

DIFFERENCE AND DESIGN

A6830

FALL SEMESTER 2021
COUNTER-STORY

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COLUMBIA
GSAPP

“Given the choice between modernity and barbarism, prosperity and poverty, lawfulness and cruelty, democracy and totalitarianism, America chose all of the above.”¹

Matthew Desmond in The New York Times
for The 1619 Project

OVERVIEW

In Difference and Design + Culturally Responsive Practice, we will explore together some key questions:

- How has the built environment been shaped by difference?
- How do we make a difference in the design of our spaces, places, and cities?
- How do you want to make a difference through your practice as a designer?

The format of the course will include readings, presentations, conversations, and counter-stories in the first half of the semester. The second half of the semester will focus on the development of students' research and design for place-based or issue-based design projects or on developing independent research papers focused on difference and design in the built environment.

PROMPT

Working individually or in a group of two, you will research, document, and present to the class a “counter-story” related to the impact of difference in urban design and the built environment. This can focus on urban or environmental policies and practices, or on a specific design project or program. The counter-stories can be of projects or documented narratives that have had clear negative or positive impacts relative to social, economic, or environmental conditions. Selected counter-stories must have adequate documentation and the primary source references needed to develop the required deliverables.

See: <https://www.loc.gov/programs/teachers/getting-started-with-primary-sources/guides/>

COUNTER-STORY

- 01 Public Transportation**
- 02 Historic District**
- 03 Gentrification**
- 04 Environmental Justice**
- 05 Infrastructure**
- 06 Community & Public Space**
- 07 Housing**
- 08 Food**

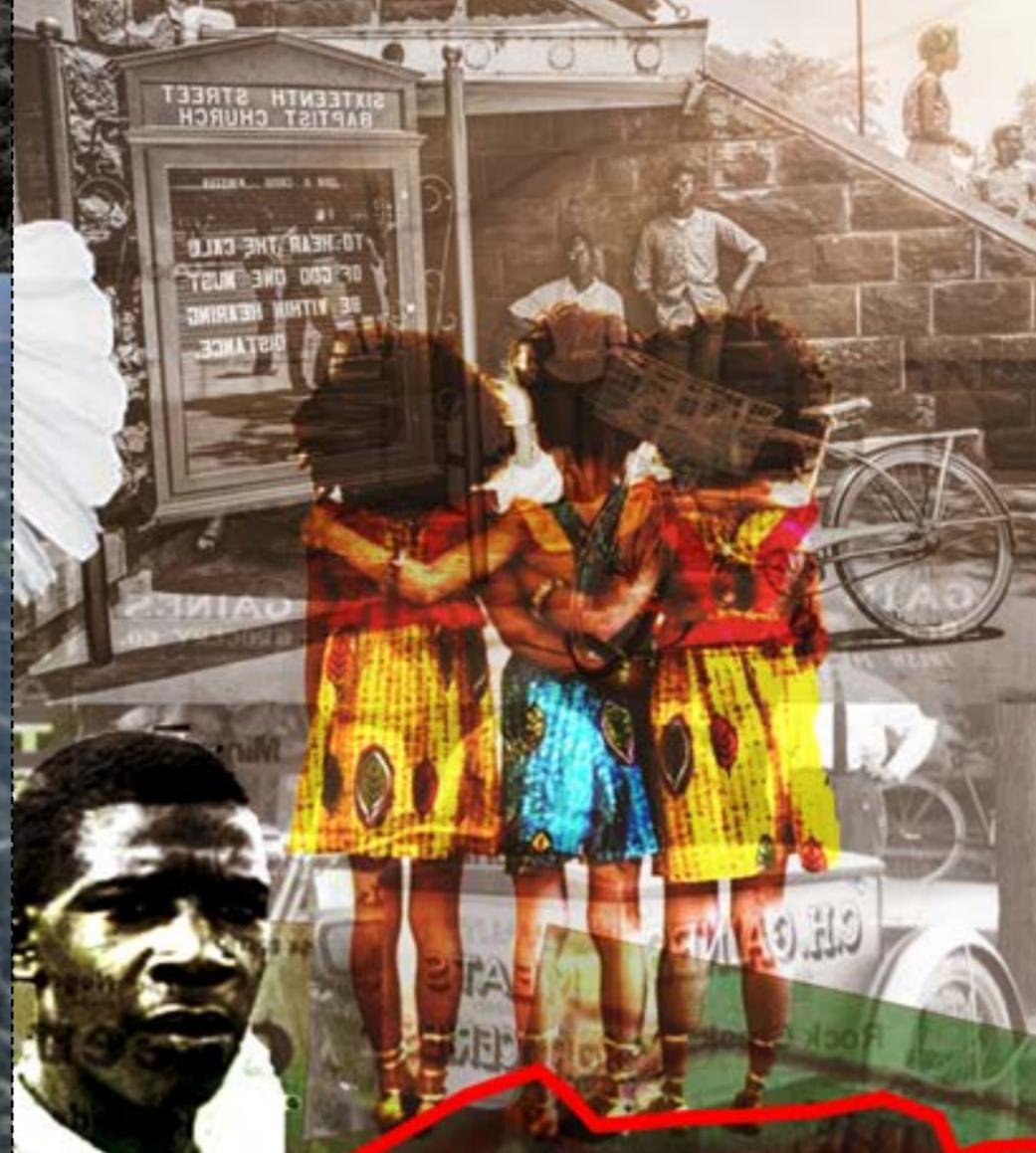
COUNTER-STORY
PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION



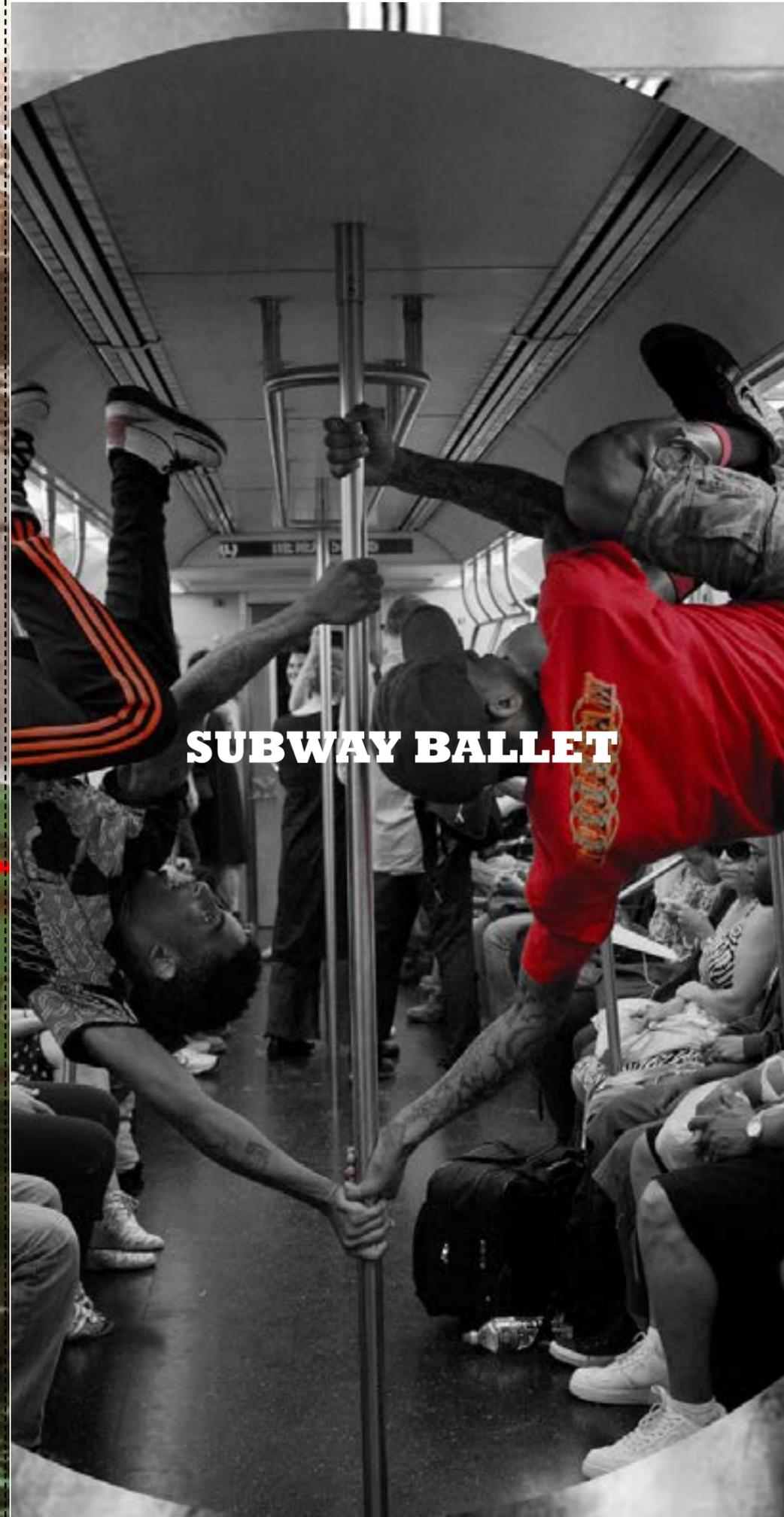
PUBLIC TRANSIT
KAYLA HEARD, STEPHANIE MCMORRAN, TRENTON SCOTT



**THE IMPACT OF I-65 and I-85
IN MONTGOMERY, AL**



**PUBLIC TRANSIT & SAFETY
IN BIRMINGHAM, AL**

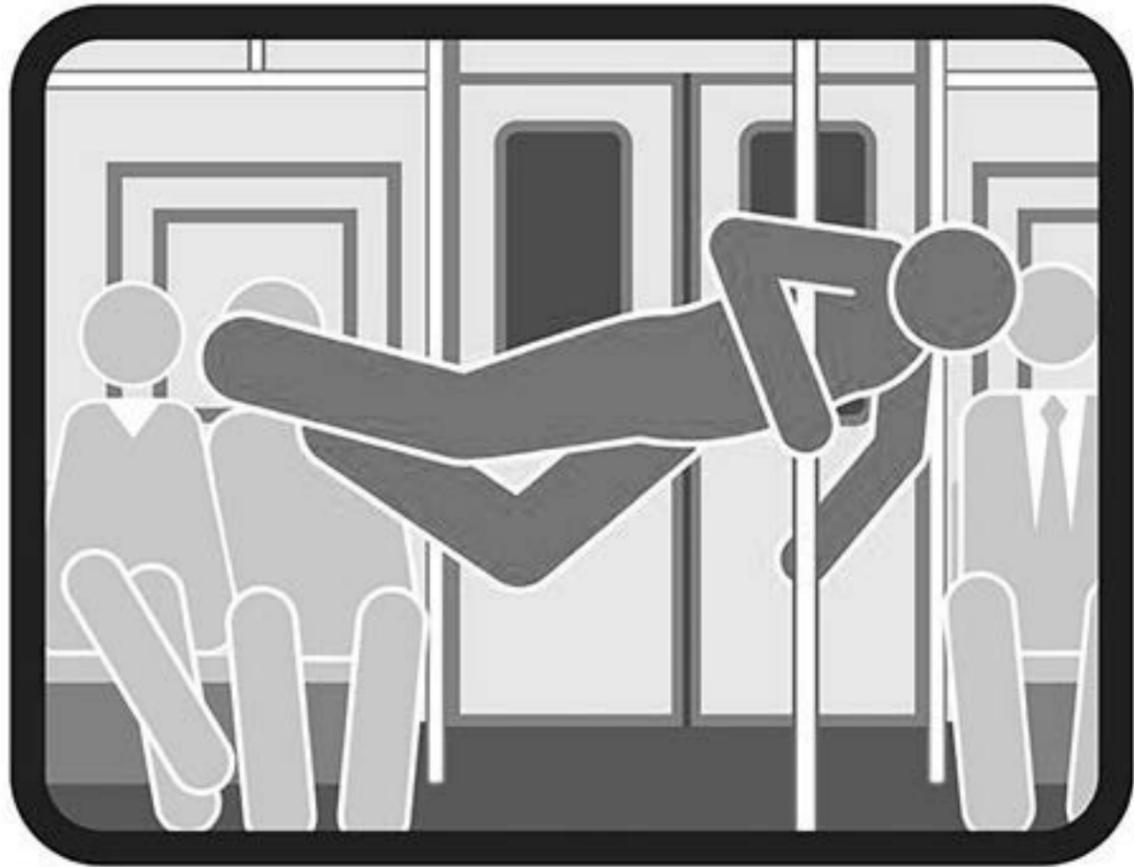


SUBWAY BALLET

SUBWAY BALLET

Litefeet and the Black Spatial Imaginary

Stephanie McMorran



How the subway “should” be ridden

INTRODUCTION: STREET PERFORMANCE V. LAW ENFORCEMENT

The legality of street performance in New York City has always been contentious, despite the fact that culturally it has always been an integral part of the city’s street life. Between 1890 and 1920, New York a wave of new immigrants from diverse backgrounds and religions flooded into New York harbor bringing “their foods, their art and their dreams of being American” (1). They also brought a rich tradition of street performance, and it was during this time that it was elevated to a new level (Jacks, 2018). The city government, not knowing how to classify these performances outlawed them beginning January 1, 1936.

The ban lasted until 1970, when poet Allen Ginsberg challenged its constitutionality (Jacks, 2018).

Arguably, street musicians were banned by LaGuardia not only because they did not fit into a formal definition of work, as defined by the New Deal during the Great Depression, but also because LaGuardia and many others saw them as inconsistent with the administration’s ideas of “urban aesthetics”(2). Unlike other members of New York’s informal economy, street musicians straddled the boundary between informal worker and panhandler. Unable to properly classify them, they were labeled beggars by the LaGuardia administration, and as such were therefore a threat to LaGuardia’s vision of urban modern-

Poles Are For Your Safety, Not Your Latest Routine

Hold the pole, not our attention
A subway car is no place for showtime.

ization and progress (Hawkins, 111). Put more succinctly by Robert Hawkins, the busking ban “favored clear streets and an aesthetic of economic modernity by seeking to channel itinerant performers into other occupations or the relief system” (Hawkins, 108).

BILL BRATTON AND BROKEN WINDOWS

54 years after the ban on street music and performance was lifted, the question of whether or not informal public performance should be considered a misdemeanor again emerged in 2014 under NYPD Police Commissioner Bill Bratton. That year, over 240 performers were arrested (3). During his time as Police Commissioner (2014-2020), Bratton was a strict adherent to the theory of “broken windows” policing, or the idea that small nuisance and public disorder

crimes are precursors to more serious crimes. Central to the “broken windows” thesis is public “perception of risk”(4). The assumption underlying the link between small misdemeanors and larger crimes is the idea that public disorder increases “perception of risk”. If people feel unsafe as a result of disorderly conduct and other low-level crimes, they are more likely to avoid occupying public space, thus giving space to more serious criminals. On the flip side, the more people on the street the lower likelihood of more serious crime occurring. Some criminologists in the past have also argued that a strong police presence is central to community efforts in preventing “the cycle of fear and crime” by targeting disorder and by extension the “perception of risk”. The “Broken Windows” theory is credited with the reduction in New York’s Crime Rate under the Giuliani administration. However, many in retrospect have shown this correlation to be purely coincidental, as by the 1990s the national crime rate was starting to fall on its own (5).



Above: Bill Bratton, former NYPD Police Commissioner
Below: Two NYC Transit Police

Rule	MTA Offense Description	Fine
.2	Requiring persons to wear masks	\$50

TA	NYCTA Offense Description	Fine
.4(a)	Entered without payment	\$100
.4(b)	(Reserved)	()
.4(c)	Unauthorized sale of fare media	\$60
.4(d)	Unauthorized use of fare media	\$75
.5(a)	Graffiti or other defacement	\$75
.5(b)	Posting notices of signs	\$25
.5(c)	Non-transit use	\$50
.6(a)	Obstruction of operations or traffic	\$100
.6(b)	Unauthorized commercial activity	\$50
.6(c)1	Activity in prohibited area (including > 1hr in fare zone)	\$25
.6(c)2	Interfering passenger movement	\$25
.6(c)3	Activity near construction	\$25
.6(c)4	Excessive noise	\$25
.6(c)5	Media device	\$25
.6(c)6	Sound production device	\$25

NYCTA Rule	NYCTA Offense Description
1050.7(a)	Litter, spit, urinate, or defecate
1050.7(b)	Smoke, open flame, vape
1050.7(c)	Sleeping where hazardous
1050.7(d)	Gambling
1050.7(e)	Unnecessary noise
1050.7(f)	Throwing objects
1050.7(g)	Drinking alcohol
1050.7(h)	Impaired by alcohol or drugs
1050.7(i)	Breach of peace
1050.7(j)	Obstruction of seating, facilities, elevators, escalators
1050.7(k)	Commission of harmful acts
1050.8(a)	Carrying a weapon
1050.8(b)	Carrying explosives
1050.9(a)	Entering restricted area
1050.9(b)	Unauthorized parking
1050.9(c)	Unauthorized photography or film
1050.9(d)	Use end door or pass between ca
1050.9(e)	Extending body or item out vehicl

When Bratton started going after subway dancers in 2014, there was a lot of backlash from the general public which led to Mayor Bill DeBlasio making it more permissible by repealing a 91-year old law prohibiting dancing in spaces other than cabarets. That being said, subway dancing is still technically illegal and can be charged as a misdemeanor using any of the above guidelines. Another one that has been used is “reckless endangerment of the public”, and up until the COVID-19 Pandemic, the dancers were still being arrested for performing.



It's Showtime!
A performer on
the New York
City Subway.

“SUBWAY CARS ARE NOT FOR DANCING” (6)

In 1936, as in 2014, the controversy surrounding street performance was not whether or not it was legal but rather whether or not it lined up with prevailing notions of how public space should be used. In other words, the legality of street performance and in this case, subway dancing, depends on the current hegemonic idea of what public space should be, should look like and how it should be used.

In 2015, a year after Bill Bratton became NYPD Commissioner, the NYPD in partnership with the MTA Transit Police released a series of public service announcements directing the public on how the subway car should and should not be used. The purpose of the advertisement was in part to inform the public as well as to create informants among the public should they catch someone “mis-using” public transit.

“WE JUST TRY TO GO INSIDE THE TRAIN AND CHANGE THE VIBE” (7)

Perhaps more so than musical performance, subway dancers challenge an understanding of public transportation as simply a means to get from one place to another. The dancers also highlight the genius of the black spatial imaginary, and highlights the ability of Black and Brown people

to shift otherwise oppressive geographies of a city to provide sites of play, pleasure, celebration, and politics.” (8)

A journalist from VICE summarized the effect of watching the subway dancers in her own way, signaling that subway dancing not only brings joy and opportunity to the dancers, but also the commuters on the train.



Passenger Reactions.

Passenger reactions range from the uninspired to the amazed, but people generally enjoy the rare chance to see the subway dancers on their daily commutes.

Bratton’s New York would be a bland terrain indeed, devoid of what the French situationists called *dérive*. *Dérive* is a practice that demands the re-imagining of landscapes, particularly urban spaces. Subway dancers, at their most daring, are sublime if unwitting artists of *dérive*. For them, a handrail is not a handrail, a seat not a seat – space and its assumed purpose is up for grabs, up for play, up for beauty (9).

Despite the fact that Litefeet (a.k.a, the style of dance done on the subway) is now a global phenomenon, dancing in a subway car is still technically illegal. Although dancing in the subway is now permitted by law, the dancers can still be arrested and in some cases risk jail time, for charges related to “reckless endangerment”(10).



The Alvin Ailey Dance Theater getting in on the act. There is also a discrepancy between the popularity and international recognition of subway performance and its current legal status.



GOOFY, W.A.F.F.L.E CREW: "THE LITEFEET DANCE STYLE IS THE MAIN REASON FOR OUR CREATIVITY WHICH WE BROUGHT TO THE SUBWAY. THE STYLE IS VERY FREE, AND WE INCORPORATED THE POLES AND LITEFEET MOVES TOGETHER TO HAVE DANCING AND ENTERTAINMENT AT THE SAME TIME."

Your browser can't play this video.
[Learn more](#)



Litefeet in Motion: M Train to Williamsburg, Brooklyn

Your browser can't play this video.
[Learn more](#)



Why do these kids dance on the train? An answer from the W.A.F.F.L.E Crew.

Your browser can't play this video.
[Learn more](#)



Going #worldwide: "Pole Dancing" recorded by an Italian YouTube Series IBobNY

Your browser can't play this video.
[Learn more](#)



Some other reasons why they dance. Another perspective from the We Live This crew.

ENDNOTES

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PHOTO SOURCES

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New York Times
Vulture
VICE
NBC News
MTA Info

CHALLENGES OF BLACK SPACE

Infinite Walk to Freedom

Trenton Scott



Generations of the Green Book

INTRODUCTION

Are you free to walk? Are you free to run? Are you free to drive? What is your travel story?

During the mid-20th century, Americans were able to travel via car with the new boom of automobiles. Our white counterparts were able to walk safely; to and from their destinations. They could even run if they were ever late to an event, and the authority would understand. If a black man or black woman chose to drive from Missouri to Arizona in their automobile during this time, they would face many challenges due to service rejection at many businesses. So during the mid-20th century, only white Americans

had the freedom to all luxury and all necessity. One may think that traveling from highway to highway was dangerous for African Americans, but walking was not pleasant either.¹ During the 2000s, the stresses of a black man walking and running in America were portrayed through personal experiences in the article "Walking While Black" by Garnette Cadogan. Cadogan expresses his love for nightlife as he walks down the streets of the south; however, he has to look over his shoulder uncomfortably for any police or 'frightened' white people.

¹ Garnette Cadogan, "Walking While Black" 8, Garnette Cadogan July. "Walking While Black." Literary Hub, 26 Mar. 2019, lithub.com/walking-while-black/.

²In 1936, Victor Hugo Green changed what black travel looks like. Many African Americans across the United States were limited to traveling across states. During the segregation era, they were restricted from service at motels, hotels, gas stations, restaurants, and many businesses of necessity. With the production of the Green Book, African Americans were able to pinpoint safe spaces along their journey. The Green Book sparked a new means of travel for blacks in America, but the fight is not over.

CONTEXT

In the city of Birmingham, the racial dot map shows a clear divide. One side has an ample amount of sidewalks while the other does not. Lower-income neighborhoods have very little sidewalk access which means no streetlights, which leads to higher crime rates, negligent police officers, unsafe for child development and growth. Middle-class and high class, have sidewalks that are to code they apply to build setback guidelines. They also have streetlights and biking lanes to complement the traffic.

ISSUES

Sidewalks play a role in city planning. Many towns and cities in the Birmingham area, such as Vestavia Hills, Mountain Brook, Cahaba Heights, Grants Mill, and many more on the east, have sidewalks throughout their communities and neighborhoods. Their street lights pave the way for street safety and neighborhood watch organizations. However, what about the west? There might be a few elders walking in the neighborhood and a few kids playing at sunset. But, during the night, everyone is expected to be inside where it is safe. The likelihood of seeing someone walking their dog or riding a bike after dark is slim in a neighborhood that lacks sidewalks. When sidewalks are non-existent, there is a possibility that street lights are not there either. With no lighting, it raises the risk of violence, hit and runs, and racial profiling. Black males on the west of Birmingham tend to stay on their side of town because if they venture to the east, it raises the possibility of being stopped

² Victor Hugo Green, "Segregation." Encyclopædia Britannica, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., www.britannica.com/topic/segregation-sociology.

by the police. The issues and tension of lynching on these sides of towns have gone away, but the hate and death stares are still prevalent. There is also an issue with bicycles, one of the main compliments to a sidewalk is bike lanes. Bike riders are less likely to get run over or disrespected if they have space. One issue west of Birmingham is the lack of bike lanes. It shames the idea of exercise and good health, which raises obesity rates and other health conditions. Sidewalks are essential to a community's development.

DESIGN

Phase 1: The design concept I have come up with is making the westside of Birmingham a community engagement project. By gathering the church communities and nearby neighborhoods, sidewalks, city bikes, street lights, and inspirational art walls can be installed and appreciated for those that live in the community.



Major Green Book Destination in Birmingham, AL A.G. Gaston Motel

Phase 1:

- Sidewalk renovation (art walk)
- Street lights
- Playground extension
- Art Walls

Phase 2:

Implementation of the Market Maze and raised bed gardens for health disparities.



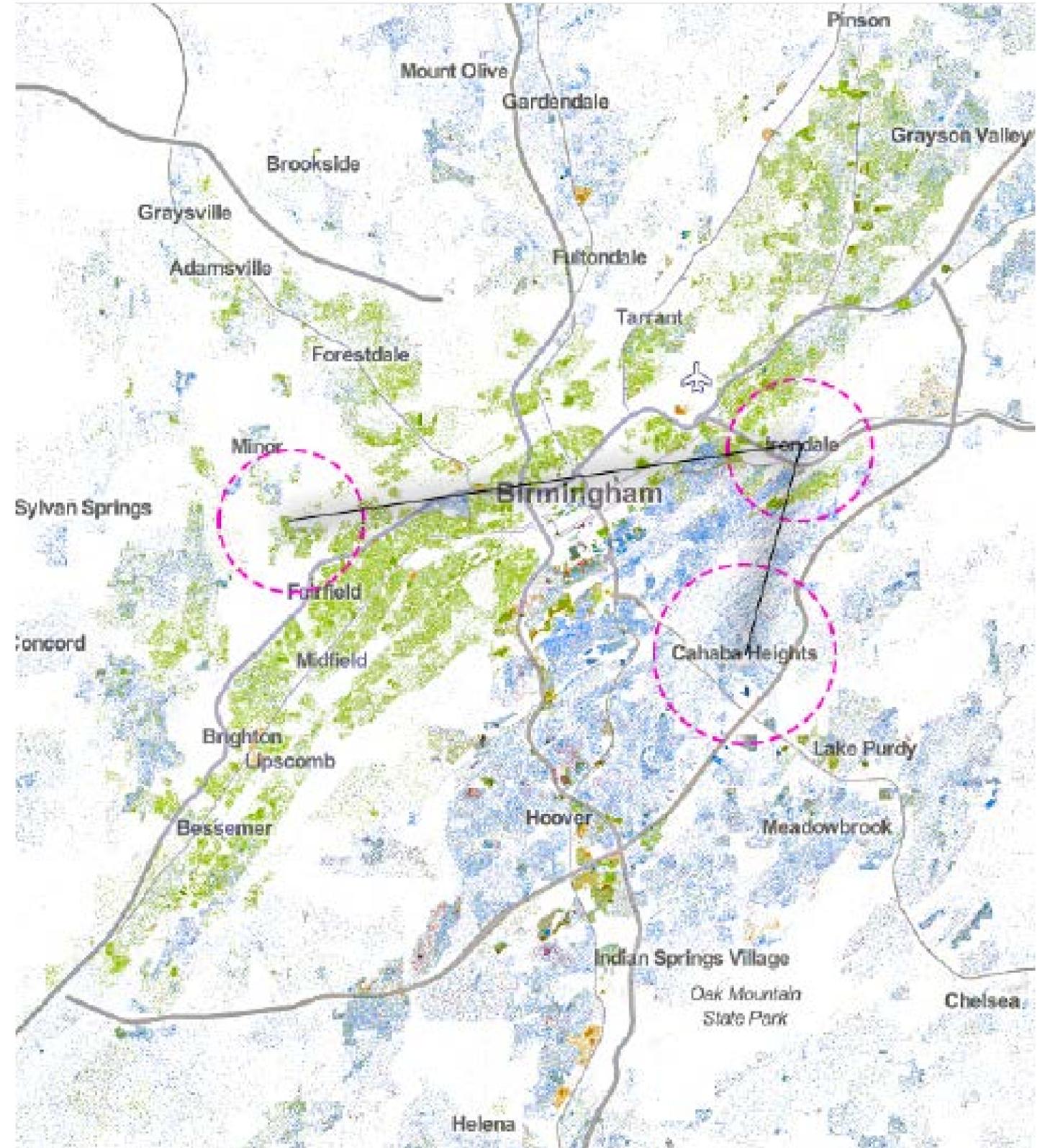
OUTCOMES

New sidewalks will lead to a better way of life. A new sidewalk design will include streetlights, well lit bus stops, street furniture, new building setbacks for safer walking paths, and bicycle lanes. The Maze Market will start a movement of growth for black businesses and farmers in the Birmingham area. It will include raised bed gardens for onsite growth and access, 25+ vendor spaces that all work together as one body, and our businesses to fill those spaces in. Kids and adults in the westside of Birmingham will be able to create their own story along the paths they create for themselves.



CONCLUSION

In conclusion, sidewalks are our way of living there the first step of a journey we call day-to-day. When they are dressed properly, they perform a whole lot better. People want to be around them, kids want to play with them so why not make them veasable for us. The Maze Market will create a safer way of foot traffic it will also attack the health disparities in the area as well as connecting black businesses in Birmingham, AL. All thanks to the little Green Book, we can bring our business a live and keep our children alive while doing it.



Racial Dot Map of the Birmingham Area
Green: African Americans
Blue: White

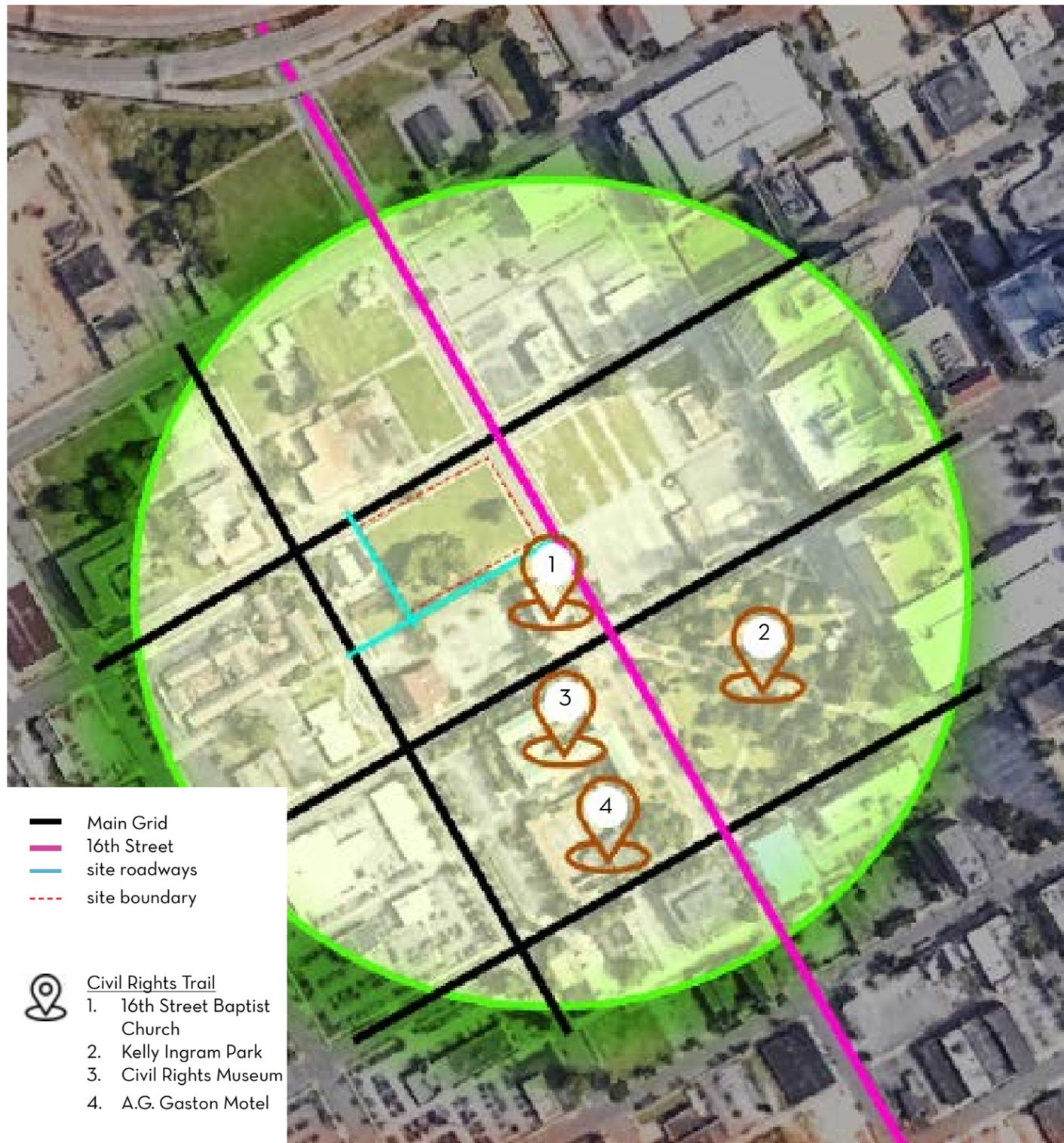
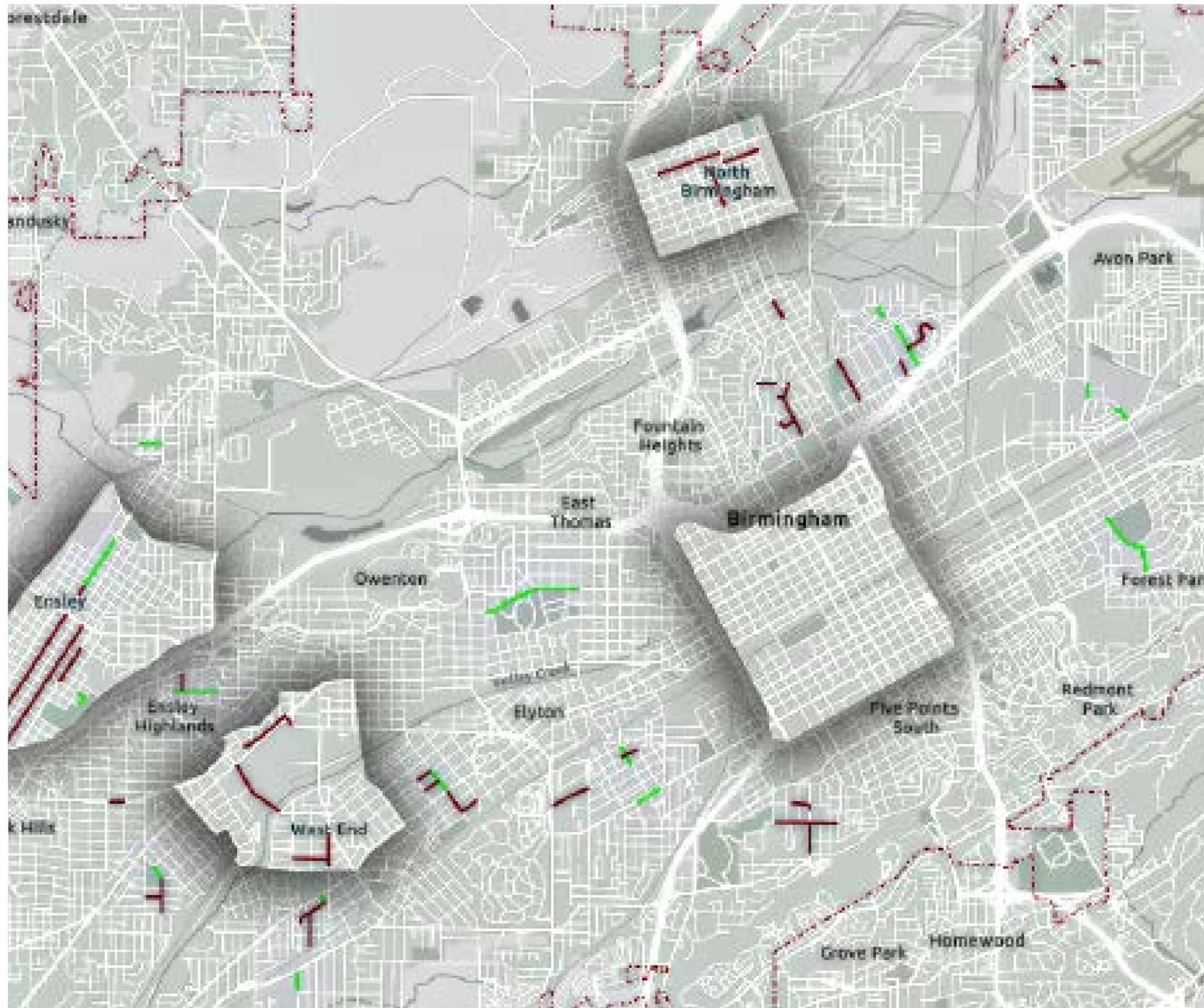


Image Caption: Broad Context Map - 16th Street Baptist Church, 6th Avenue North, Birmingham, AL
 In the Civil Rights District in Downtown Birmingham sidewalks are noticeable and a good example of how they should be used. 16th Street south is a main road that needs to be well maintained because of the area of prominence that it is in. However, what about the other neighborhoods that lack proper sidewalks. They are a catalyst for violence and bad health which leads to frustration. The Civil Rights Trail should set an example of what an amplified sidewalk should look like.



Image Caption: Zoom In of Site - 16th Street Baptist Church, 6th Avenue North, Birmingham, AL
 The extension of the Civil Rights Trail will serve as a safe haven for the Birmingham community. Shadowing 16th Street Baptist Church, the Market Maze will help all small business owners get their feet off the ground and benefit their community. Each vendor has a copper funnel shaped roof that collects rain water for future usage. The protection ramp gives way into the 2 level of the site which holds the raised beds where produce is grown on site.d



Sidewalks in North Birmingham



Central Park, Birmingham, AL



Birmingham City Hall Sidewalks



4th Court West, Birmingham, AL



Food to Retail - Heart of the Maze Market

Image is showing the festive events engagement of community along a intertwined walkpath. Each pathway is met with a market vendor stopping point for public interaction and engagement.



Raised Beds Overlooking 16th Street Baptist Church

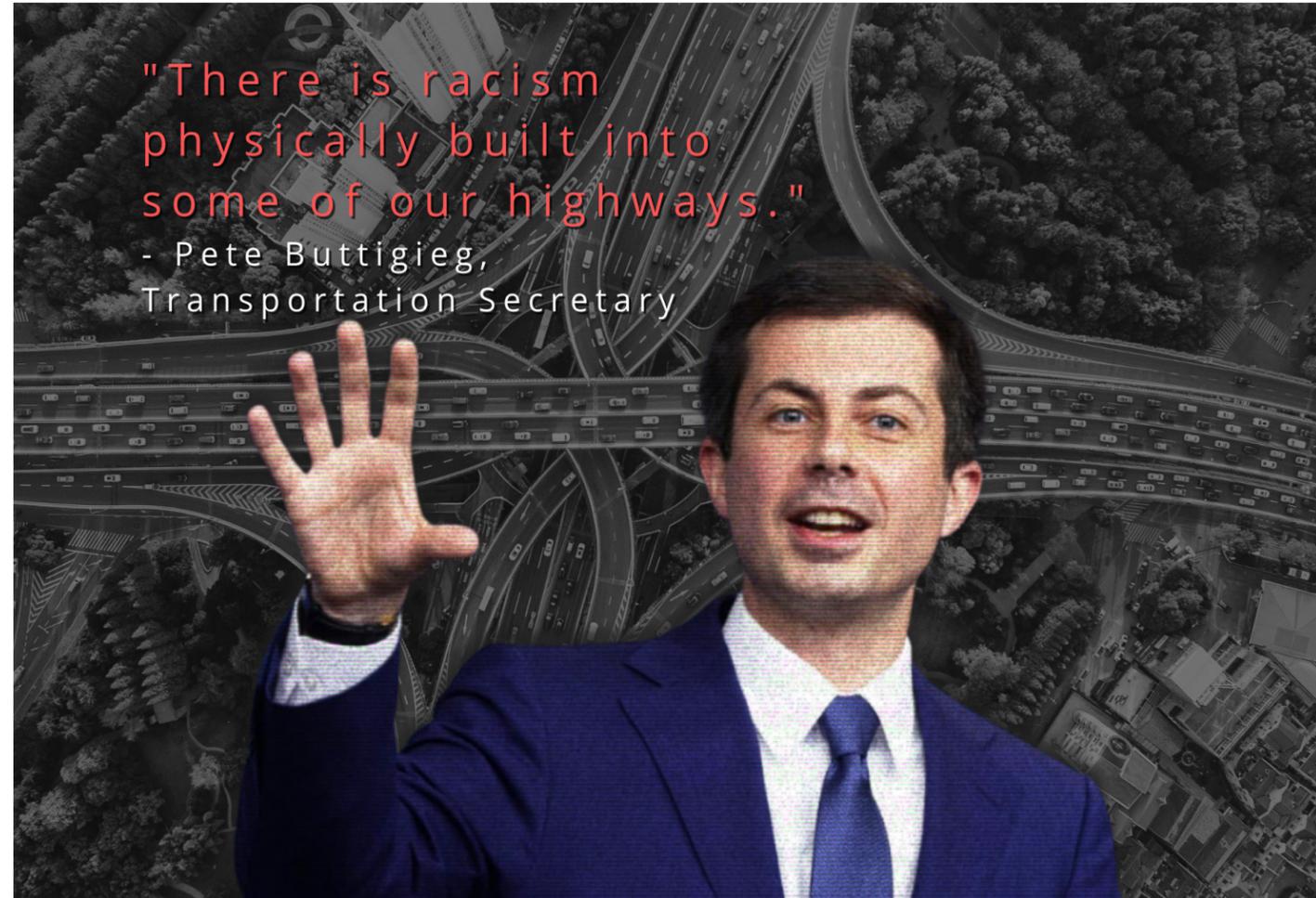
On the second level of the site, end users are met by the 16th Ave. Baptist Church which shadows the site and gives a background history of our people during the 1963 race riots. And the days of the Green Book



THE INTERSECTION OF RACISM AND THE TRANSPORTATION INFRASTRUCTURE

How the I-65/I-85 Exchange Dismantled the Black Community

Kayla Heard



"There is racism physically built into some of our highways."

- Pete Buttigieg,
Transportation Secretary

An image of Transportation Secretary, Pete Buttigieg depicting his views on the history of public transportation infrastructure in the United States.

INTRODUCTION

On April 6th, 2021 in an interview with the Grio transportation secretary, Pete Buttigieg, succinctly stated, "There is racism physically built into some of our highways". This statement ensued a huge debate amongst politicians and U.S. Citizens alike. Upon further investigation one can evidently see the validity in Buttigieg's statement.

Interstate and highways are a major part of our society, and take us from the west coast of California all the way to the east coast of Virginia. The history of mass interstate and highway construction in the United States began in 1956 when the Interstate Highway

Act was passed under President Eisenhower's term. \$26 billion dollars was used to build 41,000 miles of interstates and highways across America. The federal government funded 90% of the project while state governments paid the remaining 10% of the cost. According to President Eisenhower, the purpose of these new roadways was to eliminate dangerous and inefficient traveling routes and provide "speedy, safe, and transcontinental travel." The Interstate Highway Act is considered President Eisenhower's greatest domestic achievement.¹

¹ Deborah N Archer, "White Men's Roads Through Black Men's Homes": Advancing Racial Equity Through Highway Reconstruction," *Vanderbilt Law Review* 73, no. 5 (October 2020): pp. 1259-1330

However, this great achievement did not benefit all citizens. State governments were allowed to decide how and where they wanted the infrastructure to be built, and during a time of racial tension, some states used this act to further encourage segregation and racism. As a result many communities were divided and destroyed. Today we will be exploring how major public transportation infrastructure affected Black neighborhoods during prejudice and racist times in the Southern state of Alabama.

CONTEXT

One of the cities negatively affected by the interstate system is Montgomery, Alabama. As a whole, Alabama is recognized as the home-place of the Civil Rights Movement, but Montgomery played the most pivotal role. Montgomery is the place where in 1955 Rosa Parks started the Montgomery Bus Boycott movement after refusing to move from her spot on the bus for a white man. It is also the place where Dr. King ended the 54-mile Selma to Montgomery march. The march was organized to protest voting right injustices for Black people.²

The Black churches were the center of the movement. Not only was the church a meeting place for protesters, but it was also a place of refuge. It provided spiritual, emotional, and moral support. People could fully express their thoughts and feelings. The church was also the place where people found out information pertaining to protest and marches.³ In Montgomery there were many churches that participated in the movement, including the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church, Holt Street Baptist Church, and First Baptist Church.

According to a current Black resident of Montgomery, the Black community was truly unified during this era. Black people had everything they needed in their own communities, but they knew the importance of having the same political freedoms as White citizens. They would protest until they received them.

² "Civil Rights Movement in Alabama." *Encyclopedia of Alabama*. Encyclopedia of Alabama. Accessed October 10, 2021. <http://encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/s-121>.

³ Smith, Maria. "Churches Pivotal to the Civil Rights Movement to Visit Today." *Explore Georgia*. Explore Georgia, October 2018. <https://www.exploregeorgia.org/things-to-do/list/churches-pivotal-to-the-civil-rights-movement-to-visit-today>.



Photo : Getty Images | Black people fought for the right to be equal citizens. This is an image of Rosa Parks, unlawfully at the time, sitting in front of a white man on the bus.



Photo : Bill Hudson/Associated Press | There was much police brutality occurring during peaceful protest. In this image a police dog attacks a black man.



Photo : Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons | The Civil Rights Movement was successful due to the strong sense of unity. This image depicts people of all walks of life young/old and black/white singing together in unison.

THE CAUSE : THE MAN WITH THE PLAN

State and local agencies had control of where the interstate and highways were placed. During the time the Interstate Highway Act was passed Sam Engelhardt was the Director of the Alabama State Highway Department. He held this position from 1959-1963. He was a prominent and respected Montgomery attorney and an Alabama State Senator from 1954-1958. According to some citizens of Montgomery, Alabama, Sam Engelhardt, “[Came] from an established family in Montgomery. Everyone [he was mentioned] to said that he is a person to be considered respectable and that he commands prestige in the community.” However, these views were only held by a certain group of people. ⁴Engelhardt was also a leader of the White Citizen’s Council and had a known history of segregating communities.

In 1957, Engelhardt was instrumental in the creation of Law 140 which is also known as the Tuskegee

⁴ Burns, Stewart. Daybreak of Freedom: The Montgomery Bus Boycott. United States, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.



Gerrymandering Act. Tuskegee, Alabama had around 4,600 Black citizens that represented around seventy percent of the city’s population. Around 400 of the citizens were registered to vote. Engelhardt single-handedly redrew Tuskegee’s city lines, and within the new city limits there were only twelve Black eligible voters.⁵

As a fierce pro segregationist, Engelhardt also used his position as director of the Highway Department to decimate the Black community in Montgomery, Alabama, when he planned I-65 and I-85. His strong racist views were his primary motivating factors to join politics. He had inherited plantations that were worked mostly by poor Black farmers, and wanted to ensure that they wouldn’t “take his land”. Engelhardt saw the unity within the Civil Rights Movement and the NAACP as a threat to the white citizen’s lives. In his opinion Black people caused problems in “nice white towns”, and need to be dealt with succinctly.

Engelhardt openly stated, “ Damn niggers stink. They’re unwashed. They have no morals; they’re just animals. The nigger is depraved!” ⁶Engelhardt certainly had no intentions separating his personal views from politics, and in 1965 the interstate construction began.

⁵“A Right to Vote Vs. A Gerrymander.” LIFE 43, no. 4, July 22, 1957.

⁶ Bagley, Joseph Mark. “School Desegregation, Law and Order, and Litigating Social Justice in Alabama, 1954-1973.” Dissertation, ScholarWorks at Georgia State University, 2014.

"We will have segregation in the public schools or there will be no public schools."

"I STAND FOR WHITE SUPREMACY SEGREGATION."

Above is an image of Sam Engelhardt, and to the right are a few quotes of his. Engelhardt was a known pro-segregationist. “I stand for white supremacy segregation” was printed on his campaign cards for state senate.

THE EFFECT : THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Construction would soon begin, but not without opposition. The people in the Black communities fought back to save their businesses and homes. In 1961, a prominent minister of the Black community, Reverend George Curry sent a petition containing 1,150 signatures to highway officials on all levels: federal, local, and state, protesting the pathway of the new interstate. At the time it was estimated the interstates would destroy 600 Black homes, so an alternate route through mostly vacant land was proposed. Reverend Curry argued that the purpose of the interstate was to uproot and dismantle communities with prominent Black leaders.

The church, which was a very important aspect of the Civil Rights Movement, was also a target. According to Reverend Curry, Sam Engelhardt stated his intentions to target Ralph Abernathy’s church. Ralph Abernathy, who was a close friend of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., also joined the efforts to stop interstate construction through predominantly Black neighborhoods. He sent a telegram to President John F. Kennedy in October of 1961. The Black opposition did help stall interstate construction, but ultimately it was unsuccessful. Rex Whitton, the Federal Highway Administrator, told Engelhardt to allow the Black citizens to calm down first, then proceed with the construction of the project.⁷

In total the interstate displaced around 1,700 citizens and many businesses. People were given so little money for their homes and properties that some were left homeless.

⁷ Mohl, Raymond A. “The Interstates and the Cities: Highways, Housing, and the Freeway Revolt.” PRRAC. Poverty & Race Research Council, 2002. <https://www.prrac.org/pdf/mohl.pdf>.



From left to right : Rev. Curry, Dr. King, and Abernathy

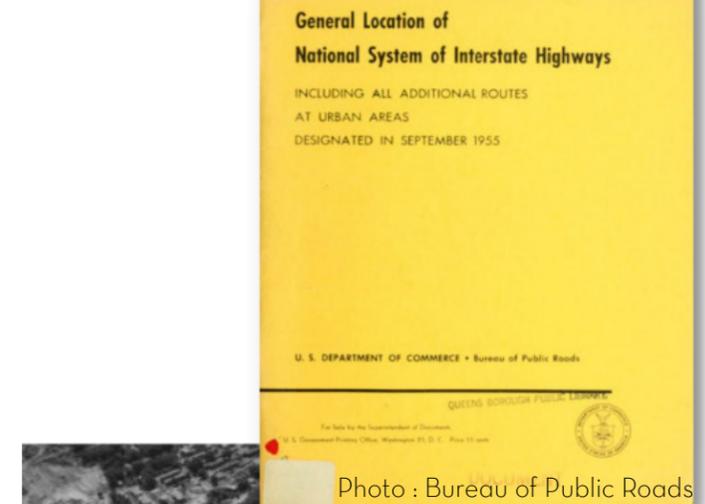
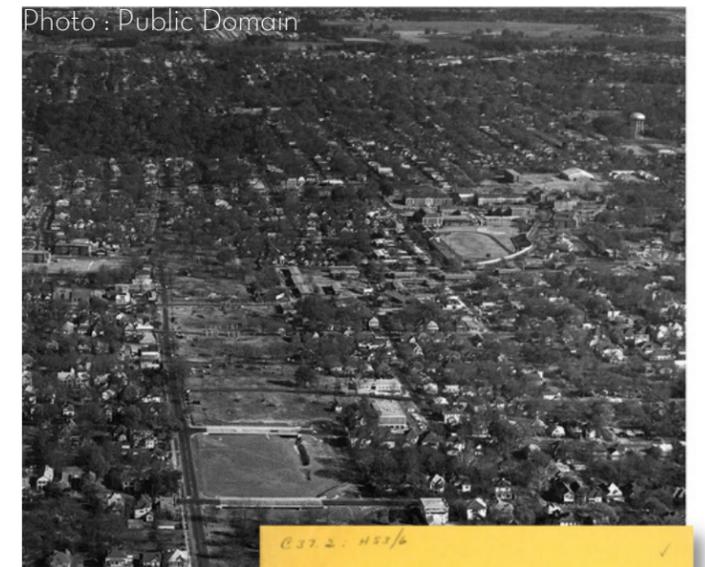


Photo : courtesy Alabama Department of Archives and History

The images above show the start of construction of interstate 85 in Montgomery. Large areas of land have been cleared out, and one can clearly see the destruction of the community. The yellow book depicted above was created in 1955. In the book an alternate route, disturbing less communities, is proposed, but ultimately ignored.

Photo : Taken by Kayla Heard



Photo : Taken by Kayla Heard

THE ONGOING ISSUES

Today this is what some of the Black communities look like. Aside from the historical homes (like the Dexter Parsonage House or the Dr. Richard Harris house, which sits a few blocks away) many of the homes are dilapidated.

The striking images to the left show the current status of the surrounding neighborhoods.

The caption of the sign on the white house: "To the youth: A brief moment of our history was in chains, that is not your future. Don't give your life away to the prison system. Stop the unnecessary shooting, killing, and robbing. No excuses, there's always another way."

Although there are many other causes of the destruction of the Black communities, the interstate was one of the first major steps.

Walking down the streets, as they are now, it is hard to imagine a lively community.

According to residents of the area, the community was beautiful and bustling. There were many spaces of leisure created by Black people, specifically for Black people. Today parts of the community is barren. Large lots sit vacantly.

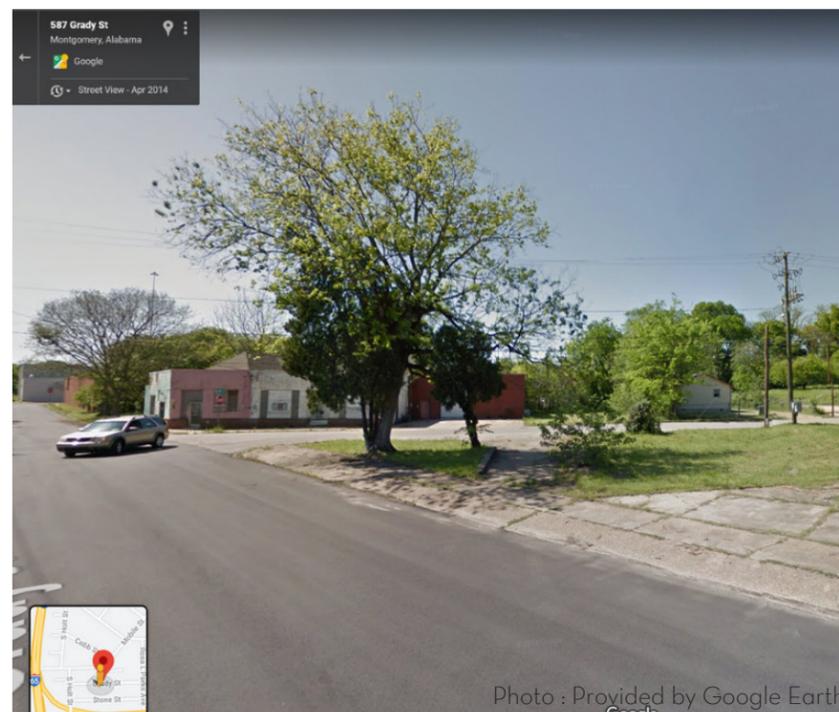


Photo : Provided by Google Earth



Photo : Provided by Google Earth



Photo : courtesy Alabama Department of Archives and History

The magnitude of the interstate exchange is vast. Many homes and businesses were displaced due to the infrastructure being placed directly through existing neighborhoods that consisted of poor black families.

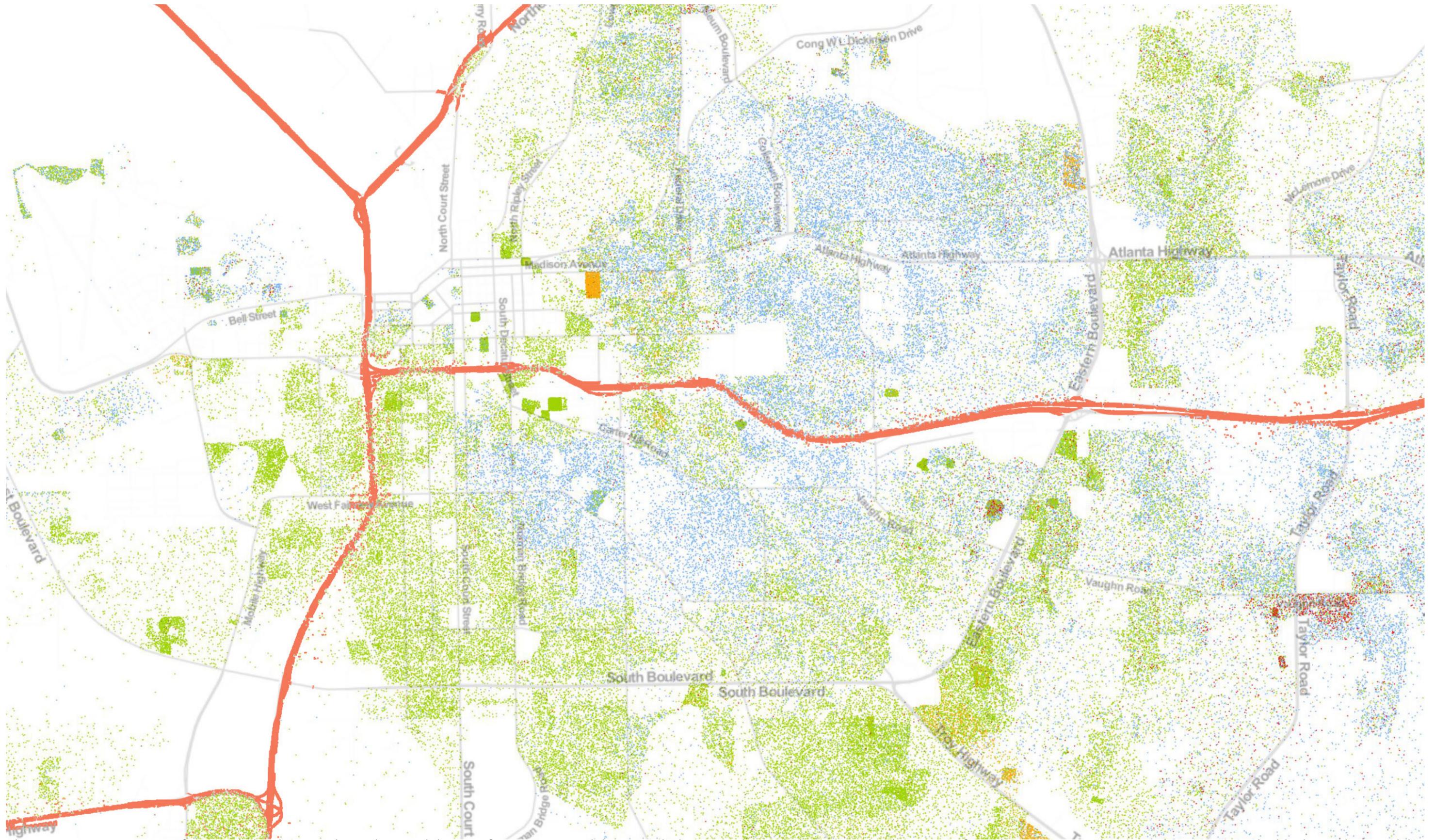


Photo : courtesy University of Virginia | This dot map shows the racial density of Montgomery, Alabama and where people resided in 2010. The data comes from the US Census. The green dots represent the black population, while the blue dots represent the White population. The red line depicts the interstates (I-65 and I-85) that go through the city. The interstate exchange, which is extremely large and disruptive, interrupts the majority black communities.



