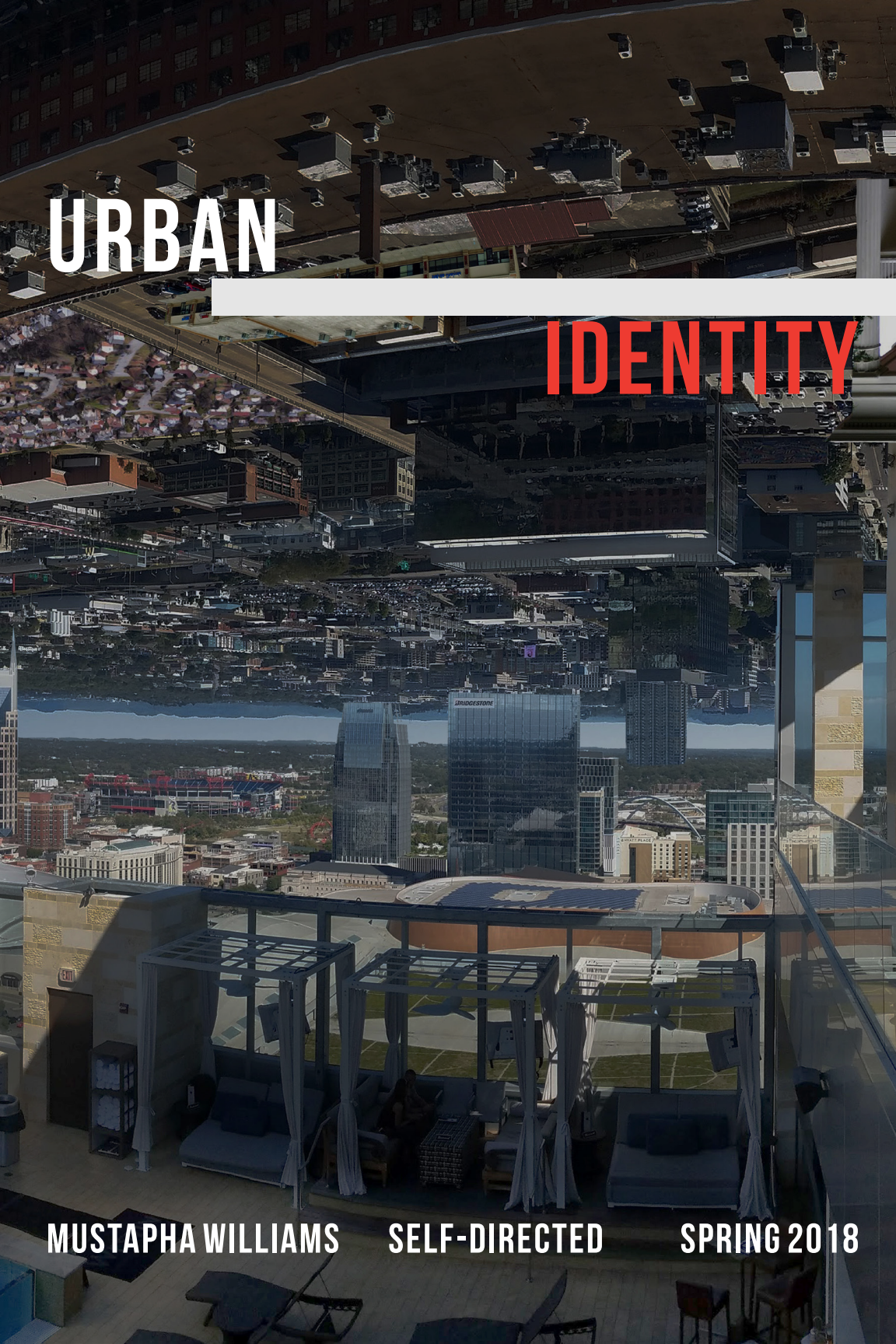

URBAN
IDENTITY
MUSTAPHA WILLIAMS
SELF-DIRECTED
SPRING 2018

IDENTITY

COVER:
Folding City: Nashville suburbs coming back into the urban fabric of the city (Williams, 2017)

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FOLDING CITY: When displaced peoples return to their urban centers (Williams, 2017)

ABSTRACT 01

Urban progress is necessary in cities, but at what cost to the people? At what point is it the city's responsibility to accommodate those that are removed from their neighborhoods due to developments?

Economic isolationism, preventing low-income citizens from benefiting from developments in urban areas, is growing out of control. Urban development often negatively impacts a population, no matter the intentions. Historically based on race, today the impacts seem to be implicitly directed at the "have nots." These populations are not included in the new identity a city creates. ***The intent of this endeavor is to investigate the removal of urban populations, and what can be done to bring the culture, economics, and social forces to coexist in cities across the country.***

Historically, The Great Depression compounded social and economic issues in urban areas.[1] President Franklin D. Roosevelt created a plan to help the country bring itself out of the depression through The New Deal. Intended to help the "forgotten man," the policies actually prevented blacks and other low-income people from reaping the benefits of subsidized economic stability. Stemming from The New Deal, redlining practices from the Public Works Administration and Homeowners Loan Corporation kept areas marked as "hazardous" or "definitely declining" from development over the years.[2] Coupled with failed public housing projects and areas that remained stagnant over the years, crime increased, poverty levels remained low, and portions of cities became dangerous and undesirable.[3]

Unfortunately, those historical urbanization issues continue to negatively impact cities today. Richard Florida, author of ***The New Urban Crisis***, suggests that recently cities have begun welcoming new types of development, at the detriment to low-income, service-class, and blue-collar citizens. The rise of the creative class, tech startups, and venture capitalist firms have brought a new culture to urban areas.[3] As companies and employees relocate to urban centers, these developments are replacing the areas deemed undesirable with expensive residential and retail spaces. The gentrification of urban neighborhoods removes residents from their homes, and prevents people below a certain income level from benefiting from their city's progress.

What does it say about a city's identity that only a certain demographic can enjoy the spoils of the city? At what point is it an architect's responsibility to design for the client, while also prioritizing the ethical dilemma that faces many designers of the built environment today?

1. Staff, History.com. "Great Migration." http://www.history.com/topics/black-history/great-migration.
2. Gross, Terry. A 'Forgotten History' of How the U.S. Government Segregated America. Podcast audio. Fresh Air 35:402017.
3. Florida, Richard. The Urban Crisis: How Our Cities Are Increasing Inequality, Deepening Segregation, and Failing the Middle Class - and What We Can Do About It. New York: Basic Books, 2017.



ARGUMENT/FRAMEWORK

HISTORY / RESULTS / ISSUES

02

Left:

Diagramming the city: montage of 2D and 3D realities of London (Architecture Review)

ISSUES IN CITY DEVELOPMENT

THE GREAT MIGRATION

After the Civil War, large groups of Black people began moving into northern and western cities in America in search of jobs and better ways of life. Even though slavery had ended, systematic and explicit racism still existed, and it was even more intense in the south. Sharecropping and other menial jobs tried to keep Blacks in the slavery mindset. The Ku Klux Klan, lynchings, and Jim Crow Laws drove many Blacks to leave for major northern and western cities such as Chicago, New York City, and Detroit, and Los Angeles. It is believed that these issues caused many to leave more than the economic opportunities.[4]

World War I had a role in the influx of Blacks to northern and western cities as well. Factories across the country were suffering work shortages due to ethnic Whites joining the war. Blacks and other immigrants saw opportunities to become employed. It is estimated that over 6 million African Americans migrated from the South between 1917-1970.[5]

500,000 Blacks migrated to northern cities between 1915 and 1920. Below are two examples of the increase in the Black population between 1910 and 1930:[6]

Chicago: 600%
Detroit: 2,000%

The shift in demographics in many cities led to a few positive outcomes. The Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s, a part of the "Roaring 20s," is referred to as a "rebirth" for African American culture. Writers, artists, and musicians became worldly renowned for their outlet for group expression, self-determination, and talent. Artists such as Langston Hughes, Duke Ellington, and Betsy Smith are just a few black people that helped create the Harlem Renaissance.[7]

The works produced did not just serve Blacks, but welcomed and catered toward Whites as well. Shows such as "Shuffle Along" seemed to bring both Whites and Blacks together.[8]

HISTORY

Once the stock market crashed, however, everyone suffered. The Harlem Renaissance faded away, however, the influence of the era is still prevalent today. [8]

Unfortunately, not all of the integrations went smoothly. Right before the Harlem Renaissance, the summer of 1919 - otherwise known as the "Red Summer" - was one of the most violent years in nation's history. [9]



Representative George White (University of North Carolina Collection, n.d.)

"I CANNOT LIVE IN NORTH CAROLINA AND BE A MAN AND TREATED AS A MAN"

- REP. GEORGE WHITE

Representative George White (R-NC) served from 1897-1901. He was one of eight black Congressmen in the 19th century who left the South after their service in Washington. He lived the rest of his life in Washington and Philadelphia. [10]

RED SUMMER

The summer of 1919 saw many race riots break out across the entire country, not just the north or the south. Between January 1st of that year and October 9th, 1938 "race riots and clashes in cities and other communities in various parts of the country" broke out.[11]

One 1919 New York Times newspaper article cites lack of Black leadership, influence of the communist party, the 500,000 Black workers that migrated during the war, failure of the state governments, and the failure of the federal government all as factors that led to the racial tensions. The continuing lynchings of Blacks and the increasing resistance from the Black communities continued these violent clashes.[12]

Northern cities such as Washington, D.C., New York, Annapolis, and southern cities such as Knoxville, TN, Bedford County, TN, and Hattiesburg, MS all suffered losses of life [disproportionately Blacks] due to racial tensions. [13]

THE 1920s

The 1920s, otherwise known as the Roaring Twenties, saw a cultural shift in the United States. Even with the results of the Red Summer fresh in the minds of America, the economy began a major boom, doubling the nation's total wealth between 1920 and 1929.[14] Thus began our "consumer society." Several groups of people experienced lifestyle changes over this decade, some for the better and others not.

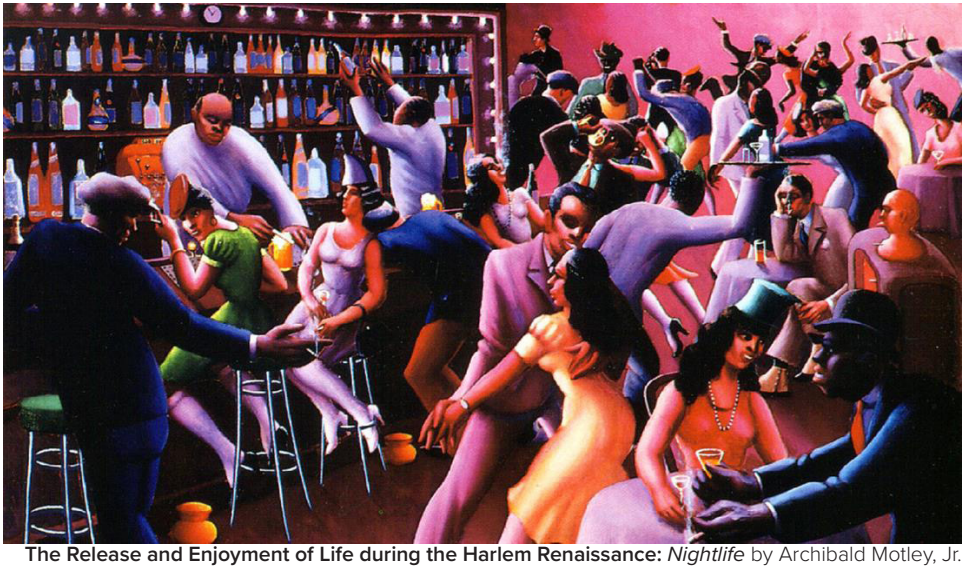
The 1920s saw the change of the standard American woman. The 19th Amendment to the Constitution gave women the right to vote in 1920, women were able to get higher-paying white-collar jobs, and the increasing availability of birth-control devices allowed women to have fewer children. For women who still needed to take care of the household, washing machines and vacuum cleaners made their lives easier.[15]

The Roaring Twenties brought the birth of "Mass Culture" in the

HISTORY



Race Riots during Red Summer: The Chicago Race Riot of 1919 (History.com, 2009)



The Release and Enjoyment of Life during the Harlem Renaissance: *Nightlife* by Archibald Motley, Jr. (History.com, 2010)



The End of the 1920s marked the end of happiness: Breadline in Depression Era New York (History.com, 2009)

in the United States. Many Americans had extra money to spend as the economy grew once again. Consumer goods such as clothes, appliances, and radios began big sellers throughout the country. Commercial radio stations hit the airways beginning in Pittsburgh in 1920. The movie theater even became a popular attraction for over 75% of the population.[16]

Credited as the most important consumer product of the 1920s was the Ford Model T. By the year 1929, there was one car for every five Americans. The Jazz Age was able to grow because of the automobile. Young people who owned cars were more likely to go out to dance halls and enjoy themselves. Interestingly enough, many older people objected to jazz as "vulgar" and "depraving" behavior. These more conservative folks are ones that pushed for Prohibition that was ratified in 1919, which banned the manufacture and sale of "intoxicating liquors."[17]

While intending to purify the country and "assert some control over the unruly immigrant masses who crowded the nation's cities," many middle-class Americans gave way to more crime in the way of underground liquor trades and organized crime figures such as Al Capone.[18]

Due to the rise of underground crime, the influx of "mass culture", along with the increasing Black and immigrant population in cities, millions of people in places such as Indiana and Illinois joined the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. The goal was to return to all the "values" that the Roaring Twenties were devaluing.[19]

Along with the KKK revamping, the anti-Communist "Red Scare" led to the passing of restrictive immigration quotas and exclusions on Eastern Europeans and Asians. In the end, the Roaring Twenties became a decade of surface-level conflicts between progressive mindsets, and more conservative-minded people. [20]

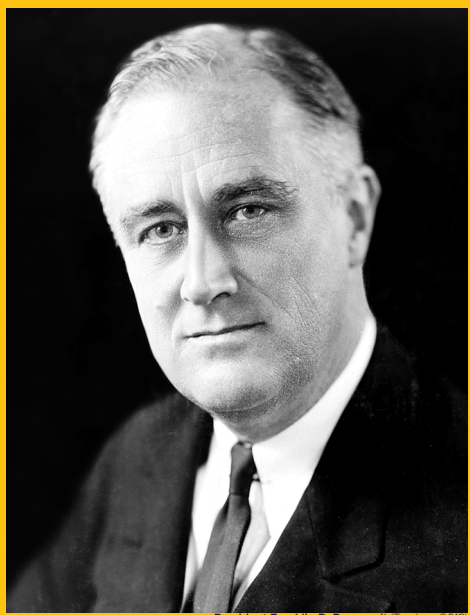
HISTORY

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

As good as the 1920s were, the stock markets inevitably crashed in October 1929. All city dwellers and farmers felt the effects of the depression on their livelihoods. Unemployment sky-rocketed and lives changed. It was estimated that the Black unemployment rate jumped to 50%. At the worst moment 15 million people were unemployed. The American Dream seemed to be lost. [21]

The president at the time, Herbert Hoover, believed that the government "should not directly intervene in the economy, and that it did not have the responsibility to create jobs or provide economic relief for its citizens."[22] The people seemed to not agree with this notion and in 1932, Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt won the presidential election.

Immediately after he took office, FDR began taking steps to calm fears around the country by introducing several pieces of legislation in his first 100 days.



President Franklin D. Roosevelt (Truslow, 2013)

"THE ONLY THING WE HAVE TO FEAR IS FEAR ITSELF"

- FDR

During Roosevelt's first 100 days in office, his administration passed legislation that aimed to stabilize industrial and agricultural production, create jobs and stimulate recovery. [23]

THE NEW DEAL

FDR, between 1933 and 1939, promised to help the "forgotten man". The New Deal introduced new government programs with the intent to bring Americans out of the Great Depression.[24] According to Richard Rothstein, since FDR needed Southern Democrats in order to pass much of the New Deal legislation, FDR needed to cater toward some Jim Crow notions from the South.[25]

In the case of housing, the government's legislation were "primarily designed to provide housing to white, middle-class, lower-middle class families." Eventually Blacks and other minorities were kept out of new suburban areas, and pushed to urban housing projects. [26]

The Public Works Administration, started in the first year of the New Deal, put thousands of Americans to work building construction projects across the country. Seemingly positive on the surface, however, this did not help many Blacks. [27]

PUBLIC WORKS ADMIN.

The Public Works Administration, created under the National Industrial Recovery Act set forth policies paving the way for large vertical housing developments in urban centers across the country.

These towers were built mainly for the white population displaced by the Great Depression. According to Richard Rothstein, the more liberal policy makers in the PWA decided to build public housing for African Americans as well. Even though the towers were to be built for both races, the housing was still explicitly segregated. [28]

The Public Works Administration was seen as a failure for housing as it only provided 25,000 units in 4.5 years. Eventually the PWA was abolished in June 1941. Before that, however, another agency began producing urban housing units in American cities, the Federal Housing Administration.[29] The issues were exacerbated with the Home Owner's Loan Corporation even before that.

