shopping center and another on childrens' gymnastics course at a local YMCA, "Cone Sweet Home" (which did not carry an author's name) describes the project as an "instant integration plan for Harlem, New York City's Negro section, which was the scene of bloody rioting last summer." Without Jordan's descriptions the project appears out of place, untethered.

both in terms of on the ground activism and her work with Fuller, provided the space to develop an approach to respond to these issues.³⁴³ Jordan's attempt to recalibrate architecture as the medium through which the construction of an 'environment' hinged on the interplay between air moving through biomimetic structures *and* the actions of people is visible in poem she wrote in 1974 that together with *Skyrise* create a more fulsome image of Jordan's pursuits. In "Calling on All Silent Minorities," Jordan wrote:

HEY

C'MON
COME OUT

WHEREVER YOU ARE

WE NEED TO HAVE THIS MEETING
AT THIS TREE

AIN' EVEN BEEN
PLANTED
YET

As if spoken from a megaphone atop a tall tree, a sense of remorse and hope palpitate among the all-caps lines, that read like the bleeps and stops of a telegram. In the same manner *Skyrise* took the form of trees in Sadao's aerial perspective, the tree in her poetry was a metaphor for building a radical movement. Read alongside the biomorphic towers of *Skyrise* and the concerns over air, it becomes clear that the action of people on the ground are as crucial as the infrastructure for a movement to begin.

...

³⁴³ After Jordan and Fuller completed *Skyrise*, Jordan won the Rome Prize and spent the subsequent two years developing a study of the Black civil rights activist Fannie Lou Hamer's community-building tactics through gardening.

In the summer of 1967, June Jordan wrote to Buckminster Fuller describing her experience of seeing *The New City*. In the letter, she identified how *The New City* presented architectural ideas that were “practicable” and contained “many of our ideas for Harlem’s transformation.”³⁴⁴ While *Skyrise* set a precedent (albeit unnoticed) for the rethinking of air in Harlem, the next section of this chapter examines one of the projects in *The New City* that made air legible as part of an architectural proposal. This project was called *Housing Without Relocation*, and like *Skyrise*, it envisaged a housing scheme that boosted living spaces into the air above Harlem. One of the teams invited by Drexler to participate in *The New City* was a group of professors and students at Columbia University. All four of those professors—Richard Weinstein, Jonathan Barnett, Jack Robertson and Giovanni Pasanella—were also active members of Urban Design Group and worked for the Mayor’s office of New York City. This team, with its interests in air rights and a new regulatory practice of “banking air” in order to transfer air rights to entire districts, used their proposal for *The New City* to explore how the transfer of air rights could be applied to the construction of a housing project envisioned to run a two-mile stretch along Park Avenue through Central Harlem.

The next section of this chapter engages the materials of the exhibition alongside oral histories and planning policy documents to understand how this policymaking was architecture-driven, not the other way around. In the history of architecture, the 1916 New York City Zoning Resolution set a precedent for discussing how urban policy in the form of zoning regulations and building codes would influence the overall form of the built environment. Hugh Ferriss famously visualized these regulatory variables. His charcoal drawings visualized the variety of design

³⁴⁴ June Jordan, “Letter to Bucky,” 1967, Harvard Radcliffe Institute Archives.

permutations a building could follow by presenting a variety of massing studies within a given building envelope. Ferris inspired generations of architects by demonstrating the variety of volumetric possibilities available within the newly adopted zoning regulations.

Thus, for architects, New York has always been used as a model to demonstrate how zoning shaped resulting built form. Perhaps the one exception to this flow of policy driving architectural form was Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's design for Seagram Building, whose plans for a ground floor, urban plaza influenced the adoption of the 1961 Zoning Resolution.³⁴⁵ Even architectural histories of reading the traditional steps that make innovation possible, for example either through technical changes or legal changes, have been shaped by this historiography. To complicate this narrative, the next section presents a case study where architects overtly tried to write policy, and used architecture to prove how a new policy directive could function. The first step included a radical reconstitution of the architect's role as a design mediator in urban governance.

II. The Urban Design Force & The Figure of the Urban Designer

The Threatened City: A Report on the Design of the City of New York, was a small, square, 60-page booklet published in 1967 by a group of twelve businessmen, lawyers, philanthropists, and architects who called themselves the Mayor's Task Force for Urban Design.³⁴⁶ The Task Force warned of an "ominous pall of smog" that "frequently obscures our

³⁴⁵ The plaza was also the site of William Whyte's filmic study, the *Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*.

³⁴⁶ The group consisted of William S. Paley (chairman), James M. Clark, Jr., Joan K. Davidson, Eli Jacobs, Philip C. Johnson, George Lindsay, Mrs. Albert A. List, Walter M McQuade, I.M. Pei, Philip Johnson, Jacquelin Robertson and Robert Stern.

skyline and burns our throats” among a range of threats, including the pollution of air, water noise and visual state of the city. Citing architecture critic Allen Temko, the task force cast New York as a city

spinning towards Mumfordian doom; overgrown, over-congested, ill-managed and ill-kempt, usually sullen, sometimes violent, and scarred by enormous ‘gray areas’ ... to the visitor from the West there is a troubling sense of fatigue—a malignant weariness...³⁴⁷

The report, which alternated between threats and solutions, spread across four chapters: The Trouble, Opportunities, Toward a Method, Proposals. At the end of the document, an organizational chart recorded the propositions in a manner that visually made it possible to quickly see the streamlined process for any new building development within the city. The chart placed a “council on urban design” at the top of the design-making chain, in the same line of oversight of capital development projects as the Mayor (*Figure 3.6*). According to the chart, a different body from the council was an “Urban Design Force” which would exist as its own bureaucratic entity alongside the Department of City Planning. They described the Urban Design Force’s role as making “Area Designs” for “residential, commercial and industrial districts and principal investors. Liaison with operating agencies and private developers.”³⁴⁸ The locations of the Urban Design Force on the chart are telling—whether positioned as end nodes, or functioning as the bottleneck of design decisions (*Figure 3.6*, shaded purple)—and provided them with unparalleled oversight of decision-making jurisdiction. If the proposals in the report were to be accepted, the Force would hold the same discretionary power as the mayor, planning commissioner, and planning director, and it would oversee entire entities of transportation, recreation, housing and development, and public works.

³⁴⁷ New York (N.Y.), Mayor’s Task Force on Urban Design, and William S Paley. *The Threatened City: A Report on the Design of the City of New York*. New York: publisher not identified, 1967.

³⁴⁸ *The Threatened City*, appendix.

The reorganization of development policy and city governance recruited architects into government positions as technical liaisons, whose academic expertise performed a legitimating function for urban development projects (see the change from top diagram and bottom chart, *Figure 3.7*). It was in *The Threatened City* report that the idea of a new designation for the architect within civil service—the urban designer, would take shape. Such a degree of power had not been in the hands of a single entity since Robert Moses served as Parks Commissioner and transformed New York City. Here, a single person was replaced with a bureaucratic group of twelve self-appointed architectural experts, a “council” on urban design. The report ended with a letter addressed directly to the Mayor, and shortly thereafter he passed a motion instating the Council on Urban Design (CUD) into the bureaucratic structure of the City of New York. The consequence of this type of reorganization or what the Council called “streamlining” of the “capital development procedures” made actions such as budgeting a legible workflow. Forcing the design of the City through a pipeline where the urban designer standardized and produced policy to be legalized: preparing program requirements such as building envelopes, F.A.R.S., preparing and awarding design contracts, construction contracts, and advertising bids were decisions that were previously spread out under the purview of four regulatory agencies: the Board of Estimate and City Council, the City Controller, Bureau of the Budget, Site Selection Board and Code Enforcement Agencies. With CUD’s recommendation to simplify the pin-ball-machine procedure, where all decisions needed to be bounced back up to the Mayor, the CUD suggested all discretion be given to the urban designer. The Mayor ultimately implemented the Threatened City Report’s recommendations, created two offices and installed architects as urban designers to lead them: The Mayor’s Office of Lower Manhattan Planning and Development and Midtown Manhattan Planning and Development, the first to be directed by Richard Weinstein

and Midtown by Jaquelin Robertson. Eventually, the Mayor would install architects in all five boroughs. Writing in 1975 of the incoming Mayor Beame administration, Paul Goldberger at the *New York Times* noted that

There was one architect on the staff of the City Planning Commission in 1967. Now there are 48, with 30 more in affiliated agencies. The architects are on the city payroll as urban designers, a new profession that sees its job as providing guidance at the point where politics and architecture meet. It was a favored interest of former Mayor John V. Lindsay, and urban designers' work gained headlines in the Lindsay years for creating pedestrian malls, innovative zoning districts and proposals for multiuse buildings, all of which gave the city a national reputation for leadership in the field.³⁴⁹

The early innovation behind the Council's proposal was that bureaucratic process was made legible, or what J.S. Scott would argue was "legible—hence manipulable."³⁵⁰ Indeed, the recommended procedure (*Figure 3.6*) outlines how the project designer would ultimately control almost every component of new development projects carried out in the City. As reorganization decisions incorporated architects into city planning and development processes as urban designers, the influence of these architects on policy became increasingly clear. These architects-turned-urban-designers, located at the "point where politics and architecture meet," exemplified a collusion between academia and city governance that paved the way for policy "solutions" that only further entrenched the status quo.

In reading the charts and diagrams included in *The Threatened City*, it becomes clear that a streamlined planning commission involved giving greater power and oversight to certain architects. As we will see in the coming pages, the same architects who produced *HwR* were also working in the Mayor's office to develop a form of architectural drawing that was not recognizable through the typical conventions of the architect's drawing toolkit: the plan, section,

³⁴⁹ Paul Goldberger, "Urban Design, Entrenched in the City's Bureaucracy, Finds Less Support Under Beame," *The New York Times*, January 28, 1975, sec. Archives.

³⁵⁰ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 2.

elevation or even the bird's eye perspective often rendered in a manner that visualized and pointed to a future building scheme. Instead, they diagrammed organizational charts that changed the very definition of what constituted an architectural drawing. Derived from a genealogy of modeling information rather than visualizing future proposals, the charts reveal a level of architecture's entanglement and influence on governmentality. No longer was the architect's role simply to implement policy: now they could mediate it.

Here, the newly established position of the urban designer within city government would become an instrumental figure to implement this radical re-orientation of architecture's role in city government. In the context of New York City and the newly inaugurated Mayor, John Lindsay, the architects participating in the *HwR*, invented a new designation: the "credentialed" urban designer who became the legitimating technocrat and civic instrument in the development of New York. According to Richard Weinstein, the officials in the Mayor's office

weren't opposed to having a new category of people that were under the civil service system... The civil service is always trying to expand the number of jobs that it could create because that increased the lobbying power of its constituency... And Jon Barnett was responsible for sort of learning enough about the system so that he could propose a new definition for a new job type and also circumvent the seniority principles of civil service, so people could get paid without being in the system twenty years at a high enough level so we could attract into government first-class people. He figured out how to circumvent that with Donald Elliott's help and with friendly bureaucrats within the civil service who were persuaded of the need for this and devised an exam that would filter out people who applied for the job from within the civil service who didn't have the intelligence and the sophistication and the talent that we needed. So we also had to block people within the system from getting first priority for these new jobs, which is the way the system works. So Barnett had to develop an exam which these people could take and fail and which people we wanted to hire could take and pass. [mutual laughter on the tape]³⁵¹

The power of the role that the urban designer would take on in New York allowed him (most of them were men) to determine development to a degree that Penn's Civic Design Program could

³⁵¹ It is not clear what the racial composition of New York City urban design was and is worthy of further investigation.

not even have fathomed. The urban designer in city planning administration, Paul Goldberger observed, catapulted from one to forty by 1970. In the context of the racial uprisings of the 1960s and the ways in which the city responded, it was architects who performed a legitimating function within urban governance. The fact that they engaged with academic and cultural institutions too provides a more complicated history of architecture's place within an ever-growing speculative economy within New York City.

Prior to their becoming a bureaucratic fixture, the reach of this group was already well-established in City circles two years prior to their publishing of the report. By 1965, Weinstein, Barnett and Robertson were already working for John Lindsay (who would become mayor that year), under the auspices of Lindsay's campaign "Design of the City" also known as the Paley Committee.³⁵² The Paley committee was the first iteration of an urban design group that would be established within the New York's City Planning Commission, reorganized by Lindsay's administration.³⁵³ In 1966, Mayor Lindsay's legal advisor Donald Elliott hired William Paley to lead the Task Force on Urban Design, and was the first sign of what will become the incorporation of architects into city government. Paley's position as head of Columbia

³⁵² The changes that Lindsay made to during his mayorship from 1966 to 1973 has been historicized as transformative for the City of New York, particularly for the ways he approached topics such as preservation and renewal. It is not surprising then that Paley, Lindsay's appointed chairman of the Task Force on Urban Design (and trustee of Columbia University) would then air a series on his television network, CBS, called "telemenetaries"—a fusion of the words television and documentary that showcased the conditions of New York City's streets as it's subject. Lindsay even changed how the City could issue single permits for filming, thus increasing revenue from filmmaking with newly relaxed permit requirements for shooting on city-owned property "Mayor Initiates Program to Make New York a Major Filmmaking Center." *Boxoffice (Archive: 1920-2000)*; New York. New York, United States, New York: Boxoffice Media LP, June 6, 1966. Developing in tandem with these types of policy initiatives made New York more cinematic by sheer ability to shoot on location, Lindsay's administration's focused design approach to render the city more cinematic through a series of beautification programs not unlike the scale of transformation under Haussmann in Paris.

³⁵³ This is outside the scope of this dissertation, but perhaps it is not a coincidence that Paley is head of media and broadcasting selects the elite architects. He also influenced what we might call 'optics' today, and the fact that his media background informed his curatorial choice for architects is noteworthy. "Lindsay Picks Paley to Head City Beautification Project," New York Times, April 15, 1966.

Broadcasting Systems (CBS) had given him access to civic leaders and had established political connections. It was Paley that curated a group of elite architects to make up the Task Force on Urban Design.³⁵⁴

Cultural institutions like the Museum of Modern Art had a hand in the remaking of the city through this bureaucratized architectural vision. The fact that four architects were involved in the Task Force on Urban Design—a youthful Robert Stern and Jacquelin Robertson, alongside the older guard of I.M. Pei and Philip Johnson—piqued the interest of museum curator Arthur Drexler. In February 1966, Drexler alluded to the role of the aforementioned Urban Design Force, deftly connecting city, mayor, and museum as a “useful course for us [the Museum]” in a letter to his boss, Rene d’Harnoncourt. Orchestrating meetings and luncheons with both local and federal agencies required timely action, and in February 1966, Drexler wrote d’Harnoncourt, again, this time with a strategy to commit the city and potentially even the federal government to offer full financial support for the exhibition plan, writing, “I would like to do something about it as quickly as possible.”³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ According to Richard Weinstein’s oral history, Lindsay’s administration was looking for architects and urban designers with credentials from “the cream of the crop from Yale, Columbia and Harvard... who wanted to work in public service and in the government,” 112.

³⁵⁵ Letter to Rene D’Harnoncourt, December 1965, Folder 818.20, MoMA Exhibition Records 1960–1969, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York, NY. Drexler’s awareness of the key players in the Federal Housing arena is indicative in his suggestion to invite Robert C. Weaver, whom Drexler presumed d’Harnoncourt knew well, Robert C. Weaver had recently been appointed as the first U.S. Secretary of HUD in January 1966. HUD merely expanded the federal housing programs under the Housing Act of 1949 and 1954, which by 1966, was already considered to have exacerbated the problems it claimed to resolve. But HUD was the single-most powerful government agency responsible for delivering funds directly to local governments. It had the capacity to funnel support directly to organizations and independent community agencies, the possibility of which I would argue drew even a museum director’s attention, such as Drexler, to the idea that the Museum could partake in conversations about “improving” the city. According to his letter, it seems as though Drexler believed that if Weaver could see the relevance of the Museum’s planning ambitions, he might see the demonstration projects as “relevant not only to New York, but to other cities. Further, he might ‘commission’ the Museum to undertake the project...”

Like the council, Drexler had been concerns about specific neighborhoods. Aspects of a few select neighborhoods caught the eyes of the council,

Here one sees the city's central agony, the racial stockade, the solution to which is far beyond the redesign of physical surroundings or any other single remedy. Harlem and the south Bronx and Bedford Stuyvesant will not be bearable places until New York is somehow able to repair its best invention, the economic escalator...³⁵⁶

The council's description of the city as a "racial stockade"—conjuring images of a medieval torture device or a fortress wall—that could only be alleviated through the reinstallation of a metaphor for economic upward mobility, the escalator, alludes to the direction certain members of the council would eventually take.

Harlem, Morningside Heights, and Columbia University

As an interlocutor who saw the changes place in city government as an opportune moment to establish himself as an intermediary—a man in a suit that could serve as “community advisor on matters pertaining to the aesthetics of urban planning,”³⁵⁷ Drexler also had Harlem in mind as site for architectural reform. The role of Columbia University, located in West Harlem's Morningside Heights neighborhood, would prove to be crucial in the efforts to “reform” Harlem in the 1960s. These urban renewal projects did not mark the first time the neighborhood figured in the forefront of the City's politics and Columbia University. Harlem emerged intermittently throughout various episodes of the University's campus expansion plans. As one of the largest land holders in upper Manhattan, Columbia University was part of Morningside Heights, Inc. (MHI). In 1947, David Rockefeller—the president of MoMA's Board of Trustees—spearheaded

³⁵⁶ Ibid, 15–16.

³⁵⁷ Letter to Rene D'Haroncourt, December 1965, Folder 818.20, MoMA Exhibition Records 1960–1969, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York, NY.

the formation of MHI, a collection of fourteen institutions, including Columbia University, who were all invested in the neighborhood's development patterns based on their ownership of either land or property in the area.³⁵⁸ (*Figure 3.8*) Morningside Heights, Inc., sought to prevent what MHI called the "encroachment of Harlem," code for preventing Black and Puerto Ricans from moving into the neighborhood in the hopes of maintaining a racially white neighborhood. What MHI members were witnessing was a shifting racial demographic that began at the tail end of the 1940s. As a pocket neighborhood in the western most edge of Harlem, Morningside Heights, the neighborhood, always considered itself as "New York's Acropolis."³⁵⁹ The population of Morningside Heights was almost all white through the 1930s, and by 1950, approximately 14,000 of the 70,000 inhabitants were Black (6,671) or Puerto Rican (6,552).³⁶⁰ The increase in the African-American population in greater Harlem took place between 1910-30. According to Shannon King, first generation Black southerners who had moved to New York moved up toward Harlem after continuous white-on-Black violence throughout the Tenderloin district.³⁶¹ Within a short decade within 1950 and 1960, Morningside Heights saw a 700 percent increase in the African-American population.³⁶² In response to this demographic shift, the MHI members who owned housing implemented de facto restrictive covenants practiced by neighborhood coalitions such as the Property Owners' Protective Association Harlem.

³⁵⁸ Andrew S. Dolkart, "Afterword: Morningside Heights in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century," in *Morningside Heights, A History of Its Architecture and Development* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 325-40.

³⁵⁹ Dolkart, 325.

³⁶⁰ Stefan M. Bradley, "Why I Hate You: Community Resentment of Columbia," in *Harlem vs. Columbia University, Black Student Power in the Late 1960s* (University of Illinois Press, 2009), p26

³⁶¹ Shannon King, *Whose Harlem Is This, Anyway?: Community Politics and Grassroots Activism during the New Negro Era* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 2.

³⁶² Stefan M. Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the Late 1960s*, 26.

For Morningside Heights, Inc., the very presence of Black residents was considered a “threat” to the neighboring white community of Morningside Heights—so much so that the city intervened to remove Black residents—an effort that began as early as the 1890s through the 1920s, and would gain renewed momentum after the ’64 uprisings.³⁶³ In collaboration with property owners and Columbia University, the city worked to remove Black residents living in housing in Morningside Heights under the aegis of the building and units requiring “slum clearance” through outright demolition.³⁶⁴ McGruder’s *Race and Real Estate* recounts the series of evictions, displacements and dispossessions that Black Harlem residents would endure by Harlem’s white business class.³⁶⁵ This removal of Black residents in the early twentieth century foreshadowed the urban renewal of the mid-twentieth century—a phenomenon that James Baldwin characterized as “Negro removal”—during which the academy colluded with the City

³⁶³ Studying the relationship between race and real estate in Harlem, Kevin McGruder analyzes “real estate transactions” as a way to chart how Black residents acquired real estate in Harlem from the 1890s to the 1920s. Kevin McGruder, *Race and Real Estate: Conflict and Cooperation in Harlem, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 66.

³⁶⁴ The history of housing dispossession is also wrapped up in the history of single room occupancy (SRO) housing in Harlem. In SRO housing, low-income tenants rent out a single room. Current use of the SRO include using the SRO as a campaign toward homeownership with very dubious strings attached. For example, with the deployment of preservation as the primary term used to by the city and non-profit organizations to seize property under the aegis of housing preservation in Harlem, SRO’s have been used as units that can be “bought” under the aegis of “limited equity cooperatives”. According to the Settlement Housing Fund, Inc, a collective of powerful lawyers stated their goals to prevent gentrification and preserve units for low-income residents. The issue of course, is that most of these units are already occupied by Black families who paid off their mortgage. A failure to pay a water bill or property tax, for example will expedite the property into a process of foreclosure that transfers the homeowners deed to a non-profit like the Settlement Housing Fund, Inc., which in turn charges the homeowner a low-income rate as a tenant. This process of seizing land for non-payment of debts has a long history in the U.S. with the earliest foreclosures recorded on native lands from the earliest period of white settler colonization. Though the Settlement Housing Fund, Inc, campaign against gentrification claims that they are against the conversion of brownstones to “luxury use” and framed under “the critical need to preserve buildings” as a way to provide not only low-income rental units, their tactics of rooted in a complex and innovative form of financially driven institutional racism. This form of legalized dispossession continues and has only recently received attention by two journalists and legal aid, in support of the homeowners fighting for their deed. As ongoing disputes continue, the actions of a growing and constantly innovating real-estate market, using terms such as the Urban Homesteading Assistance Board, or Real Estate Investors who acquire commercial mortgages secured by real estate in New York City.

³⁶⁵ Kevin McGruder, *Race and Real Estate: Conflict and Cooperation in Harlem, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 62. See particularly chapter 3, “From Eviction to Containment,” 62–96.

and cultural institutions to remake Morningside Heights in a way that preserved racial segregation.³⁶⁶

Columbia benefited from the development schemes produced by MHI. In December 1965, the MHI published their own ideal community plans for Harlem and Morningside which included proposals for housing and community housing. The report, called Morningside Heights Core Area Study, expressed their agenda: “A long range, imaginative and bold plan for community development should be organized. The community should be [the] cultural and intellectual center of the world.” According to David Rockefeller, MHI represented a will to “join efforts of institutions of vision and experience, will assume these responsibilities wholeheartedly.”³⁶⁷ The Morningside General Renewal Plan (MGRN) proposed rebuilding 600 acres, (*Figure 3.9*) of upper Manhattan between “100th street and Central Park West, Manhattan Avenue, 104th Street, Broadway, 123rd Street and Eighth Avenue.” The hatched lines in figure 3.9 shows the areas that were to remain untouched; the entire Columbia campus Teacher’s College, Union Theological Seminary, The Riverside Church, Julliard School of Music, Barnard College, and St. Luke’s Hospital (all members of the MHI) and were excluded from project’s renewal plan. MHI’s Core Area plan included an expansion of Columbia’s Campus and a waterfront development they called Riverside Park Plaza (RPP). The RPP included office

³⁶⁶ According to historian Charles Davis, Black poverty and other “low income people color” were subject to this clearing by way of designating unfit housing as “slums”. Focusing in on William Lescaze of Howe & Lescaze’s contribution to Museum of Modern Art Modern Architecture: International Exhibition, and the shows role in helping build a visual image of s “New Deal Architecture” as a salve to the problem of “slums.” Crucially, for Davis, while white European “slums” were considered to be rehabilitate-able in the 1930s, in the 1960s, these same “slums” now inhabited by predominately low-income people of color, were cause for clearance. See II, Charles L. Davis. *Building Character: The Racial Politics of Modern Architectural Style*. 1 edition. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019: 173.