Photo : Taken by Kayla Heard



Photo : Taken by Kayla Heard

CONCLUSION

At the edge of these neighborhoods you can see the dead ends. These “dead end” streets is where the death of the community occurred. Beyond the overgrown plant-filled wall is the busy and bustling interstate system. The bushes and trees do not block much of the sound. The loud cars pass through all day and night. Even after all these years, there is still little solace.

Engelhardt changed the face of Montgomery and ultimately the lives of many Black families that lived there. This was truly a “dead end” for the community.

Today, these roadways are still being heavily used. According to the Alabama Department of Transportation, in Montgomery, Alabama approximately 180,000 cars a day drive on I-65 and I-85.⁸ There are many historically significant areas nearby. As more attention is placed on the Civil Rights Movement, more spaces are created to recognize the fight for equal rights.

The past can not be change, but it can certainly be acknowledged and embraced.

⁸ Yawn, Andrew J. “Neighborhoods Cleaved by Montgomery’s Interstates.” The Washington Times. The Washington Times, March 17, 2018. <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2018/mar/17/neighborhoods-cleaved-by-montgomerys-interstates/>.



Photo : Taken by Kayla Heard

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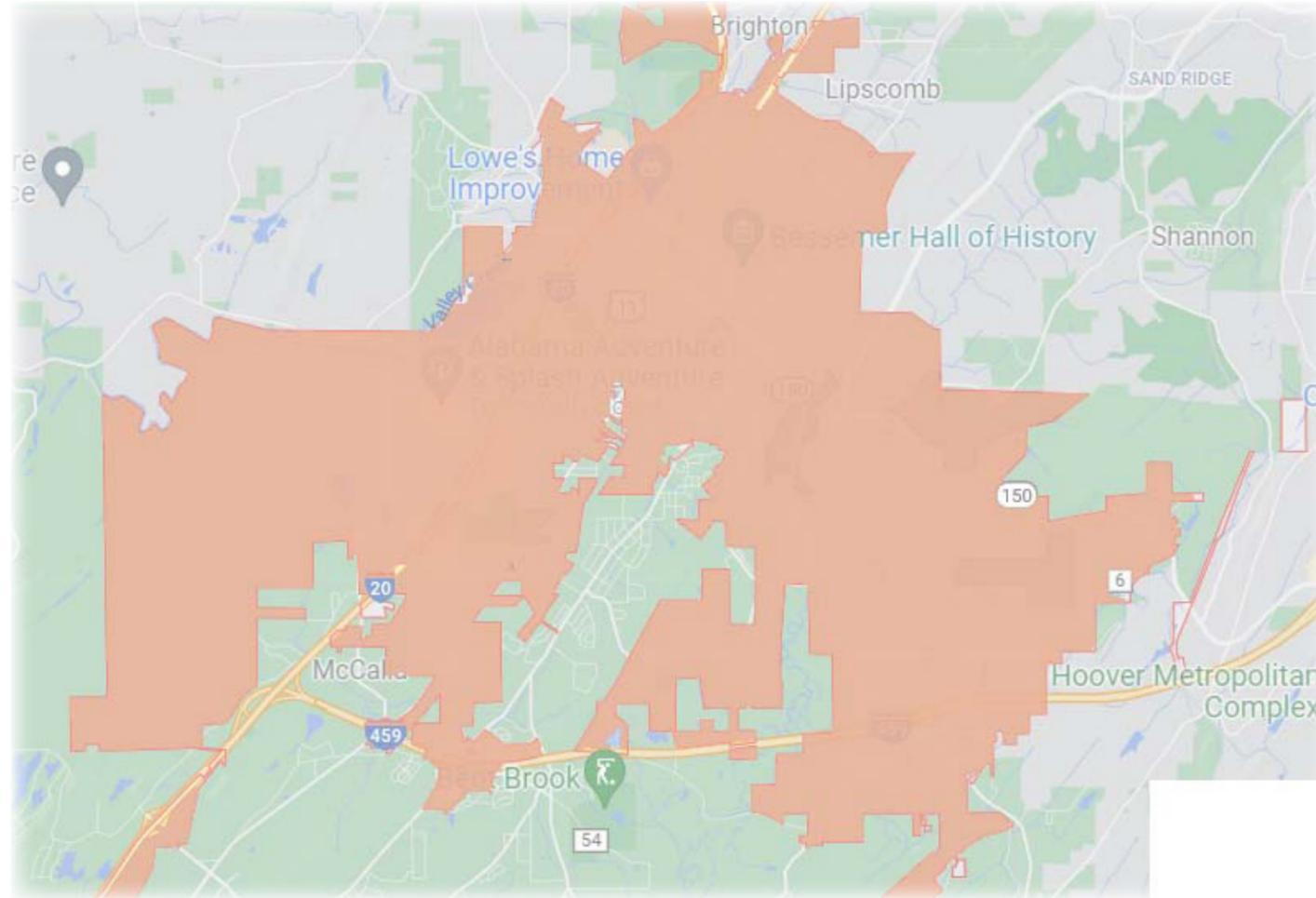
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COUNTER-STORY
HISTORIC DISTRICT

THE HISTORIC DISTRICT OF DOWNTOWN BESSEMER

An Urban Market Concept

Rikeya Wallace | Fourth Year Architecture Student | Tuskegee University



Map of Bessemer, AL Present Day

INTRODUCTION

What factors qualify a neighborhood to be worthy of a decent set of living conditions? Are these factors racially motivated? Is it based on income, land value or the type of job opportunities in the area?

In 1866, the city currently known as Bessemer, Alabama was founded on the back of the steel industry. With just 4,000 acres, this city was able to bloom into a historic district that it is today, even though it has not been treated as such lately. As stated earlier, Bessemer's income has been based on manufacturing and mining jobs. Besides mining and manufacturing jobs there were also truck farming and iron smelting. The people who mostly worked these jobs were

African Americans, poor whites and other races who wanted to provide a better lifestyle for themselves and their families. Since the steel factory closed and the recession that took place in 1907, many people moved out of Bessemer, but the remaining population around that time consisted of 69 percent and has now turned to 72.39 percent today. The downtown area was designed to provide government buildings, educational buildings and others to support the basic needs of survival.

CONTEXT

To give a brief context on this area, Bessemer has grown from 4,000 acres to 25,958.4 acres from 1866

to present day. In the northeast region of the city is where the downtown district is located. This is also the same portion of Bessemer where my family and I were born and raised. The current state of the district can be described as half functioning while the other half is filled with open lots and abandoned properties. Although there are still some functioning government buildings, grocery stores and retail stores, citizens are still driving to surrounding cities such as Birmingham and McCalla to access a better quality product because the quality of meats, produce and other necessity products are not up to par.

ISSUES

Many accessible resources are on the outskirts of Bessemer for example grocery stores like ALDI, Publix, Sprouts Market or any other healthy supermarket or restaurants are 30 minute drives minimum away from Bessemer. What's accessible are some mom and pop shop grocery stores that barely have quality produce and when they are up to par, there isn't enough to last. There are many different fast food restaurants mainly serving fried chicken or other greasy foods that people should not eat on a daily basis. With our shopping also not being esthetically pleasing and have gained the reputation of being unsafe, it has been hard to maintain a steady income within our own city and we tend to outsource to "better" quality communities. Some attempts have been made to keep the income within Bessemer with the Bessemer Flea Market but the problem is that it was only opened on the weekends and the establishment has been closed down ever since the pandemic started. At this flea market citizens were able to purchase affordable fresh produce and other foods, personal hygiene products, etc. while feeling comfortable in a shopping outlet. Since this establishment has been closed down people had to start selling items on the side of the road out of their trucks which led to some possible concerns of "stranger danger", car accidents and a lack of economic boost for the entire city. I intend to create a possible solution that would allow the downtown district to rehabilitate itself and start a ripple effect causing people to want to invest back into Bessemer.



Site map and context



Current view of the site



Current context of the downtown district to show how the district is half way functioning.

DESIGN

For this project, I plan to design an updated urban market to reflect the current Bessemer Flea Market. This new urban market would be located in the downtown district between DeBardleben Park and Bessemer Hall of History to allow as much walkable access through the market as possible and also allow pedestrians to want to be curious about the entire downtown area. I hope the design will be taken slowly into a two phase process to be able to conduct a mini observation to conclude if this is the right approach to begin economical growth for Bessemer.

Phase one will consist of three to seven affordable rental kiosk spaces that can be booked day to day so that the process of set up can run smoothly and business owners would not be worried with the troubles of being stuck in a lease that they cannot afford due to business or other financial reasons. To see how this process would run I'd survey and list pros and cons of rental kiosks by the citizens to see how the users are adjusting to this style of market. The survey would last approximately 18 months. With a good success rate I hope to develop the market further in phase two.

In addition to the kiosks developed in phase one, phase two would consist of a more stable building that would allow more rental (or permanently owned) spaces, restaurants and a courtyard area where citizens can relax and enjoy the views. Food trucks would also be able to access this area to promote their businesses as well.

OUTCOME

With this newly designed urban market in Bessemer it would allow access to an affordable market area 7 days a week that will be able to consist of both healthier food options and products for one's household. This marketplace would also allow for the local black-owned businesses to gain a platform to grow. Finally, my last hope for this market is to contribute to a ripple effect of starting a new self-sufficient economy.



These images show the possible outcome and design esethic that I would like to achieve within this market-place. Precedent Study: Eastville Marketplace



CONCLUSION

To conclude my counter-story, it is seen in too many predominantly populated African American cities that they are being deprived of basic necessities to survive properly. It's blamed on crime rates, our income or other biases that make absolutely no sense but it is our reality. While discovering myself within this project, I know that my hometown has a long way to go, but I hope I can start with an idea to help elevate us as a people as far as I can. Restoring the downtown district to the Black Wall Street my parents and grandparents once knew could be a start.

COUNTER-STORY
GENTRIFICATION

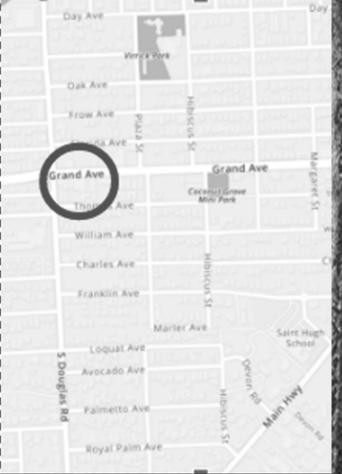
ILLUMINATING MARGINALIZED STORIES
JALEN CARLYLE, CANDICE JI, ABRIANNAH AIKEN, KHERBY JEAN

Lads Turn Lassies for Evening With Silk Gowns 'n' Frills



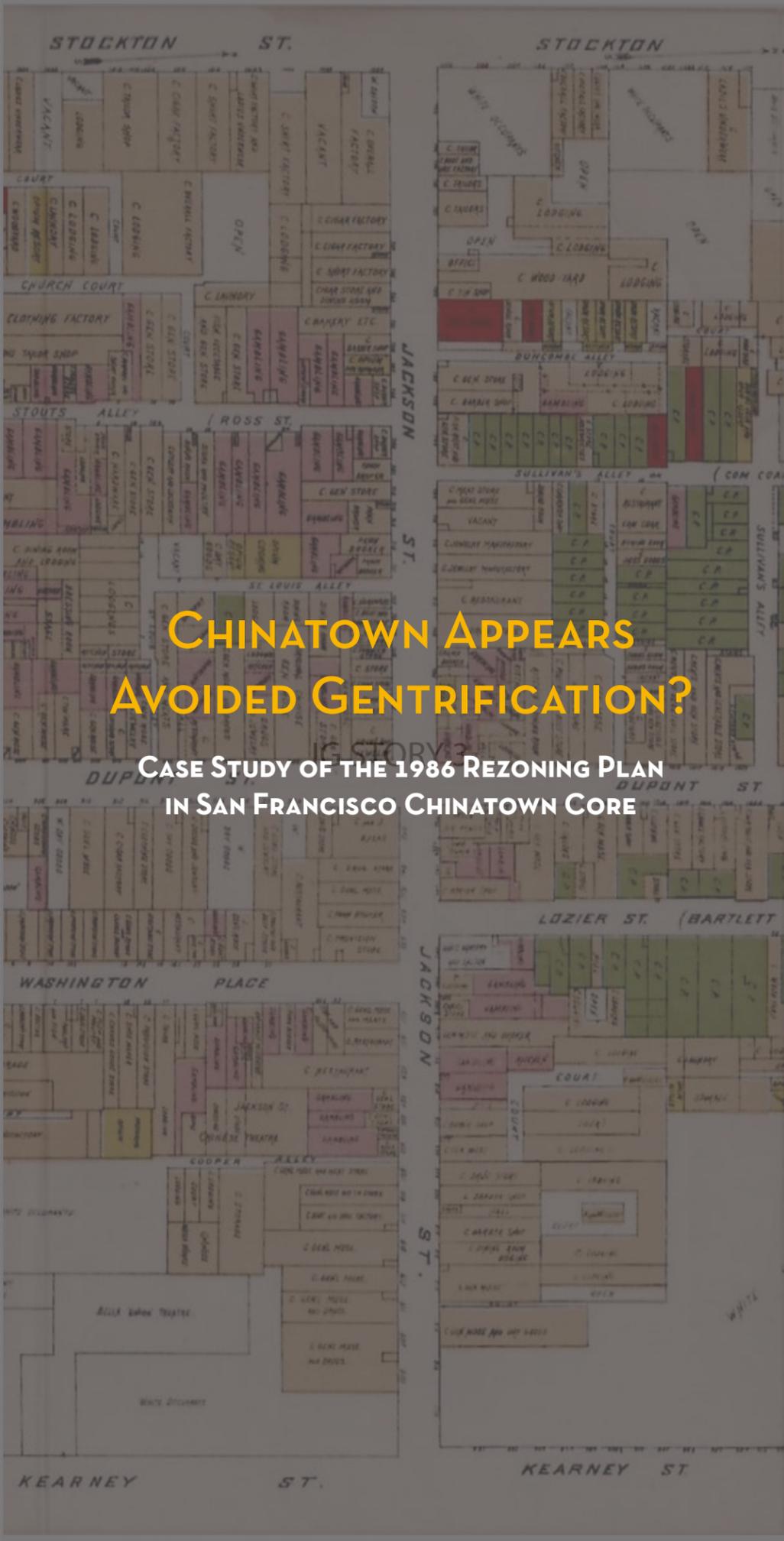
SAVOY BALLROOM

QUEER CULTURE
IN HARLEM
AND ITS SUBSEQUENT
DISAPPEARANCE



THRESHOLDS

STREETS THAT TELLS STORIES



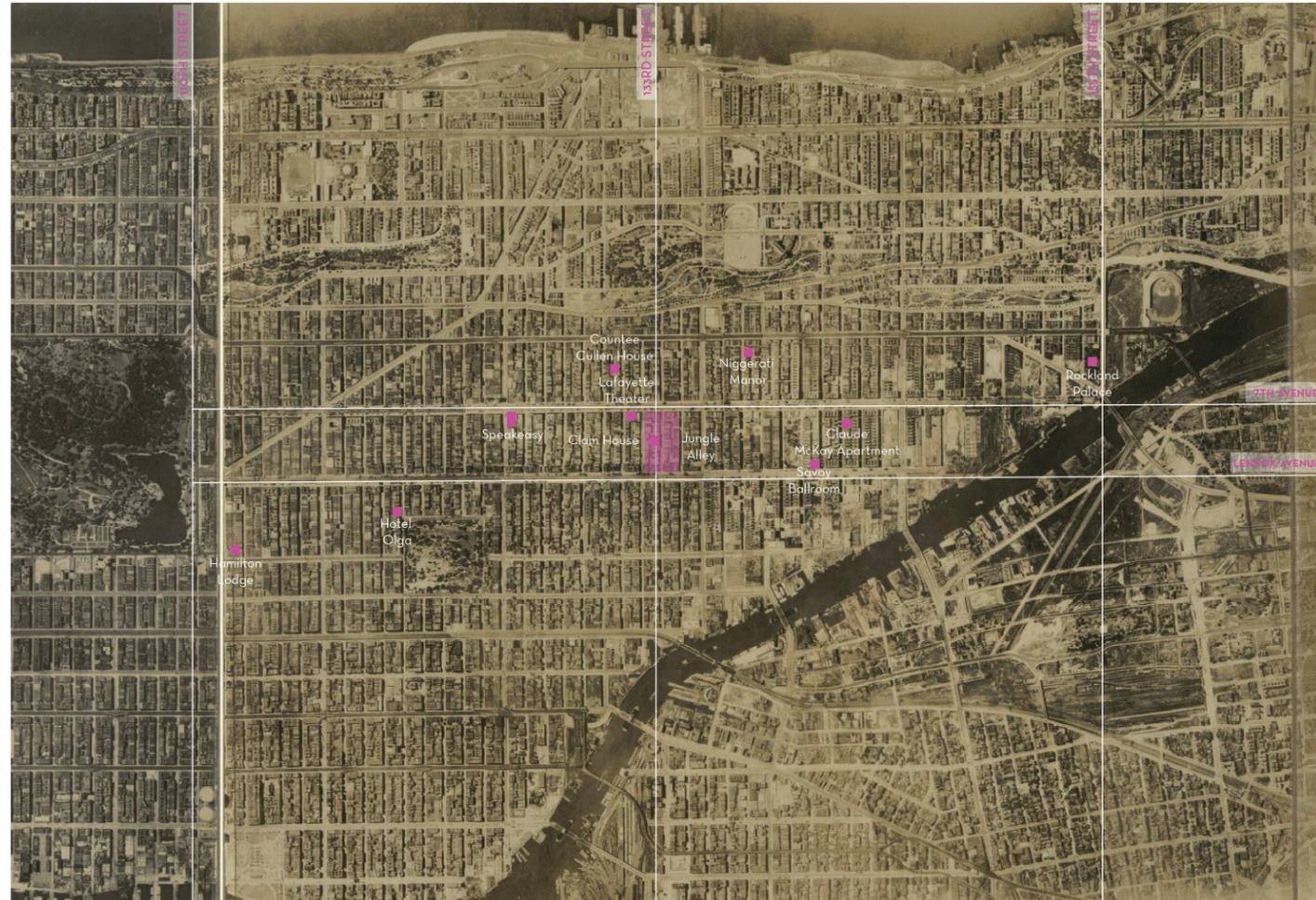
CHINATOWN APPEARS
AVOIDED GENTRIFICATION?

CASE STUDY OF THE 1986 REZONING PLAN
IN SAN FRANCISCO CHINATOWN CORE

DISAPPEARING QUEER SPACES

Analyzing Spaces and People from the Queer Harlem Renaissance

Abriannah Aiken



Mapping of 1920s Harlem, highlighting queer spaces that no longer exist.

INTRODUCTION

The Queer identity has been one of discrimination and limitation throughout history; and yet certain moments and spaces throughout time allowed for self expression. The Harlem Renaissance was one such place, and Harlem itself was regarded as “the most exciting center of gay life” by many.¹ The Harlem Renaissance brought forth a liberation of discrimination and an opportunity for exploration of identities free from the bounds of societal judgement. This included racial acceptance, but also extended beyond the bounds to encapsulate an exploration and acceptance of gender and sexuality.

¹ Chauncey, George. 1994. *Gay New York: gender, urban culture, and the makings of the gay male world, 1890-1940.*

Post-Harlem Renaissance, though, there has been a gradual disappearance of these queer spaces via building demolition. The justification has been the function obsolescence of the spaces, as well as ‘urban renewal,’ but the counter story may uncover a more sinister disruption of freedom of expression via queer history demolition.

This section explores the queer experience within the Harlem Renaissance through an analysis of buildings and people who have undergone queer erasure from their histories. This uncovering and illumination of queer BIPOC histories will hopefully amplify the urgency for acknowledging and respecting this subset of culture and community.

CONTEXT

Harlem circa 1920-1940 existed as an oasis of cultural and musical expression. It was the birthplace of jazz and nurtured ideas of the “New Negro” that in the words of Alain LeRoy Locke, transformed “negative ideas then associated with Black people.”² Self Expression came in the form of community joy through theatre, dancing, and music, which took place all throughout Harlem. Many of these spaces became intermingled with white folks from Upper Manhattan, leading to one of the only accepting inter-racial spaces. This period and space of expression was later coined the Harlem Renaissance, and continues to resonate with effects today.

The experiences in the Harlem Renaissance were able to be engaged by various class groups. Whereas dominant hetero-normative spaces were places that identities were stifled (such as Church, institutions, and homes), spaces of the Harlem Renaissance were welcoming escapes. For example, parties existed for all classes, from balls to rent parties. Palaces and Ballrooms hosted balls and clubbing, whereas rent parties allowed for intimate gatherings ranging from Brownstones with Parlors to smaller Apartments, allowing for anyone from any social class to engage.

QUEER HARLEM RENAISSANCE

Historian Henry Louis Gates Jr. “described the Harlem Renaissance being ‘surely as gay as it was black.’”³ Just as the Harlem Renaissance was a space of self expression, the queer community utilized this as a safe space to further explore their gender and sexuality. For example, artists and performers engaged in cross dressing and drag balls.

Ballrooms and Rent Parties also allowed for a range of spaces for queer individuals to express themselves within varying levels of privacy and intimacy. While ballrooms were loud places for large gatherings, rent parties existed as safe, private engagements away from surveilling eyes where individuals can “be free, not merely to express anything they feel, but to feel the pulsations and rhythms of their own life.”⁴

² Shareef, Muhammed. n.d. “Black and Queer in the Harlem Renaissance.” *Queer Majority.*

³ Shah, Haleema. n.d. “The Great Blues Singer Gladys Bentley Broke All the Rules.”

⁴ Wilson, James F. 2010. *Bulldaggers, Pansies, and Chocolate Babies: Performance, Race and Sexuality in the Harlem Renaissance.* N.p.: University of Michigan.

SAVOY BALLROOM

The Savoy Ballroom highlights the queer interconnection within the culture of the Harlem Renaissance, as well as the disappearance and erasure of queer culture over time.

The Savoy Ballroom, established in 1926, was known as the “World’s Finest Ballroom” and “Home of Happy Feet.”⁵ It was a space of interracial dancing and one of the hearts of the Harlem jazz scene. Behind the mirage of mainstream media, though, the Ballroom also laid host to a plethora of Drag Balls. At one event, a young man was crowned first prize “almost stark naked, save for a decorative cache-sec and silver sadals.”⁶

As Prohibition ended and jazz and ballrooms became less of a fad, the Savoy Ballroom slowly deteriorated. By 1958, the building was demolished to make way for a “much needed housing complex.”⁷ The commemorative plaque for the historical cultural space in the Savoy Park NYCHA Apartments does not even mention the queer culture that blossomed in the Ballroom.

⁵ “Welcome to The Savoy.” n.d. <http://www.welcometothsavoy.com/>.

⁶ Chauncey

⁷ “Welcome to The Savoy.”



Savoy Ballroom Comemorative Plack in Savoy Park NYCHA Apartments¹

¹ Savoy Ballroom 1926-58. <http://www.savoyplaque.org/>.

QUEER ERASURE IN SPATIAL HISTORIES AND INDIVIDUAL BIOGRAPHIES

The Savoy Ballroom is a perfect example of a site with historical significance to both the Black and Queer community. Yet, mainstream media only remembers the Black significance of the site. This Queer Erasure not only exists in this instance, but also in a plethora of other circumstances.

At a large rate, queer spaces from the 20th century have been demolished, especially in Harlem. And, many of the spaces that still exist have been converted into different functions. From a capitalistic standpoint, the demolition and functional conversion of many of these spaces can be justified by means of urban renewal (i.e. the Savoy Ballroom was demolished to make way for affordable housing). But, the lack of acknowledging the queer histories of these spaces and having that history justify historic preservation can be seen as an act of queer erasure. Mainstream history of the past disregarded the documentation of these spaces and mainstream academia today continues to erase these histories.

This queer erasure can also be seen with iconic individuals of the time period. Bessie Smith, Gladys Bentley and Claude McKay, to name a few, are artists renowned for their contributions to the Harlem Renaissance but their queer identities are either muted or erased from their mainstream remembrance.

Some artists were out and proud throughout their time on stage, such as Gladys Bentley, who is known for her “signature white top hat, tuxedo and tails” in her performances.⁸ Others, like Bessie Smith - the “Empress of the Blues,” were closeted in their sexuality. But, lesbian relationships of Bessie Smith were gossip spread around the community.⁹

Claude McKay, for example, was a “distinguished bisexual writer who wasn’t afraid to include queer themes in his poems and novels” but this led to the FBI surveilling him and his ‘radical ideas’ to the point that he was harrassed out of the country.¹⁰ Queer erasure has transcended spatial and individual histories in favor of straight culture.



Gladys Bentley,¹ Claude McKay,² and Bessie Smith³ were iconic artists of the Harlem Renaissance. But, their sexuality played a different role throughout each of their individual experiences, from queer erasure, to closeted secrecy, to harrassment due to being out and proud.

1 Shah, Haleema
2 Shareef, Muhammed
3 “Life Story: Bessie Smith.”



Savoy Ballroom Historical Perception versus Queer Historical Scene. Photos from Artstor,¹ NMAAHC,² and the Harlem World Tabloid.³

1 “Harlem Renaissance.” n.d. Artstor.
2 “Savoy Ballroom.” n.d. NMAACH.
3 Chauncey, George.

8 Shah, Haleema
9 “Life Story: Bessie Smith.” n.d. Women & The American Story.
10 Shareef, Muhammed

The Harlem Renaissance was a space for Black individuals to “transform negative ideas associated with Black people” through the ‘New Negro’ ideology.² This self exploration and expression of self transcended race to also encapsulate gender and sexuality exploration: “queer artists of the Harlem Renaissance often utilized the campaign to explore variances in gender expression and to take pride, both in their race and in their same-sex desires.”³

² Shareef, Muhammed
³ Shareef, Muhammed

HISTORIAN HENRY LOUIS GATES JR. EVEN DESCRIBED

THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE [WAS] “SURELY AS GAY AS IT WAS BLACK”



QUEER SPATIAL LIMITATIONS

LEGAL

DENYING LIQUOR LICENSSES

STAFF INN

LIQUOR LICENSE CANCELLED IN 1964

DISORDERLY CONDUCT:
SAME SEX DANCING AND KISSING

WISHBONE

LIQUOR LICENSE CANCELLED IN 1959

CABARET LAWS

BATHHOUSE CLOSURES

PADLOCKING

'DIRTY SONGS'

KING'S TERRACE

PADLOCKED IN 1934

PHYSICAL

ARTISAN BATHHOUSE

RAIDED IN 1903

POLICE RAIDS

SNAKE PIT

RAIDED IN 1970

'RADICAL POEMS' BY
'NOTORIOUS NEGRO REVOLUTIONARY'

SURVEILLANCE

CLAUDE MCKAY

FBI INVESTIGATION, MOVED OUT OF USA

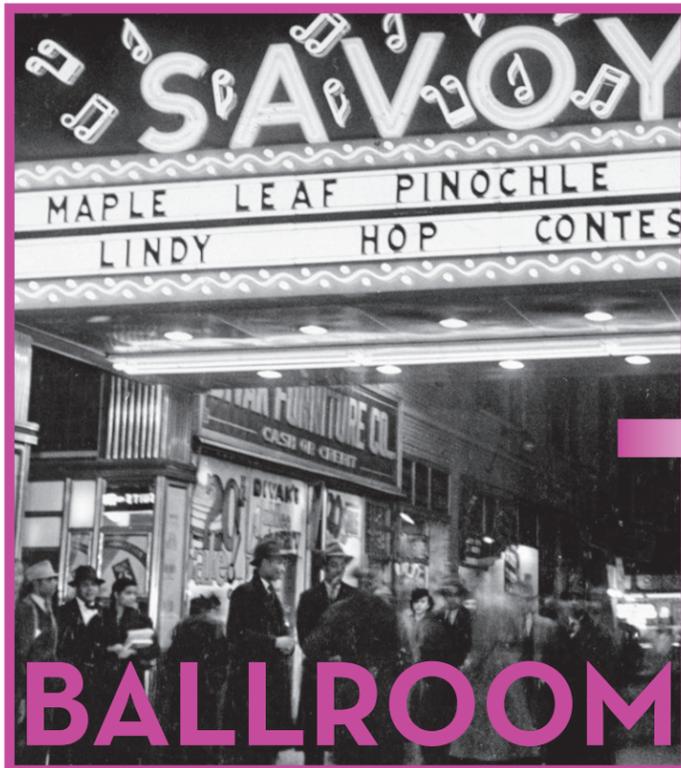
HARRASSMENT

EXPERIENTIAL

Queer Erasure played a large role in the lack of historical documentation of the queer part of the Harlem Renaissance. But, there were also spatial limitations that led to the demolition and subsequent disappearance of architectural and cultural spaces - disappearance physically in built form and mentally in mainstream remembrance. Queer Spatial Limitations existed in Legal, Physical and Experiential manifestations. There were legal barriers in place that limited the spatial establishment of queer spaces. One example is the denial (or revoking) of liquor licenses to queer establishments on the basis of 'disorderly conduct' which is code for homosexual dancing and kissing.¹ These

legal restrictions limited the ability of queer bars and clubs to thrive, leading to their obsolescence, closures, and subsequent demolitions. Similarly, physical limitations existed in tandem with these legal restrictions: bars would be physically padlocked to spatially restrict the opening of the building. And, police raids would also physically limit individual interaction with these spaces. Lastly, there were experiential limitations, such as surveillance and harassment by people of authority and the rest of society that limited the ability for queer individuals to feel safe interacting with queer spaces. This continued to deteriorate the ability for queer spaces to thrive as these various spatial limitations impacted their popularity amongst the queer community and their successes economically.

¹ Sibilla, Nick. n.d. "How Liquor Licenses Sparked the Stonewall Riots."



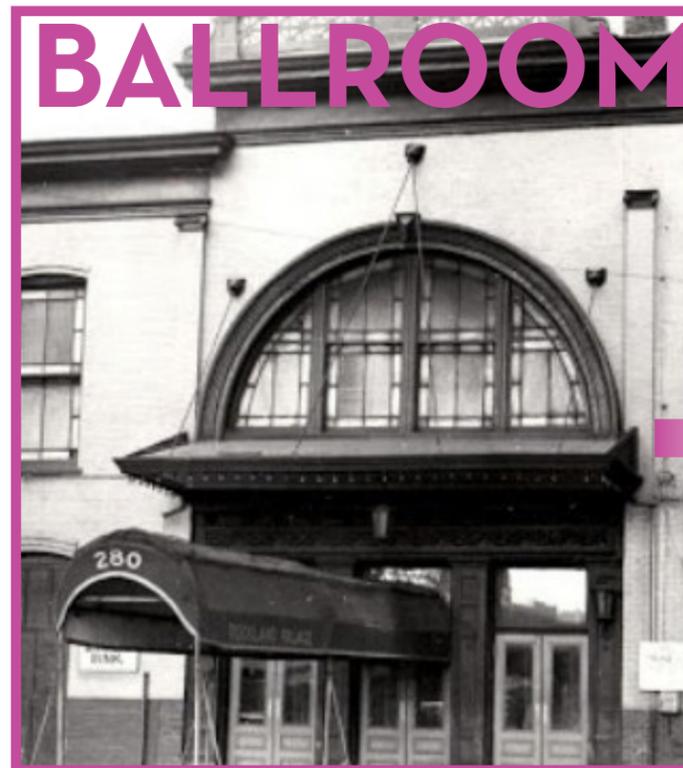
BALLROOM



DELANO VILLAGE + SAVOY NYCHA APARTMENTS

By the 1950s, there was a decline in jazz ballroom engagement. The Savoy Ballroom existed until 1958, when it was subsequently demolished to make way for a “much needed housing complex” called Delano Village, which eventually made way for Savoy Park NYCHA Apartments.¹

¹ Welcome to Harlem. n.d. “The Savoy Ballroom.” Welcome to Harlem.



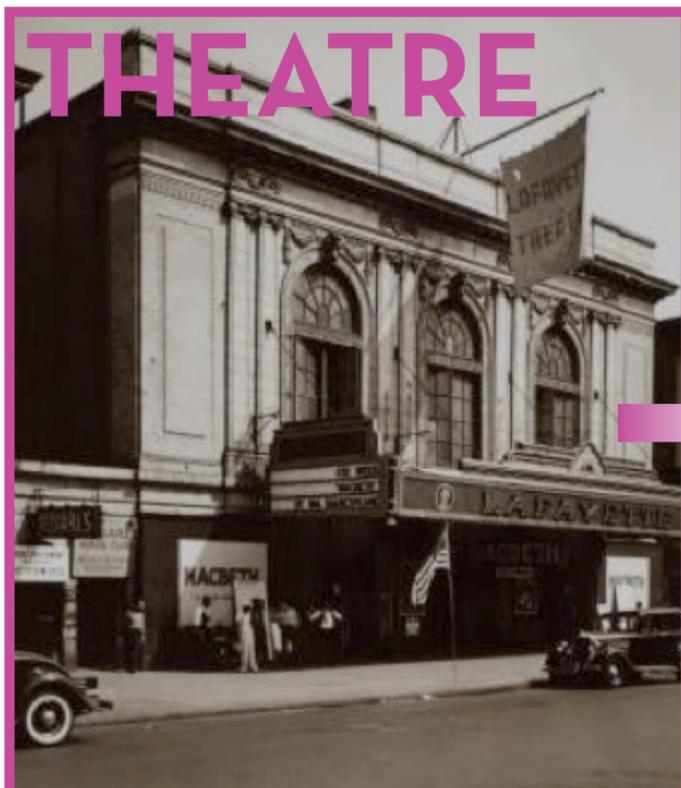
BALLROOM



PARKING LOT

The Rockland Palace laid home to the iconic Hamilton Lodge Drag Balls, that would accumulate thousands of spectators. In the 1950s, the Palace started to “host more religious activity” and then served as a skating rink for many years, until it was demolished and now serves as a parking lot.¹

¹ Ulysses. n.d. “Remember: Hamilton Lodge Balls.” Harlem + Bespoke.



THEATRE



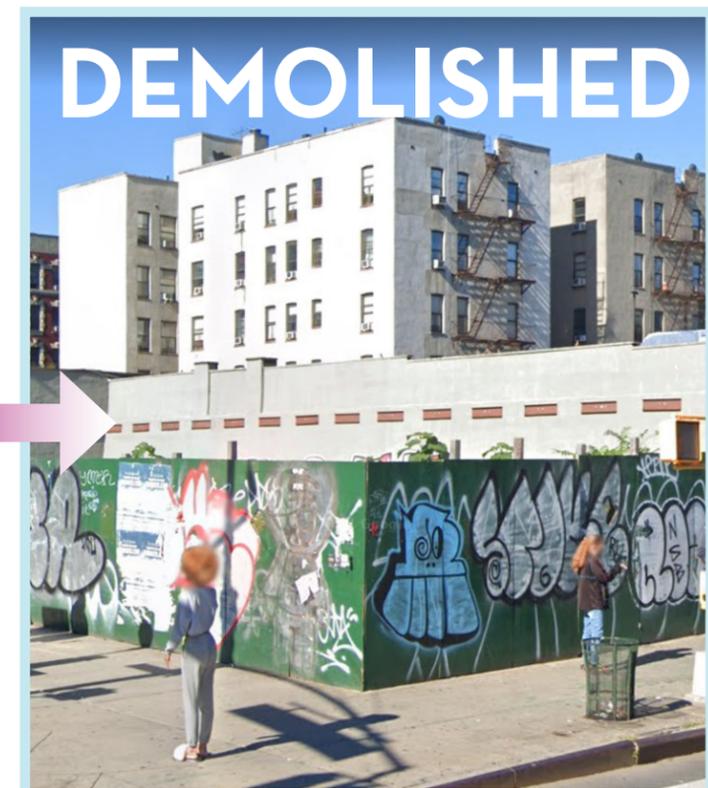
CHURCH

The Lafayette Theatre opened in 1912 and was a space of expression for the Black community, specifically the Black Queer Community. In the 1950s, the Theatre was converted into a church and is in the process of demolition for an apartment complex.¹

¹ “Lafayette Theatre.” n.d. Cinema Treasures.



HOTEL



DEMOLISHED

Hotel Olga served as a renowned hotel venue from 1920-1945, hosting many LGBT performers and guests, as well as straight Harlem Renaissance icons. In 2019, it was demolished, and currently stands as an empty lot.¹

¹ “Hotel Olga.” n.d. NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project.

CONCLUSION

Spatial Limitations, as well as Queer Erasure both played a large role in obsolescence, deterioration, demolition and disappearance of queer spaces throughout Harlem post-Harlem Renaissance. Queer Erasure also has impacted the lack of historic preservation measures of the spaces that continue to be demolished to this day. There is still hope for a thriving queer future in Harlem, as a myriad of queer clubs are popping up and continuing to impact the community for the better. It is up to contemporary scholars to remember the past, protect the present, and build a better future.

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MODERN DAY QUEER HARLEM CULTURE



Modern Day Queer Harlem has allowed for the accumulation of a variety of new safe spaces for the community. Although none have the reach that drag ballrooms did in the 1920s, they still mark a resurgence and celebration of queer culture indicative of a time before. From Trappy Hours to Chocolate Mondays, these spaces proudly announce themselves as an inclusive part of the future of Queer Harlem. Something to acknowledge, though, is the continued discrimination of these spaces, as seen with Alibi. While Queer Harlem Culture makes another resurgence, it is important to remember, respect and amplify these voices and help towards eradicating the hatred they may face as Queer BIPOC communities.

GENTRIFICATION IN WEST COCONUT GROVE

Kherby Jean



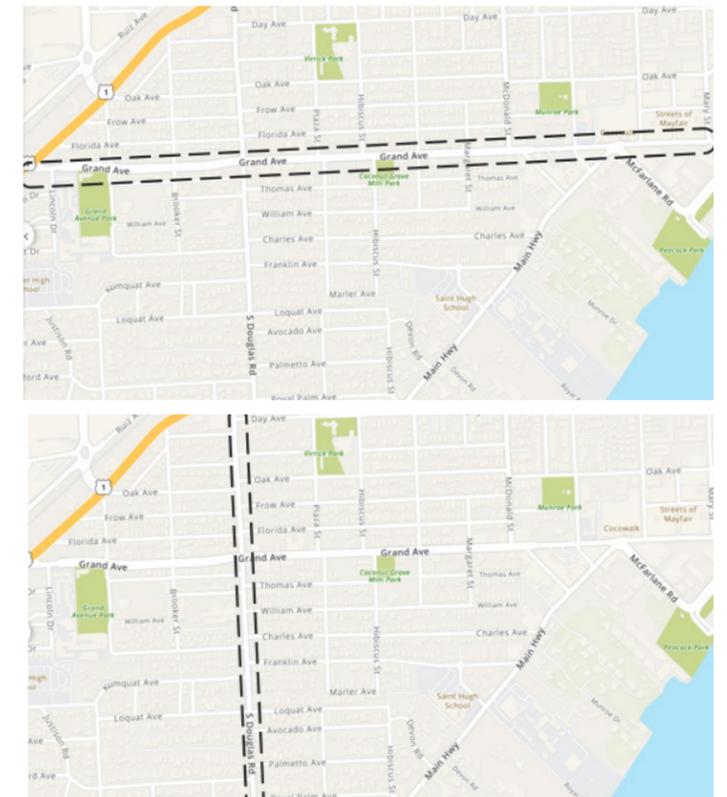
Early Bahamian settlers in Coconut Grove

INTRODUCTION

In the site analysis Coconut Grove is divided into sections. There is East Coconut Grove, west Coconut Grove and south Coconut Grove. All these locations are alike and different in many ways. The biggest difference is classism based on attention. This is referring to east Coconut Grove as the tourist area. West Coconut Grove is where the city started and that's where most people first built. This reason is because it was close to the water. This would allow expensive tourist areas that would generate revenue. South Coconut Grove is also well treated. It is where the higher class of Coconut Grove lives. This area includes all types of homes including mansions. West Coconut Grove is the opposite of both directions,

West Coconut Grove it is seen as the lesser of the two. In its history it was built the latest in comparison to the other two directions. West Coconut Grove is found of diverse cultures from the Caribbean. Additionally, one aspect that affects Coconut Grove is gentrification. Gentrification is more like invasion but in the term of building types. It is when people build buildings that are not of the cultural standard of the area. Many other cities such as little Haiti have faced gentrification and west Coconut Grove is next. Also, this is more likely to happen because it is by coral gables and owned by coral gables. This means as the population in coral gables increase the city will be forced to push the boundaries into Coconut Grove. The effects of this situation would be many of the historical structures such as the shotguns house would

have to be moved and the diverse cultures that are presented would also be removed. Classism is seen everywhere throughout Coconut Grove. From the figure ground plan, one can see the change in vegetation. This shows that in the high-class neighborhoods, the streets are more taken care of. My mental map is based on the threshold from poor to rich and rich to poor. As one can see in google street view the distance of the threshold can be one street. This means that one street shows the difference between the rich and poor and the popular and the unpopular. This example can be seen throughout the rest of Coconut Grove by seeing different types of houses right next to each other. An example of this maybe an old generic house right next to a modern and futuristic home. These are all examples of how classism is



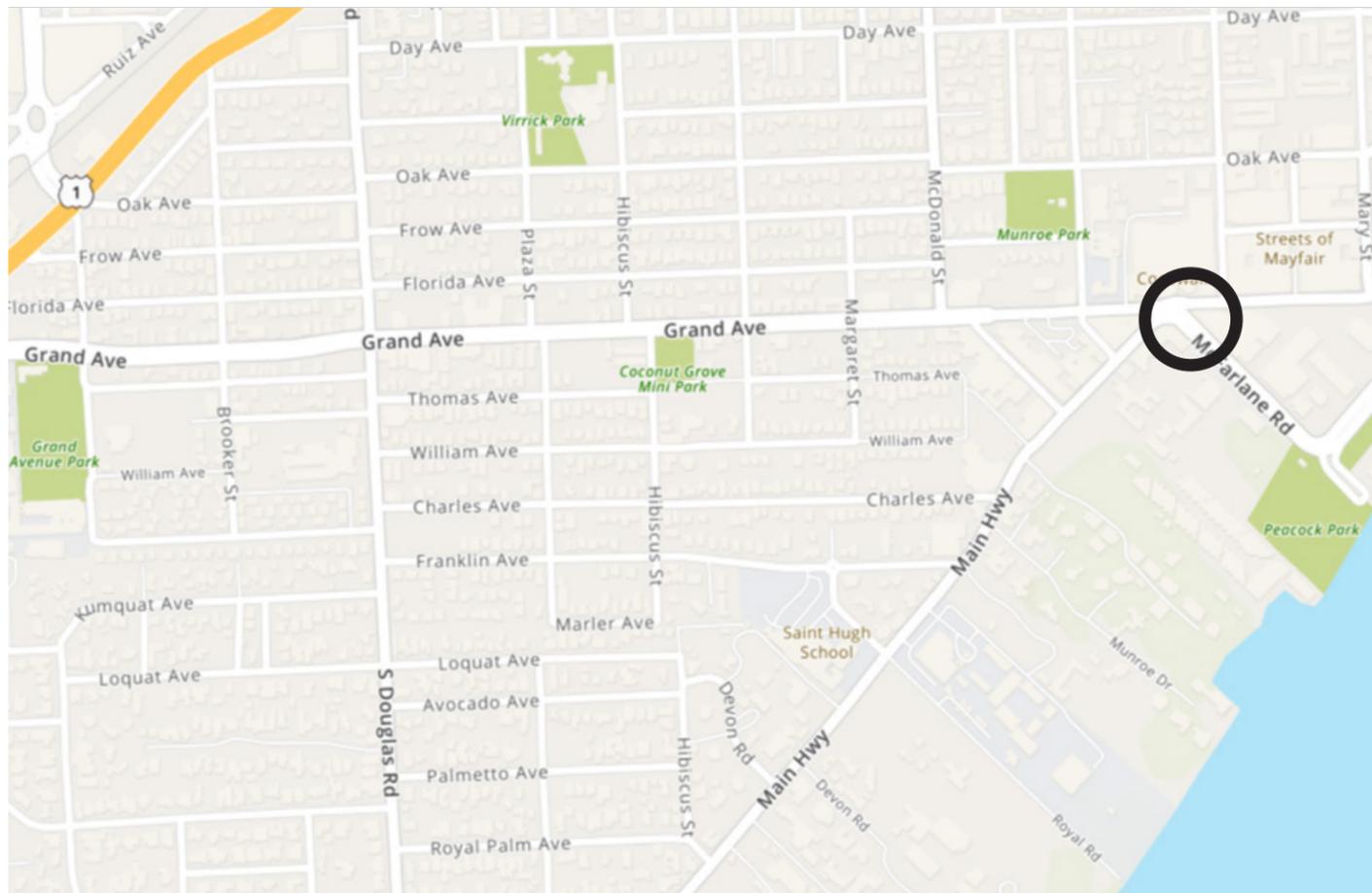
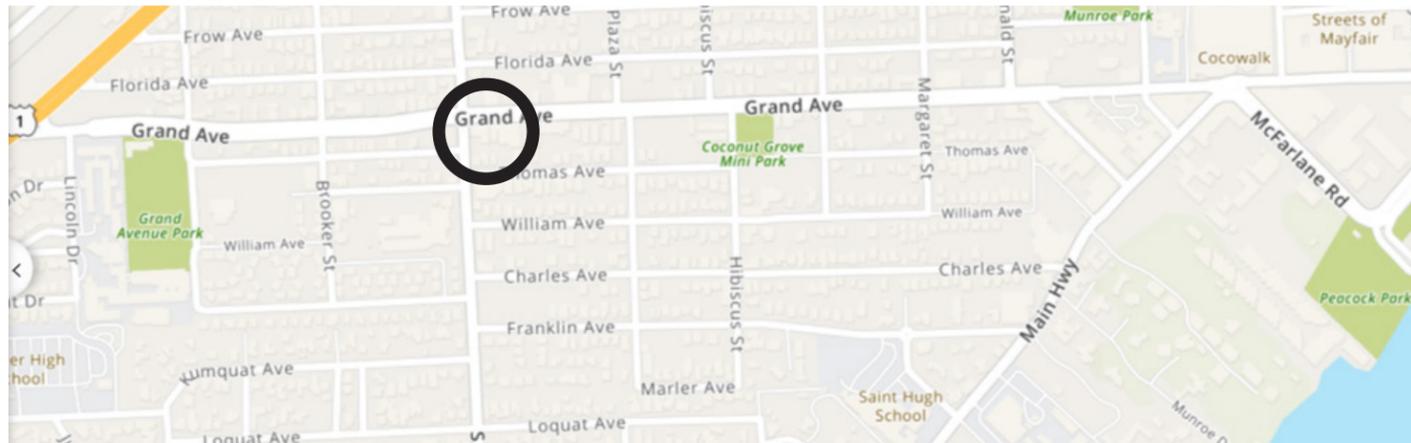
In this Counterstory, I will be analyzing gentrification in Coconut Grove. Through two streets, Grand Ave and South Douglas Rd, I will be looking at the different sides of Coconut grove and how the community is affected .



Row of shotgun houses in Coconut Grove

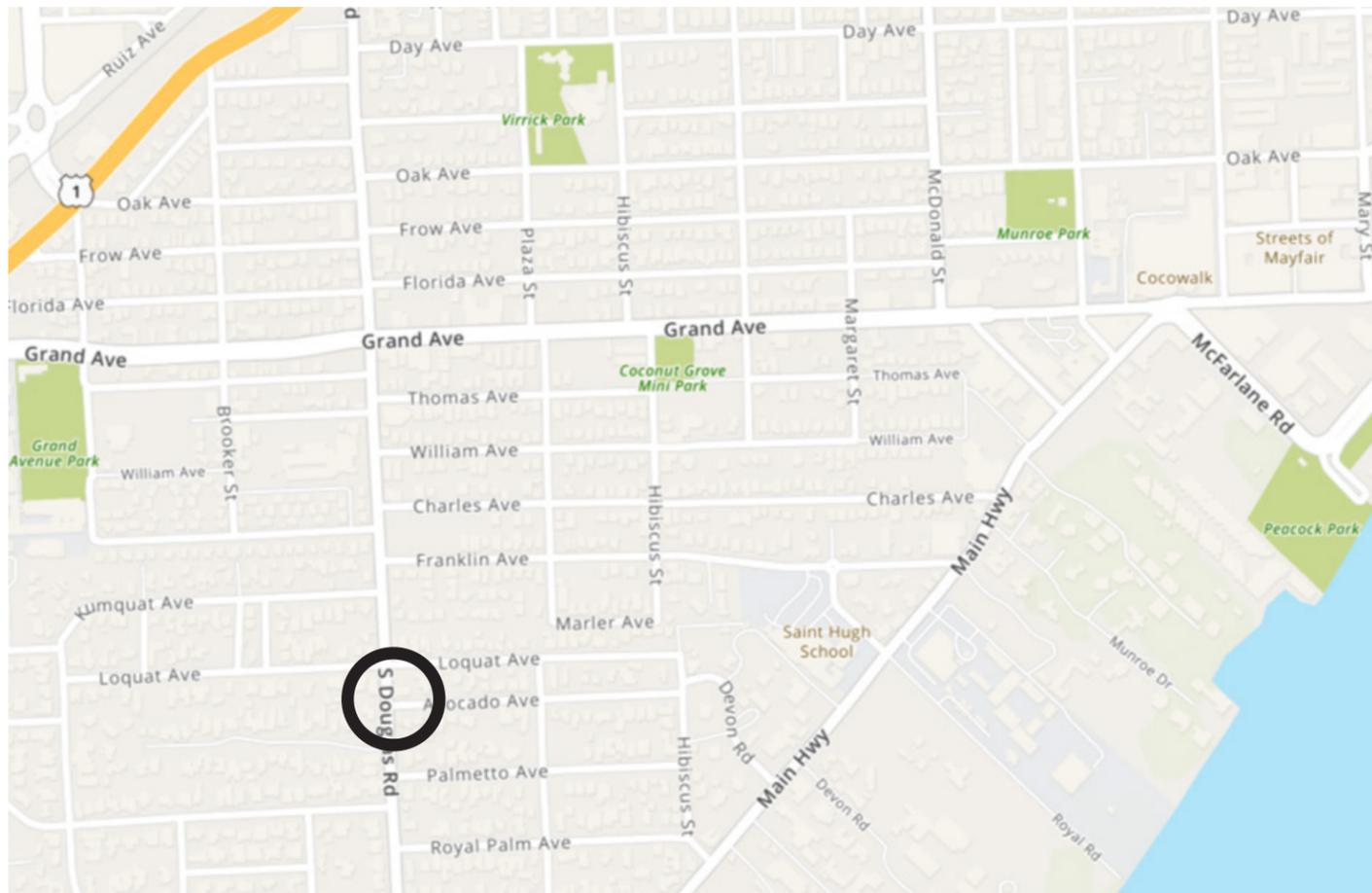
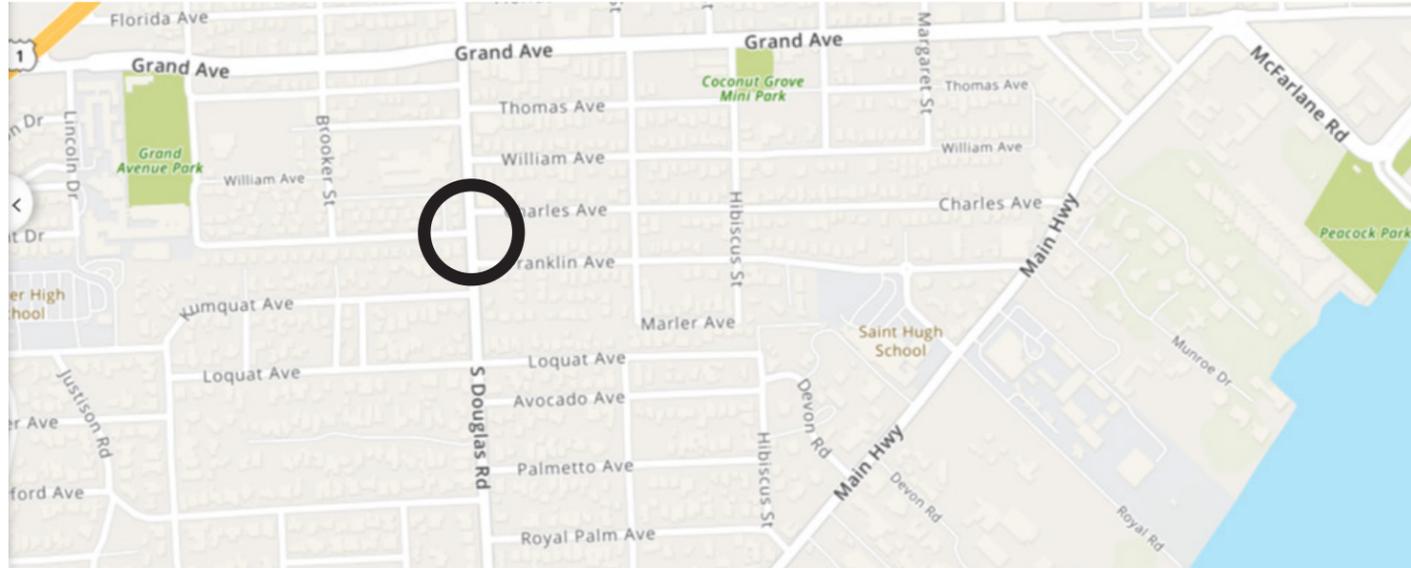
THRESHOLD 1 (Grand Ave) West vs East Coconut Grove