HISTORY



FDR - New Deal: Button (Google Sites, 2017)



Public Housing Was Not Always A Bad Thing: Techwood Homes (Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, 1940)

HOME OWNERS' LOAN CORPORATION

The 1933 Homeowners Loan Act, part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, established the Home Owner's Loan Corporation [HOLC] to "rescue imperiled mortgages by offering financing up to 80% of assessed value, to a maximum of $14,000."[30]

While the intentions seemed positive on the surface, the implementation of this program is credited – by some – to be the main catalyst for redlining. The employees of the HOLC needed to map out the neighborhoods where families were looking to refinance their homes. While doing so, the maps were categorized in four different layers:

BEST
STILL DESIRABLE
DEFINITELY DECLINING
HAZARDOUS

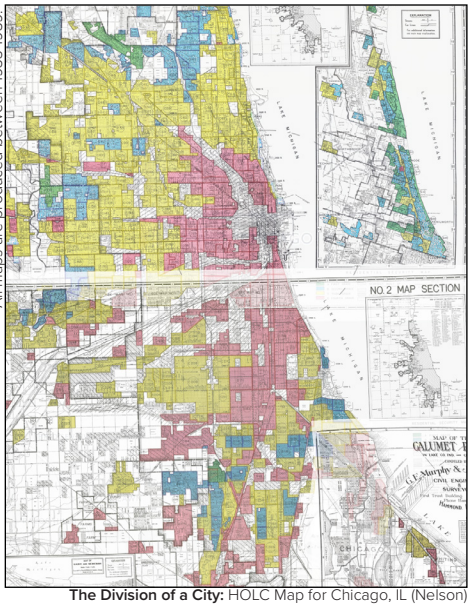
Areas that had single-family homes outside of central cities and racially homogeneous areas were seen as most stable and a low credit risk to the banks. The bias was shared by private sector banks and realtors, effectively keeping minorities out of consideration from these benefits.

"... RECORDS FROM THE AGENCY SHOWED THAT FROM 1933 TO 1936,..., 44 PERCENT OF ITS HELP WENT TO AREAS DESIGNATED 'NATIVE WHITE,' 42 PERCENT TO 'NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN,' AND 1 PERCENT TO NEGRO." [31]

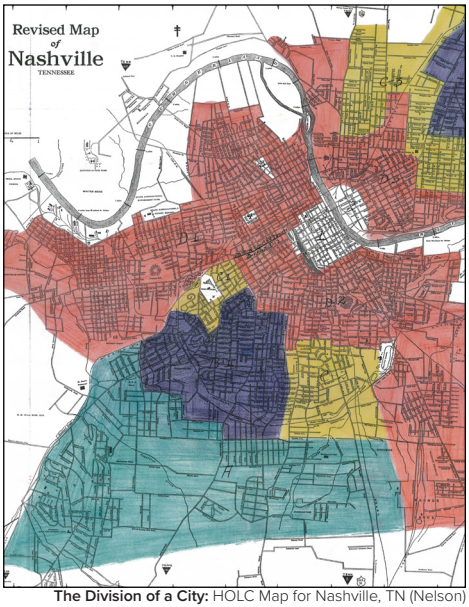
The biases present in the Home Owners' Loan Corporation had a stepping stone effect to other New Deal programs such as the Federal Housing Agency.[11] The maps to the right show the central parts of cities, usually higher in Black populations were labeled as "hazardous" and therefore, were not offered financing options to help alleviate financial issues.[32]

HISTORY

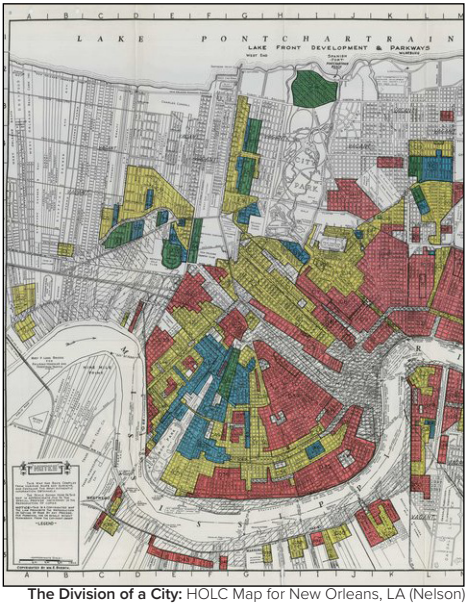
All maps are produced between 1933-1939[14]



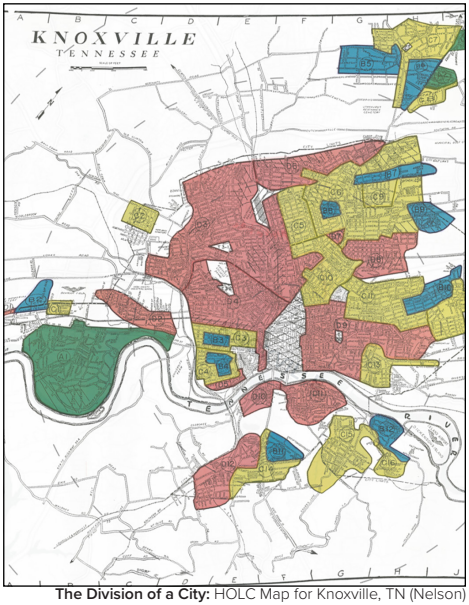
The Division of a City: HOLC Map for Chicago, IL (Nelson)



The Division of a City: HOLC Map for Nashville, TN (Nelson)



The Division of a City: HOLC Map for New Orleans, LA (Nelson)



The Division of a City: HOLC Map for Knoxville, TN (Nelson)

REDLINING

Several scholars – and history – show that the four categories were the beginning of redlining. Rebecca Onion of Slate reports in an article that HOLC "rated neighborhoods based on several factors: housing stock, sales and rental rates, physical attributes of the terrain, and 'threat of infiltration of foreign-born, Negro, or lower grade population'." These "security" maps categorizing the cities "are some of the most striking visual documents of the long history of racially-based housing discrimination."[33]

Residents in areas deemed "best" had a very high chance of refinancing their homes in order to get back on their feet. These areas, predominantly white, were given the opportunity to grow and develop. Unfortunately, residents in areas deemed "declining" or "hazardous" had a much harder, and often impossible chance, of refinancing or receiving loans. This made these areas, predominantly Black and other minorities, nearly impossible to grow and develop.[34]

It is worth noting that opponents of this notion such as Amy Hillier, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, believe that HOLC maps reflected, rather than caused redlining practices. However, whether HOLC caused redlining practices or only exacerbated them, developers at this time chose not to invest in those hazardous areas and instead built up the neighborhoods deemed "best" or "still desirable." [35]

The effects of redlining can still be seen in the urban fabric of cities today. In Nashville, TN, for example, when comparing areas from the 1930s Nashville HOLC map to the income extreme map generated from GIS, one can see similarities in areas of the city that were deemed "best" and areas that house the city's highest income. If one layers the racial backgrounds of the population in Nashville, there is a heavy concentration of Blacks in the area that was considered "hazardous" over 70 years ago.

HISTORY

NS FORM-8
2-3-37

AREA DESCRIPTION
(For Instructions see Reverse Side)

1. NAME OF CITY WICHITA, KAN. SECURITY GRADE D AREA NO. 2

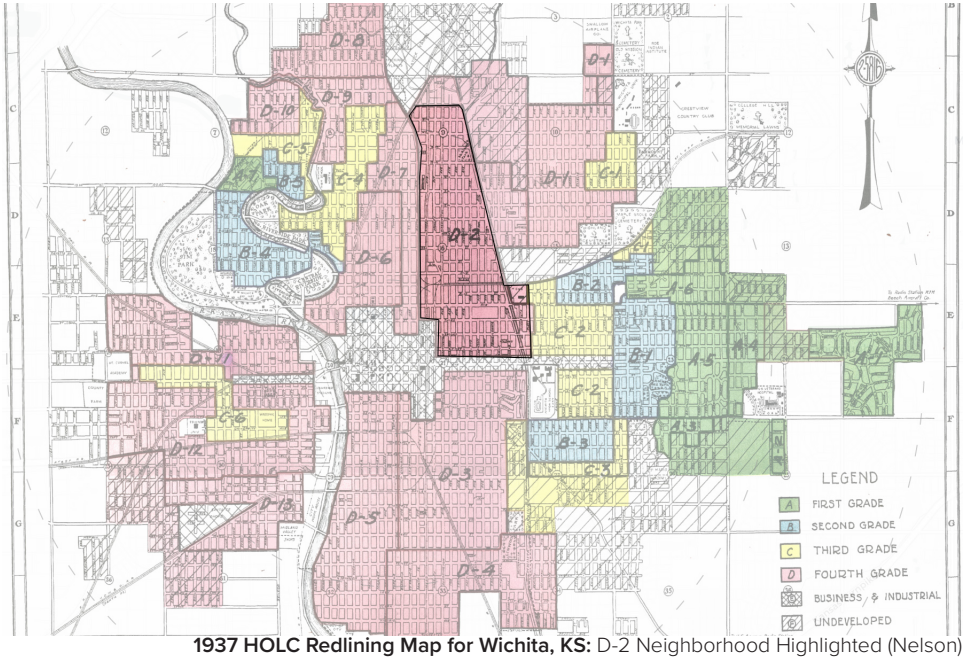
2. DESCRIPTION OF TERRAIN. Level

3. FAVORABLE INFLUENCES. None

4. DETRIMENTAL INFLUENCES. The heavy negro concentration of Wichita. Old, poorly kept, and terribly run down - drainage canal with attendant stench. Railroad tracks - packing house on north end.

5. INHABITANTS: Negroes, some Mexicans,
   a. Type low class whites ; b. Estimated annual family income $ very low
   c. Foreign-born various kinds; 8 %; d. Negro Yes (Yes or No); 85 %;
   (Nationality)
   e. Infiltration of Negroes and poor whites ; f. Relief families Direct 238, work 271, medical 63, WPA supplement 76 Total 410
   g. Population is increasing slowly ; decreasing ; static.
   Population increase would be only through lack of birth control among negroes and

1937 HOLC Report for the D-2 neighborhood in Wichita, Kansas. Cites the infiltration of "Negroes and poor whites" as a negative influence (Nelson)



1937 HOLC Redlining Map for Wichita, KS: D-2 Neighborhood Highlighted (Nelson)

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

The Federal Housing Agency was another product of the New Deal that is seen as detrimental to non-whites in the American post-Depression era. The FHA was established by the National Housing Act in 1934 "to facilitate home financing, improve housing standards, and increase employment in the home-construction industry."[36]

The FHA provided housing and brought jobs to the majority of Americans after implementation. Between 1934 and 1972, the number of families that owned homes rose from 44% to 63%. The FHA legislation initially did not benefit low-income families, single women, the non-wage-earning elderly, or racial minorities. The lending practices of FHA also prevented these groups from obtaining loans in the first place.[37] The FHA adopted the redlining practices from the HOLC that limited help for anyone outside of middle-class ethnic whites.[38] Richard Rothstein reported in an NPR interview that the FHA had rules collected in Underwriting Manuals. The manuals reported that "incompatible racial groups should not be permitted to living in the same communities."[39] The first Underwriting Manual was written in 1936, detailing specific instructions on how to evaluate, inspect, and score properties. The uniform scoring charts - shown to the right - illustrate how a poor location rating would result in a rejected mortgage application.[40]

The policies "placed the federal government's financial interest in favor of segregation, and sought to protect property values against integration."[41]

"EVALUATORS WERE INSTRUCTED TO 'INVESTIGATE AREAS SURROUNDING THE LOCATION TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT INCOMPATIBLE RACIAL AND SOCIAL GROUPS ARE PRESENT'. ANY INTRUSIONS WOULD PROVOKE 'INSTABILITY AND A REDUCTION IN VALUES'".[42]

HISTORY

Rating of Mortgage Pattern

Feature		REJECT	1	2	3	4	5	RATING
Ratio of Loan to Value	.....80%		6 X	9	12	16	20	6
Ratio of Debt Service to Rental Value	...185%		2 X	4	6	8	10	2
Ratio of Life of Mortgage to Economic Life of Building	...100%		1 X	2	3	4	5	1
Lowest Category Rating	(...Location....) Reject%	X	10	15	20	25	30	Reject
Intermediate Category Rating	(...Property.....) 59%		4	8 X	12	16	20	8
Highest Category Rating	(...Borrower.....) 70%		3	6	9	12 X	15	12
					TOTAL RATING OF MORTGAGE PATTERN			Reject%

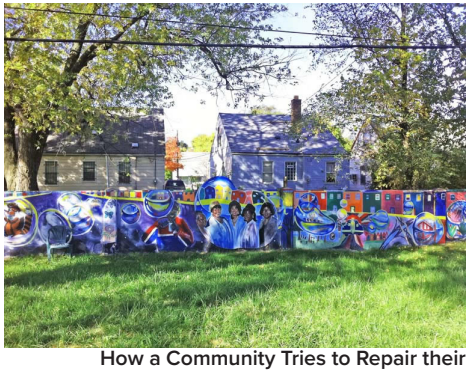
Rejection came as easy as a stroke of a pen: 1936 FHA Scoring Chart (Doughtery, 2017)

These principles were used to suburbanize America. The FHA would subsidize mass-production builders of suburban subdivisions. In the contracts, there were restrictive covenants that did not allow sales to Blacks. This kept Blacks and other minorities inside the central cities.[43]



How a Wall Divided a City: 1941 Detroit Eight Mile Wall (Lee, 2016)

Even in areas where minorities were located, in order for a new neighborhood to be built with permission from FHA, a barrier was required. In Detroit, for example, a 6-foot wall was built in 1941 to serve as a racial segregation between an old Black neighborhood and a new White neighborhood in northwest Detroit. The wall, referred to as the Detroit Eight Mile Wall, remains as a sign of the racial segregation background that cities across the country experienced.[44]



How a Community Tries to Repair their Neighborhood: Detroit Eight Mile Wall (Detroit1701)

The FHA even controlled who could buy the houses. There were restrictive covenants included in the deeds of houses, restricting Blacks from buying the house from White families. Their justification was based on property values. FHA and bankers believed that, with Black homeowners, loans would be at more risk. This was actually opposite of the truth, however. Blacks historically were willing to pay more money to have a better way of life, actually increasing property values. The FHA did not base their restrictions on studies, only race.[45]

Restrictive covenants became common after the 1917 case Buchanan v. Warley which declared municipally mandated racial zoning unconstitutional. This opened the door for private contracts to restrict people based on their race. The legality of private restrictive covenants were defended in the 1926 Supreme Court decision, Corrigan v. Buckley which validated their use. The language included in the covenants were not implicit in the language. The wording left no confusion as to who was being left out.[46]

"...HEREAFTER NO PART OF SAID PROPERTY OR ANY PORTION THEREOF SHALL BE... OCCUPIED BY ANY PERSON NOT OF THE CAUCASIAN RACE, IT BEING INTENDED HEREBY TO RESTRICT THE USE OF SAID PROPERTY...FOR RESIDENT OR OTHER PURPOSES BY PEOPLE OF THE NEGRO OR MONGOLIAN RACE"[47]

By 1940, 80% of houses in Chicago and Los Angeles held restrictive covenants preventing Blacks and Asians from owning houses.[19] It wasn't until 1948, in the Supreme Court decision, Shelley v. Kraemer, when the courts ruled that lower courts could not enforce racial covenants on real estate. This prevented the courts from evicting Blacks from houses bought despite the restrictive covenant. On a side note, 3 of the justices had to recuse themselves, believed to be because they had covenants on their houses. [48]

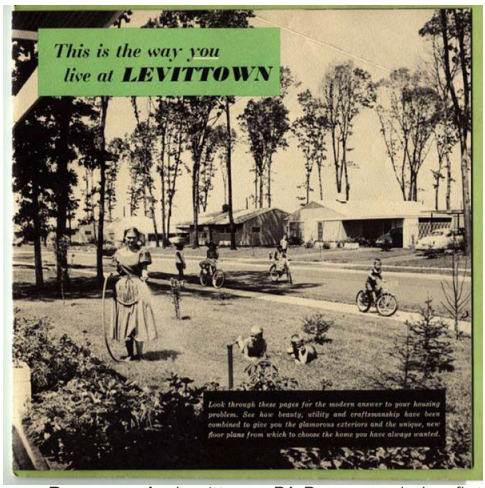
HISTORY

POST WWII

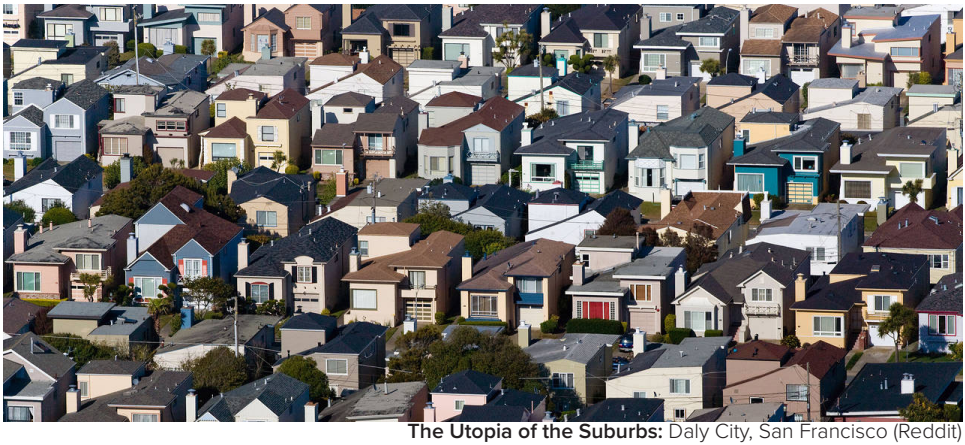
After World War II, housing practices of America hadn't changed that much. More and more Blacks were owning houses, but ones that came back from the war found it hard to get their mortgages insured. The Veterans Administration, established under the GI Bill, excluded Blacks from new housing investments. Unlike the FHA Underwriting Manuals, the VA had no explicit language restricting Blacks, however, merely adopting the FHA language. Developments such as Levittown and Daly City, financed by the VA, had racial restrictions. There are even stories of veterans who helped build Levittown, but was unable to get a house there.[49]



