FROM THE EDITOR
Maya Sorabjee

It's no small irony that on November 5, 2015, the home of the Urban Studies program at 29 Manning Street was reduced to rubble. Ceding to shifting university priorities and the unspoken transcience of the built environment, the demolition of 29 Manning was, in a way, an exercise in some of the questions that had animated its classrooms. The wrecking ball that took down the façade on that autumn evening might have even dislodged those questions from the bricks that had held them: who, if anyone, can lay claim to a sliver of the city? How do we deal with the amnesia of urban space? Where does all that latent memory go?

Much of the work in the second volume of the annual *Urban Journal* addresses these relationships: between time, urban landscapes, and the body. It is a collection of reactions to the city in a range of media: photography, poetry, essays, spatial analysis, art. And although the interests of this volume's contributors are diverse, each piece probes the empty and filled spaces of the city, the places soon to be occupied, and those recently written over. Layers of human interaction briefly stick, but also weather. The city spits and stutters, but keeps going.

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SOME GIFT, REENACTMENT(S)
Ariana Martinez

Some Gift, Reenactment(s) is a longterm investigation of the body's relationship to the built environment that emerged from sculptural studies of compression, folding, draping, and wrapping. The project consists of 12 photographs, a site specific installation, and sculptural objects. It encourages playful, personal, and intimate experiences with built space beyond those prescribed by function, expectation, or boundary.

2016

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CITYRISE
Ryan Gourley

Just where I left you--
6 blocks east of Tuesday,
a faltering willow shrivels and curls
under magnified window
streams of yellow light,
catching the floating dust
above your nose.

Morning starts with honking taxi,
brooms sweeping metros,
espresso dripping and bubbling
through greasy cracks in sidewalk steps.
A fizzling cigarette-butt smolders,
poised for death.

There is no sleepy escape from
police-whistles directing trams
and busses full of briefcases
and shoulder-bags strapped to an
endless froth of capitalist drones;
suits wearing men.

You might find me in parks with
old hands playing chess,
praying to the pulsating
incantation of spinning wheels and melting shadows -
dancing to the ritual of rusty train tracks bending,
--drifting further into my urban trance.

TOWARD A CONTEMPORARY AUTOCHTHONY
Lance Gloss

2016

We know that the city is dynamic, and we largely know why: people develop the form of their places through the habits of their cultures; in turn, the forms of these places informs the cultures expressed within it. In the sharing of place among peoples and cultures is the essence of civilization-building.

Geographer Edward Soja describes this creative capacity of shared habitation as synekism. In the metropolis of the post-colonial era, colony, diaspora, and displacement have assembled peoples of numerous identities and cultures—conditions that should lead to an explosion of urban creativity. But inhibiting synekism is an institutionalized ethic of exclusion—a politics of autochthony—upheld by dominant classes and control-oriented governments. Autochthony is a particularly laden word that addresses the relationships of the city, combining the very root of the relationship between land—*chthonos*, or soil—and the self—*auto*. From its provenance in Athenian political discourse, and in contemporary politics across the globe, autochthony has been used to portray an indigenous relationship with the land. Such claims have been employed to justify the greater power of one culture group over the practice of culture within "their" city—the city is then policed to protect the interests of the hegemonic culture. Limits are placed on the citizenships of those racialized as outsiders, disadvantaging them in the synekistic process. Mutual exchange, or transculturation, is deferred in the erasure of the culture of the displaced and their unidirectional assimilation into the dominant culture.

This is not only a violation of the right to practice one's own culture—a right which demands space—it is also of serious detriment to the development of new, syncretic

forms of culture and city that arise in tandem. For the creative development of space and culture to proceed, and for the right of the displaced to maintain their cultures, the power to influence the cultural landscape must be restored to all inhabitants, regardless of their claims to originary autochthony. Citizenship must be bestowed on other grounds—on the basis of an autochthony that prioritizes the self and the soil of the present: that is, an autochthony of the contemporary. From such reorientation cities will derive new forms, new cultures, and stronger local citizenship, provided that the right to agential participation in synekism—the right to the city—is guaranteed to all.

CITIES: FORM AND CULTURE

Material urban form is both a means of cultural representation, and a source of culture. For this reason, it is a crucial mediator in cultural exchange, and a fertile ground for the development of cumulative and unique cultural forms, arising from the particulars that inform its material development. Don Mitchell writes in *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* that "representation, whether of oneself or of a group, demands space"—that inhabitants manipulate space to signify culture, resulting in cultural landscapes.[1] We may see these changes as accumulated acts of representation, as culture expressed materially through the labor of "man." This explains why, in *The Culture of Cities*, Lewis Mumford posits the city as "collective work of art."[2] Mumford also identified the reciprocal fact—that the city re-informs the inhabitant with the many-faceted culture with which it is invested. "Mind takes form in the city," he writes, "and in turn, urban form conditions the mind."[3]

To describe the cumulative effect of cultural exchange mediated by shared landscape, Edward Soja offers the concept of synekism. This he transcribes from Aristotle's *synoikosmos*. In its Aristotelian sense, synekism refers to the "active social and spatial process that involved political and cultural confederation around a distinctive territorial centre: a polis, or metropolis (literally "mother" city).[4] Aristotelian synekism prioritized the city's original formation, and restricted the syncretic properties of city-building to the birth of that city. However, in Soja's reframing, "synekism is no longer confined to the moment of city formation but is seen as a continuous and highly politicized process of urban growth and development, a dynamic process that provides a constantly evolving source of stimulating social synergy and is part of the very essence of urban life."[5] Rather than restricting enfranchisement and citizenship to a certain formative period, Soja's synekism asserts that the formative period is perpetual, and thus that "innovation, territorial identity, political consciousness and societal development" brought on by the "stimulus of urban agglomeration" might be extended indefinitely, so long as the city is inhabited.[6]