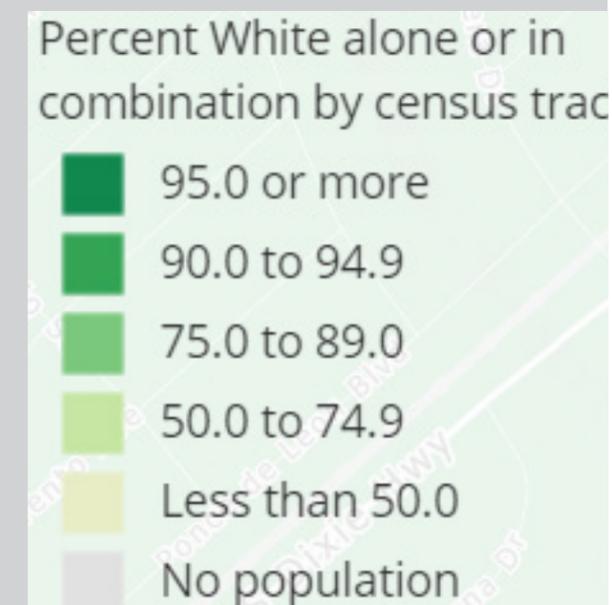
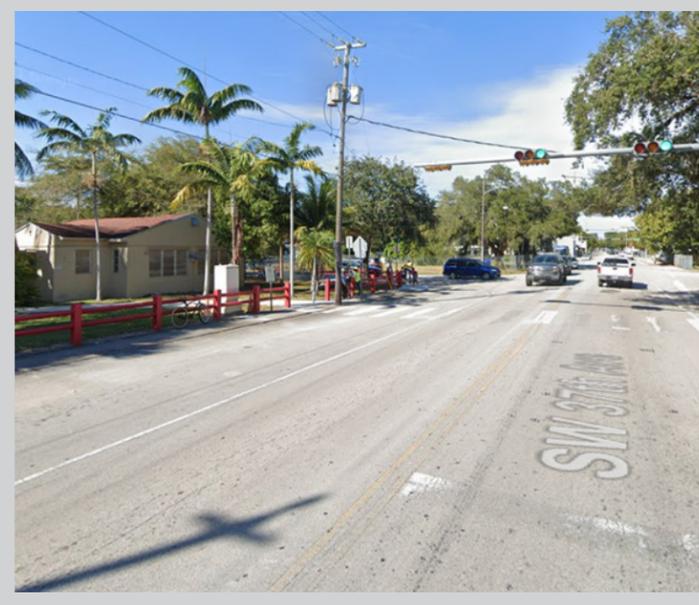
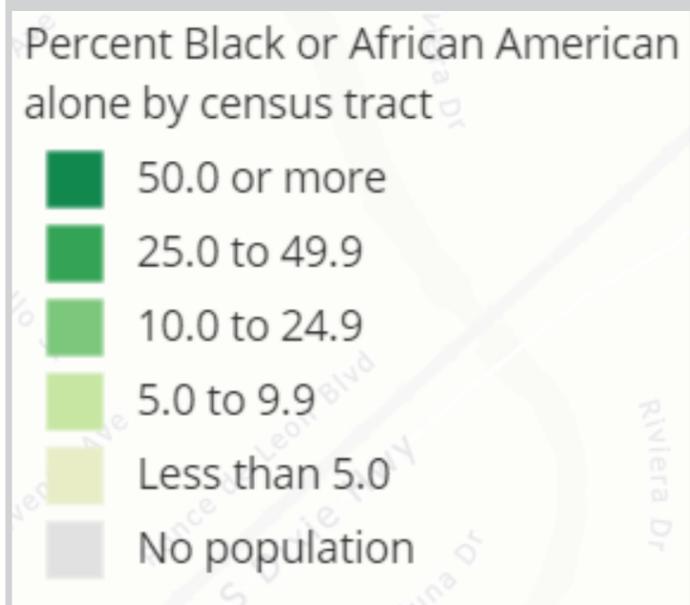
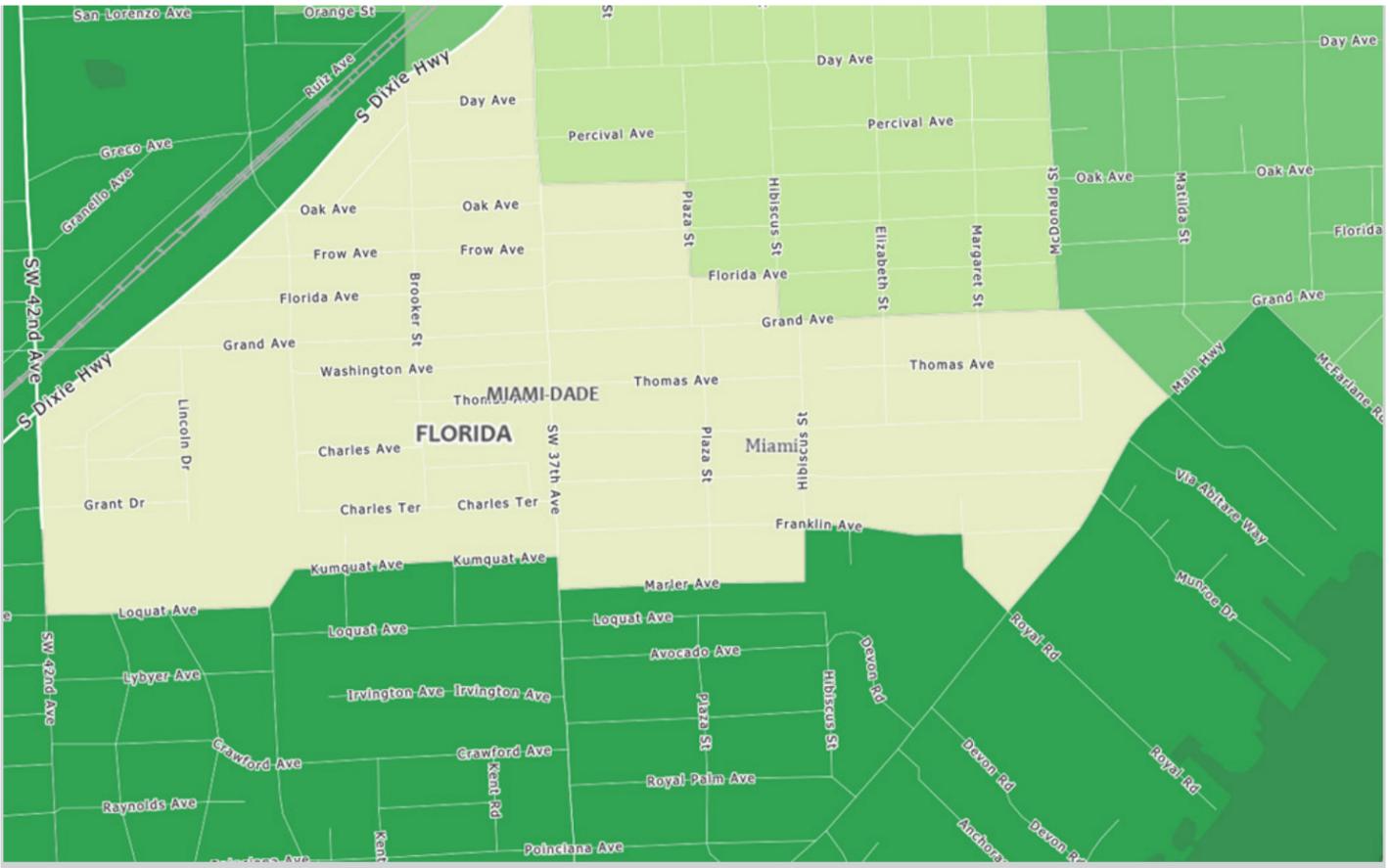
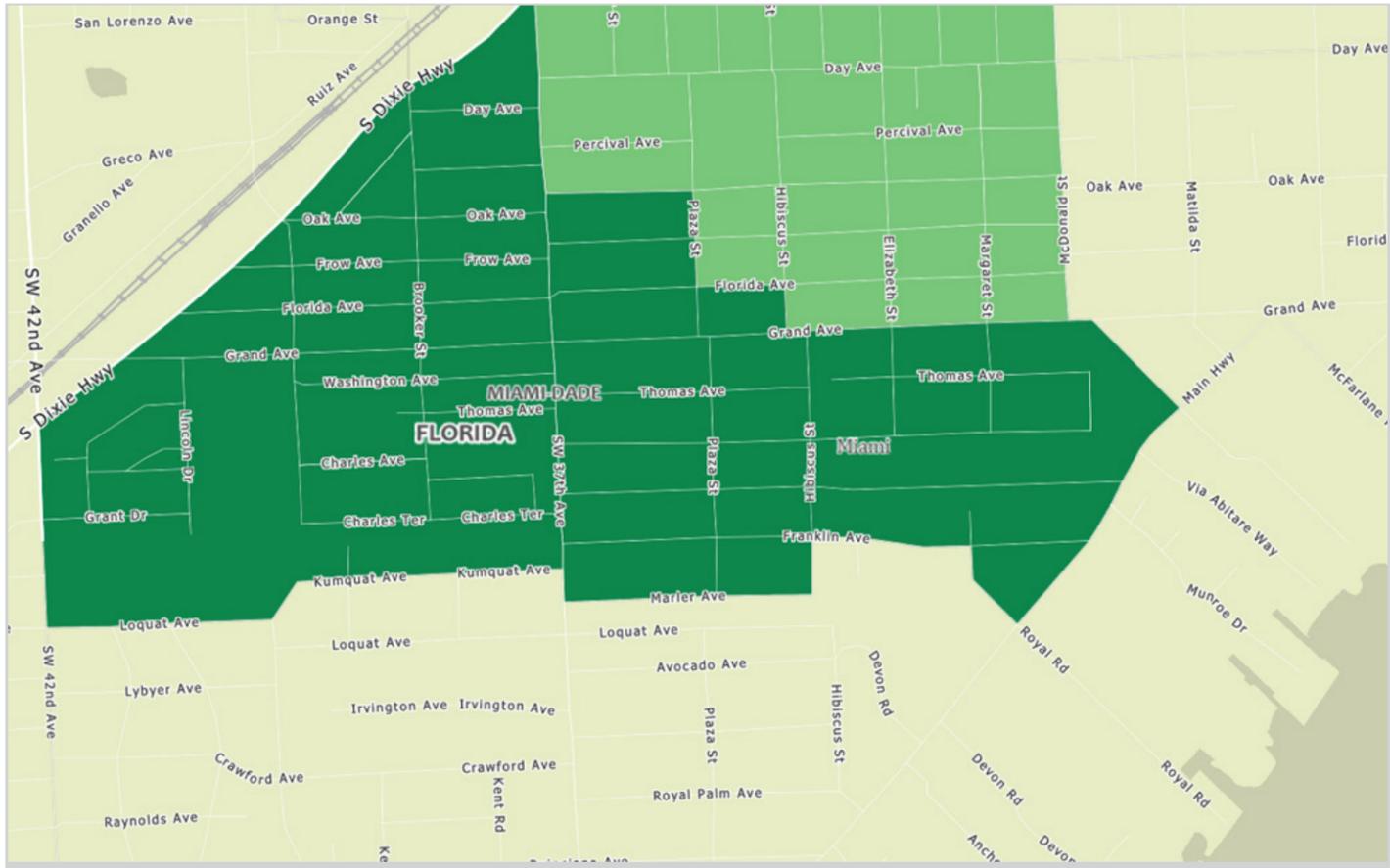
The first road that we will be looking at is Grand Avenue where we will analyze the difference between East vs West Coconut Grove. East Coconut Grove is where the big developments and new constructions are. In 2018 I visited the site and I spoke to the many incredible individuals in West coconut grove. While I was there I so many luxurious cars passing by going to East coconut grove. I then wondered how would I feel if I lived in a place where my side of the town is not taken care of and the other side was, and these cars were evidence. I also thought of another perspectives what if it also showed the anticipation of gentrification. At the time I was there, many individuals started leaving the area already and the prices were increasing. Gentrification was already upon the community, and I could see the residences saying those same people in those cars are the same people that will be taking our homes in the future. This is truly a great parallel, the parallel of the rich and the poor and all of this can be seen on Grand Avenue



THRESHOLD 2 (S DOUGLAS RD) NORTH vs SOUTH Coconut Grove

A similar story can be told on S Douglas Road, you won't see super expensive cars but you will see a big different in environment. As you can see in the pictures there are more trees in South coconut grove in comparison to north coconut grove. This truly shows the comparison of a place being taken care more than the other. I am also convinced that behind these trees there are multimillion dollar mansions as well.





Next, we move into on of the real reasons why this difference is happening. In these two diagrams we can see the percentage of whites and blacks in Coconut grove. We can see that majority of the black people in the area live in north coconut grove while the majority of the white people in the area live in Coconut Grove Through this information, we can draw the conclusion that the people that live in the white side of the town is more taken care then the people that live in the black side of the town.



Man in Goombay Festival



ACE Theatre

This affects the community in a powerful way, many of the lots are now vacant when the area used to be a thriving area, where there would be a lot of people walking and a lot of community gatherings. Things such as the goombay festival was stopped for a period of time because of the lack of funding of the organizations that funded the festival.

COCONUT GROVE (A MEMOIR)

This is the battle of Coconut Grove, In September 2018 I had visited the area to learn more about the people and their perspectives. I parked my car in the corner of Grand avenue and Douglas road, As I walked my first impression of the area was where are the people? It seems if the place was deserted. Although I saw a few people sitting in front of stores, still there weren't that many pedestrian circulations. I walked through Grand avenue from Douglas street to Elizabeth street, I saw a food truck selling what smelled roasted chicken. He was busy, so I didn't bother to talk to him. I then walked back and greeted one of the people who was sitting on the sidewalk. The old man seemed like he was in his mid-50s, at first, he was disinterested in what I was asking but later he took interest. I spoke to him for a while, but his answers weren't that inviting, he kept saying he doesn't know the answers to what I am asking and kept referring me to people I didn't know. As we spoke a man passed by and greeted the man I was talking to, I then came to realize that they were good friends and referred me to him about asking him questions. Before we even dealt deep into the conversation, we were interrupted by other people passing by, he greeted almost everyone who was walking and knew them by name, let's just say he was very popular in the neighborhood. Though I never found out about his real name, everyone referred to him as Gator. Our conversation took many turns, speaking about the education system, religion and much more but my focus was his reaction to what is happening in Coconut Grove. Gator was extremely passionate about this topic and he is of Bahamian descent. As our conversation went on, what I felt like he trying to make me see was that the people of Coconut Grove need to fight because Coconut Grove is their identity. He told me a brief history about how Coconut Grove became what it is today. He told me about how Coconut grove used to be a place of gathering, there was a club, theatre and many more places of entertainment but now all are closed. He mentioned how the city were cutting funds from their area, even cutting one of their most entertaining cultural gatherings, the goombay festival. Through the funding cuts of many of the facilitators of the event, the festival ceased to exist. Also ceased to exist was the wearing of colorful masks and cloths, the sound of Bahamian music and the gathering and enjoyment of the Bahamian people. What Gator was mainly emphasizing the most was for the people of Coconut Grove to stand and fight for the city. He mentioned how a lot of blacks sell everything that they have when they see white people money. They are not willing to stand for what they own because they don't see the value, but the people who are investing see the value. He also d. He then told me the reason why Coconut Grove is being targeted is because the ground level of Coconut Grove is higher than places like Miami beach who are closer to the water. The farther the city is from the water the better because of sea level rise. This makes a lot of sense, it is the same reason why Little Haiti is being gentrified as well.

CONCLUSION

Every community has a story to tell whether it would be about marginalized groups, preservation of historic places vs gentrification and different community functions. In this group we decided to analyze and tell the story about people and communities who were forgotten and not appreciated.

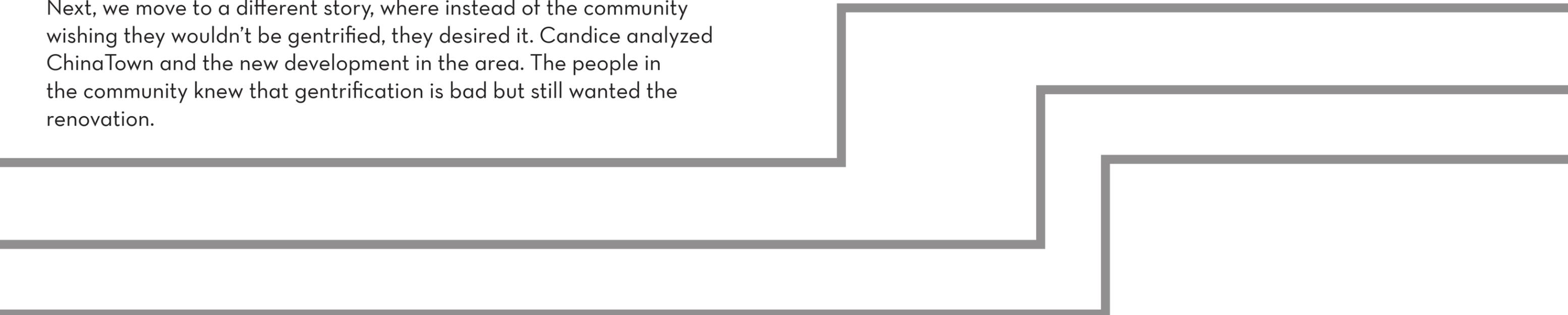
First, we go to Coconut Grove in Miami Florida, a gentrified community, where Kherby analyzed the two sides of coconut Grove, East and West, where the East side was well taken care of while the west side was not so glamorous and consisted of vacant homes and lots. In addition, because of the rising prices of the West of Coconut Grove, many individuals who had homes that were historic such as shotgun houses turned to coffee shops and light eateries to make income.

Second, we move to a similar story in Atlanta, GA where Jalen analyzed gentrification in the Atlanta new metro station, where many community members feared that they would be forced out of their homes because they could not pay the rising prices in the area. Next, we move to a different story, where instead of the community wishing they wouldn't be gentrified, they desired it. Candice analyzed ChinaTown and the new development in the area. The people in the community knew that gentrification is bad but still wanted the renovation.

Next, we move to a different story, where instead of the community wishing they wouldn't be gentrified, they desired it. Candice analyzed ChinaTown and the new development in the area. The people in the community knew that gentrification is bad but still wanted the renovation.

Lastly, instead of looking at a specific location, Abri looked at a specific group of people who were marginalized. Abri looked at queer individuals in New York in the Harlem Renaissance. She explored their impact in the Harlem renaissance and how they are often forgotten in Harlem's history.

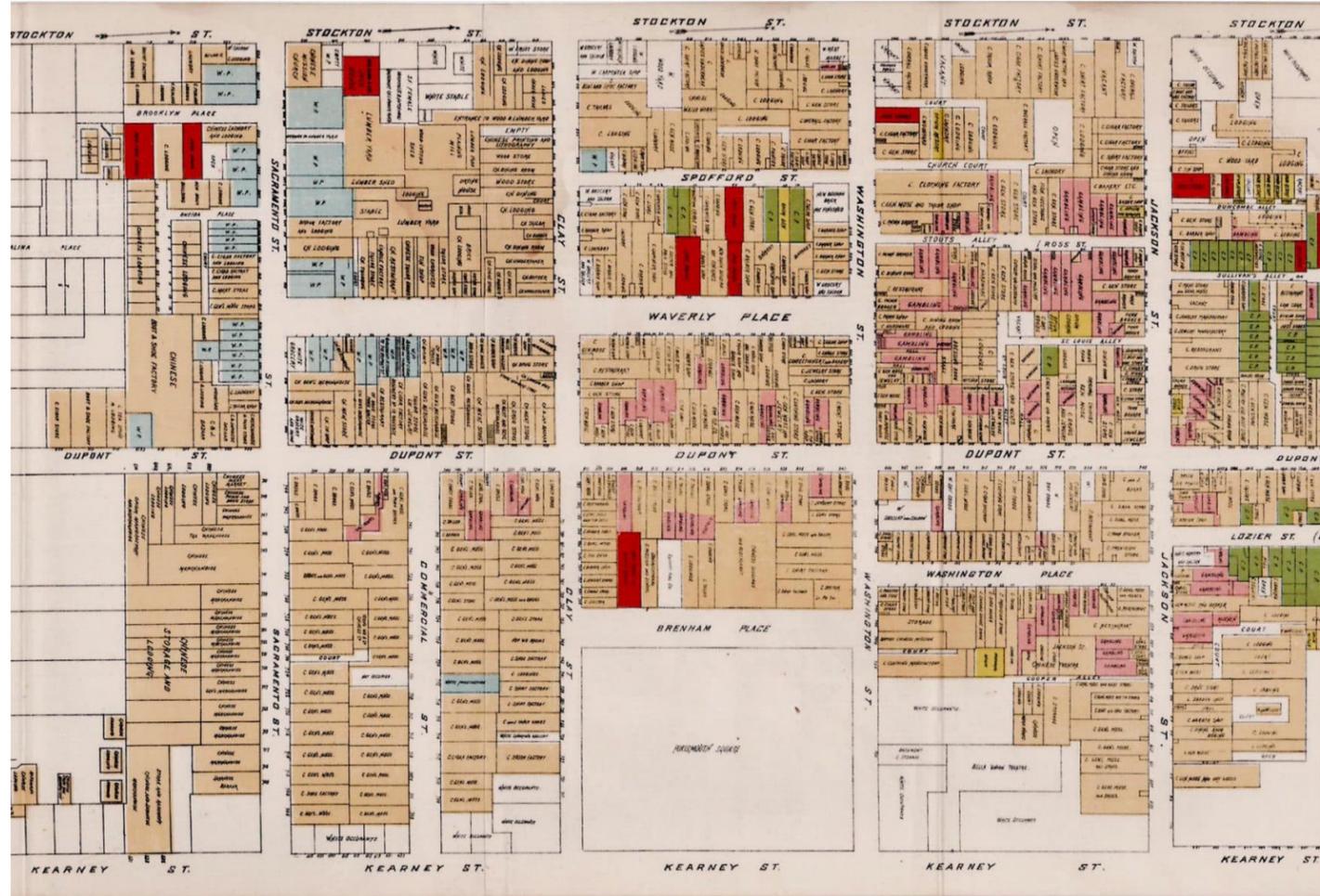
Overall, throughout these counter stories, we were able to see the communities that were often forgotten, the people that were left out in history books and the people that were forced to leave their homes. Everyone's story is important, and we should never leave any pages blank because there's always a counter story to tell.



CHINATOWN APPEARS AVOIDED GENTRIFICATION?

Case Study of the 1986 Rezoning Plan in San Francisco Chinatown Core

Candice Siyun Ji



Official Map of Chinatown in San Francisco, July 1885. Image: Library of Congress.

INTRODUCTION

San Francisco Chinatown has suffered from historical forced segregation since the 1882 Federal Chinese Exclusion Act. Much of Chinatown's housing was built as single room occupancy and was often overcrowded, in poor condition, and yet still expensive for very low-income residents.

In recent years, the residential building in Chinatown core has suffered from dilapidated conditions and the possibility of gentrification due to heightened demand for office and commercial space. The changing demographics also aggravated the housing crisis in the community.

Under this context, an effort to protect the resource of affordable housing in Chinatown was established. The 1986 Rezoning Plan effectively prohibited demolition and banned the conversion of residential buildings into different uses. The intention of this Plan is to preserve the existing affordable housing and prevent displacement, and it did so successfully. However, this Plan also resulted in a few unforeseeable outcomes. The Plan only preserved the shell of the housing but did not address the organs of the house. A combination of age and weak code enforcement has led to many buildings falling into disrepair. The neighborhood's zoning policy has also given rise to other unresolved challenges of supplying sufficient housing.

The following counter-story explores the roots and impacts of the 1986 Rezoning Plan, seeking to identify lessons that may help practitioners with different perspectives when dealing with historical affordable housing preservation in the face of gentrification and displacement.

CONTEXT

Historically, San Francisco was one of the earliest cities to emerge from the immigration waves brought by the California Gold Rush of 1849. The early Chinese settlement soon turned into "Chinatowns" where the community have a social life of their "native-place style with 'native place' elements" (Qin 2012). The earliest cohort of settlers to Chinatown were predominantly male contract laborers from Chinese provinces near Delta. Few of these men arrived in California with the intention of permanent settlement; therefore, Chinatown initially functioned as a "provision station" for Chinese workers (Li 2011). Within this context, much of Chinatown's housing was built as single-room occupancy (SRO) residential hotels or small rooms in commercial structures or community spaces.

In 1882, the United States Congress passed the first law in its history that barred a group from immigrating to the country based solely upon their race or country of origin. This piece of legislation is called The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, officially titled "An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese." It barred all Chinese "laborers" and Chinese women from entering the United States. With this institutionalized halt in migration for more than half a century, San Francisco Chinatown's built environment did not evolve from the earliest SRO forms. This racially discriminated Act also prevented the Chinese from owning land. The community had to take long-term leases and pay high rents to settle in the Chinatown area. Housing was thus poorly maintained and often overcrowded. The passage of the tensions between discrimination and politics made life hard for the Chinese in the country, forcing the Chinese community to stay together.

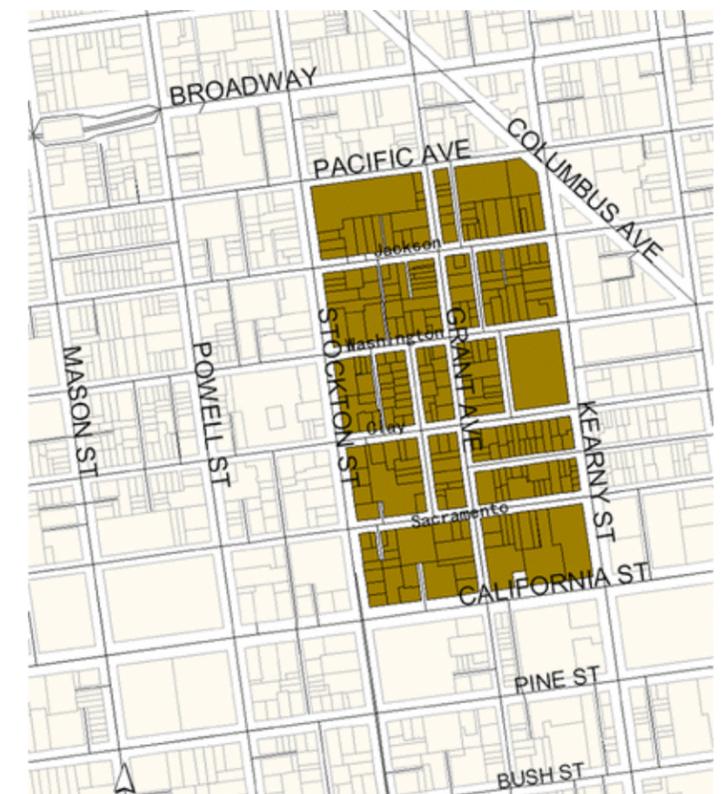
The Chinese Exclusion Act was in effect until 1943 when it was finally repealed, as the United States and China became allies during World War II. Chinatown's population increased by about 25 percent per decade from 1940 to 1970 and propelled the expansion

of Chinatown. Based on the 1970 census, the Department of City Planning defined a core area of Chinatown, a seventeen-block area whose population is 90 percent Chinese.

Many Chinatown residents lived in houses with poor conditions, with problems of overcrowding and dilapidated housing. According to the 1965 Community Renewal Programming Report, 77 percent of San Francisco's Chinatown-North Beach area dwellings



San Francisco's Chinatown Ross Alley, 1898. Predominantly male workers. Image: Chinatown Report.



The dark area shows the core of San Francisco's Chinatown. Image: Chuo Li.

were designated as substandard or seriously substandard (Little 1965). Furthermore, the density of Chinatown core is the highest in the city, with 120 to 179.9 people per gross acre compared to 24.6 people citywide (The San Francisco Chinese Community Citizens' Survey and Fact Finding Committee 1969). Such deplorable housing conditions, despite the rest of San Francisco's development, still exist today.

The low-income ethnic enclave was then, and still is today, surrounded by upper-income, predominantly white neighborhoods and the expanding financial district. With each proposed development in San Francisco being a battle between existing and new land uses, protecting low-income residents from displacement is paramount as urban renewal, private development, and market interests seek to transform and gentrify the city.

DESIGN

In the face of external pressures of gentrification and to address the housing crisis in San Francisco's Chinatown, a few planning efforts have uniquely allowed Chinatown Core to maintain its historic character and accessibility to low-income residents. Amongst these efforts, the adoption of the City Planning Department's official Chinatown Rezoning Plan as an amendment to the General Plan is one of the most influential policy changes. One of the 1986 Rezoning Plan's objectives was to preserve the housing stock for low- and moderate-income households in the Chinatown core area. The Plan resulted in the designation of Chinatown as a mixed-use area distinct from the downtown; it further prohibited the demolition of existing housing and banned the conversion of residential buildings into different uses (Montejo 2015).

ISSUES

Although the study was well-intended and did help preserve the stock of existing housing and avoided gentrification in Chinatown Core, the neighborhood's zoning policy paid minimum attention to the rehabilitation of historical buildings in Chinatown Core and limited further housing development .



Top and Middle: Exterior of residential units in San Francisco Chinatown.
Bottom: Inside San Francisco Chinatown Single Room Occupancy (SRO).
Images: San Francisco Chronicle, NBC News.

The 1986 Rezoning Plan focused merely on the "stock" of housing but ignored the fact that what the Plan ultimately preserved is the declining quality of deteriorated housing.

A combination of age and weak code enforcement has led to many buildings falling into disrepair. Consequently, Chinatown Core has suffered problems from a shortage of supply and declining quality of housing as buildings have deteriorated. With low-profit potential, particularly for rent-controlled affordable units, and continuously high demand throughout the neighborhood, property owners in Chinatown Core are disincentivized to rehabilitate their rental units. In some cases, when it comes to paying necessary maintenance costs, owners have opted to take units off of the market, which has countered the housing preservation intention and further contributed to the housing crisis that most severely impacts lower-income communities (Tan 2008).

In an interview with Robert Wong, a member of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association - one

of the oldest community organizations in San Francisco Chinatown established during the anti-Chinese discrimination era - described the area as an "ethnic ghetto." He told the author, "many buildings in SF Chinatown are at the edge of falling down. An earthquake like the one in 1906 would have easily destroyed these buildings." He wondered, "Is that what it takes for them (the government) to pay attention to us (Chinatown residents)?" (Robert Wong, Interview with Author, October 5, 2021).

Above all, 1986 Rezoning Plan successfully achieved its objective to "preserve the distinctive urban character of Chinatown" and "retain and reinforce Chinatown's mutually supportive functions as a neighborhood, capital city and visitor attraction." (San Francisco Planning Department). Nevertheless, some might argue that the neighborhood has achieved its goal, avoided gentrification, and prevented displacement because the limitations surrounding both redevelopment and rehabilitation have made Chinatown Core somewhat less desirable to affluent residential developers and businesses.



Jiu Yin Tong, 79, looks out from a 3rd floor fire escape at his SRO at 937 Clay Street on Thursday, Jan. 26, 2017.
Image: San Francisco Chronicle.

OUTCOMES

Since the 60s, many “behind the facade” researches in Chinatown had exposed the deplorable housing conditions, echoing the housing issues of past decades. In a shocking report by Jane Eshelman Conant from San Francisco Examiner, she wrote “Many of these places are not... apartments in the accepted sense, but were in many cases were built as barracks for the single Chinese man in the coolie labor force brought here decades ago” (Yu 1981).

The Plan did not address the housing condition issues in Chinatown core. With 75 percent of the housing unit in Chinatown Core being built before 1949, low-income renters in San Francisco Chinatown Core lived in the same unhealthy and unsafe housing since before World War II (Motojo 2015). According to the Chinese Progressive Association’s 2005 Report, housing, health, and fire code violations are widespread in Chinatown housing, with 87% of tenants surveyed reporting at least one code violation, and 62% reported multiple code violations. Most reported violated Health Code included Insect and Rodent Infestation, Unsanitary Conditions, Noise Disturbances, and Second Hand Smoke Exposure (Chinese Progressive Association, 2005).

The 1986 efforts preserved the shell of the historical housing; however, the Plan did not stop the internal organs of the residential units from deteriorating. Given the extremely limited options for low-income immigrant tenants in San Francisco, many tenants have no choice but to tolerate the deterioration. Very few tenants have complained to their landlord and even fewer have complained to a government code enforcement agency or a community organization Chinese Progressive Association, 2005). Tenants trace the roots of these conditions to the lack of affordable housing, living-wage jobs, and support in knowing their rights and health risks.

In an interview with Ted Gong, the Executive Director of the 1882 Project Foundation and President of WashingtonDC chapter of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance, he said, “many of these Chinatown residential buildings are not weatherproof. The plumbing system is over a hundred years old. And putting a double window on a crumbling building is not going



A Closet-sized life in San Francisco Chinatown SROs. Images: SRO Families United Collaborative.

to make it better” (Ted Gong, Interview with Author, October 2, 2021). The top priority is to keep Chinatown a liveable place for residents. “We don’t want gentrification, but at least the housing needs to be habitable,” says Wong (Robert Wong, Interview with Author, October 5, 2021).

Additionally, the restrictive zoning policies in the 1986 Plan also resulted in the lack of new development. Statistically speaking, since 1987, only 22 residential buildings have been constructed in Chinatown Core, whereas, within the same timeframe, 65 buildings



Inside of one immigrant family’s life in 75 square feet. Image: NBC News.

have been built in Chinatown North (Dataquick 2014). New affordable housing development in Chinatown Core has also been limited. Despite the increasing need, only 342 subsidized and public units have not increased since 1990 (California Housing Partnership Corporation. 2014).

In simple terms, since 1986, not much has changed in Chinatown Core housing, neither in housing stock nor in housing condition. Although Chinatown Core has largely resisted displacement and gentrification, it also gives rise to other unresolved challenges of housing improvement and supplying sufficient affordable housing in San Francisco.

CONCLUSION

The enforcement of the 1986 Rezoning Plan has exposed the contradictory assumptions embedded in the housing policies. The Plan intends to “protect what the Planning Department acknowledged was a ‘virtually irreplaceable’ resource of affordable housing in Chinatown” (Montejo 2015). Nonetheless, the problem is that the Plan preserves housing that is “totally deplorable inside” and prevents other developments in the Chinatown Core (Gong 2021).

Chinatown is evitably part of the urban fabric in the city. As the rest of the city progresses, preserving the housing Chinatown Core so that these units can “stay” is not the answer to solve either historical preservation or the housing crisis. Neighborhoods are not static, and merely preserving the shell of affordable housing will not promote growth or maintain the quality of life for the lower-income marginalized communities.

It is clear that getting greater affordable housing and promoting the community’s health and vitality for Chinatown is more than an issue of zoning. So, what efforts ultimately need to be in place to preserve Chinatown’s character and culture for its existing residents in today’s dominant agenda of promoting urban growth?

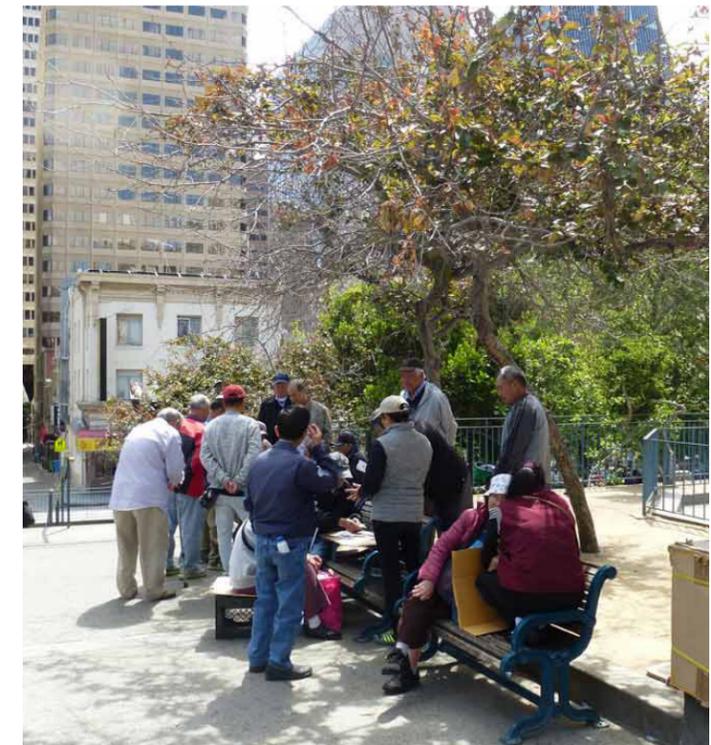
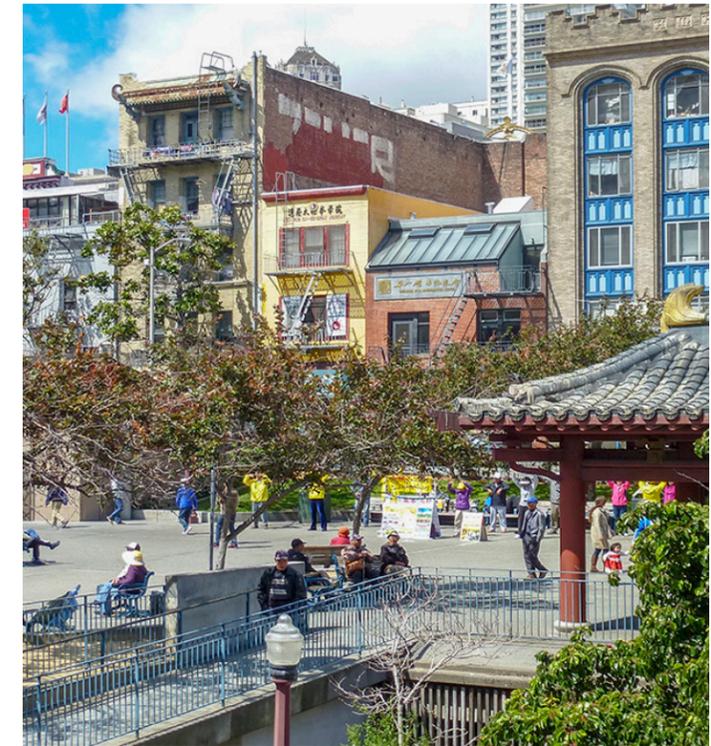
“Ultimately, the reason why Asian Americans and immigrants come to Chinatown is that they feel a sense of belonging. A feeling that you don’t have to explain yourself. Chinatown functions as a place that brings communities together. It acts as a common ground, a public space, and this sense of community is what we need to preserve, not just the mere form of seemingly ‘Chinese’ structure,” says Gong (Gong 2021).

Despite the shabby conditions on the inside of the housing, Chinatown core remains as one of the few places that enables low-income people to survive in the city. It is worth noting that the reason why many new immigrants and senior residents still desire to continue living in Chinatown is not only that these are the only rents they can afford, but also because “they are monolingual and they want to live closer to their community,” said Rosa Chen, the Interim Community Planning Manager of Chinatown Community Development Center (Chen 2021). This Native-Place

Sentiment that includes “being loyal to the native place, holding traditions in high esteem, establishing native place associations, creating a native-place atmosphere in distant cities, cherishing the solidarity of homeland ties, performing judicial power over the members, and practicing mutual aid for fellow countrymen,” are deeply ingrained in Chinese history and solidly embedded in the Chinese community in America (Qin 2012). Such sense of community is what planners need to help preserve.

As the land values of Chinatown continue to increase, market pressure, and so many other neighborhoods undergoing gentrification and displacement, promoting a sense of community requires regulatory changes to encourage community growth while preserving the culture. Because low-income immigrant tenants in San Francisco have limited options for housing, it is particularly important for government agencies to ensure that housing, health, and fire codes are adequately enforced in these communities and the health and safety of vulnerable residents are protected. Further incentives and partnerships with public and financial institutions are needed to motivate long-time property owners to rehabilitate or redevelop their properties.

As a policy change to preserve housing and prevent displacement, the 1986 Rezoning Plan has good intentions. Yet, it should be noted that planning policies have always influenced how difference is encountered, managed, and solidified through space. In this case, the 1986 effort solidified the distinctive urban character of Chinatown and retained its difference and distinction from the rest of the city. For better or worse, it acts as a plausible initial attempt in allowing the neighborhood to remain affordable and maintain its historic character. The future of resolving Chinatown’s age-old housing dilemma, however, lies in finding new housing opportunities outside, while improving existing housing and preserving culture from within.



Community Spaces in San Francisco Chinatown.
Images: Project for Public Spaces, Hoodline, The Cultural Landscape Foundation.

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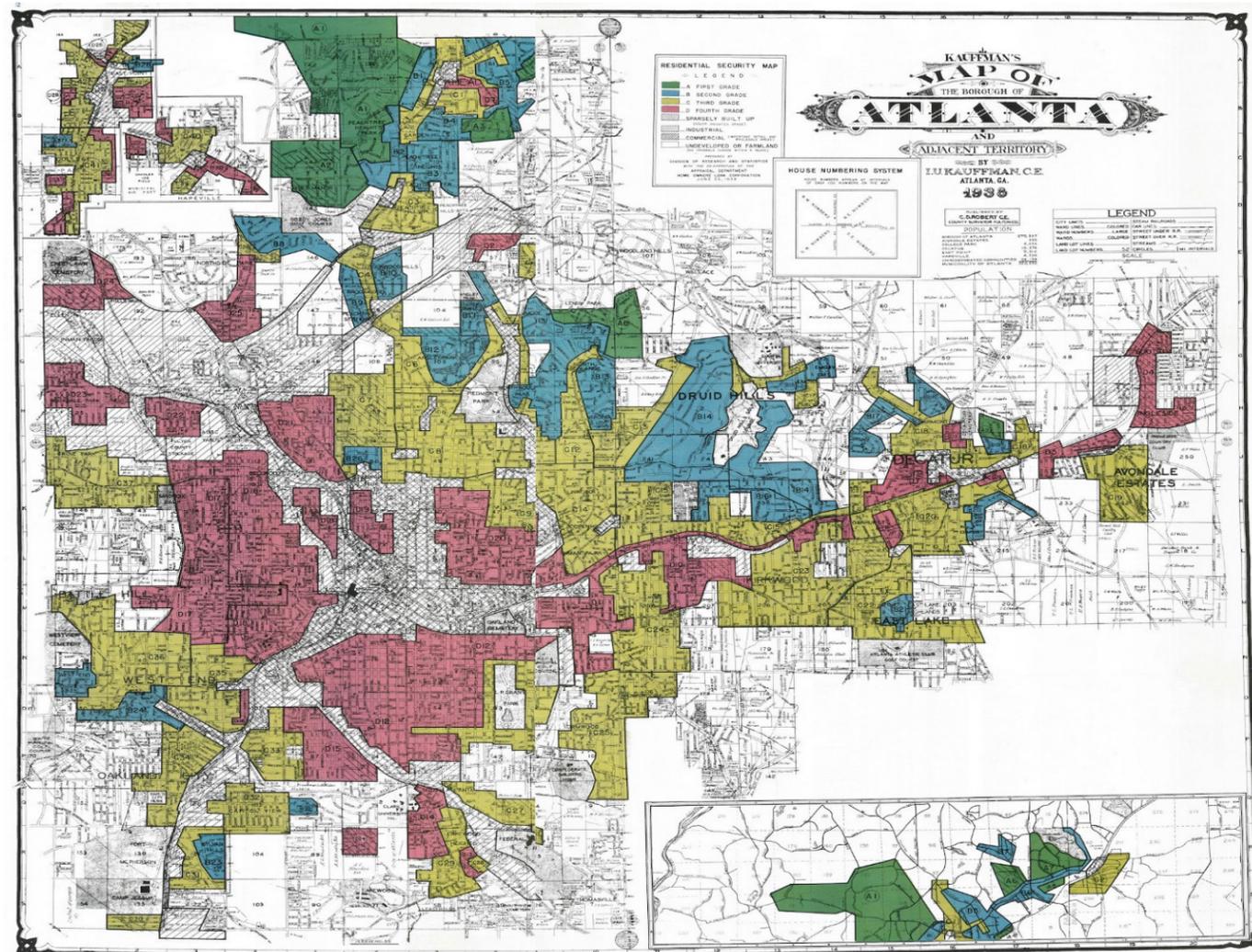


San Francisco Chinatown.
Image: San Francisco Chronicle.

ATLANTIC STATION INFLUENCING GENTRIFICATION OF OTHER COMMUNITIES?

Analyzing Affects of Upscale Mixed-Use Neighborhoods in Metro Atlanta Areas

Jalen Carlyle



Map of the City of Atlanta (1938) color-coded to represent the grades for neighborhoods. Source: Home Owners Loan Corporation

INTRODUCTION

The history of African Americans in Atlanta is synonymous with the history of Atlanta itself, "From the early days of slaveholding until today, when the last five mayors of Atlanta have been African Americans, the story of the largest

southern city can be told through the experiences of its largest ethnic minority," (NPS). For decades African Americans have made up a majority of the Atlanta population; however, (as pictured above), there have been numerous attempts to

gentrify heavily populated Black areas. This map identifies different neighborhoods and their "grade" based upon residential security. "The red swaths identify each area with large African-American populations as being a "hazardous place to underwrite mortgages." This is what was known as redlining, and it was perfectly legal for many years," (Darin Givens). These maps listed the percentage of black residents in each neighborhood, and of all of the neighborhoods classified as "best" or "still desirable," the population was 0%; and right above the epicenter of this map, is what is known today as Midtown's "Atlantic Station."

CONTEXT

Even before desegregation took place African Americans created their own opportunities in businesses, publications, and sports. "Evidence of successful businesses was most noticeable in Sweet Auburn, now known as the Sweet Auburn Historic District, a one-mile corridor that served as the downtown of Atlanta's black community," (NPS). Businesses flourished throughout the 1930s and 1940s, including restaurants, hotels, and nightclubs where Cab Calloway and Duke Ellington performed. The city of Atlanta has always been a place where African-Americans could thrive, financially, socially, and even politically. However due to recent developments these aspects of our lives are now coming into question.

ATLANTA'S POPULATION SHIFT

"Although gentrification has expanded the city's tax base and weeded out blight, it has had an unintended effect on Atlanta, long a lure to African-Americans and a symbol of black success. For the first time since the 1920's," (Shaila Dewen). The black percentage of the city of Atlanta's population is declining and the white percentage is on the rise. "There could be a time in the not-too-distant future when the black population is below half of the city population, if this trend continues," said William Frey, a demographer at the Brookings Institution, a Washington research group. Mr. Frey did not know how correct he was, In the year of 2020 the percentage of the Black population dropped to 47%. This is versus about 62% in the year 2000, 5 years before this statement was made.

Atlanta, Georgia - Overview	2010 Census		2000 Census		2000-2010 Change	
	Counts	Percentages	Counts	Percentages	Change	Percentages
Total Population	420,003	100.00%	417,936	100.00%	2,067	0.49%
Population by Race						
American Indian and Alaska native alone	988	0.24%	765	0.18%	223	29.15%
Asian alone	13,188	3.14%	8,045	1.92%	5,143	63.93%
Black or African American alone	226,894	54.02%	257,223	61.55%	-30,329	-11.79%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific native alone	132	0.03%	172	0.04%	-40	-23.26%
Some other race alone	9,317	2.22%	8,257	1.98%	1,060	12.84%
Two or more races	8,369	1.99%	5,193	1.24%	3,176	61.16%
White alone	161,115	38.36%	138,281	33.09%	22,834	16.51%
Population by Hispanic or Latino Origin (of any race)						
Persons Not of Hispanic or Latino Origin	398,188	94.81%	399,231	95.52%	-1,043	-0.26%
Persons of Hispanic or Latino Origin	21,815	5.19%	18,705	4.48%	3,110	16.63%
Population by Gender						
Female	211,035	50.25%	210,552	50.38%	483	0.23%
Male	208,968	49.75%	207,384	49.62%	1,584	0.76%
Population by Age						
Persons 0 to 4 years	26,789	6.38%	26,783	6.41%	6	0.02%
Persons 5 to 17 years	54,621	13.00%	66,636	15.94%	-12,015	-18.03%
Persons 18 to 64 years	297,254	70.77%	283,863	67.92%	13,391	4.72%
Persons 65 years and over	41,339	9.84%	40,654	9.73%	685	1.68%

Census for the City of Atlanta 2000-2010. Source: US Census Bureau

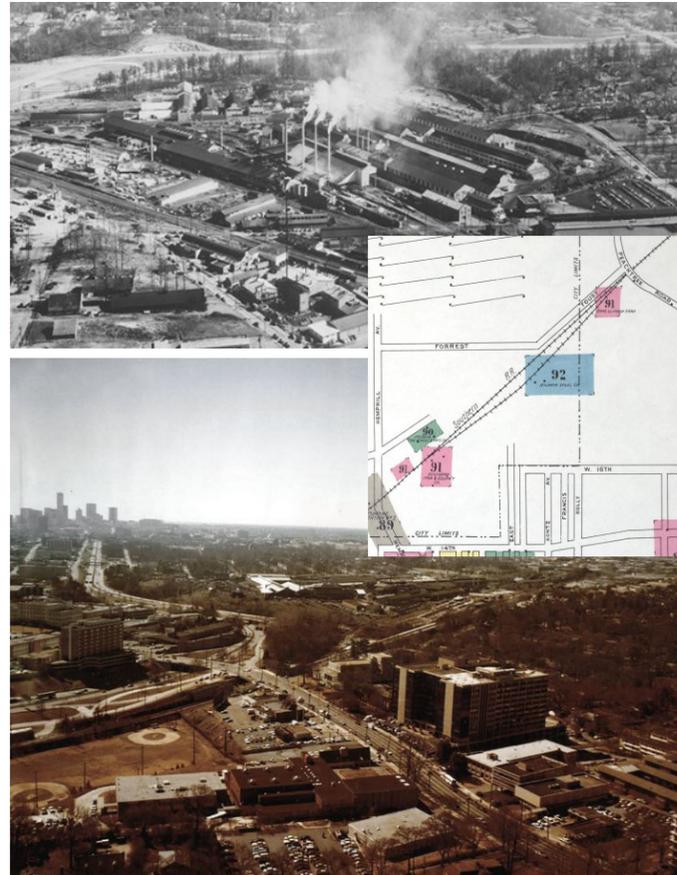
The AJC analysis said Atlanta’s population grew by more than 71,000 since 2010:

- New white residents accounted for just over 50% of them
- 23% were Hispanic or Asian
- Only 9% of the city’s new residents were African American (11 alive).

The change has introduced an element of uncertainty into local politics, which has been dominated by blacks since 1973, when Atlanta became the first major Southern city to elect a black mayor. "It's certainly affecting local politics," said Billy Linville, a political consultant who has worked for Ms. Franklin. "More white politicians are focusing on possibly becoming mayor and positioning themselves accordingly, whereas in the past they would not have. The next mayor of Atlanta, I believe, will be African-American, but after that it may get very interesting." (NY Times).

ATLANTIC STATION

Atlantic Station was originally a steel company with a large steel mill, dating back to 1901 when it was founded as the Atlanta Hoop Company with 120 employees, and which produced cotton bale ties and barrel hoops. In 1998, Jacoby Development purchased the complex for about 76 million USD, tore down the complex, cleaned up the site and built Atlantic Station in its place.



Atlantic Steel Mill
Source: Atlantic Station

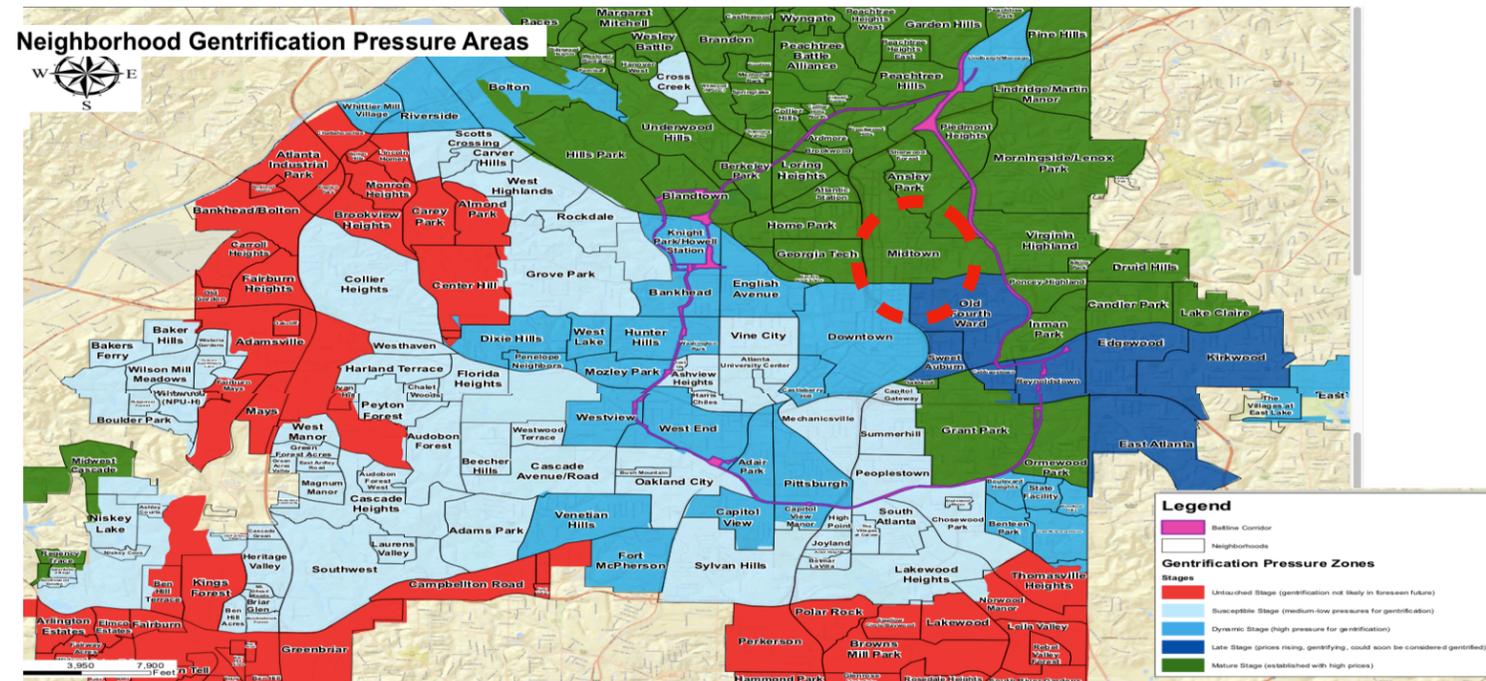


Atlantic Station Master Plan
Source: Buildings

Atlantic Station’s original design of the space was intended to include 15 million square feet of retail, office, residential space as well as 11 acres of public parks.

“Housing has also mushroomed in places where it had not previously existed. The most ambitious project, Atlantic Station, a shopping and residential district on the site of a former steel mill near downtown, will have more than 2,000 units. Loft prices start at \$160,000,” (Shaila Dewen). Housing developments such as these are impacting communities throughout the city. Even the Old Fourth Ward, the once elegant black neighborhood where Martin Luther King Jr. was born, is now less than 75 percent black, down from 94 percent in 1990, as houses have skyrocketed in value and low-rent apartments have been replaced by new developments. There are displacements being caused by these intended “problem solutions” that are not being addressed. Another Midtown development, The Atlanta Beltline is also a factor.

Atlanta Beltline has triggered property value increases. “Median sales prices in Beltline neighborhoods such as Adair Park and Westview ballooned by 68 percent between 2011 and 2015, per the study.” Dan Immergluck also sounded the alarm in an interview with CityLab, asserting that the Beltline’s current trajectory could lead to the “economic and possibly racial resegregation of the city.” (Atlanta Curbed). The effects these projects have had on the community is unquestionable, however the true problem lies in what these developments are doing to those outside of the city, in neighboring communities. Half a decade ago, news spread of the next Atlantic Station coming to South Metro-Atlanta (Henry County), in a development that would become known as **Jodeco Crossings**.



Atlanta Gentrification Pressure Map
Source: AtlantaGov

THE INFLUENCE

Jeff Grant and his partners have owned over 150 acres of land in south Henry County since 1985. At one point, one of the partners lived on it, but other than that, the land acres has remained untouched. Grant is a Henry County native and plans on turning this into the same type of intensive mixed-use projects seen commonly in Atlanta, less than 30 miles north. "That piece was bought more for the beauty of it. It wasn't really bought

or true speculation," Grant said. "Now that things have evolved the way they have, I guess we were lucky in a good sense." After Jodeco Crossings was first proposed there was a halt on the project. "County commissioners denied the annexation request earlier this month, and stated that they wanted to keep the development under the county's control instead of the city," (Henry Herald). Several Henry

County residents spoke against it expressing concerns about having infrastructure and transportation fixes in place before proceeding with the development. When the project was originally proposed in 2015, a development of regional impact review was completed by Georgia DCA and the Atlanta Regional Commission. Though the concept site plan and proposes uses have undergone revisions since then, the recommendations from the project's traffic impact study should still be valued and local governments look for funding to implement the recommendations. "The traffic study estimated that 34,317 new daily vehicle trips will be generated by the development," (Moving Henry Forward). The study recommended several road improvements and intersection projects to support the additional traffic on surrounding roadways.



Bridges at Jodeco Site Map
Source: LPC Retail



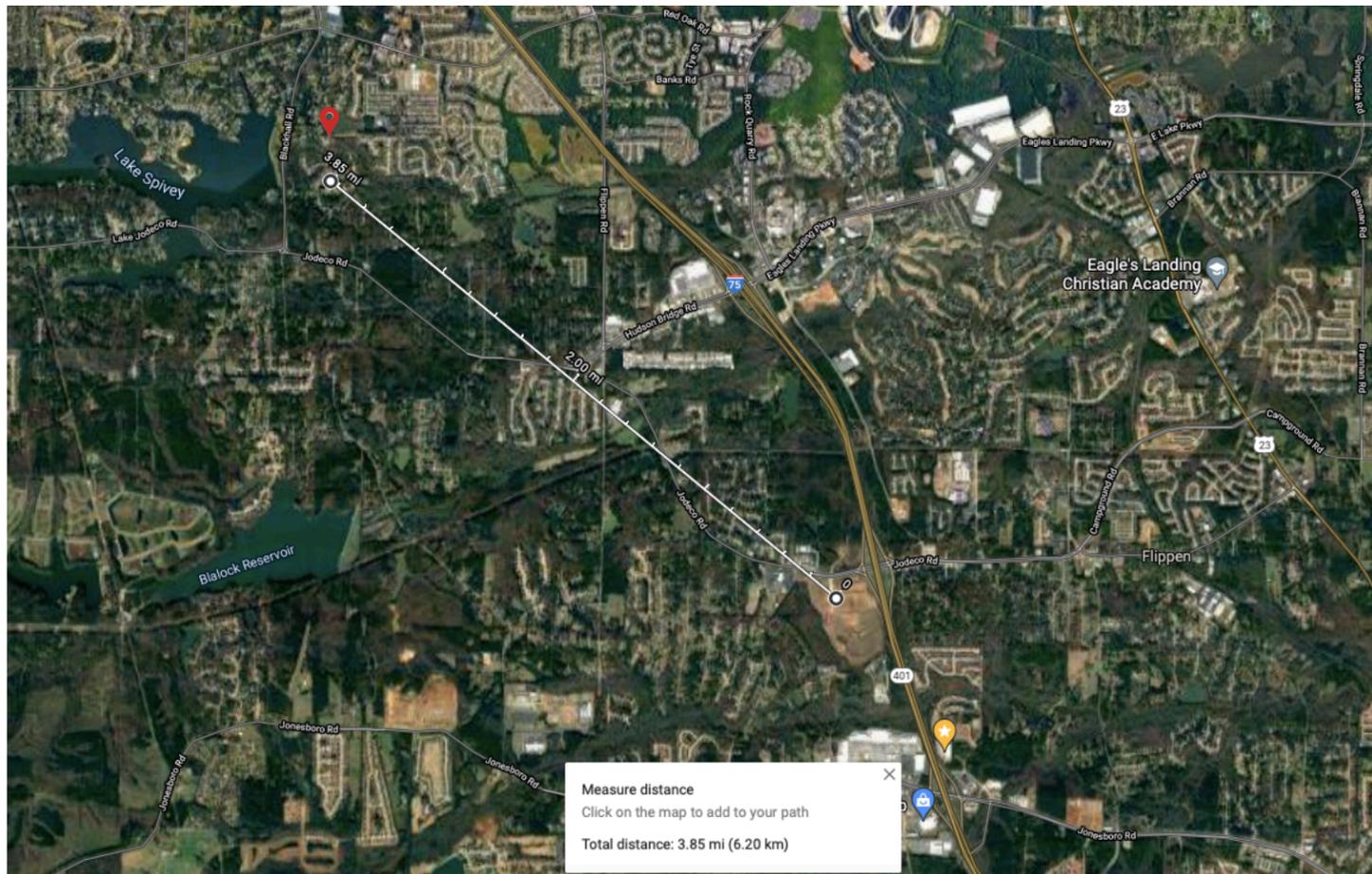
Atlantic Jodeco Crossings Sketch Rendering
Source: Because We Care Atlanta South

BRIDGES AT JODECO

Now entitled Bridges at Jodeco, the project's residential components are expected to include: 300 apartment units, 176 single-family lots, 90 townhomes, as well as 52.4 acres of commercial space. Jodeco 158 is not the only firm planning mixed-use in the Metro Atlanta area. Other developers are eyeing mixed-use as well.