The not-so hidden racism: Atlanta Redlining (Moore, 2014)



Propaganda: Levittown, PA Propaganda Leaflet (Rossen, 2015)



The Utopia of the Suburbs: Daly City, San Francisco (Reddit)

PUBLIC HOUSING

Public housing, even though began after World War I, gained more steam after World War II. The American Housing Act of 1949 expanded the use of federal dollars in mortgaging and insuring the construction of public housing. This was a part of President Harry Truman's "Fair Deal." In essence, the housing was for low-income families. The irony is that for the low-income housing, the buildings cleared slums and destroyed affordable housing units. [50]

In the 1950s, the public housing was still very much segregated. In 1950, St. Louis needed 5800 units of affordable housing with the funds of the AHA. As discussed earlier, the rules of the HOLC and FHA were adopted to new housing units produced in the United States. Influenced by Jim Crow laws in the South, the Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project were to be split into Blacks and Whites. Blacks were to live in the Wendell Olliver Pruitt homes and the Whites would be in the James Igoe apartments. The project was not finished until after 1954, the same year as the revolutionary Supreme Court case Brown v. Board of Education made "separate but equal" segregation illegal in the United States. The complex was integrated to become Pruitt-Igoe when the project completed. In the end, 33 modular 11-story towers by Minoru Yamasaki stood, providing housing for up to 10,000 residents in 2,780 apartment units.[51]



HISTORY

The Pruitt-Igoe development was almost a failure from the very beginning, however. Several key design concepts were left out by the FHA cited as too expensive. Playgrounds, ground-floor restrooms, and additional landscaping were cut from the program. There were several other factors as well that led to the demise of the Pruitt-Igoe complex.[52]

The integration caused many Whites to leave, in fact. By 1970, the vacancy was 65%. The maintenance was supposed to be paid for by the tenant rent. However, as the tenant numbers went down, so did the funds for maintenance. Crime grew rampant in the housing complex, and by 1972, the government considered the complex a failure. It was destroyed in the years following.[53]



The failed experiment: Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project | St. Louis | 1954 (Fiederer, 2017)

WHITE FLIGHT

"The residential movement of whites to avoid self-determined, unacceptable levels of racial integration"

– St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture, 2000.

The defining principle of White Flight seems simple: when Blacks moved in, Whites moved out.

The move to the suburbs started back in the early 1900s with the Great Migration. However, with the federal government subsidizing majority Whites to move to single-family homes outside the city, the issue of White Flight became even more of an issue. The amount of Blacks in the inner cities drove down property values and caused banks to not issue new mortgages and financing. In some cities, Blacks were able to build their own communities to support themselves. In others, issues were made worse from the lack of investment in housing communities, rather than housing projects.[54]



HISTORY



Detroit Sojourner Truth Homes (Siegel, 1942)

When Blacks were unable to own a home after the Great Depression, the home ownership benefits such as home equity and tax deductions were unattainable. The lack of income kept families that were poor, in poor conditions.[55]

When public housing opened to Blacks and lower-income Whites, this gave some people affordable housing. Unfortunately, this also prevented them from gaining equity appreciation. Home owners in the suburbs gained equity appreciation, gained tax deductions, and in turn had higher incomes. These higher incomes are often left to the children, allowing for future generations to live a better life. Usually, families that remain in poverty are not able to come out due to rising housing prices and overall cost of living.[56] Compounding the issue, urban renewal and the highway systems in the 1950s did more harm than good for most cities.

TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE

In 1968, the federal government tried to correct years of systematic discrimination in housing policies. The Civil Rights Act, otherwise known as the Fair Housing Act, prohibited discrimination concerning the sale, rental and financial of housing based on race, religion, national origin and sex. It was originally intended to follow the Civil Rights Act of 1964, however years of debates kept the bill locked in the Senate. It wasn't until the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. that the bill was passed within days. The bill is considered the last legislative feat of the civil rights era.[57]

As mentioned before, since it was almost impossible for Blacks and other minorities, to gain extra income by owning a home, these groups were often lacking in extra funds. The time spent in public housing units or low-income housing, single-family home prices continued to climb. At the time that the suburbs were being constructed, most people were able to afford them. Decades later, however, housing prices had increased astronomically.[58]

Blacks, minorities, and even lower-income Whites were not able to afford the now accessible houses that could allow them to live the American Dream. This continued the cycle of living, and staying, in the central parts of the city in dense, public housing.[59]

From 1950 to 1980, the Black population in America's urban centers increased from 6.1 million to 15.3 million. At the same time, most Whites were moving out to the suburbs. The cities were continually segregated. The growth of ghettos, high unemployment, crime and other social ills continued to make central cities dangerous and unsafe.[60]

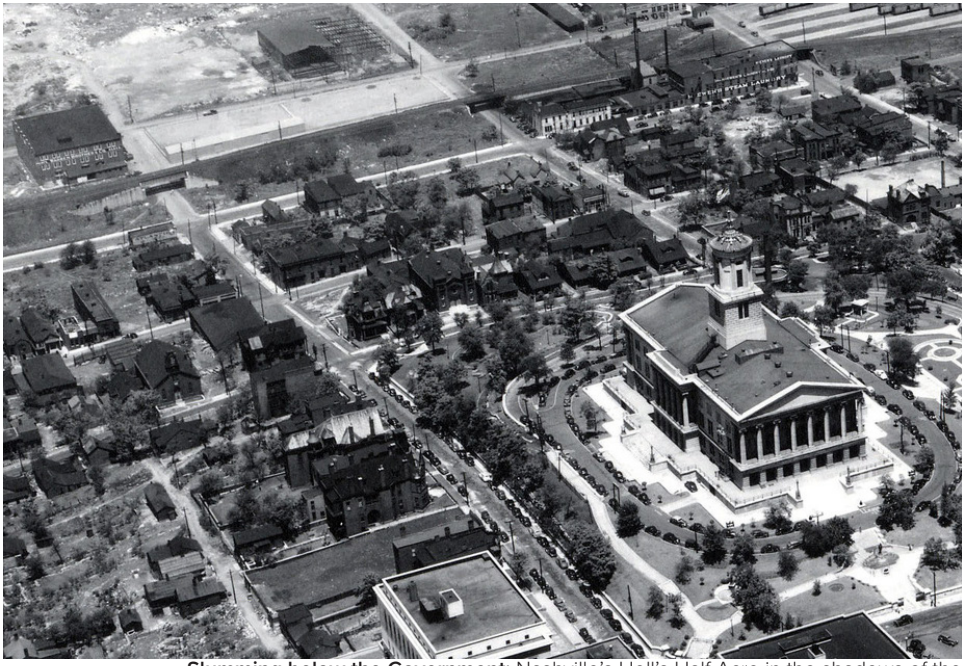


Progress: President Lyndon B. Johnson signing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (History.com, 2010)

RESULTS

URBAN RENEWAL

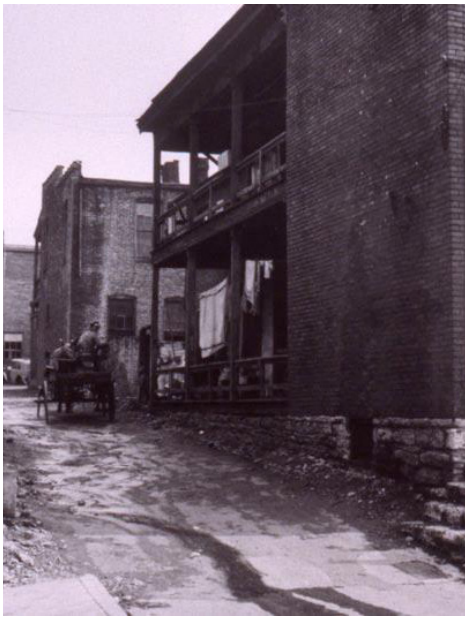
Urban renewal, at times called "Negro Removal" began in the 1960s where neighborhoods, primarily Black, were demolished to make room for hospitals, universities, and sometimes middle-class Whites. The more socially acceptable term used was "Slum Cleansing" because, in most instances, the point was to rid the central city of the blight and poverty that was so omnipresent.[61] Nashville, TN, for example, had a few areas of the city that were heavily Black and were centers for crime and poverty. The image [below] shows Hell's Half Acre. Located in the lowlands north and west of Capital Hill, this was a slum neighborhood with shacks, prostitution houses, brothels, and saloons. In the 1870s and 1880s crimes went unpunished because it was outside of Nashville's city limit.[62] This is one of the strongest examples of an neighborhood with a negative stigma.



Slumming below the Government: Nashville's Hell's Half Acre in the shadows of the Tennessee State Capital | 1950 (Saloon History Tour)



Juxtaposition: Hell's Half Acre | Nashville in distance | 1950 (Saloon History Tour)



Uncleanliness: Hell's Half Acre Streets | 1950 (Saloon History Tour)



Residents of Hell's Half Acre: 1950 (Saloon History Tour)

RESULTS



Oblivious and Hidden: Capitol Hill | Nashville | Present-day (Trolley Tours)

In 1952, Nashville's Capitol Hill Redevelopment Plan became America's first urban renewal project funded by Congress. The plan called for the acquisition, razing, and redevelopment of the slopes of Capitol Hill. Studies continually showed that these "slums had abnormally high crime and low life-expectancy rates." It was believed by politicians and developers that if the government removed people from those slums and put them in public housing, it would improve their quality of life and behavior. Brena Wynn stated in an interview that moving into the John Henry Hale Homes was a "step up." The continuing addition of public housing made it easier for the government to investigate blighted areas in the city to redevelop. With the help of U.S. Senator Kenneth McKellar, Congress passed Nashville's Capitol Hill Redevelopment Plan and razed more than 400 homes along Gay Street and Jo Johnston just north and west of the Capitol Building.[63]

James Robertson Parkway was laid out and paved, but before the city could resale the land to new developers, Alfred Starr of the Bijou Theater, and H.G. Hill Jr sued the Nashville Housing Authority. They claimed that the eminent domain for resale to another private owner violated their property rights. In fact, the use of eminent domain for housing was unable to be challenged, but Hill and Starr believed that they had a chance. Unfortunately for them, they lost their case in the U.S. Supreme Court.[64]

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, the city began selling lots on James Robertson Parkway for a new arena (now Municipal Auditorium), a Holiday Inn, and an apartment building called Capitol Towers. Officially, the Capitol Hill Redevelopment Project displaced 301 families and 196 single residents who previously lived in the area. Gerald Gimre, executive director of the Nashville Housing Authority stated that many of the residents were "African American and 'many went into low-rent public housing projects'." It is said to be impossible to know all of what happened to the residents.[65]

RESULTS



Highlighting Change: Capitol Hill Redevelopment Area (Williams, 2017)

Fiscally and visually, most would say the redevelopment plan was a success. The area now features a great amount of green space, brought more parking to the downtown area, and reduced crime in the area. Unfortunately, the displaced peoples were often pushed in public housing that decreased their chances to having better lives due to FHA housing standards. [66]

The success of the Capitol Hill Redevelopment plan led to other urban renewal plans in the Nashville area. East Nashville was the next area to be transformed. In 1958, 2,051 acres of East Nashville (west of the Cumberland River, and south of Eastland/ Cleveland Avenue) were to be "rehabilitated." Using the term softened the language, but the intent was the same. Government officials handled properties on a house-by-house basis. For properties that were deemed uninhabitable by municipal standards, the owners were given a chance to bring their houses up to code, or the house was torn down. Many of the homeowners could not afford the costs of renovation, so they had to leave for public housing. This area is now a major industrial areas in the downtown Nashville area. [67]

One could find the act of redeveloping and rehabilitating the urban areas around cities to improve visuals, decrease crime, and bring more money into the cities. Especially, looking at the city of Nashville now, the areas of Capitol Hill and some parts of East Nashville bring many tourists and visitors to the area. Even though the benefits are seen today, the consequences to residents at the time was dire and still racial. In fact, the director of the Slum Clearance in the 1950s justified renewal plans by citing the 1949 Housing Act that allowed for the redevelopment, rehabilitate deteriorating structures, and enforcing building codes. He states that the underlying principle is racial segregation, therefore the issue of separating the races with urban renewal/slum clearance is warranted.[68]

Universities in America were able to benefit from slum clearance as well. As the baby boomers began enrolling in universities, colleges ran out of room. In 1959, Congress passed a law allowing local governments to partner with four-year colleges that needed to acquire land. It allowed the local governments to acquire land for the universities under the umbrella of eminent domain, as long as the property was deemed "slum." The university could then buy the land from the local housing authority and then receive matching dollars from the federal government.[69]

Nashville's Mayor Ben West invited representatives of local universities to see who would be interested, but Vanderbilt University was the only one to afford it. VU planned to acquire over 100 acres south and west of campus at the time. The matching federal dollars would allow for new sewer lines and a new five-land road around the campus perimeter (now Blakemore Avenue).[70]

In 1962, code inspectors spread throughout the University Center area in Nashville conducting inspections. Many residents, including middle-class Whites and the elderly reported that some of the claims made by the inspectors were frivolous and absurd.[71]

RESULTS

In some cases, if the property was a rental property, it was considered blighted. If a house was located next to a "slum" then that house was considered a "slum." Many people today, including Vanderbilt officials, agree that the use of these tactics to acquire land was wrong and unfair to residents who were essentially kicked out of their houses. Vanderbilt has seen attempted to repair the damage done to the community, however, this issue exists in many cities across the country, and continues to happen today. Poor Whites and minorities are usually prime targets for redevelopment and "revitalization."[72]

"PEOPLE ORIGINALLY THOUGHT THAT URBAN RENEWAL WOULD TURN CITIES INTO BETTER PLACES. MOST PEOPLE IN THE URBAN PLANNING WORLD DON'T SEE IT THAT WAY ANYMORE. THEY TOOK A 'CLEAN SLATE' APPROACH, WHICH WAS TO WIPE EVERYTHING OUT AND START AGAIN. TODAY, MOST URBAN DESIGNERS REALIZE THAT THIS APPROACH DOESN'T WORK. A CITY IS BUILT WITH MANY BUILDINGS OF MANY AGES AND SIZES AND INHABITED BY MANY DIFFERENT PEOPLE."

- Mark Schimmenti
Former Director of Nashville Civic Design Center



Sometimes urban designers are wrong: Vanderbilt University | Nashville, TN (Vanderbilt)

CURRENT ISSUES

Today, there is a push back into central cities as companies, entertainment, and developers begin buying properties with low values. The draw of the companies brings in new graduates and job seekers. The creative class is having a huge effect on how urban cities operate in today's time.

The Creative Class, coined by Richard Florida is the next generation of researchers, academics, and some business strategists. This group of people are the reason that cities, such as Nashville, are growing by over 100 people a day. Nashville, TN will reach 2 million people by the year 2020.[73]

While the fact that the economy is growing again so that companies feel comfortable in making investments, people are buying houses again, and cities are booming, there are issues that must be dealt with when it comes to growth. The amount of growth that cities such as Nashville are going through causes issues with housing, transportation, income inequalities, and overall identity.[74]

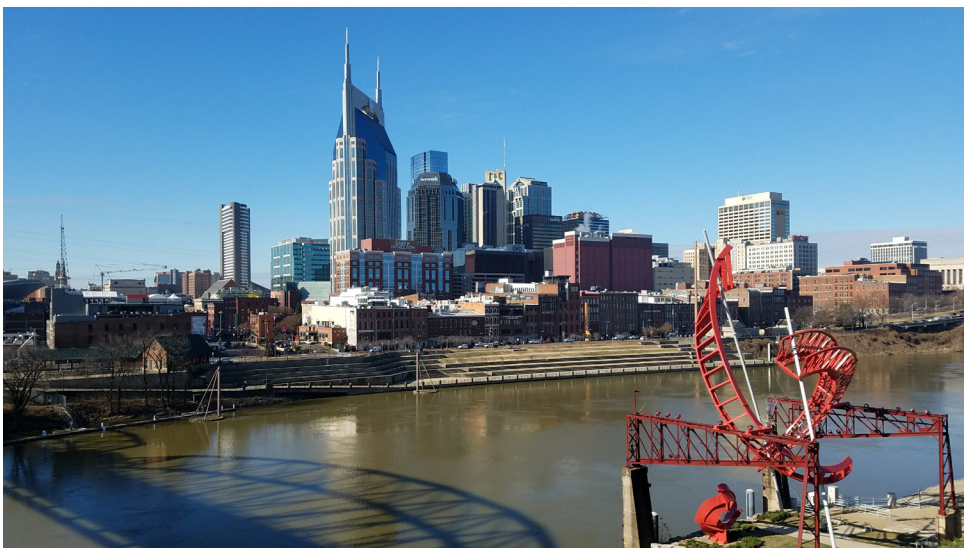


Economic Growth Expands Skylines: The growth of Nashville over the last 10 years shows how much of an impact the creative class has (Williams, 2017)

ISSUES



SoBro Neighborhood: The neighborhood south of Broadway has grown rapidly. All condo, office, and hotel buildings in this picture were completed after 2006. (Williams, 2018)



Iconic Nashville: This iconic picture has began to change as more and more buildings are constructed in the Nashville area. (Williams, 2018)

Referring to the housing issues in Nashville, David Plazas of the Tennessean has been working on a series entitled "The Costs of Growth and Change in Nashville." It is a series on the growth, housing, displacement, and future of Nashville's neighborhoods. The intent is to tell the stories of the community and individual residents of the city. [75]

"METRO HAS LONG FAVORED PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT, BUT PEOPLE IN HISTORICALLY BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS ARE BEING LEFT BEHIND."