³⁶⁷ Morningside Area Alliance records, 1947-1992 Morningside Heights Core Area Study, 1968 Box 11 Folder 13. University Archives, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York hereafter Morningside Heights Core Area Study. The document does not have page numbers.

buildings, research laboratories totaling over 800,000 square feet, a marina club and terrace, and Columbia University Faculty Apartments (*Figure 3.10*). The expansion of the University campus included Columbia graduate student housing on Morningside Drive and 117th Street. (*Figure 3.11*), an expansion of University campus facilities, such as academic student, faculty and staff housing to be built on 111th–114th Streets, between Broadway to Amsterdam Ave, with faculty housing to be built west of Broadway and other campus commercial services to be built east of Amsterdam Ave.³⁶⁸ The University expansion plan would have cleared old tenements, new law tenements, SROs, overly dense buildings, and “dilapidated” buildings. (*Figure 3.12*) The result was a university city that took up almost the entirety of West Harlem with only a small percentage of housing categorized in as “0-5 percent dilapidated” saved. (*Figure 3.13*) The MHI boasted support of the not yet, but soon to be controversial Gymnasium set to be built in Morningside Park, as a “full recreational facility” for “children and adults neighboring the park.”³⁶⁹ Combined with the RRP, the over 600 acres would have transformed Morningside Heights into a university city (see map of blue and red).³⁷⁰ This required of course, the demolition of almost five thousand dwelling units that the MHI cataloged to include, single-room occupancies (SROs), which according to the MHI had deteriorated beyond repair, legitimating a

³⁶⁸ Morningside Heights Core Area Study.

³⁶⁹ Morningside Heights Core Area Study.

³⁷⁰ Barry Bergdoll in *Mastering McKim's Plan: Columbia's First Century on Morningside Heights* has suggested that it was the president of Columbia, Grayson Louis Kirk, and his relationship to the Rockefeller's that resulted in the ultimate departure of Columbia's building patterns from the original master plan set by McKim. Bergdoll, Barry, Janet Parks, Hollee Haswell, Low Memorial Library, and Mead & White McKim. *Mastering McKim's Plan: Columbia's First Century on Morningside Heights*. New York: Wallach Art Gallery, 1998. For a thorough history of Columbia's campus expansion program, see McCaughey, Robert. *Stand, Columbia: A History of Columbia University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

series of evictions that in turn produced vacant units that the MHI then sold mortgages to investors ready to “rehabilitate” the units.³⁷¹

“All our institutions have joined in the commitment to renew community, to wipe out sick slums and to insure a better future, by design.”³⁷² Directly referring to commentary made by the Mayor’s Task Force on the Design of the City of New York, the MHI executive director Edward Solomon, declared the importance of “our institutions of teaching and healing and of the spirit seek an attractive residential, educational and cultural community in which they can carry out their important missions.”³⁷³ With quotes such as “those who live in their city among the institutions live in an environment of change” sprinkled throughout the MHI core area study, MHI certainly considered themselves as a correcting agent that used the rhetoric of “change” as a natural phenomenon to disguise their motivation to maintain whiteness in Harlem. MHI worked closely with the city, including the high-profile racists Robert Moses and Philip Johnson, who designed, but never built, Morningside Senior Housing (*Figure 3.14*).

Together, MHI and Columbia University physically separated Morningside Heights from neighboring Harlem through the construction of a series of buildings that created a fortress between Harlem north of 125th Street and Columbia’s University facilities south of 123rd.³⁷⁴ Columbia’s effort to physically separate the campus from the rest of Harlem, described by faculty members in the psychology department as “hostile” or more explicitly “when the blacks

³⁷¹ McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 407.

³⁷² Morningside Heights Core Area Study.

³⁷³ Morningside Heights Core Area Study.

³⁷⁴ Andrew S. Dolkart, *Morningside Heights: A History of Its Architecture and Development* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 331.

got too much,”³⁷⁵ would find its most extreme form in 1959, when the University sought clearance to build a sports facility on publicly owned land in Morningside Park.³⁷⁶

In the same historical moment that the City and the MHI were responding to events of the uprisings in the years following 1964, newly organizing student groups on the campus of Columbia, from the almost all white group, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Columbia Citizenship Council (CCC) to the Black student groups such as the Society of Afro-American Students (SAS) and Barnard’s all-female student group, Barnard Organization of Soul Sisters (BOSS) were also responding to the Uprising.³⁷⁷ These groups developed a form of activism from the Harlem “riot” which trigger them to pivot their focus from specifically student issues to issues they saw happening immediately outside of the University. Specifically for the SDS and the SAS, Columbia’s proposal to build a College gymnasium in Harlem’s Morningside Park, with two separate entrances: one for Columbia students above from Morningside Heights and Harlem, one entering from below the hill by Harlem residents. Here, the building literally performed de-facto separate but equal laws by creating a separate entrance for Columbia’s predominately white student body and a second, below-grade entrance for Harlem’s majority public of color.³⁷⁸ (*Figure 3.15*)

³⁷⁵ Provost Barzun, quoted in *The American University*, 45, reprinted in McCaughey, 409.

³⁷⁶ Robert Moses was the Parks Commissioner at that time and suggested the idea to the Dean of the Business School. McKoughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 434.

³⁷⁷ For this history of Black Student groups at Columbia see Stefan M. Bradley, *Harlem v. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the Late 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009). See also Blake Slonecker, “The Columbia Coalition: African Americans, New Leftists, and Counterculture at the Columbia University Protest of 1968,” *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 4 (July 2008): 967–996.

³⁷⁸ Astoundingly the gym was approved to be built. As early as November 1965 the gym continued to be on the campus expansion plans even as protests opposing the gym began as early as September 1965, when the Harlem organizations West Harlem Community Organization Group and the Morningside Renewal Council began opposing the gym. For a full history of Columbia’s Gym proposal in Morningside Park, as it was first proposed in 1959. It would take three additional years to finally stop construction of the gym, when in 1968, ultimately halted in 1968

Notably, Columbia's efforts to develop Morningside Heights apart from the rest of Harlem did not go unnoticed or unchallenged by Harlem residents, either. On February 18, 1968, Morningside Park was filled with student and neighborhood residents protesting the construction of Morningside Gym. This was not the first demonstration against the gymnasium. As early as 1965, neighborhood activists in Harlem had voiced their opposition about the gym project without garnering any response from University officials. It had been Black activists such as H. Rap Brown, who first described the racist layout of the building's design.

In December 1967, Brown vocalized Columbia's racist building patterns and reiterated the use-value of revolt, and deployed a language learned from the Harlem rebellion as a useful tool against University's historical use of dispossessing Harlemites of land to build and expand its campus. "If they build the first story, blow it up. If they sneak back at night and build three stories, burn it down, and if they get nine stories built, it's yours. Take it over, and maybe we'll let them in on the weekends."³⁷⁹ The unusual plan to build a College gym on public park land was one example of Columbia's history of rapacious building patterns. With a shortage of open land to build on, Robert Moses (as the overseer of the City's parks commission) authorized the private use of public land, with the condition that a small percentage of the athletic amenities would be shared with the community to use.³⁸⁰ Plans for the gym were proposed early in 1957 and at the time won the support of neighborhood groups eager to accept a neighborhood-serving amenity. Neighborhood support for the gym continued through the early 1960s, with the separate

after student protests, see "Riding the Whirlwind: Columbia '68" in Robert McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia: A History of Columbia University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 436.

³⁷⁹ *Columbia Spectator*, December 4, 1967. Quote reprinted in McKoughey, 436.

³⁸⁰ For a full chronology of the gym project schedule, see McKoughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 434.

entrances described as a “topographical reality” of the site.³⁸¹ The park’s dramatic hillside terrain was addressed by the architects by lodging the building within the hill. (*Figure 3.15*) The cross-section reveals the how the building was sited within the elevation gain of about 1,000 feet, just about the height of the Chrysler building. The section also reveals the disproportionately small space with respect the scale of the entire gym that was reserved for the “community” and in a discriminatory manner, designed to be entered from the Morningside Park level.

The New City Exhibition

1967 was a significant year for architecture to scrutinize Columbia’s building patterns and the renewal franchise. By 1967, the failures of renewal were well apparent as reform-oriented debates placed terms like community and advocacy planning at the forefront of both architectural and policy discourse. *The New City* exhibition, which ran from January to March 1967 was the first after a long pause on programs that considered city planning (the last time being *America Can’t Have Housing* in 1934), and for the participants—four ivy-league teams and the curator—the show was a way to claim that architects were not involved with renewal. Ongoing debates around housing policy since 1934 and renewal policy in 1967 only served to provide a convincing subtext for each show’s promotion.³⁸²

As Drexler liked to believe, *The New City* was an apolitical attempt to straightforwardly showcase the possible improvements to city planning tactics if architects were involved.³⁸³ He

³⁸¹ Roger Starr, “The Case of the Columbia Gym,” *The Public Interest*, 1968.

³⁸² Here, I am referring primarily to Title I of the 1954 Housing Act, which made demolition of “slum” housing more financially lucrative than rehabilitation.

³⁸³ Drexler is not the only figure that took this stance. Robert Stern, in the preface for *Harlem Lost And Found: An Architectural and Social History, 1765-1915*, has claimed that “good architecture is essentially color-blind: the historic architecture of Harlem has served its changing population remarkably well, despite the complex issues of racial strife and poverty that have come very close to breaking it apart.” In other words, certain parts of Harlem were

explained to Elliott as proposals not solutions and included topics such as “Opening the Grid Plan” from Colin Rowe’s team at Cornell; “Design New Land” from Stanford Anderson’s team at MIT; “Building the Waterfront” from Peter Eisenman and his team at Princeton; and “Housing Without Relocation” from Richard Weinstein and the Columbia team.

Echoing Drexler’s idealization of the future architect’s role, *New York Times* architecture critic Ada Louise Huxtable also anticipated such a changing roles, suggesting that a new standard had been set by architects who viewed the city as an object lesson in “creative planning,” emphasizing the partnership between “art and city government.”³⁸⁴ the outcome of the show, or what Huxtable called “creative planning,” was not the type of planning project proposed by the historical avant-garde who visualized future buildings and demanded a degree of autonomy, but a new form of architecture—one that operated within and among a latticework of policy, urban governance, and cultural institutions such as MoMA. This complex web is most identifiable in the group that has received the least amount of scholarly attention, the Columbia team.

Housing Without Relocation

Housing Without Relocation was the project of a team of professors and students at Columbia University. Their project, nicknamed “the vault,” was essentially a long tunnel-like structure, upon which housing blocks could be built. (*Figure 3.16*) “The vault” could conceal both the noise and “visual blight” of the trains that ran along the elevated tracks of Park Avenue, a long north-south boulevard running parallel to Central Park that, at its northernmost section,

able to be maintained as racially white neighborhoods. Adams, Michael Henry, and Paul Rocheleau. *Harlem: Lost and Found*. First Edition. New York: The Monacelli Press, 2001, 11.

³⁸⁴ Ada Louise Huxtable, “Planning the New City; Modern Museum Exhibits Projects That Link Esthetics and Sociology MUSEUM SHOWS ‘NEW CITY’ PLANS,” *The New York Times*, January 24, 1967, sec. Archives.

cuts through East and Central Harlem. The Columbia team was composed of five architects: Jonathan Barnett, Jaquelin T. Robertson, Giovanni Pasanella, Myles Weintraub, and Richard Weinstein, along with structural engineer David Geiger.³⁸⁵ In addition to being part of the teaching team responsible for putting together a proposal in *The New City*, Robertson and Weinstein were also members of the aforementioned Urban Design Force and therefore already working for the City by this point.

Housing Without Relocation solved two problems at once in its concealment of infrastructure and building of housing. According to Weinstein, the project took “one of the sort of wounds of the city, which was the blight on either side of the Park Avenue railroad tracks caused by the elevated nature of the New York Central trains as they came in from the suburbs.” The vault was imagined as a concrete shell onto which housing—from townhouses to high-rises—could be attached, as if “building on the side of a hill.” Using the same engineering innovations developed for the construction of dams, the long line, according to the team, was a deliberate product of a construction technique that relied on a machine that could continuously pour concrete along a fixed linear track, rolling on wheels and leaving behind the tunnel structure, “just the way a snail makes a shell.” The existing tracks, the area’s “greatest single source of blight,” would be successfully hidden from sight.³⁸⁶ After their intervention, what was previously considered an area “derelict or blighted” could be remade with new buildings.

³⁸⁵ Richard Weinstein, Giovanni Pasanella and Jonathan Barnett each worked at Edward Larrabee Barnes’ office, best known for his design for the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis and the IBM headquarters in New York. Richard Weinstein worked at Edward L. Barnes from 1965-65 and wrote in pen that he was a lecturer in architecture at Columbia from 1966 as an addendum to his resume. Giovanni Pasanella also worked for Barnes from 1959-65 and was already working for the Mayor Lindsay’s office since 1965 by the time he was invited to participate in *The New City* exhibition. Jaquelin Robertson was a lecturer at Columbia from 1966 to 1967 and had worked for Edward L. Barnes from 1963-66.

³⁸⁶ *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal Catalog*, 30. MoMA Exhibition Records 1960–1969, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York, NY.

In plan, the logic of the project presents itself as one that supports the north-south flow of movement along Park Avenue (*Figure 3.16* diagram with red line and blue line). As the diagram suggests, the existing rail line in red extended past the Harlem River and down 97th Street, beyond their site boundaries. Electric bus lines were intended to run alongside the outer sides of the vault at an “intermediate level,” where access would be made available from the “streets below and the pedestrian boulevard above.” Described as “providing fast and pleasant local transportation,” the Columbia team presented an allegory of city life enriched by circulation—a rational plan that, when viewed in section, was not dissimilar to Robert Moses’ infamous Lower Manhattan Expressway—a template for how to modernize urbanism through infrastructural development. Viewed in section, the vault is a large heap of urban objects: stairs, bridges, tunnels, doors and successive blocks of apartments. Built in 1837, the New York and Harlem railroad that runs along Park Avenue was a mass of wrought iron girders and steel beams that allowed plenty of movement for cars and people beneath the tracks.

With only six clear openings for east-west movement—judging by the pale-pink breaks in high-rise structures on the plan (*Figure 3.17*), *Housing Without Relocation*, with its barrel vault trainline tunnel, would essentially bisect two miles of Harlem, cutting off existent possibilities for east west movement. Given this observation, the project would transform an infrastructural zone of porosity into a continuous linear tunnel, with the technology of dam-building no less. Despite the provision of housing and pedestrian space above it (a kind of inversion of The High Line that would follow on the other side of Manhattan in 2003), the project functioned as a continuous line of housing. Weinstein describes the reasoning behind the project’s title:

So one of the big problems in housing in Harlem was finding places to build that didn't force people to relocate, which got you into huge community battles, because people

didn't want to give up where they lived—however miserable—for some promise that the city would build them something elsewhere. So we studied the percentage of abandoned housing along the tracks and saw it as a resource for relocation. We could tear down these empty slums, build new housing, then decant people from other parts of Harlem that were living in miserable buildings to these nice new buildings which they could see, feel, and touch before they abandoned their other dwelling.

I interpret *Housing Without Relocation* as a line-as-wall project made up of urban essentials from electric bus lines, housing, and a soundproof shell. If built, residents of either side of a divided Harlem would have woken up to see a continuous billboard for their housing to be, as their current homes neared impending destruction. If built, *Housing Without Relocation* would have operated as a functional wall, separating a white neighborhood from the predominately Black neighborhood of Central Harlem (*Figure 3.18*). *HWR* produces an extreme condition of separation. Yet, perhaps ironically, this would have served the demands of Black separatists in Central Harlem who envisioned the neighborhood as a separate “city within a city,” an expansion of a “voluntary” form of enclosure.³⁸⁷ In any case, the proposal needs to be judged in terms of its demonstrative intentions. The legacy of *HWR* is in fact a far more surreptitious set of regulations around air rights that, through this project, were actualized. The next section discusses how air rights evolved in the context of NYC, and how Columbia team member Weinstein in particular promulgated a form of widescale packaging of creative zoning laws.

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³⁸⁷ Black revolutionary nationalist Malcolm X called for Harlem to be separate. I also use the term voluntary in the manner Rem Koolhaas used for his thesis project *Voluntary Prisoners of Architecture* (1972) even though Koolhaas' project did not yet exist.

The concept of air rights is not new and has a long history that can be traced to the more expansive tool: Transfer of Development Rights (TDRs). Since the 1700s, TDRs were an apparatus promulgated by property owners to buffer themselves from capital loss. In the American context, the origins of Transfer of Development Rights is best understood alongside the Homestead Act of 1862.³⁸⁸ The critical component of the Homestead Act was that it gave frontier settlers ownership of the surface of the land, yet the natural resources near or underground, such as water, gas, oil, and coal, were “retained” by the federal government.³⁸⁹ In the 1800s, when water lines, gas and oil lines, and irrigation projects were being constructed at an unprecedented scale, the government began to pay property owners for the potential monetary loss as a direct result of their development rights being reduced through “transfer of development rights.”

By the 1960s, these same regulatory tools developed to buffer individual landowners from monetary loss, began to include air as material that could be transferred like gas, oil and minerals and thus have potential monetary gain for a landowner. In 1961, New York City revised their Discretionary Zoning Laws as a means to re-route how the city and developers could meet block by block density quotas. Development density (and the allowance to build high) relied on regulations such as floor area to lot size ratios, or, more simply, floor area ratios (FARs). FARs were the primary means to determine how high a building was allowed to be built, and they were

³⁸⁸ The Homestead Act was the legal apparatus that helped produce what Francis Paul Prucha called “the orderly progression of the frontier.” Scholars in legal history and Indigenous studies have studied the theory of settler colonialism. For legal theorist K-Sue Park, the Homestead Act was *the* expanding apparatus that served as the basis for American manifest destiny and western expansionism. Additionally, Park explains how the American mortgage in addition to the surveyor’s grid “converted land into a vast grid of enclosures” for land to be taken, bought and sold. K-Sue Park, “Money, Mortgages, and the Conquest of America,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 41, no. 4 (2016): 1006–1035.

³⁸⁹ Donald M. Carmichael, “Transferable Development Rights as a Basis for Land Use Control,” *Florida State University Law Review* 2, no. 1 (1974): 74.

regulated alongside other zoning restrictions such as setbacks and permissible bulk.³⁹⁰ If a developer did not use their maximum allowable FAR, they could sell (transfer) their unused air to a neighboring who could use the bought air rights to build higher. Until 1967, these transactions primarily happened piecemeal from building to building, lot to lot, with degree of immediacy where air was not held for future use. For example, in one of the first successful air rights transactions in New York, the Biltmore Hotel bought air rights from the Grand Central Station site in order to construct the 26-story neoclassical hotel, which opened in 1913.³⁹¹

Banking Air Rights

The idea of “banking” air for future sales not only allowed for the purchase of air to be used at a later time, it created a speculative market for the buying, selling and exchange of air that was similar to the practices of speculating on financial packages carried out by the New York Stock exchange. The anticipation that air rights could be bought but used at a later time required, of course, stable demand. This is where the city played a role. In 1967, the Urban Design Group (made up of Weinstein, Barnett, and Robertson) created higher density quotas around subway sites in lower Manhattan, thus laying the legal groundwork for a speculative futures real-estate market, or what Weinstein called “an air rights for future exchange.”³⁹² Regulatory tools such as Discretionary Zoning Laws, special zoning districts such as “preservation zones” or even the relaxing of environmental laws, and lower corporate taxes

³⁹⁰ Hugh Ferriss famously visualized setback principles with charcoal, showcasing how sheering the bulk of buildings into graduated steps would give back more light and air into the street.

³⁹¹ The New York Preservation Archive Project, “Biltmore Hotel,” <https://www.nypap.org/preservation-history/biltmore-hotel/>.

³⁹² Richard Weinstein, UCLA Faculty Oral Histories. May 16, 1996.

helped ensure the market value of air, if not govern its price completely.³⁹³ Today the financialization of air can be seen in empowerment zones, enterprise zones, and opportunity zones. These planning prescriptions are known for bringing in national retailers and pushing out small business owners, which happened on 125th Street in Harlem, when Black-owned businesses were replaced with a “Harlem-themed” shopping mall.³⁹⁴ Here, the air from entire districts cleverly zoned for optimal buyout were “scraped off the ground.”³⁹⁵ The advent of the banking of air not only paved the way for the financialization and stockpiling of air rights, but also attracted banks and insurance companies experienced in these types of speculative contracts.

Banking Air in NYC

The first example of banking air took place in 1973, where the moving of air from and between entire districts was negotiated between the city, the UDG, Chase Manhattan Bank and the Continental Insurance Company. Continental Insurance Company began to buy up and stockpile the air over the South Street Seaport District in Manhattan. In the case of the Seaport, the bank bought out the interests of a private developer, thus regulating any fluctuation in price based on demand, because the majority of the air rights were held by one entity. For Weinstein the banking of air was beneficial because it saved a historic district, the Seaport. He emphasized that the most important part of the banking of air was that it would save historic districts. The

³⁹³ This idea of speculation of future sales has been discussed architecturally by Michael Osman, in *Cold Storage and the Speculative Market of Preserved Assets*. In his book, *Modernism's Visible Hand*, Osman argues how “the mechanical regulation of the environment within cold storage, the expansion of the futures market, and attempts to assert control over the national economy were all bound together.” He focuses specifically on the changing role of architecture in this period. Michael Osman, *Modernism's Visible Hand: Architecture and Regulation in America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018), 49.

³⁹⁴ Samuel Stein, *Capital City: Gentrification and the Real Estate State* (London: Verso, 2019), 68.

³⁹⁵ Richard Weinstein, UCLA Faculty Oral Histories, May 16, 1996.

legal language required to make this possible was carried out by Donald Elliott, who described the process to “assign the right to build X square footage of space scraped off the blocks we wanted to protect, with some of it going to the site that had been originally chosen.”³⁹⁶

The effects of this case study, Weinstein claimed, were not “a financial success for the investors, but it’s a success in terms of the citizens of New York City.” Yet it had enormous financial benefits for developers in the City. Donald Trump was one of the first developers to take advantage of the changes in air rights transactions. Trump had taken advantage of density bonuses since the early sixties, he “legally stockpiled air rights from at least 7 low-rise properties that had F.A.R to spare, merging their lots with his, he then maxed out the block’s allowable density in the form of a single slender tower.”³⁹⁷ Indeed, Weinstein himself mentions how Trump stockpiled the air rights over MoMA in order to build high-rise luxury condominiums.³⁹⁸

The buying, selling, banking and overall financialization of air rights in New York City is a phenomenon with a set of its own particularities that rested on the inventive legal writing of Donald Elliot, and a handful of architects and financial institutions.³⁹⁹ Air-rights transfers

³⁹⁶ Richard Weinstein, UCLA Faculty Oral Histories, May 16, 1996.

³⁹⁷ Robin Finn, “The Great Air Race,” *New York Times*, February 22, 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/24/realestate/the-great-race-for-manhattan-air-rights.html>.

³⁹⁸ Richard Weinstein, transcript from MoMA: “Trump [had] a jump on building condominiums in the neighborhood of the Museum, so our condominiums came on [...] half a year, after Trump’s did so we didn’t do as well as we might have, had we not been delayed by the lawsuit. By that time, I was out of the project. Donald retained some peripheral involvement, because he was lawyer for the Trust, but once the law was passed and once the board decided to go forward with the project and the lawsuit came, there really was nothing more for me to do at that point. So I was given a kiss on both cheeks and sort of lost touch with what went on during that protracted period of the lawsuit. I did meet the developer that was finally chosen, Charles Shaw, who is a fabulous, remarkable man. I just spent some time with him at HUD, actually, and he’s a terrific guy. He’s doing amazing things in Chicago, building low-income housing and so on. I think there was some sense that Shaw didn’t move as quickly as he might have when the lawsuit was settled to get stuff on the market before Trump, but I’m so distant from it that I don’t really...” Weinstein, UCLA Faculty Oral Histories, May 16, 1996.

³⁹⁹ Donald Elliott, Museum of Modern Art Oral History Program, June 7, 1994.

afforded the possibility to organize city space according to a set of creative legal terms dedicated to financializing the air above buildings, In Elliott's words:

One of the things we spent time working on was how you shape development by permitting air-rights transfers (or development-rights transfers) which is a very powerful tool for figuring out a way to take the legal requirement that zoning be even-handed and use it to shape different projects. In other words, if you have the same zoning apply to an area and every building is the same, it restricts what you're able to do; but if you can transfer the right to develop from one site to another, you can leave a site untouched and make it into a park without having to spend public money. There are a lot of examples. The park across the street from what was the U.S. Steel Building; I guess it's now called One Liberty Plaza. We transferred the development rights from the new park to One Liberty Plaza, in return for their building the park. The South Street Seaport exists because we transferred the development rights off of the Seaport and the banks which held a mortgage on the land, released the land and used the development rights as security.