Bridges at Jodeco Site Plan
Source: Moving Henry Forward



Distance From Bridges at Jodeco to my Home
Source: Google Maps

CLOSE TO HOME

The intended site for Bridges at Jodeco is actually less than 4 miles from my home, and is only 5,000 feet from my former high school. Because of the close proximity this project has to myself, my family, and my friends, I am witnessing first hand the effect of a high-end development project within a community. A number of former classmates, as well as their families, have had to move due to increases in costs of living, as well as fear of Henry County becoming a second Atlanta.

"I chose to live in Henry County because of the peace and quiet that it offered, but still the short commute it provided to downtown. If I wanted to live downtown, I would have moved downtown." Lil Patterson (former neighbor) states. Ms. Lil had been a member of our community since before I was born, and now with this new development in progress, she felt she had no choice but to leave. It is not just people who are being forced out of the community either, it's businesses as well.

Prior to the construction phase of the mixed-use development beginning, there were several road improvements and intersection projects conducted to support the additional future traffic on surrounding roadways. These "road improvements" however, created extreme problems for certain business/customer relationships. For example, a locally owned gas station located along Jodeco Road, that originally you would have driven directly into, now required an additional 1,000 feet of road to access. This of course led to a decline in business because on the other side of I-75 were gas stations not requiring this additional effort. The local store lasted for less than a year after the road construction before closing down. "BIG GOVERNMENT WINS, SMALL BUSINESSES LOSE" read a banner which they hung over the front of the store.

INTERSECTION SOLUTIONS

Intersection improvements recommend by the project included the following:

- Install a traffic signal, with appropriate turn lanes, at Jodeco Road and the western parallel connector
- Install a traffic signal, with appropriate turn lanes, at Jodeco Road and Chambers Road
- Add turn lanes at Chambers Road and Mt. Olive Road (west)

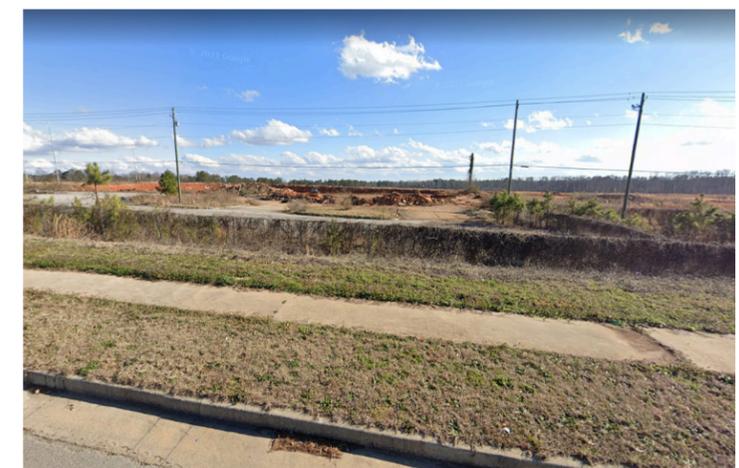
(Moving Henry Forward).



Chevron Gas Station Oct. 2012
Source: Google Maps



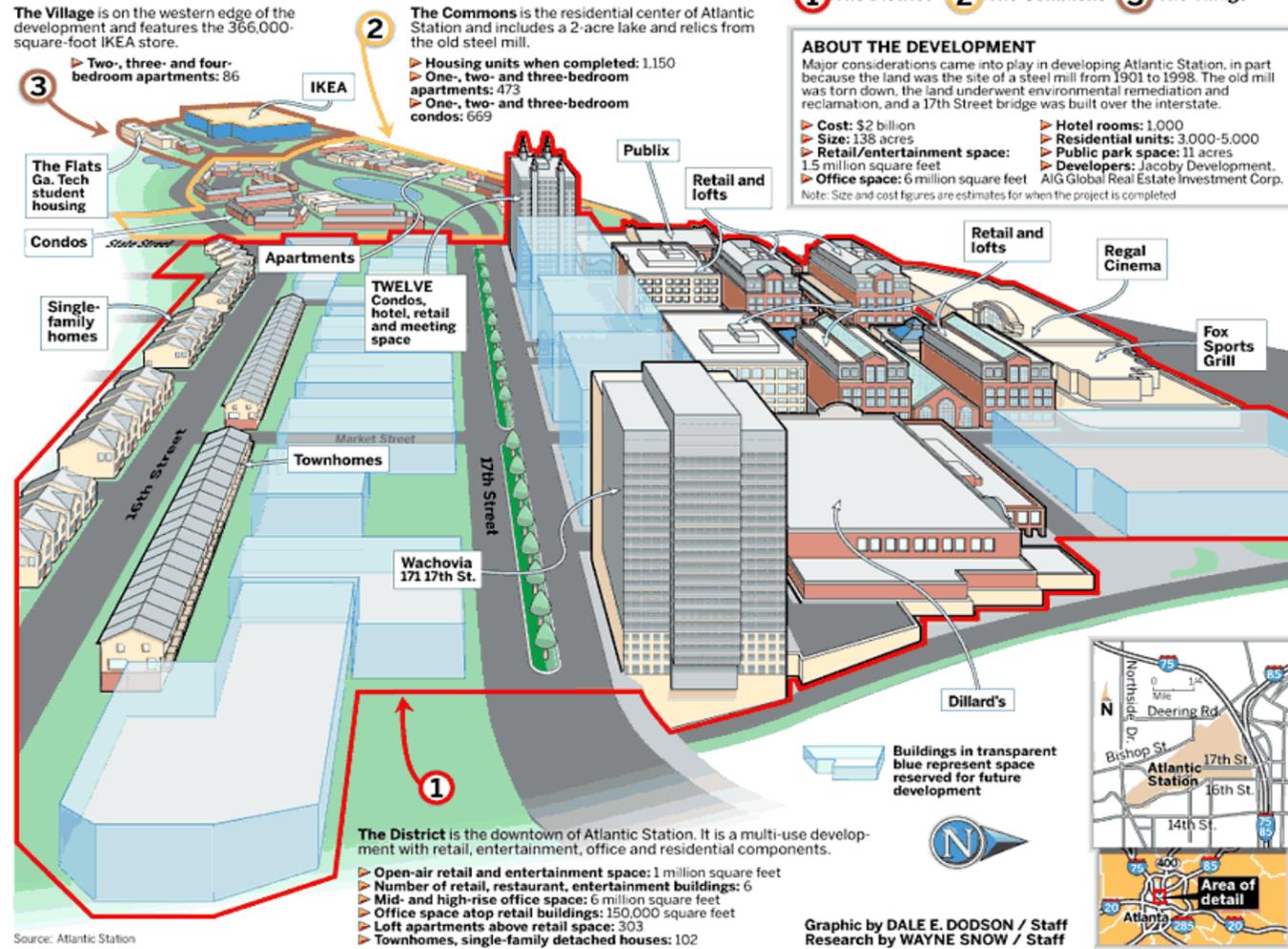
Chevron Gas Station Oct. 2015
Source: Google Maps



Chevron Gas Station Feb. 2021
Source: Google Maps

Atlantic Station: A city within the city

Atlantic Station will formally take its place among Atlanta landmarks Thursday. The multi-use project is on land reclaimed from the old Atlantic Steel site and is intended to be a place where Atlantans can live, shop, work and play. Along with the Georgia Aquarium and the expansion of the High Museum, it is one of three major projects to come to fruition as 2005 comes to a close.



Atlantic Station Plans
 Source: ScholarBlogs



Atlantic Station Courtyard
 Source: The Connor Group



Atlantic Station Green-roofs
 Source: Curbed Atlanta

MOVING FORWARD

Moving forward, the most important factor in the design of mixed-use developments will be the extent to which the resultant environment supports walking, bicycling, and mass transit as viable choices for travel within a 100-mile radius of home. "The question you should be asking every time a new mixed-use project is evaluated is this: "Can the people who live and work here sustain their lifestyles for travel between home, work, and leisure destinations within 100 to 500 miles either by walking, biking, taking the bus or train, or using a shared car?" (Buildings). Most large American cities provide this opportunity through pre-existing urban patterns and transportation infrastructure; however, while a city-like pattern of development can be replicated in the suburbs and in greenfield sites, construction of new mass-transportation infrastructure is expensive and cannot be afforded by most privately financed mixed-use development projects. Today's mixed-use centers need to focus on links to the larger urban core and nearby neighborhoods. Transit needs to be a major component of mixed-use plans, in addition to neighborhood-focused offerings, such as dry cleaners, cafés, and grocery stores, all located within a few-block radius.

"Perhaps one of the most notable factors fueling the trend toward redevelopment of urban sites is the realization that more makes the city better, while less of everything is better in suburbia," (Buildings). Developers are realizing that it's easier to get economically sustainable, mixed-use projects approved in existing cities than in automobile-oriented suburbs. More restaurants, shops, residents, and jobs make urban environments more dynamic and attractive. "More importantly, density increases the viability of mass-transportation systems and innovative transportation models, such as car sharing - all of which reduce dependency on personal automobiles for daily needs," (Buildings).

CONCLUSION

Although these solutions are considerate toward the residents of the new community, what about those who lived there before? These developmental phases are bringing uprooting and unemployment to communities. Instead of exploring methods to benefit the new neighbors, and businesses, let's propose some solutions for the existing businesses.

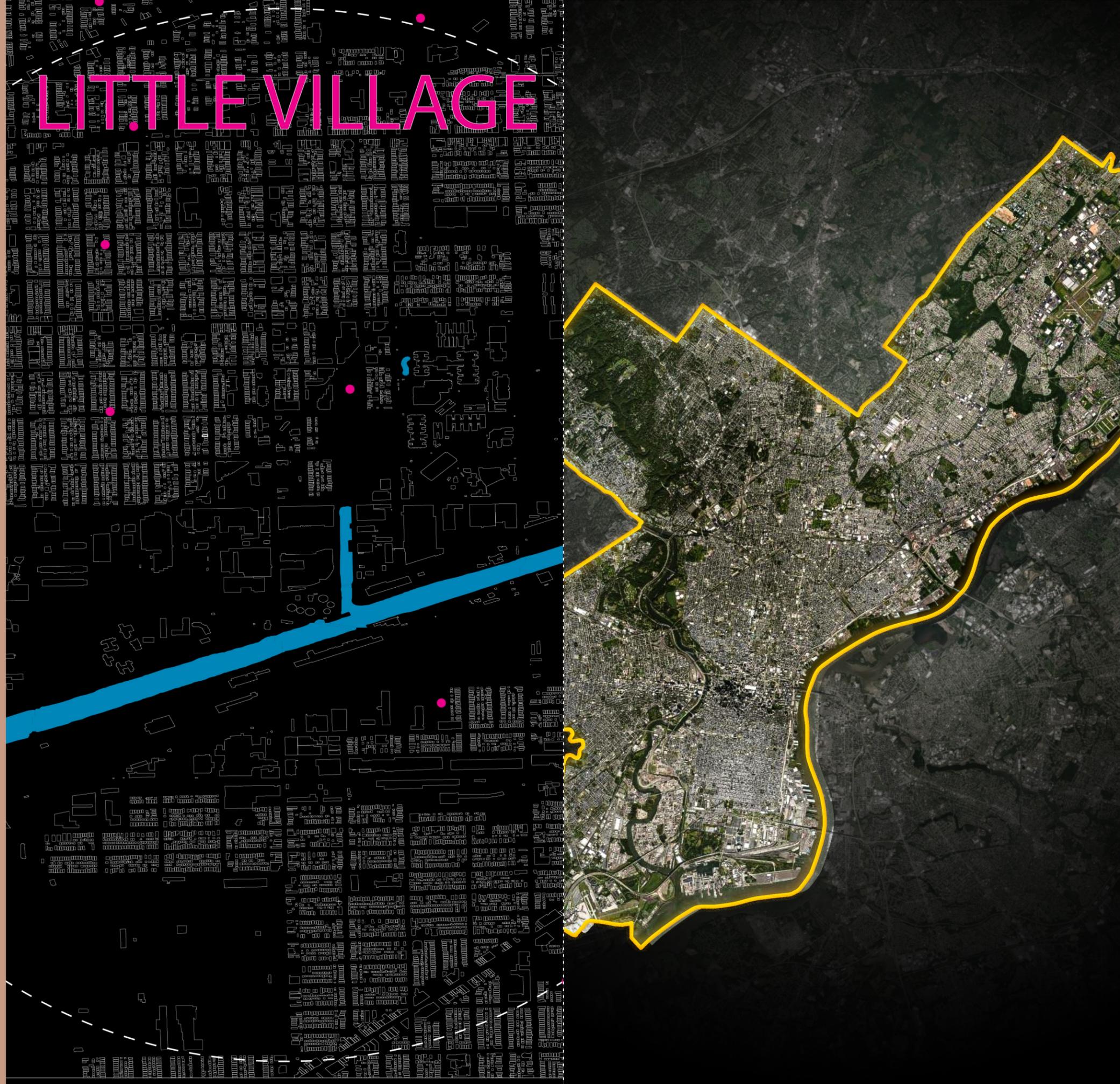
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COUNTER-STORY
ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE



LITTLE VILLAGE



EJ AT THE US - MEXICO BORDER

A 3-Part Counter-Story

Bianca Bryant



US-Mexico border wall in Otay Mesa, California on August 13, 2021. Image: CNN

INTRODUCTION

The dominant narrative surrounding the US - Mexico border revolves around the preservation of national security specifically for the United States. While the construction of a continuous, impenetrable border wall is controversial in and of itself, it is also equally important to address the less prominent issues surrounding the existing fragments of border walls. Not only are these barriers proving ineffective for deterring illegal immigration, but they have also created sites of environmental racism impacting the surrounding communities that live on either side of the border.

Environmental injustice manifests itself in a variety of ways along the stretch of the border. These injustices stem from physical barriers, infrastructural inadequacies, and industrial corridors, all of which are products of the border and the policies behind it. The following counter-story will unfold in three parts, each looking at a specific set of cities and conditions on the border: industrial pollution in San Diego, US - Tijuana, MX, flooding in Nogales, US - Nogales, MX, and truck exhaust fumes in El Paso, US - Ciudad Juárez, MX. In each of these locations, it is important to distill how communities surrounding the border are disproportionately impacted by the border wall as it stands today.

SAN DIEGO, US - TIJUANA, MX

In 1942, the US began the Bracero (“Mexican laborer”) Program which allowed Mexican workers to cross the border legally to support industries whose workers left to serve in WWII. The program ended in 1964, at which point thousands of Mexican laborers were forced to return to Mexico, leaving the Mexican border cities overpopulated with a large force of unemployed workers. In response, Mexico created the Border Industrialization Program which incentivized the US to place industrial plants in Mexico due to the availability of cheap labor in the area.¹ Thus began the regime of the maquiladora, or US owned factory, on the US-Mexico border.

Currently, Tijuana, Mexico has 570 maquiladoras which provide thousands of jobs to Mexico.² However, they also produce environmental injustice due to their toxic and polluting natures. Industrial sites in this area have a reputation of contaminating the air, soil, and water around them by releasing toxic chemical waste. Several studies have concluded that the health risks in these industrial areas near the border are higher than those in more rural areas, which is reflected in higher mortality rates. Industrial air pollution, especially in the form of black carbon, is much higher in Tijuana than in San Diego, contributing to respiratory and heart diseases.³

AMBOS NOGALES - ARIZONA AND SONORA

The US-Mexico border divides Ambos Nogales, or the sister cities of Nogales. One is located in Arizona, USA, and the other in Sonora, Mexico. The physical border wall acts as a dam in this region, causing major flooding in both cities. While flood exposure is equal in Ambos Nogales, the environmental justice implications derived from the flooding impact the Nogales, Sonora side more than its US counterpart. This is due to a variety of reasons, the main ones being the increase in population density, greater amount of impervious surfaces, and poorer quality of housing on the Nogales, Sonora side. The US is arguably responsible for the increased flooding in recent years in Nogales, Sonora. Water naturally runs northward towards Arizona from Sonora, which transforms the border wall into an inequitable dam. During flood events, the wall acts as flood protection for the US side but exacerbates flood damage on the Mexico side by retaining water. In an effort to address this issue, there is a large drainage pipe that punctures the border wall to allow water to drain from Sonora to Arizona. However, due to concerns of illegal immigration, the US border patrol illegally constructed a barrier inside the drain without informing the Mexican government. As a result, the drain does not operate as intended, creating these inequitable flooding conditions in Nogales, Sonora.⁴

EL PASO, US - CIUDAD JUÁREZ, MX

In 2018, over 800,000 commercial trucks and 12 million cars crossed the border between El Paso, US and Ciudad Juárez, MX.⁵ The majority of the freight trucks are “drayage” trucks which travel short distances from Mexico to Texas, and back to Mexico again. These drayage trucks contribute significantly to the air pollution in the area.⁶ Additionally, traffic bottlenecks keep cars and trucks idling on the border for hours at a time, spewing fumes and exhaust all the while. Vehicular emissions disproportionately affect the health of those who live near transportation corridors like the port of entry between El Paso and Ciudad Juárez. Notably, El Paso is the only port of entry in Texas that has violated EPA air quality standards.⁷

When comparing El Paso to Ciudad Juárez, the Mexican city emits double the pollution than its sister city. This is likely due to more relaxed regulations and less air quality monitoring on the Mexican side compared to El Paso.⁸ However, given the facts that both cities share the same air basin and that transportation emissions travel through air, both cities are responsible for the health crisis that is plaguing the border populations. A binational issue, the countries must work together to address this environmental injustice.



DOMINANT NARRATIVE



Migrants illegally crossing the border in Tijuana, Mexico.
Image: Pedro Pardo / AFP - Getty Images file

COUNTER STORY 2



Nogales, Arizona, US - Nogales, Sonora, MX | Flooding at the Nogales border wall.
Image: Sean Sullivan / Wild Sonora

COUNTER STORY 1



San Diego, US - Tijuana, MX | Maquiladora in Tijuana.
Image: WGNO

COUNTER STORY 3



El Paso, US - Ciudad Juárez | Trucks and cars waiting to cross the border between El Paso Ciudad Juárez.
Image: US Customs and Border Protection

ADVOCACY + ACTIVISM

The border faces many environmental injustices which may appear insurmountable at times. However, local communities are dedicated and involved in creating meaningful change for the communities they serve.

In Tijuana alone, there are 66 toxic waste sites that have been shut down due to health issues related to the manufacturing processes. One of the most prominent sites is Metales and Derivados, a battery recycling facility that left thousands of tons of contaminated waste after it was closed. After much advocacy from local environmental justice groups and a NAFTA petition, the site was finally cleaned up in 2008, 14 years after the site was originally closed.⁹

In Ambos Nogales, Guillermo Valencia works with the volunteer group Greater Nogales and Santa Cruz County Port Authority to develop ideas for economic development and improvements for both cities. The group is looking at the infrastructural and topographical conditions of the site to better understand how to mitigate flood damages. Better communication and cooperation between the US and Mexico would prevent physical barriers that turn the border into a dam.¹⁰

The Familias Unidas del Chamizal in El Paso took the city to court in 2020 over air quality violations. The legal battle was in response to the EPA declaring El Paso's air quality as passable, when clearly the pollution levels were much higher than the standards. The EPA's decision to re-evaluate their original 2018 decision is a step forward to creating action that will improve the community's health and wellbeing. Should the EPA change their designation, that would pave the way for stricter testing and regulations of air quality in El Paso.¹¹

Of course, the real solutions would need to be bi-national ones. Real change can only happen if the US and Mexico work together to find an alternative to the damage-inducing border wall. Changes in trade agreements could stem the influx of industry along the border, while stronger policies could impose higher air quality standards. Collective action is incredibly important in order to bring these issues to the global stage to effect change.

"Panasonic and Sanyo never inform you of the risks from toxic chemicals in the factory. I've started to get spots and sores on my body... And these spots from contact with the paste we use. And my doctor says I'm at risk for leukemia."

"Also, you can't wash your clothes with your children's, or get close to your kids after you leave work, because it affects them too."¹²

- **Carmen Valadez**, former Tijuana maquiladora worker for Sanyo factory and labor rights activist for Casa de la Mujer / Grupo Factor X

"Just about every year, without fail, we lose people to these storm flows. Sometimes, there must be a tragedy for people to know what's going on."

"There must be collaboration, organization, and synchronization from international agencies, foreign agencies, local agencies, and so on. We need sensible negotiations and agreements so that both sides [of the border] don't negatively affect each other."¹³

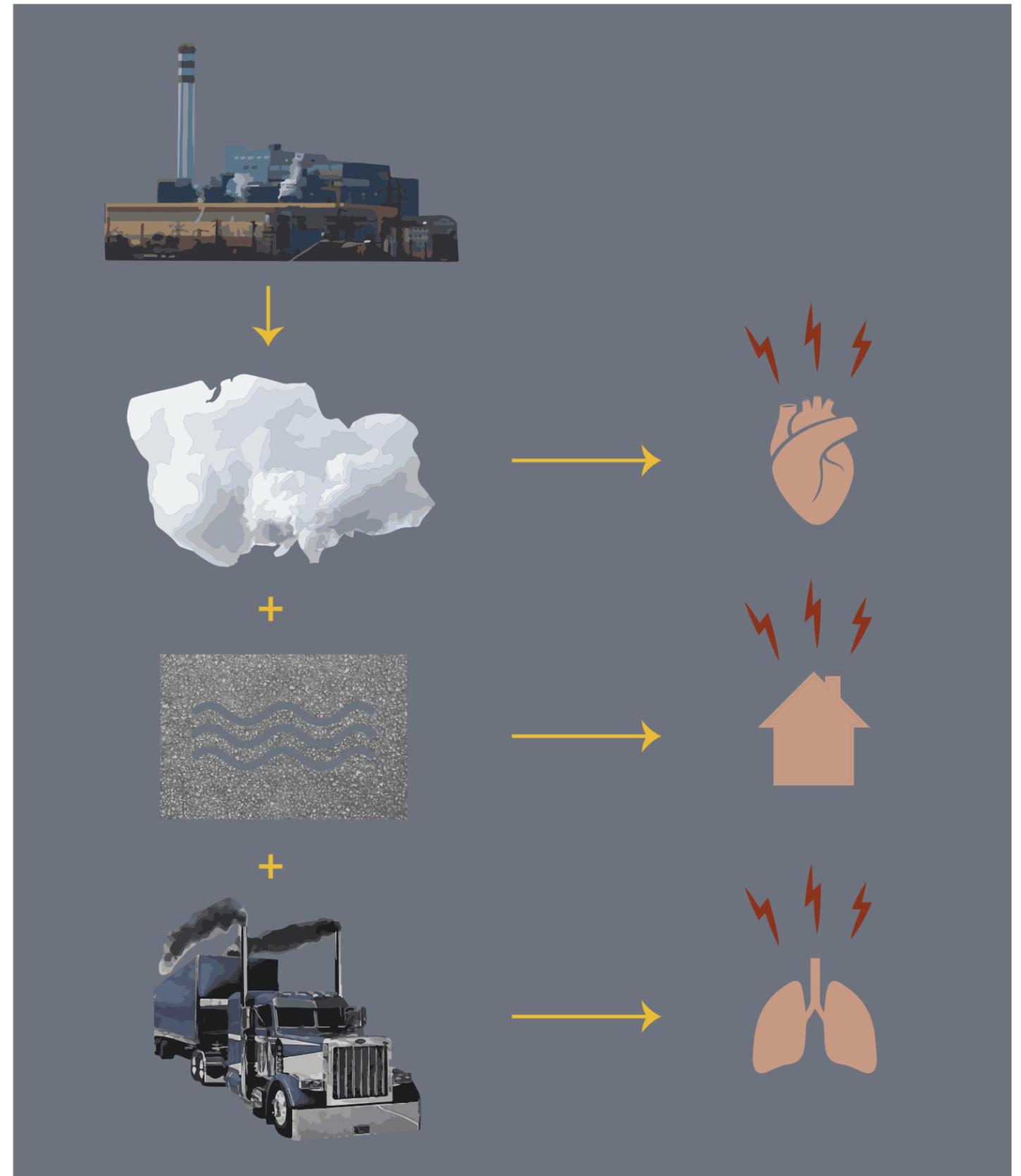
- **Guillermo Valencia**, chairman of the Greater Nogales and Santa Cruz County Port Authority

"The pollution is bad as it is. They're not taking into consideration what it's going to mean for future generations."¹⁴

"We have been trying to get some justice. [What] we have seen is that it's mainly neglect from the city and the federal government. They do have regulations, but those regulations do not apply to a community like ours."¹⁵

- **Katherine and Hilda Villegas**, founder and member of the Familias Unidas del Chamizal, an advocacy group in a predominantly Hispanic South-Central El Paso neighborhood near the El Paso / Ciudad Juárez border crossing

Images (top to bottom): Carmen Valadez - UC Berkeley Class Archive; Guillermo Valencia by Nogales wash - Sonoran Institute; Familias Unidas del Chamizal protest - Sipa USA / Alamy Stock Photo



Although these three samples appear distinct from one another, they are actually intertwined. The Border Industrialization Program and the subsequent NAFTA agreement between the US and Mexico catalyzed the three scenarios. Without the industrial landscape, there would arguably be less industrial pollution, less impervious surface buildup that exacerbates water runoff, and fewer trucks making short trips across the border



The Colectivo Chilpancingo Pro Justicia Ambiental (Chilpancingo Collective For Environmental Justice), is a Tijuana-based women's activist group. Known as "promotoras," or "those that moves forward," the activists have worked over the years advocating for environmental justice near the border. They assisted with the cleanup of the Metales y Derivados site between 2000 and 2008, advocated for children's health by reducing diesel pollution through the Air Quality Campaign from 2009-2011, and are currently trying to designate the Alamar River as a Natural Protected Zone.¹⁵ Image: HIP Give



Issues of environmental justice are widespread across the United States. This image shows a parachute designed by Rosario Gonzalez who worked with Culture Strike, a publication that focuses on portraying immigration issues through art. The parachute was used in the New York Climate March in September of 2014. The butterfly is representative of migrant journeys across the border, especially those who are artists. The parachute reads "Climate change affects us all" in both English and Spanish.¹⁶ Image: Ben Pomeroy / Hyperallergic

To construct a continuous border wall for the sake of national security is flawed logic. Considering the fact that most undocumented immigrants in the US are those who entered legally and whose visas have expired, a physical wall is not a worthy solution of the challenge of illegal immigration. Furthermore, exacting the phrase of “where there’s a will there’s a way,” there is no wall that can will completely deter illegal immigration in its entirety.¹⁷ Instead of focusing on a clearly performative act of building the wall, both the US and Mexico governments should redirect their efforts into addressing the actual issues that are pervading the border populations today. Image: abc7 News





Gap in the US - Mexico border wall. Image: Eugene Garcia / AP Photo

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Little Village, Chicago IL

Javier Ortiz



HAZARDOUS

Dust cloud descending through the Little Village neighborhood, after the Crawford Generating Station smoke stack was imploded in Chicago

Introduction

Little Village is a historic industrial and predominantly Latinx neighborhood on Chicago's Southwest Side. As a result, the neighborhood is a front line environmental justice community where inhabitants face a variety of challenges. Pollution from a century ago, as well as continuous hazardous emissions from factories, transportation, and other sources.¹

Minority communities on the West and South Sides of Chicago are the most vulnerable to toxic air pollution and other environmental health dangers in the city.² The findings of the Chicago study demonstrate that neighborhoods with high numbers of African American and Latino populations are most affected by air, water, and land pollution, extending from the deep South Side to Little Village, Pilsen, and McKinley Park on the West and Southwest Sides.¹

Increased diesel emissions from trucks, as well as new projects in line utilization plans by municipal officials and private business owners, pose significant dangers to Little Village's economy, ecology, health, and housing costs.³ As a result, community leaders and residents are increasingly asking that these efforts be driven by the community and serve the neighborhood rather than promoting gentrification and displacement.

The extension of existing facilities and the implementation of additional will result in an increase in pollution, particularly from diesel trucks, which are particularly detrimental because they are located near to Zapata Elementary School. Diesel fine particle emissions have been related to an increase in cancer, heart illness, and respiratory disease.¹ According to a study conducted by Little Village North Lawndale High School, this neighborhood is already subject to considerable truck traffic. In five hours, students tallied 552 trucks.

Elevated lead levels were also discovered in the soil on the property, with amounts exceeding 1000 ppm in three spots. The EPA's lead limit is 400 parts per million in play areas and 1250 parts per million in other locations.³ As you can see, the valuated regions are exceedingly unsafe and toxic, and they are not good for the community. According to studies, even small amounts of lead consumed or inhaled can harm young children's brains, resulting in learning difficulties, aggression, and criminal behavior later in life. According to most scientists, there is no such thing as a safe level of exposure.⁴



Zapata Elementary School



Abandoned facility



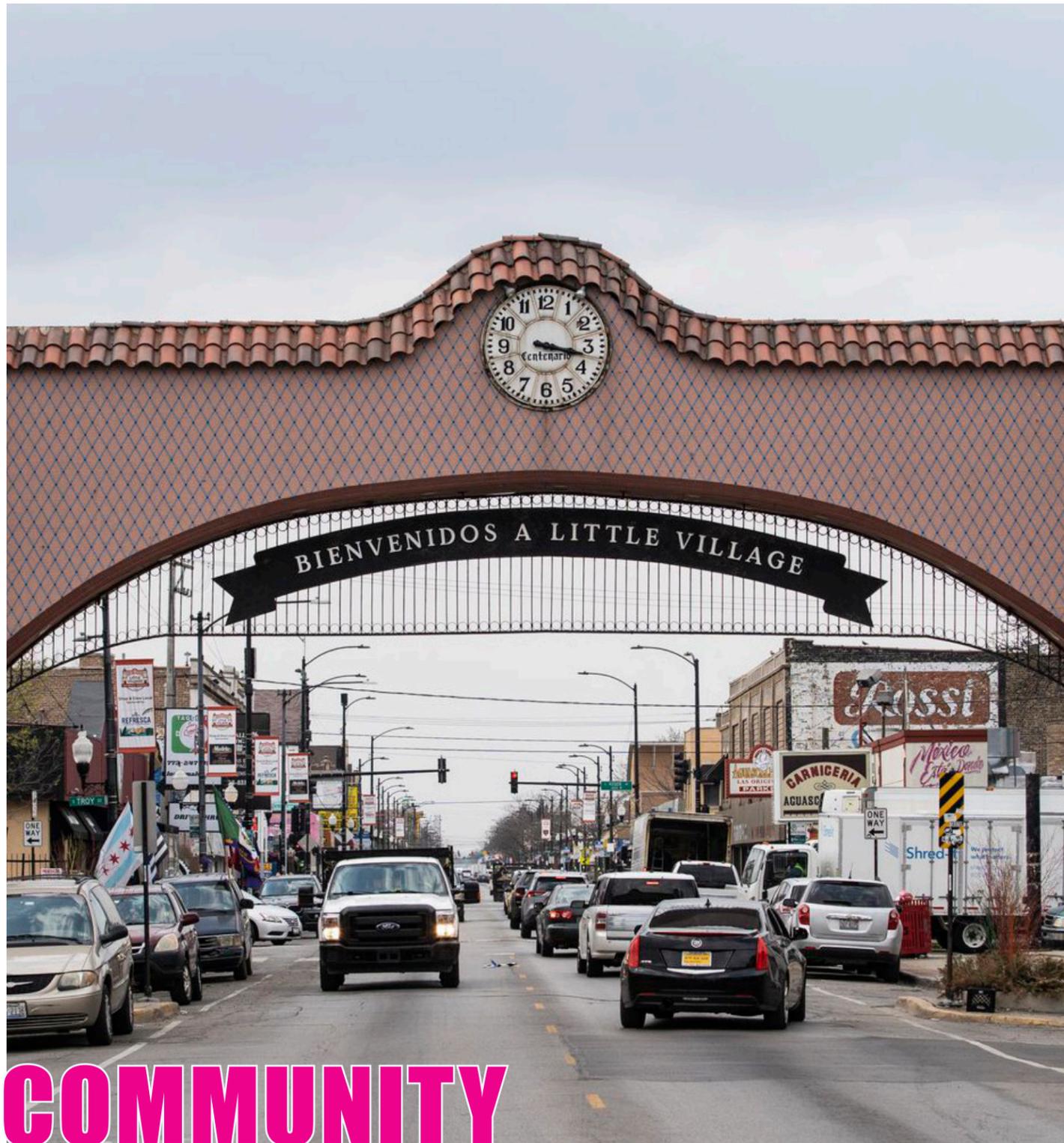
Smoke stack behind school sport event

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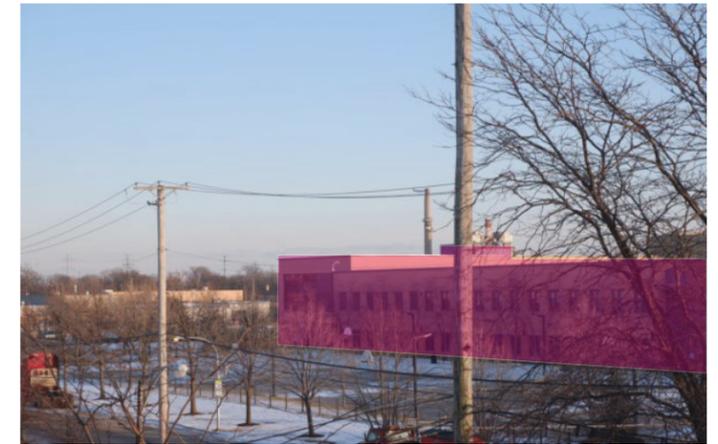
COMMUNITY

Little Village is known for the rich culture and dozens of amenities that the neighborhood has to offer. Commonly known for 26th street, this serves as part of the identity of the community; however, many issues go unnoticed that many families at risk of health problems.¹

The La Villita Park also connects to a food source. Collective planning and community engagement lead to the creation of a new recreational space.² The site was previously occupied by Celotex, which made asphalt roofing materials and polluted soil with cold tar and other toxins, occupied the site earlier, and it was designated as a superfund site.²

The park is associated with a remarkable achievement for a little village, which transformed a toxic boundary into an important community asset through community design and implementation. The park is currently an important site for residents to go for relaxation and outdoor activities.³

Currently this serves as a outdoor recreational space for little village community members; however, as mentioned already this was a super fun site. The remediation was completed in 2008.³



Little Village High School with factory in the background



New Target warehouse will be located near a school and in Little Village



Schools and parks still face heavy traffic exposing students people to toxic air



La Villita Park and a factory in the background

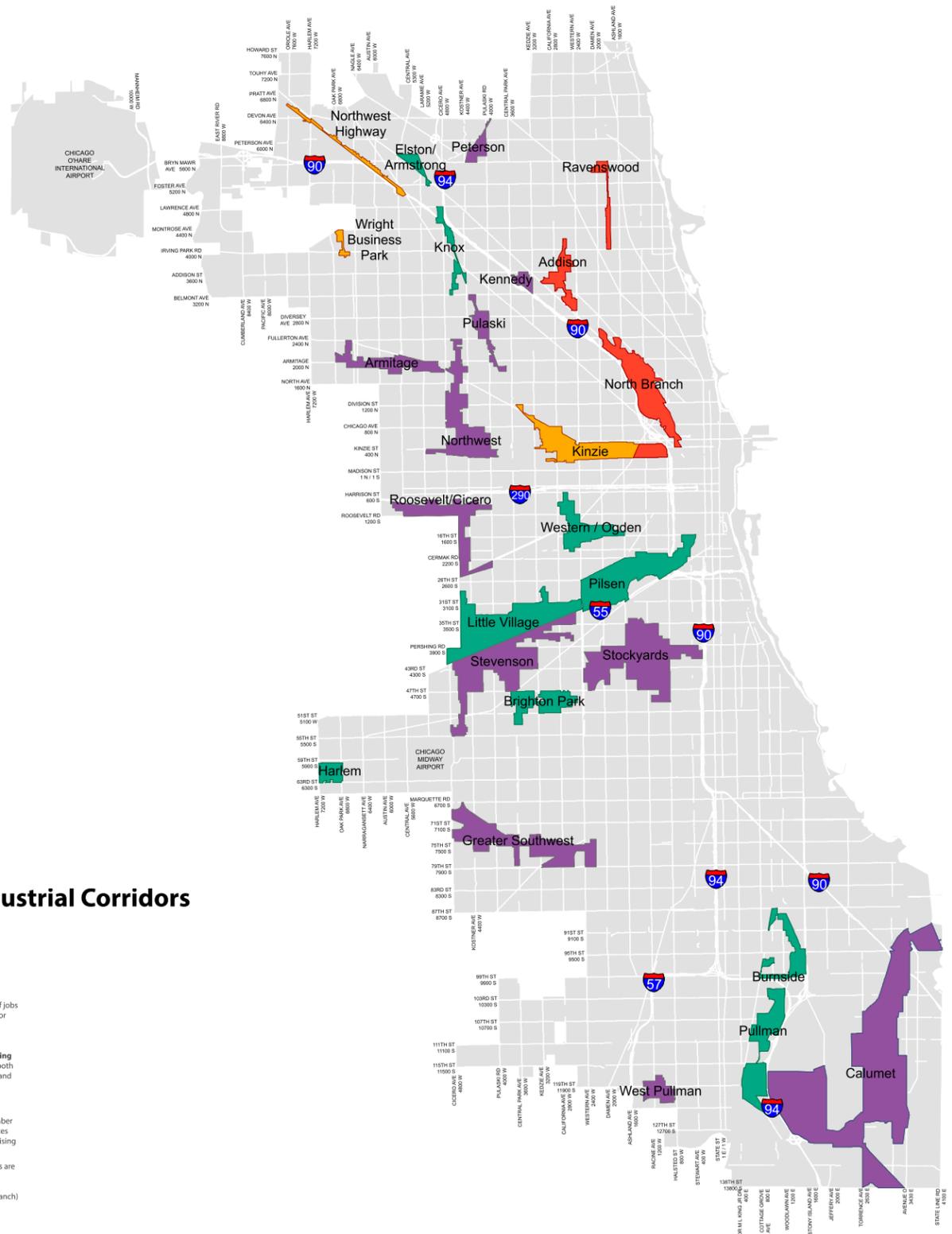
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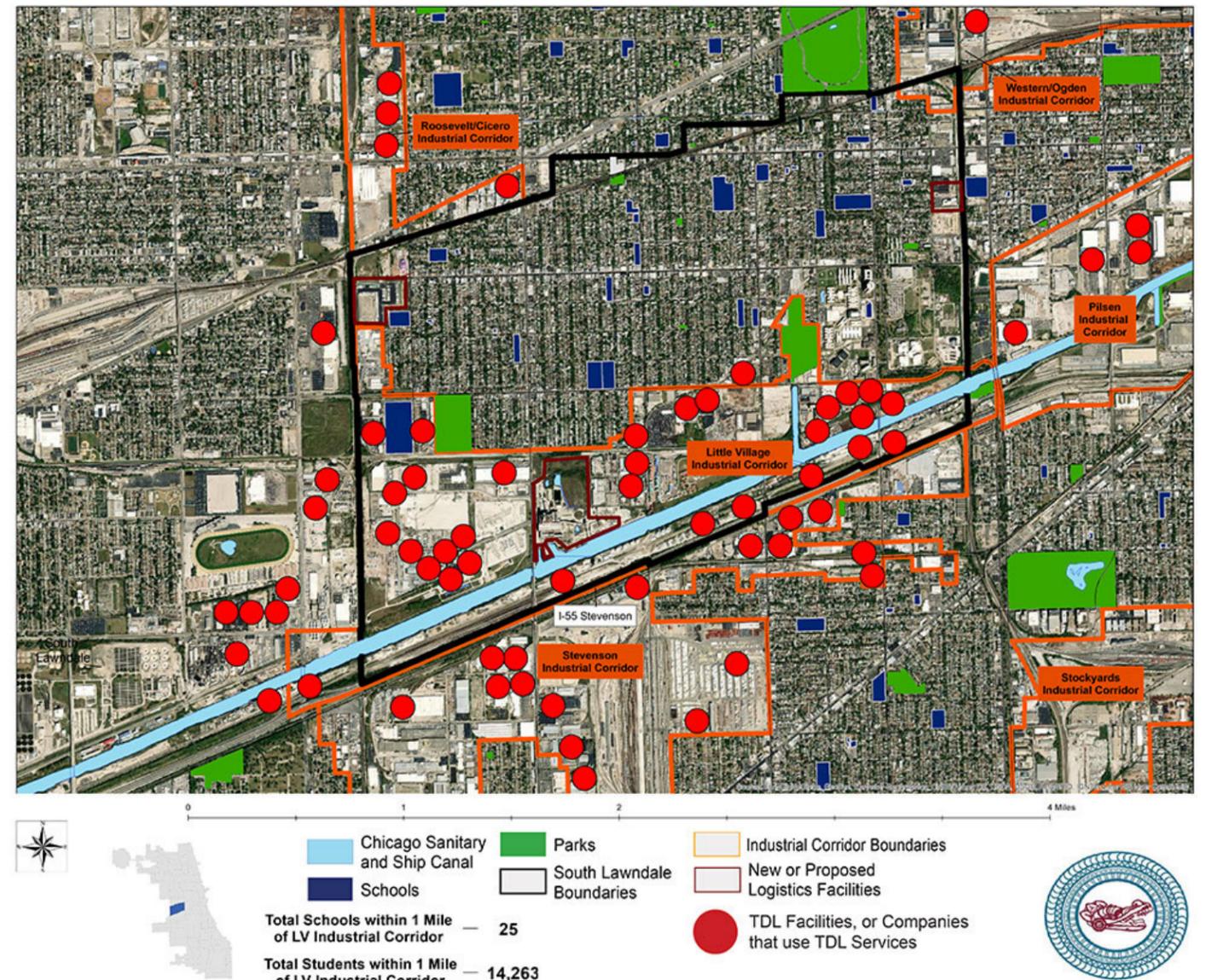
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Chicago's Industrial Corridors

- Map Key**
- Expressway
 - Rail
 - Major Streets
 - Manufacturing** - (Largest number of jobs are in manufacturing and are stable or growing)
 - Manufacturing and Moving & Storing Goods** - (Largest number of jobs in both manufacturing and the distribution and storage of goods and are stable or growing)
 - Business to Business** - (Largest number of jobs are in business support services which is increasing with info & tech rising in east Kinzie)
 - Info & Tech** - (Largest number of jobs are either information technology and management or business support services and are growing in North Branch)



Schools and Trucking, Distribution, and Logistics (TDL) in South Lawndale



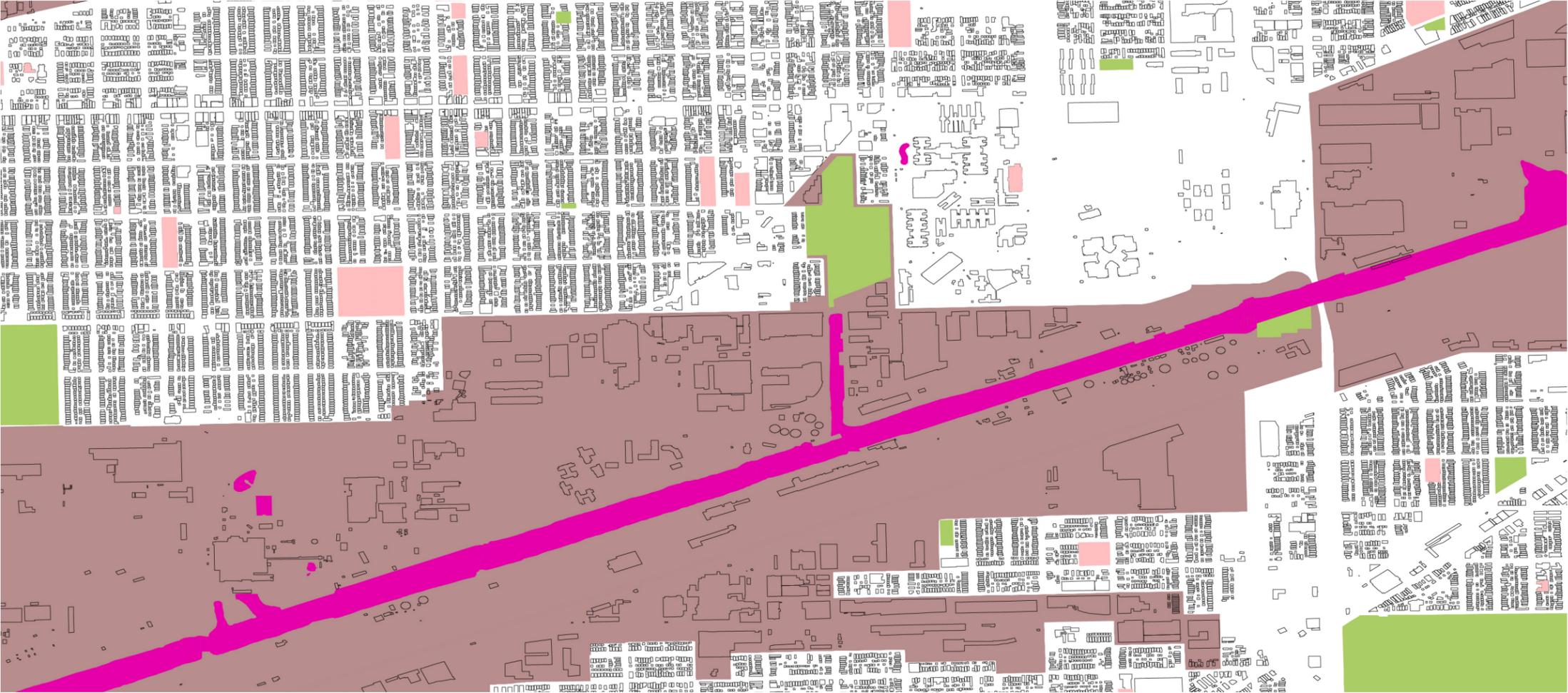
Minority communities on the West and South Sides of Chicago are the most vulnerable to toxic air pollution and other environmental health dangers in the city. The findings of the Chicago study demonstrate that neighborhoods with high numbers of African American and Latino populations are most affected by air, water, and land pollution, extending from the deep South Side to Little Village, Pilsen, and McKinley Park on the West and Southwest Sides.²

Little Village is surrounded by many transportation, distribution and logistics facilities. Within this map we can see the schools, parks, and also the industrial corridor boundary. There are 14,263 students within 1 mile of the industrial corridor and 25 schools within the industrial corridor.²

1. says, Kassandra Locksmith, and Hv Says: "Years after Coal Plant Fight, Chicago Neighborhoods Take on Diesel Exhaust." LVEJO, <http://www.lvejo.org/years-after-coal-plant-fight-chicago-neighborhoods-take-on-diesel-exhaust/>.

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Little Village, Chicago IL



Looking at this map, we can also see the industrial corridor highlighted with little village. Along with this are the open green spaces and schools lot areas. This map helps us see the close proximity that the schools and the parks have to the industrial corridor. The history that this industrial corridor has on the community is very crucial.

In 2006, testing by the Illinois EPA found the former Loewenthal Metals site contaminated with up to 5,900 parts per million of lead more than 14 times the federal safety limit for areas where children play. State investigators also found arsenic in the soil at levels more than 23 times higher than the federal cleanup goal for residential areas.¹

The new warehouse in Little Village, which will be owned by Target, is working to make the site greener and wants to improve connections with locals. However, this does not take into consideration all current environmental concerns and future concerns that this warehouse will have at such a close proximity to schools and family homes.

The project will redevelop the property at 3501 S. Pulaski Road, it will supposedly reduce traffic pollution.³



View of industrial corridor



Community members protesting the new targets warehouse



Little Village community residents protesting against industrial and toxic facilities

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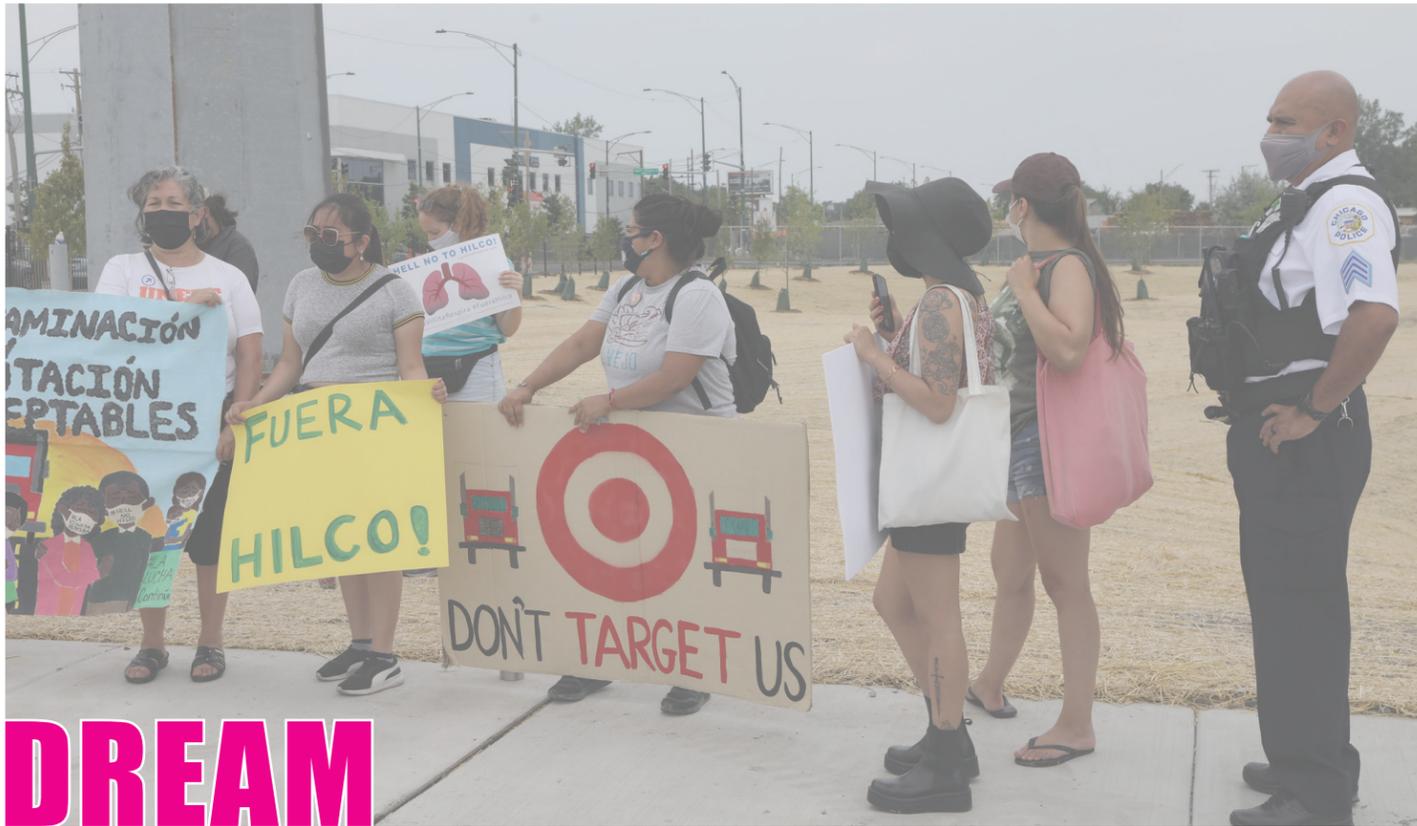
WISH

Kids looking over at the facilities



ENVISION

Environmental justice activism in Little Village



DREAM

Little Village gathering to protest the new target warehouse



HOPE

Little Village students making their way to school, and along their way, they pass several industrial sites



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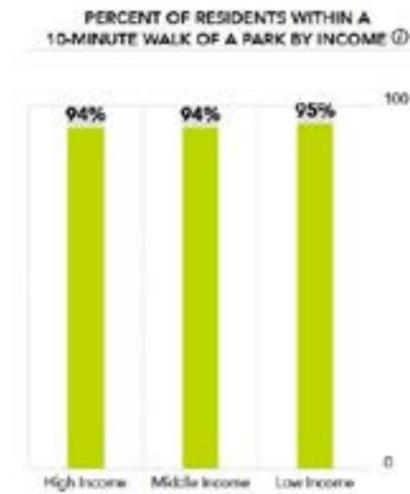
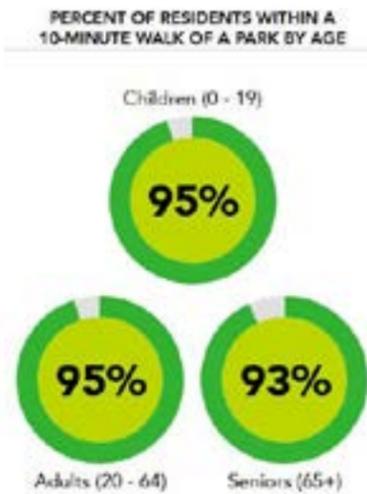
IMAGES

- 1) The DePaulia
- 2) Climate of Inequality
- 3) Climate of Inequality
- 4) Zapata Elementary School
- 5) Little Village
- 6) Public Commissions of Chicago
- 7) Chicago SunTimes
- 8) LVEJO
- 9) Pacific Standard
- 10) United States Environmental Protection Agency
- 11) WTTW News
- 12) La Villita Park

PARK ACCESSIBILITY IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.

Nature as a place of borders, policing, and inaccessibility.

Jake Tiernan



Statistics on Parks in Philadelphia, the Trust for Public Land.

Credit: <https://www.tpl.org/city/philadelphia-pennsylvania/riculture-philadelphia-plan-garden-plots-20190320>.

INTRODUCTION

In 1861 King Charles II of England ceded land Southwest of New Jersey to William Penn in order to repay a debt owed to his father. A devout quaker, Penn promptly began to plan a city based on quaker ideals of equality, regardless of race or gender, alongside surveyor general Thomas Holme. Central to this vision was a rectangular street grid in which a publicly accessible greenspace would sit at the center of each block.

The result was Philadelphia, a city in which, even today, 95% of all residents live within walking distance of a public park. But, while Penn's vision of equal access was realized, his vision of equality within those

spaces was not. Residents in low-income neighborhoods within Philadelphia have 17% less access to park space per-person than the city median, while residents in high income neighborhoods have 43% more than the city median.² Similarly, parks in majority non-white census tracts receive less investment as well as higher rates of litter.³

To understand this phenomenon, however, we must look past Philadelphia and to the intensely racialized, class-based history of parks and nature in the U.S. at large.

¹ "William Penn's Philadelphia Plan | The Cultural Landscape Foundation". 2021. Tclf.org. <https://tclf.org/landscapes/william-penn-philadelphia-plan>.
² "Everyone Should Have A Park Within A 10-Minute Walk Of Home.". 2021. The Trust For Public Land. <https://www.tpl.org/city/philadelphia-pennsylvania>.
³ "Sanitation Solutions: How Hidden Cameras Became Philly's Fiercest Weapon In The War On Dumping". 2021. WHYY. <https://whyy.org/articles/sanitation-solutions-how-hidden-cameras-became-phillys-fiercest>.

CONTEXT

Divisions of city and nature extend beyond forests and rivers, and to the people who inhabit them. Rhetoric pushed by champions of parks and conservation within America in the 20th century, such as Teddy Roosevelt and Aldo Leopold, promoted a view in which non-white, non-land-owning, urban dwelling people could not appreciate the sublime beauty of nature, as they were either too primitive or lacked the moral fiber to do so. This rhetoric can be traced in how and where cities have historically invested in their parks, Philadelphia included. In turn, how people use and experience their outdoor spaces showcases the pervasiveness of this rhetoric even now.

ISSUES

It is a commonly held belief that "nature is for everyone", and that the primary obstacle to entering greenspace is simply proximity to it. However, in truth, accessibility to the outdoors extends far beyond proximity.

In 1912, Virginia passed its first hunting regulation, known as the Moncure and Rutherford Bill. The bill, which introduced the need for a hunting license to hunt various game species, stated its intent to "keep(s) out of the fields a class that should not, under any circumstances, have the right to hunt.". This class, as specified, was "a multitude of town and negro loafers, forcing them to legitimate pursuits during the hunting season."⁴

Far from an isolated incident within the American history of parks and recreation, the Moncure and Rutherford act was emblematic of its guiding principles. Figures that loomed larger than life such as Teddy Roosevelt and Gregory Pinchot spoke blatantly of their support for eugenics, believing that the most important aspect of conservation was the "conservation of the racial stock itself.". Similarly, Madison Grant, founder of the National Parks Service, released his book *The Passing of the Great Race* in 1916; a book so vile, Adolf Hitler referred to it as "my bible." Within the context of nature in America, the outdoors existed as a place dictated by race and class.⁵ Those who were not wealthy and not white were not welcome. This conception of the outdoors as a heavily bordered and policed space trickled from the top, perme-

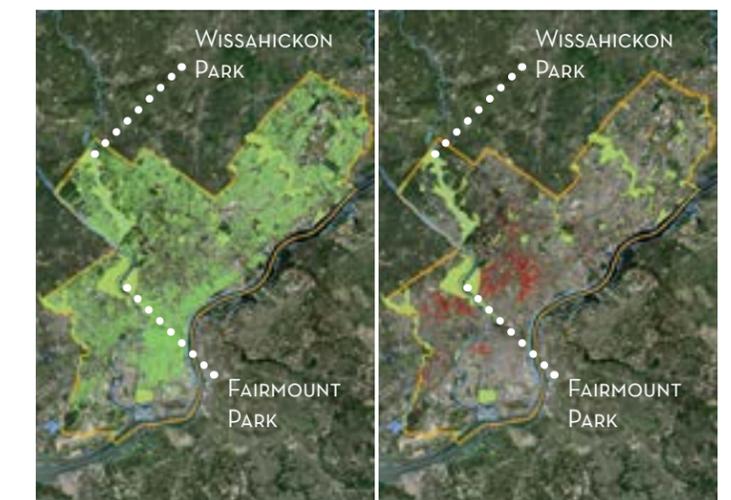
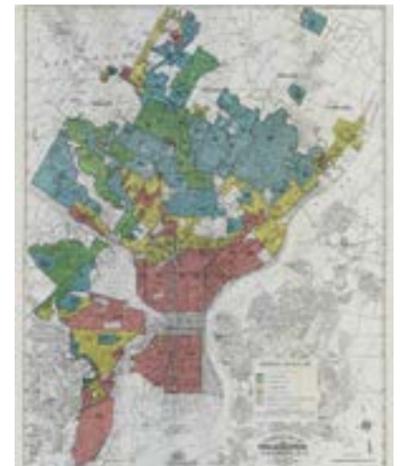
⁴ Giltner, Scott E. 2010. *Hunting And Fishing In The New South*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
⁵ Muñoz, David. 2020. "Antiracism In Conservation". Presentation, The Pennsylvania State University, . 2020.
⁶ Melamed, Samantha. 2020. "Philadelphia Keeps Clearing Homeless Encampments. But Who Is Being Helped?". Philadelphia Inquirer. <https://www.inquirer.com/news/encampment-clearing-homeless-philadelphia-ben-frank>.

ating and twisting William Penn's vision for the City of Brotherly Love. This is seen nowhere more clearly than in two of Philadelphia's largest parks, Wissahickon and Fairmount. Both among the largest urban forests in the country, Wissahickon sits nestled in Manayunk, a historically white neighborhood in Philadelphia. Fairmount, on the other hand, sits amidst a collection of historically Black neighborhoods. Within historic redlining maps of Philadelphia, areas around Wissahickon are marked for major investment. Areas around Fairmount are red.