- David Plazas
Opinion Engagement Editor
The Tennessean

David Plazas discusses how even though progress is necessary and welcome in cities such as Nashville, there has been an extraordinary concentration of displacement in African-American communities in Nashville. In Edgehill, East Nashville, Germantown, 12South, and Bordeaux owners are selling their homes, allowing for more expensive housing units on the property. The addition of expensive units increases rents and home prices in communities.



David Plazas (Sarah Coward - newspress.com)

Affordable housing units are now being located in suburbs such as Antioch, Bellevue, and Madison. This is causing a concentration in outlying areas of the city, according to Plazas.[76]

"The city [Nashville] hasn't learned from this long history [segregation]. There's still been more investment in the idea of growth than in trying to address inequality. It's clear that there's discrimination in urban Nashville."

- Ansley T. Erickson
Columbia University
Assistant Professor

For people like Sallie Dowell, the transformation of Nashville is very disturbing as hundreds of

ISSUES



Resilience: The resiliency of residents such as Sallie Dowell is needed to keep neighborhoods such as Edgehill from changing completely (George Walker IV - The Tennessean, 2017).

investors bombard her trying to convince her to sell her Edgehill home. She has owned her house for 45 years, she struggled for her house, and the community that she treasures.[77]

"THEY DON'T WANT THE HOMES ANYWAY; THEY JUST WANT THE PROPERTY. THAT'S ALL THEY WANT....I'M NOT GOING ANYWHERE UNTIL GOD COMES TO GET ME"

- Sallie Dowell
Edgehill Resident

Some residents such as Janice Key, for example, are waiting for the right offer. She is willing to move, however, the offer needs to be good enough to balance out the struggle of uprooting her life and finding a new place. Even though she is willing to move, she still feels that she is being displaced and being pushed out. The rising property taxes are pushing residents like Key out of their homes and communities.[78]

THEMES

QUESTIONS:

How can urban cores foster more interaction, learning, and understanding of diverse peoples in a city?

Who/What was displaced?

What is identity? What can be done to keep the identity of a place? Who chooses the identity?

What happens if the culture of the city that is pushed to the suburbs, comes back to the city?

The following categories underly the issues/areas that occur in growing urban fabrics and possible solutions.

KNOWLEDGE

With rising numbers in urban fabrics around the world, a concernedly decreasing amount of diversity is occurring. Not diversity in the sense of skin color, but rather culture. As prices rise, certain demographics are catered to, pushing out peoples of certain cultures are pushed out to the periphery of cities. This creates a drought of diverse cultures in the central core. Urban centers need the knowledge base, learning centers, and showcase opportunities for various cultures in a city to educate the community.

POTENTIAL PROJECT SCENARIOS:

cultural center | ***museum*** | ***exhibition halls*** | ***lecture halls*** | ***public art***

ACCESSIBILITY

All areas of a city should be accessible to the community. Given the growth of urban areas, increasing amounts of sprawl has caused major travel issues in cities without mass transit systems. Even though these systems are expensive, mass transit allows for citizens to move around the city with ease and efficiency. This ease of connectivity also allows for more interaction between people of different cultures. Increasing accessibility could also allow displaced peoples to return, while accommodating new people as well.

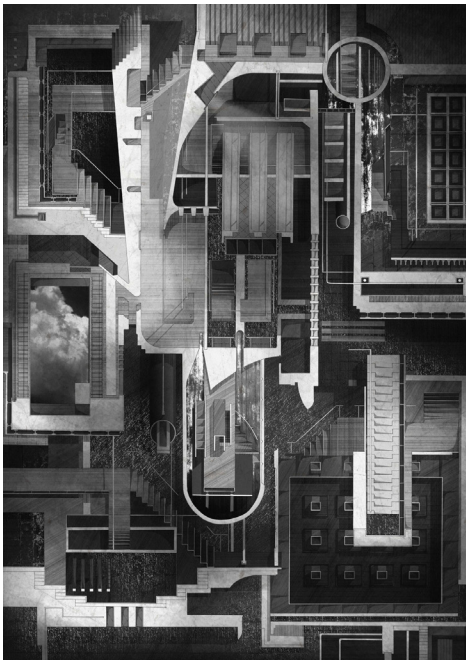
POTENTIAL PROJECT SCENARIOS:

transit hub | ***mass transit system*** | ***incentives for increased ridership***

CONTINUITY

With the inventions of the 19th & 20th centuries, such as the automobile and train, society was set on traveling longer distances faster. This brought highway systems that connect cities throughout the U.S. These connections were cut through communities to accommodate for the new highway system. The swaths of land led to discontinuities. For example, district lines are often superimposed on these transportation lines, creating more divides. Creating connections between neighborhoods can often foster better relationships among different people.

POTENTIAL PROJECT SCENARIOS:
interstate caps | ***new public parks*** | ***reconnecting neighborhoods***



Conglomeration of Techniques to Produce Whole: Student Project (Ferns, 2017)

COMMUNITY

In order to foster the notion of community within an entire city, certain public spaces should be available for gathering. These public spaces are not just plazas with water elements, but planned public and private areas that brings people into the space, while also generating revenue for the city. These spaces allow the community to perform, play, showcase, and cohabitate. In order for people in a city to feel one with each other, there needs to be gathering spaces that allow for them to come together.

POTENTIAL PROJECT SCENARIOS:
community center | ***public park & space*** | ***central node of Nashville for the community***

LIVING

As the population of inner-city residents continue to increase, so do land values. These increase in land values are beneficial for areas that need a development boost. However, when those increases lead to the displacement of long-term home owners, an issue exists. Cities should protect people who live in neighborhoods that are being rejuvenated. Cities such as Chicago have partnerships with municipal housing agencies to ensure matriculation back in their original neighborhood after redevelopment.

POTENTIAL PROJECT SCENARIOS:
mixed-income housing | ***subsidized housing*** | ***shared amenities***

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URBAN IDENTITY





The Culture of A City Should Be Warm and Welcoming to All: Philadelphia Bridge Project by Alex Hogrefe (Hogrefe, 2017)



METHODOLOGY

WAYS OF WORKING

Several themes come to play with the project. The idea of alchemy comes to mind when thinking about how various functions of a city come together to form a new element: a urban-scape. The idea of alchemy is prevalent in the project proposal as one can see in the following chapters.

03

Clashing Programs in Odd Places Produces Beautiful Architecture:
RVTR's Infra Eco Logi Urbanism Project (RVTR, 2013)

DISPLACEMENT

Using Nashville, TN as the variable in this urban investigation, one can first look to how the growing creative class, coupled with the migration of Americans back to urban centers, can create issues for native residents. Native, being the term used for families living in the central downtown area for more than one generation. Areas around downtown Nashville that have lower property values are being targeted for future development. Take the neighborhood of Germantown, for example. This neighborhood has been historically lower-income Whites and Blacks for at least the last half-century. It was one of the few neighborhoods that did not get overtaken by urban renewal. The Jefferson Street corridor, which runs straight through Germantown, is one of the historically Black shopping and business districts that was split in half with the implementation of the highway system.



Germantown: Starting in the 1850s, is considered Nashville's first suburb (Casamatic, 2017)

TOPICS/THEMES

Today, the neighborhood is going through a second urban renewal: gentrification. Millennials and other upper-middle class people are moving into the area, often buying houses that are from those who go priced out of the area. This continually raises the property values of the neighborhoods, pricing out native residents. The benefits are new people to the area, and a beautified neighborhood, however, it is very detrimental to the people.



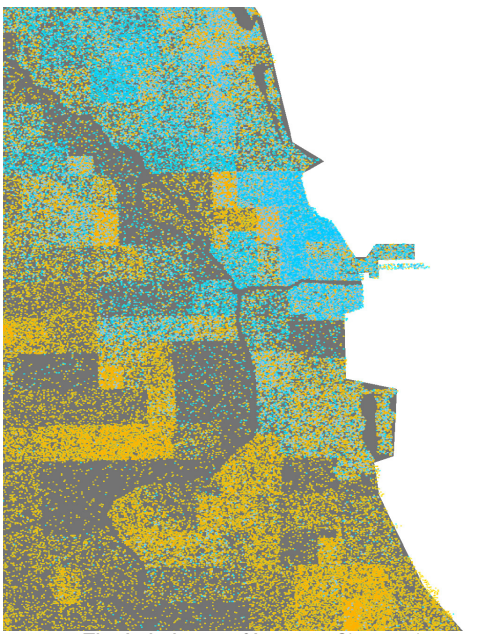
Unaffordability: Gulch South Neighborhood Prices (Walker, 2017)



The Replacement of Livelihoods: The city is going through a second urban renewal phase (HomesForAllNashville, 2017)

INCOME DISPARITIES

Throughout American urban history, cities tended to face some sort of segregation. Before the 1970s the segregation was largely race-based. After the 70s neighborhoods have been separated based on the level of income. Not all of the separations are de facto. Sometimes the separations are based on subdivision groups coming together and preventing certain groups of people from moving in. The thought of having certain amounts of people in a neighborhood kept the neighborhoods homogeneous. The ideals of the FHA in the 1930s became a part of suburban America. The income homogeneity can be seen in maps of cities across the country. Even though the data comes from the 2010 US Census, the causes are traced back to the start of suburban America.

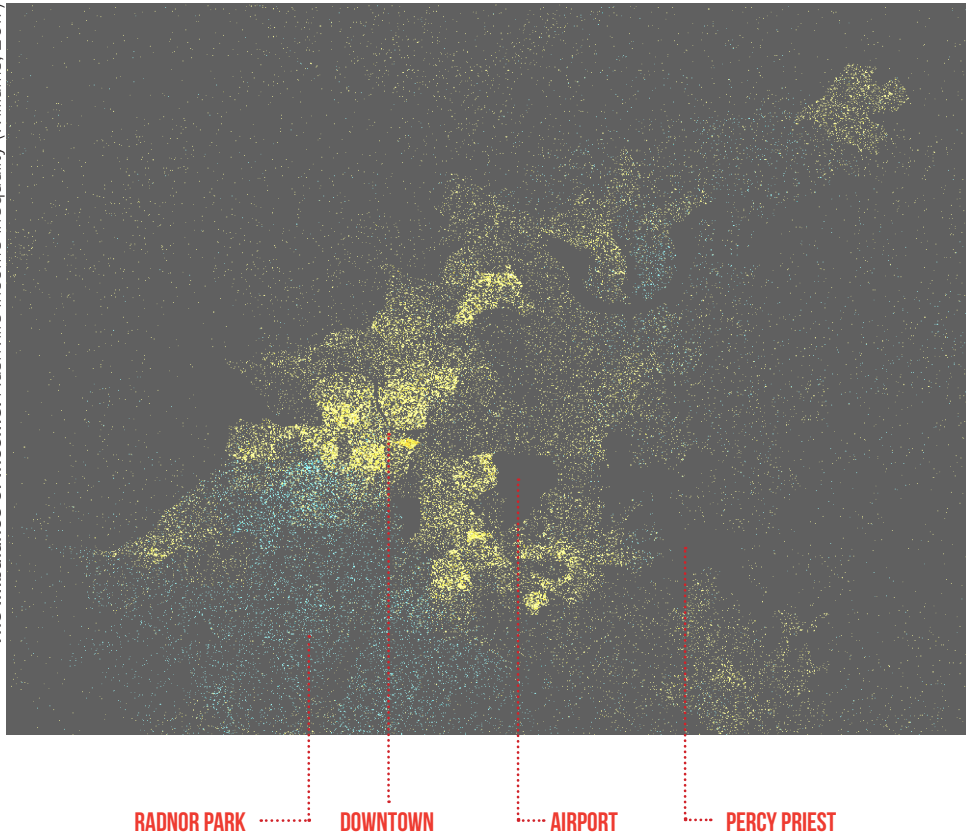


The Imbalance of Income: Chicago Income Inequality (Williams, 2017)

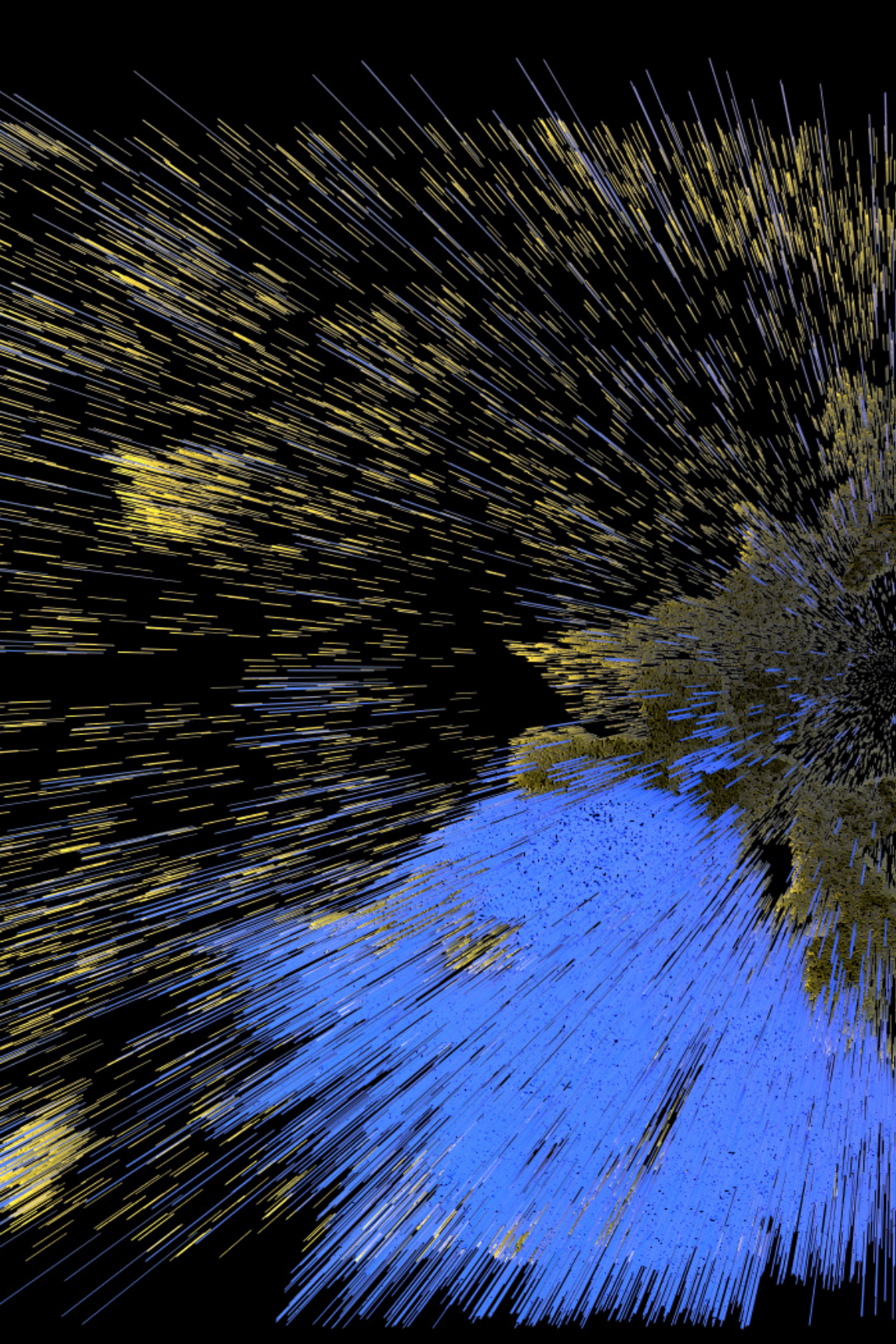
The image [left] is of Chicago's income extremes. The blue dots represent populations that have high income compared to the yellow dots that have lower. One can see how the higher income levels tend to be located just north of the downtown Chicago area. This area lacked the number of public housing developments that were built in mostly southern areas. As public housing projects became defunded in the late 1970s, and eventually torn down, the population left to the surrounding areas. High crime and low income remained, however. On top of that, people leaving public housing could not afford nicer homes in better neighborhoods due to lack of savings and equity.