This process was demonstrated in the Columbia team's *Housing Without Relocation* project, using Harlem as a test site for the ways in which air rights could be made material and flexible, just as was the case at Seaport, a project that ran in parallel to the time frame, and inevitably conversations, surrounding *HWR* (1963–1973). The process of creating planning legalese which is later adopted through architectural proposals is inverted here: in *HWR*, the Columbia team uses architecture to determine what legal tools and terms could be deployed. *HWR* used increased mobility as a key element in their project plan, using the language that sells: efficiency of traffic, rationality, but the *HWR* had impeded crosstown traffic through the forceful element of the vault that impeded getting across.

• • •

Referred to by some as the “Black Capital of the World,”⁴⁰⁰ Central Harlem (lying west of Park Avenue and north of Central Park) is home to an array of landmarks of Black arts and culture in the United States: Connie’s Inn, Savoy Ballroom, Hotel Theresa, Muhammad Mosque No. 7, Lewis Michaux’s National Memorial African Bookstore, and Mount Morris Park (now known as Marcus Garvey Memorial Park).⁴⁰¹ In terms of housing, Harlem was (and continues to be) a place of constant evictions, dispossessions and displacements, resulting in an unsettled and precarious housing atmosphere for its predominantly Black and Puerto Rican residents. The housing flanking the elevated railway of Park Avenue is a case in point. Residents such as Marie F. Posey and her eight-year old daughter Marie Adel, who died in summer of 1893 when their apartment building on East 122nd Street and Park Avenue was dynamited by negligent construction crews who were leveling the land for a neighboring development. Mrs. Posey was one of the many Black residents living in tenement housing from the 1870s to 1880s.⁴⁰² From the 1890s on, the areas between Park and Madison Avenues north of Central Park were the primary residences for Black Harlemites. By 1902, the six blocks of Park Ave between 97th Street and 103rd Street (the southern tip of *Housing Without Renewal*) was nicknamed “New York’s oldest Negro colony.”⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (New York: Random House, 1967).

⁴⁰¹ Harlem has particular meaning as the cultural home and birthplace of cultural producers like James Baldwin, the Last Poets, Amiri Baraka, and others. See also Claude McKay, *A Long Way from Home* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1937).

⁴⁰² McGruder, *Race and Real Estate*, 1.

⁴⁰³ The increase in the African-American population in greater Harlem took place between 1910–30. McGruder, *Race and Real Estate*, 2.

The two-mile section of Park Avenue examined by the Columbia team was comprised of a large elevated railroad (of wrought-iron girders) flanked by mostly three and four-story mixed-use brick buildings—shops, grocery stores, and the like—with tenement housing in the blocks behind them. The heights of these buildings would have been roughly level with that of the railway line. In the section drawings for *HWR*, the Columbia team highlight the differences and similarities in the buildings' heights (*Figure 3.19*).⁴⁰⁴ The three and six-story housing complexes (labeled 2 in *Figure 3.19*) take advantage of the air rights bought and transferred from the blocks that flank the tracks (labeled 1 in *Figure 3.19*), transforming Park Ave north of 97th Street. Weinstein describes the urban fabric of Harlem through his imagined riders of the 4 Train that follows the elevated railroad:

So you have all these rich guys coming in on the train to work with their attaché cases looking into the windows of the miserably poor that were ten feet away from the tracks. Many of these houses were derelict or blighted or abandoned.⁴⁰⁵

The disparity between these experiences—those living adjacent to the tracks and those that rode them—can be further highlighted through the increase in Harlem's local community organizations. In the 1960s, many community groups had formed in the geography considered by *The New City* show: at the northern tip of *HWR*, the Community Association of the East Harlem Triangle (1964) were trying to turn into neighborhood serving social resources such as schools, education and health centers. On the West side of the *HWR* line project, The West Harlem Community Organization (1965) and the Morningside Renewal Council (1965) were working closely with the Architect's Renewal Committee (1964) against the "20 of the 25.7 acres in West

⁴⁰⁴ *New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal Catalog*, 30. MoMA Exhibition Records 1960–1969, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York, NY.

⁴⁰⁵ Richard Weinstein, UCLA Faculty Oral Histories, May 16, 1996.

Harlem” slated for renewal demolition.⁴⁰⁶ In other words, as the Columbia team described the areas flanking as miserable, residents were collectivizing to push for their own vision of Harlem.⁴⁰⁷

Columbia’s team was aware of these community organizations, and while it is unclear as to whether they knew any of them by name, they continued with the kind of top down approach as was typical of that time.⁴⁰⁸ Echoing the terms of then chair of the City Planning Commission, who explained that the city had been “trying to do urban renewal without taking down any buildings, moving any people or hurting anybody.”⁴⁰⁹ Precisely those “empty slums” that Weinstein suggested tearing down were those neighborhoods that the Community Association of

⁴⁰⁶ According to Goldstein, 375 out of the 393 structures in West Harlem were deemed unfit for rehabilitation. For this history, see Brian Goldstein, *The Roots of Urban Renaissance: Gentrification and the Struggle over Harlem*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 23–24.

⁴⁰⁷ For the relationship between (CAEHT) and the ARCH and their plans for the East Harlem Triangle, see Goldstein, *Roots of Urban Renaissance*, 40.

⁴⁰⁸ In the oral histories of Richard Weinstein, he describes how he helped a phone company silence community voices in Chinatown: “And the phone company wanted to build a switching station in Chinatown, which was south of Canal Street, which was in my jurisdiction. I called up the phone company and said, ‘How would you like to be a partner in South Street Seaport? This is going to generate a lot of new phone business in lower Manhattan. It’s crucial to securing the future of lower Manhattan, and there’s a lot of business here for you.’ And they said, ‘Well, we’re not really very interested in doing that. We’re much more interested in our switching station a couple of blocks north in Chinatown.’ And I said, ‘Well, you know, that’s a very sensitive block that you’ve chosen, and there’s a lot of community resistance there. And generally the kind of permits that you want are going to take quite a long time, particularly with the community resistance. I’m getting a lot of pressure. [laughs] So the phone company became partners with the consortium of banks, but there was a problem. And the problem was that when we began the process there was an active real estate market, but by the time we had the conclusion of the process in sight the real estate market had dropped precipitously. So the question is, who’s going to buy these air rights when there’s no one to sell them to? So we created a zoning district, and we increased the potential density around subway sites all over lower Manhattan. And it was then possible to imagine, sooner or later, around those sites—we identified vacant land near subway sites in lower Manhattan—that there would be a market at a certain point for these air rights, because they had to be scraped off the ground and then held in a legal limbo for sale at a future time. This had never been done. This was basically an air rights futures exchange.’ Richard Weinstein, UCLA Faculty Oral Histories, May 16, 1996, 94. The phone company that Weinstein was referring to was most likely New Jersey Bell Telephone, who alongside companies such as Chase Manhattan Bank were celebrated by *Fortune* magazine as politically conscious. For this history see Kim Phillips-Fein, “‘If Business and the Country Will Be Run Right:’ The Business Challenge to the Liberal Consensus, 1945–1964,” *International Labor and Working-Class History* 72, no. 1 (2007): 192–215.

⁴⁰⁹ William Ballard, chair of City Planning Commission, quoted in Goldstein, *Roots of Urban Renaissance*, 23.

the East Harlem Triangle to the north, and the West Harlem Community Association were trying to turn into social resources that would serve Harlem—schools, education and health centers—those same blocks that Weinstein and *HWR* would propose to “scrape off” the air rights from.⁴¹⁰

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While *HwR* was never built, it set a precedent for the selling of air rights that would be followed in the years after *The New City* and would be carried out on a large scale at Seaport eight years later.⁴¹¹ Not since the Setback Principle of 1916 that gave birth to the modern skyscraper has a zoning regulation determined the city’s morphology to such an extent.⁴¹² More specifically, it was the development incentives that were established around the “banked” air rights that created an unprecedented scale of financially motivated development patterns at a moment in which the proliferation of minority-run community groups were demanding their voices to be heard.

For the City, the critical question of what parts of Manhattan could be rehabilitated in 1960s Harlem hinged around Park Avenue, and *HWR* illustrated how a creative zoning policy could further transform the neighborhood. Definitions of rehabilitation—the year of a building’s construction, site location, physical appearance, the amount of air and light the building got, who

⁴¹⁰ The Community Association of the East Harlem Triangle would ultimately reach out to the Architect’s Renewal Committee and they would work with Max Bond in garnering resources for the East Harlem. Even June Jordan’s scheme was already published by the time *The New City* was mounted, and none of them were consulted for *The New City*.

⁴¹¹ For the history of Seaport as a development that was the product of the transferring of air rights, see Ramaswamy, “Transactional Terrains.”

⁴¹² Hugh Ferriss famously rendered how the zoning regulations of F.A.R.s had a regulation impact the way that development was conceived.

the original deed holder was, if it was a tenement built before 1901—were part of the decision-making process governing renewal in Harlem. From the standpoint of the City, everything along Park Avenue didn't measure up to these categories and needed to be cleared.⁴¹³ By taking the developable air rights from an abandoned building, air rights could increase in value when applied to the development of projects in a wealthy neighborhood like, for example, those in Lower Manhattan.

In this instance, there was no way for an underserved or segregated population, even as collectively armored as the Community Association of the East Harlem Triangle to the north or the West Harlem Community Association, to survive in an urban-design oriented city that privileged the funneling of public funds into infrastructural projects. Urban operations such as this were applied and used for people in power. In this case, financialization of air was used to benefit those in city-development circles who were interested in urban restructuring.

Conclusion

Taken alongside one another, *Skyrise for Harlem*, the *Threatened City* report, and *Housing Without Relocation*, the solutions that are provided to Harlem—of raising and elevating—are eerily similar. What was it about Harlem that made such different sets of individuals, whether via economic escalators, transferring of air rights, or cone towers, want to build high into the air? Both *HWR* and *Skyrise* imagined dealing with Harlem by building upwards in different ways, but both invented a vocabulary in order to make their projects appear realizable. For *HWR*, the project relied on legal tools, public policy, and dam building construction methods while *Skyrise* used vocabulary such as “tooling up” to describe the mass

⁴¹³ Goldstein, *Roots of Urban Renaissance*, 24.

production of parts that would need to be fabricated by converting the “furnishings of war to the furnishings of peace.”⁴¹⁴

This chapter described precisely how the banking of air and transfer of Air Rights was conceived through an architectural proposal (*Housing Without Relocation*) within the discursive arena of an exhibition, *The New City*, and ultimately evolved through the figures of Weinstein and Elliott. The ways in which a relatively discreet architectural proposal projected the creative application of a zoning law exemplify how policy, city management, architects and legalese can perform strategic maneuvers with a natural resource—air—and transform it into a commodity that would be quite literally out of reach of the very community groups acting to organize and improve their lives. In contrast to June Jordan, and her collaboration Buckminster Fuller visionary plan for Harlem air was indeed utilized to different ends: to provide a structure of public housing that transformed the air above Harlem into a literal community network. As a significant contribution to the production of urban plans, Jordan and Fuller’s schemes did not aid in the production of the power of the state in the way that architects in the *Housing Without Relocation* did.

Considered together, the chapter raised a number of questions about how these institutions interpreted race through the neighborhood of Harlem, a place that *The New City* both identified as a problem site at the same time as eradicating any mention of specific “social ills” that it sought to rectify.⁴¹⁵ For those in power architecture through urban design was cleverly

⁴¹⁴ Meyer, “Instant Slum Clearance.”

⁴¹⁵ This is the moment when museums such as Studio Museum in Harlem were established in response to curatorial whiteness. On the topic of curatorial whiteness see: Maurice Berger, “Are Art Museums Racist?,” *Art in America*, 1990, 68–77. For the history of the 1966 transit, sanitation, and teacher’s strike respectively, see Vincent Cannato, *The Ungovernable City* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 78, 196, 316.

deployed as a correcting agent—not only for the renewal enterprise and the “slums” it created, but as a means to silence Blackness itself.

Conclusion: New Black Horizons

This dissertation presents three case studies of architectural responses situated in the immediate aftermath of widespread racial uprisings. One of the motivations for writing this dissertation revolved around the premise that we know a lot about race “riots,” the civil rights movement, and the rise of Black Power in the U.S. in the 1960s, and we know a lot about architecture in this period, but the particularities of how architecture responded to these events and their implications have been relatively understudied. In all three episodes in this dissertation, architecture presented itself as seemingly race-neutral, and urban design also appeared to present itself as unhinged from discussions of race and racial difference prevalent during urban design’s ascendancy. This dissertation reinscribes race into the architectural historical narrative of the 1960s and examines how architectural pedagogy and urban design engaged race at a critical juncture in the life of the civil rights and Black Power movements. In all of these cities, urban renewal mobilized and acted on racial meanings in ways that often extended structural racism. If urban design—by way of its connection to urban renewal and urban restructuring—prioritized racial difference in order to maintain segregation, then urban design—connected to large-scale renewal—in many ways was *already* a racist operation. Far from being unhinged or disconnected to issues of race or racism, urban design was inextricably bound up in these issues.

In contributing to the growing scholarship on architecture and race, the case studies presented in this dissertation were chosen to best demonstrate how architects responded to racial insurrections that in this moment were specifically fueled by anti-Black prejudice that were most visibly expressed in this moment; ideas about anti-Blackness manifest and circulated not only in the physical design of segregated buildings, but also through new forms of pedagogies, project plans, and policies. In contrast to the existing historiographies of architecture that, until recently,

have typically excluded social histories of Black lived experience and radical forms of resistance, this project highlights architects who were *in* but not *of* architectural institutions. These architects—some of whom were located within the institutions, and others, squarely outside of them—worked against the architecture establishment to produce what Robin D. G. Kelley has called “black people’s dreams of a new society” and envisioned new Black horizons.⁴¹⁶ Black architectural “freedom dreams,” to borrow Kelley’s words, varied in provenance, form, complexity, and real-world effectiveness, but they shared a common commitment to imagining otherwise ways of doing architecture.

Black architects-in-training recalibrated, rethought, and reimaged architecture and planning practice. They questioned liberal architecture and planning “key words”—community engagement, participation, advocacy, workshopping, and fieldwork—and repurposed them into conversation with Black people and communities; in doing so, they emphasized a collective, collaborative, and activist approach that took seriously Black lived experiences and Black socialities. One of the challenges of writing this history within the discipline of architecture is the field’s tendency to demand visible, concrete impacts. This dissertation does not subscribe to such demands, but rather looks for what changed in this moment. Universities were beginning to include people of color and include them in their ranks, and Black architects were mobilizing and making new alliances and connections outside the university gates in ways that the architecture world had never seen. The importance lies not just in actions or ideas that produced tangible and lasting impacts on architecture, but also in the relationships, contradictions, and entanglements between architecture and race in this time. Carefully attending to these shifts, mobilizations, and responses reveal more about architecture’s relationship to race and power in the 1960s than

⁴¹⁶ Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*, 6.

concerning ourselves only with these processes' concrete impacts on architecture. In many cases, there are no visible impacts or traces of the Black architectural pedagogies, project plans, or policies in architecture today. In the examples presented in this dissertation, the structures of whiteness remained fundamentally intact, and what was taught and how it was taught in architecture schools have not changed. For example, the same pedagogical structures and concepts of the 1960s continue to guide the primary methods through which designs are arrived at, legitimated, and defined today. To critique and unsettle these structures of race and power that inhere in architecture, I argue that we can find powerful, transformative alternatives in the less visible histories, the overlooked proposals, and the disavowed imaginings of Black architects, architects-in-training, and cultural producers who wanted to design the world anew.

Understanding the ways in which Black activism carved pathways for integrating multiple voices in imagining new projects is important for architectural history. The legacy and significance of this work to the discipline of architecture and planning lie primarily in that they shifted how architecture engaged with the world—even if momentarily.

In highlighting these episodes, the dissertation considered the porosities of experiences that contribute to Black architectures. By looking at historical materials, oral histories, and interviews, I account for architecture's complex responses to racial unrest in a narrative more nuanced than a straightforward story of heroic activists versus villainous architects. In this dissertation, I craft a more accurate depiction of the complexities and entanglements of architecture and race that carefully tracks the many contestations between those empowered and those disenfranchised; those in power had to do a lot of work to maintain that power when faced with a powerful, imaginative, critical Black future that took shape from inside white institutions and architecture schools.

For the projects put forward by the Black Workshop, the Watts Urban Workshop, and June Jordan, who have fallen out of focus in the dominant architectural histories of the 1960s, the racial climate of the “riot” era supplied them with a motivation to create alternative methods for “community” engagement and world-making. As shown in the example of the Black Workshop at Yale, the most important course for the architecture student—the studio—and the standardized site of architectural production alike were rejected by these new practitioners. This fundamental resistance to solidified notions regarding *how* one received course credit, *what* was considered acceptable architectural production, *who* the field imagined itself for, and *where* architectural thinking can occur, transformed the privileged space of whiteness within the academy and transformed the very definition of architecture, even if momentarily.

This project has only examined a few episodes within a short time period, within a specific geographic region on the east coast, and it has primarily looked at architects working within the academy. Among the many unanswered questions, for example, is the question of how Black architectural activism influenced the profession and amateurs outside of the academy. Another particular line of inquiry left open in this project is the figure of June Jordan, who never received formal architectural training, yet exercised architecture modes of resistance and utopian thinking in her collaboration with Fuller merits further investigation. In many respects, *Skyrise* was the beginning of June Jordan’s career and visibility as an activist and poet. And while the nature of the last chapter and its focus on the real-estate endeavors of Columbia and the Museum of Modern Art may have overshadowed Jordan’s contribution to the field in this moment, one way to redress her exclusion is to examine *Skyrise* as an example of a not-yet-named architectural example of Afrofuturism. Though there is a practicality and straightforwardness to Jordan’s writing, and her activist work had clear political declarations, her architectural ideas and

imaginings—especially the work she carried out with Fuller—exceed the realm of practicality or on-the-ground politics. Considering Fuller’s intense world-building allows for a broader comprehension of *Skyrise for Harlem*. With Buckminster Fuller, the Skyrise can be read as rockets or boosts, not simply cones planted in Manhattan and thus can be pushed further here into the realm of world-making.

For June Jordan, her architectural ambitions would not end with *Skyrise for Harlem*, but extend into the realm of environmental design through thinking about community gardens and central-city playgrounds. Her methods for rethinking disciplinary tools for control such as the public park and playground are themselves an understudied case study that merits further research. After 1968, her exposure to architecture would also expand including connections to new Black Workshop members calling themselves the Black Environmental Studies Team (BEST), and her admittance into the Yale School of Architecture requires closer attention than was given here.

This dissertation discusses how a series of racial uprisings spurred by the civil rights movement transformed the architecture establishment both the profession and academy, as well as city government and architecture’s relationship to it. Through this study, though, an additional line of inquiry emerged. It became clear that urban design was an important tool for the architecture schools to train a new breed of architects as technical experts explicitly trained to enter civil service rather than professional practice, as was typically expected of architecture students graduating at this time. The fact that the number of urban design schools that opened in the United States roughly coincided with major changes in the civil rights movement and American society’s reception to the movement merits more research than was space for here. I opened this dissertation with presenting W.E.B. Du Bois’s study of the *Philadelphia Negro*

alongside Penn's formation of the Civic Design Program and the dissertation ended with the newfound relevance of the urban designer in city governance in New York City. In my analysis of the CDP, I found that "urban design" as it was taught in architecture was no longer focused on massive urban projects that would eradicate and remodel whole cities. Instead, "urban design" taught students how to analyze the "urban environment" through fieldwork and mapping. The urban designer in New York did not oversee large renewal projects, highway projects or otherwise, but rather functioned as a policy expert that organized ways to discriminate against minority publics in a fundamentally new way. The histories of urban design and urban renewal, then, are histories of how cities re-articulated race and power to manage racial difference.

In the very moment that voices began to resist and refuse these systems, it is unsurprising, then, that the urban designer—according to Richard Weinstein, the special agent who understood architecture *and* the "spatial implications of public policy"—would be the essential weapon against an organizing, and specifically, minority public. This mobilization of urban design was a process that the Black Workshop actively tried to prevent. The history of urban design in architecture is already understudied; the studies that exist—even the most thorough assessments of urban design, like Eric Mumford's *Defining Urban Design* and his study on Harvard's program—exclude any focus on race despite the fact that urban design programs like how we saw at Penn were the platforms that brought the segregated city into play in architecture schools. A more fulsome historical analysis may lend more balance to the existing race-neutral histories of urban design.

The effort of urban design from the city's perspective to center terms like safety and crime prevention to legitimate race-based policing, discriminatory charging practices would be found useful to divert attention away from racist practices to discussion of better design.

Understanding how urban design, distinct from urban planning, would be taught and used as a tool to maintain the status quo, rather than merely another skill within the architect's tool kit was touched on in this dissertation. An extended version of this project would not have to look far from the objects of study examined in this dissertation, and the architects involved in *The New City* exhibition would serve as one such entry point to examine architecture's complicity with maintenance of white racial formations. While much of chapter three centered around the architects involved in the Columbia team, the MIT team led by Stanford Anderson offers another inroad to think about how race and racial difference would be delineated in the street, with his later study titled *On Streets*. *On Streets* was a collection of essays edited by Anderson and written by architects and architectural historians, many of whom, like Anderson also participated in *The New City* show. The project was funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Development under the aegis of the Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies potentially serves as yet another example of an architecture that begins to look or act like policy.

In his preface to the book, Anderson, described the street as bearing a “negative connotation: ‘on the street,’ ‘streetwalker,’ ‘street crime.’ Streets then present problem, and ‘street’ is used as a metaphor for what is aberrant and fearful...”⁴¹⁷ Just as *The New City* exhibit chose Harlem as a space with the greatest number of “problems” and thus the ideal site for architectural intervention, the ‘street’ in Anderson’s formulation, became a space ripe for architectural inquiry, and I would argue an attempt to reinvent the street in order to territorialize it as a space for exclusion.

In 1968, the year this dissertation concludes, Richard Nixon would enter his presidency, bringing with him an agenda to bring civil order back from what he called the lawlessness of

⁴¹⁷ Stanford Anderson, ed., *On Streets: Streets as Elements of Urban Structure* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978).

urban “rioting” in the streets. The Nixon administration extended the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965 and the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, two specific policies passed under the previous Johnson administration that slowly replaced funding for ‘community’ action programs with funding for policing and research on the street. The generous funding *On Streets* received by the federal government to publish the book is exemplary of the new and dramatic increase in federal grants that funded studies on streets under Nixon. Millions of dollars in research money for the street would draw architects into direct conversation with the policymakers, researchers and city governance, around the topic of safety on the street with more police presence. Perhaps Oscar Newman’s hotly debated theory of defensible space is the most well-remembered, even if not the most well-received example of how the design of one’s immediate environment could influence crime rates. Considered at the time by architects as “quasi-scientific” at best, the defensible space theory has received criticism for flaws in how Newman retrieved and analyzed his data. Notably, Newman is often used to exemplify architecture’s response to the growing interest in street safety in the post-riot milieu. Outside of Newman’s empirically questionable ideas, however, a critical analysis of architecture’s complicity in ‘street’ whitewashing remains to be made and the racial implications of projects such as *On Streets* remains understudied.

While *On Streets* was published in 1978, the research for the book began in 1970 during a critical turning point when the Black Power movement’s street visibility competed with the U.S. government’s domestic policy agenda on matters of racial “violence” in the street. As a contribution to architectural history, an investigation of *On Streets* and the architects involved would provide new insights into the repercussions of architecture in this era and would work laterally (with a critical race critique) to dislodge the mainstream—and now outdated—

architectural-historical accounts of the post-modern period that have too-readily accepted this period as the era of architecture's retreat into theory, historicism, or paper architecture. This additional line of inquiry would work to reveal clear contradictions between architecture's ideologies of autonomy and the reality that architecture's history has historically been, and continues to be, bound up in issues of race and racism.

As I have demonstrated in this dissertation, many of the architects presented in this project claimed to take themselves out of critical conversations of their field at the time by replacing important racialized dialogues about air, space, and the streets with narratives that recast these resources as universal public goods. Though this dissertation raises many questions that remain to be explored, it takes on the task of analyzing architectural responses to racial unrest in the 1960s in an effort to demonstrate the depth and dimension of racism in the field at this historical moment. To be clear, architecture's engagements with race and racism have not disappeared. They have transformed, and adapted to historical conditions, and the changing articulations of architecture, race, and power continue to demand our constant vigilance.