It is of little surprise, then, that this trend largely holds true today. Wissahickon, boasting 91% white visitor attendance despite Philadelphia being a 55.2% non-white city, has received two major renovations in the past five years.⁶ Streets surrounding it are largely green on the Philadelphia litter index suggesting little, if any, trash. Fairmount Park, by contrast, has just begun the planning of its first restoration project in years. It is a regular site for illegal dumping and a

Philadelphia Redlining Map.

Credit: <https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/redlining/holc-map-philadelphia-1932/>



Parks in relation to litter index scores, with green being cleanly streets and red indicating uncleanly streets.

mecca for those experiencing homelessness in the area; usually longtime residents who are subsequently forcefully removed heavy police presence unseen in Wissahickon.⁷ Furthermore, these police exist as a precinct specifically dedicated to Fairmount Park, created under Mayor Rizzo in the 1960's. Something that Wissahickon does not have.

The conditions in these two parks are endemic to Philadelphia. Parks in predominantly non-white neighborhoods face greater rates of illegal dumping, heavier police presence, and oftentimes less overall investment than their white counterparts. Non-white residents who choose to venture to parks such as Wissahickon are usually met with scrutiny and heavy discomfort.



OUTCOMES

In light of an outdoors park system heavily disinvested in and policed based on race, accessibility became more than just an issue of proximity to the green space itself. The result is a self-defeating cycle, in which Philadelphia, like so many other cities, invests its funds into the most heavily trafficked parks: parks in predominantly white neighborhoods. Parks divested in in non-white communities than largely become unused and abandoned, as they offer little to the communities they are supposed to serve.

CONCLUSION

Faced overwhelmingly with spaces made inaccessible to them both through disinvestment and policing, Philadelphia's non-white communities rallied through creating a series of enclave spaces in which they could re-negotiate their relations to the outdoors on their own terms. As defined by Catherine Squires in her piece "Redefining the Black Public Sphere", enclave spaces are spaces created out of necessity, often forced there in light of repressive regimes. Within the outdoors in Philadelphia, these spaces arise in the disinvested communities around them, creating a gathering place for those communities to reclaim their identity and voice in the outdoors away from the oppressive regime of typical American outdoors culture.

In Order: (1) Wissahickon Park during the Fall, (2) Encampments of Those Experiencing Homelessness in Fairmount Park, and (3) A Police Cruiser from Fairmount Park's Police Precinct.



Image Caption: On Fletcher Street, a short distance from Fairmount Park's East Side, sits the Fletcher Street Urban Riding Club. Created in the 1980's as a way for founder Ellis Ferrell to share his love of horse back riding, it has evolved into a beloved community program that allows the mostly Black neighborhood of Strawberry Mansion to renegotiate their experience in the outdoors amongst the streets of Philadelphia rather than the heavily disinvested parks around them.

Credit: <http://fsurc.com/>



Image Caption: Found in the primarily Black neighborhood of Kingsessing along the Schuylkill River, Bartram's Garden once sat as a disinvested green space surrounded by Philadelphia's trash facilities and an oil refinery. This was until the local community in Bartram's Village created a robust farming program to meet their needs for fresh produce, creating a rich series of programs centered around mutual aid and culturally grounded in the African Diaspora. Named Sankofa Farm, it roughly translates to "it is not wrong to go back and get what is at risk of being lost." Within this space, the neighborhood's relationship to the outdoors is governed entirely through a non-Western, non-white pedagogy, allowing the community to reclaim their space on their terms.

Credit: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.inquirer.com%2Fscience%2Fclimate%2Furban-farm-ag->



Furthermore, the residents from Bartram's Garden have worked to create a boat house within their community. Kept from the Schuylkill River for years due to extreme pollution levels, the boat house allows the community to re-negotiate their relation with the water through activities such as teaching children to build and pilot their own boats, interacting with the water directly down the street instead of being forced to participate at the hyper-commercialized boat house row.

Credit: <https://newsblog.drexel.edu/2015/10/14/drexel-snapshot-designing-and-building-phillys-first-public-boathouse/>



Dirtbikes in Philadelphia is immensely popular throughout Philadelphia, especially in disenfranchised, minority neighborhoods. It allows participants to reclaim and participate in outdoor space in a culturally unique way.
Credit: <https://why.org/articles/how-one-urban-farm-was-lost-la-finquitas-finale/drexel-snapshot-designing-and-build->



La Finquita was an urban farm in the Kensington neighborhood of Philadelphia that co-opted a lot owned by absentee landlord to grow food for their neighborhood.
Credit: <https://why.org/articles/how-one-urban-farm-was-lost-la-finquitas-finale/drexel-snapshot-designing-and-build->



Produce sold from the Sankofa Community Garden

Credit: <https://www.bartramsgarden.org/explore-bartrams/the-farm/ing-phillys-first-public-boathouse%2F&psig=AOvVaw38b->



Fletcher Street Urban Riding Club - Child Says Hi to the Horses

Credit: <https://billypenn.com/2020/11/29/philly-urban-cowboys-fletcher-street-ellis-ferrell-strawberry-mansion-idris-el->



Sankofa Farm Community Garden Sign

Credit: https://www.businessyab.com/explore/united_states/pennsylvania/philadelphia_county/philadelphia/kingsessing/sankofa_community_farm_at_bartrams_garden.



A member of the Fletcher Street Urban Riding Club stops by to visit his friends while on a ride.

Credits: <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2017/02/fletcher-street-riding-club/515520/>

COUNTER-STORY
INFRASTRUCTURE



TORONTO, NAMED ONE OF THE MOST CULTURALLY DIVERSE CITY IN THE WORLD, HAS BUILT A COMPLICATED RELATIONSHIP WITH DAILY COMMUTERS ALONGSIDE ITS INFRASTRUCTURE UPGRADES, NAMELY THE TTC LINE. THE INTERWEAVING SOCIAL INEQUITY LEADS TO A PLETHORA OF PROBLEMS RESIDING IN ITS DEVELOPMENT SYSTEMS.

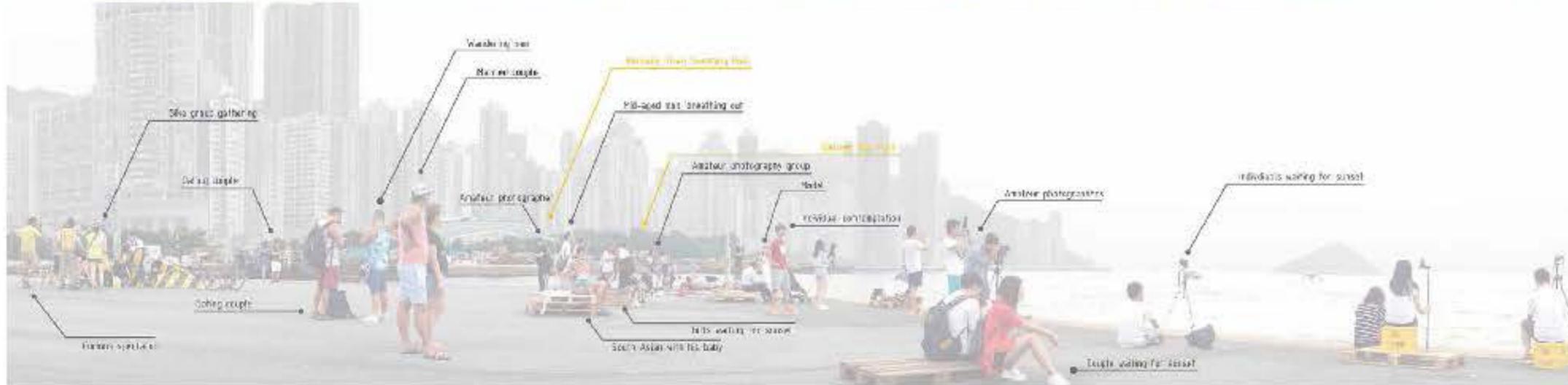


HONG KONG'S WESTERN DISTRICT PUBLIC CARGO HANDLING AREA WAS A DE FACTO PUBLIC SPACE FOR LOCAL RESIDENTS AND TOURISTS ALIKE. THE PIER'S RISE IN POPULARITY DUE TO ITS INSTAGRAM FOLLOWING LED TO HONG KONG GOVERNMENT INTERVENING IN HOW THE SPACE CAN BE USED—LEADING TO ITS CLOSURE IN 2021.

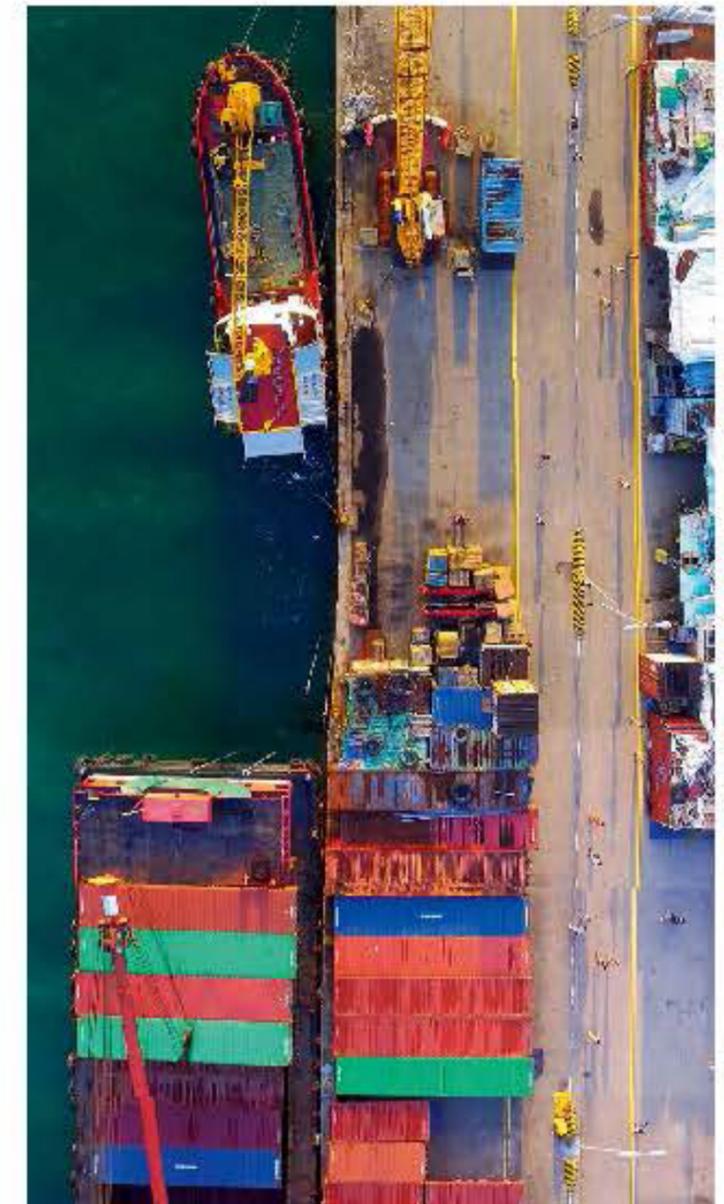
HK WESTERN DISTRICT PUBLIC CARGO WORKING AREA

Cargo handling area by day, treasured open space and "Instagram Pier" by night

Rae Lei, Kenny Zhou



Top: Informal gatherings. Image: Pop-Up Pier [Local Facebook group]. Bottom: Analysis of pier uses. Image: Benni Yu-Ling Pong.



Aerial view of the cargo working area. Image: Adrian Tsang.

INTRODUCTION

The Hong Kong Western District Public Cargo Working Area (WDPCWA) also known as Sai Wan Pier, was constructed in 1981. In the 1990s, residents from nearby Kennedy Town began to use the pier as an informal gathering space during off-hours. In 2010, the pier gained popularity as a result from new Metro stations that opened nearby, as well as becoming viral on Instagram. In 2013, it was awarded best people space award from the Hong Kong Public Space Awards because it offered people a high degree of freedom.¹ In 2014, the HK Marine Department placed notices banning people from entering the pier, but in reality, guards only warned

people as a formality so no entities would be liable for damages in case of injury or accident.

In 2013, the pier became contested land, as the government wanted to re-design it into a grand entry point, so they commissioned HKU to design a master plan. Another attempt was made in 2017. The 2017 plan calls for a community garden, leaving only a 10 meter wide strip for the pier's original use. Revised plans released in 2018 reduced the community garden to 20% of the site. The pier was finally closed in March 2021 without notice, due to COVID-19 and "previous safety issues."² It is now only open to those with a working permit or tenants of the pier.

CONTEXT

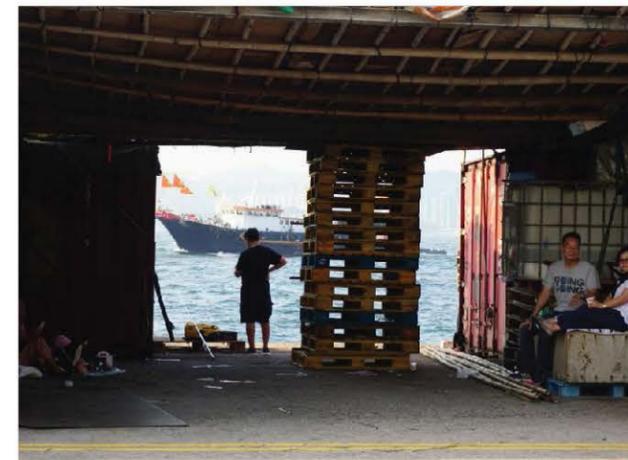
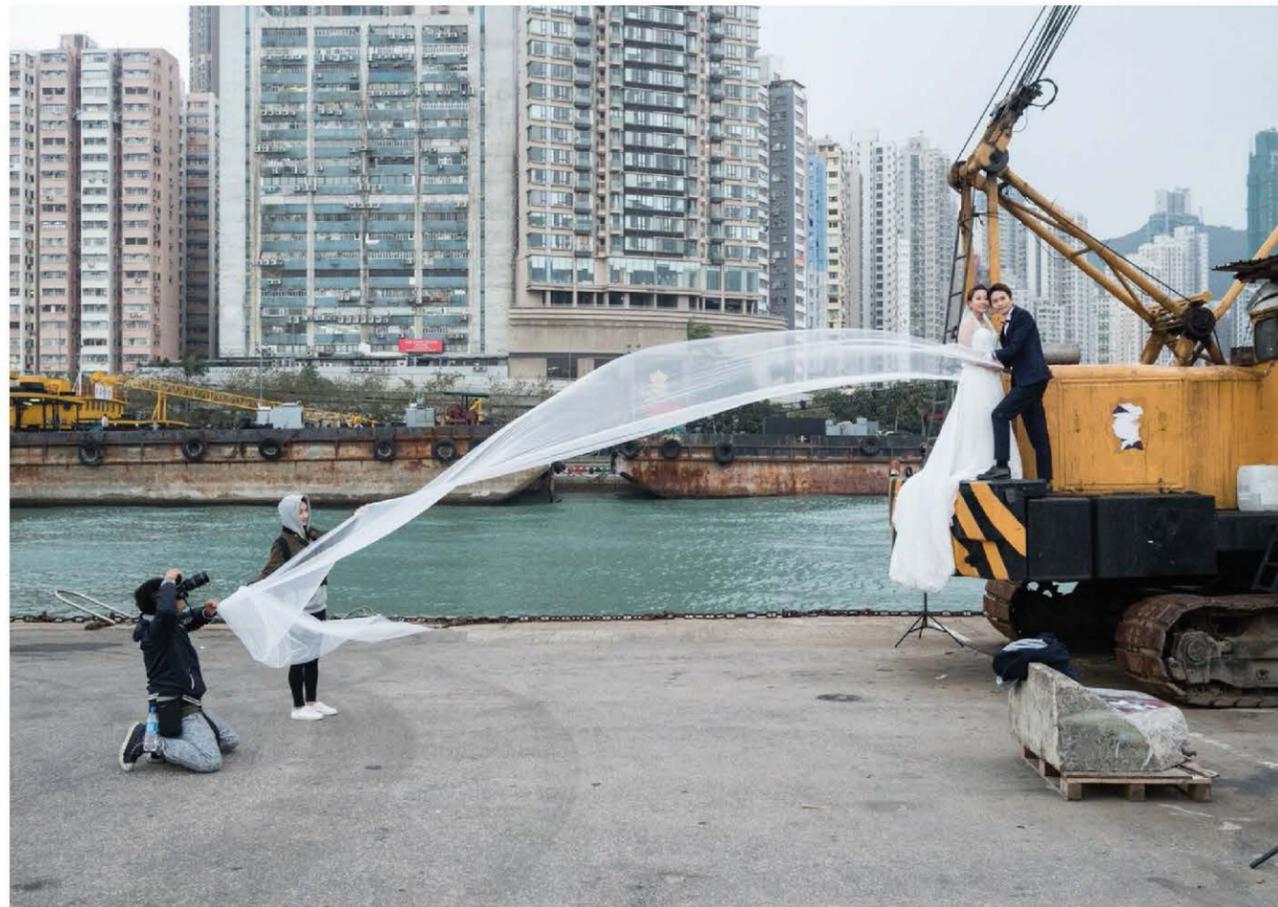
The pier is technically not a public space, but a closed area with gates left open. It is owned by the Marine Department, which leases it out to cargo operators. Residents were able to access the space informally before or after hours. In addition, since the pier is not usually staffed, the public have been able to also enjoy the pier during working hours, especially during days with light cargo activity. Moreover, the Marine Department and cargo operators were tolerant to the public, as most people generally do not disturb the workers when visiting.

Because of its undesigned nature, the public have

been able to freely design their own experiences. Many activities take place, including photography, strolling, people-watching, community group gatherings, picnics, barbecues, fishing, biking, running, jogging, pet-walking, kite-flying, napping, or simply just chilling.³ Photography includes wedding, graduation, amateur productions, and the clientele includes families, couples, friends, or singular people of all ages. The unprogrammed nature also translates into a community asset. Nicknamed the "Sky Mirror of Hong Kong," the pier's uneven pavement produces excellent views of Victoria Harbour through reflection of water after rain events. People bring their own chairs, or utilize existing objects—such as cranes, cargo pallets, or stacked materials as seating.

1. Pop Up Pier. "How to Better Use and Manage Sai Wan Pier Berths 1-3 as a Public Open Space?"
2. Kwan. "Hong Kong's Popular 'Instagram Pier' Closes to the Public without Notice."

3. Fong. "The Millennial Picturesque: A Hong Kong Urbanopia from a Hong Kong Eye."

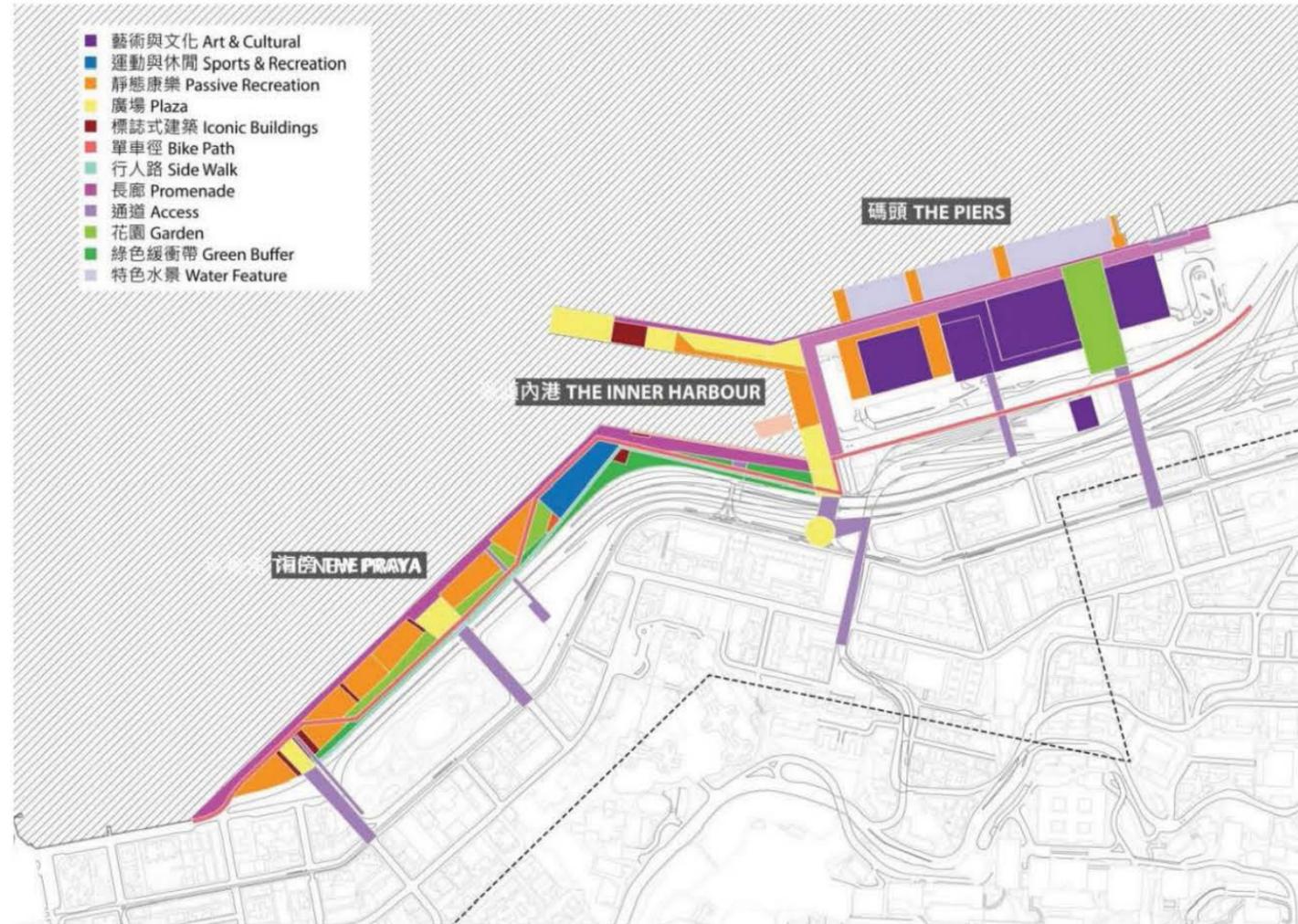


Top: Sky Mirror of Hong Kong. Image: Tai Ngai Lung.
Bottom: A couple poses for a wedding photoshoot on a crane at the "Instagram Pier" in Hong Kong. Image: Pierfrancesco Celada.

How the pier can be used by different people at different times. Images: Liza H.Y. Chan, Paul Zimmerman, Judy Chan, hk01.com.

HK WESTERN DISTRICT PUBLIC CARGO WORKING AREA

Conflicts between community and government



Proposed Land Uses for 3 Sub-Areas of WDPCHA. Image: Hong Kong University Faculty of Architecture.

DESIGN 1: WESTERN HARBOURFRONT CONCEPTUAL MASTER PLAN

In August 2013, a Planning Team from Department of Urban Planning and Design of the University of Hong Kong (HKU) published the Western Harbourfront Conceptual Master Plan to redesign the WDPCHA for Hong Kong Central & Western District Council.⁴ The Master Plan aims to revitalize the Western Harbourfront and transform it into a vibrant, attractive and accessible waterfront and a iconic landmark for western gateway by creating multi-use public spaces.

The overall strategies include improvement of public accessibility, sustainable development and

preservation of cultural and history heritage. As for accessibility, the plan expanded the pedestrian lane alongside the main roads that people used most frequently to get access to the waterfront. More metro stations were proposed to make sure people from other districts of the city can visit the waterfront conveniently.

Three heritage trails connecting the waterfront with Victoria Peak were built for recreation and education purpose. Comparing to the existing hard concrete surface, the plan also proposed a drainage system, a water filtration system and porous landscape covering a large percent of the study area. Solar panels were installed on the roof top of the market to further enhance the sustainability of the site.

According to the plan, water fountain, garden and an iconic observation tower would be proposed in the piers and the inner harbour area to welcome visitors in the cruises entering and exiting the harbour as a new Western Gateway landmark. The inner harbour area would become a performing and event hub and a space for cultural mixing, an amphitheatre would be built for the public to watch performance at the floating stage and enjoy the stunning sunset view. The hydrophilic design would make people more intimate with water. Meanwhile, multiple recreation facilities like basketball court, cycling track, infiltration garden and urban beach plaza would also be proposed to meet different needs of the citizens and visitors.



Renders of conceptual masterplan. Image: HKU Faculty of Architecture.



Scheme 1 proposal by government. Image: Pop Up Pier.

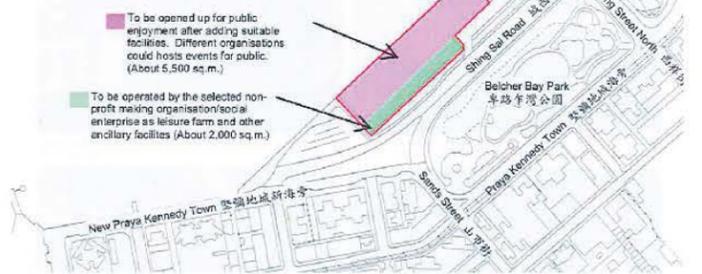
DESIGN 2: COMMUNITY GARDEN RUN BY NGO

Later in Jan. 2017, the government released their new development plan for WDPCHA.⁵ More than 80% of the pier will be transformed into a community garden, while leaving only a 10-meter wide promenade for public use. NGOs will operate promenade and community gardens. Bidders will have to install fences, lighting and seating across the rest of the area to create the promenade. The Development Bureau stated that the plan responds to the needs of the community, while according to the survey by community board, 93% of the residents don't want a community garden. Also, Sai Wan harbor has high winds, strong sun exposure, and high air salinity, which is not suitable for growing produce.

Then by Jan. 2018, the government proposed a second scheme with two options, both would reduce the community garden to 27% of the site. 5500 sqm of the pier run by government would open for public enjoyment and the rest of the pier would be community garden and other ancillary facilities managed by NGOs. In both options, government will be responsible for the installation of the required infrastructure.

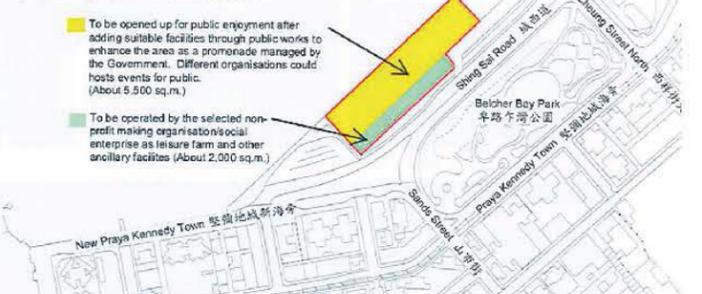
Option 1:

Proposed Short-term Use at the Three Berths Released from Western District Public Cargo Working Area
Proposal 1: The whole Site is to be operated by the selected non-profit making organisation/social enterprise



Option 2:

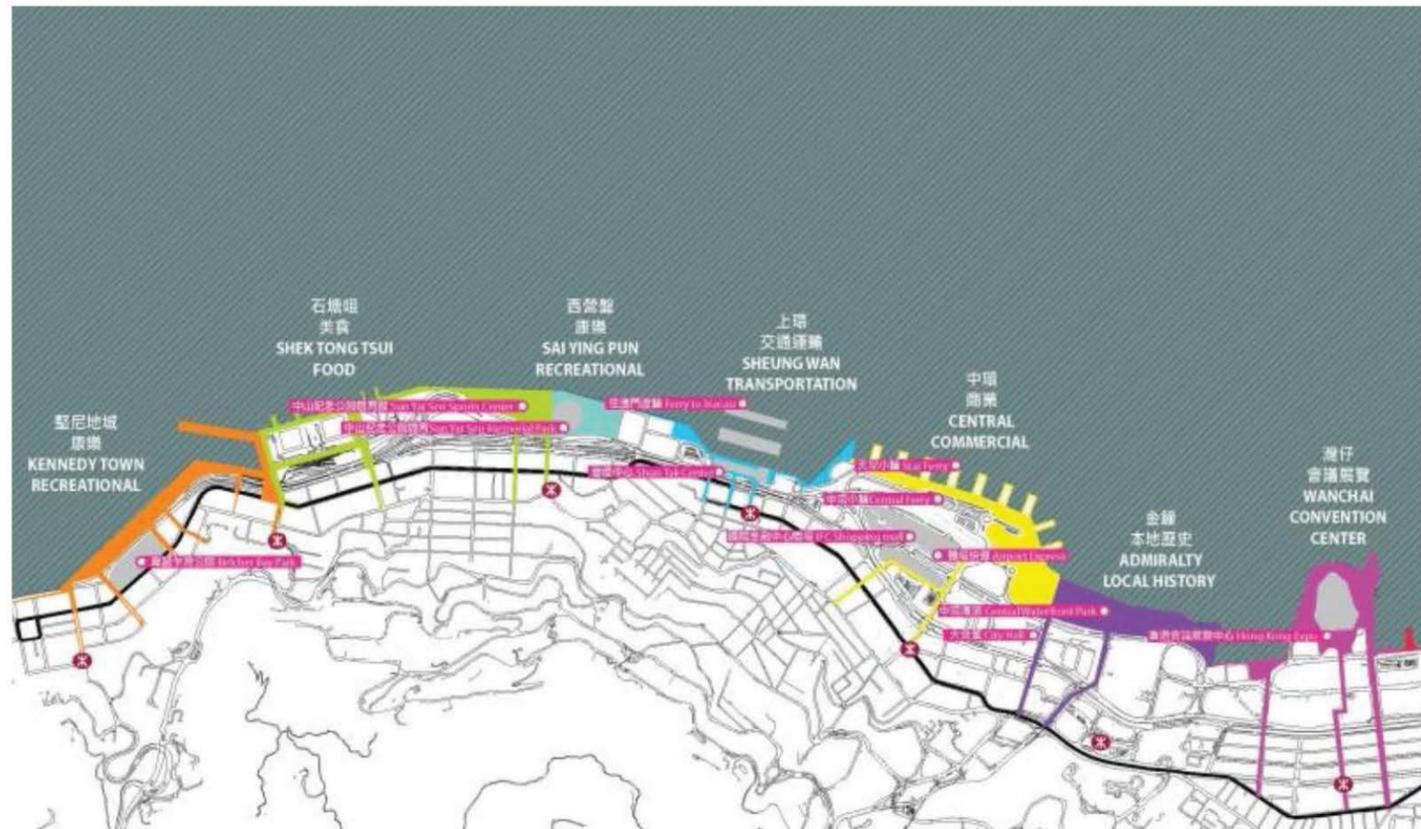
Proposed Short-term Use at the Three Berths Released from Western District Public Cargo Working Area
Proposal 2: Part of the Site is to be operated by the selected non-profit making organisation/social enterprise



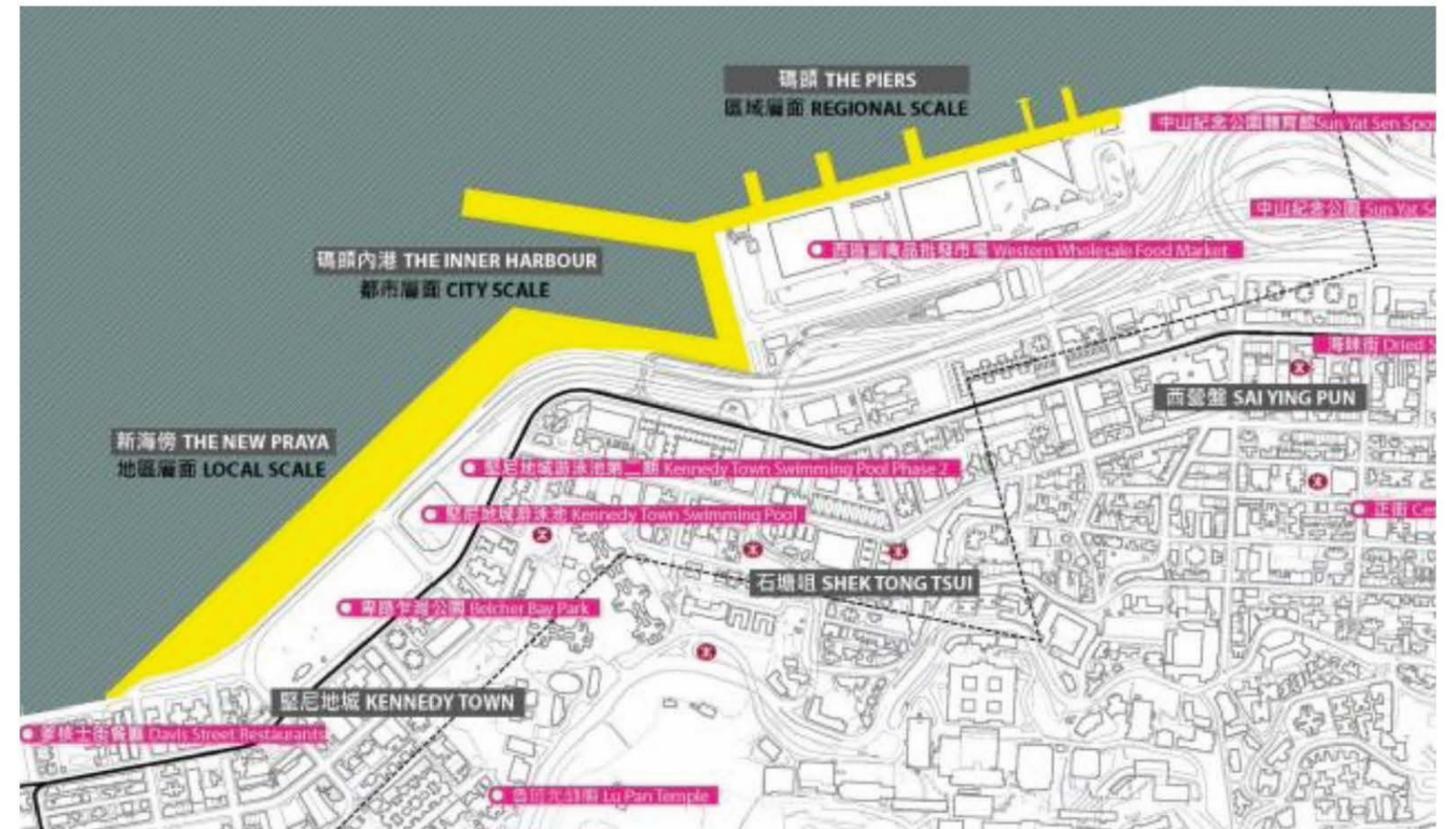
Scheme 2 proposals by government. Image: Pop Up Pier.

4. HKU Faculty of Architecture. "Proposed Land Uses for 3 Sub-Areas."

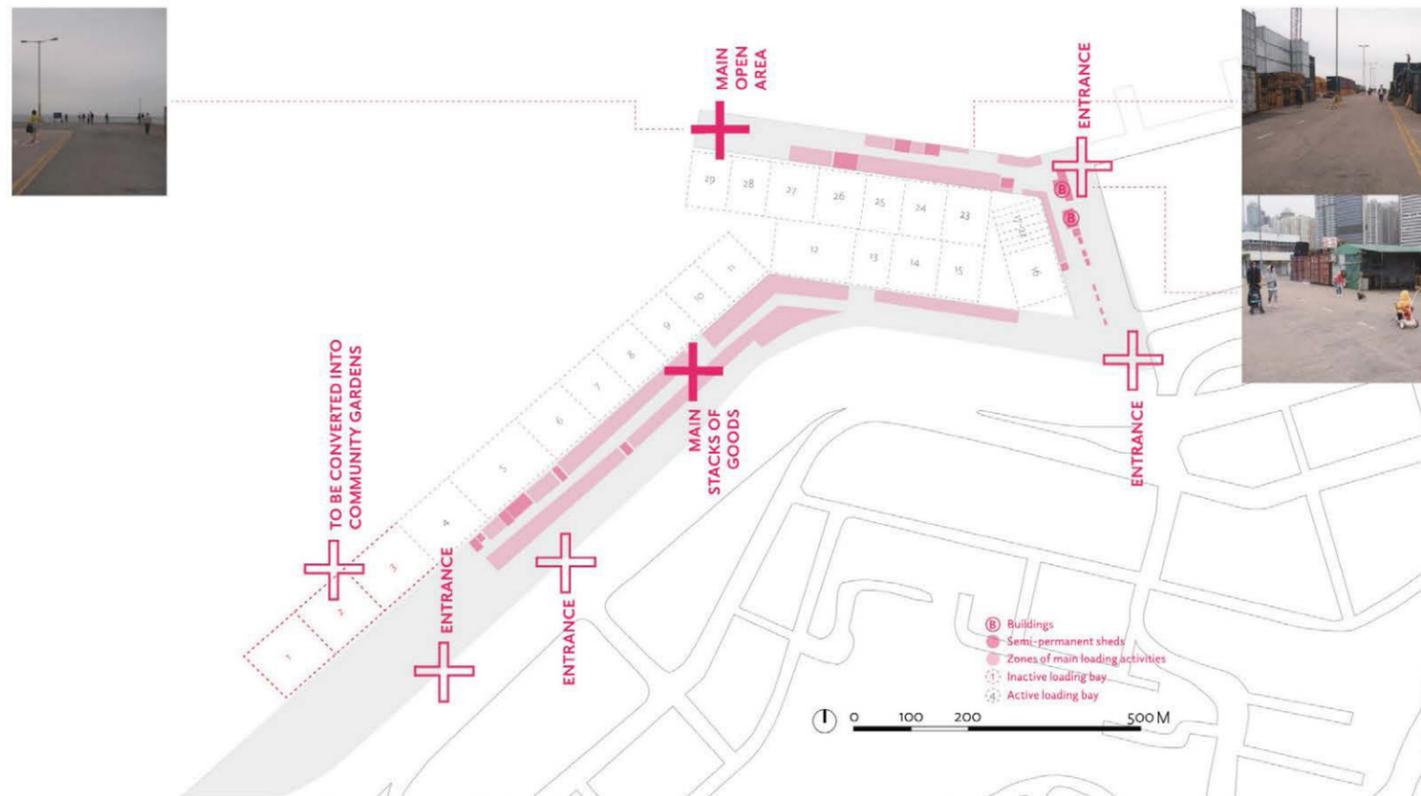
5. Cheng, "Gov't Scales down Community Garden Plan at Popular 'Instagram Pier' amid Criticism."



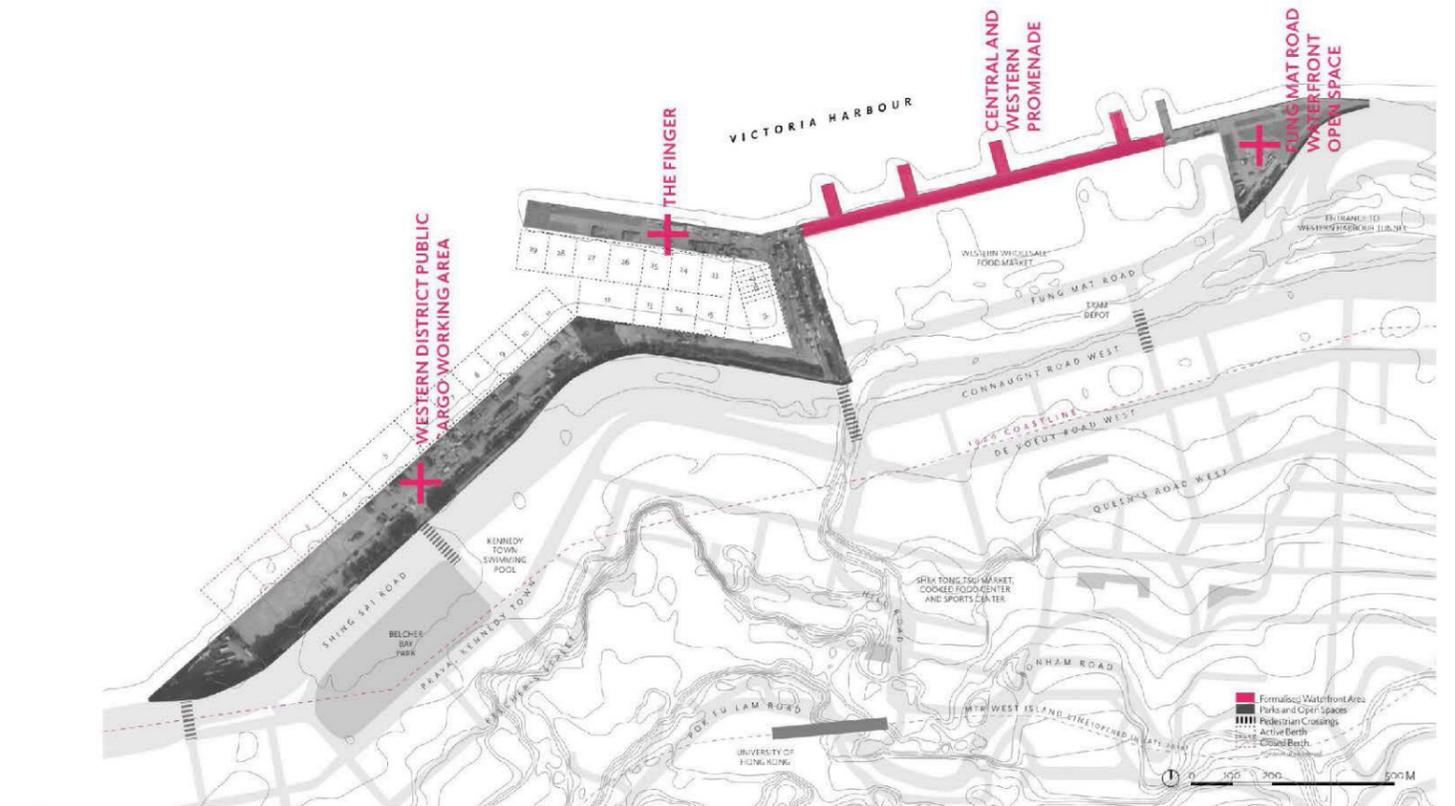
Proposed 2013 Land Uses for the whole waterfront. Image: Hong Kong University Faculty of Architecture.



Phased 2013 proposal. Image: Hong Kong University Faculty of Architecture.



Original land uses. Image: Iris Fong



Original zoning plan. Image: Iris Fong

ISSUES

A. CONFLICTS BETWEEN COMMUNITY'S WISH AND GOVERNMENT'S BENEFITS:

"Why don't we get a better picture of the reality and let the residents decide whether they want to keep the pier, or have a community garden?" asked Democratic Party lawmaker and district councilor Ted Hui.⁶ After the publication of the community garden proposal, various groups together initiated a petition concerning the development plan of the pier. They claimed that the entire waterfront should be open for the public, rather than for developers, for district officers or for the private garden. A community protest was also started to save the last enclave of freedom. However, the Marine department, who is in charge of the site, believes that the pier has never been a public space. The original condition of the pier didn't meet the standard of public space in Hong Kong. And due to safety concern, certain regulations and redevelopment plan should be proposed.

As the conflicts between the community and government intensify, the site became a flashpoint for anti-government activities.⁷



Community protest. Image: Hong Kong Free Press



Huangqian jingtao, representative of community protest. Image: hk01.com

To Secretary for Development,

I object turning the Western Cargo Working Area Berth 1-3 into community garden. Currently, this area has been a favourite public harbourfront space for residents to visit, including various popular usage in terms of hanging out with friends and families, jogging, leisure walking, and dog walking, etc. If a community garden is constructed, 80% of the public space will be fenced and no more free public access under disguised privatisation.

Even worse, the Central & Western District open space is already insufficient and significantly below Planning Guidelines (0.68sqm per person of local open space while the standard is 1 sqm). The government's proposal would further deprive our Central & Western District residents the right to truly and much needed open and accessible space.

In addition, community garden should be located in the middle of the neighbourhood (eg, rooftop of buildings, nearby areas of residential buildings), while stay away from strong wind, strong prolonged sunlight and high salt air, so as to beautify the environment and purify the air with more urban greening, which is significantly lacking in Kennedy Town. The government should find other appropriate locations to meet the needs of community garden.

I request the government to openly consult the public and discuss with residents about how to use this area to make it more openly and vibrantly used by the public.

Issuing organizations:
Pop Up Pier
CWD Planning and Conservation Kai-Fong Alliance
Sai Yau Office
Central and Western Concern Group
Protect Kennedy Town Alliance

A petition to the HK Secretary for Development, signed by various local organizations. Image: SupportHK.org

B. COMMUNITY-BACKED DESIGN PROPOSAL

Apart from the petition, the protesters also published a community-backed design proposal as a supplementary material to the petition.

The proposal explained the what the real needs of the community and why the government's proposal is not appropriate, concerning the location and weather of the site.

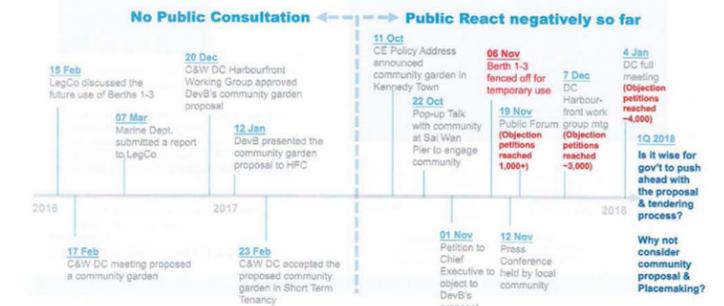
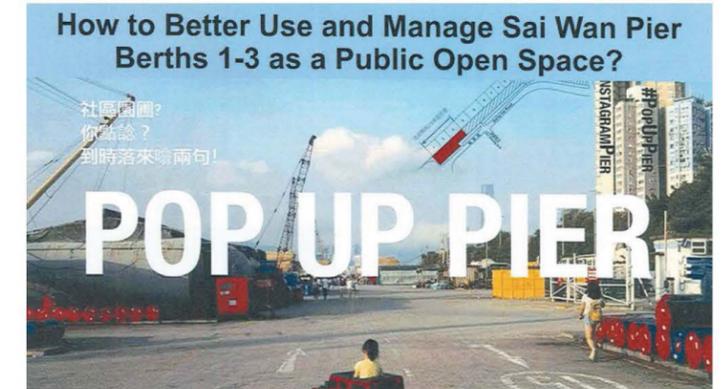
Later in the proposal, a design plan based on the community's wish was presented. Comparing to have hand rails as a barrier between the water and the pier, the proposal suggested to have an open edge and put up warning lines alongside the edge. And people will have access to the site 24 hours everyday to ensure the freedom of use and to avoid over-design or over-management. At the end of the proposal, the community even came up with five steps to get people more involved in the design process.

Potential Edible Plants on Rooftop vs near Seafrost

Hot Pepper Sweet Pepper Tomato Eggplant Okra Corn Green Bean
Snow Bean Green Bean Peanut Zucchini Bottle Gourd Mint Cucumber
Watercress Chinese Amaranth Watercress Celery Spinach
Lettuce Cauliflower Green Onion Chives Spinach Celery Green Onion
Pumpkin
Cherry Radish Carrot Beet Sweet Potato
Onion Basil Parsley Coriander

Only plants in black text above are suitable by the sea, indicating the variety is limited if a community garden is put at harbourfront

Only certain vegetables are suitable to grow near salt-water environments. Image: Pop-Up Pier.



Community-backed proposal. Image: Pop Up Pier.

Proposal from the community based on public consultation and engagement (2/4)

Railings

- To keep the unique character and the open edge of the working pier, we recommend putting up a clear warning line and wardings near the edge and at the entrance gates to alert the public (see illustration on the right)

Together with clear publicity by the government in the community, shouldn't these already constitute reasonable measures to alert the public about safety, while preserving the character of the working pier?

Other alternatives include:

- Hong Kong's Repulse Bay - Railing design to preserve character of the pier
- Boston Wharf - Railing design
- Croatia - Step design at the edge of the pier with no railings

Community-backed proposal on how to keep the open edge of the pier. Image: Pop-Up Pier.

The vast majority of the public object to the community garden proposal at Berths 1-3 (cont'd)

The survey revealed more specific activities that residents are doing, and want to do at Sai Wan Pier. Residents want to use Sai Wan Pier as a large, wide public open space with minimal infrastructure built, so as to accommodate more people and pets, enjoy the space freely for outdoor activities as they see fit, and enjoy the natural scenery along the harbourfront promenade. All these require Sai Wan Pier to be highly accessible public open space, as it has been for years. Here are the details of the findings:

Question	Results	% of respondents
A) Do residents want a community garden at the Sai Wan Pier location?	No Yes	93% 7%
B) Top 5 current uses of Sai Wan Pier	Hanging out with friends & family Jogging Photography Cycling Dog walking	63% 57% 51% 24% 22%
C) Top 5 facilities residents want to add at Sai Wan Pier	Drinking fountains Toilets Litter bins Seating More entrances	55% 49% 48% 46% 43%
D) Top 3 additional activities residents would like to do at Sai Wan Pier	Temporary art exhibitions Temp. outdoor cinema Neighbourhood parties	45% 43% 39%
E) Do residents say they want to change Sai Wan Pier?	- Sai Wan Pier is good and only some changes are required (see question C) - Sai Wan Pier is good and no change is required - Sai Wan Pier is not good and needs to change	67% 17% 15%
F) Views on railings	- Keep unique character and open edge of working pier - Yes to railings as is common along roads and other waterfronts	92% 8%

Demographics of the residents we surveyed*

- Usage of Sai Wan Pier:
 - 26% are frequent users (2 times+ per week);
 - 42% are regular users (once per month to once per week);
 - 32% are occasional users (couple of times per year)
 - Four viewpoints above quite consistent across different usage of users
- Times using the pier:
 - Most people visit Berths 1-3 on weekday evenings (33% of responses) and at weekends (34%),
 - ... while 6% during weekday mornings and 6% during weekday afternoons
 - ... and during weekend mornings and afternoons, 9% and 12% respectively
 - Even though Berths 1-3 are not officially open, people have been using them regularly all the time
- Locations of residents surveyed:
 - 24% from Kennedy Town (east of Sands St.)
 - 33% from Kennedy Town (west of Sands St.)
 - 30% from Sai Ying Pun, and 13% from other districts
 - Most surveyed are affected residents but the pier also currently attracts people who are living outside the affected area to visit

Polling reveals 93% residents do not want a community garden to replace the pier. Image: Pop-Up Pier.

6. Cheung, "Residents and Community Groups Protest against Gov't Plans for Popular 'Instagram Pier.'"
7. Sun, "Explainer: The Historic Hong Kong Area That Is a Magnet for Protesters,"

* Reference only. Numbers for demographic questions are smaller than total number of residents surveyed as some residents do not provide such information



OUTCOMES

In 2019, railings were installed along the pier's edges, both hindering normal cargo offloading operations and the public's enjoyment of the previously railing-free pier. In March 2021, the pier was closed without notice, due to COVID-19 and previous safety issues. It is now only open to those with a working permit or those who are tenants of the pier.

Many people believe closing the pier is only the first step. Future plans call for a new tunnel that would link Kennedy Town to the proposed East Lantau Metropolis development [an artificial island to be created between Lantau and Hong Kong Island].⁸ If approved, the tunnel would begin at the pier, thus destroying any hopes of reclamation of Kennedy Town's beloved public space.

Left: Pier closed by Marine Dept in 2021. Image: Wikimedia Commons. Top: Railings erected in 2019. Image: Pop Up Pier.

⁸ Dewolf, 'Hong Kong's Most Beloved Public Space Is Under Threat.'

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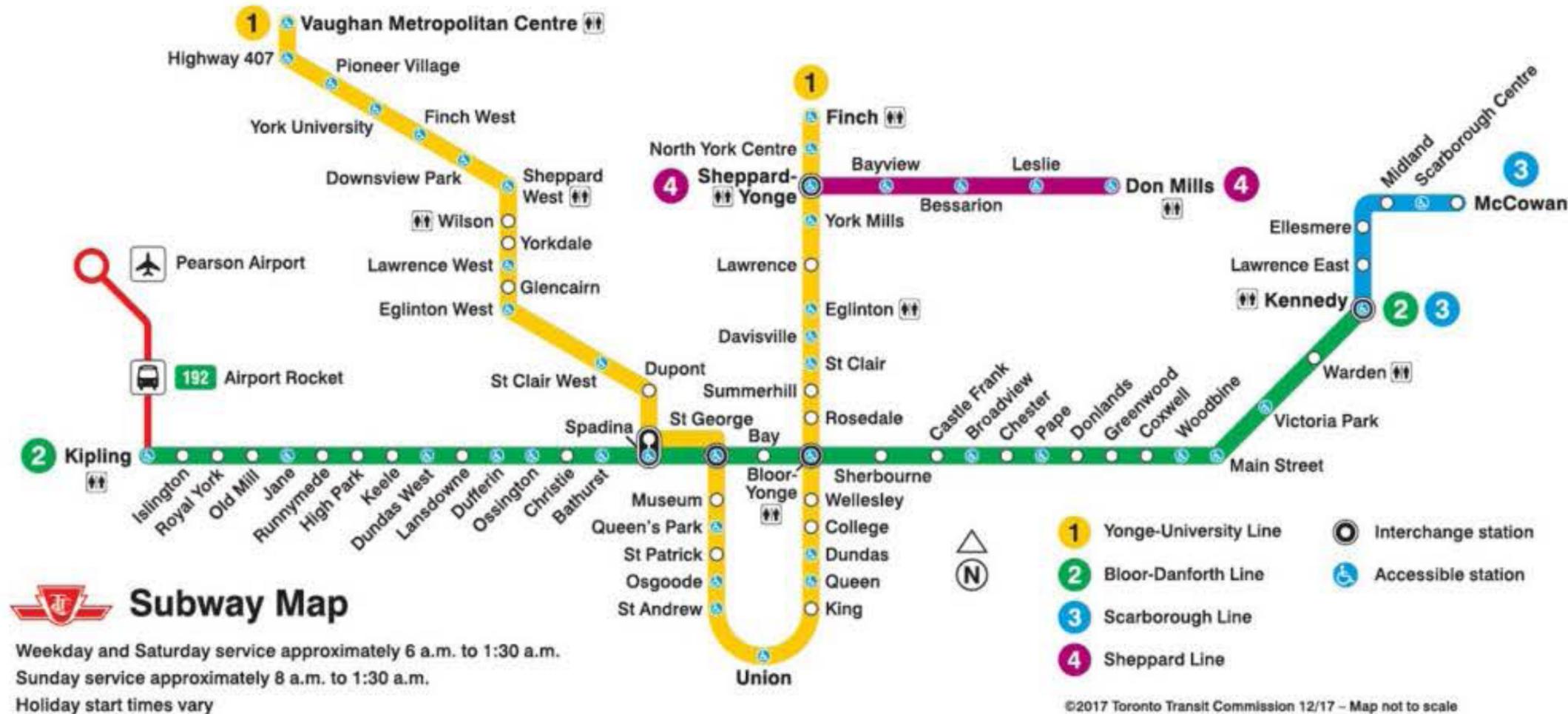


A couple shares an embrace while checking their phones at the "Instagram Pier" in Hong Kong. Image: Pierfrancesco Celada.

TORONTO SUBWAY SYSTEM (TTC SUBWAY)

Transit Inequity

Howie Jiang



Toronto Subway Transit Map

INTRODUCTION

Canada, branding themselves as a nation of inclusivity, has always been forward with openness to immigration and racial equality. Toronto, being the most prosperous city within Canada, is also the most culturally diverse with half of its population born outside of the country¹. Whilst policies and public awareness generally take a stand on equal racial considerations, the city infrastructure - namely its subway system, heavily reinforces the regime of economic hierarchy and segregation.

¹ Coj 'The History of Toronto: An 11,000 Year Journey'

CONTEXT

Toronto transit system has been branded one of the most efficient systems in the world - the subway and bus combination has served the greater Toronto area over 95 years, and carried over 29 billion customers.² In 2013, the TTC had already created 13000 jobs across serving half of a billion customers annually. In addition to subways and buses, TTC also provide streetcars and specialized car services.

Started its operation in the 1910s, until this day, TTC has opened four subway lines while planning to open two more additional lines by the end of 2023.