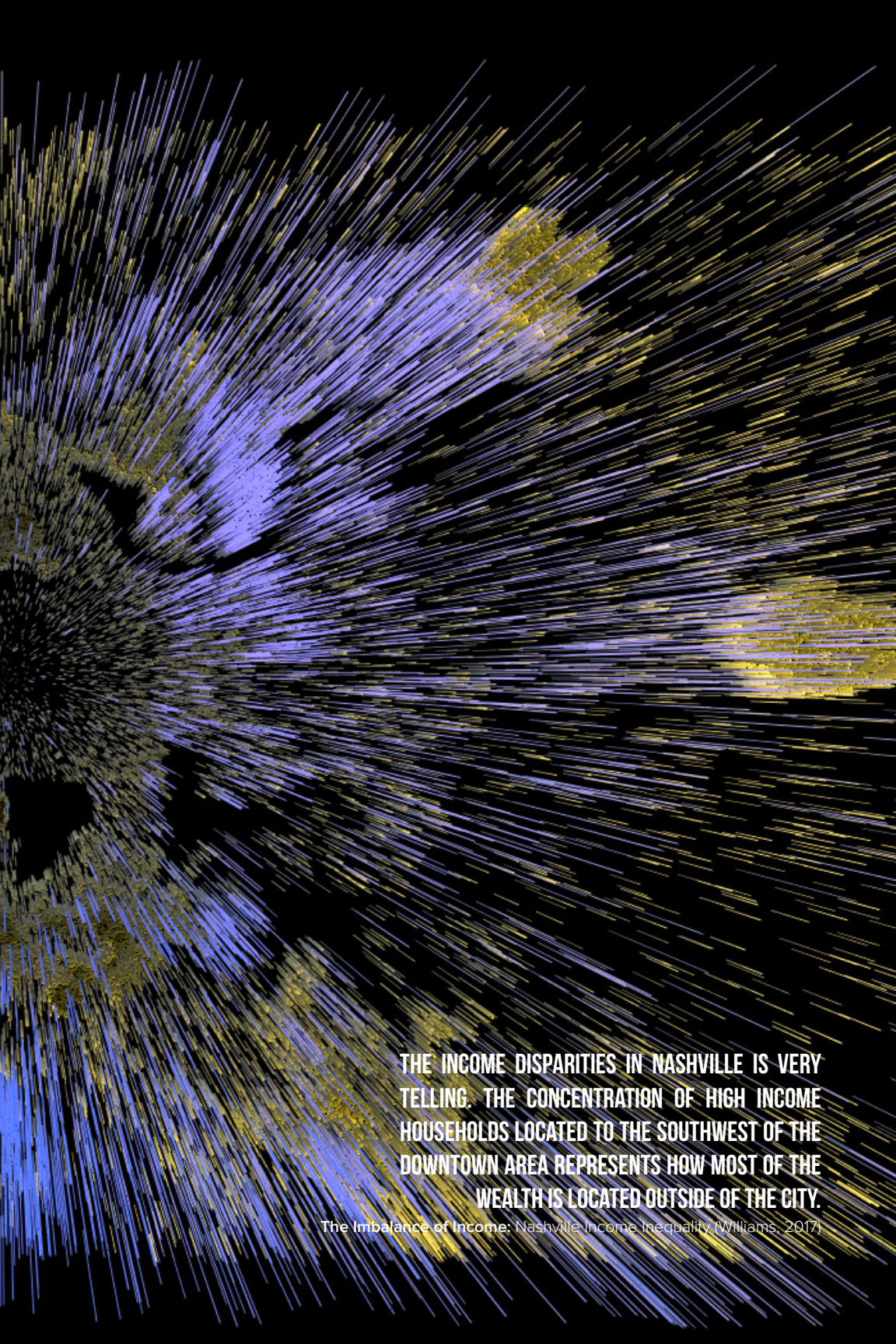
TOPICS/THEMES

This kept the areas under developed and with lower income levels. The same can be associated with the Nashville income map [below]. Nashville, however, had more farm lands and "old money" associated with the blue areas in southwest Davidson County. Nashville natives categorize southwestern Davidson County and northern Williamson County with higher income levels for many years. It is believed that this data [taken from 2010 Census data - GIS] will change dramatically over the next ten years. Upper-middle class families and single individuals are moving back into the central city. Downtown Nashville will soon be the blue concentration and the suburbs will continue to stay in the lower-income levels.



The Imbalance of Income: Nashville Income Inequality (Williams, 2017)





THE INCOME DISPARITIES IN NASHVILLE IS VERY TELLING. THE CONCENTRATION OF HIGH INCOME HOUSEHOLDS LOCATED TO THE SOUTHWEST OF THE DOWNTOWN AREA REPRESENTS HOW MOST OF THE WEALTH IS LOCATED OUTSIDE OF THE CITY.

The Imbalance of Income: Nashville Income Inequality (Williams, 2017)

TRANSPORTATION

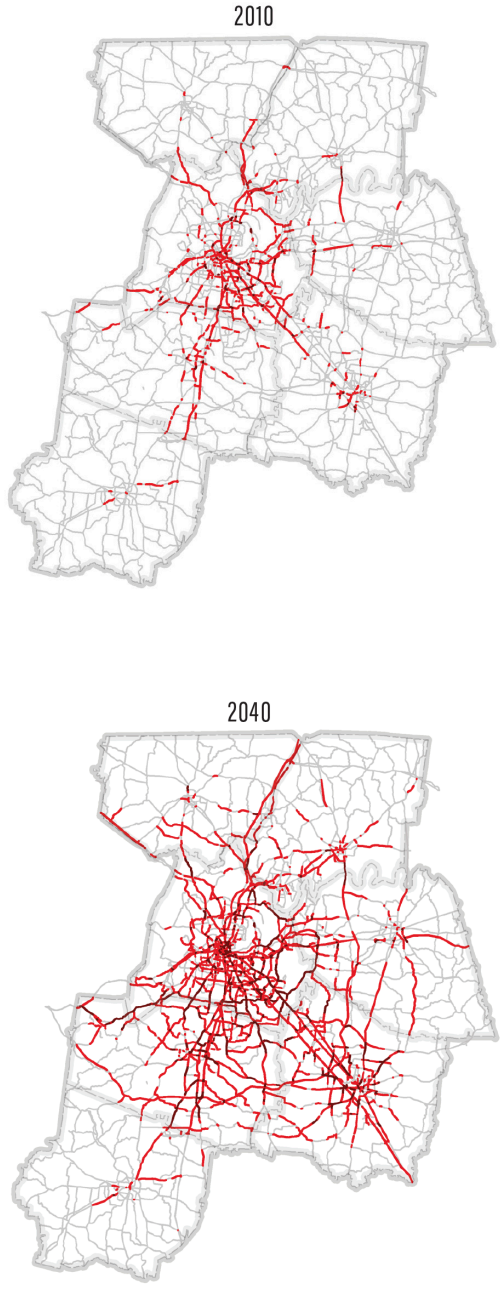
As the city of Nashville grows and housing becomes more expensive, people begin looking for other places to live. Whether it is an escape from the busy city streets, more acreage, or simply because the office is outside of the city, new residents are finding places outside of Davidson County to live. This sprawl effect is causing many more traffic issues around Nashville. Not only are a million more people coming to the streets of Nashville, but they are having to drive longer distances to get to work. This creates for a nightmare scenario on already congested streets.

Cities across America are starting to turn to, or already have been using, mass transit systems to help alleviate traffic woes. Nashville, while getting dissenting opinions on both sides, has began looking more seriously into the matter. Gaining over a million new people in the metropolitan area is not at all what the current infrastructure was designed for. Improvements must be made to increase accessibility to all parts of the city for all communities.



Congestion Slows Economy: Congested Interstate (Dinger, 2017)

TOPICS/THEMES



More Growth Means More Congestion: MPO Traffic Projections (Transit Alliance, 2017)

IDENTITY

As the city of Nashville grows, so does its notoriety. Through shows on television, stories in the news, tourism, or branded food items the identity of a city is told to the world. This is not to say that this is all that brands a city, however, for a growing city like Nashville, these are the topics that are talked about the most.

One cannot go anywhere outside of Tennessee, say you are from Nashville, and there not be any mention of country music. The term "Music City" is often used to refer to tons of musicians and artists who flock to Nashville to pursue careers. Even though all types of music is produced in the city, country music has been the leading topic given the popularity of the Grand Ole Opry. In fact, Music City was not coined until the Jubilee Singers performed for the Queen of England. She surmised that they must come from the "Music City." This helped put Nashville on the global radar, leading to tons of investment in music, building the Ryman Auditorium, and Nashville becoming the songwriting capital.

The music industry, conventions, and athletics have all brought Nashville to the forefront of tourism in the United States. In 2016, it is reported that over 13.5 million people visited the Nashville area.[79]

So what about the identity of the city to its residences? Most people would agree that Nashville is a great city. Yes, like most cities, especially in the South, Nashville had its issues in the past, and yes those issues are related to problems it faces today. However, for a upper-middle class family, the city can be a dream place. But what about those below the status of upper-middle class?

Many people cannot afford to live in central parts of Davidson County. As discussed earlier, many people are leaving to the suburbs in search for more affordable housing, while many newcomers and upper-middle class people are moving into gentrified downtown neighborhoods.

TOPICS/THEMES



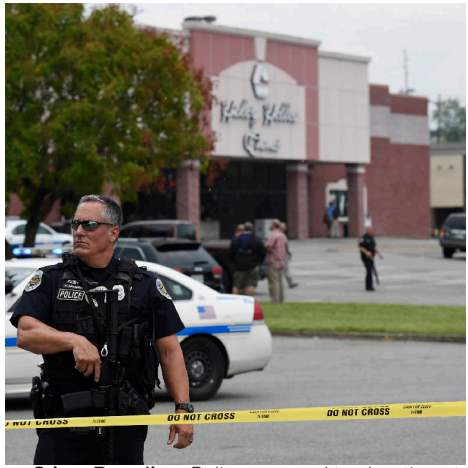
Music City Origins: Fisk Jubilee Singers (Havel, 1873)



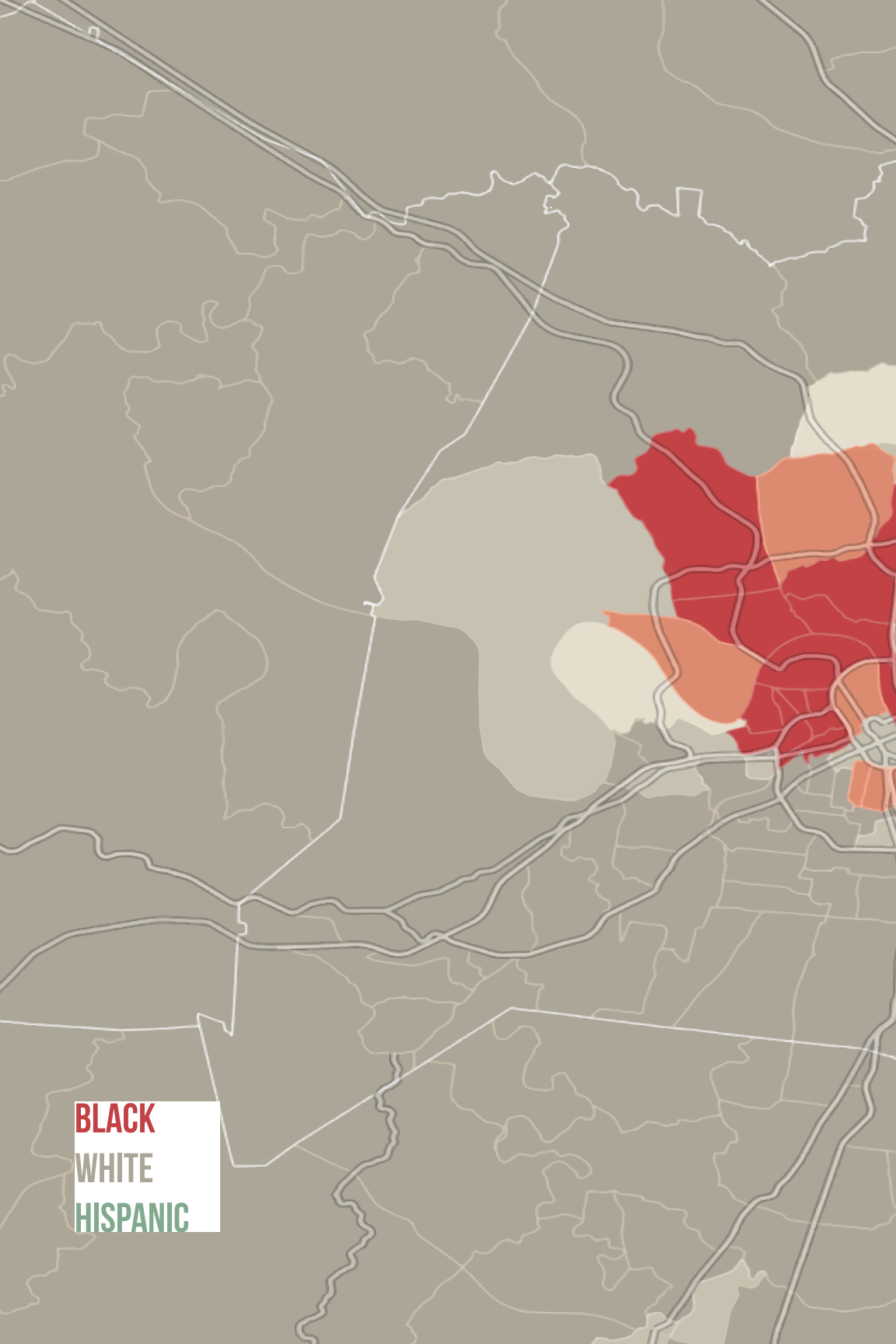
City Branding: KFC Advertisement for "Nashville Hot Chicken" (Twitter-KFC, 2016)

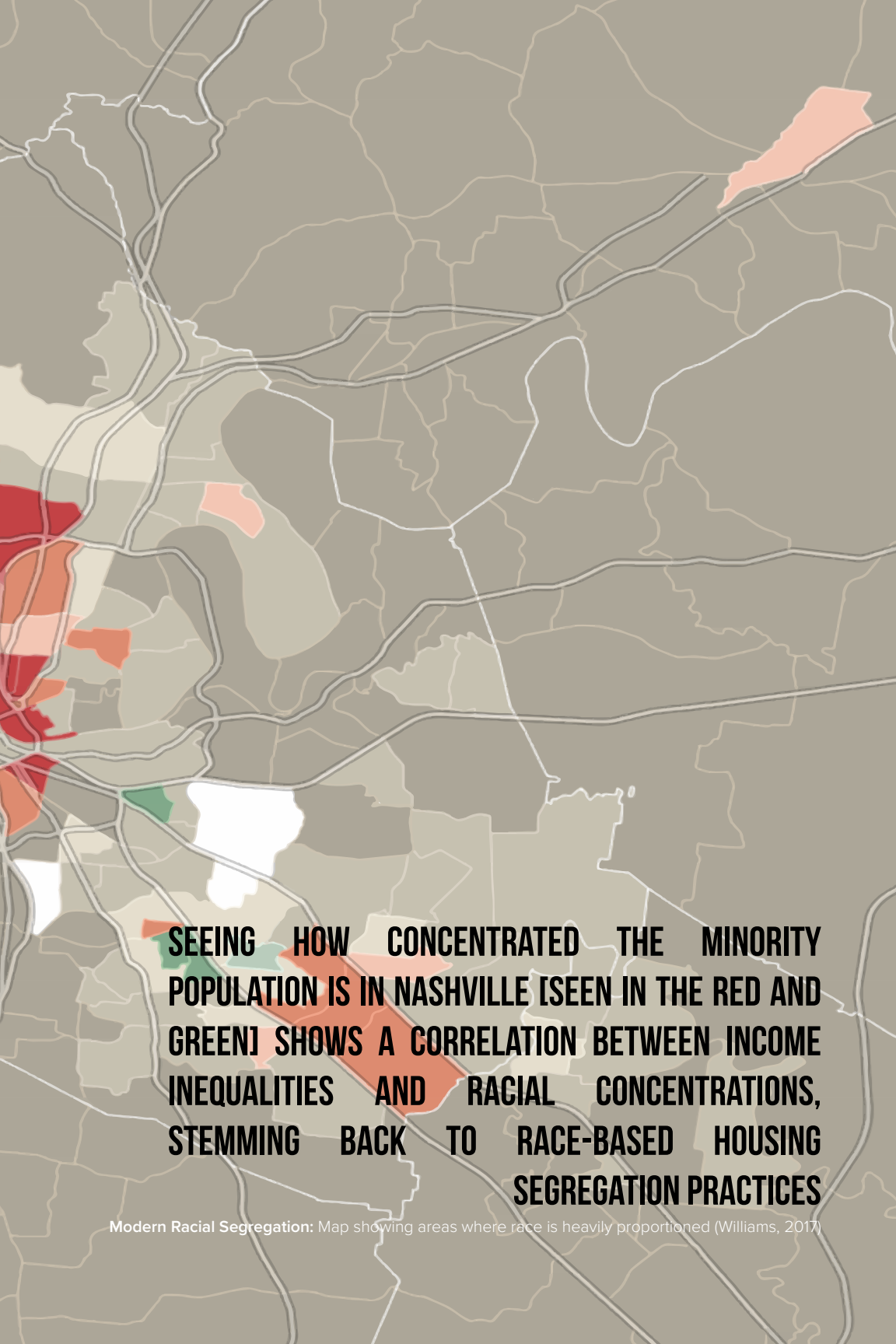


Tourism Branding: Tourists taking picture at the pedestrian bridge (McCormack, 2015)



Crime Branding: Police respond to shooting at Antioch theater (Zaleski, 2015)