Illustrations

<Chapter 1 Figures>

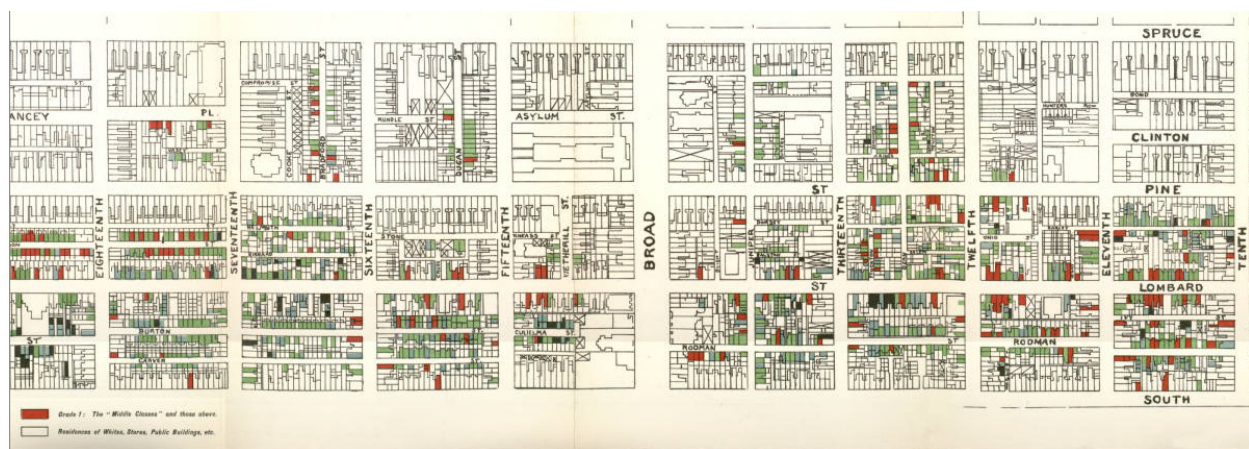


Figure 1.0

W.E.B. Du Bois's map of the Seventh Ward at Broad and South Street
Image Source: *The Philadelphia Negro*

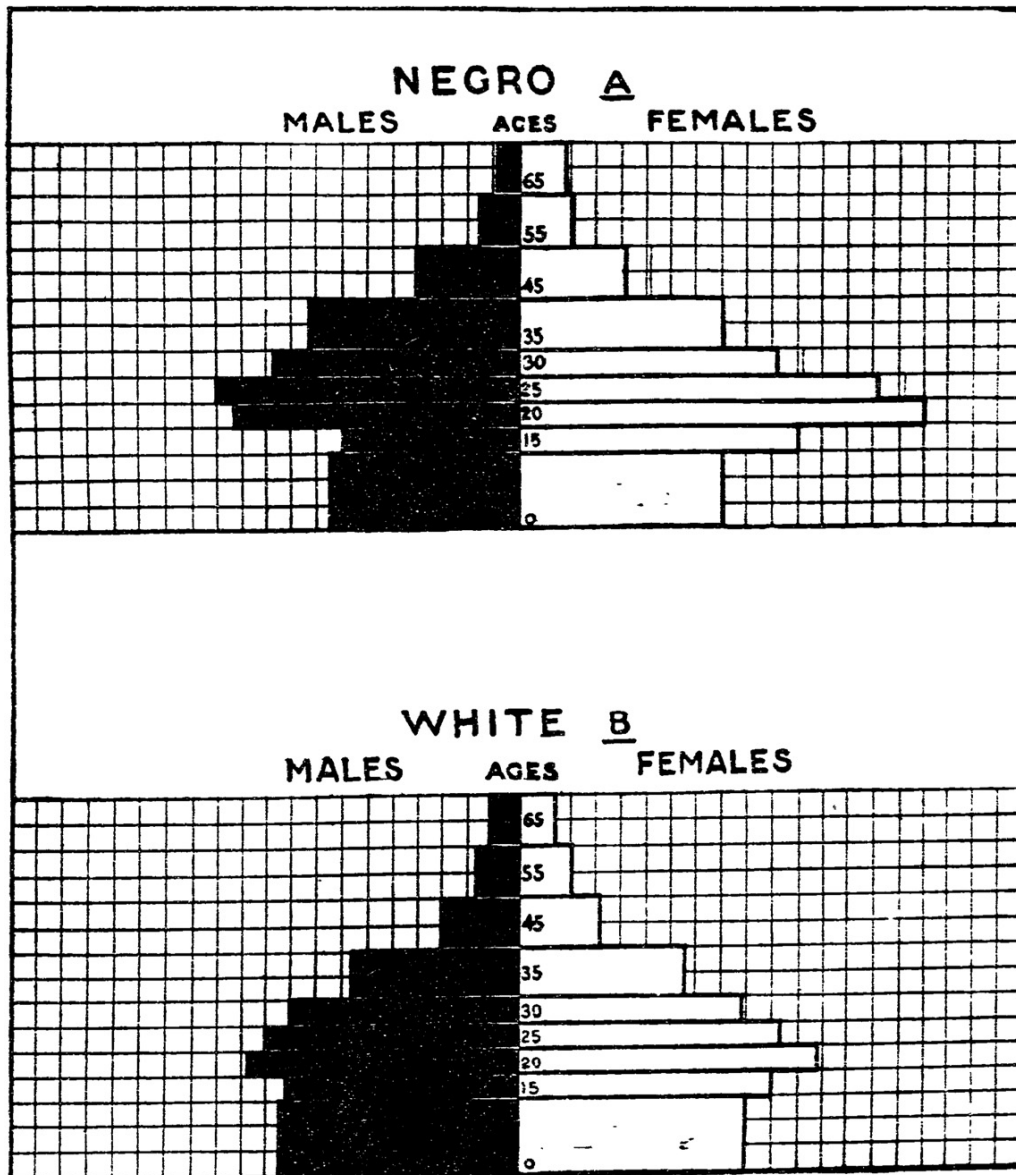


Figure 1.1

Diagram by Du Bois.

Image Source: *The Philadelphia Negro*

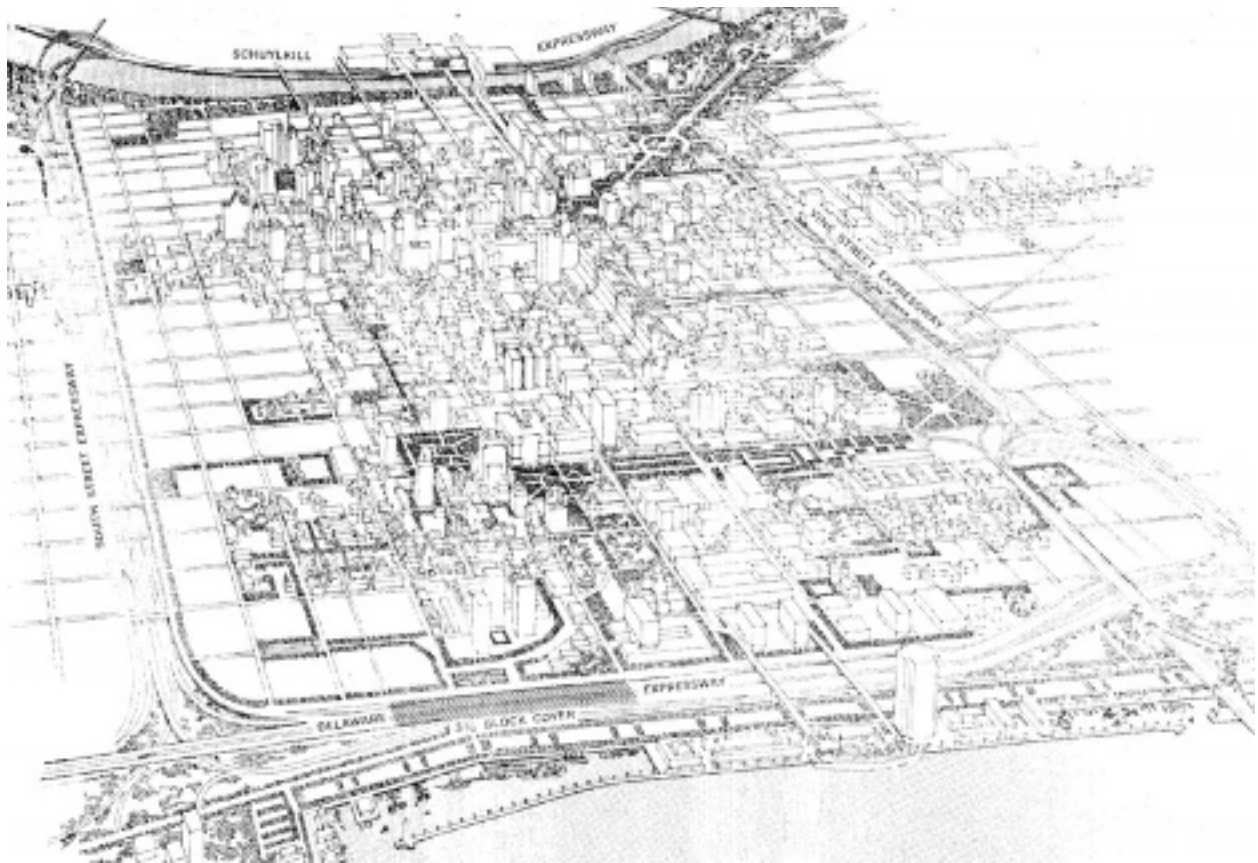


Figure 1.2

Map indicating where the Crosstown Expressway would run.

Image Source: Philadelphia City Planning Commission (1961), City Archives.



Figure 1.3

Denise Scott Brown's photographs

Image Source: *The Wayward Eye*, Venice Architecture Biennale, 2016.



Figure 1.4

Denise Scott Brown's photographs

Image Source: *The Wayward Eye*, Venice Architecture Biennale, 2016.

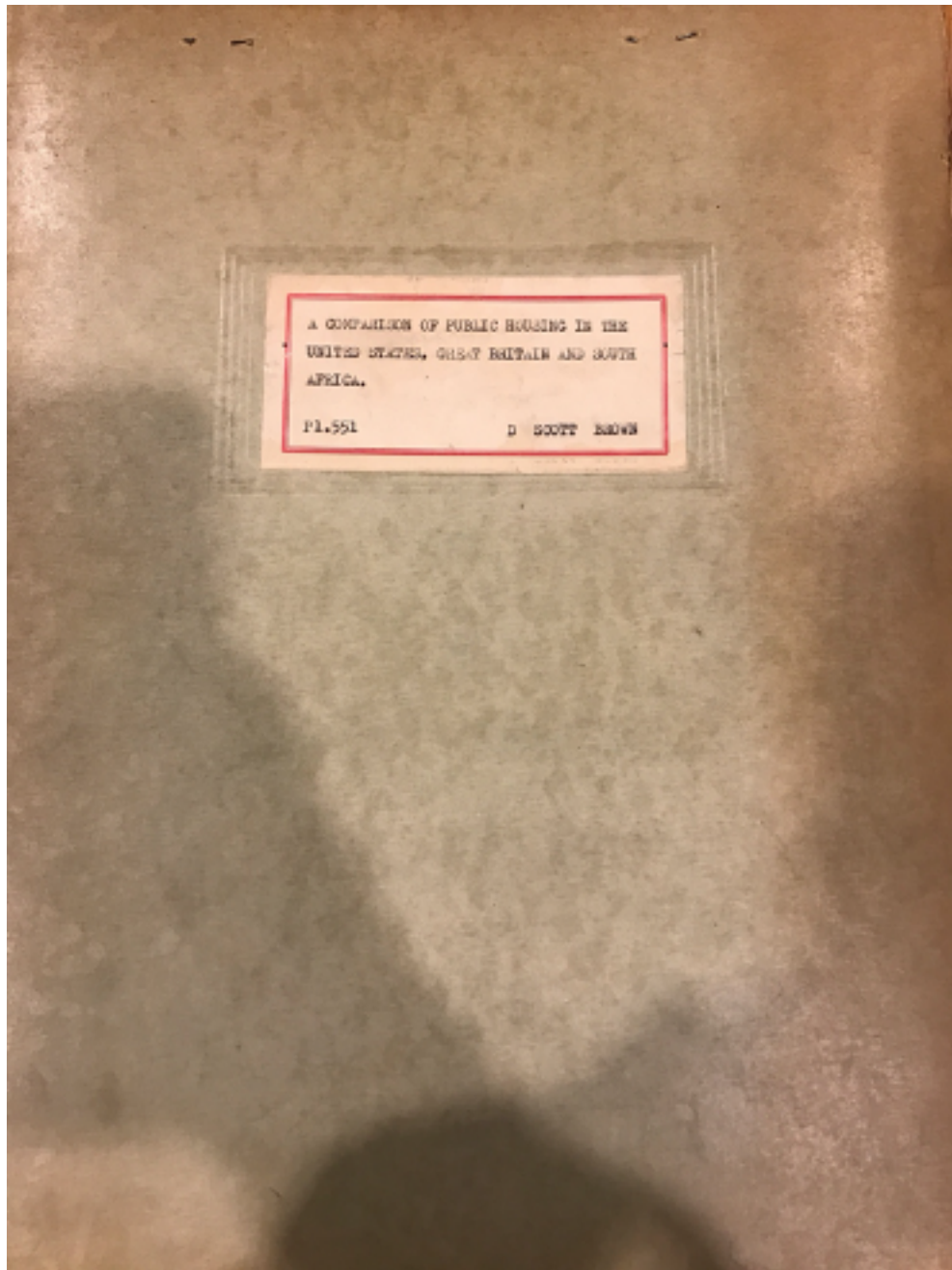


Figure 1.5

Denise Scott Brown's student paper to Herbert Gans

Image Source: The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection.

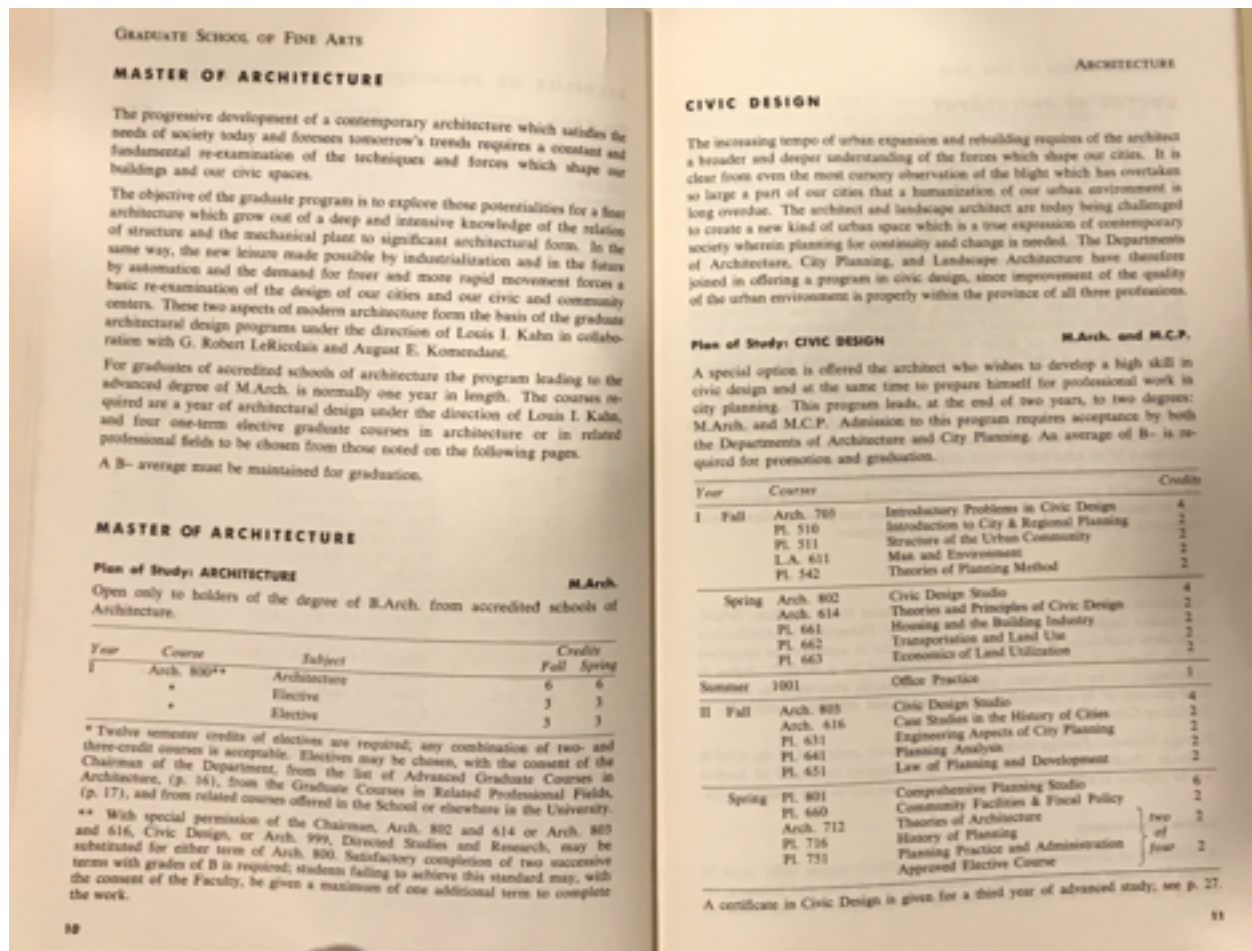


Figure 1.6

Curriculum from the Civic Design Program, 1964.

Image Source: The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania.

		1958	1970	1980 (A)	1980 (B)	1980 (C)
(1) CBD SPACES	D ^c	35,200	40,300	28,000	43,800	77,600
	S	25,000	32,100	29,000	29,000	29,000
	N	1,000	8,200	-1,000	32,000	32,000
(2) CORE SPACES	D	11,100	14,200	-4,000	11,800	45,600
	S	8,100	7,800	14,800	16,100	48,600
	N	3,000	6,400	10,300	7,000	28,500
(3) CBD WORK-TRIP SPACES	N	300	2,300	7,000	8,000	7,000
				8,000	8,000	8,000
(4) CORE WORK-TRIP SPACES	N	900	1,800	2,300	6,100	20,500
				3,300	9,100	21,500
				-300	3,200	12,500
				-1,200	4,100	13,400
				600	2,200	5,600
				900	2,500	5,900

Figure 1: Estimated Parking Demand, Supply, and Need, for Center City and Central Core by Total Spaces and Work-Trip Spaces, Through 1980.

		1958	1970	1980 (A)	1980 (B)	1980 (C)
25% of (4)	N	220	450	150	550	1,400
				220	625	1,500
40% of (4)	N	360	720	250	880	2,300
				360	1,000	2,400

Figure 2: Possible South Broad Street "All-Day" Parking Needs, Expressed as Various Percentages of Total Core Work-Trip Parking Needs.

ed - Demand S - Supply N - Need

Figure 1.7

Charts and tabulations by students in Scott Brown's studio counting existing parking garages. Image Source: The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection.

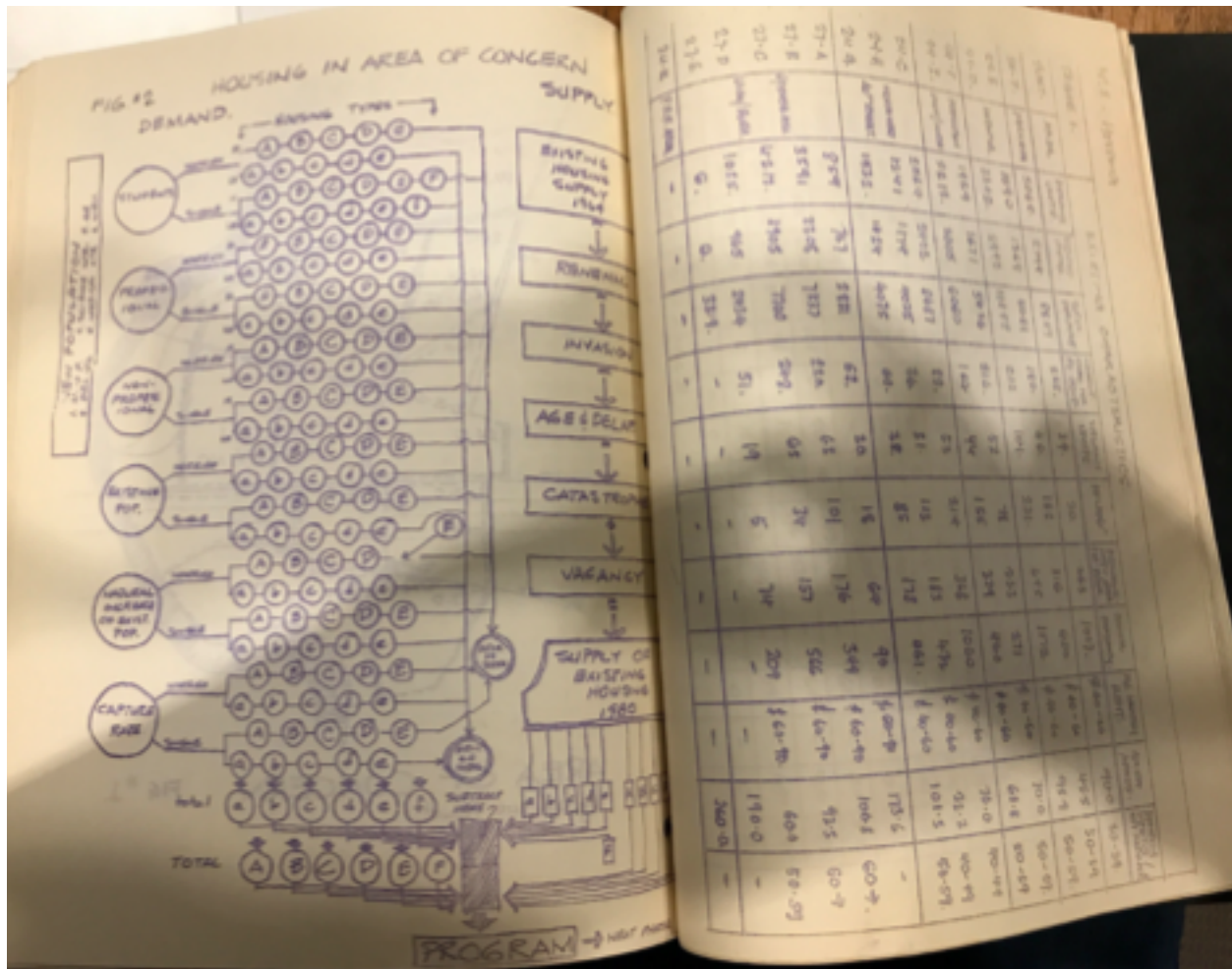


Figure 1.8

Charts and tabulations by students in Scott Brown's studio that took stock of items such as the number of housing types according to housing needs.

Image Source: The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection.

-transit and street -redevelopment -utilities -park -historical preservation	-transportation limit - car traffic capacity - uncomfortable subway - uncomfortable con- - course -through traffic -preservation of - two buildings	-central city's - goal -P.R.A. commitment -transit improvement -crosstown express- - way -parking facility
PRIVATE POLICIES -investments -profits	CONSTRAINTS -amount of private - investment -timing -difficulty of coor- - dination -atlantic office - building -academy house -unpredictability of - future -lack of clear conce- - ption for this dist- - riect	OPPORTUNITIES -existing cultural - institutions and - their projects -a minimum of non- - conforming use -reasonable land - price -higher standard - life and more lei- - sure time -"disinterested inte- - rest"

Figure 1.9

Part of syllabus from studio titled Goal Alternatives for Philadelphia (GAP).

Image Source: The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania.



Figure 1.11

Denise Scott Brown's photographs.
Image Source: *The Wayward Eye*, Venice Architecture Biennale, 2016.