² EN-Scenic: 'Toronto Subway and TTC'



TTC Line 1



TTC Line 2



TTC Line 4

Line 1, between Yonge-University, spans over 38 stations on the North-South orientation, acts as the main spine of the operation. Line 2, from Bloor-Danforth, spans from the West-East direction, supplementing the span of the subway. Line 3, as an extension to the line to, furthers the subway system into Scarborough from Danforth. And line 4 is an extension of Line one, continue to extend the subway system into the far North.

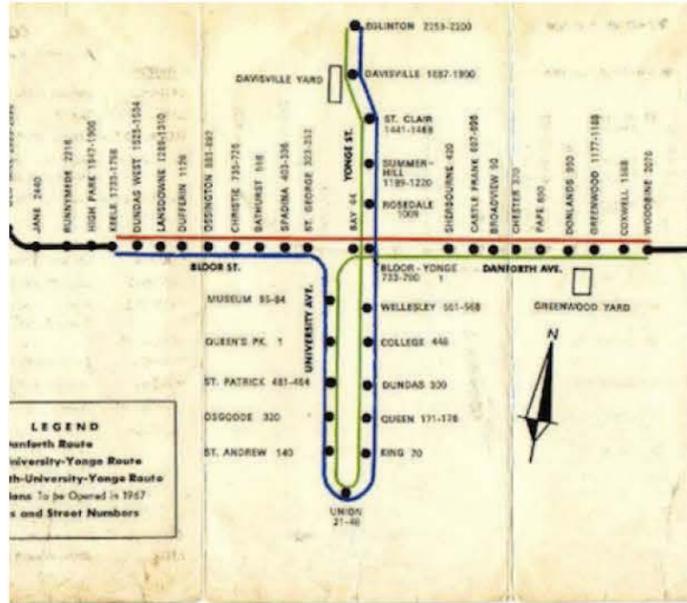
ISSUES

Within the development patterns found within the current subway infrastructure system, there are many issues that emerges from the problematic shift in paradigm towards capitalistic value rather than traditional keys such as accessibility, ease of use, and areas of equity.¹

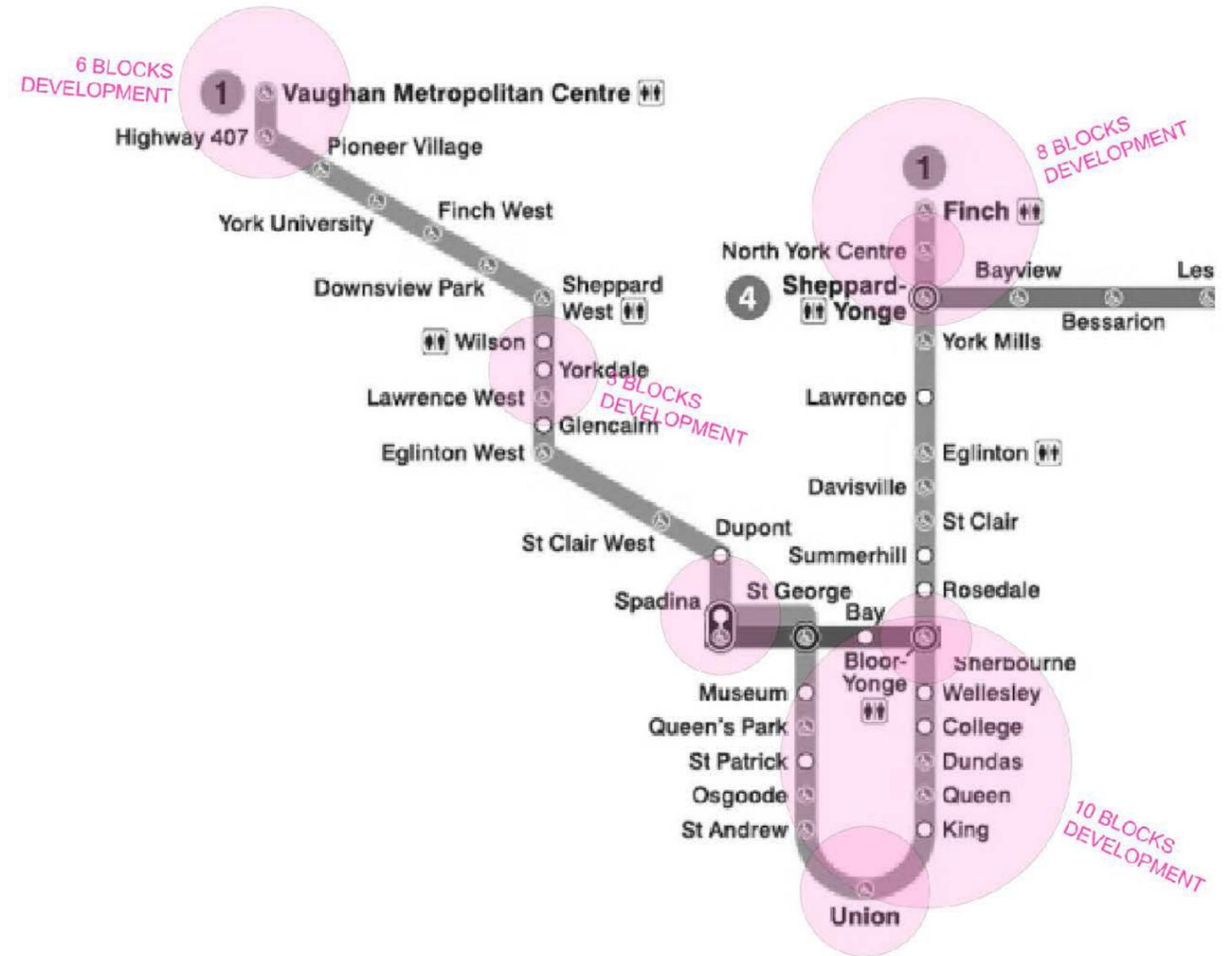
Referring to the top image, Toronto has originally, starting from the late 1900s, developed several lines that crosses the most important commercial points of the city. In specific, following the current number 1 line (blue), at the Southern side of the line lies Dundas station, which is historically where the Dundas square is located. Due to a high amount of population flow and reliancy on its nearby commercial uses, the station is situated within the Dundas Fairview Mall itself.

Beyond that, it is also very important to notice multiple nodes which are spread along the number 1 line that strictly dominates how subways lines are shaped throughout the city². On the Northern edges, Finch station, being the end of the East-North bound train, is a heavy food oriented, gentrified development zone. On the West-Noth bound train, Yorkdale contains a multi-level luxury shopping complex. And beyond that, referring to the the Line 1 development Map, the expanded number 1 train towards Vaughan Metropolitan center, is also a newly constructed high density shopping office, industrial and lifestyle center.

The problematic pattern in which subway extensions deviates away from solving the movement of the majority of the population, but rather the flow of capital, is historically present. Fairly put, locating important commercial nodes is definitely crucial for the success of the continuous flow and development plan for the city. The problem arises when important cultural node, such as Jane station, an important African American community transit station³, are massively underfunded, and under-maintained while commercial zones are constantly renewed and revised on a timely basis.



Top Image: Historical Map of subway line developing around central commercial nodes.
Middle Image: Finch Station, food street, condominium
Bottom Image: Yorkdale Station and its immediate shopping center.



Line 1 Development Map: The map, in pink circles, shows the how each station correlating to major commercial centers. The size of the pink circles shows its influences to the nearby area and how friendly it is for nearby residents to walk into the zones.

¹ Amar, Amardeep Kaur, and Cheryl Teelucksingh. "Environmental Justice, Transit Equity and the Place for Immigrants in Toronto." 52
² Wang, Kyunsoo and Myungje Woo. "The relationship between transit rich neighborhoods and transit ridership: Evidence from the decentralization of poverty"
³ Wang, Kyunsoo and Myungje Woo. "The relationship between transit rich neighborhoods and transit ridership: Evidence from the decentralization of poverty"



Top Image: Jane Station, main subway stop for nearby neighborhoods
 Middle Image: Vaughan Metropolitan Center Station, luxurious design and maintenance
 Bottom Image: Woodbine Station exiting right onto flowing traffic

ISSUES, CONT'D

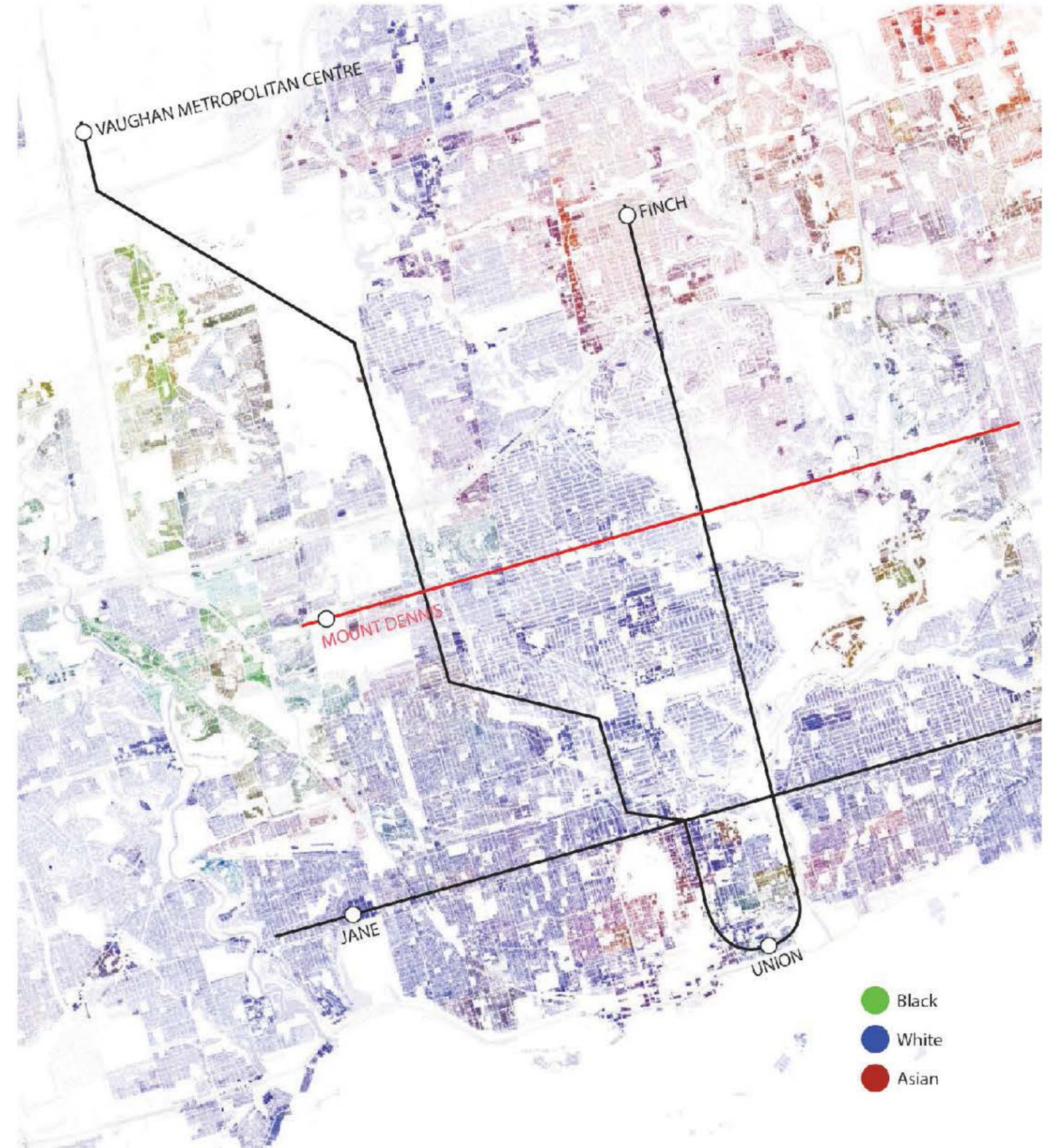
As a comparison, Jane Station and Vaughan Station have polarizing architecture styles and patterns of access. To arrive in downtown Toronto for work, predominantly Black areas have to commute through local buses to start, then transfer into the less-managed subway line, then transfer onto the main number 1 line, and finally they will be able to reach downtown. Comparatively, White and Asian population tend to reside in high-rise condos where subway lines are within 15-minute walking distance, which then directly connect to the center of the city.¹

Many clear social issues arise from such arrangements. To travel for thirty-minutes extra on the buses, for example, will directly translate to an hour of daylight loss of the working population. Higher commute time will very likely result in workplace fatigue and loss of income. More importantly, the cycle will continue to worsen, causing minorities to subconsciously experience infrastructural oppression through future generations.²

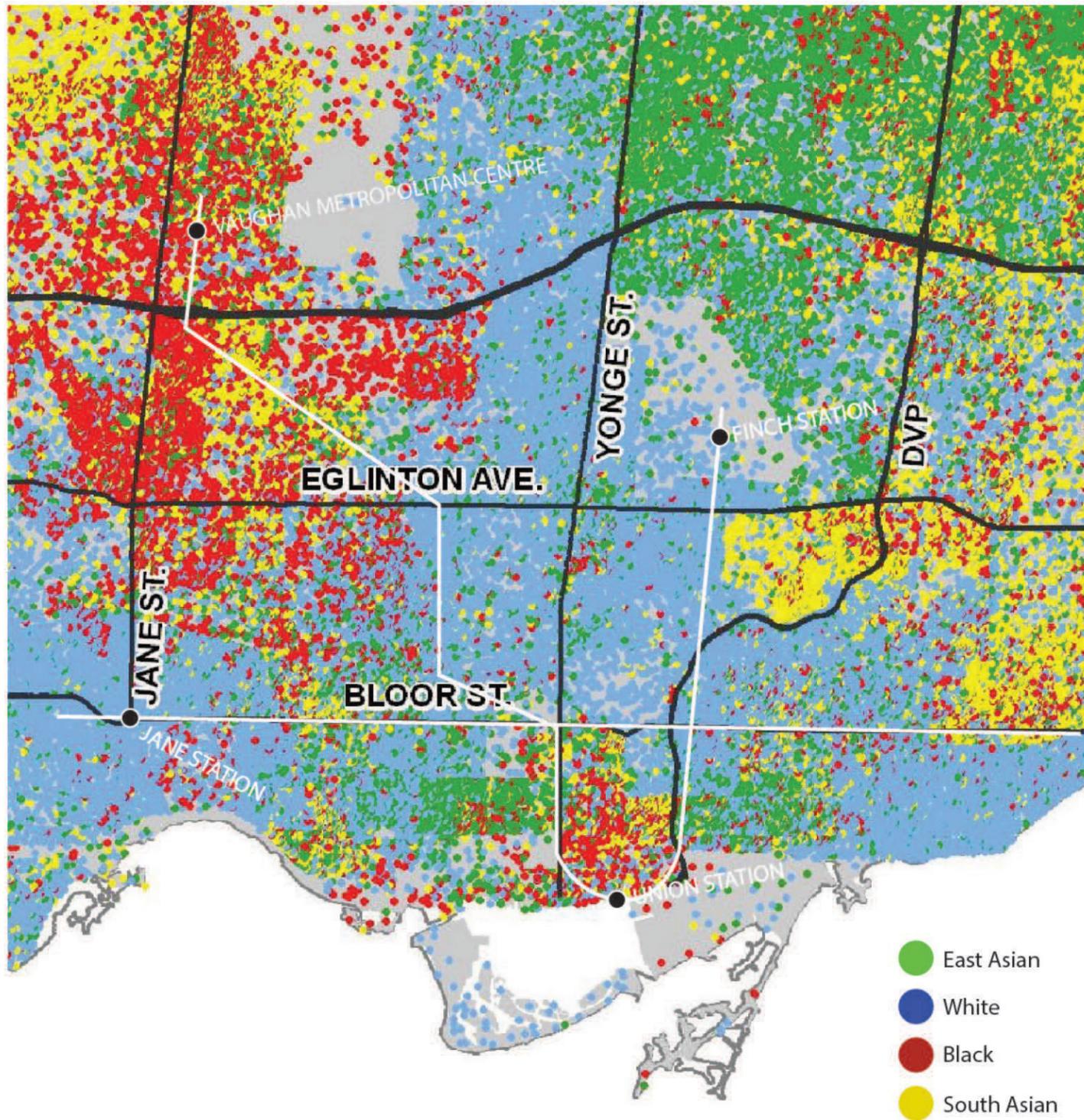
As seen on the Student Racial Distribution map, similar issues also affect different age group and races. East Asian students are key examples where they are locked in areas where the level of education is incomparable to inner city elite schools.

The new proposed 5 line, copying existing footprint of the number 2 train but duplicated further North, incrementally reinforces the current issues present in the current subway lines. Ending at Mount Dennis, the Westmost station is terminated at the edge of the predominantly Black area. Population who resides in nearby area, such as Woodbine, Humber, and surrounding areas towards Pearson airport.³ These areas are continuously heavily segregated, with the subway system creating an edge condition in which the population will permanently receive an disadvantage in reaching same destinations.

¹ Forth, Nicole et al. "Towards equitable transit: examining transit accessibility and social need in Toronto, Canada, 1996-2006"
² Forth, Nicole et al. "Towards equitable transit examining transit accessibility and social need in Toronto, Canada, 1996-2006"
³ EN-Academic. "Toronto Subway ad RT"



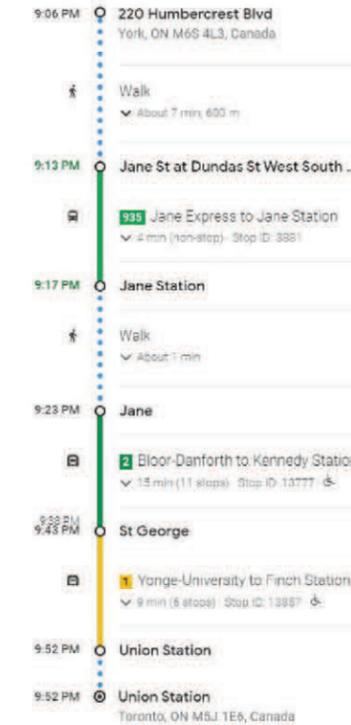
Toronto Racial Distribution TTC Overlay Map: This map demonstrates the bordering effect of TTC pathways. In relation to the majority of Asian population, radiating around Finch Station, Black population almost never have direct transit towards the center of the city. The addition of Number 5 train, to mount Dennis, also stops right at the edge of the predominantly Black neighbourhood



Toronto Student Racial Distribution TTC Overlay Map: This map shows segregation against students into the inner city education system. While the distribution of black students heavily crowd the West Number 1 line, Asian students are much more focused into the North East area.

WOODBINE TO UNION STATION VIA JANE STATION

AREA OF HIGH BLACK POPULATION

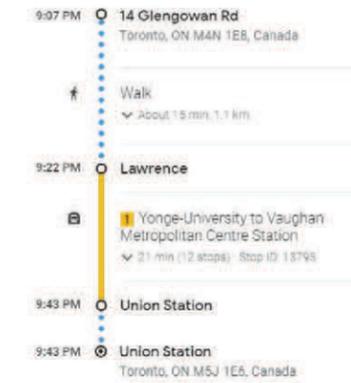


9.8 MILES OF DISTANCE
46 MINUTES OF TRAVEL TIME
8 MINUTES OF WALKING TIME
3 PITSTOPS AND POINTS OF DELAY



SHERWOOD TO UNION STATION VIA LAWRENCE STATION

AREA OF HIGH CAUCASIAN POPULATION



10 MILES OF DISTANCE
36 MINUTES OF TRAVEL TIME
15 MINUTES OF WALKING TIME
0 PITSTOPS AND POINTS OF DELAY



Travel Distance and Conditions Graph: From similar distance, the travel length between a predominantly Black neighbourhood vs. a predominantly White neighbourhood has significant differences. In total, there is about 20% more in time traveled for Black residents. Among that, the unpredictability of the trip is also a worrying factor as there are three potential points of exchange where delays may occur.

COUNTER-STORY
COMMUNITY & PUBLIC SPACE

Ping Tom Park

Community-driven development in Chicago Chinatown



COMMUNITY BONDS IN CLINTON HILL/FORT GREENE

Mapping community in the absence of publicly maintained spaces

Daniela Déu



SARAH HURST JENOURE



ANDREA CISCO



ELIZABETH SMITH DÉU



In the years after the white flight of the postwar decade, Fort Greene Park and Clinton Hill's lack of city maintenance in basic infrastructure resulted in an eroded public sphere. As a result, residents south of Myrtle Avenue found other ways to create and maintain their community networks beyond the public realm. Social networks pre-gentrification emerged by joining neighborhood organizations like block associations or church groups. These networks were possible in part due to the growing wealth of these residents and their ability to invest in

maintaining their indoor spaces like churches, transitional spaces like stoops, or temporal spaces like block parties.

Through interviews, a series of maps were created to explore how these social relationships were geographically distributed. A second map was also created to illustrate how gentrification has an impact on the distribution and type of social interactions that occur today, and how that might contribute to further displacement of longtime residents.

COMMUNITY BONDS IN CLINTON HILL/FORT GREENE

Mapping community in the absence of publicly maintained spaces

Daniela Déu



Fort Greene Park Yoga Lesson
Craig Garrison for Time Out (2010)

INTRODUCTION

When we think of how community networks form, we typically imagine them occurring in the “public sphere”. In the built environment, this loosely defined term becomes a neighborhood’s network of streets, plazas, parks, and other public spaces maintained by the city where people can gather. However, what happens when these spaces are not taken care of by city officials? What happens when these spaces fall into disrepair, become epicenters for criminal activity, or become illegal dumping grounds?

With this guiding question began the exploration of how community networks could form in neighborhoods where city neglect and disinvestment made congregation in traditional public spaces difficult. In

order to do so, through this counter-story, interviews with longtime residents in the Fort Greene/Clinton Hill neighborhoods were conducted to visualize their community networks and map where they occurred.

However, another theme became clear through these conversations – how gentrification can disrupt a neighborhood’s sense of community. This is despite the reinvestment and reestablishment of traditional public spaces, where historically, these networks have been strengthened and maintained. Thus, these discussions revealed a parallel counter-story when a second map illustrated the evolution of these longtime residents’ networks.

CONTEXT

Although Fort Greene and the adjacent Clinton Hill area always had a black population, the neighborhood became a majority black residential area after the white flight that characterized the postwar decade¹. Due to racial housing discrimination, lack of mortgage loans for African Americans, and discriminatory rent regulations, the new wave of black residents included “a wider range of incomes”². However, the difference in income levels was reflected in residents’ geographic distribution and interaction with the public realm.

Lower-income black residents lived primarily north of Myrtle Avenue, which in the 60s was described as “a partially vacant and often dangerous commercial strip”³. This street separated the NYCHA developments facing Fort Greene Park – the Walt Whitman and Ingersoll Homes – from the more affluent black residents. South of Myrtle Avenue and East of the park, a growing population of middle-class families, young college-educated professionals, and artists were moving into the brownstones previously deemed white only. In contrast, this area was described as having “elegant, well-maintained 19th-century brick and brownstone houses.”⁴

Known to public housing residents as “the suburbs”⁵, middle-class residents formed different spatial-social networks. Despite the availability of an ample public space like Fort Greene Park, these middle-class residents would not congregate in the park. This aversion to the park is partially due to the physical neglect from city officials, as “graffiti, litter and vandalism were commonplace.”⁶

In this context, these residents found new means of maintaining community bonds in the absence of a perceived viable public space. The interviews and

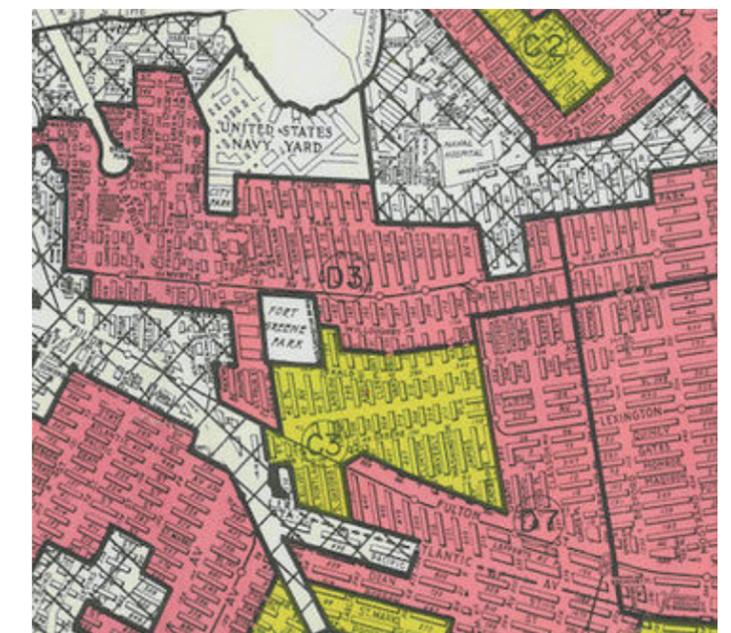
social mapping exercise revealed how these residents congregated in church (where many of their children attended school), the homes of friends and neighbors, or in the many black-owned stores and restaurants in the neighborhood⁷. They also created strong bonds within their block, where the block’s street, sidewalks, and stoops became the epicenter of where social connections formed.

ISSUES

A 1985 New York Times article titled Fort Greene Integrates as it Gentrifies looked into the beginning of a wave of white residents moving into this primarily black neighborhood. An increase in public and private sector redevelopment and investment in Fort Greene facilitated the process of gentrification, resulting in “the large influx of affluent white newcomers who replaced or displaced mostly black people.”⁸

One of the New York Times interviewees, Eva Cranford, was co-owner of a funerary home on Dekalb Avenue. She expressed joy about the renewed city and private investment in Fort Greene and the general revitalization of the neighborhood. However, she noted that “it has been mostly the newcomers who have been able to

7 Chronopoulos, p.12
8 Chronopoulos, p.6



1938 HOLC Map of Brooklyn
National Archives and Records Administration,
Mapping Inequality

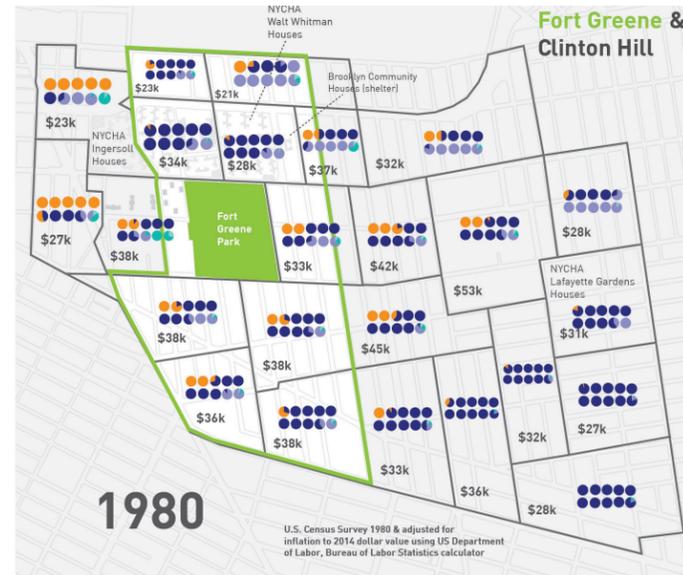
1 Chronopoulos, Themis. “African Americans, Gentrification, and Neoliberal Urbanization: The Case of Fort Greene, Brooklyn.” *Journal of African American Studies* 20, no. 3-4 (2016): 294-322. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12111-016-9332-6>. p.8
2 Rosenberg, Jan. “Chapter 9: Fort Greene, New York.” *Cityscape* 4, no. 2 (1998): 179-95. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41486482>. p.5
3 Rosenberg, p.1
4 Rosenberg, p.1
5 Rosenberg, p.10
6 “Fort Greene Park Urban Forest Management Plan.” New York City Department of Parks & Recreation, 2004. <https://www.nycgovparks.org/pagefiles/15/Ft-Greene-Urban-Forest-Management-Plan.pdf>. p.8

take advantage of the neighborhood's changes."⁹ She also wondered "if the young people who grew up in the neighborhood [would] be able to afford to stay." Piro Funeral home shut its doors in 2019.

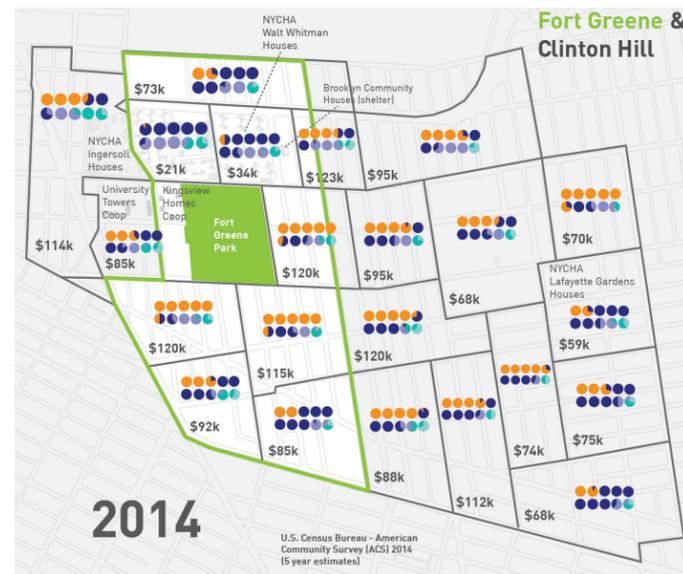
When discussing gentrification in non-white neighborhoods, a common theme is the resentment that the neighborhood "had to attract whites before the city government provided decent municipal services and infrastructural improvements"¹⁰. When these spaces were majority black, as with Fort Greene and adjacent Clinton Hill, these essential city services such as street maintenance, park upkeep, or consistent garbage pickup were nowhere to be found.

Furthermore, these infrastructural upgrades came at a social cost. Gentrification resulted in the "departure of many of their friends and relatives, a decline of a cultural and commercial infrastructure that they cherish"¹¹. This social impact of gentrification is evident in the mapping of the interviewees' interactions today. After losing many of their neighbors and longstanding businesses, the remaining social interactions between residents today occur primarily along the revitalized Myrtle and Dekalb Avenues, which are now home to many trendy restaurants. Most social interactions now occur in these transactional spaces of business.

Despite the renewed investment and popularity of Fort Greene Park, most of the interviewees still do not go. As one interviewee noted, "now it is dogs and people with children, I only go if my grandchildren are visiting." The hesitancy to go might be attributed to dogs and children, but there is also a clear racial distribution in the park's geography. While white residents generally occupy the hillside, most black residents use the lower plaza, particularly those who live in the adjacent NYCHA development. Because historically there was little interaction between NYCHA residents and the residents who live south of Myrtle, there could also be an issue regarding comfort in which space to occupy. Moreover, since the park was never part of their original social network, there is no appeal to use this public amenity.



Average Household Income:	Brooklyn \$50K New York City \$59K
Median Household Income:	Brooklyn \$39K New York City \$45K



Average Household Income:	Brooklyn \$70K New York City \$84K
Median Household Income:	Brooklyn \$47K New York City \$53K



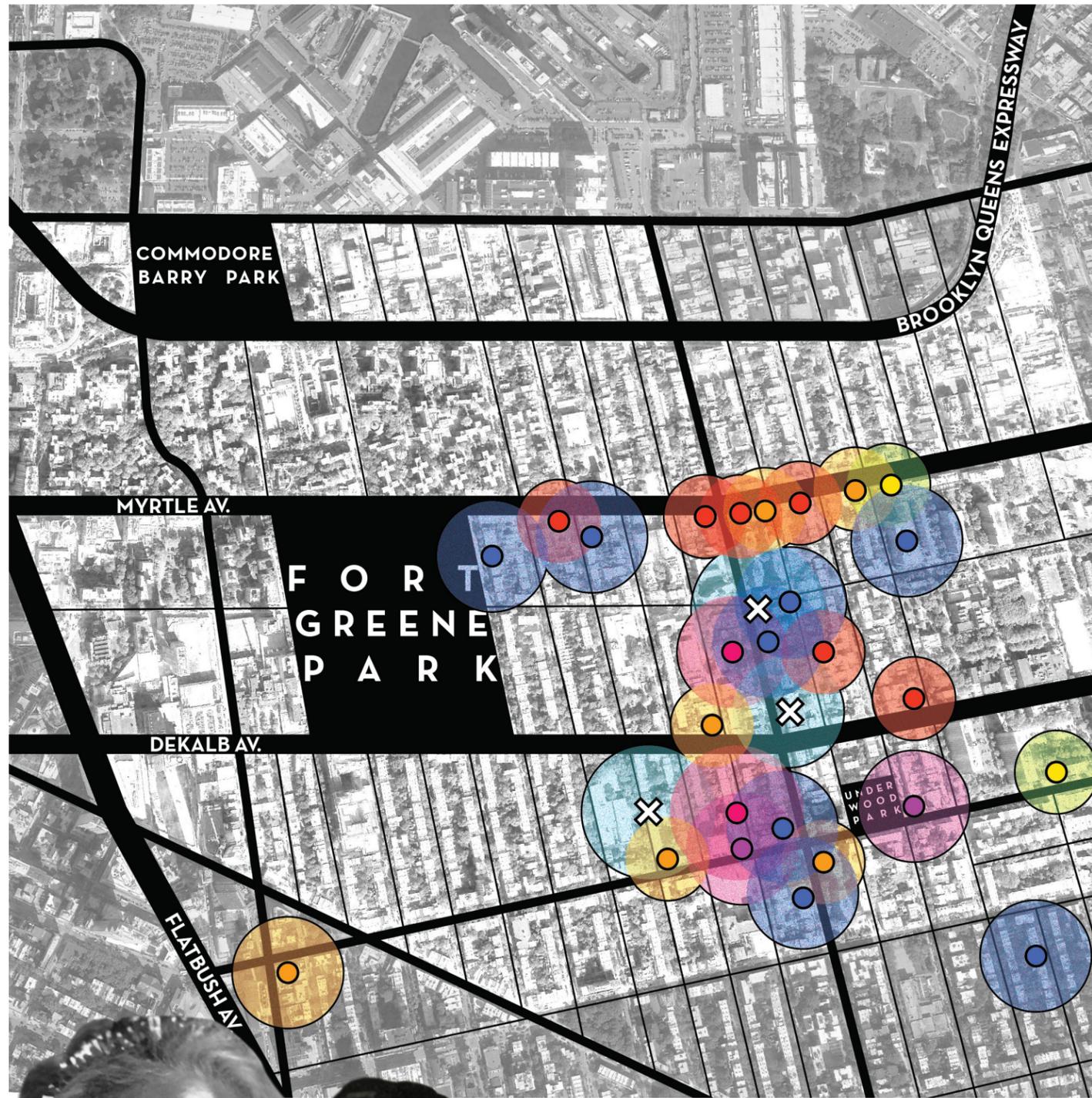
(Above) Brooklyn Block Party in 1970
One Block, New York Magazine (2018)

(Left) Demographic Change in Fort Greene & Clinton Hill from 1980 to 2014
Analysis of Public Space: Fort Greene Park, Brooklyn, Pratt Institute (2016)

⁹ Shawn G. Kennedy. 1985. "Fort Greene Integrates as it Gentrifies: Blacks, Whites and Hispanics Aid Revitalization Fort Greene Neighborhood Integrates as it Gentrifies." New York Times (1923-), Jun 23, 2. <http://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/fort-greene-integrates-as-gentrifies/docview/111164000/se-2?accountid=10226>.

¹⁰ Chronopoulos, p.3

¹¹ Chronopoulos, p.3



● GROCERY
 ● COMMERCIAL
 ● RESTAURANT / CAFE
 ● SCHOOL
 ● CHURCH
 ● OUTDOORS
 ● FRIENDS/FAMILY
 ✕ HOME



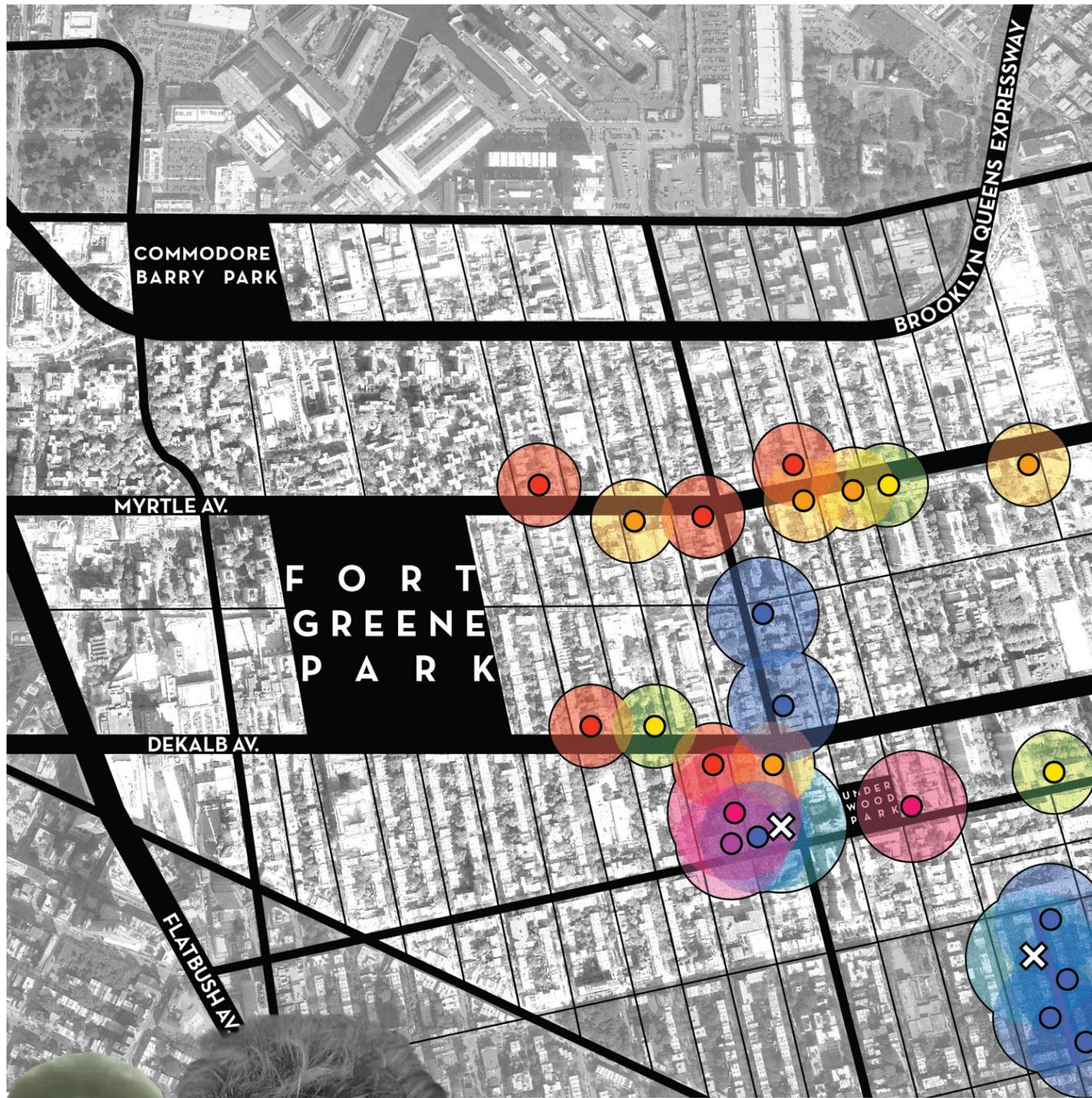
SARAH HURST JENOURE

Sara moved into the neighborhood before having her second child in 1967. She has lived in three different homes in the neighborhood, but spent 40 years in the same brownstone on Clinton Avenue that she purchased in 1968. Although most of her days were occupied with her work in Manhattan, during the weekends she was active at church. The church was central to much of her social interactions, as her

children attended the adjacent catholic school. She also had many friends and family members who lived nearby, and frequently visited them in their homes. Although Sarah rarely crossed past Myrtle Avenue, she did go to the Key Store and a few other small shops and restaurants.

Once the neighborhood began to change, much of

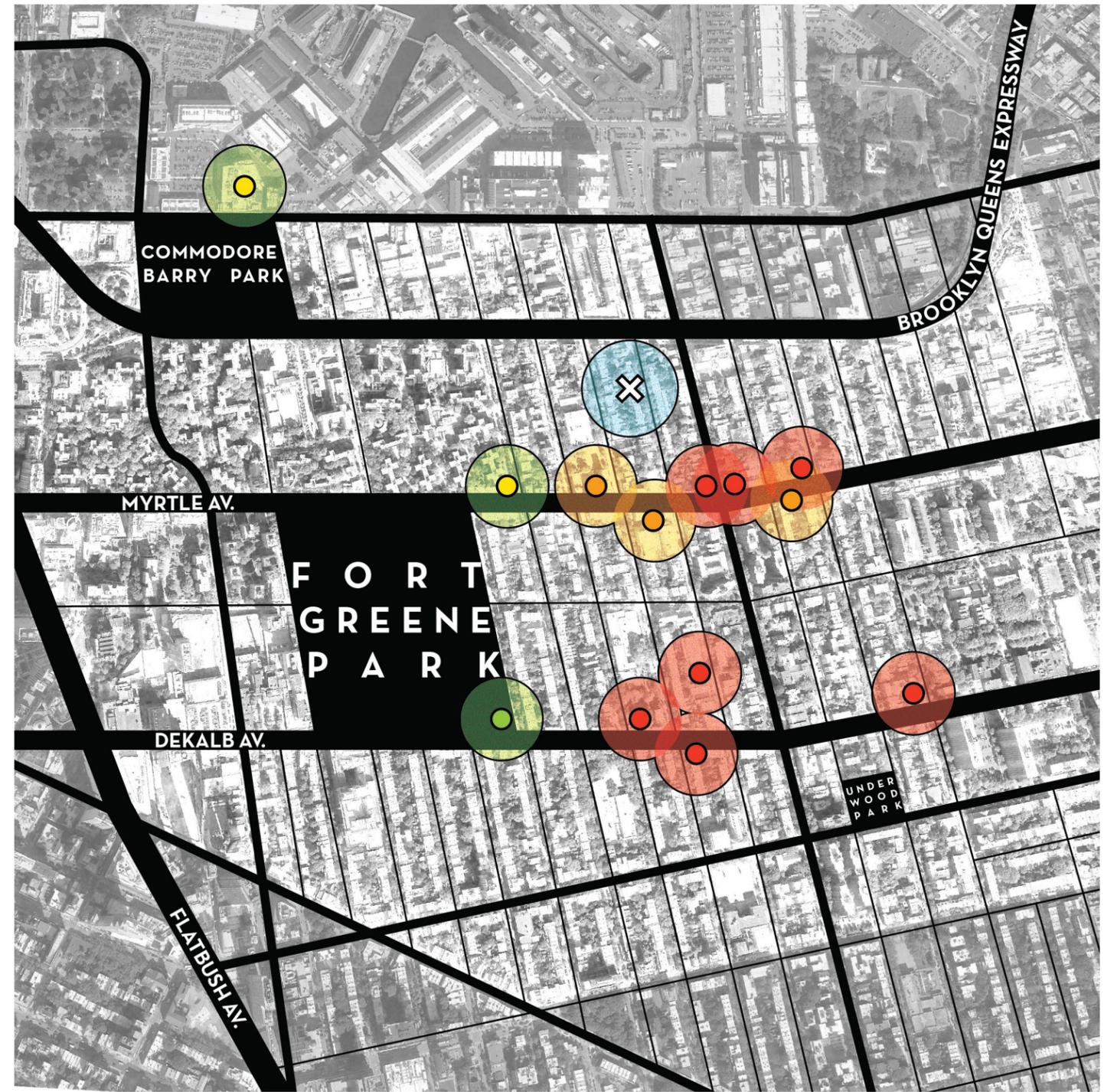
Sarah's social networks in the neighborhood revolved around dining. Although she enjoyed the many new restaurants, particularly those on Dekalb Avenue, by 2015 most of her friends and family had relocated. However, she still did not go to Fort Greene Park, which she felt was overrun by dogs. She moved to Florida in 2015.



ANDREA CISCO

Andrea moved to Fort Greene in the mid 1960s. When she first moved into the neighborhood, she lived in an apartment building on Clinton Avenue, which “black people had to fight to get in.”

When she moved to Cambridge Place 9 years later, she became very involved with her block association. Because her children were mixed race, at first, they



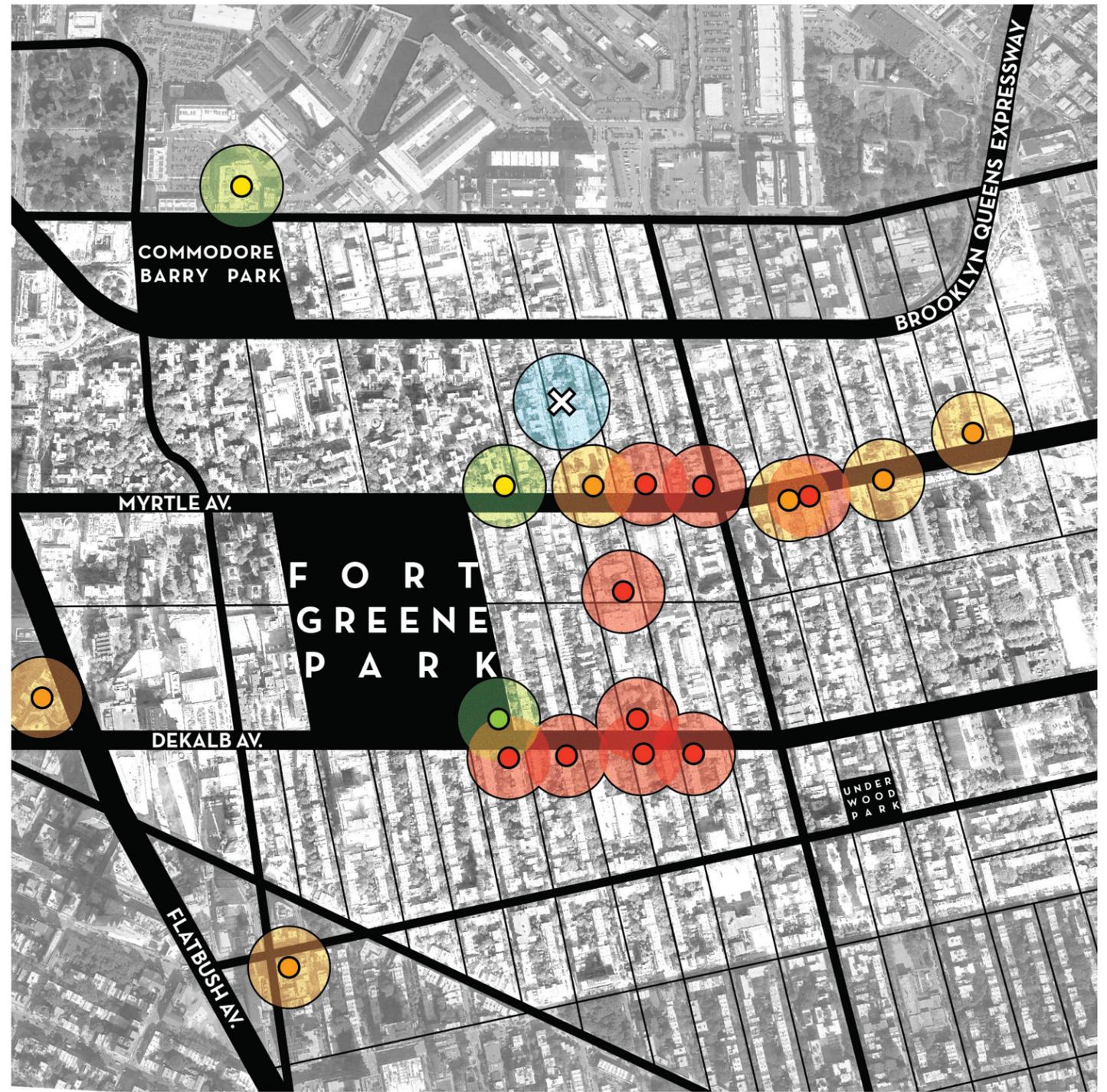
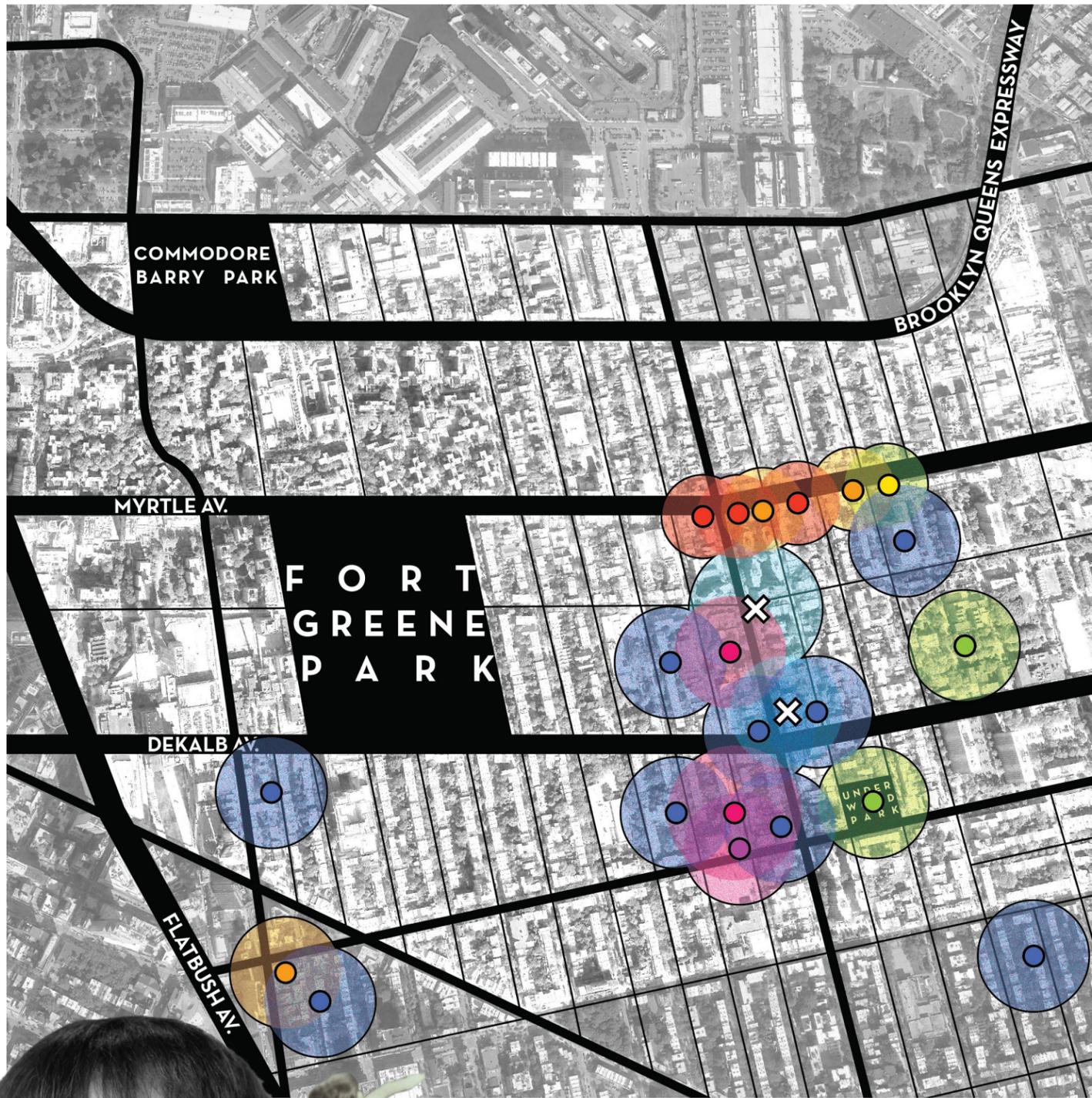
- GROCERY
- COMMERCIAL
- RESTAURANT / CAFE
- SCHOOL
- CHURCH
- OUTDOORS
- FRIENDS/FAMILY
- ⊗ HOME

felt somewhat excluded from the neighborhood. But joining the block association allowed Andrea and her family to connect with the community that lived there and work to better their street, which at the time was still somewhat dilapidated. Black southerners and black Caribbean’s lived to the south, and an emerging black middle-class lived in the north. They were a very close-knit group of neighbors and they “took care of

each other’s kids.”

Today, Andrea still lives in the neighborhood, but she relocated to a house she owns on Vanderbilt Avenue. Most of her social interactions occur on the many restaurants along Myrtle and Dekalb Avenues.





● GROCERY
 ● COMMERCIAL
 ● RESTAURANT / CAFE
 ● SCHOOL
 ● CHURCH
 ● OUTDOORS
 ● FRIENDS/FAMILY
 ✕ HOME



ELIZABETH SMITH DÉU

Elizabeth was born in Clinton Hill in 1971 and grew up in the same house until adulthood. As a child, her social networks revolved mostly around school and visiting her friends and family. She attended the catholic elementary school run by Queen Mary of All Saints. Church was an important part of her social life as most of her friends attended the same school and church. Although her parents did not allow her to

go to Fort Greene Park, on occasion she would go to Underwood Park as it was close to her church. Other than to accompany her mother shopping, Elizabeth rarely crossed beyond Myrtle Avenue or into Fort Greene Park, as the majority of her friends lived within 3 blocks from her home. On weekends her mother would sometimes take her to Brooklyn Academy of Music or drive into downtown Brooklyn.

After living abroad for over a decade, Elizabeth returned to the neighborhood in 2012 and purchased a home on Adelphi Street. Today her social interactions mostly occur at restaurants or at the hair salon she goes to on Myrtle Avenue. She also takes advantage of the new Wegman's Supermarket on Flushing Avenue and the mall on Flatbush Avenue. She will sometimes go to the Farmer's Market at Fort Greene Park.



CONCLUSION

In the years after white flight, Fort Greene Park and Clinton Hill's lack of city maintenance in basic infrastructure resulted in an eroded public sphere. As a result, residents south of Myrtle Avenue found other ways to create and maintain their community networks beyond the public realm in indoor spaces:

"...Middle-class members of Fort Greene formed or took over civic associations, church groups, block associations, political organizations, and other entities in an effort to improve the neighborhood and address its social, political, and infrastructural problems."¹

As documented through maps, the networks formed at block associations or neighborhood organizations were possible in part due to the growing wealth of these residents. It allowed them to fund the maintenance of their indoor spaces like churches, transitional spaces like stoops, or temporal spaces like block parties. Thus, the networks extended from these civic or residential zones into the public realm by the temporary occupation of the street or the stoop to continue conversations started indoors. This shift in the geography of social networks allowed residents to create hyper-local connections and tackle needed improvements on their streets as a community.

These long-established social links were reliant on daily or weekly interactions in specific indoor spaces. As the demographic changes in Fort Greene closed down many of these spaces and prompted the relocation of many longtime residents, these networks were quickly strained. Today, for the legacy residents that remain, almost all social interactions occur in restaurants. However, if all these connections occur in transactional spaces like restaurants or shops, the maintenance of these bonds can only be sustained if a resident can afford to dine out frequently. Due to the difference in wealth between new residents and longtime residents, this reliance on money to maintain social networks puts legacy residents at a disadvantage and further strains the remaining community bonds. This process accelerates the displacement of these residents as there are fewer social incentives to remain in their neighborhood.

¹ Chronopoulos, p.16



Fort Greene Park Farmer's Market
Emily Gilbert for New York Times (2019)

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All other images from interviewees' personal photos or google earth

TOM PING PARK

How community drove development in Chicago Chinatown

Rotina Tian



Tom Ping Park at night

INTRODUCTION

In the history of fighting against systematic suppression, Chicago Chinatown community advocacy groups plays an important role in supporting community-driven development.

For multiple times, community activist groups stood up to pursue new ways for future development, including establish settlement at its current location after repelled from downtown Chicago, proposed for the cultural landmark Pui Tak Center, purchase of extra land from Santa Fe Railway for community expansion, and finally earned support from the government to construct the Ping Tom Memorial Park along the Chicago river, after decades of lack of public open

spaces.

Organizing group efforts to actively seek solution to address the community's concerns and planning for future development is the key to the Chinatown community's thrive.

CONTEXT

Chicago Chinatown was formed in the current location in 1912, after facing severe racial discrimination from previous location in downtown. The Chinese business group On Leong Merchants Association proposed and constructed the very first building complex along Clark Street and Cermak Road.

However, it is difficult to secure the properties for the following Chinese people. Back then, ethnic Chinese can not purchase land. In order to establish the new Chinatown, On Leong Merchants Association acquired several 10-year leases from surrounding blocks. In 1920s, they secured more 50-year leases, and proposed to construct a Chinese style building to visually represent the community. The building was completed in 1928, framed by two oriental pagodas.¹

The situation became more challenging in the coming decades. As Dan Ryan Expressway started construction in 1962, almost half of the Chinatown Neighborhood

¹ Leroux, Charles (January 6, 2002). "Still Standing - Living links to a rich history of commerce and culture". Chicago Tribune. Newsbank. Retrieved August 10, 2009.

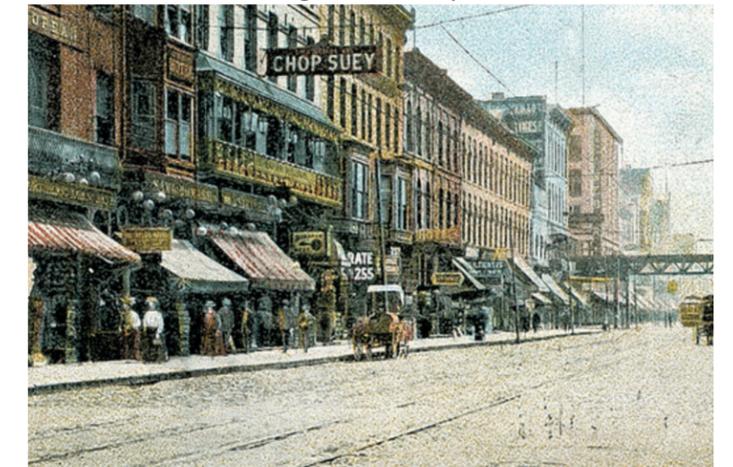
was eliminate. Community leaders gathered to take actions to secure the future of the Chinatown.