BLACK
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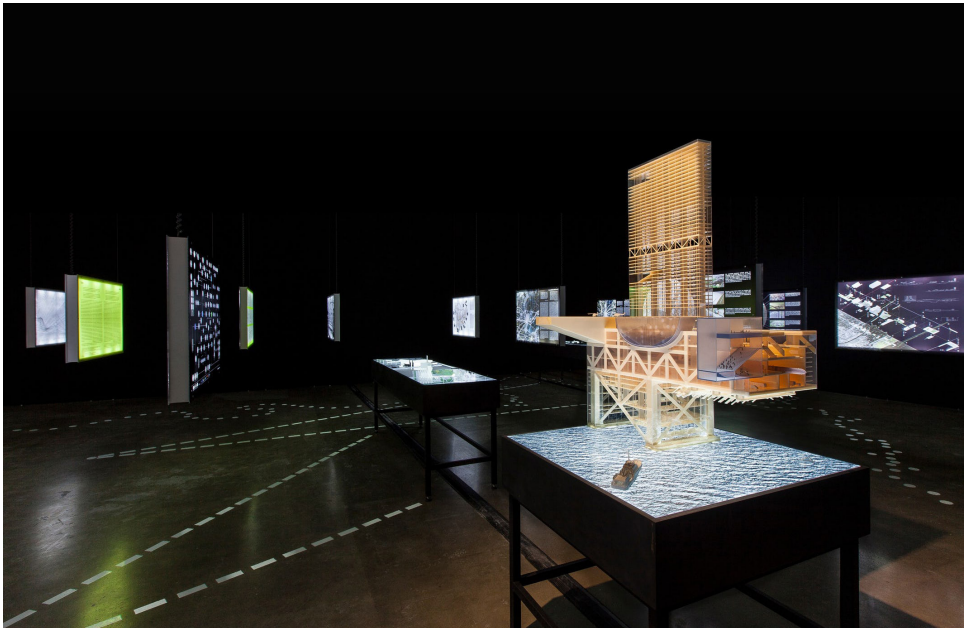


SEEING HOW CONCENTRATED THE MINORITY POPULATION IS IN NASHVILLE [SEEN IN THE RED AND GREEN] SHOWS A CORRELATION BETWEEN INCOME INEQUALITIES AND RACIAL CONCENTRATIONS, STEMMING BACK TO RACE-BASED HOUSING SEGREGATION PRACTICES

Modern Racial Segregation: Map showing areas where race is heavily proportioned (Williams, 2017)

INFRA ECO LOGI URBANISM - RVTR

"Infra Eco Logi Urbanism is a solo exhibition of urban and architectural design research that assembles an urban design manifesto, research and design proposals undertaken by RVTR, primarily under the Conduit Urbanism research project. The total exhibition presents a vision as well as a design process that operates from the scale of the region to specific designs for urban architectures. The exhibition is organized as a territory. In both its form and content it posits an approach to urban design that is not about a singular vision or a grand scheme; rather, proposed is an assemblage of reciprocal relations nested at micro and macro scales of both time and space. The exhibition consists of a field of illuminated panels that depict extensive regional cartographies, relational analyses, drawings of design proposals, historical research, photography, and critical writings describing the design intent and methodology. These are suspended in the exhibition space creating a nonlinear field array which allows for multiple interrelations, scales and connections to be made by the visitor, from multiple viewpoints and routes. Within the field of panels are also four large scale illuminated models."[80]

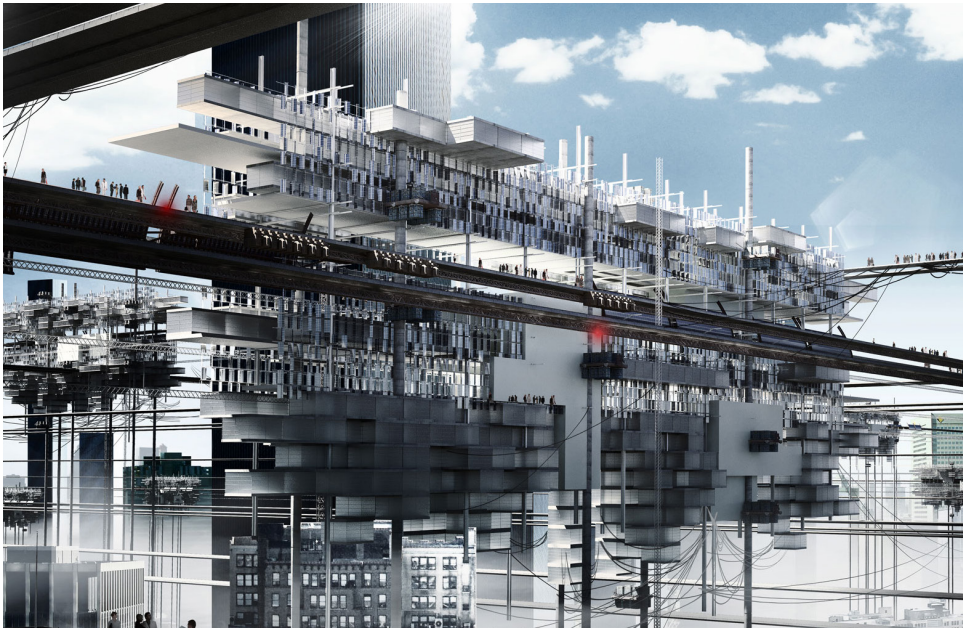


Immersive Architectural Exhibition: RVTR Montreal Exhibit (RVTR, 2013)

RELEVANT WORKS

"ELEVATED COMMUNITY" - 2011

"Elevated Community" won Honorable Mention in the 2011 eVolo Skyscraper Competition. This design took the idea of a skyscraper and suspended it hundreds of feet off the ground. The idea of connecting the surrounding urban landscape enabled the designer to create a large floating mass that only connects to the streets and surrounding buildings but what seems like mere walkway bridges and elevator shafts. The purpose of this was to connect people back to the urban fabric that they meet in, the skyscrapers.[81]

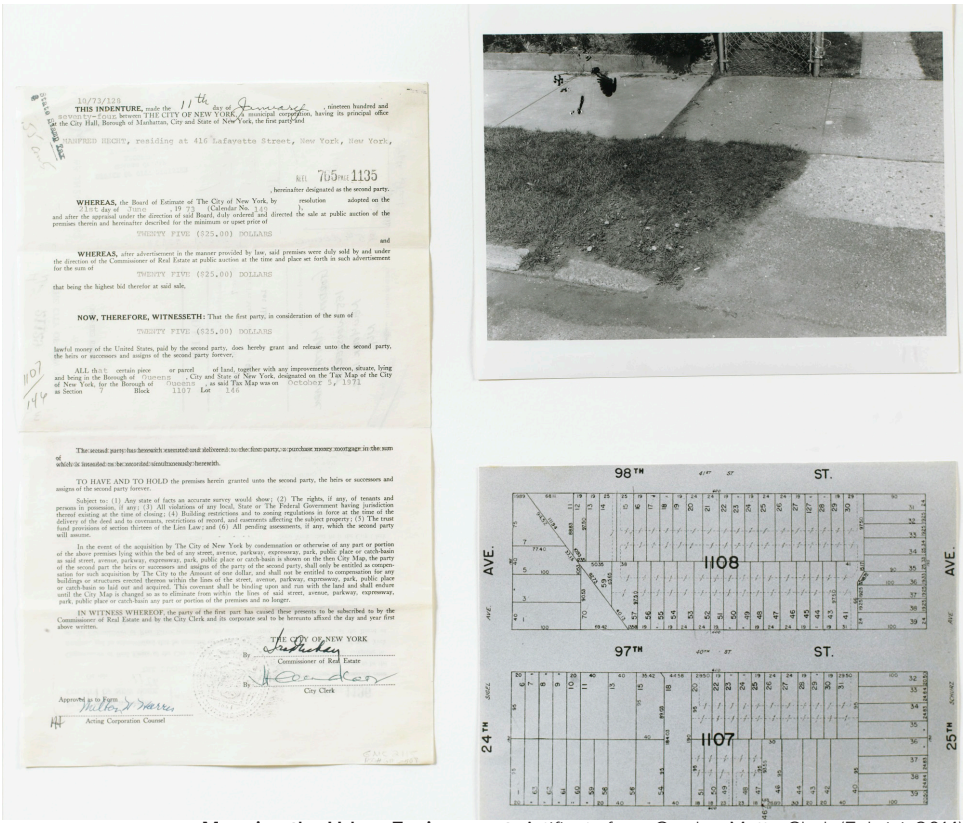


Rethinking Urban Environments: Elevated Connectivity Project (eVolo, 2011)

ODD LOTS - 1970s New York

Beginning in 1973, Gordon Matta-Clark, a New York artist, purchased fifteen lots across the city of New York. The plots were usually tiny residual areas, inaccessible parcels of land that, for whatever reason, escaped the rules of the grid and real estate. There were some spaces that were thinner than a person's shoulder. The city of New York eventually began auctioning them and Gordon Matta-Clark became interested and bought them between $25 and $75.

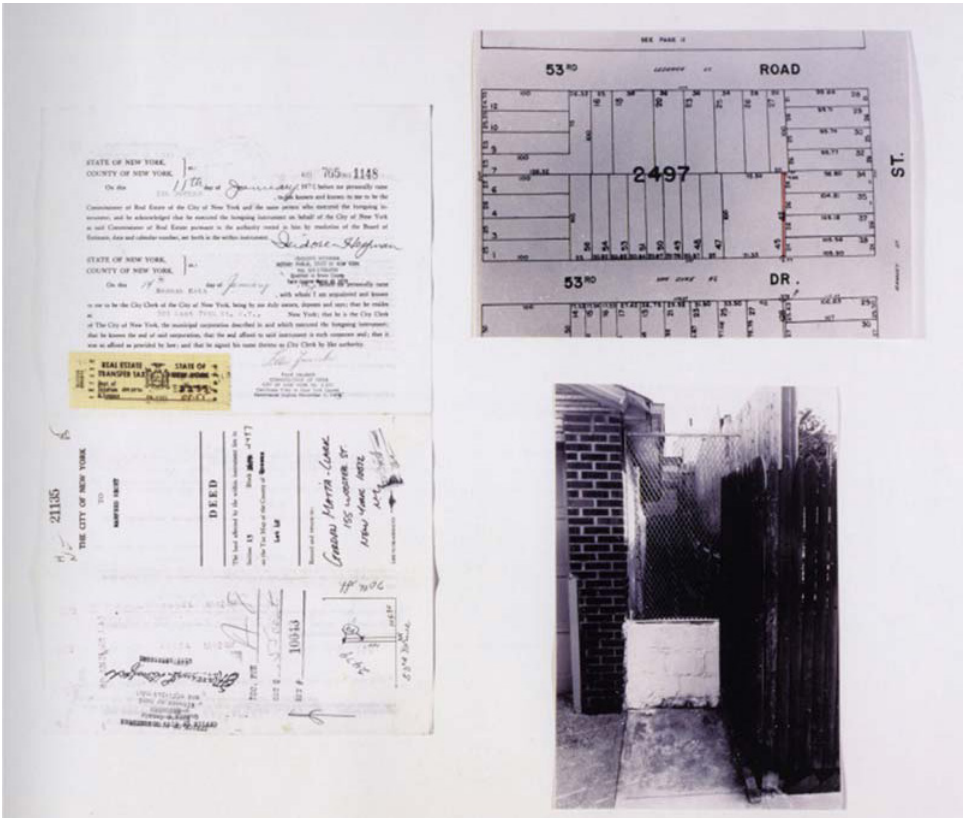
After purchasing, Gordon Matta-Clark began mapping, measuring, photographed, and catalogued his fifteen parcels. [82]



Mapping the Urban Environment: Artificats from Gordon Matta-Clark (Fabrizi, 2014)

RELEVANT WORKS

"THEY WERE A GROUP OF FIFTEEN MICRO-PARCELS OF LAND IN QUEENS, LEFT-OVER PROPERTIES FROM AN ARCHITECT'S DRAWING. ONE OR TWO OF THE PRIZE ONES WERE A FOOT STRIP DOWN SOMEBODY'S DRIVEWAY AND A FOOT OF SIDEWALK. AND THE OTHERS WERE CURBSTONE AND GUTTER SPACE. WHAT I BASICALLY WANTED TO DO WAS TO DESIGNATE SPACES THAT WOULDN'T BE SEEN AND CERTAINLY NOT OCCUPIED." - GORDON MATTA-CLARK



Mapping the Urban Environment: Artificats from Gordon Matta-Clark (Fabrizi, 2014)

SUPERKILEN PARK - BIG Architects - Copenhagen, Denmark

Located in the most ethnically diverse areas of the city, Superkilen park tackles the challenges of designing for people of different cultures. Weaving its way through the neighborhood, the park has various cultural and activity spaces for the public to enjoy. In one portion there are objects representative of the cultures living there. From muscle gear from LA, to palm trees from China, and even neon signs from Qatar the park includes the physical cultural objects in a space meant to bring people together. [83]



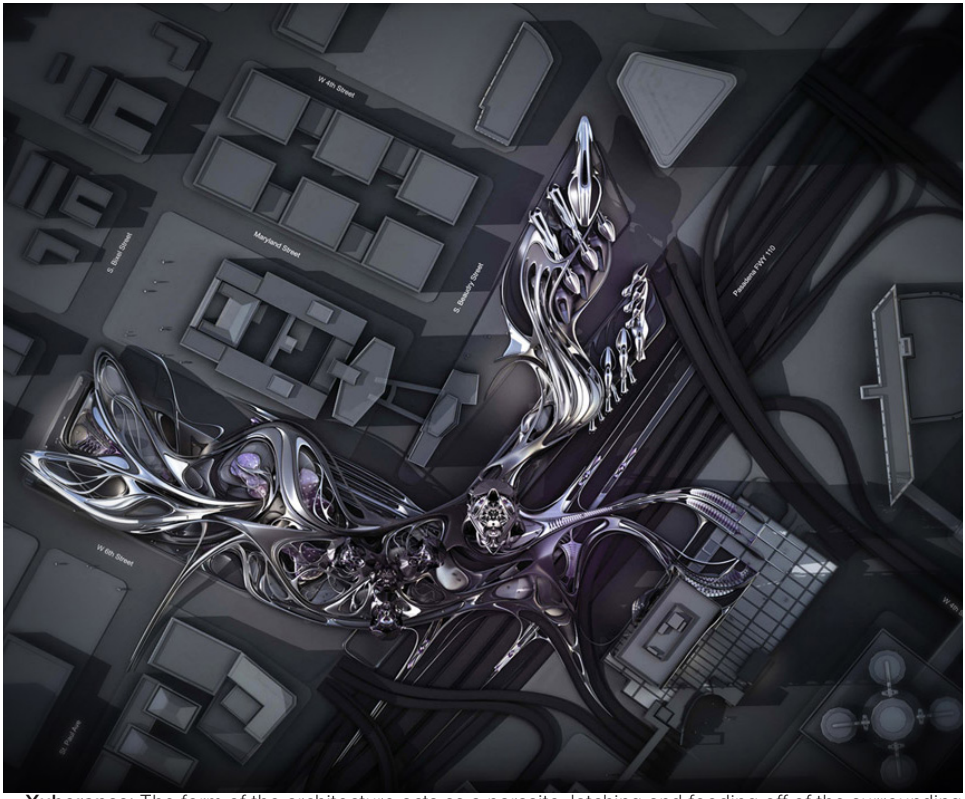
Connective Tissue: Superkilen Park uses the various surrounding cultures to influence the design of the park. (Iwan Baan, 2012)

RELEVANT WORKS

XUBERANCE - Steven MA - Sci-Arc Thesis

This thesis project is centered around developing an architecture that fed off the warehouse industry in the city. Similar to a living organism, or a parasite, the architecture feeds off the lines and network of the warehouse industry area, producing an organic shape that morphs its way through the city. [84]

The aesthetic of this project is quite beautiful, however, I wanted my project to feel more alive and active, rather than muted and calm.



Xuberance: The form of the architecture acts as a parasite, latching and feeding off of the surrounding urban fabric (Steven MA, 2008)

FOOTNOTES

79. “Record Number 13.9 Million Visitors Came to Nashville in 2016” Visit Music City. January 2017. http://www.visitmusiccity.com/media/pr_visitors0117
80. “infra eco logi urbanism | Montreal, PQ” RVTR. 2012. http://www.rvtr.com/projects/infra-eco-logi-urbanism-montreal
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82. Fabrizi, Mariabruna, “Gordon Matta-Clark’s ‘Reality Properties: Fake Estates’ (1973)” Socks. October 2014. http://socks-studio.com/2014/10/22/gordon-matta-clarks-reality-properties-fake-estates-1973/
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84. Steven MA, “Xuberance” Sci-Arc. 2008. http://www.goooood.hk/_d274374247.htm


N

PROPOSAL

SITE | PLACE | CONTEXT

04

Infinite Site Possibilities: Satellite Image of Nashville, TN with project site - Germantown (Williams, 2018)

SITE

CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

The proposed site will be a neighborhood that has suffered from the effects of urban changes in the past. The effects of redlining, urban housing, and urban renewal in cities across the country have left certain neighborhoods under developed and behind in the urban culture. The neighborhoods that were left behind became the undesirable neighborhoods in the 80s, 90s, and early 2000s. Today, neighborhoods that were deemed undesirable are now being sought after by developers and real estate investors.