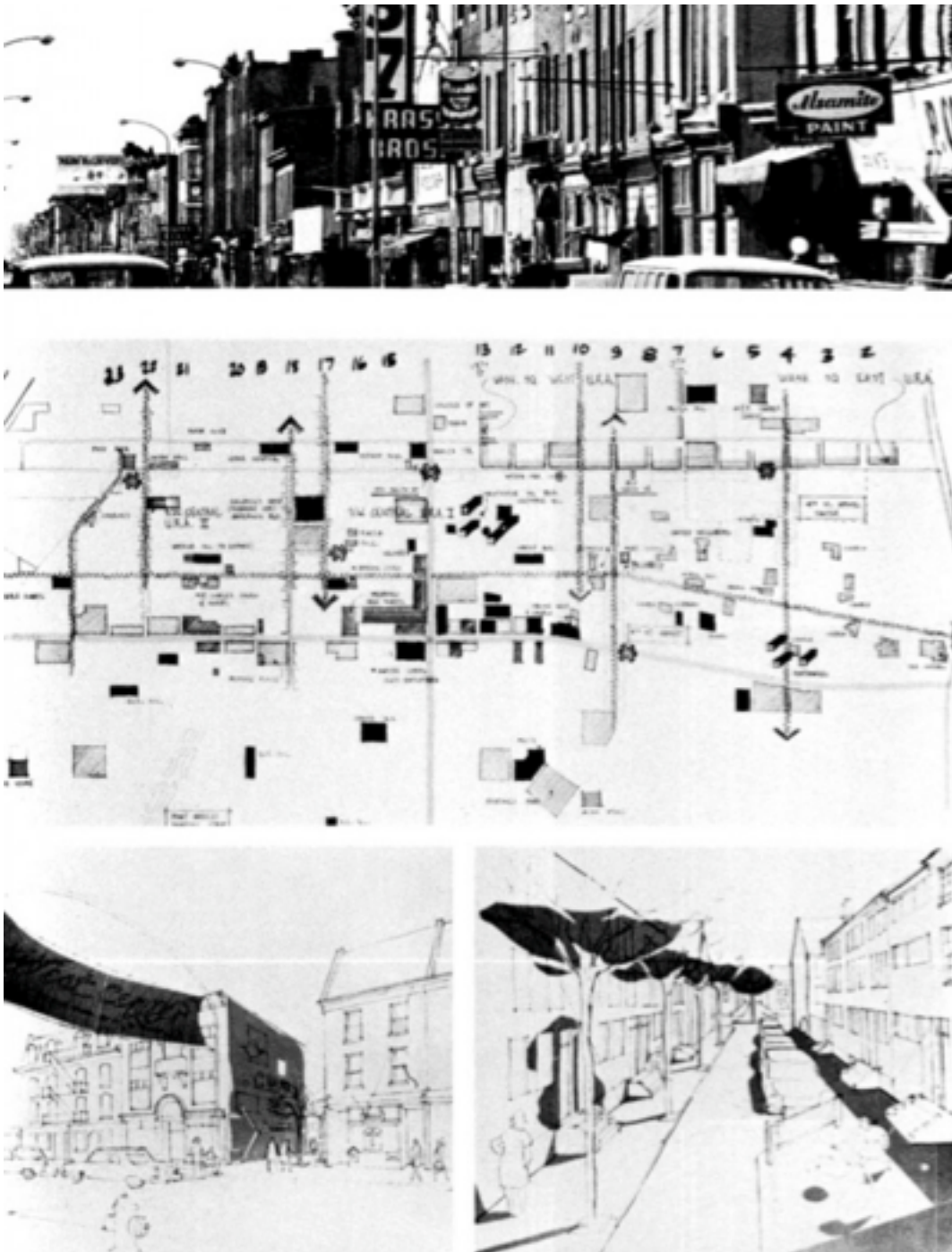


Figure 1.12

Maps and Diagram by Venturi and Rauch, detail of the Crosstown Community, 1968 from printed spread in magazine.

Image Source: *Architectural Forum* 135, no. 3 (1971): 38–45.

<Chapter 2 Figures>



Figure 2.0

Map of Yale within New Haven's nine-square grid. Dark Orange indicates new buildings, light orange indicates areas planned for urban renewal, orange hatch indicates new proposed buildings.

Image Source: *Progressive Architecture*, January 1968.



Below: This picture of Watts taken before the recent rebellion suggests that the destruction of the area has been a long continuing process only accelerated by recent events.



Figure 2.1

Watts, Los Angeles.

Image source: *The Liberator*, September 1965, 7–9.



Figure 2.2

Top: pages from the Black Panther Party pamphlets, 1967, “What We Want Now! What We Believe” was the BPP’s ten-point-program and manifesto and was printed in every BPP issue. Bottom: Black Panther Party literature for sale in front of BPP’s office in New Haven, Connecticut, in May 1970. Image Source: David Fenton, Getty Images.



Figure 2.3

Black Panther Party breakfast program in New Haven. Image Source: Yale University, Historical New Haven Digital Collection. Original Site: New Haven, The Hill. Object Date: c. 1970

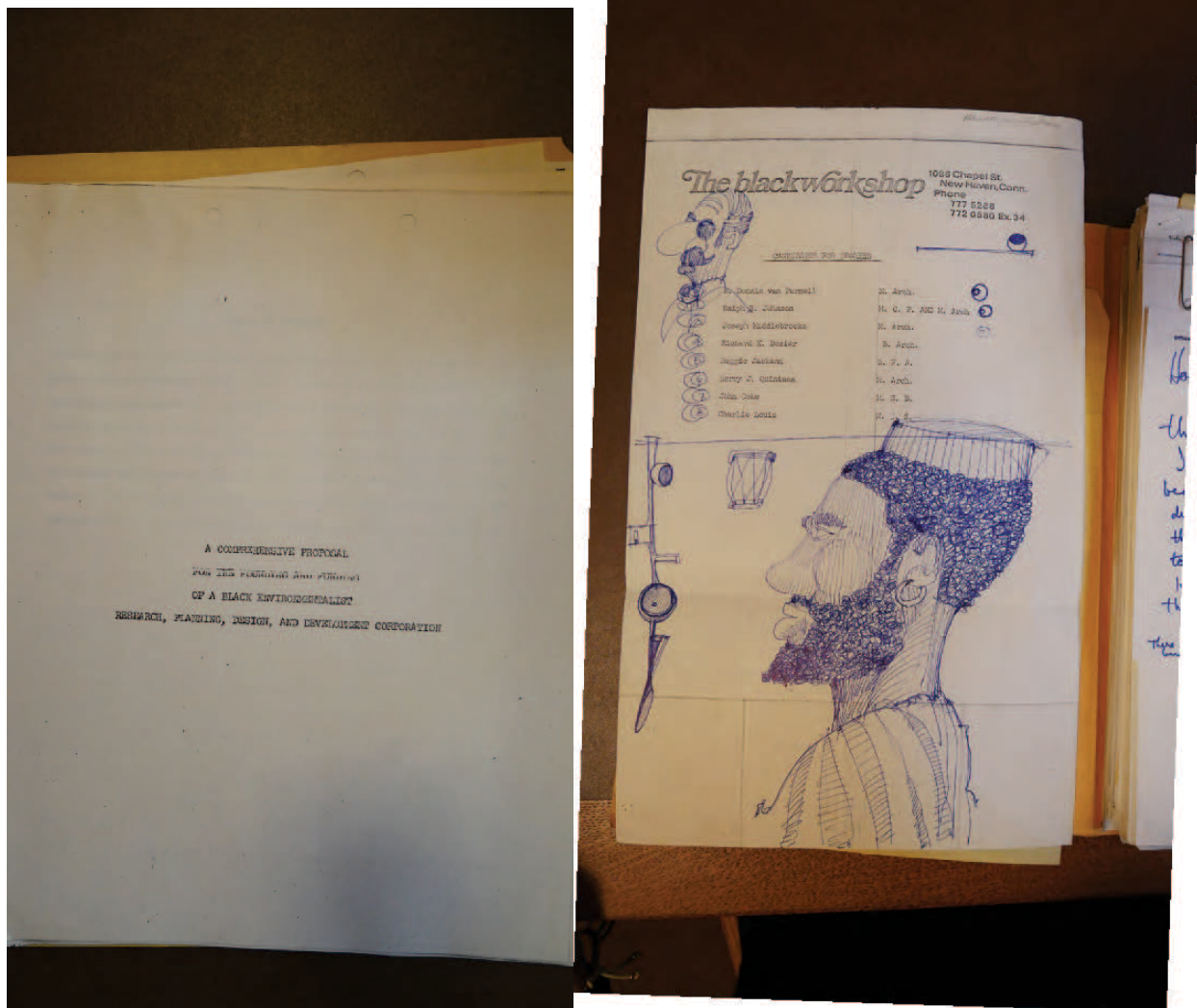


Figure 2.4

Black Workshop, "Comprehensive Proposal" Image Source: Kingman Brewster, Jr., President of Yale University, Records, RU 11, Box 26, Folder 1, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.



Figure 2.5

“Charcoal Alley” August 8, 1965, Image Source: © Bettmann/Corbis



Figure 2.6

Location of Watts Urban Workshop in an abandoned lumber yard on 107th Street, Watts, Los Angeles. Image Source: *Architectural Forum*, 1969.

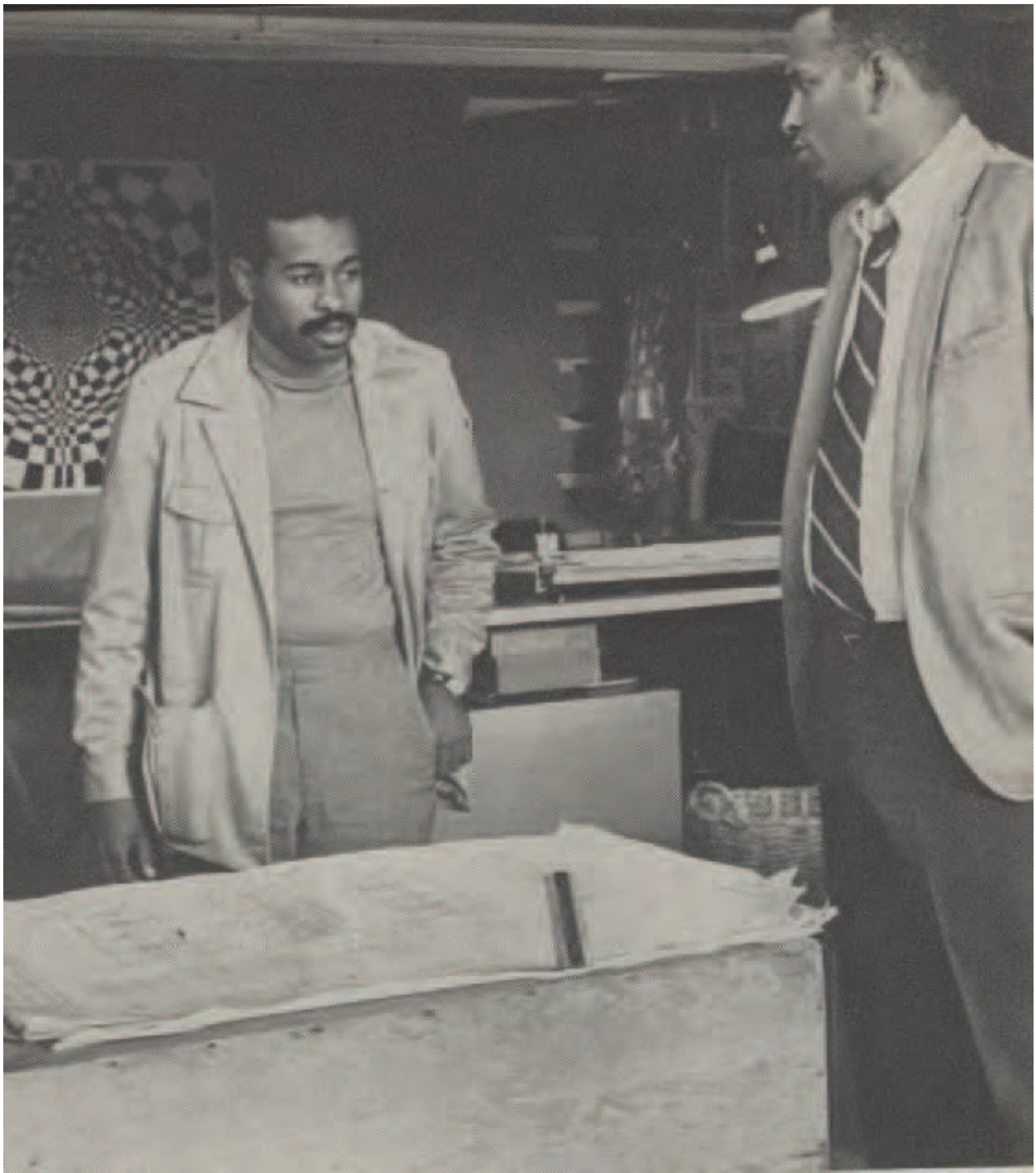


Figure 2.7

Eugene Brooks, B.Arch USC (L) with Edgar Goff, B.Arch USC (R).

Image Source: *Architectural Forum*, 1969.



Figure 2.8

Urban Workshop uses double-height space, walls lined with maps, posters and petitions.
Image Source: *Architectural Forum*, 1969.

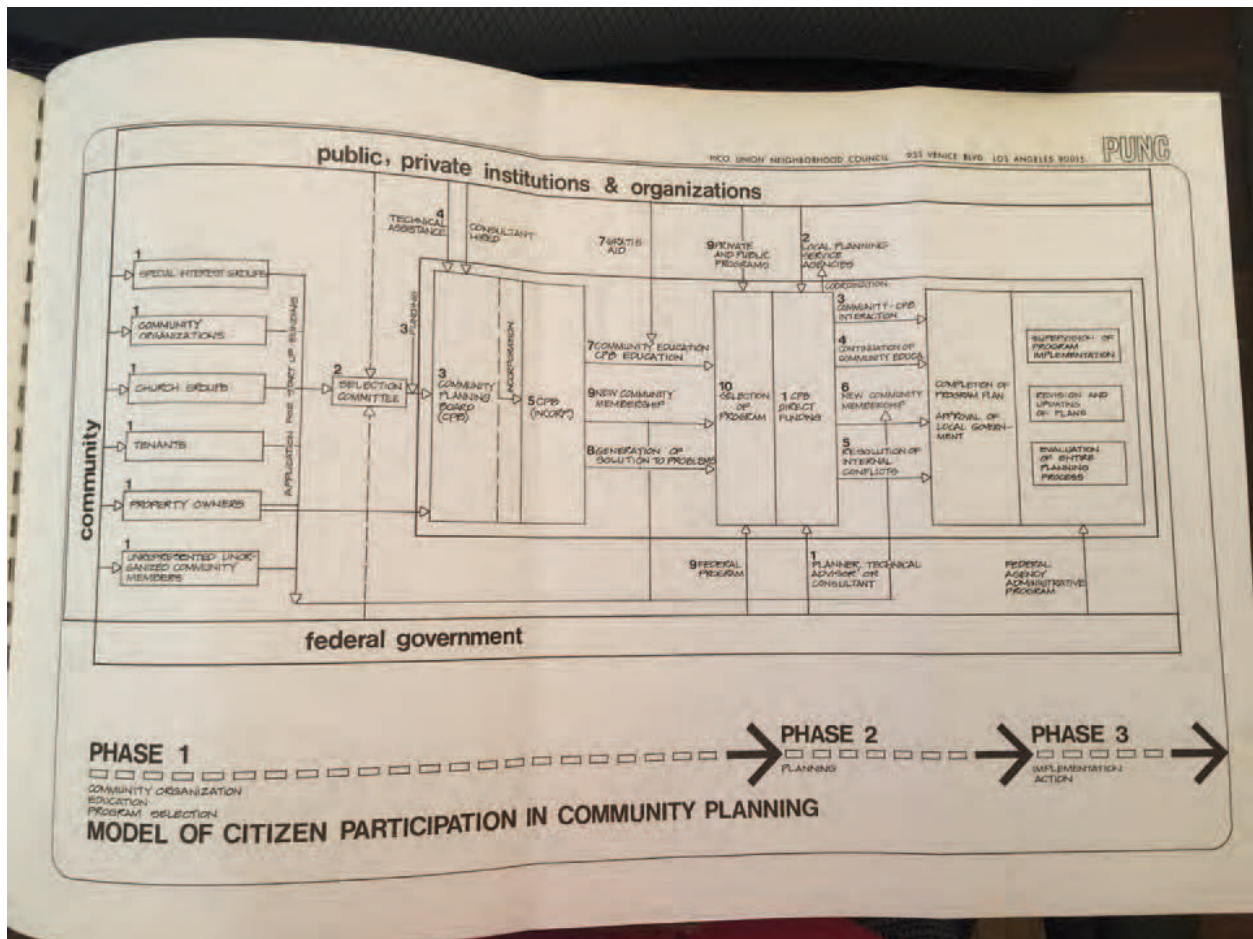


Figure 2.9

Watts Urban Workshop "citizen participation model."

Image Source: "The Community Planning Project for South Central Los Angeles."

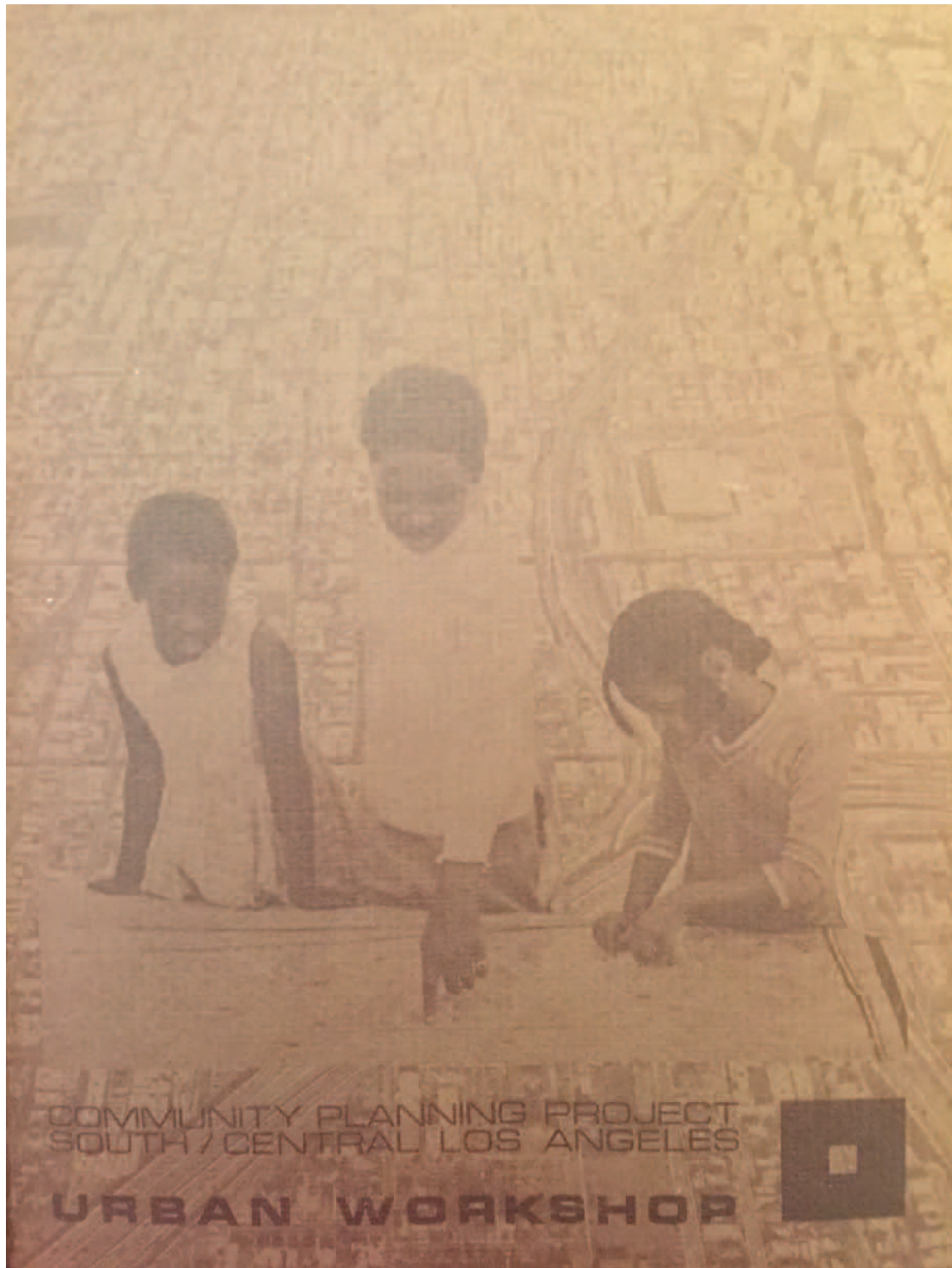


Figure 2.10

Poster for Watts Urban Workshop “citizen participation model.”

Image Source: “The Community Planning Project for South Central Los Angeles.”

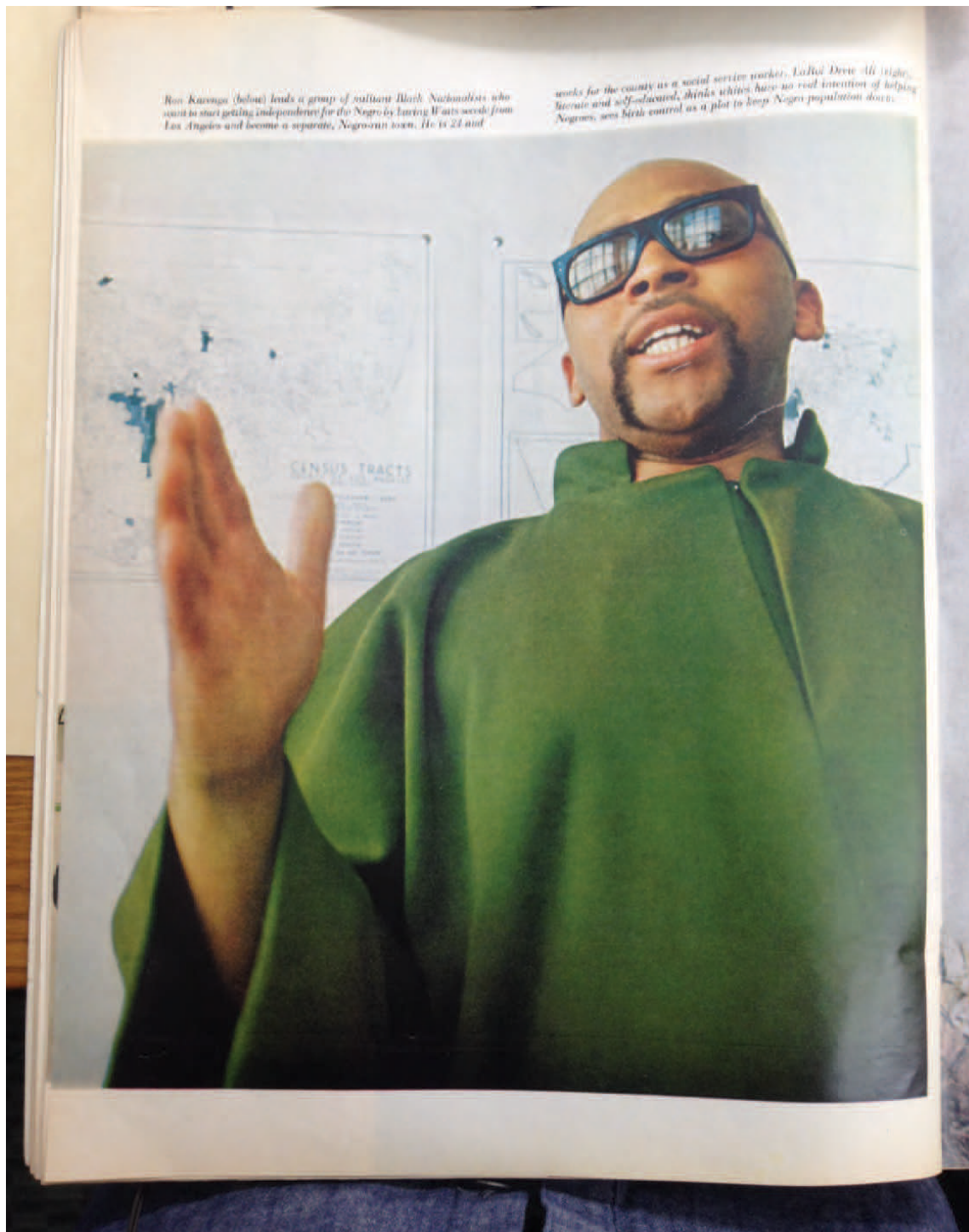


Figure 2.11

Ron Karenga, leader of US (United Slaves).

Image Source: Special Collections, California State University, Northridge.