ISSUES

With the construction of Dan Ryan Expressway, two of the existing parks were taken out. The neighborhood since suffered from lack of open space.

In the late 1980, Santa Fe Rail Road planned to sell the 32-acre land to headquarter of USPS on the north side of Chinatown. The Chinatown community wanted to purchase the land for expansion. Local leaders formed Chinese American Development Corporation and lobbied the Chicago government. After years of negotiation, they was able to purchase the land for housing and commercial development, with additional affordable housing programs supported by the government.

The new commercial plaza was named China Square. Behind it were housing, community facilities and senior



1. Chicago's First Chinatown on Clark Street
2. Early Chinatown with Pui Tak Center in the back

The 5 acre space along the river was left over. Community seek out help from the city to construct future park space. A neighborhood organization Chinatown Riverside Park Advisory Council was formed to negotiate with the city.¹

OUTCOMES

The city passed the plan and added an additional of 6 acres to the original site.² In addition to that, the park design by Site Design Group also reflects on their culture identities. It includes a Four-Dragon gateway structure, a pagoda-style pavilion, red railings and a field house. Other facilities include a playground, boat house, trails and gardens. The park was names after Tom Ping in honer of his effort as community leader to create the park.³

The construction began in 1995. In 2002, an additional 5 acres was added to the park.

CONCLUSION

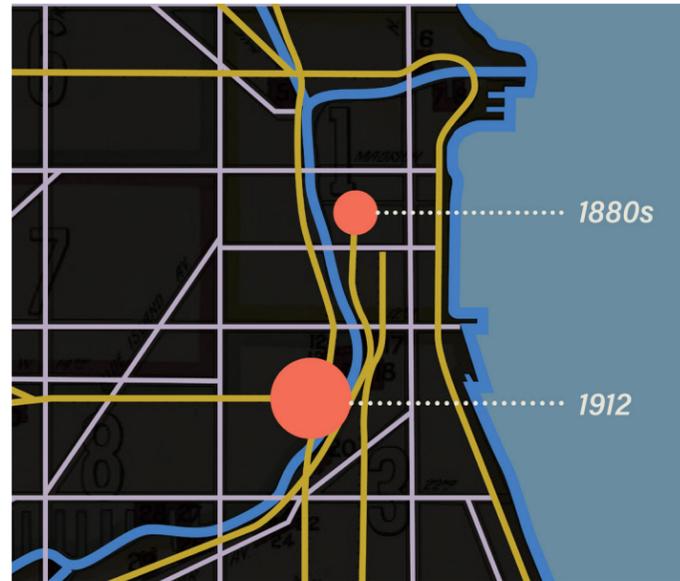
Community-driven advocacy groups played an important part in the history of Chicago's Chinatown. From relocating to the current location, acquiring leases for the other community members to expand the community, creating cultural architectural structure to visually represent the community, securing extra land from Santa Fe for housing and commercial development, to asking the government for a riverfront park, they were able to defend for the community and even planed for the future.

However, with the huge development 78 District planned to take place on the north of Chinatown, the community is facing potential threat of gentrification. Will the community groups propose another plan to defend themselves this time?

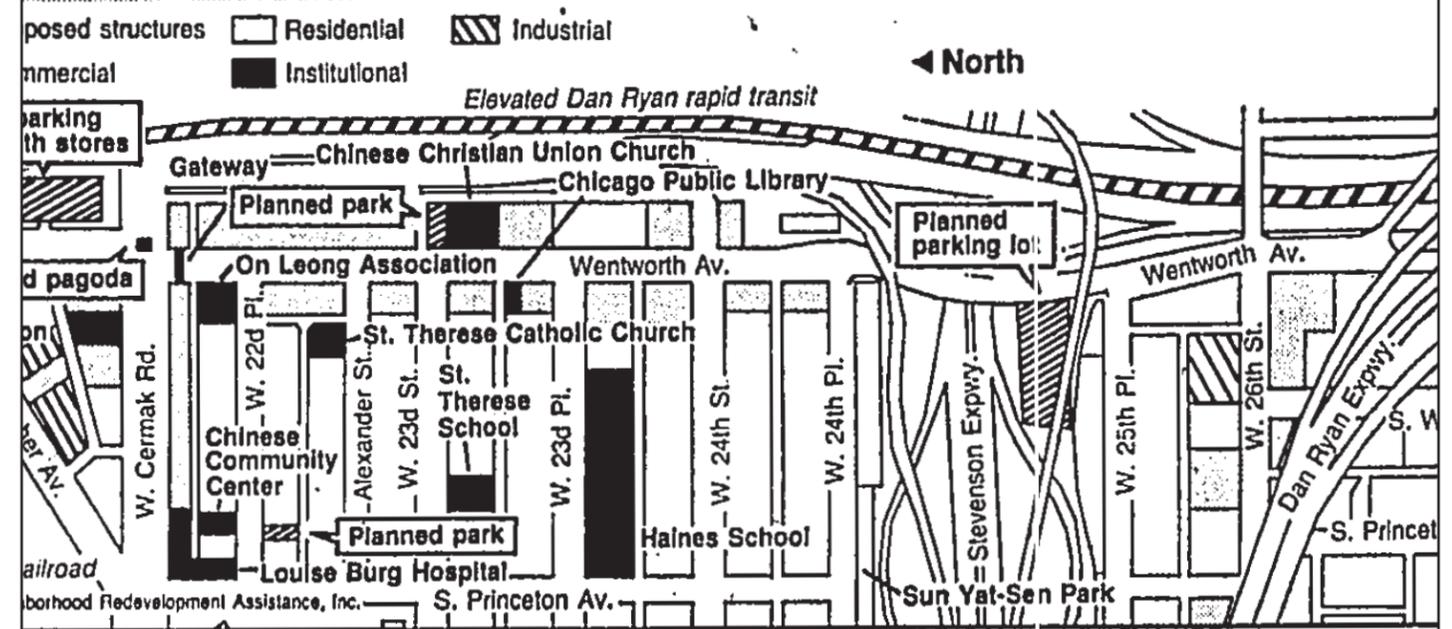
¹ "History of Ping Tom Memorial Park". Ping Tom Park Advisory Board. Retrieved August 14, 2009.

² "History of Ping Tom Memorial Park". Ping Tom Park Advisory Board. Retrieved August 14, 2009.

³ Heise, Kenan (November 2, 2007). Chicago Afternoons with Leon. AuthorHouse. p. 38. ISBN 1-4343-4737-0.

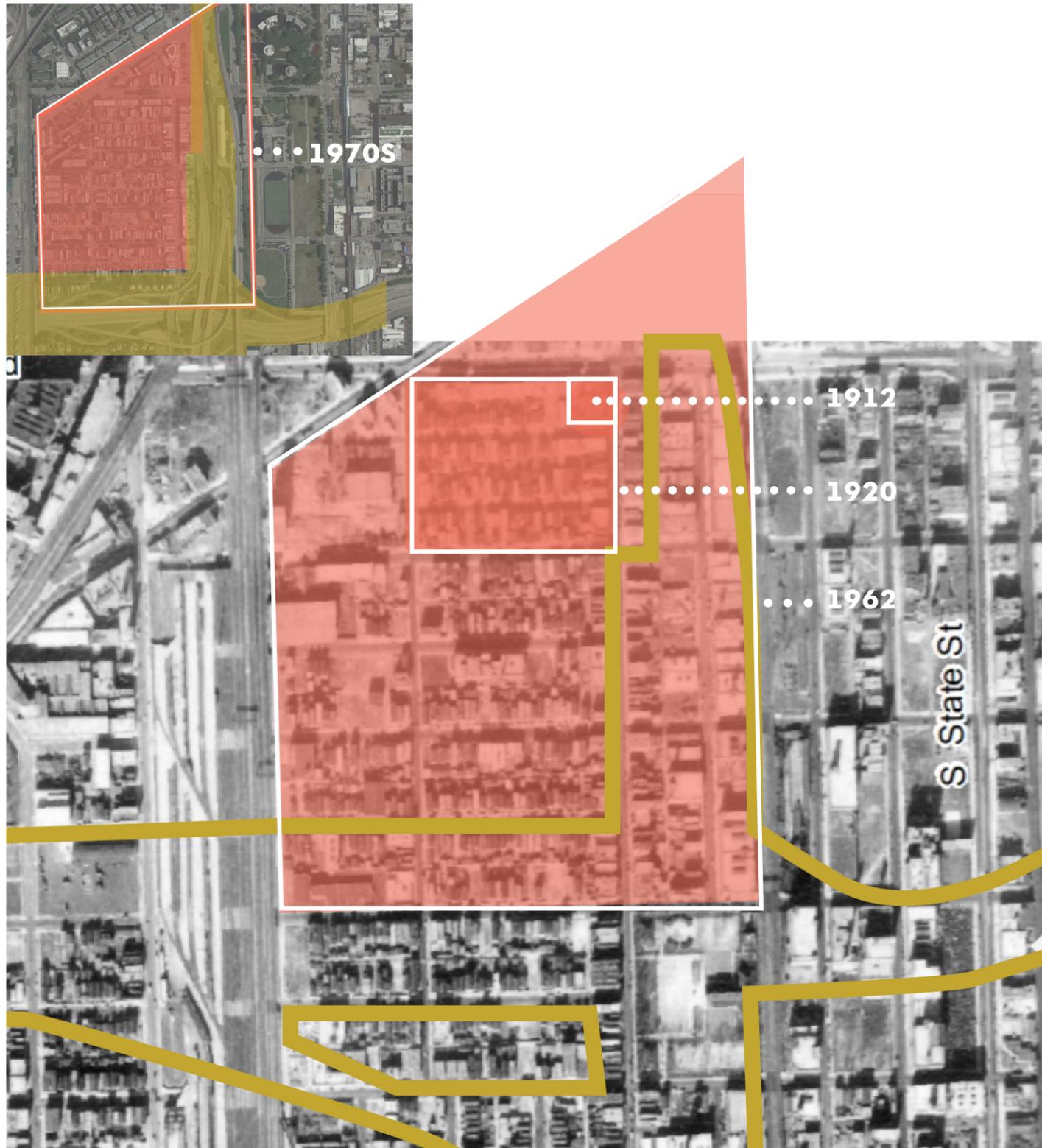


1. Chicago Chinatown was formed in the current location in 1912, after facing severe racial discrimination from previous location in downtown.
2. Oriental style Pui Tak Center and Gateway structure.
3. Statue of Community Leader Ping Tom.



Chinatown revitalization plan proposed by local community leader in the 1980s. It includes new outdoor spaces, an oriental garden, storefront improvement and changes at Cermak and the highway intersection.

Credit: Chicago Tribune, Mar 6, 1980.



The aerial photo was taken in 1938, before the construction of Dan Ryan Expressway. Nearly half of the Chinatown was removed, including two parks that served the area.

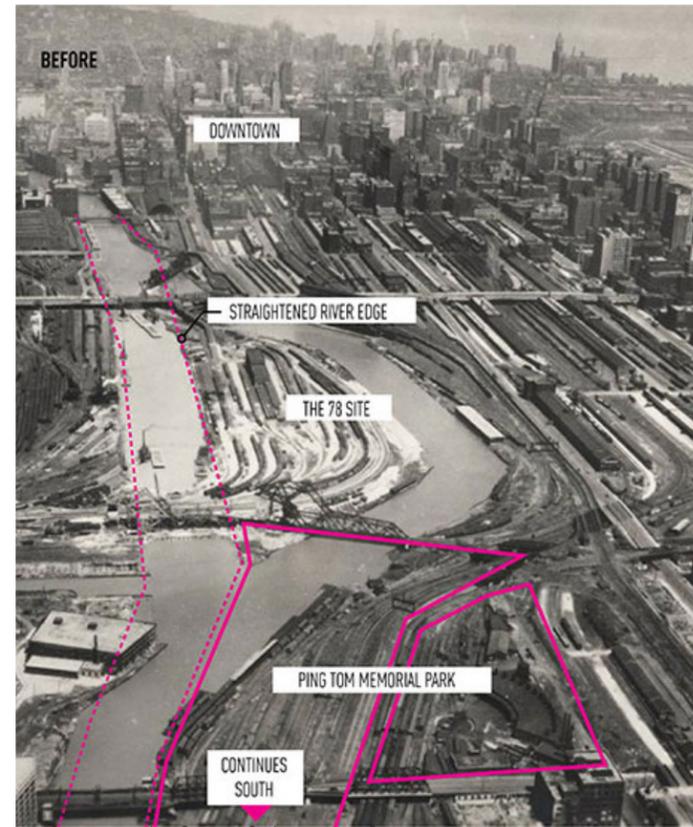
The Chinatown community was segregated from the rest of the city by the highway and river. The neighborhood gradually became very compacted because they lack of room to expand.



Acquisition of the 32-acre provide ample space for housing and commercial development that the community needs. It also became the new Chinatown landmark for tourist.



New development on the purchased Santa Fe Railroad property.
Image Credit: Wikipedia



Before and after of the riverfront projects.
Image Credit: Site Design Group Website

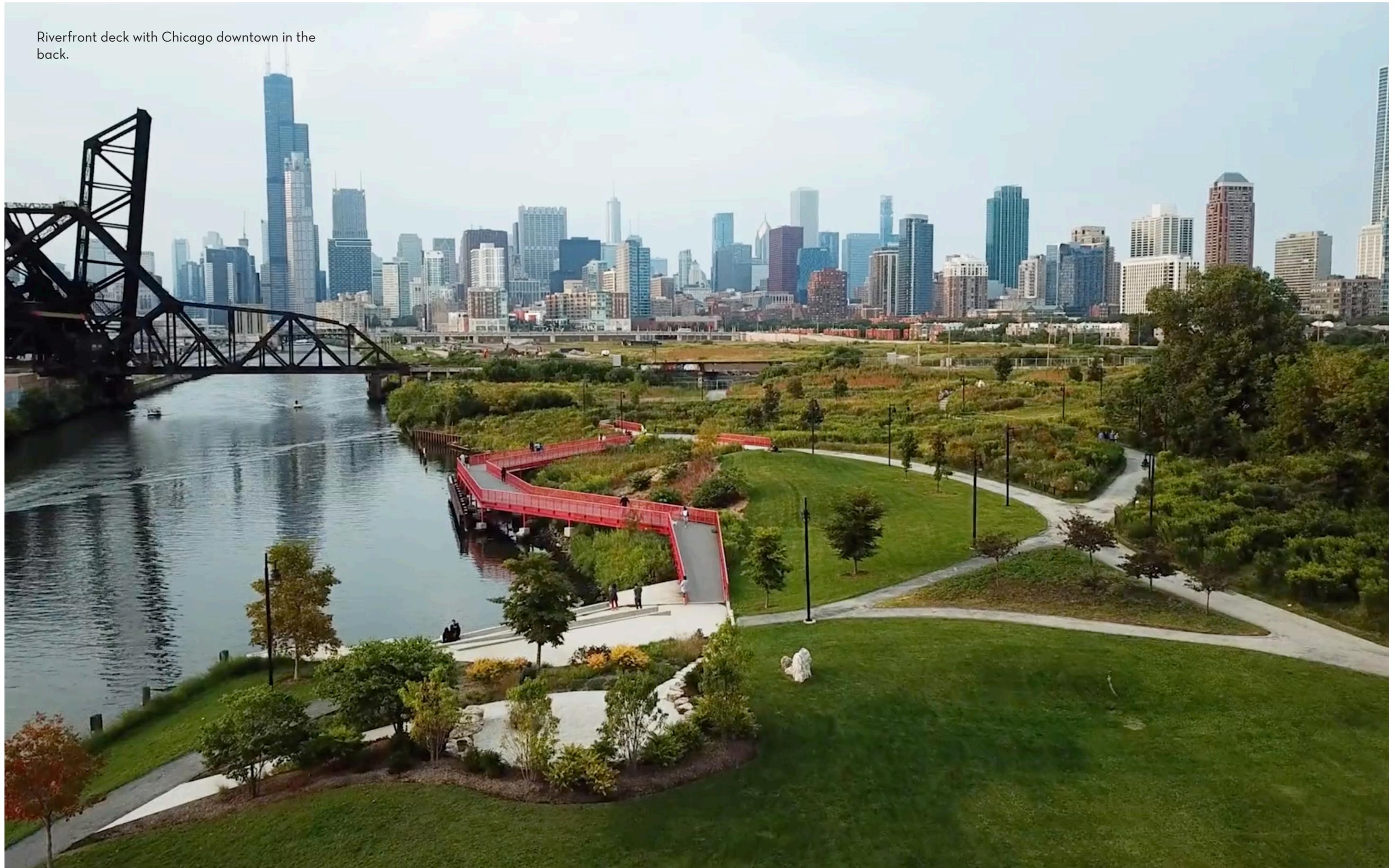


The orientai style pagooa in the park.
Image Credit: Chicago Park District Website



The 78 post potential future gentrification to the Chinatown community.

Riverfront deck with Chicago downtown in the back.



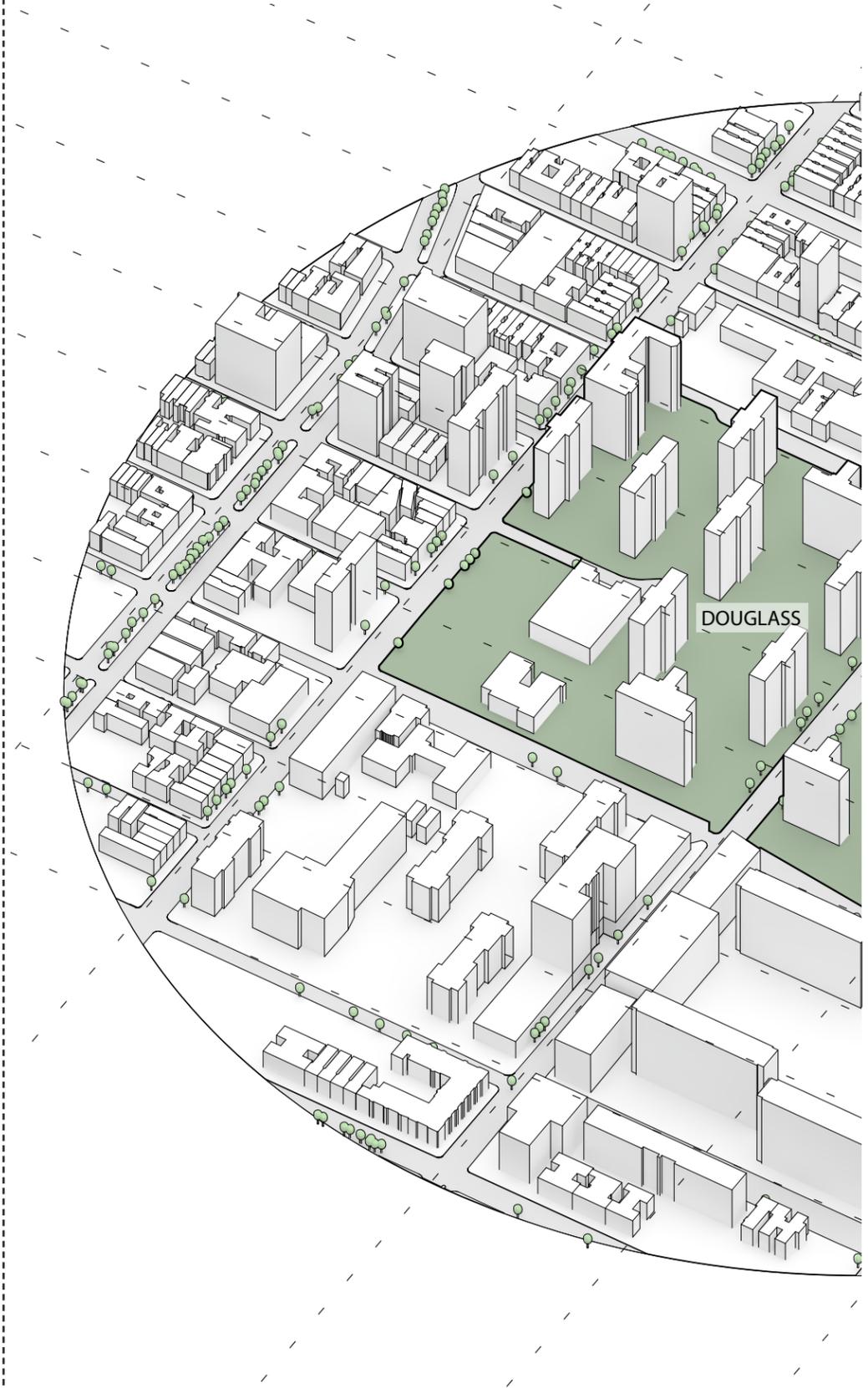
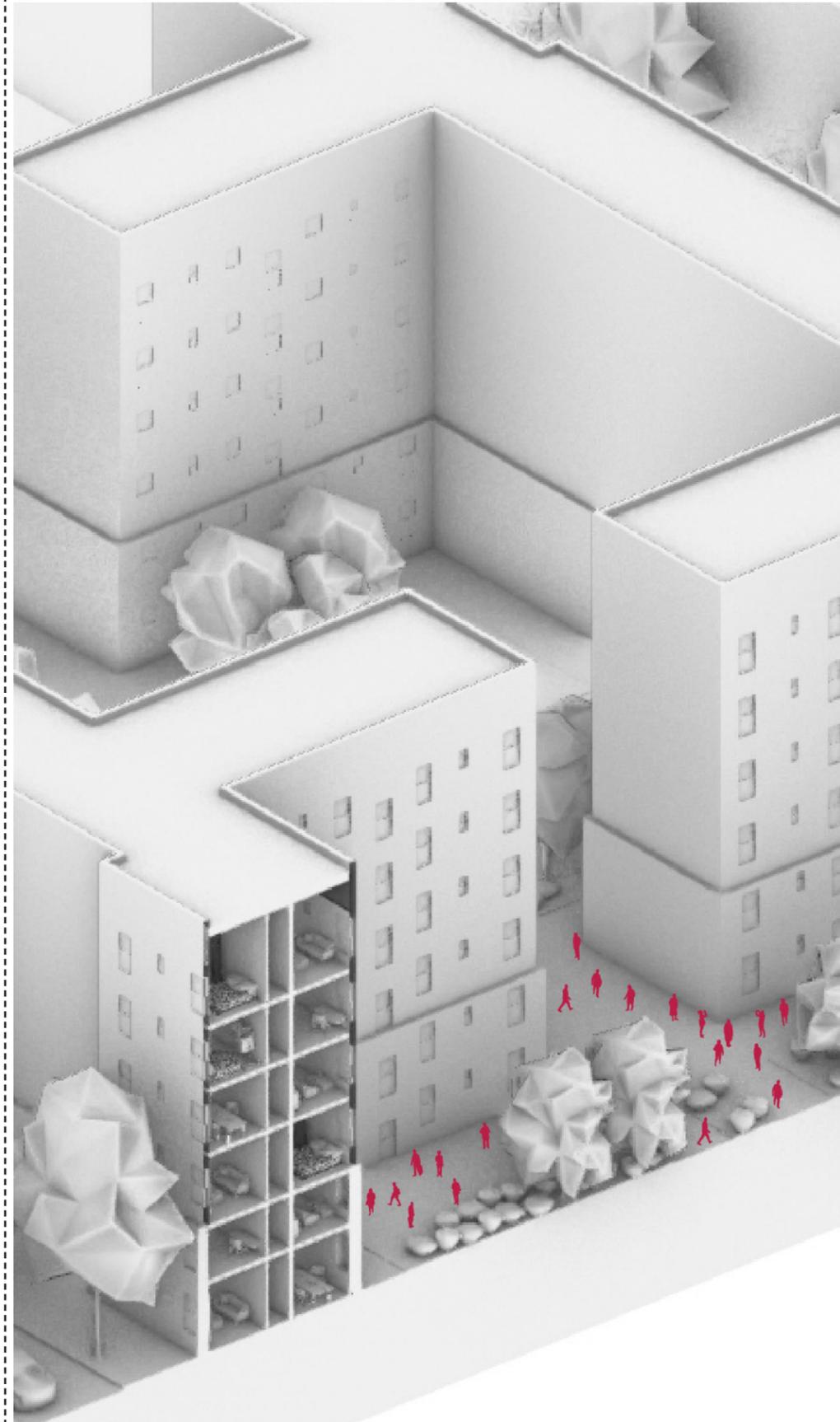
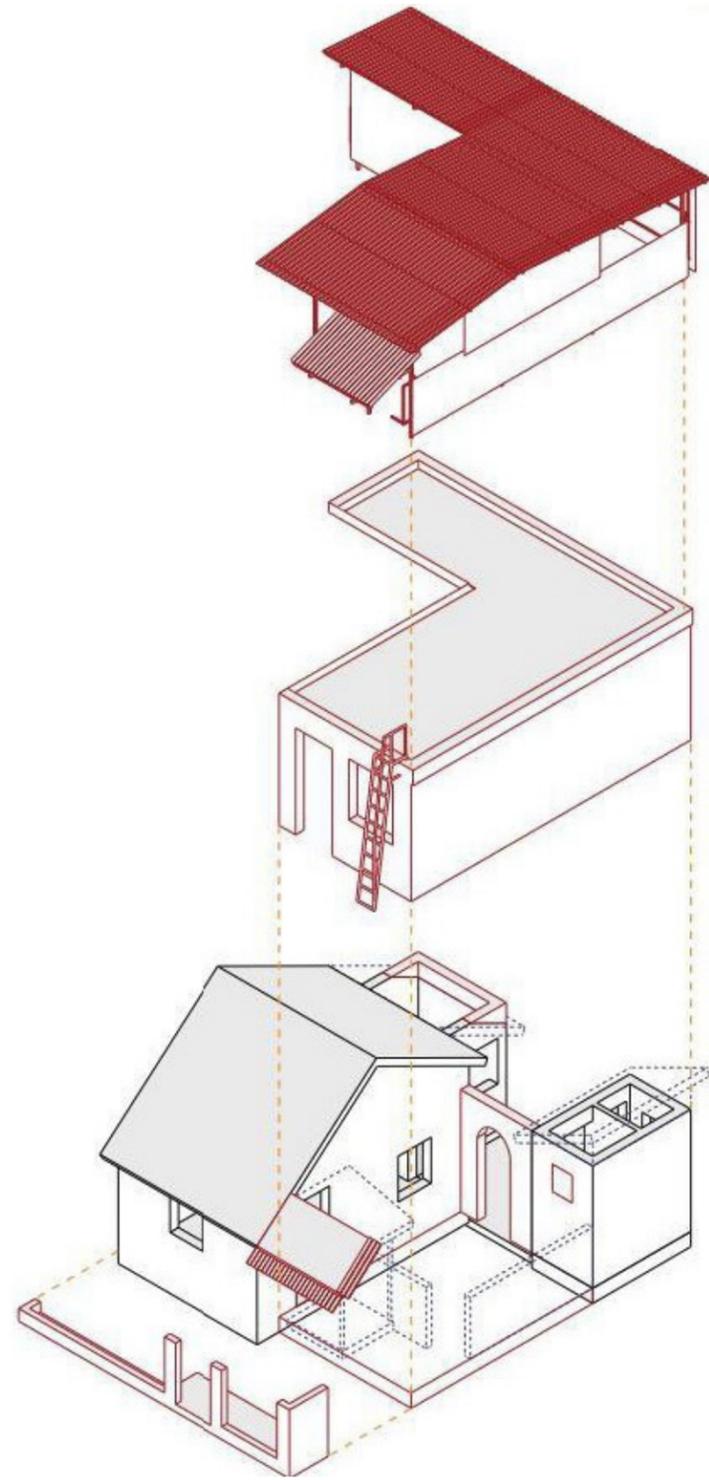


Dragon Boat activities taking place by the park

COUNTER-STORY
HOUSING

HOUSING

CARMEN YU, GOVARDAN RAJASEKARAN, LUCAS COELHO NETTO



INCREMENTAL HOUSING & FINANCIAL SYSTEMS

A FORGOTTEN YET STRONG COMMUNITY

BELAPUR ARTIST VILLAGE

Incremental Housing and Financial Systems

Govardan Rajasekaran Umashankar



Incremental growth, Artist Village, Belapur, India

INTRODUCTION

The Artist Village in Belapur is developed as an incremental housing strategy as part of the New Mumbai development. The housing was designed as a scheme of affordable, mixed income, high-density low rise housing strategy for Navi Mumbai. The site area of 5.4 hectares was developed to house 500 people (about 100 families) per hectare. Work on the project began in 1983, taking three years to complete, with the first residents moving in by 1986. The project was developed as two phases, that would be developed in a checker board pattern, connecting to public infrastructure.

CONTEXT

Navi Mumbai is designed as a series of nodes strung along a rapid transit network. The Belapur node, located in the city center is part of a primary transit arteries. The artist village was developed by the City and Industrial Planning Corporation (CIDCO) a state government body; and Housing and Urban Design Corporation (HUDCO), a central government body.

The Housing is in the picturesque valley of Parshik range of hills in 1983, which has since developed into a dense urban settlement. 25% housing was allotted for the Artists as the context inspired artists.

DESIGN

Each house is designed with a small courtyard or terrace to augment the built up space. Seven houses are clustered together around an intimate courtyard. Three of these clusters are further combined to form a larger module of 21 houses. Three such strung together modules form a community of 63 houses. This spatial hierarchy continues until they reach the largest neighborhood spaces where schools and other public facilities are located. The system is arranged in such a way that the spines of community spaces open to the hills behind. At key points along this spine are located shopping, schools and playfields.

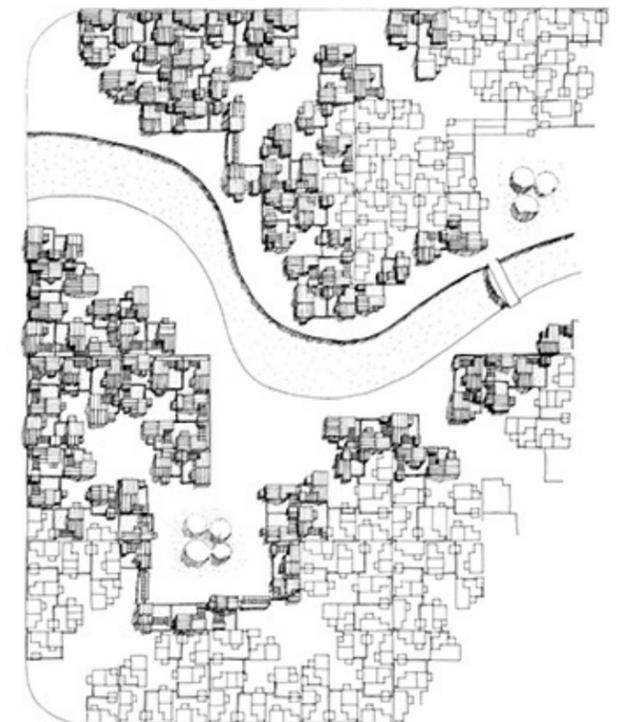
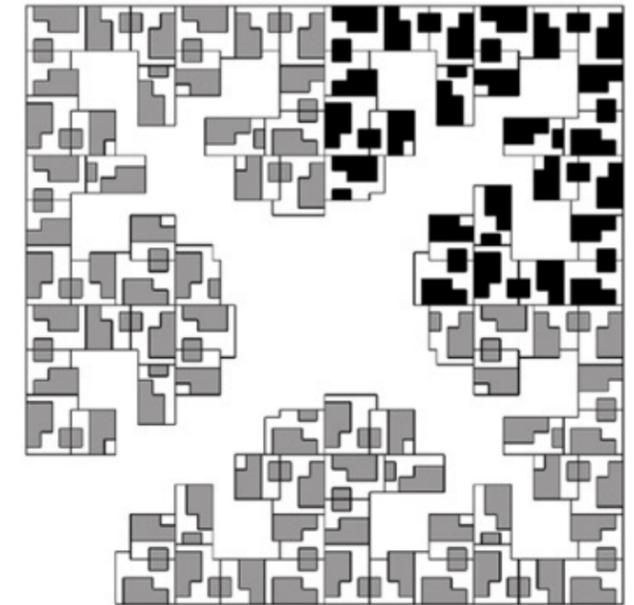
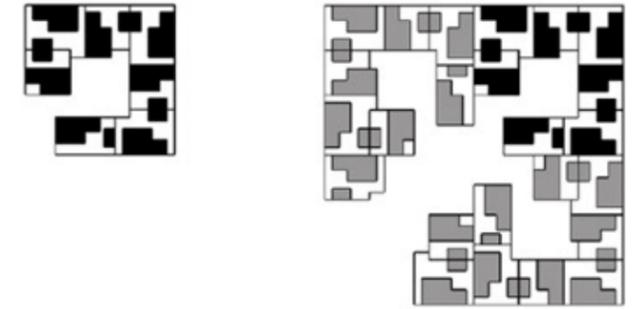
The houses are built on individual sites in order to promote incremental growth of the housing by the occupants. The primary bearing walls were independent from the neighbors, so that design alterations could be undertaken by the occupants. There are five basic house typologies, four of them are single families designed for varying income groups, the fifth is a double unit. The construction is of brick walls with tiled roof. The organization of mixed income in clusters was designed to promote community development.

Housing plans were designed keeping in mind possible future spatial configurations like addition of living spaces or stairs to rooms above. The courtyard at the entrance formed a threshold between the community and private spaces.

ISSUES

The financial systems part of this incremental housing development were not supportive of equitable growth for all community members. Occupants who took a loan from HUDCO were not allowed to develop their houses until the loan is paid back. Furthermore, the housings were limited to income groups, therefore not all typologies of housing was available for potential occupants to choose from. Additionally change in social structure, such as increase in family size, leading to increase in household expenses deters incremental development of the house.

Currently very few inhabitants from the initial occupants continue to live in this village due to financial constraints.



Spatial grammar of Artist Village

OUTCOMES

We analyse four scenarios of incremental development in this community,

1) Resident who bought the house from their own savings and have incrementally developed it to accommodate their family needs.

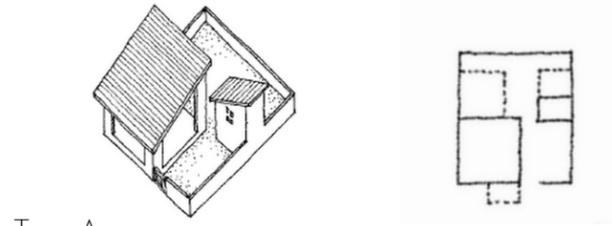
2) Residents who have developed lesser than their spatial requirement due to the hampering by financial systems

3) Residents who have fallen in debt to the financial system and have lost ownership of their house.

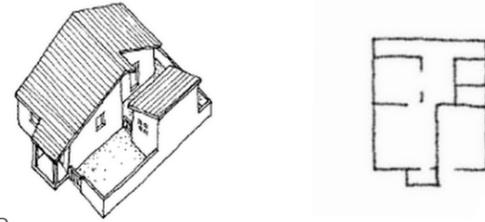
5) Resident who has incrementally grown the house at a slower pace due to his economic standing.

CONCLUSION

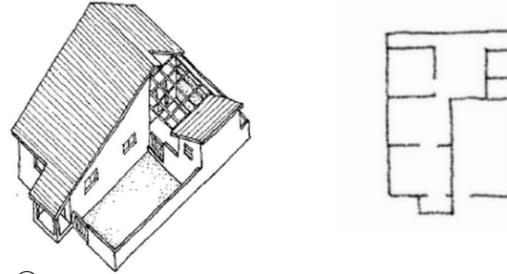
The analysis illustrates how the financial system and economic standing can cause inequity among owners of incremental housing. The factor of incremental growth is not constant for all and is influenced by variables like social, economic as well as lack of support from the financial system. The finances can make or break the incremental development of residence.



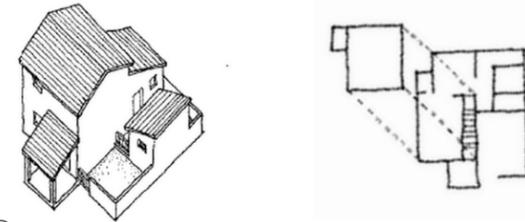
Type A



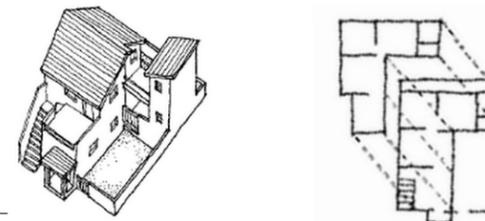
Type B



Type C

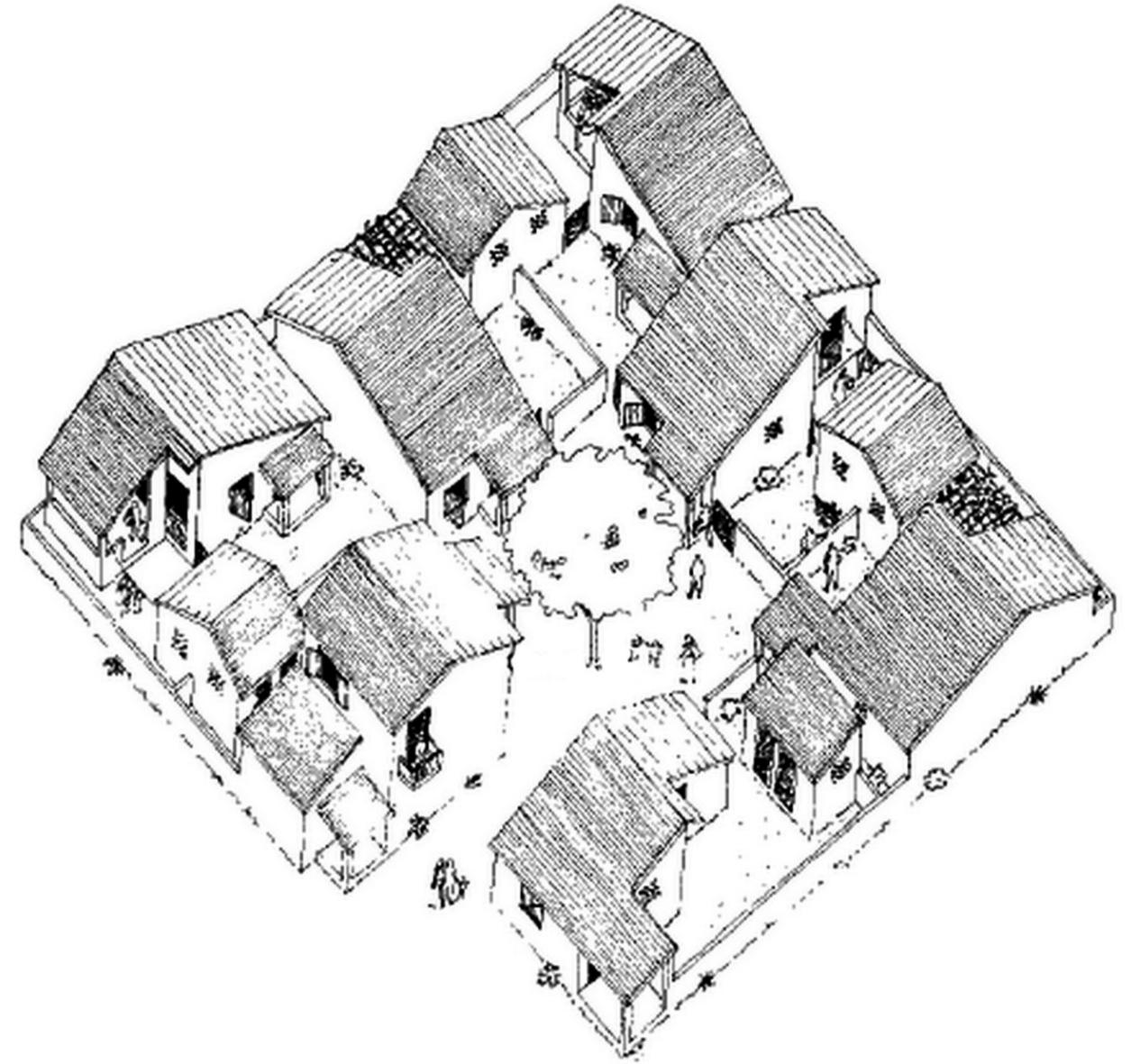


Type D



Type E

Housing Typologies : Single family homes and multi-family homes with varying levels of developed functions



The section and isometric drawing illustrate the hierarchy in social interaction, that begins at the threshold of the house and spills into the community courtyards.

HOUSE ON HIRE PURCHASE/ ON SELF FINANCING BASIS:

The houses are available on self-financing as well as on Hire Purchase Basis. The persons purchasing the houses on self-financing basis will have to pay the full cost of the house in 4 instalments as indicated below:

- 25% by 28th June 1985.
- 25% by 31st August, 1985.
- 25% by 30th November, 1985.
- 25% by 28th February, 1986.

Preference in allotment will be given to those who book the houses on self-financing basis.

In case of houses on Hire Purchase basis the amount of buyer's contribution will have to be paid on or before 31st August 1985. The Built up areas of Houses, the tentative sale prices, likely HUDCO Loan, Registration charges etc are as indicated in the Statement A.

ADDITIONS & ALTERATIONS:

The persons who have taken the house on Hire Purchase Basis will not be permitted to make additions and alterations till such time they have repaid the amount of HUDCO loan in full. They can make additions and alterations after taking necessary permission from the Town Planning Officer of CIDCO.

The amount of Registration charges, in case of persons booking the houses on Hire Purchase Basis, will be adjusted against the buyer's contribution and in case of persons booking the houses on self-financing basis, the amount of Registration Charges will be adjusted against the amount of 1st instalment payable on 28th June 1985. The registration charges in case the applicants who are unsuccessful in getting the allotment of the houses in this scheme, will be refunded without interest as soon as possible.

The enclosed application form should be filled in & submitted to the Marketing Manager, CIDCO accompanied by a demand draft of Rs. 1000/-, Rs. 5000/- Rs. 7500/- Rs. 10,000/- or Rs. 15,000/- as registration charges as indicated in statement 'A'.

The amount is liable to be forfeited if the applicant withdraws his application form, before intimation of acceptance or otherwise as communicated to him.

DETAILS OF TENEMENTS UNDER HUDCO SCHEME/OUTRIGHT PURCHASE IN ARTISTES' VILLAGE, SECTOR-8, BELAPUR.

Series	Type design	Eligible income group	Built up area (M ²)	Tentative sale Price Rs.	Likely HUDCO loan per tenement	Registration Charges per tenement (adjustable against buyer's contribution) Rs.
A	A 1	L. I. G. (upto Rs. 600/- per month)	16.68	20,000	13,800	1,000
	A 2	"	16.68	"	"	"
	A 3	"	16.68	"	"	"
	A 4	"	16.68	"	"	"
	A 5	"	16.68	"	"	"
	A 6	"	16.68	"	"	"
	A 7	"	16.83	"	"	"
	A 8	"	16.59	"	"	"
B	B 1	MIG	26.19	50,900	28,000	5,000
	B 2	(Rs. 601/- to	26.55	50,000	"	"
	B 3	Rs. 1,500/-	26.55	50,300	"	"
	B 4	per mpnth)	26.55	49,200	"	"
	B 5	"	27.63	52,500	"	"
	B 6	"	27.63	51,000	"	"
	B 7	"	28.21	53,200	"	"
	B 8	"	26.73	48,700	"	"
C	C 1	H. I. G.	33.17	86,600	48,000	7,500
	C 1	(Rs. 1,501/-	33.17	87,000	"	"
	C 1 ✓	& above)	33.17	87,700	"	"
	C 2	"	33.44	85,900	"	"
	C 3	"	34.18	84,700	"	"
C 4	"	34.49	84,400	"	"	
D	D 1	"	42.75	98,900	"	"
	D 2	"	42.75	1,01,300	"	"
	D 3	No income bar	45.55	1,30,000	"	10,000
E	E	"	75.37 ★	1,70,000	NIL	15,000

★ includes 50% of Terrace

Note : In respect of Outright sales of houses, the total price is payable in four quarterly instalments.

From the archives : Excerpts from the brochure of the Belapur Artisan Village

From the archives : Excerpts from the brochure of the Belapur Artisan Village, classifying building cost



Growth



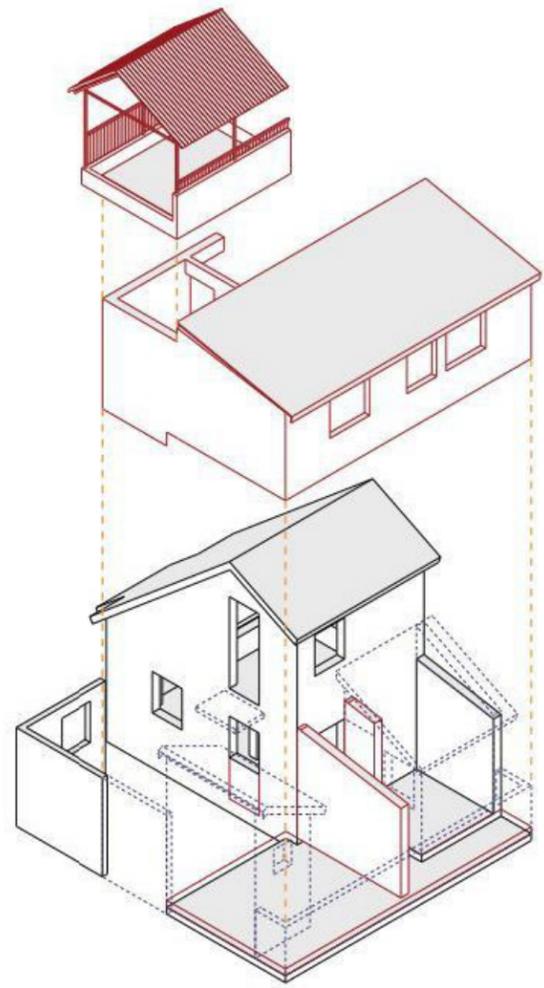
Loss of ownership



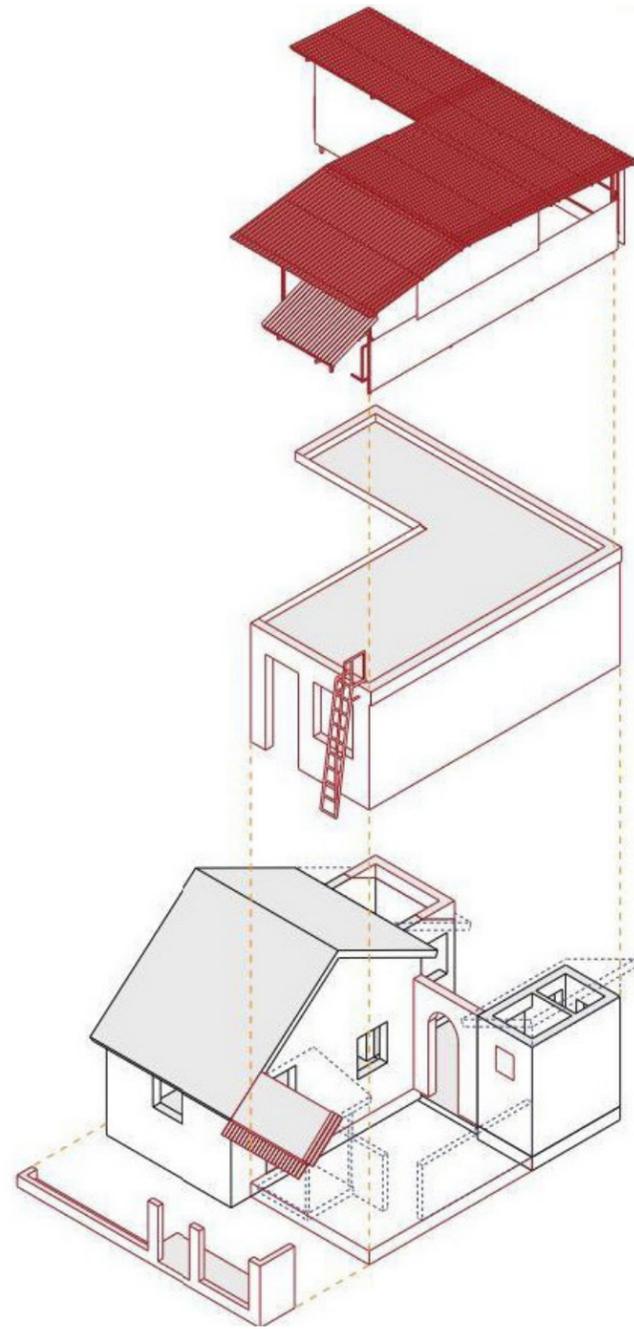
Renovation



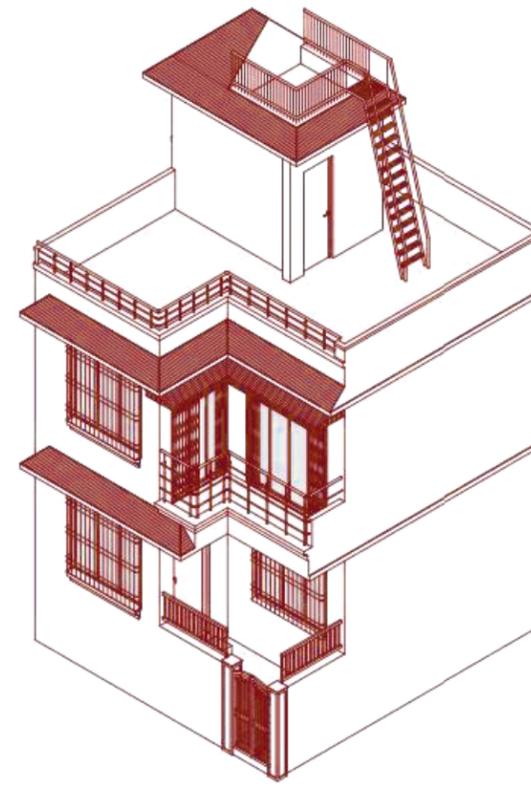
Community



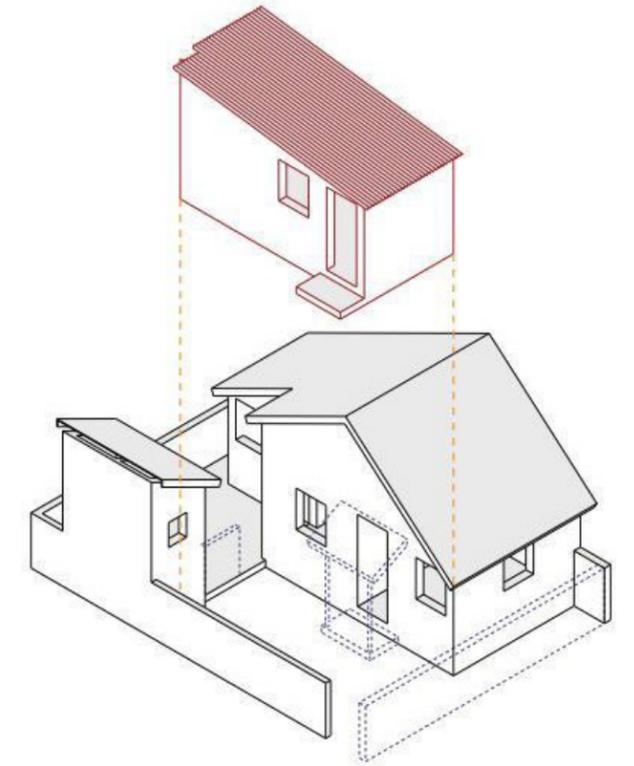
This Type D unit houses a multi-generational family. The grandparents had acquired this unit and were part of the High Income Group Class and bought the house from without any dependence on financial systems. They were able to incrementally add multiple rooms over a period of time and pass down the residence to their family members.



This Type C unit belongs to a nuclear family, who bought these units as part of financing scheme provided by HUDCO. They were only able to make incremental additions to the house after paying off their loan. Since the family had grown by then, their financial standing only allowed them to add one room in the floor above and the remaining spatial needs were met by adding a temporary structure above that.



This Type B Unit was bought by the current owners from the previous occupants due to their inability to pay of their debts. Due to the previous occupants financial insecurity, the house was not maintained, therefore the current owners chose to tear down the property and build a new residence for their family of four.



This Type B Unit is owned by an artisan who has managed to maintain the house in its original form. An additional living spaces was added to meet to occupants social needs, this replaced the courtyard of the house. The house was bought from the artisans savings and was developed pver a period of 30 years.



UNDERLYING TENSIONS

In the context of Affordable Housing

Carmen Yu



Public Housing in Harlem (1965) | Source: Sam Falk/ New York Times

INTRODUCTION

The quality of one's life is directly correlated to where one lives and has the ability to either increase or decrease opportunities for a prosperous life. Affordable housing is typically advertised to low income households in which the maintenance and infrastructure of the surrounding neighborhood heavily influences one's well being, as well as the well being of others. Unfortunately, the immediate neighborhood around affordable housing complexes are typically subjected to systemic inequalities and uncoincidental juxtapositions. This has the ability to influence misinformation that various media outlets provide and the public's perception.

Some major issues to date include unfair

policing of neighborhoods that contain NYCHA (New York City Housing Authority) housing which causes underlying tensions between the police and residents. The amount of attention and resources the NYPD (New York Police Department) puts into a specific area directly affects the recorded crime rates. This provides an opportunity to influence inaccurate correlations of crime and demographics based on one's preferred news outlet.

CONTEXT

Grant Houses is an affordable housing project located in West Harlem, bordering the northern boundary of Morningside Heights. This affordable housing complex consists of 10 buildings spanning

from 123rd street to 125th street. Grant Houses began construction in 1954 and was completed in 1956. Currently, it is still being managed by NYCHA. During the 1940's, Morningside Heights Inc. (founded by Columbia University) lobbied for the displacement of residents using legislation and supported the construction of Grant Houses north of Morningside Gardens. This was intended to create a buffer between Morningside heights and Harlem, segregating the differing demographics and economic standings.

NYCHA

Previously in the 1950's - 1970's, NYCHA was regarded "a Progressive Housing Solution to fix

New York City" (NYT) and one of the most important resources for low income residents. Over time, the government has reduced funding which results in the neglect of maintenance for a multiplicity of housing complexes. The organization was previously selective with their residents in the 1950's, but in the late 1960's, loosened their selectivity, sparking an increase in crime, vandalism and drugs.

"EVERY PLACE YOU STEP, YOU WOULD STEP ON A CRACK BOTTLE, BACK IN THE '80S, A LONG TIME AGO. IN GRANT, YOU WOULD BE AFRAID TO WALK DOWN THE STEPS BECAUSE THEY HAD A BUNCH OF CRACK BOTTLES AND THEY GET STUCK IN THE GROOVE OF YOUR SHOE." - EARLINE JENKINS, 70

(Resident of the Grant Houses in Manhattan since 1976)

During the 2000's through 2018, began a period of defunding which resulted in reduced staff and redirection of resources. Hurricane Sandy further propelled the housing issue in which NYCHA projects required the maintenance of devastating conditions. This quickly affected the quality of life for some while others continue to deal with depleting infrastructure.



NYCHA Housing in relation to local Police precincts.



GRANT HOUSES

MORNINGSIDE GARDENS

MANHATTANVILLE HOUSES

NYPD 32ND PRECINCT

NYPD 26TH PRECINCT

SAINT NICHOLAS HOUSES

NYPD 28TH PRECINCT

“EVERYTHING IS GETTING OLD AT ONCE, BECAUSE EVERYTHING WAS KIND OF BUILT AT ONCE. SO IT’S LIKE A 30-YEAR WINDOW WHERE ALMOST ALL OF PUBLIC HOUSING WAS BUILT, AND NOW WE’RE IN THAT 30-YEAR WINDOW WHERE IT’S GOING TO BE TOTALLY REVAMPED OR REDEVELOPED. A LOT OF THESE BUILDINGS HAVE HAD MORE THAN YOUR NORMAL WEAR AND TEAR.” - NICHOLAS D. BLOOM
 (Professor and author of “Public Housing That Worked”)

ISSUES

Due to the lack of maintenance in the NYCHA affordable housing complexes, crime has increased causing an influx of police surveillance among ALL NYCHA Housing. This results in a disproportionate amount of surveillance and loitering in which police can be seen parked in areas for long periods of time, whether crime was in the area or not. Police are sometimes parked in front of restaurants and grocery stores watching local residents perform daily tasks, creating an uncomfortable environment with underlying tensions. This tactic is a form of intimidation as a part of systemic inequalities.

Crime rates in NYCHA Housing neighborhoods also face the possibility of inaccurate records in which crime is directly correlated with how much attention and resources the NYPD choses to put into a specific area. These reported crime records

can inaccurately influence misinformation and the public perception of a certain area to a specific demographic. This sadly causes the neighborhood to be subjected to media scrutiny and inaccurate portrayal of the neighborhood and the life there, depending on the media outlet. This also ultimately influences crime and increases surveillance further.