The project will factor in the cultural importance rather than the legality. Too often design projects are hindered by zoning, property taxes, and other constraints. This project is meant to break through those constraints and produce a solution where the benefits to the people outweigh the possible illegalities of the site and functions.

For this reason, I chose Nashville, TN to be the test subject. Growing up in Nashville I have witnessed the growth that a city goes through and how it affects its population, for better and for worse. Nashville is still new in its expansion. There is still hope that the city can change to cater toward all people, not just upper-class individuals.

The neighborhood, Germantown, just north of Nashville, has experienced extreme rates of gentrification in recent years. The culture that was once there has been removed and spread to the suburbs of Nashville.

With the intention of continuing the growth of Nashville, the project also intends to bring the displaced and forgotten back to their original neighborhood.

An agency made of community stakeholders – not politicians and investors – but people in the communities of Nashville will work together to enforce, sponsor, and operate the new project. In order to reinvigorate these neighborhoods, the community itself must step up to the challenge.



Site: The Germantown neighborhood with callouts of key portions of the neighborhood (Williams, 2018).

SITE PHOTOS



Traditional: A typical Germantown house located on shotgun-type lots (Williams, 2018).



Replacements: Double-loaded expensive units are replacing the traditional homes (Williams, 2018).



High Densification: As the population increases dramatically in Nashville, dense urban housing is becoming the norm in neighborhoods such as Germantown (Williams, 2018).



Urban Progress: The progress of urban housing is apparent throughout Germantown as new realtor investors move into the area (Williams, 2018).

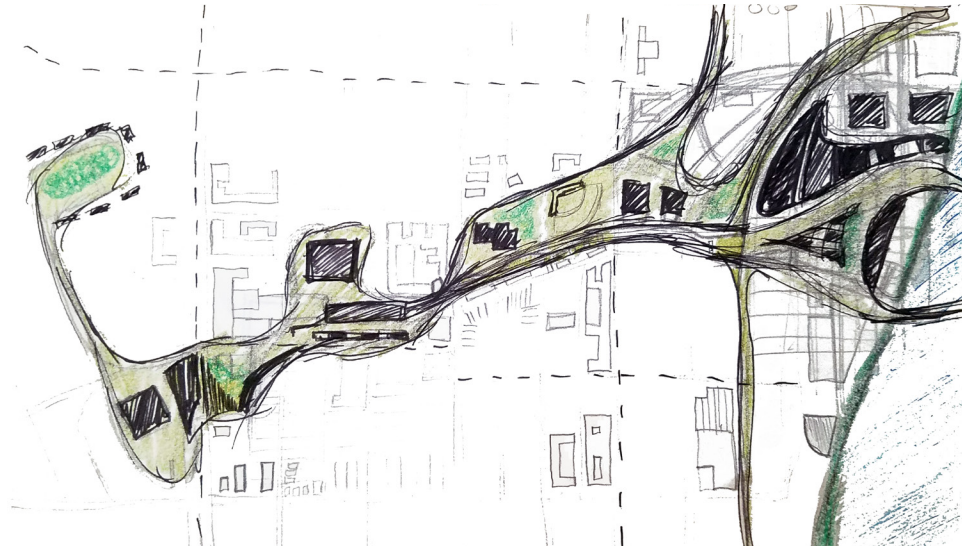
WARNING
NO LIFEGUARD
ON DUTY
EXIT

FOLDING CITY

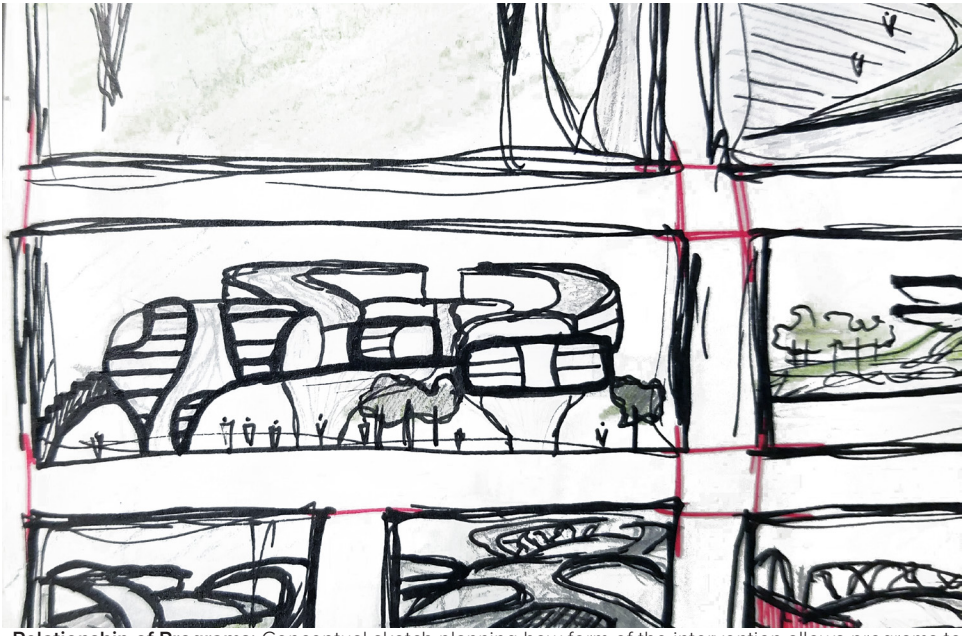
In this proposal, the culture of the city that has been displaced would be “folded back” into the central parts of Nashville.

Folding City: Nashville suburbs coming back into the urban fabric of the city (Williams, 2017)

PROCESS

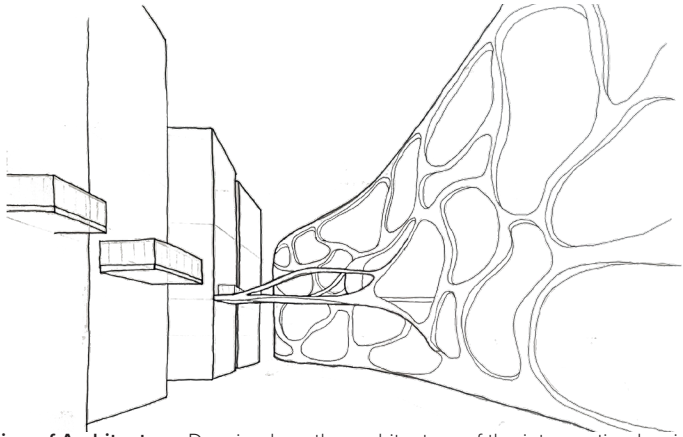


Site Plan: Conceptual sketch using trajectories of the surrounding urban fabric to develop the form of the intervention (Williams, 2018).

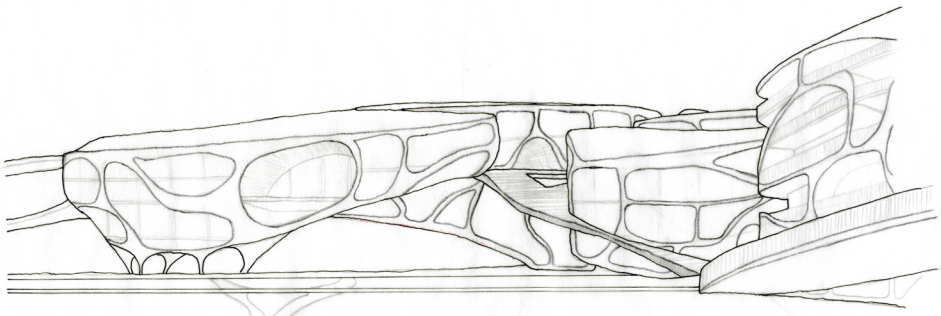


Relationship of Programs: Conceptual sketch planning how form of the intervention allows programs to communicate architecturally and experientially for the community (Williams, 2018).

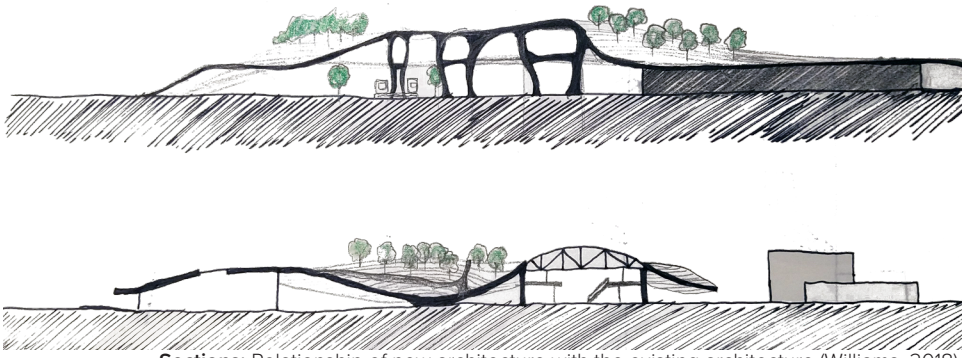
SKETCHES



Juxtaposition of Architecture: Drawing how the architecture of the intervention begins to interact with the existing architecture (Williams, 2018).



Apertures and Form: Drawing of the different activity spaces and how they coalesce within the intervention (Williams, 2018).



Sections: Relationship of new architecture with the existing architecture (Williams, 2018).

The following stills are from a video produced to give viewers a preview of the issues applying to Nashville and other cities across America.

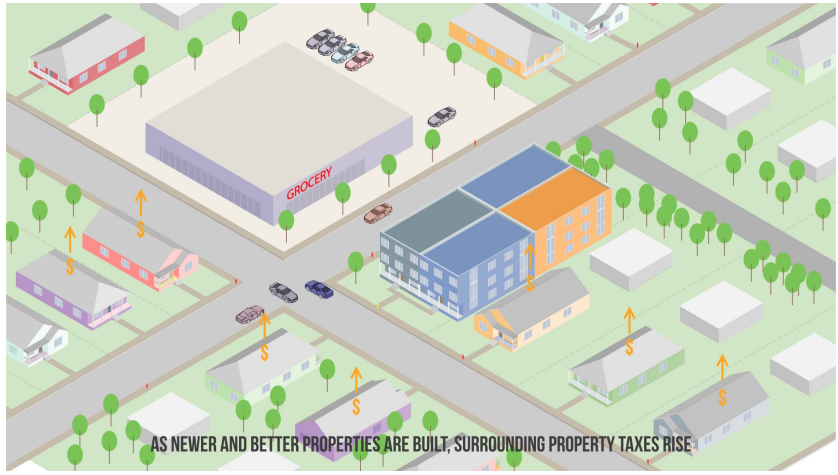
In neighborhoods such as Germantown, investors and developers take advantage of low property values, tear down existing houses and replace the properties with more expensive, luxury housing units inaccessible to the displaced residents.

VIDEO STILLS: (Williams, 2018)