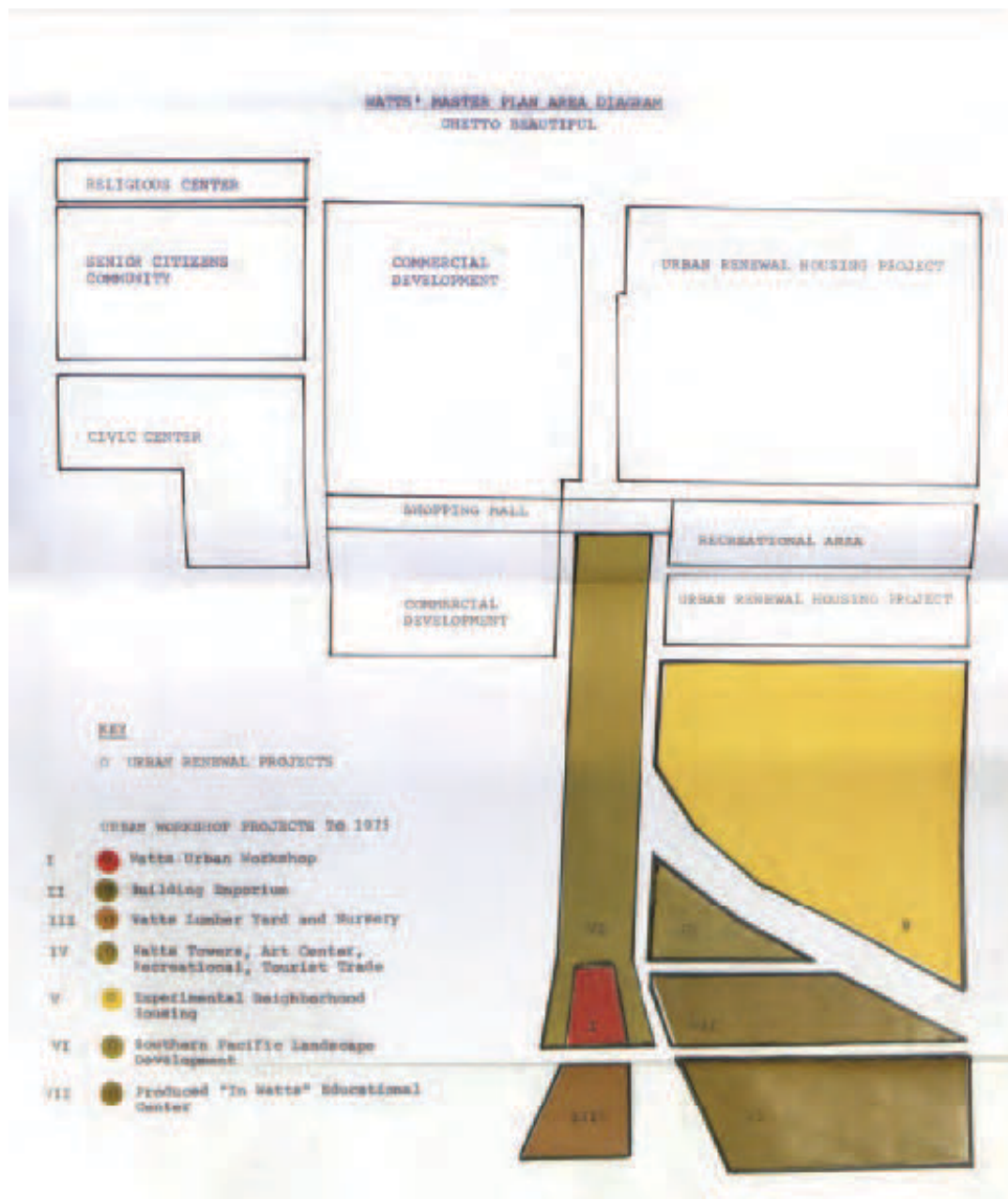


Figure 2.12

Watts Urban Workshop Master Plan Area Diagram, Ghetto Beautiful.

Image Source: Ballard, Robert Blair. "The Watts' Urban Workshop." 1968.

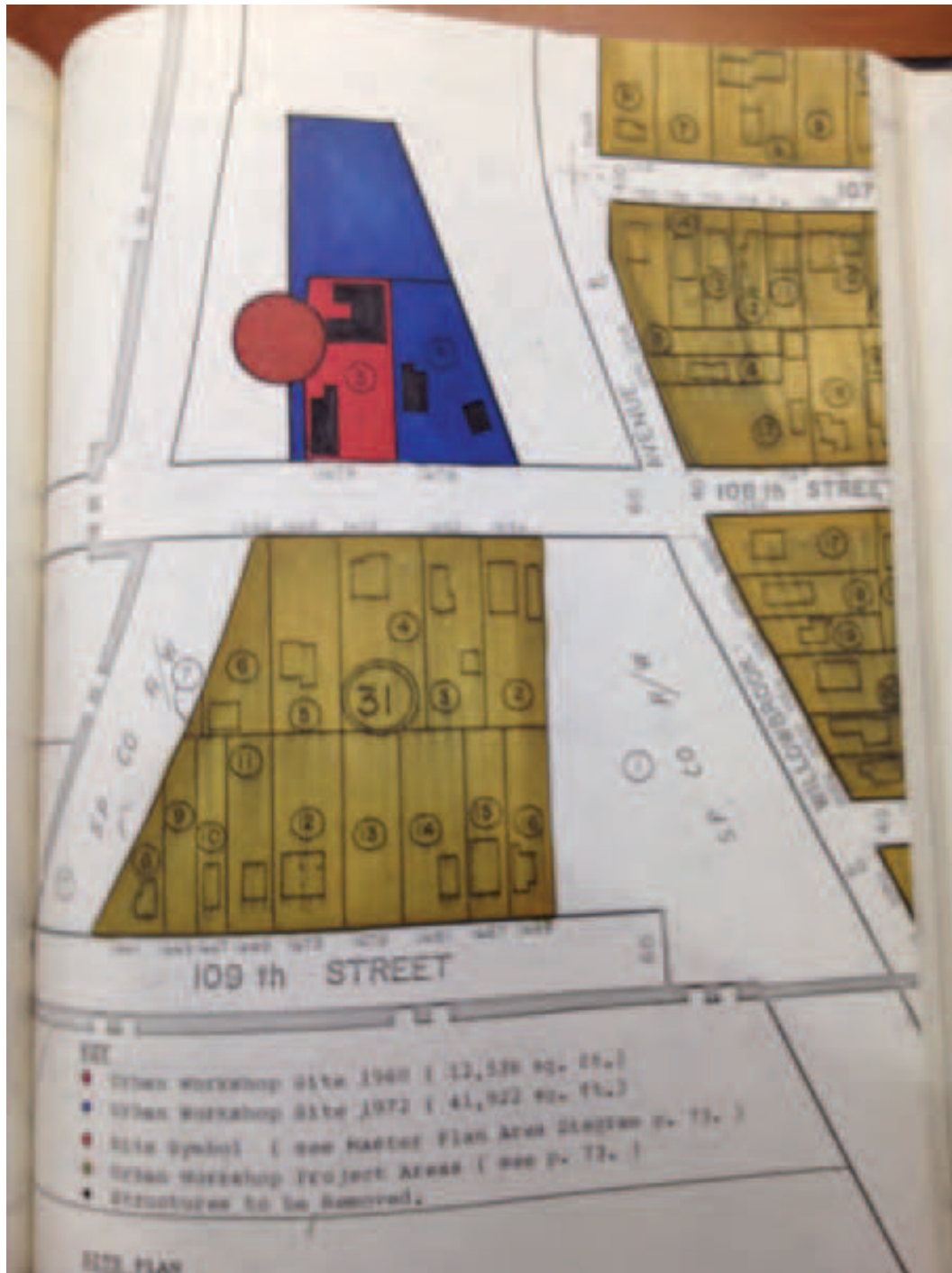


Figure 2.13

Watts Urban Workshop Master Plan Area Diagram, titled “Ghetto Beautiful.”
Image Source: Ballard, Robert Blair. “The Watts’ Urban Workshop.” 1968.

1



Figure 2.14

Site plans for the "Black Commune," Harry Quintana and Charles Jones.
Image source: *Perspecta*, 1969

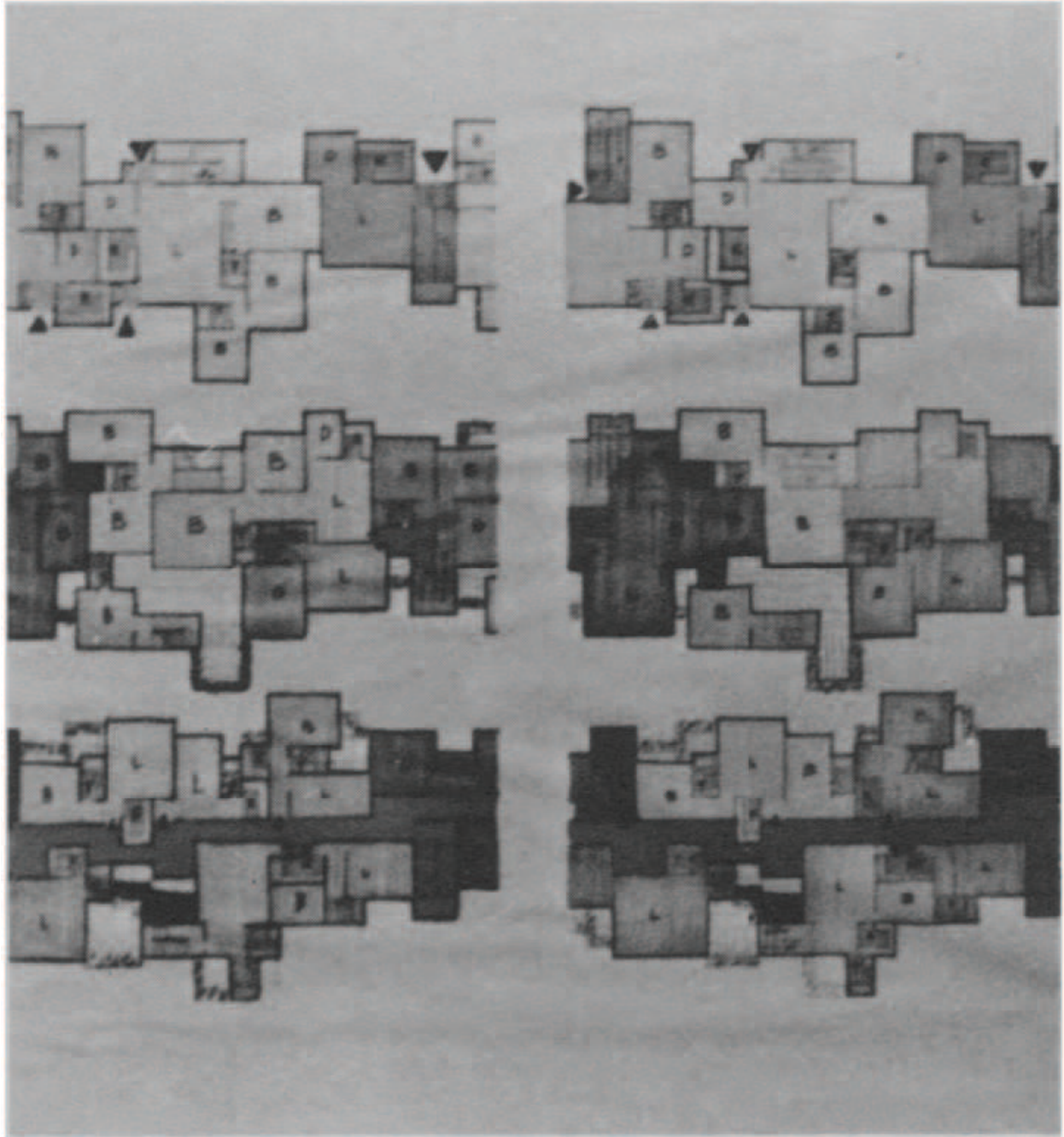


Figure 2.15

Multi-use Units for “Black Commune,” typical residential high-rise is replaced with living units where the plan of one dwelling unit does not form a discrete apartment. Project by Harry Quintana and Charles Jones.

Image source: *Perspecta*, 1969

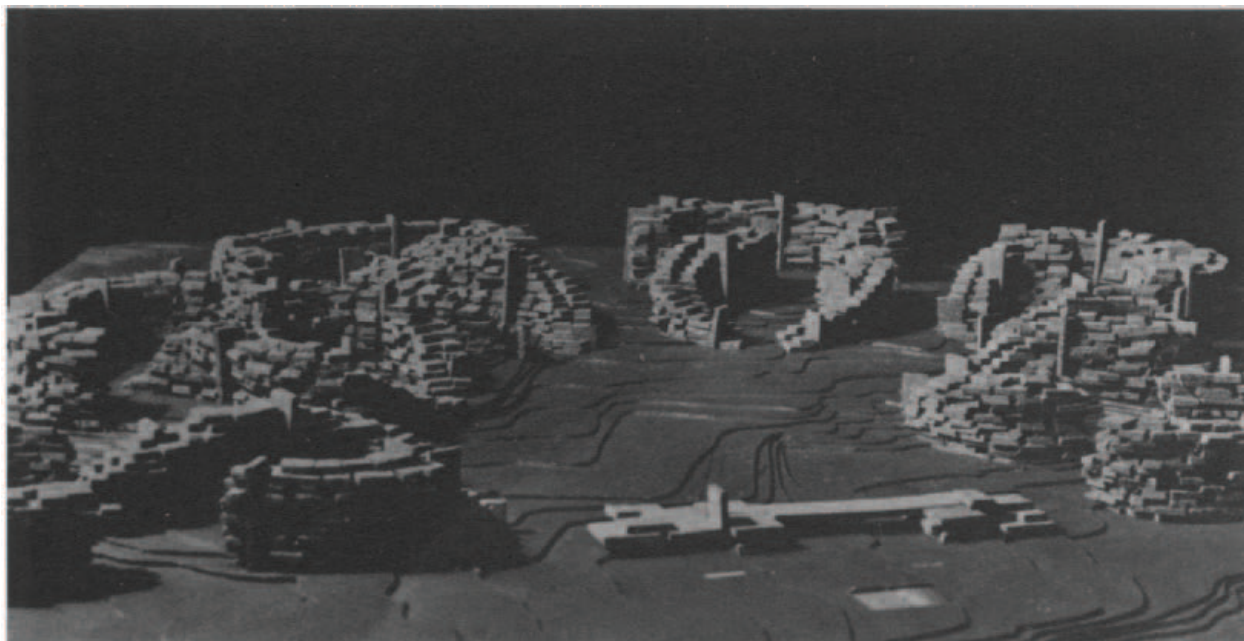


Figure 2.16

Site Model for the “Black Commune,” Harry Quintana and Charles Jones

Image source: *Perspecta*, 1969

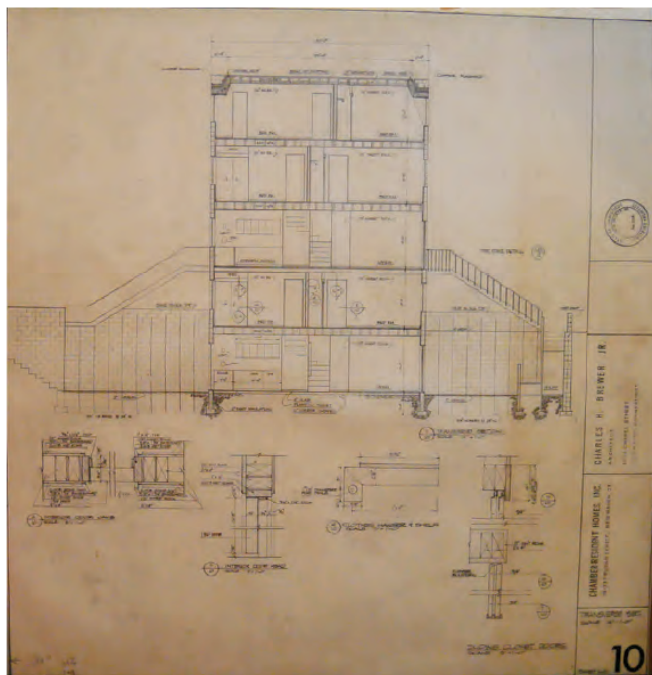
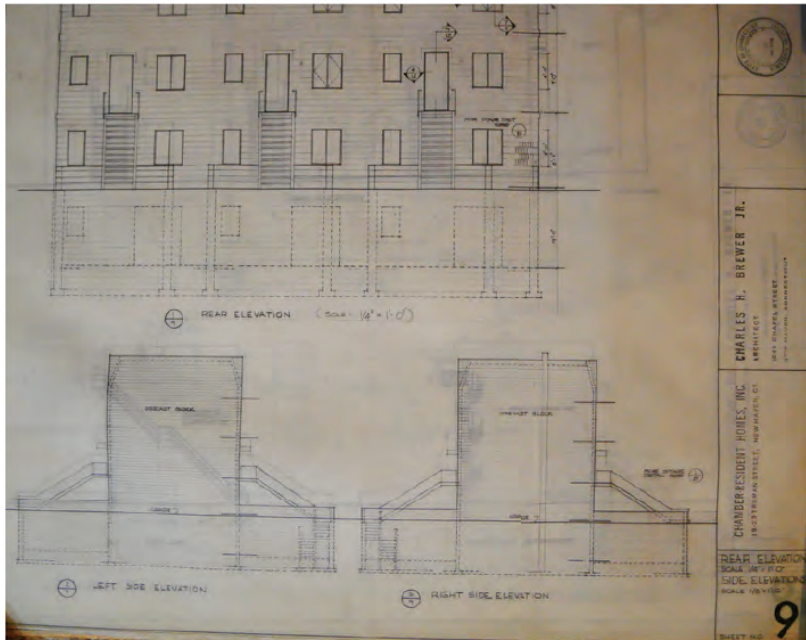


Figure 2.17

Rear and Side Elevation for Chamber Resident Homes, (top) Transverse section (bottom), Roland Bedford under the auspices of Charles Brewer.

Image Source: courtesy of Charles Brewer.

<Chapter 3 Figures>

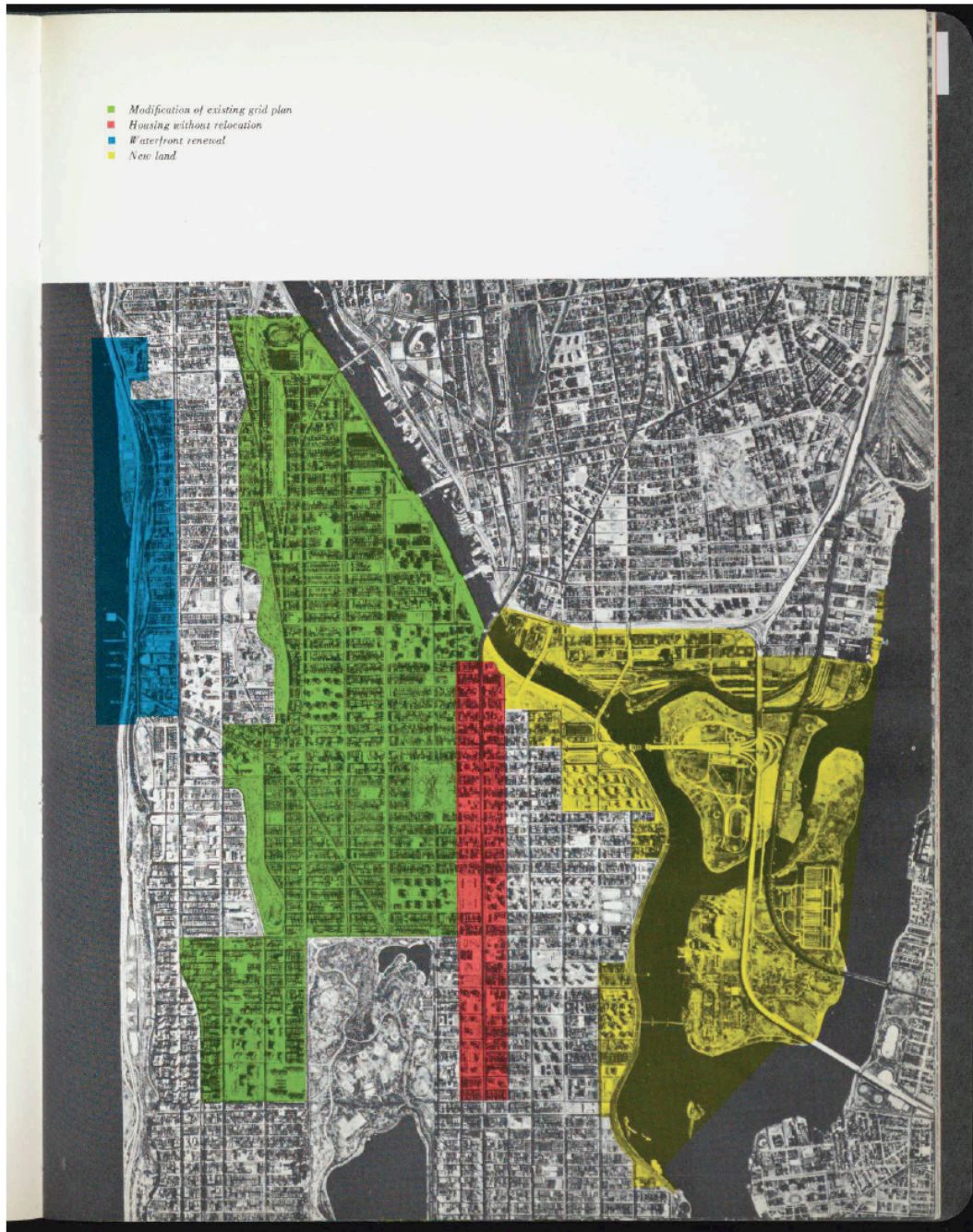


Figure 3.1

From left to right. Blue is “Building the Waterfront” by Princeton; Green is Opening the Grid Plan” by Cornell; Red is “Housing Without Relocation” by Columbia; Yellow is “Design New Land” by MIT. Image Source: The Museum of Modern Art Archives. NY. MoMA exhs. *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal Catalog*, 23. [Hereafter *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal Catalog*].



Figure 3.2

Theatrical poster for the American release of *The Cool World*, 1963.
 Image Source: Commons.wikimedia.org



Instant Slum Clearance

by June Meyer

R. Buckminster Fuller designs a total solution to an American dilemma: here, for instance, is how it would work for Harlem

Harlem is life dying inside a closet, an excrescence beginning where a green park ends, a self-perpetuating disintegration of walls, ceilings, doorways, lives. It is also, of course, a political embarrassment for which no political solution is adequate. A housing project planted in the middle of a slum is not an answer. Harlem has been much lamented, but these statistics may be less familiar than others:

1. A typical Harlem child will score lower on an I.Q. test in the sixth grade than he scored three years earlier in the third grade.
2. Nine-tenths of its housing units are more than thirty years old.
3. Half the youngsters live with one parent or with none.
4. Harlem has a population of a quarter of a million, but it doesn't contain a high school.
5. Traffic deaths for Harlem youths appreciably exceed the rate plaguing the whole island of Manhattan.
6. Skyrise for Harlem is a proposal to rescue a quarter million lives by completely transforming their environment. New Harlem will encompass a half million people by removing old limits in exchange for natural boundaries. Harlem will widen from river to river across the island. Its new space will accommodate an additional quarter million residents—everyone willing to participate in the integrated transformation of a ghetto.

Skyrise for Harlem can be completed in thirty-six months. The first year will be spent in what R. Buckminster Fuller describes as "tooling up": organizing the mass production of structural parts and utility units, including all basic furniture.

Redevelopment generally means the removal of slum residents

Before and After, in the photograph below, Harlem today. In Buckminster Fuller's rendering at left, the same area as it would be re-created. Central Park ends at the extreme left, the George Washington Bridge is at the upper right. Traffic will flow over a new bridge to be built at 125th Street into the system of elevated, interconnected highways connecting all fifteen towers. These highways will handle through traffic in all directions and permit exit into the buildings themselves.



ESQUIRE, APRIL 1965

Figure 3.3

Double-page spread from "Instant Slum Clearance."