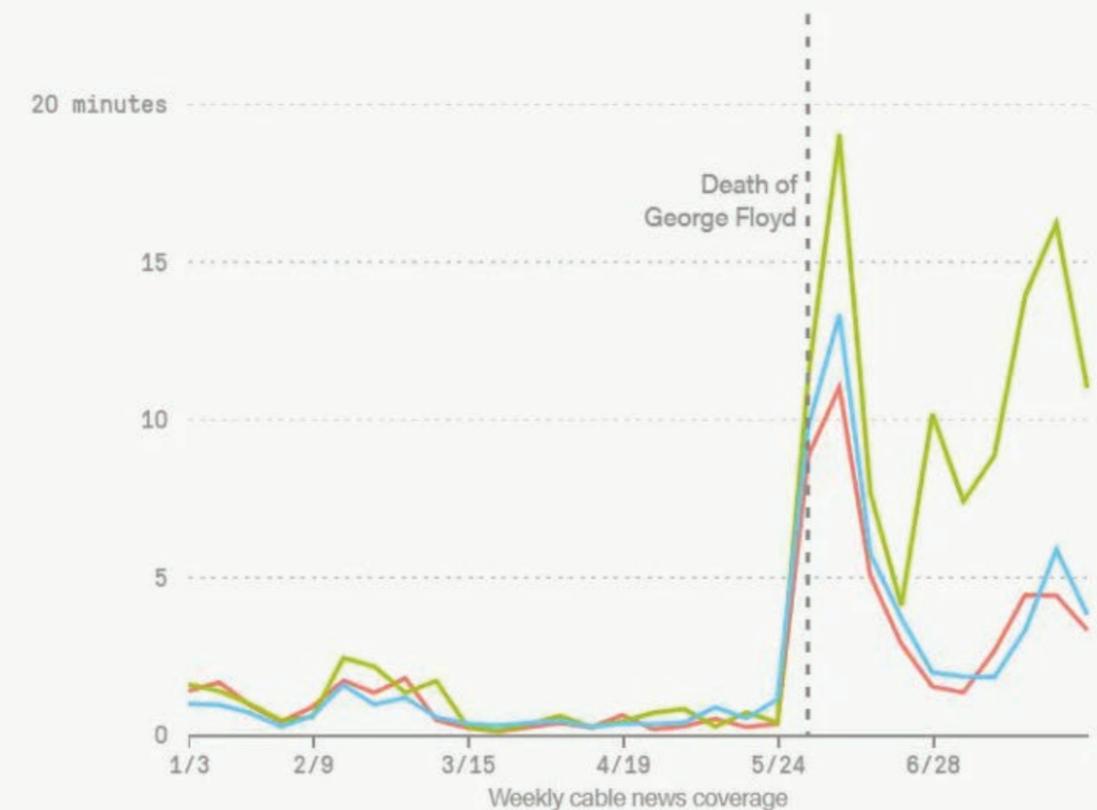
NYPD - 26th Precinct



Old Broadway

Major cable networks' airtime on violence, murders, and shootings

As protests for racial justice began to spread across the country this summer, a data analysis of major cable news network transcripts initially showed a spike in coverage of crime and shootings. Then, as protests proved to be largely peaceful, **CNN** and **MSNBC** started spending less airtime on these topics, while **Fox News** continued with its coverage.



Source: The Stanford Cable TV News Analyzer, which analyzes cable news broadcast and calculates screen time for selected key words in each station.

Based on the media outlet, the information communicated will be different - making it easier to be subjected to misinformation. Source: Vox

ISSUES (CONT.)

Due to the fear of crime, extra precaution is taken around the neighborhood especially with the use of surveillance cameras. In the context of Grant Houses and Harlem, excessive use of surveillance cameras can be seen on neighboring buildings.

Directly adjacent to the Grant Houses is a separate affordable housing complex, Morningside Gardens, but within a higher income bracket. Having observed the two in relation to each other, the maintenance and spatial planning is incomparable. The perimeter of Grant Houses is littered and dark, consisting of little to no occupiable green space. The south west entrance is directly adjacent to their waste collection, as well as a children's playground. Compared to Morningside Gardens, the neighboring space consists of a well lit landscaped front courtyard with seating and beautifully paved pathways.

The use of surveillance cameras in Morningside Gardens is not only for the sole purpose of safety, but is also used as an intimidation tactic. Their cameras are situated in plain sight, directly looking into Grant Houses and facing their south west entrance. Their excessive use of 5 large security cameras sends a message to nearby residents that they are being watched which contributes to the systemic oppression and stigma of crime in relation to certain demographics.

Across the street on the opposite side of the 1 line train tracks by 125th street is Harlem's neighbor, Columbia University. One of their recently renovated buildings, The Forum, "serves as the gateway to Columbia University's developing Manhattanville campus" (Columbia University). Designed by famous architect, Renzo Piano, the building opened in 2018 and acts as one of the university's event spaces. Surrounding the perimeter of this prestigious building are small spotlights used to bring the space to life at night, but hidden among the lighting are scattered surveillance cameras disguised in similar color and form. There was a total of 24 cameras scattered and hidden among the lighting - an excessive use of surveillance within a one block radius. This sends a clear message to the neighborhood that the building only welcomes some and not all.



1. Surveillance camera from Morningside Gardens looking into Grant Houses
2. Grant Houses southwest entrance
3. The Forum surveillance cameras



Columbia University security cameras on Broadway and 123rd street.

CONCLUSION

- 1) The quality of one's life is directly correlated with where they live. Income should not be the deciding factor of one's well being, rather everyone deserves equal access to safe and beautiful spaces.
- 2) Based on systemic inequalities, there have been uncoincidental juxtapositions in terms of police surveillance of specific neighborhoods which influence public perception and unjust correlations of inaccurate crime rates and demographics.
- 3) One should be cautious of their media outlet and the data being presented in which different media outlets provide different perspectives of information. This influences public opinion while certain sources do not present the full picture or consider underlying influences.
- 4) Unnecessary use of surveillance cameras in a neighborhood is used as a form of intimidation and sends a very clear message of who is welcome to certain spaces and who is not.

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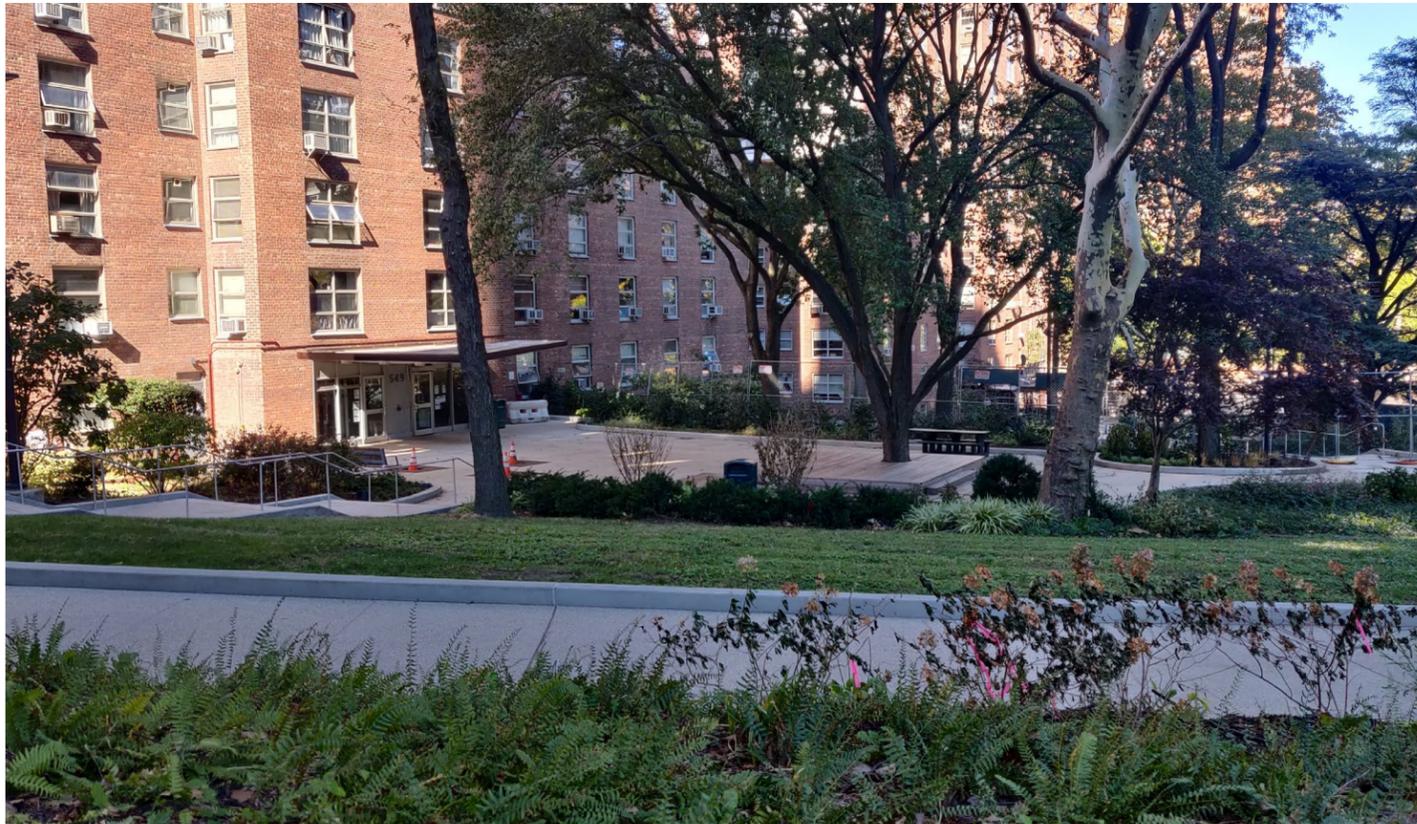
NYPD - 26th Precinct



The Forum



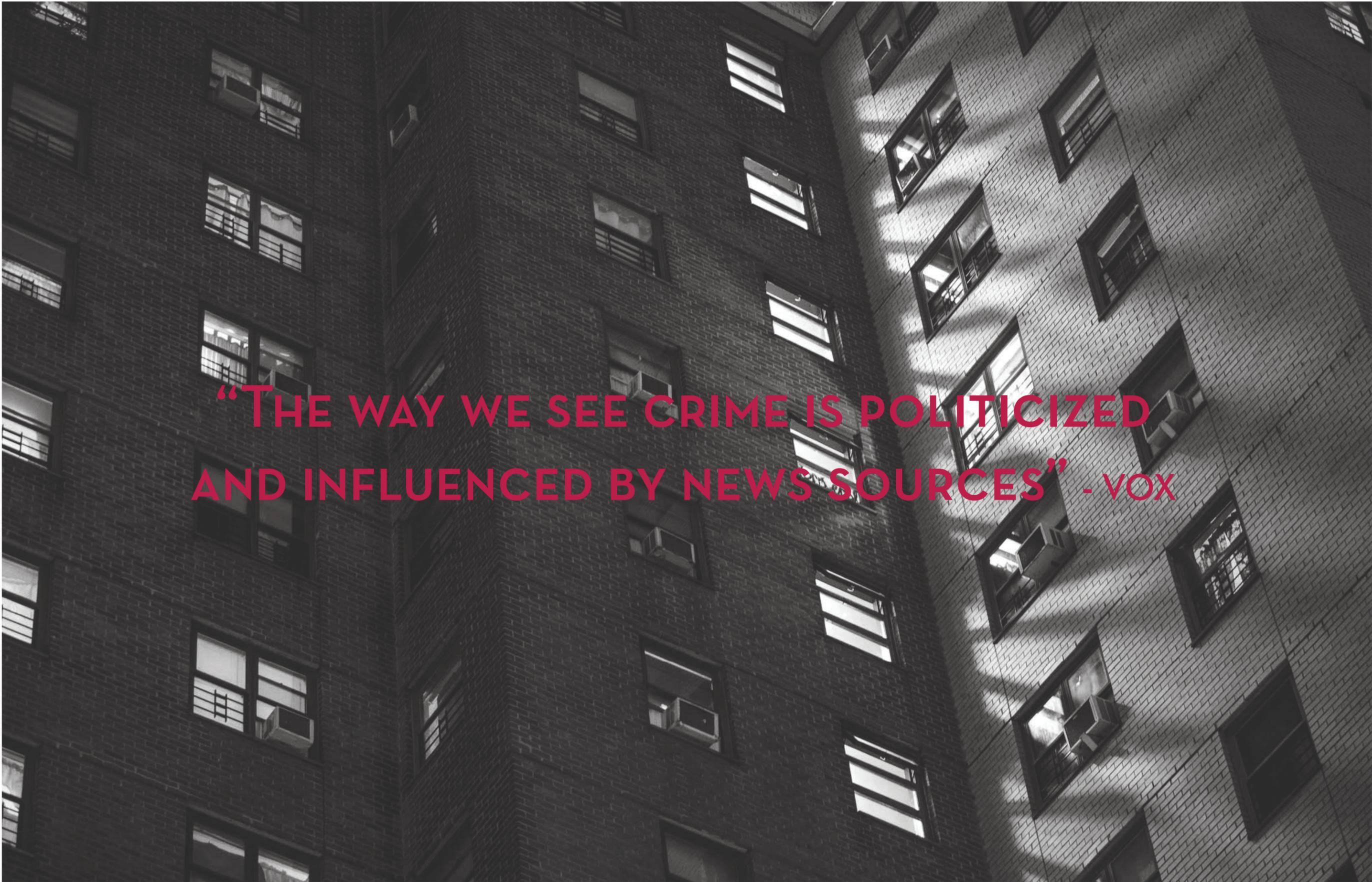
The Forum



Morningside Gardens



Morningside Gardens (front) | Grant Houses (back)

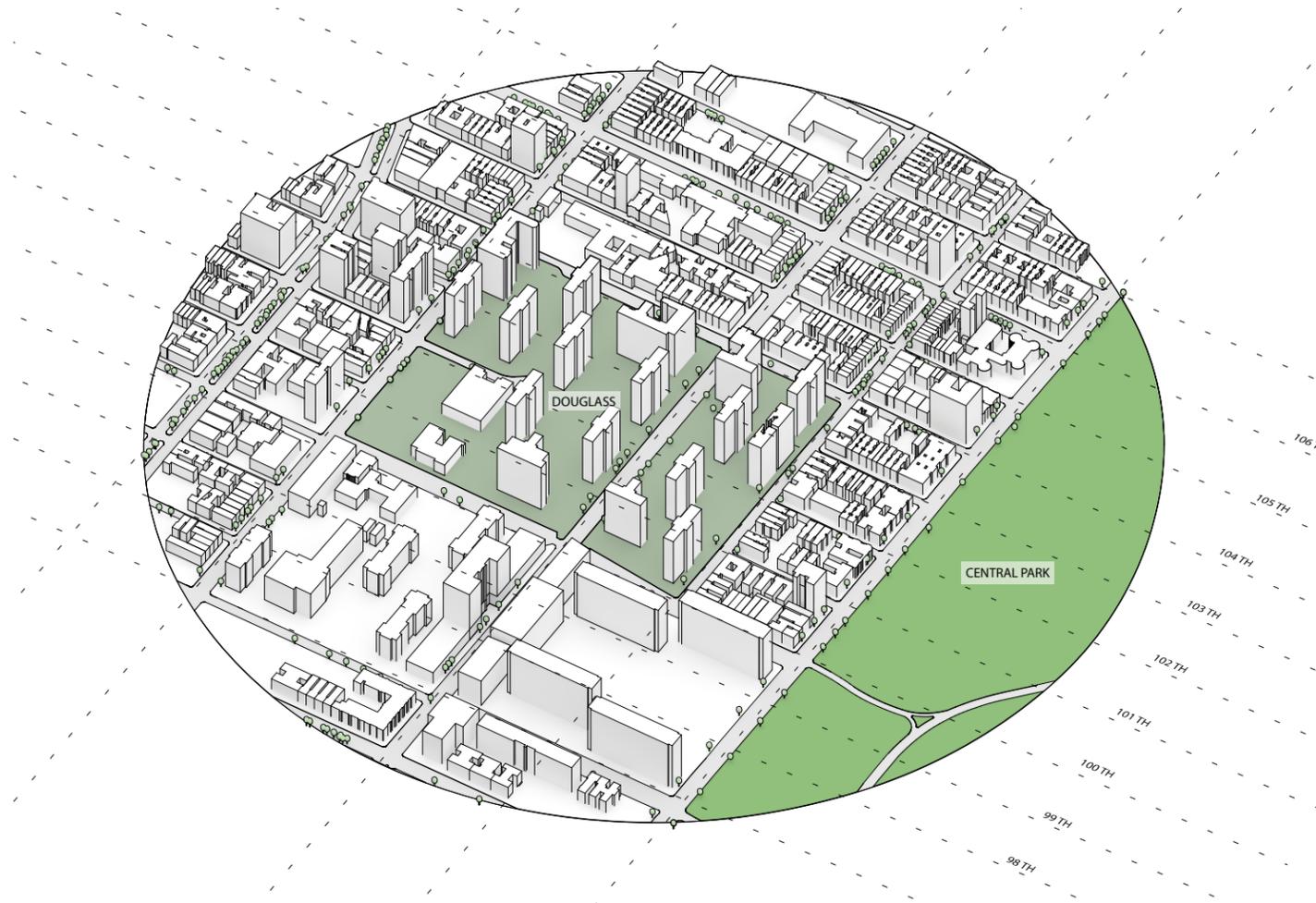


**“THE WAY WE SEE CRIME IS POLITICIZED
AND INFLUENCED BY NEWS SOURCES” - VOX**

FREDERICK DOUGLASS HOUSES

A strong yet forgotten latin community in the Upper West Side

Lucas Coelho Netto



Location diagram (O1)

INTRODUCTION

Named after a former slave, abolitionist, and candidate to vice-presidency of the United States, the NYCHA Frederick Douglass I and II are home to over four thousand latin residents in Manhattan. Composed of eighteen buildings, most of them completed in 1958, the complex of high-rises stand out like a sore thumb amongst the low-rise brownstone buildings surrounding it in Upper West Side.

What at first glance appears to be a healthy community for passers by, with the recurrent street events, music, outdoor gatherings, and a sports court, is heavily contrasted by the presence of police cars around the

perimeter and lawsuits against the city for poor living conditions. Rats, bedbug infestations, collapsing walls and ceilings, mold, hunger, and broke radiators are a few of the complains filed by residents over the last decade.

Unfortunately, authorities have not done much to reverse this scenario. Inhabitants find themselves abandoned in an imaginary deteriorating island, with boundaries established by rent prices and ethnography. Through a network of collective care, they help each other through the difficulties faced daily. One is left wondering how - and if - design could improve the life quality in Douglass houses.

CONTEXT

Approved in 1952 as a low-rent housing project, the development is located in a “superblock” between Manhattan Avenue, Amsterdam Avenue and West 100th and 104th streets. The towers are surrounded by a 19.45 acres playground acquired by the city. The development is home to a community composed mostly by Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Jamaicans, and Chinese. With few vacancies and most residents living there for decades, it is a place where “everybody knows your name”.

However, this low-income island on Upper West Side seems to be forgotten by the city and housing authorities. Over the last decades, and especially the last three years with the COVID-19 pandemic, life quality at Douglass deteriorated drastically. Even though the number of felonies and shootings decreased, residents were dying out of hunger in their apartments. Some could not go downstairs to buy food because of accessibility issues and broken elevators due to lack of maintenance.

When top down and power agencies do not take action, we often encounter bottom-top initiatives that try to revert negative scenarios. It is the case of Douglass’ Tenants Association, led by Carmen Quinones, ten main volunteers, and one “guardian” per building. Together, they try to lighten the burdens residents face: food distribution, daily visits, religious events, and sports activities are a few of the examples that create a bond in the community, and help them get by. Carmen is also a member of the NYPD board and candidate for City Council representing District 7.

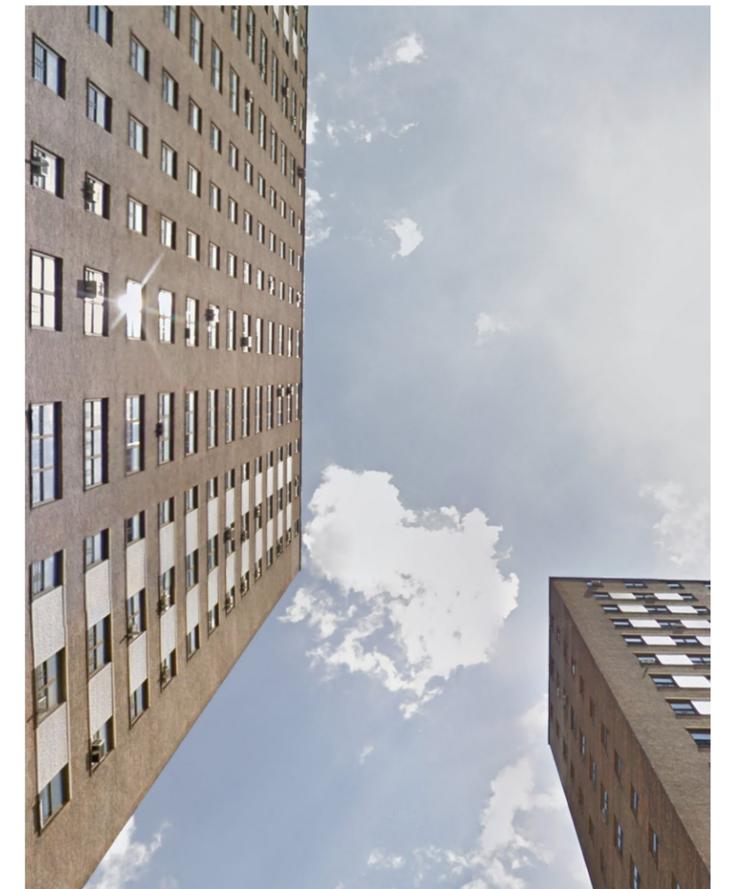
ISSUES

On a broader scale, the main problem Douglass Houses and other NYCHA’s projects are facing is the change from Section 9 to Section 8 by the Housing Authority. In section 8, there is a “Housing Choice Voucher Program” that allows private landlords to charge rents at fair market rates to qualified low income tenants, by using a rental subsidy which pays the difference between resident’s responsibility (30% of their income) and the fair market rent. (1) According to Quinones, it is an attempt to “privatize” it by reducing the rights of the residents and making the received vouchers useless, since they would no longer

apply to other developments but the one where they current reside. That would likely result in an increase of homelessness across the city.

Secondly, facade deterioration - and the scaffoldings installed to repair it - is another issue raised by Quinones. Most of the public space between the buildings looks like a construction site, with abandoned scaffoldings creating a lighting problem and not having an actual use. The distance from the facade contradicts the argument of why they were installed in the first place, and create areas susceptible to robberies.

Amongst other several complaints filed by residents, most relate to safety, lack of maintenance, and poor spatial quality. The only indoor common area is an semi-underground room, with no windows, where all administration happens. During winter, when outdoor gatherings are interrupted by the weather, the space host all sort of festive events, masses, and meetings.



Douglass Houses (O2)

Abandoned gardens accumulate trash, and broken furnitures, increasing the number of rodents. The area is locked by the NYCHA and not allowed for intervention by the residents - who also do not have the budget to do so.

DESIGN

Design issues could be split into two scales and uses: the private areas within the buildings and the common spaces around them.

Internally, lack of natural lighting, deteriorating structures and vertical circulation, and the lack of common spaces are the most perceivable issues. Regarding exterior spaces, lack of lighting and the installed scaffolding result into dark areas, multiple stairs cause lack of accessibility, and abandoned areas lay ground for most complaints on rodents and trash accumulation.

OUTCOMES

Even though all mentioned issues, the project helps create a diverse and plural community in what could have been an exclusive neighborhood. Its scale allows for cultural expression and interaction. However, a project built 70 years ago can not go unchanged, especially one with little investment from managing agencies. The neglect that turns into deterioration is, possibly, leading to the eviction of residents under claims of reform that hides a private interest on the large parcel it occupies.

CONCLUSION

To transform the city we first need to transform the way we look at it - to think of it as a series of activities and living spaces, and to-be-continued situations, not finished products that go unlooked for for decades.

Residents need spaces to support the social infrastructure created amongst and by them. Opportunities lay in subutilized spaces and, possibly, the roofs.

Finally, the apartments need punctual and low maintenance interventions to increase life quality, especially for elderly who can not leave their units.



The exterior spaces between buildings comprises a new community garden, playground for children, and also a large amount of trash bags. (O3,O4,O5)



Facade of two of the eighteen residential towers (O6)

ROOF AS POTENTIAL COMMON AREAS

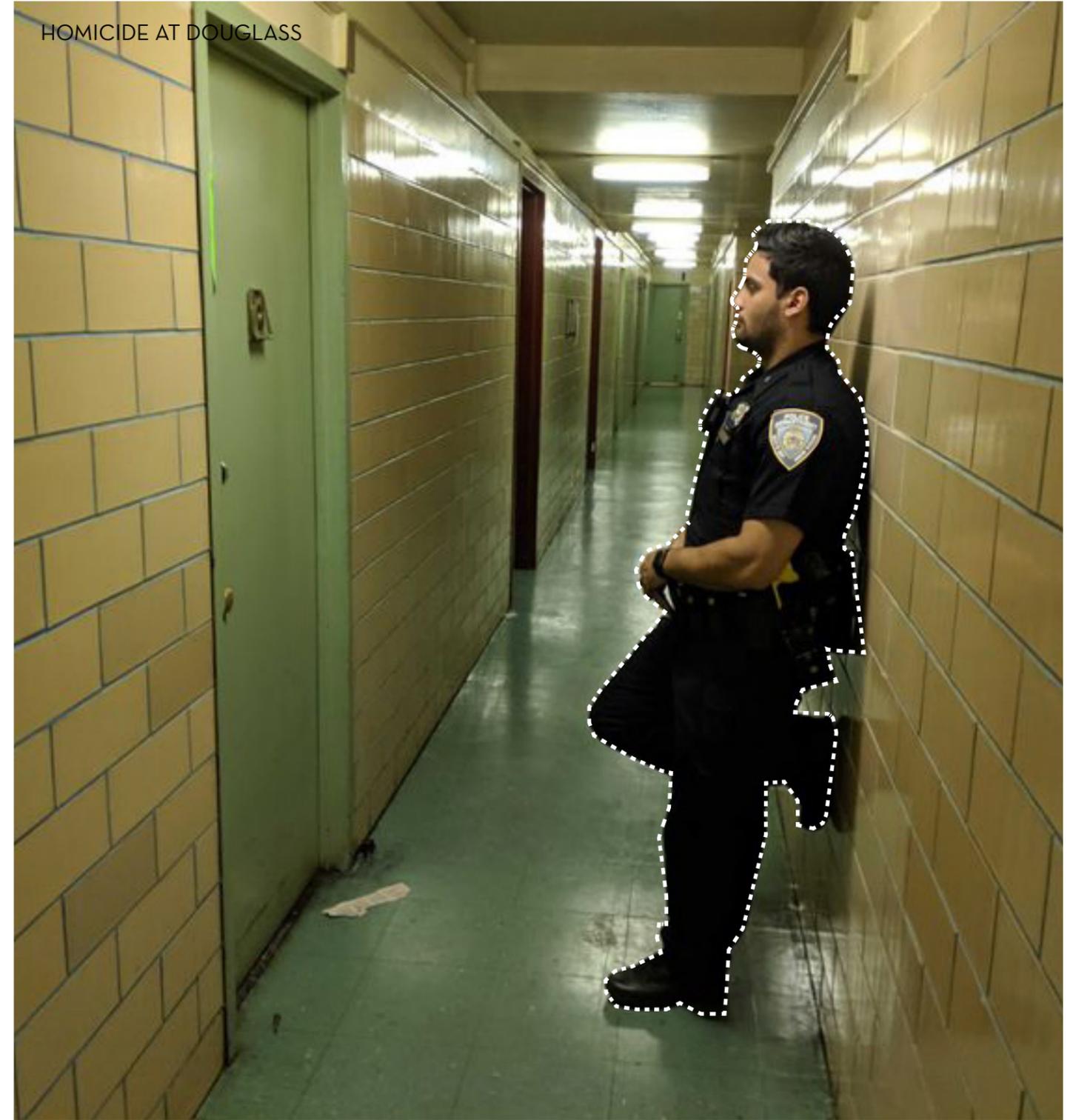


EVENTS WITH NYPD



The NYPD plays an important role for the community, according to Carmen Quinones - president of the residents association and candidate for New York City Council representing District 7. As a member of their board, Carmen was able to create a positive connection between residents and the police, where events happen frequently, be it a basketball game at the recently built sports court, or weekend lunches that take over the streets around the buildings. However, when looking from outside, there can be a perception of a harsh duality between the relationship portrayed at daytime and weekends, to nightly patrols, overpolicing, and strong

HOMICIDE AT DOUGLASS



reflectors to shed light into the common areas. Security is a major issue for the Douglass Houses, where several shootings happened over the last decades. Even though the number of crimes and reports in the area has reduced gradually, it is still a cause of worries for residents. The image above portrays a police officer on one of the hallways after a resident was found murdered in his apartment. According to Carmen, even though overpolicing for most can be seen as a negative presence, residents refer to them as “guardian angels” - people they can trust and rely on daily.

APARTMENT DETERIORATION



Deteriorating interiors at Douglass. (10)

COMMON AREAS



Residents Association Room (12)

APARTMENT DETERIORATION



Deteriorating interiors at Douglass. (11)

COMMON AREAS



Residents Association Room (13)



Bi-weekly free food distribution organized by the RA (14)



Food distribution (15)

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INTERVIEW

Carmen quinones

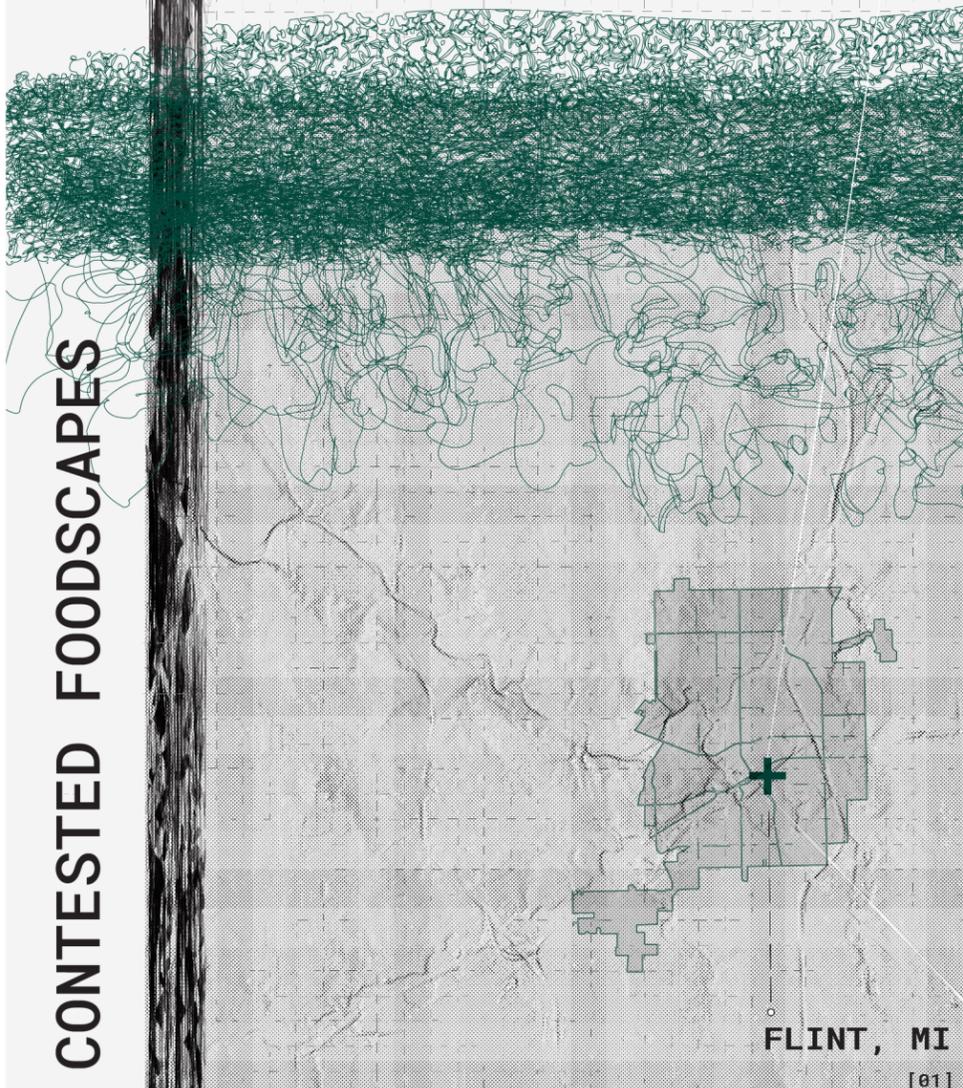
COUNTER-STORY

FOOD

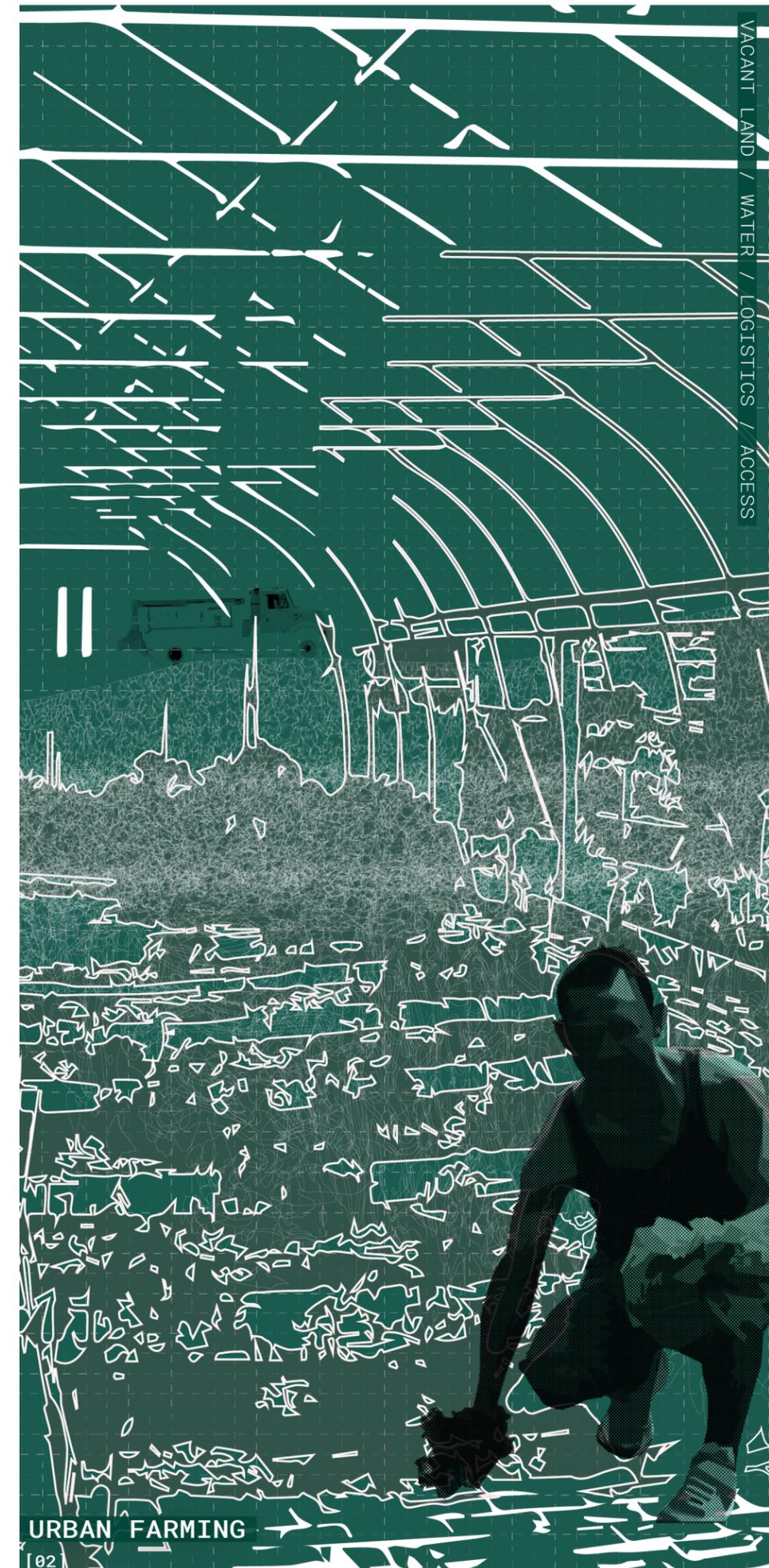
A STORY OF
FOOD + ACTIVISM
IN FLINT, MI



CONTESTED FOODSCAPES



FLINT, MI
[01]



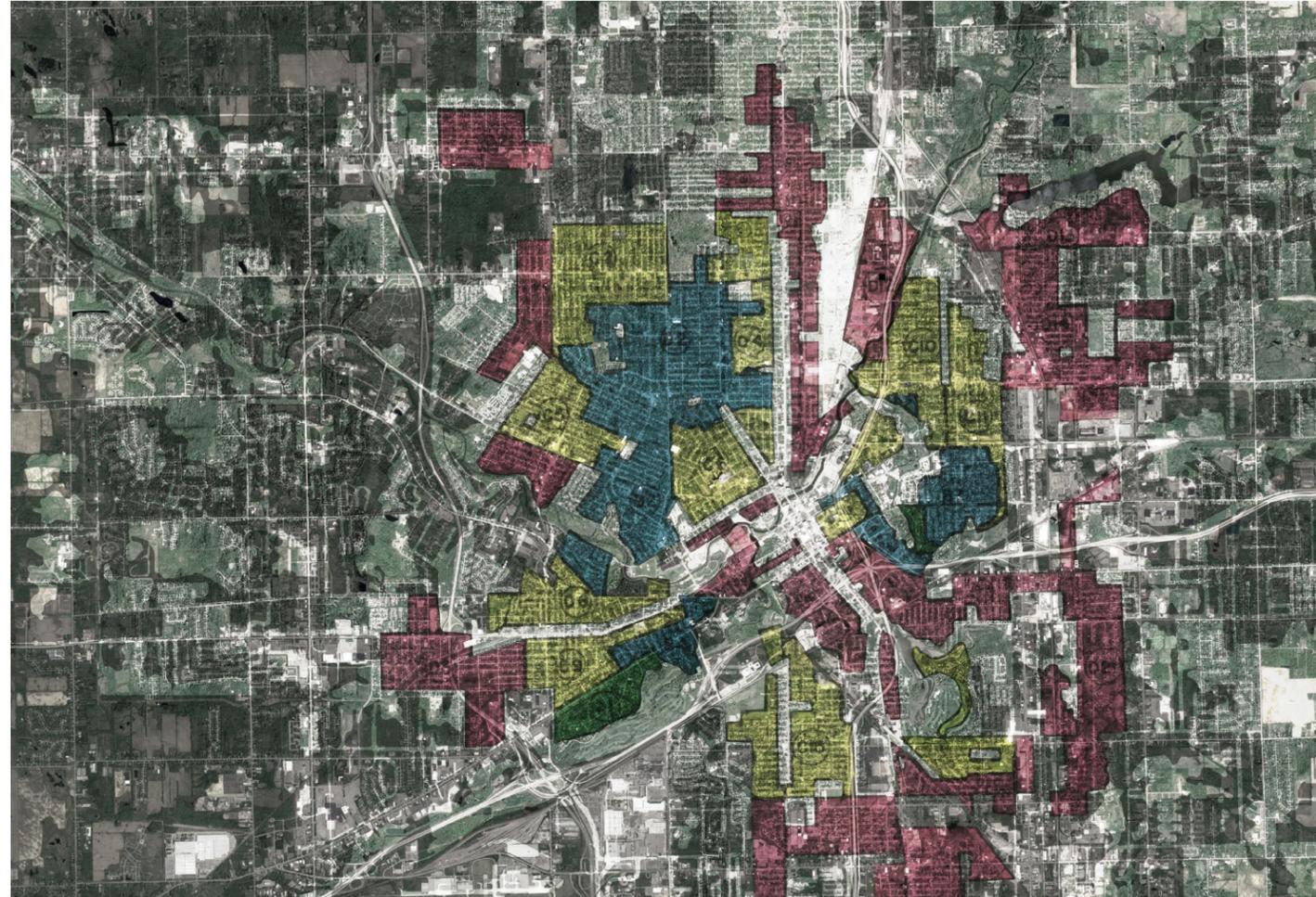
VACANT LAND / WATER / LOGISTICS / ACCESS

URBAN FARMING
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CONTESTED FOOD-SCAPES

Politicized Foods

PRADITI SINGH, YASMINE KATKHUDA



Red lined map of Flint, MI atop present day aerial footage

INTRODUCTION

Flint, Michigan has a rich history of urban-agriculture or food-gardening dating back many generations. Simultaneously, it is the poster child for urban decay and dispossession. Not only is Flint most known for lead contaminated water and soil terrain, but it also suffers from public health and food insecurity.

Food, therefore, becomes an important tool - not only from a perspective of growing, consuming or organizing territories, but in its entanglements within politicized landscapes. Through the lens of such contested produce, food becomes a tool for questioning, projecting and speculating alternative futures.

At a time of environmental and institutional reckoning, exploitative regimes complicit in processes of food systems are explored throughout the narrative. From demarcating the term 'Food-desert' which anchors the built and natural environment to fore-fronting the structural inefficiencies in manufacturing and distribution process in suburban Michigan - there is much potential and agency in stories of despair and success coming out of Flint.

Through such, redefining what access to food means today versus what it could become in a not-so-distant future for residents of Flint and beyond, unravels potentials that are examined through on-going counter-narratives that begin to dismantle capitalist extractive regimes of urban agriculture.

FOOD DESERT

The term 'food desert' describes socioeconomically disadvantaged areas with no access to healthy fresh foods. This definition is limited in its focus to static geographic entities irrespective of societal context and therefore should be understood within the historical continuum of capitalist urbanism.

"DECLINING FOOD ACCESS CAN BE UNDERSTOOD CRITICALLY THROUGH AN ANALYSIS OF THE TIME- AND PLACE-SPECIFIC NATURE OF CAPITAL, INCLUDING ITS UNEVEN PENETRATION IN LOCAL ECONOMIES, THE EXTENT OF ITS CONCENTRATION AND CONSOLIDATION, AND ITS IMPACT ON THE LOCAL BUILT ENVIRONMENT." (Bedore, M. Geographies)

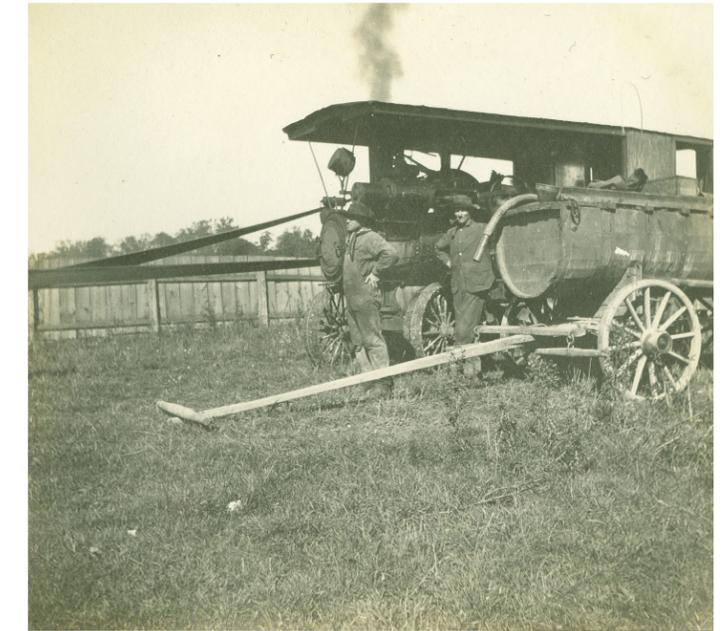
CONTEXT + ISSUES

A macro-analysis of the state of Michigan, reveals an extractive + expansive automobile/ vehicle centered development focused on its capital and suburban districts, on pre-existing fertile soil as in the two images on the right. The geographic location and birth of Flint as a General Motors town supports this narrative. This southern half of the Lower Peninsula enables heterogeneous soil terrain, topography (slope), drainage, and climatic characteristics favorable for high agricultural production.

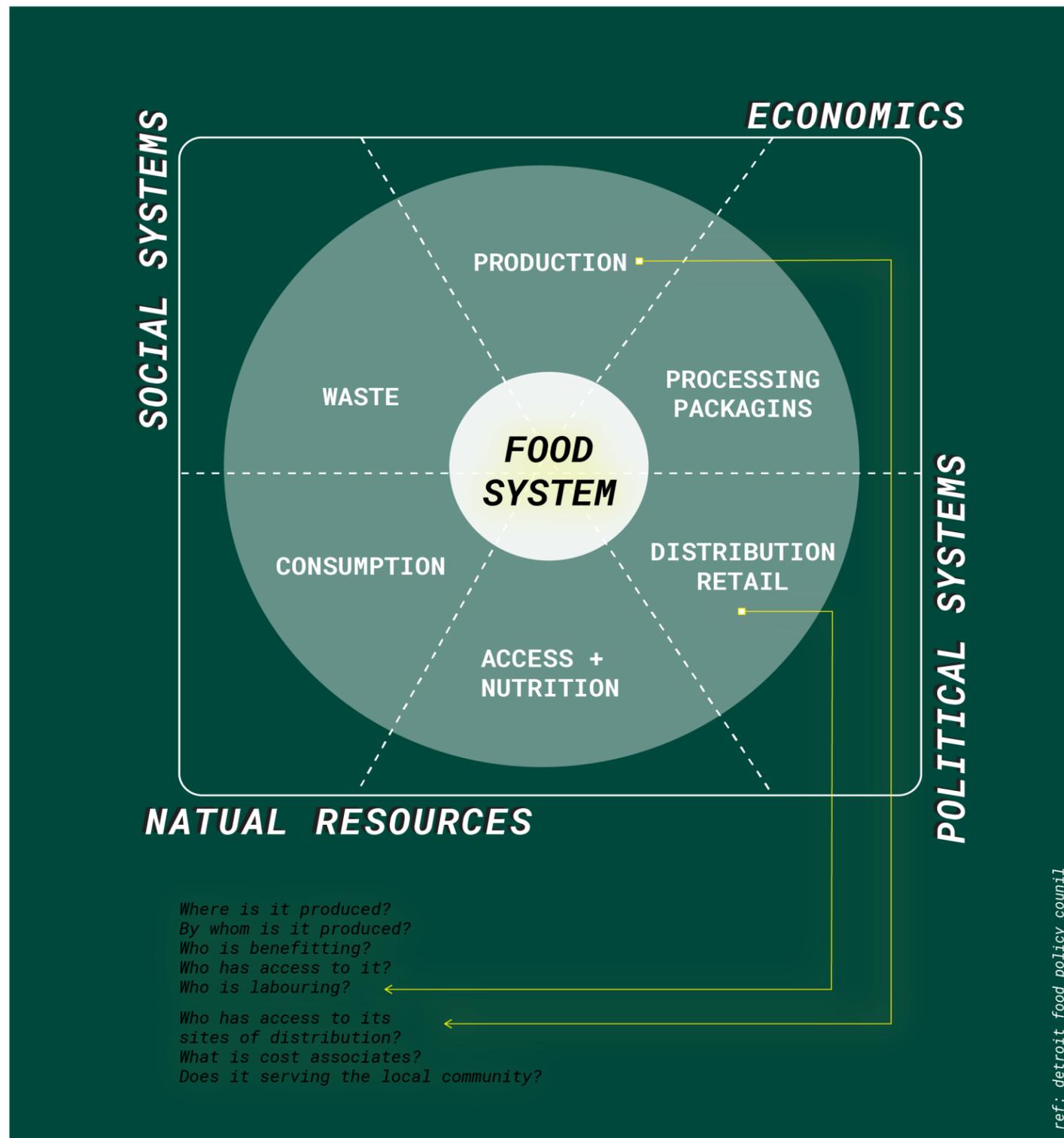
Acts of segregation including redlining, waste disposition, toxin release, and highways construction cutting through existing neighborhoods and fertile land, Flint today is a low income-low accessibility neighborhood. Food, thus becomes a resource and tool for agency against such exploitative regimes that were systematically put in place.

While the state food sector generates \$17 billion in revenue each year and supports a million jobs - more than half the revenue leaks to companies outside the state. This insinuates that even with the lack of access to food in the city, the sources of food in the city are still run by businesses outside of the city which somewhat perpetuates a sense of detachment between locals and their food. This lends to issues of lack of dependability and regulated access, given the top-down management of such resources beyond the city limits.

At the micro-level, a situational site study of Flint through its geologies of capitalism along with a collapsed timeline of cross-generational living through the prism of food inaccessibility uncovers an inequitable and polluted figure ground. Over the past five decades, disinvestment and systemic resource extraction disregarding the place's futurity, from key industries including car manufacturers in the 1970s where people held most jobs, led to employment in the same industries dropping by 77% since 1980. With such a historic economic shift, high unemployment and rapid population decline alongside environmental hazards persist in Flint today. Exodus led to urban decay, neighborhood blight, decreased home values, and falling tax revenues atop polluted lands. Intergenerational trauma persists through poverty rates of over 41% contributing to poor community health factors and outcomes. (Genesys Regional)



Historic Images of Flint + Land Cultivating Practices



A decline in services and retailers such as grocery stores has accompanied this devastation. Where retail does exist in low income communities, grocery stores are easily outnumbered by liquor stores offering junk food with little availability and range of fresh produce. Food Systems, from preproduction to post-waste are not seen through in Flint - and yet, **the once fertile grounds are contaminated, devastated, and seemingly in ruin but not beyond repair.** A significant rise in urban agriculture and farming around the river is used as means to combat lead poisoning. At the heart of Flint's food community is the year-round Flint farmers' market. A diverse, food cultivating environment isn't the picture most people conjure when they think of Flint —a town that is now

synonymous with industrial decline and one of the worst public health crises in the nation's recent history. Yet this local food market is booming. More than 1/2 a million people visited its 45 year-round and 30 seasonal vendors last year, according to farmers' market managers despite extenuating circumstances. **Vacant lots, ruined houses, and seemingly barren industrial lands - abundant within and beyond the inner-city limits - are now productive to this narrative of food** as a means of cultivating local economies of scale. The following map draw connections across territory, demographics, and zones of insecurity and potentiality - paired with images by photographer Black that echo trauma of generations past captured in Flint's urban architectures.

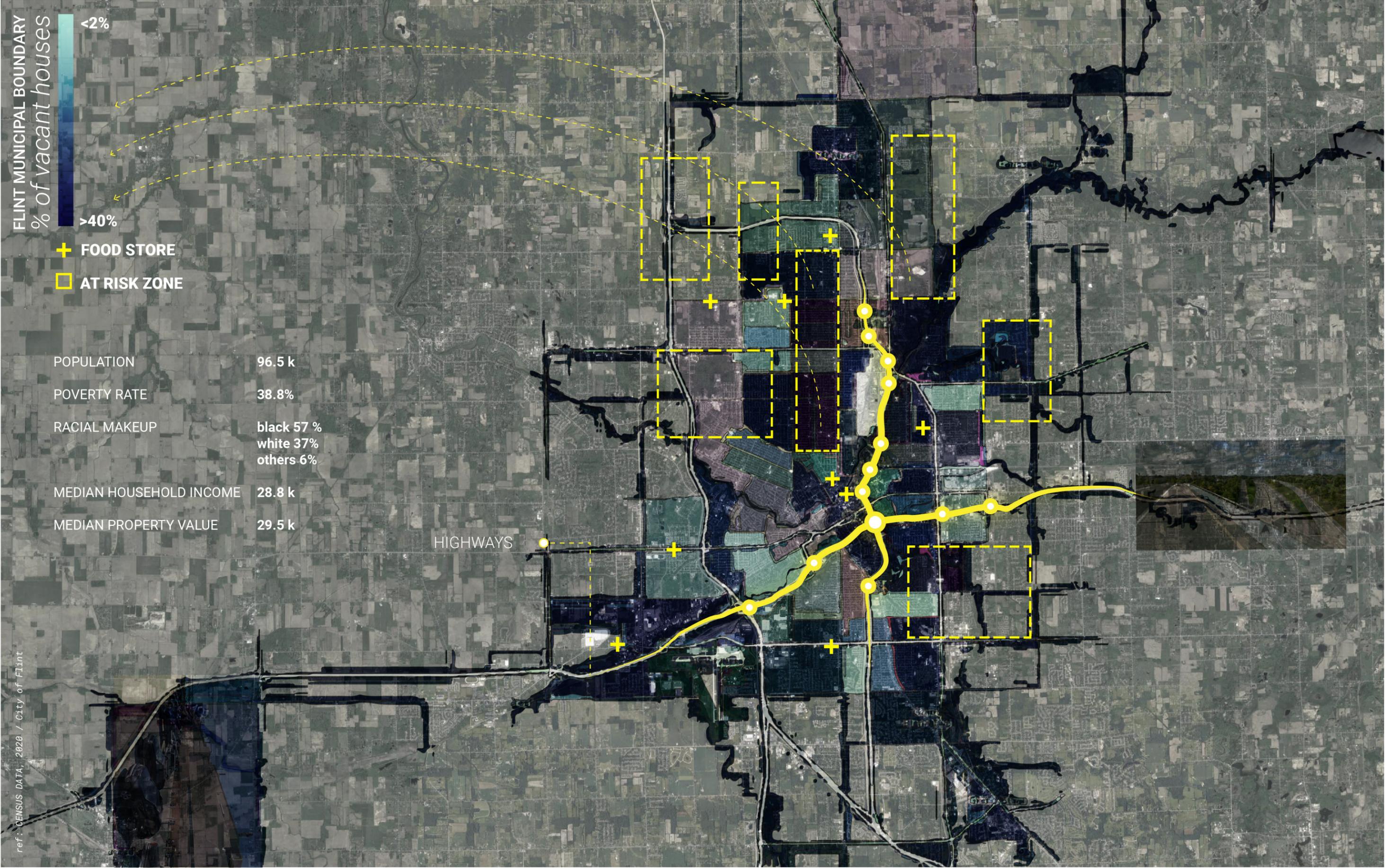
FLINT MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY
% of vacant houses

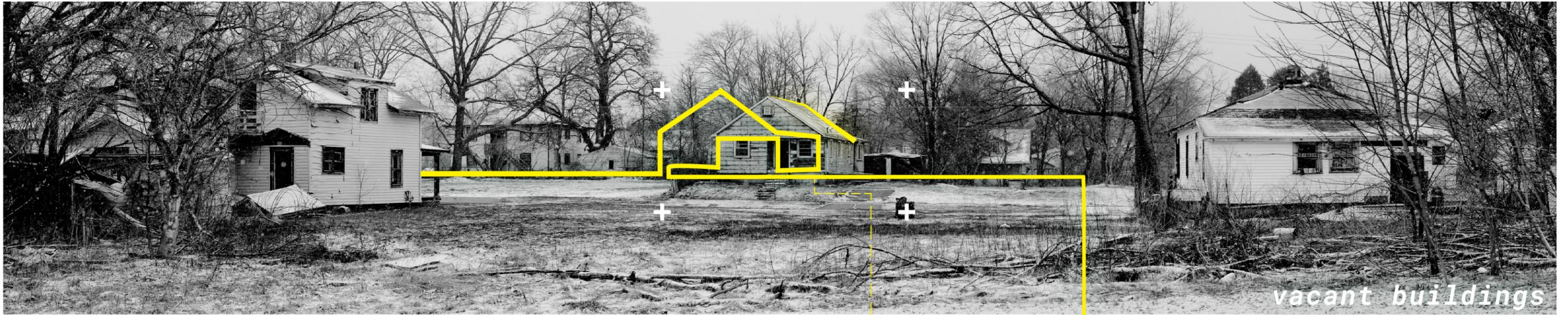


- + FOOD STORE
- AT RISK ZONE

POPULATION	96.5 k
POVERTY RATE	38.8%
RACIAL MAKEUP	black 57 % white 37% others 6%
MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME	28.8 k
MEDIAN PROPERTY VALUE	29.5 k

HIGHWAYS





vacant buildings



contaminated sites



water supply + access

ref: all photographs Matt Black Magnum



CASE STUDY #1 | FLINT RIVER FARM

Flint River Farm is a diversified urban farm in downtown Flint. A vegetable subscription means that users will receive weekly boxes of freshly picked, local vegetables grown without pesticides or synthetic fertilizers at the rate of \$475.00 (\$30/week). Most urban farms sell their produce to a few higher-end restaurants in the city. Their farm is for-profit, and restaurant sales are their main source of income; and the nature of urban farming is transforming to a contested scale instead of a community engagement. There continues to be an imbalance here: feeding the privileged versus the popular masses.



CASE STUDY #2 | ORGANIC FARM VEHICLE

Flint Fresh Mobile Market, a project initiated through the Regional Food System Navigation program, offers access to healthy foods for residents who live in areas without a grocery store and may not have reliable transportation. The mobile market takes food out every day, sometimes twice a day, delivering it low-access neighborhoods, and community venues. They accept most forms of food assistance benefits such as SNAP and Double Up Food Bucks, making food accessible to all people. It has several partners such as the Flint Farmers' Market, the Community Foundation of Greater Flint, Flint YMCA, and the Neighborhood Engagement Hub.



CASE STUDY #3 | D-TOWN URBAN FARMS

Zooming out beyond Flint to consider the regional scale and discourse around of food - urban agriculture models rooted in the social justice, racial justice, economic justice are echoed and manifest at even larger scales in Detroit. D-Town Farms in Detroit through community co-ops shifts reliance on unhealthy food from outside sources to provide communities with nutritious and accessible local produce. Malik Yakini, the executive director of the Detroit Black Community Food Security Network, and a native of Detroit, advocates against the inequities existing within current food systems towards equitable futures through practices of urban food farming.

CONCLUSION

In regaining sovereignty away from capitalist and consumerist regimes entangled in systems of food production and consumption - there are many potentials and pitfalls within urban farming practices. Considering the case of Flint, within a larger conversation around equity beyond dispossession and despair. As primarily African-American populations reasserts the roots of urban agriculture in Michigan, through acts of reclamation and remediation, urban farming becomes an agent for change and redevelopment towards reasserting a foothold in more regional markets and bringing more economic potential into the local community. In retrospect and despite the abundance of opportunities, it is important to critique such practices for they might become drivers of gentrification thus dispossessing people of their lands once again. In speculating an alternative future away from looming narratives surrounding Flint, there is power in the notion of Urban Soil. Creating a locally intensive and inclusive ecosystem of sorts, food is reclaimed by and for the community.

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