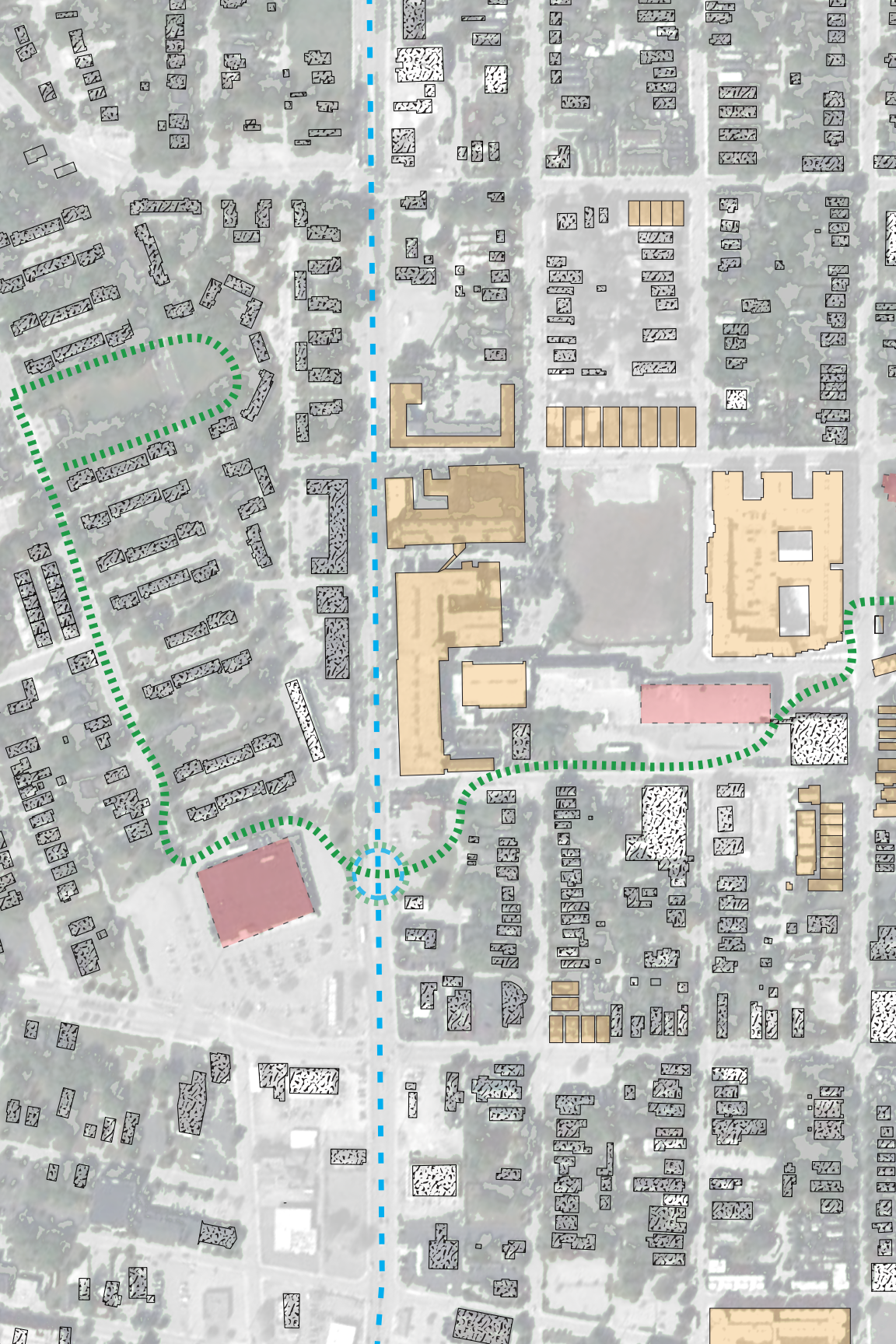


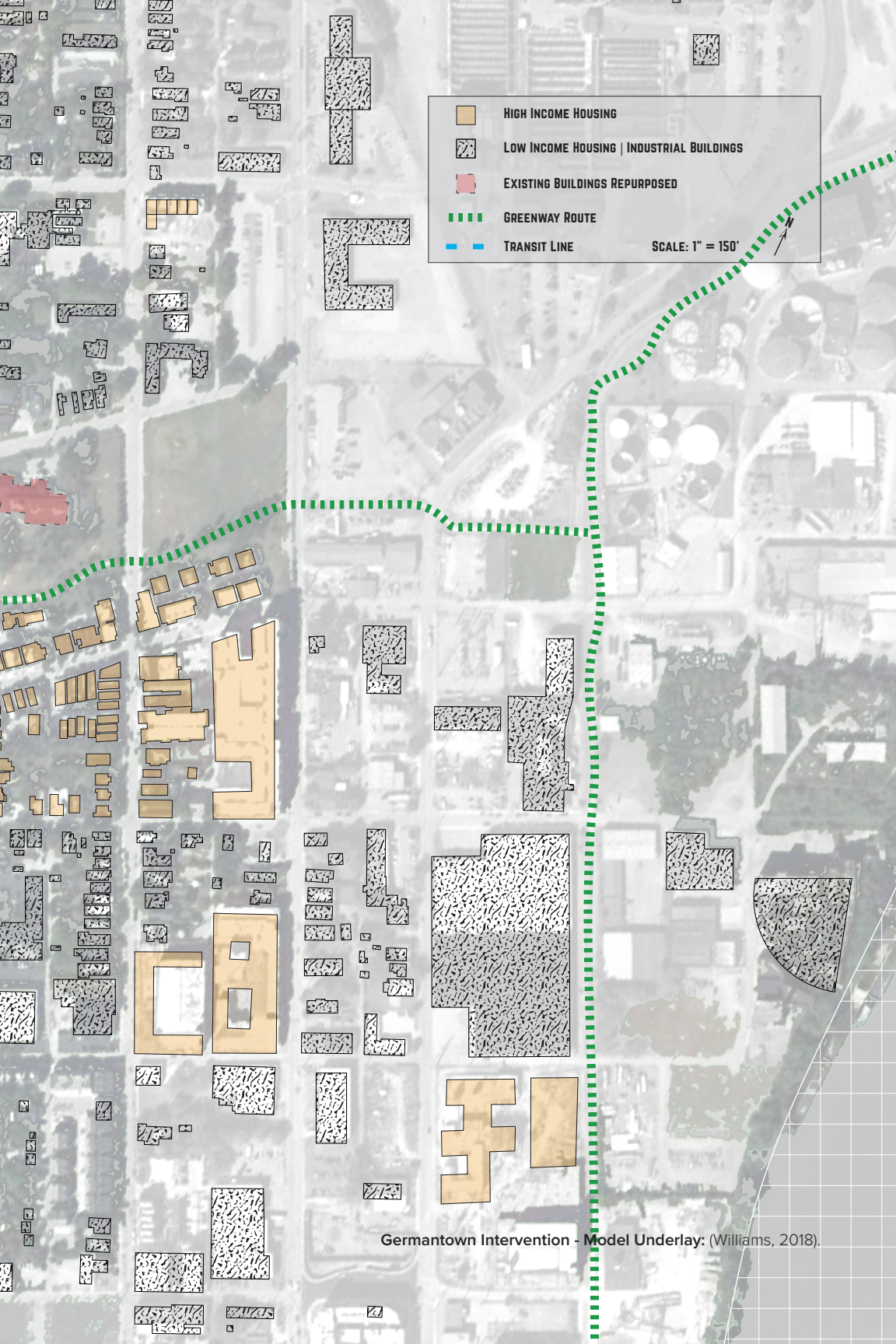
VIDEO STILLS







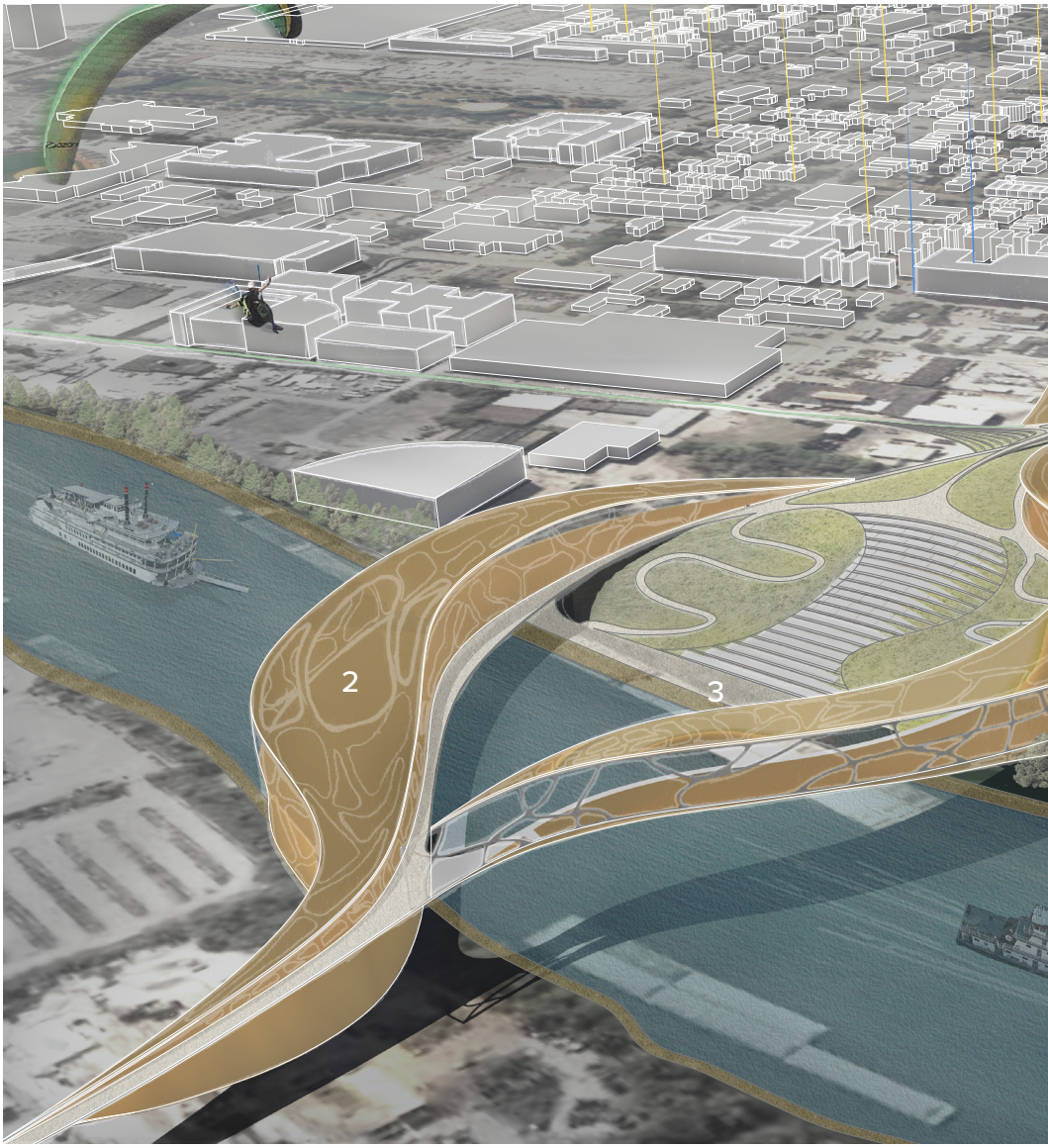




Germantown Intervention - Model Underlay: (Williams, 2018).

FINAL PROPOSAL

1. BAZAAR – Interchangeable areas for local makers, creators, and sellers
2.SKYLINE ATHLETICS – Outdoor athletic zone to promote healthy activities
3.NATURAL AMENITIES – Engaging the riverfront and the existing greenway to connect the urban area
4.CULTURAL COMBINE – Covered event space for the community to showcase their culture
5.THEOLOGICAL ADJACENCY – Space for various religious groups to meet, practice, and engage
6.CULTURAL SHOWCASE – Outdoor amphitheater for community concerts and speeches
7. URBAN PEDAGOGY – Education hotspot for the young population of the growing urban area



GERMANTOWN INTERVENTION

8. URBAN SPECTACLE – Performance venue for various member groups in the community
9. FORGOTTEN PEOPLE – Displaced peoples will find a home in their old neighborhood
10. FITNESS CHAMBERS – Indoor athletic zones for adults and children to engage in healthy lifestyles
11. ALCHEMIC CHAMBER – Space for people in the neighborhood to meet, congregate, and discuss
12. ESSENSHALLE – Local restaurants and cafes bring satellite eateries to the Germantown area
13. URBAN CONNECTIVITY – Community transit hub for connections to downtown and the suburbs
14. URBAN SUSTAINABILITY – Existing grocery store renovated to improve food options for area



INCOME INEQUALITIES

The above yellow and blue lines are data associated with income extremes in the neighborhood. Yellow lines represent peoples at the lowest median income while the blue represents those at the highest median income. As one can see the highest median income is usually concentrated in a particular area, whereas the lowest median income is spread throughout the neighborhood. If trends continue, the highest median income will take over this neighborhood, displacing those less fortunate (Williams, 2018).

Germantown Intervention: The development of the project focuses on communal and economic spaces for the community, while also engaging the growing urban fabric (Williams, 2018).

MUTUALISM: Intellectual Zone

Providing an environment where a multitude of cultures, races, and socioeconomic levels can intermingle and benefit from each other is paramount to this project. In order to bring unity, acceptance, and equality to urban areas across the United States the homogeneity of urban neighborhoods must be quelled.

Venues such as Morgan Park will provide that space for intermingling and outdoor event space. The CULTURAL COMBINE located on the ground level of the INTELLECTUAL ZONE invites festivals that showcase diverse groups such as Oktoberfest, African Street Festival, Nashville Sounds pre-gaming parties and Hispanic Street Festivals. Offering space for these community events will foster communication, participation, and inclusion.

URBAN PEDAGOGY

As people move to the Germantown neighborhood and other neighborhoods across Nashville schools have become overcrowded, causing under-performance. Included in Urban Identity are public K-12 education centers. Education is essential in producing American citizens that understand and seek accessibility, diversity, and equality.

URBAN SPECTACLE

While allowing for informal spaces for cultural cohabitation and displays of diversity, there are dedicated performance spaces for the community to welcome outside viewers. Integrated within the mesh of Urban Identity, the performance space brings more formal spaces to the Germantown neighborhood.

CULTURAL COMBINE

This covered event space welcomes people from all backgrounds to constantly showcase their culture, talents, and ideas. Providing an open space for communication, fun, and community the Cultural Combine is another component allowing various groups to engage each other.

THEOLOGICAL ADJACENCY

The increase in people also means an increase in cultures in the city of Nashville. Religious diversity would increase as well following the principles of equality and inclusivity. Three centers of religious practice exist adjacent to each other. This allows for communication, cohabitation, and understanding among the world's religious groups.

FORGOTTEN PEOPLE

Gentrification and displacement remain two of the major issues facing urban centers across the United States. Providing above-standard housing for groups of people pushed out of the city should be the responsibility of municipal governments. However, the agency produced through this project will serve those citizens, establishing a datum of sufficient, truly-affordable housing located in areas adjacent to desired urban amenities.

GERMANTOWN INTERVENTION



Intellectual Zone: The green spaces and activity spaces in the intervention allow for unity and communication as people of various backgrounds cohabitate (Williams, 2018).

PARASITISM: The Forgotten People

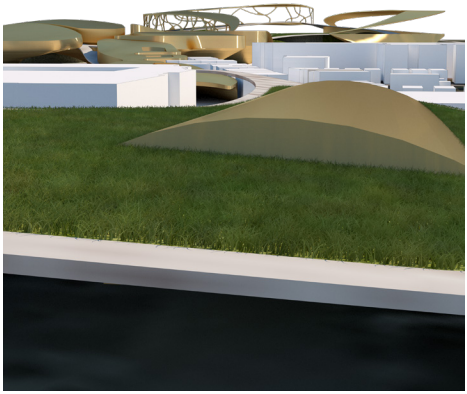
Just as the infrastructure of a city - electricity, water, sewer, etc - is connected among all people, so is the infrastructure of the project. This living machine uses connections from wealthier housing projects to partially sustain the Forgotten People housing. While this sharing of services does not put the burden completely on the wealthy it does begin to give back to peoples displaced due to new urban housing developments.

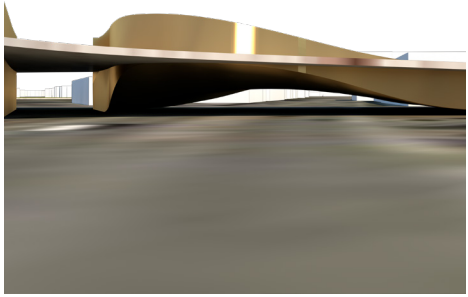
FORGOTTEN PEOPLE

Not only is Nashville's displacement and gentrification rate high, so is it's homeless population. At what point do the homeless populations have nowhere else to go but back in urban neighborhoods? The agency proposed can fund housing for homeless citizens and low-income families removed by urban developments.

CIVIL SERVICES

While assisting people with a place to stay the agency must also consider how people would pay for basic services such as heat, water, electricity, etc. What if the answer comes in the wealthy neighbor next door? What if a portion of the city services or electrical power produced by the consumer goes toward supporting the Forgotten People?





Vignettes: The intervention relies on existing buildings coupled with the urban fabric to create spaces that are open to everyone in the community no matter race or economic status (Williams, 2018).

GERMANTOWN INTERVENTION



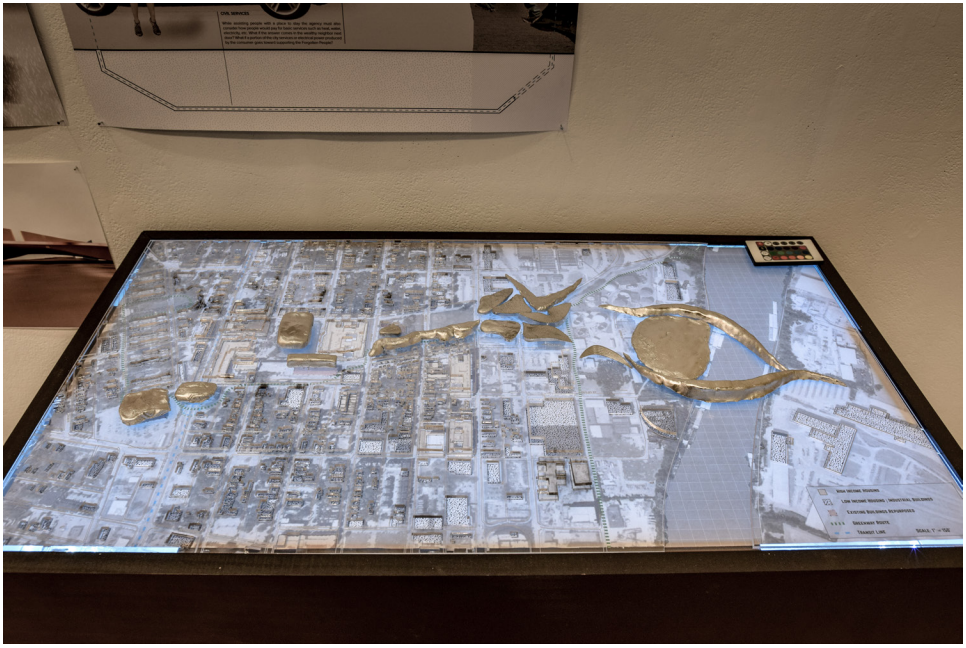
Forgotten People: The Forgotten People housing will feed off the architecture and civil services of the new, wealthier tenants across the way (Williams, 2018).

FINAL REVIEW



Image courtesy of Dillon Dunn, April 2018.






REDLINING

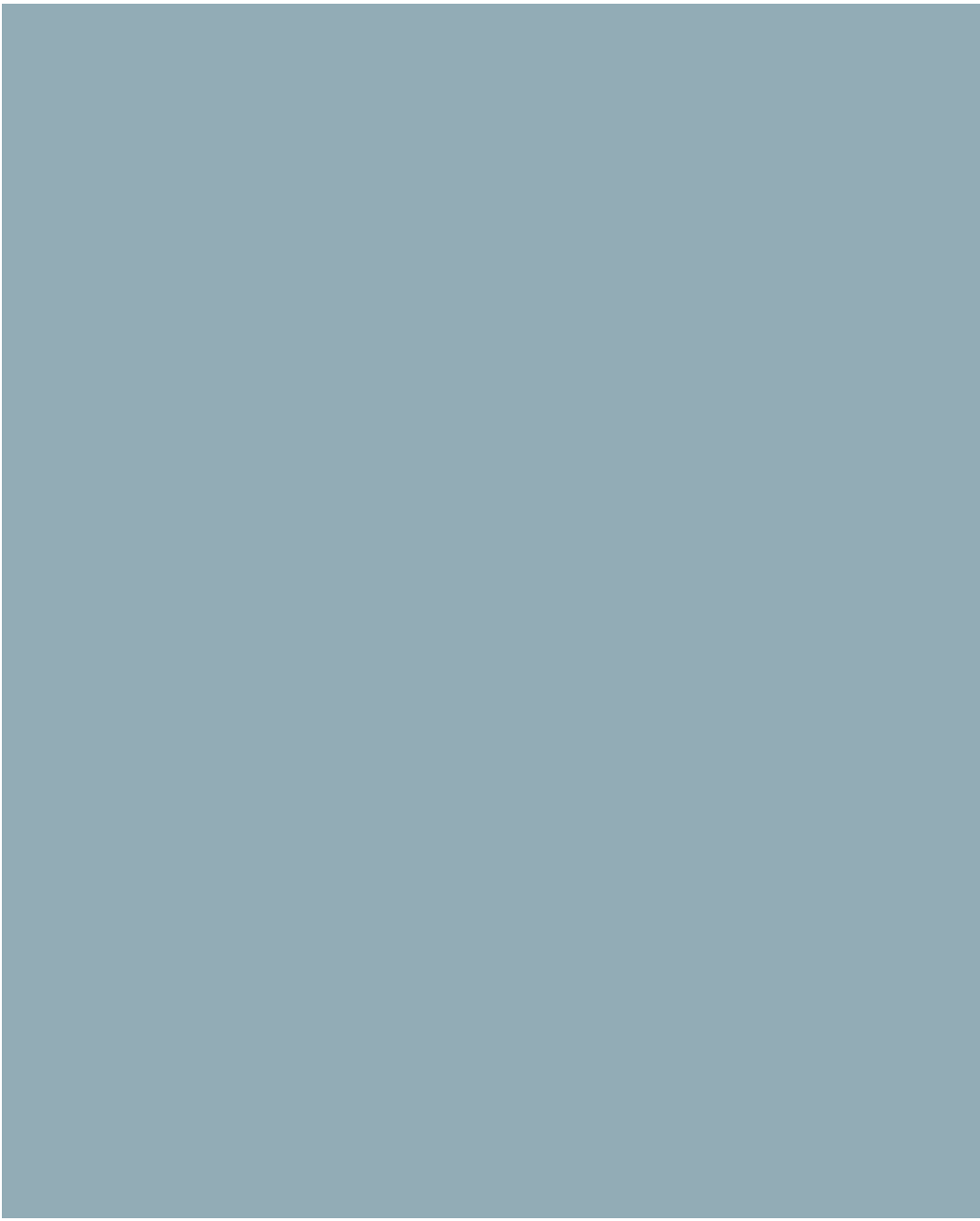

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CONCLUSION

The goal of this project, no matter what the project scale, is to influence leaders of the city of Nashville, and other city leaders across the country, to think about how the identity of a city influences all people, not just tourists or the elites. Whether the mapping exercises showcase the downfalls of urban growth, or the Germantown intervention highlights the ability of a community to create its own path, the goal is to convince a city to create livable, accessible, and affordable spaces for all that call the city of Nashville home.

05

The Mystery of Growth: Luxury condo building under construction (Tennessean, 2017)



APPENDIX

06

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