Image Source: *Esquire*, 1965

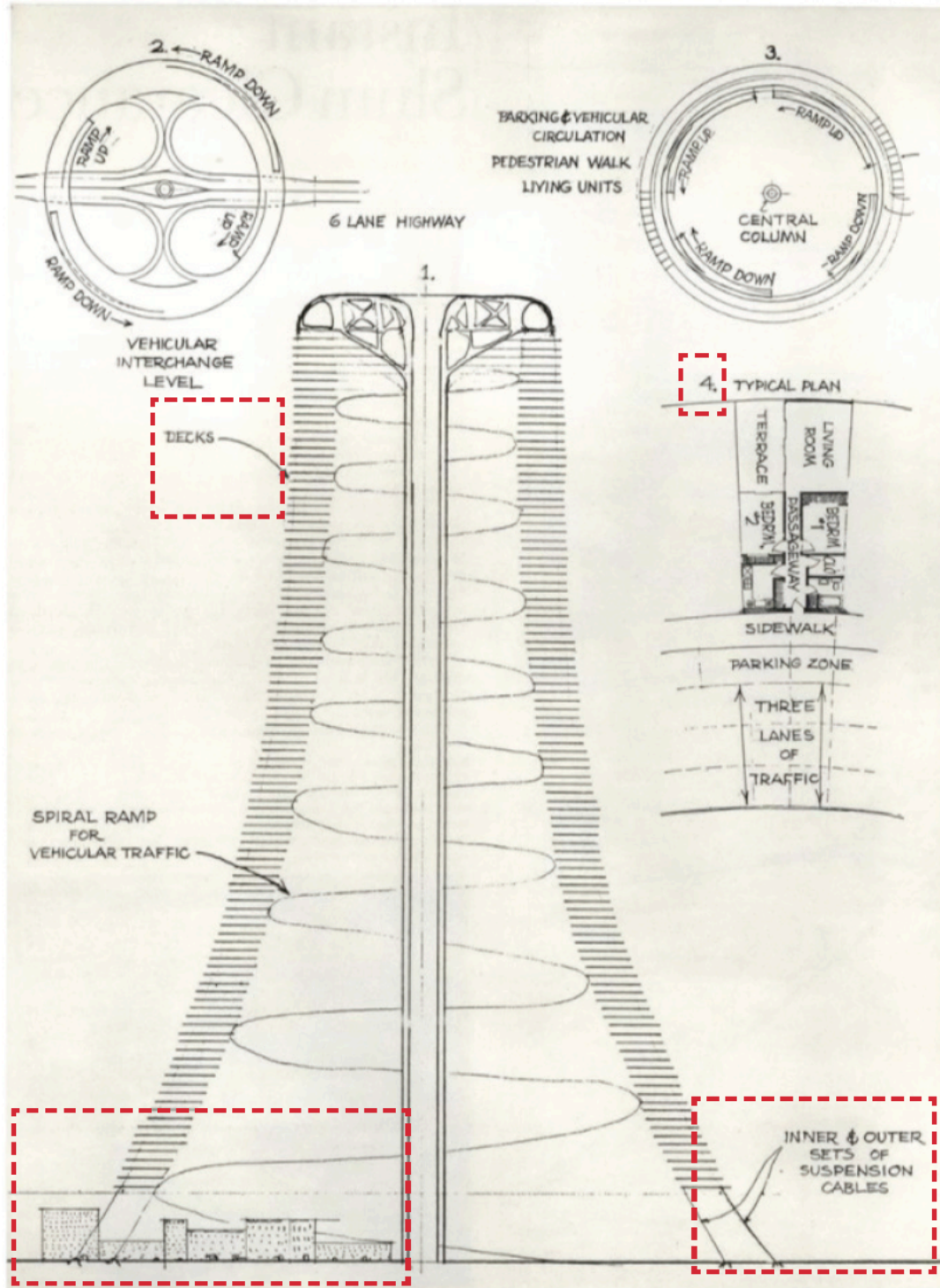


Figure 3.4

Number 4 on right hand side of page shows plan of each unit, bottom right corner shows inner and outer cables, and left shows decks. Image Source: *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal Catalog*. (Dotted red line drawn by author)

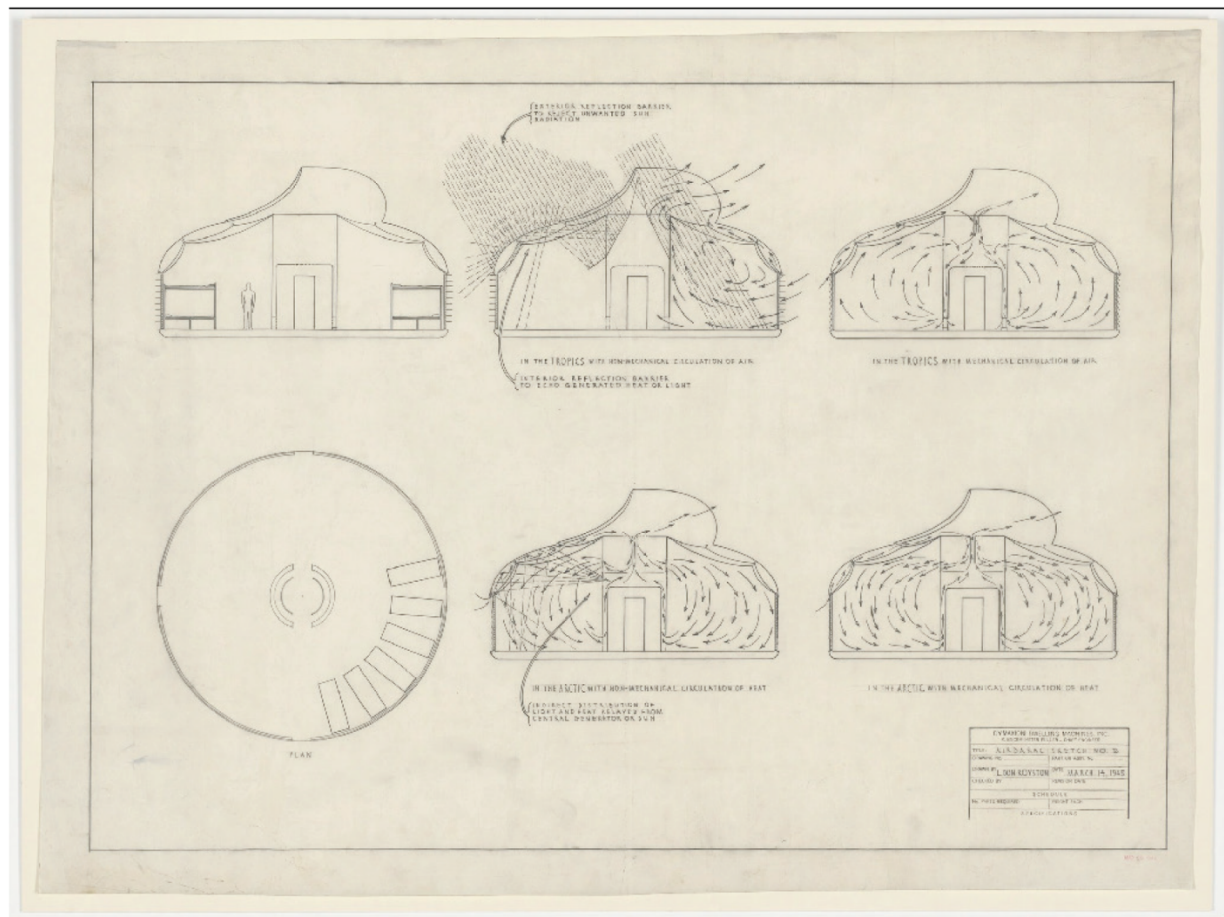


Figure 3.5

Dymaxion Dwelling Machine project, Wichita. House (Study for air circulation: plan and sections), 1945. Image Source: MoMA Gift of The Gilman Foundation, Inc.

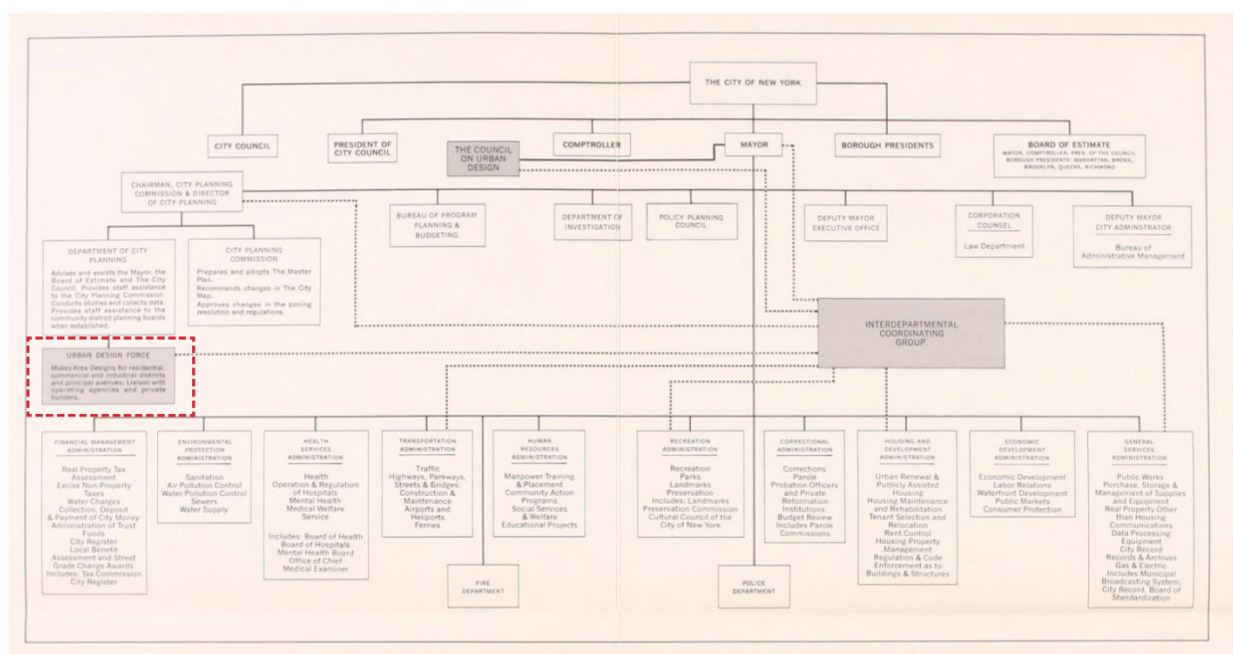


Figure 3.6

Dotted red line highlights the location of the Urban Design Force within City Planning. Whether positioned as end nodes, or functioning as the bottleneck of design decisions the Urban Design Force would be given unparalleled oversight of decision-making jurisdiction.

Image Source: *Threatened City Report*.

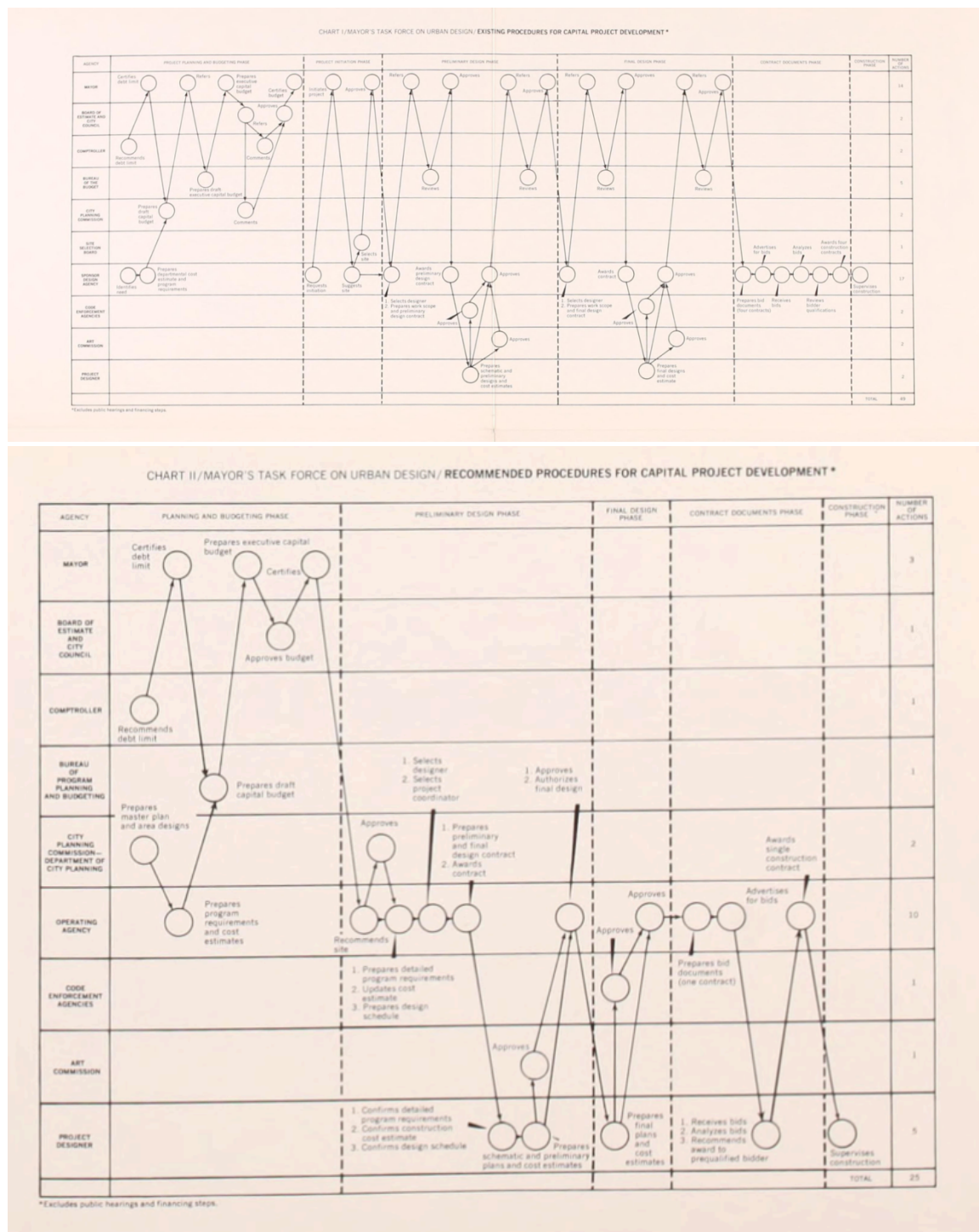


Figure 3.7

Top chart shows the amount of back and forth to the Mayor when it comes to design and development decisions. The bottom chart shows how the Urban Design Force would take up most of the bureaucratic decision-making. Image Source: *Threatened City Report*.

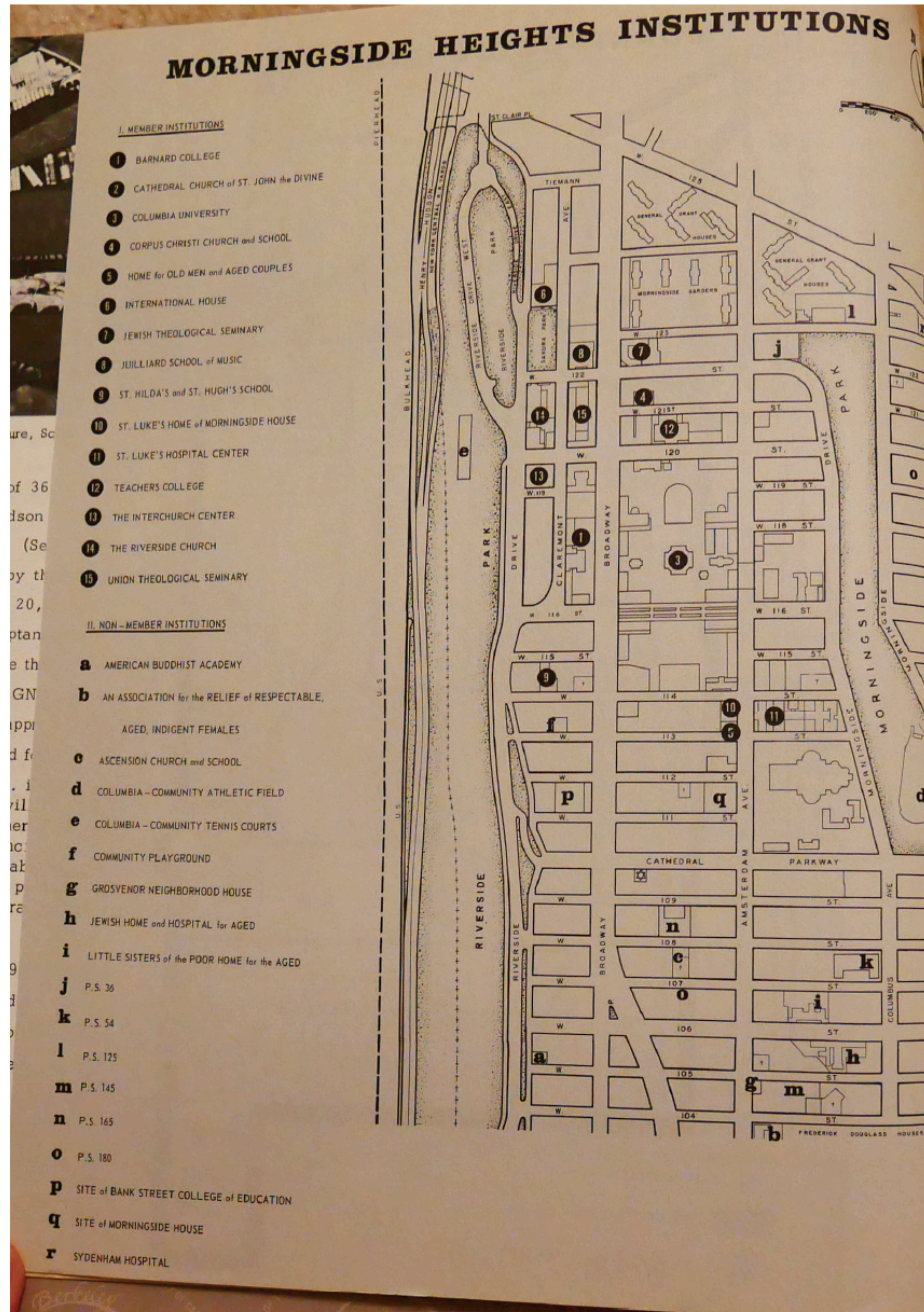


Figure 3.8

Morningside Heights, Inc. (MHI) was made up of fourteen institutions, including Columbia University that steered development in Morningside Heights. Image Source: Morningside Area Alliance records, 1947-1992 Morningside Heights Core Area Study, 1968 Box 11 Folder 13. University Archives, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York. [Hereafter: Morningside Heights Core Area Study].

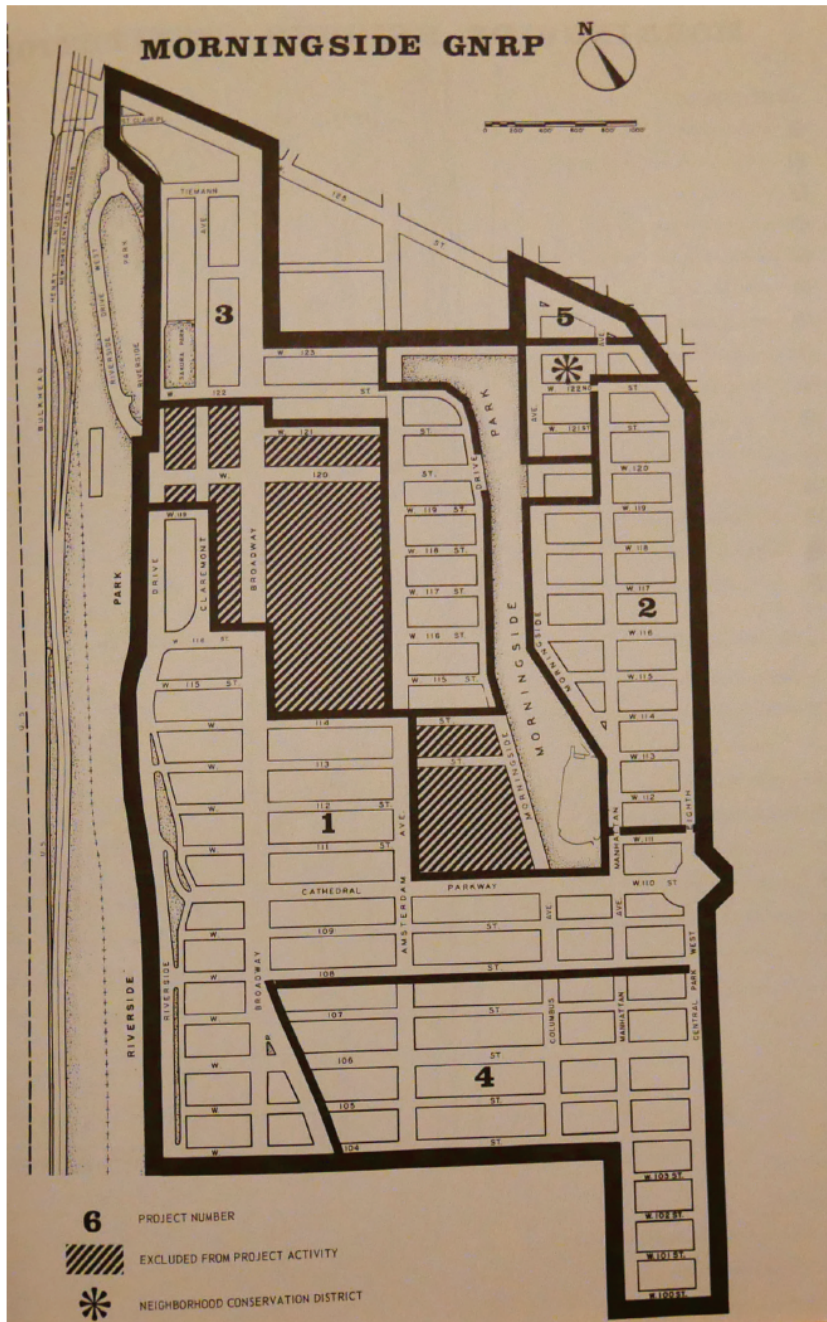


Figure 3.9

Morningside General Renewal Plan (MGRN) Areas within hatched lines (where Columbia resides) indicates areas that were to remain untouched.

Image Source: Morningside Heights Core Area Study

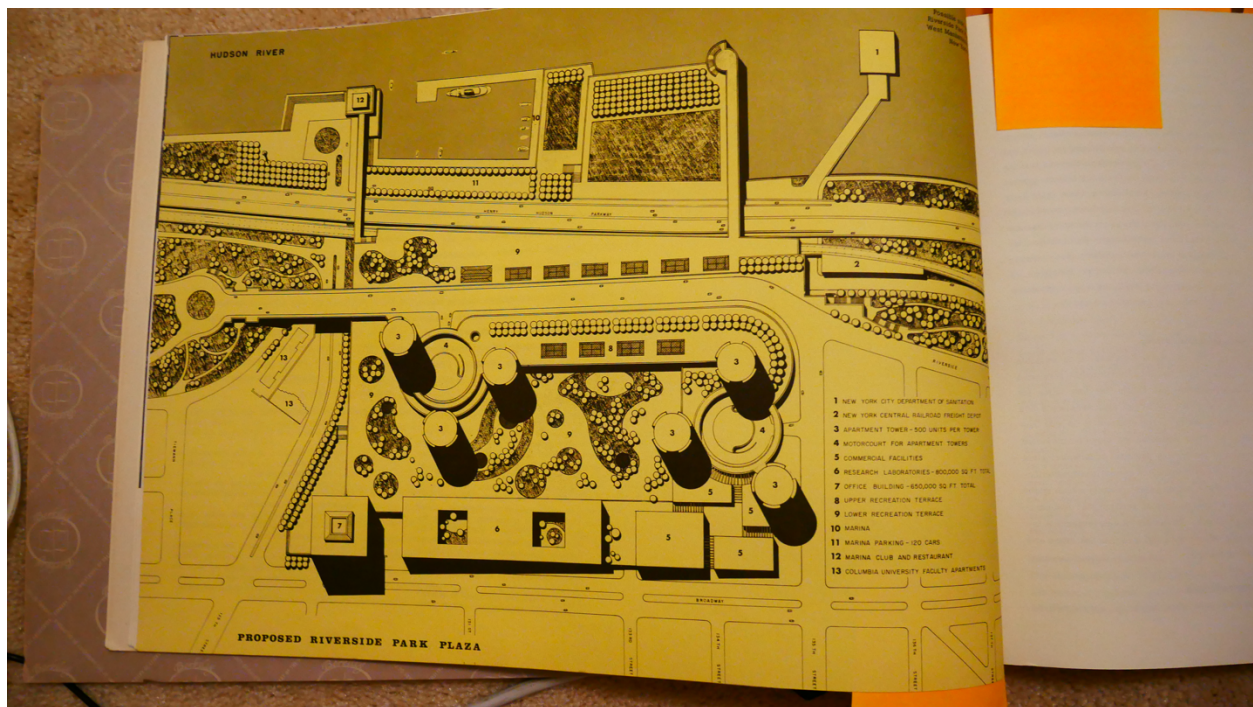


Figure 3.10

MHI's Core Area plan included an expansion of Columbia's Campus and a waterfront development they called Riverside Park Plaza (RPP).

Image Source: Morningside Heights Core Area Study



Figure 3.11

Proposed Columbia graduate student housing on Morningside Drive and 117th Street. Image Source: Morningside Heights Core Area Study.



Figure 3.12

MHI's Core Area plan Housing type study. From left to right clockwise: old tenements, new law tenements; overly dense population within buildings, "dilapidated and deteriorated" buildings; SROs both newly converted and old SROs.

Image Source: Morningside Heights Core Area Study

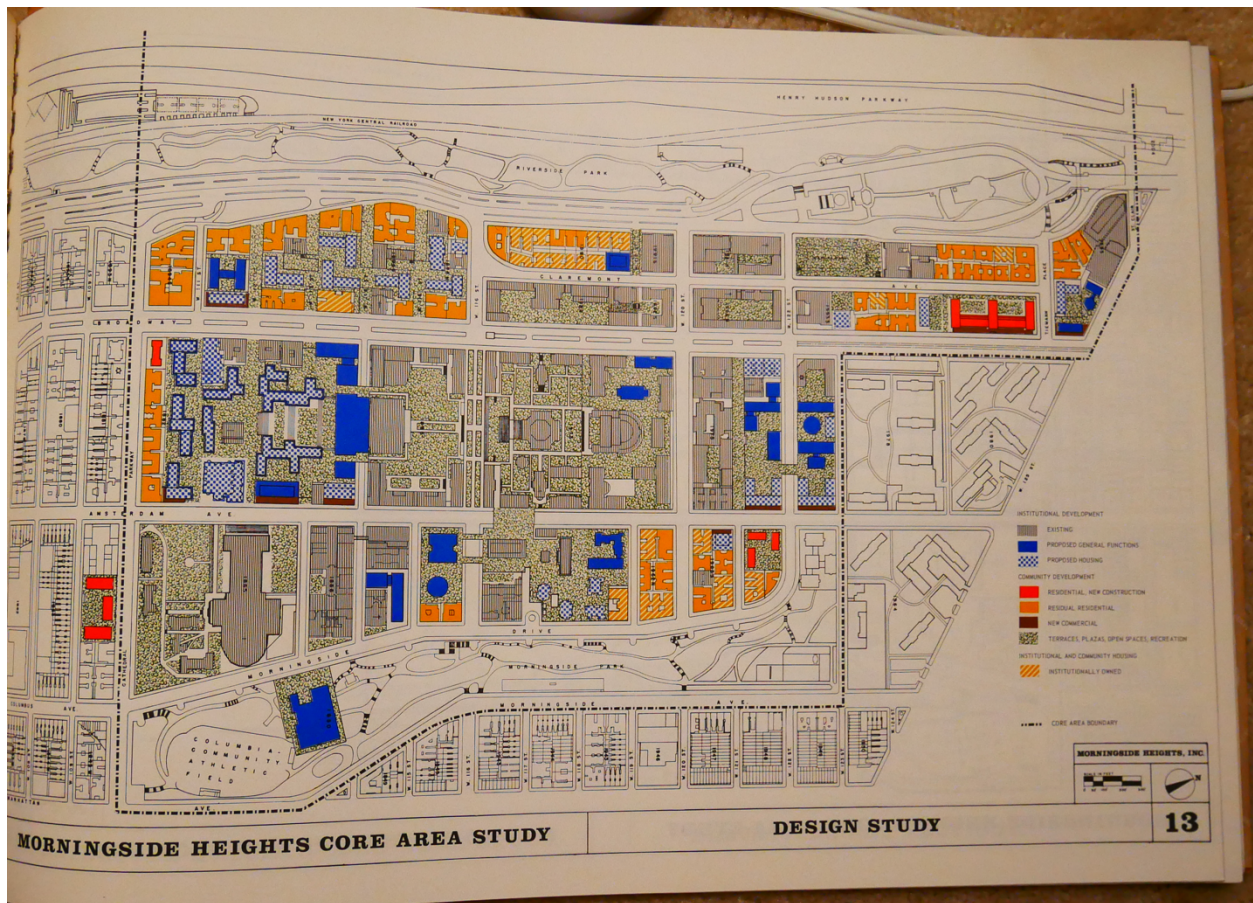


Figure 3.13

Proposed final University expansion plan.

Image Source: Morningside Heights Core Area Study



Figure 3.14

Philip Johnson, Morningside Senior Housing. (unbuilt)
Image Source: Morningside Heights Core Area Study

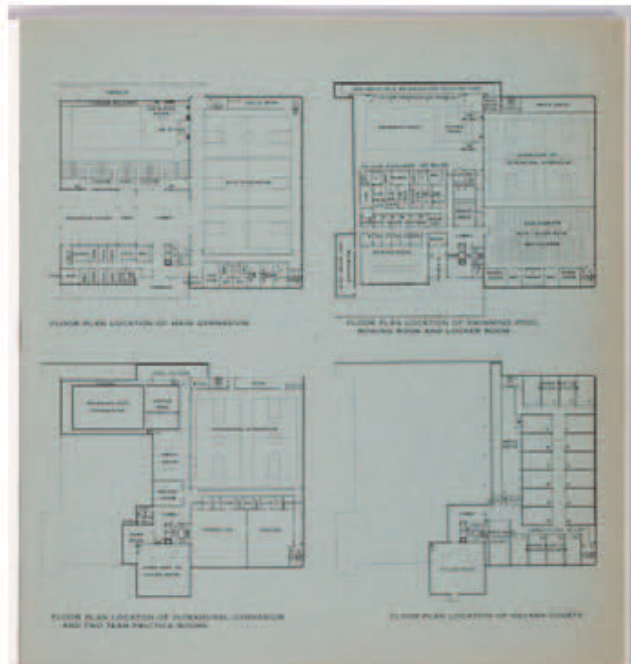
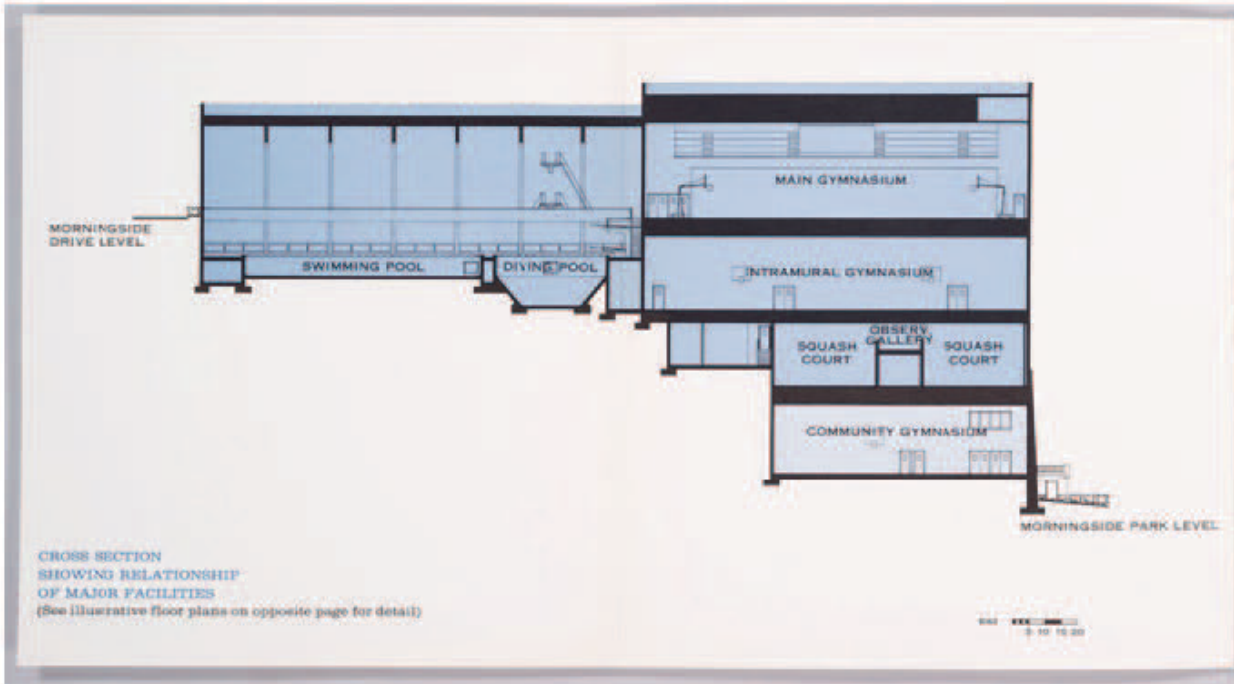


Figure 3.15

“The New Gymnasium” Image Source: “1968: Columbia in Crisis” University Archives, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries.

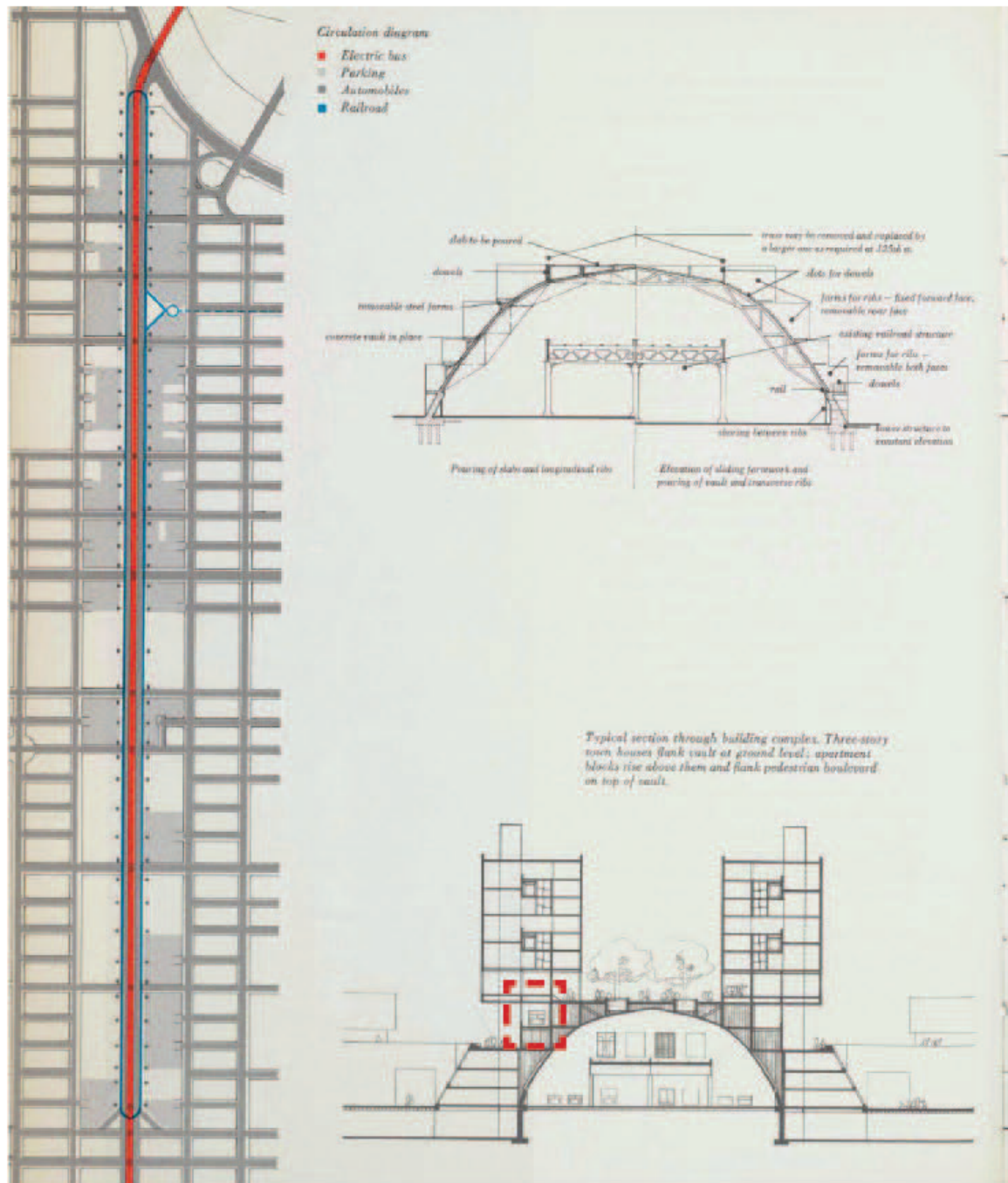


Figure 3.16

Diagram with red line and blue lines. Blue lines indicate the railroad, red, electric buses that would be accessed from the secondary level through the town homes. see section with my red dotted lines that shows electric bus line that was to be added, further separating west from east side. Image Source: *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal Catalog*. (Dotted red line drawn by author)

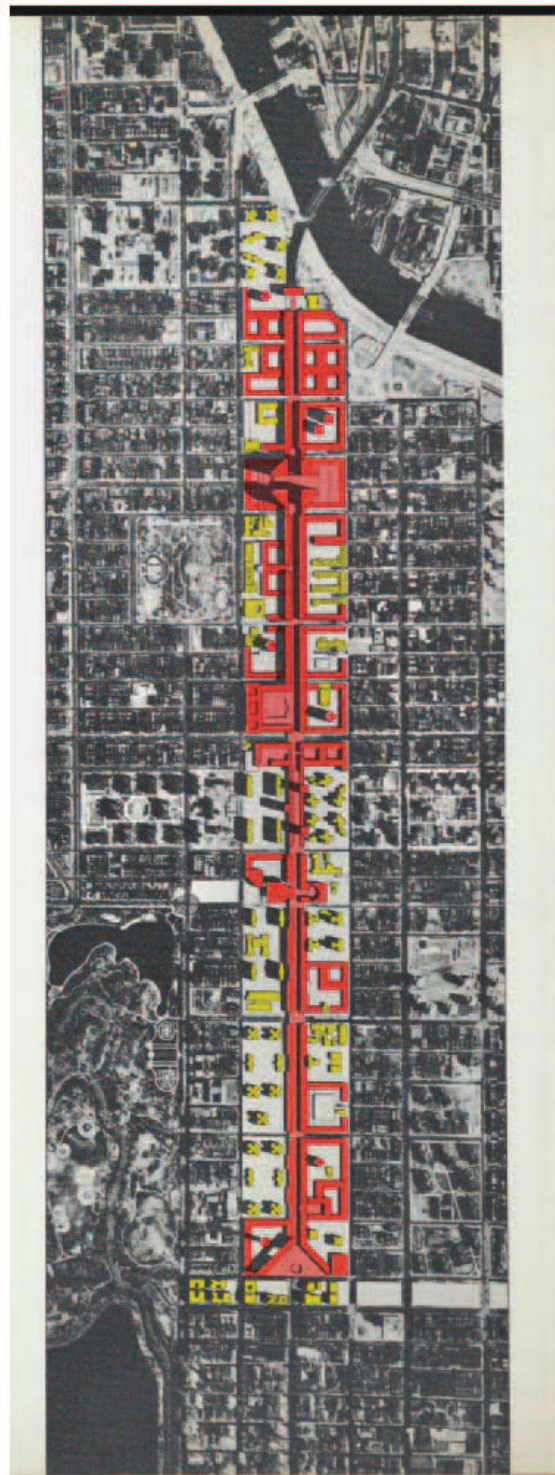
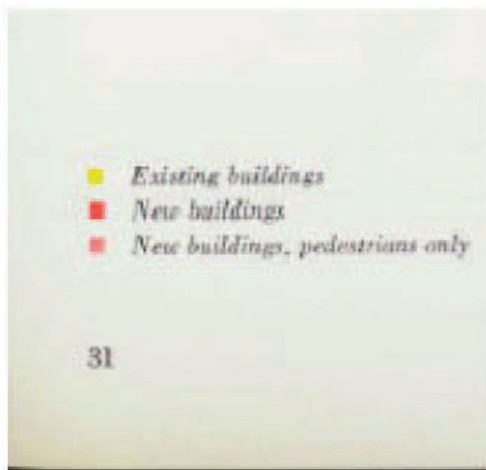


Figure 3.17

Judging by the pale-pink breaks in high-rise structures. Only six clear openings for crossings exist. Image Source: *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal Catalog*.

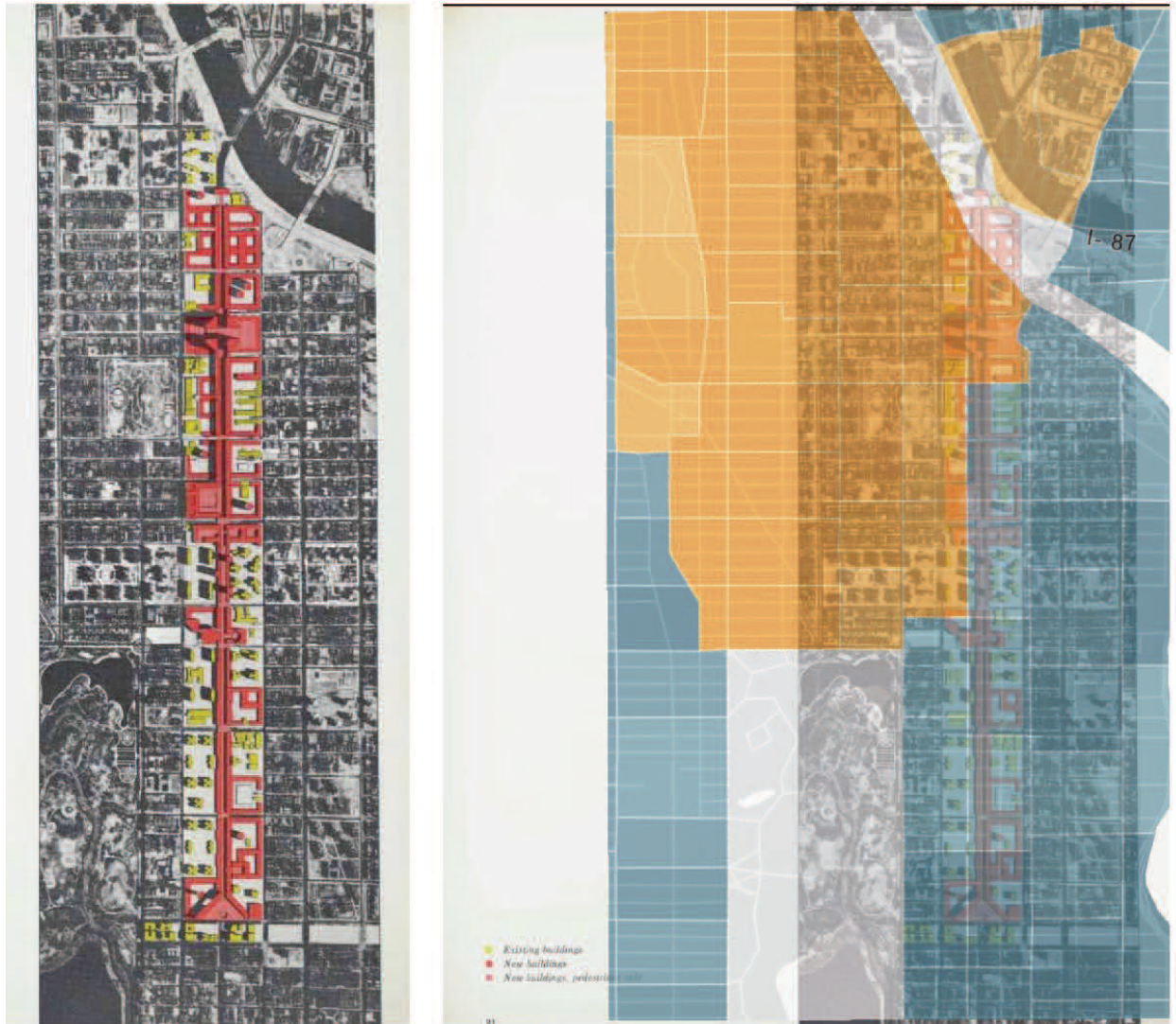


Figure 3.18

Map on right shows census data pulled from 1960 and overlaid onto HWR plan. Orange is African-American population, blue is white.

Image Source: *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal Catalog* and overlay map on the right was made by the author.

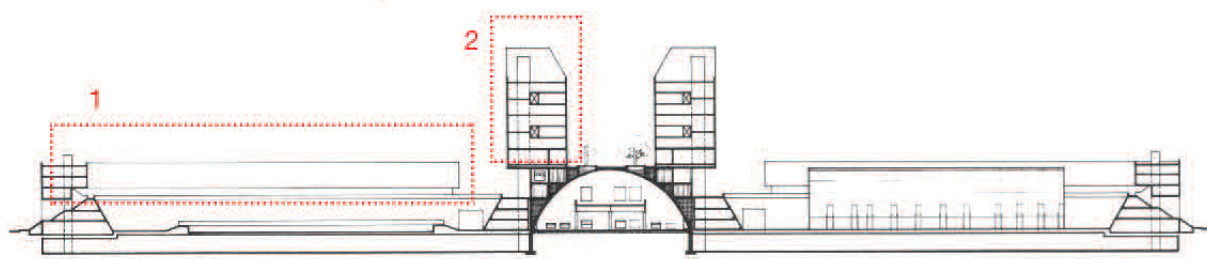


Figure 3.19

The three and six-story housing complexes (labelled 2) take advantage of the air rights bought and transferred from the blocks that flank the tracks (labelled 1), transforming Park Ave north of 97th Street.

Image Source: *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal Catalog*. (Dotted red lines drawn by the author)

Fuller's Harlem Plan

Cone Sweet Home

R. Buckminster Fuller has proposed an "instant integration" plan for Harlem, New York City's Negro section, which was the scene of bloody rioting last summer.

Fuller is the world-renowned architect, engineer and philosopher whose geodesic domes now circle the globe. He is a research professor of design science at Southern Illinois University.

Fuller proposes that a group of 15 huge cone-shaped skyscrapers, each 1,500 feet high, be built to house half a million people.

His idea is to make living conditions so attractive, as well as reasonable in rent, that white families as well as Negroes will want to move into the buildings, thus achieving "integration in reverse."

Usual Course

The usual direction of integration of neighborhoods has been for Negroes to move into a previously all-white area.

Fuller said his "skyrise" proposal could be built profitably by private enterprise in three years.

The first year would be spent in "tooling up" — that is, organizing mass production of structural parts for the huge buildings, which would all look alike and be furnished almost identically with "built-in" basic furniture.

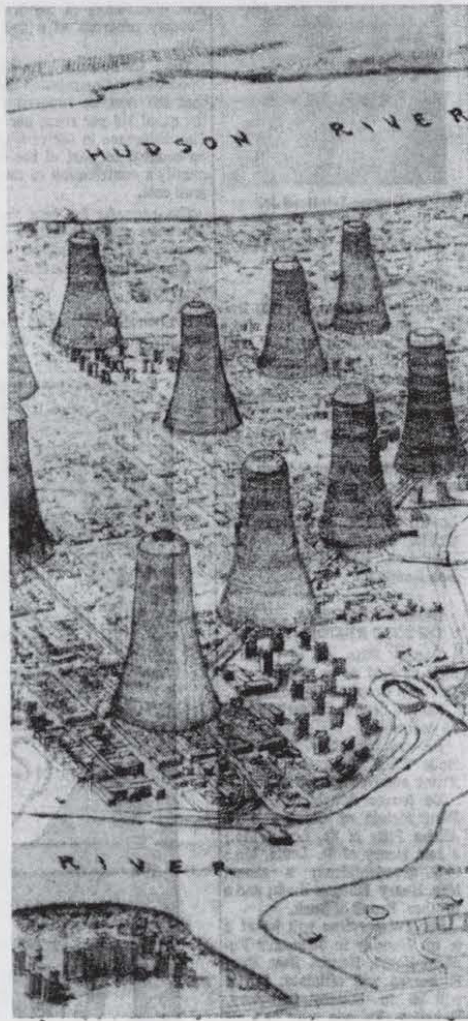
Cost

Fuller has not predicted what the cost per family would be, but indicated the project would be far more economical than the \$361 million spent in New York during the past five years to house 30,915 families.

The "skyrise" project is in line with Fuller's continual efforts to get private industry to convert "from the furnishings of war to the furnishings of peace" and for the housing industry in particular to start turning out good housing on a production-line basis like automobiles.

Some unusual features of the "skyrise" project are:

Living units would start at about 200 feet above the ground, where there is comparatively little dust in the air.



Harlem 'Skrise' Proposal

Sketch of R. Buckminster Fuller's "skyrise" proposal for housing half a million people in New York City's Harlem section shows cone-like structures rising above existing

slums and housing projects. The drawing is by Shoji Sadao, a partner of Fuller in one of his many design enterprises.

Figure 3.20

Fuller reprints *Skrise* in his hometown newspaper.

Image Source: *Southern Illinoisian*.

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