AUTOCHTHONY AS AN IMPEDIMENT TO SYNEKISM

Yet, enfranchisement in the process of synekism, so crucial to urbanism, has been severely restricted by the politics of autochthony. To suggest that a people's relationship to a land is autochthonous is to claim that their ties to that land are exceptionally fundamental, because that group and their culture originated in that land. Claimants to

autochthony assert their privilege to control the kinds of culture with which that land is invested, and, in turn, the kind of cultural influence that will emanate from that land. This takes the form of an exclusionary comparison, where other peoples are denied the same privileges on the basis of their being cast into the slot of newcomer. Writes Peter Geschiere, "Autochthony slogans demand a purification of citizenship and an exclusion of 'strangers.' Indeed, whatever the exact pattern in relation to nation and citizenship, autochthony always demands exclusion."[7] Geschiere's thorough investigation of the origins of authochthony politics traces exclusionary claims back to the ancient Athenian polis. There, in the 5th Century BCE, centuries of migration into the city resulted in a majority population of *metoikoi*, or immigrants racialized as foreigners on the basis of ethnicity, regardless of often multi-generational ties to Athens—these *metoikoi* were excluded from Athenian democracy. Geschiere goes on to show that contemporary authochthony politics of both the Global North and South parallel the Athenian case. In Zambia, Congo, Cameroon, and Rwanda, as much as in Italy and the Netherlands, the perceived threat of "newcomers" and "strangers" has been marshalled for exclusionary purposes, threatening the citizenship and rights of millions whose family histories do not allow for them to make such claims. In these cases, the language of autochthony is employed directly. If the field of reference is opened to include all claims to enfranchisement on the basis of originary belonging, or still more widely to include to claims to hegemony over land conquered over the course of history by one's identity group, then the bulk of nationalist and racialized politics would seem to fall into this pattern of exclusion. Geschiere points to Nicole Loraux's position that the presence of an "other" is crucial to the ideation of an autochthonous self. For the claimant to autochthony is to be differentially privileged in the processes of politics and developments; the racialized "other" must be disenfranchised.

Many inconsistencies surface in the argument—not least in the Americas, where rightful ownership of land by classes of European origin are privileged in most nation-states over the claims of First Nations or Native Americans, whose proportionally deeper ancestral ties to the land are over-written by the dominant Euro-American cultures. Yet these dominant cultures are still apt to exclude more recent immigrants on these same grounds. The complexity and fundamental ambiguity of these claims are epitomized in Israel-Palestine, where competing assertions of autochthony are laid out by Arab and Jewish claimants alike. The presence of competing claims to autochthony testifies to the perpetual movement of culture groups over time—a historical fact that arguments for autochthony intentionally obscure. As Geschiere underscores, Athenian autochthony was an exercise in forgetting, that required a "guilty denial of memories of earlier migrations."[8] That apparently genuine claims to indigeneity do not, in themselves, guarantee the right to practice culture in place tells us that it is not the truth of autochthony claims that matters, but the power to enforce them.

Dominant cultures institutionalize their control over the city through various forms of policing. In United States' cities today, policing is identified with law enforcement agencies. But the origins of this word shed light on the function of law enforcement: "police" in its earliest English meaning denotes the enclosure and development of land, and the institution of policies that instruct its cultivation.[9] Geographer David Harvey indicates that all forms of institutional control over representation and action

in the modern state serve this same end, and that "the recent wave of privatizations, enclosures, spatial controls, policing, and surveillance" control "the potentiality to build or inhibit new forms of social relations (a new commons) within an urban process."[10] That is, that the policing of culture functions on a spatial paradigm, and directly establishes differential power in the enacting of urban form.

The displacement of peoples from those places they call home has meant their subjugation as "others" at the hands of the dominant culture, and their exploitation in service of the dominant culture's ideal. Wendell Berry speaks to displacement as an ongoing, destructive feature of American history. "If there is any law that has been consistently operative in American history, it is that the members of any established people or group or community sooner or later become 'redskins'—that is, they become the designated victims of an utterly ruthless, officially sanctioned and subsidized exploitation."[11] Berry identifies those who are racialized by the dominant culture, their spatial imaginations subordinated, and their energies appropriated into enacting a material culture dictated by the markets of empire. Berry concerns himself with the farmer and the process of enclosure as enacted in 18th century Britain, in which lands formerly held in common by villages and towns were brought under the auspices of private property. Enclosure wrought a class of landless laborers that were displaced to urban areas to fuel the nation's industry. Likewise, enslavement, wage-slavery, and forced migration—whether forced by military violence or by economic pressures—have simultaneously displaced and appropriated the labor of the mass of the world's people, their subordination made possible by their racialization into an under-caste whose cultures have been denigrated and whose influence over landscapes of habitation have been quashed, regulated, and deflected. All of this to protect a Western outlook steeped in a self/other binary, and the "mythic cultural purity" of groups. Identities of the displaced are frozen into association with former homelands, while the operations of the hegemonic culture are directed to reinforce association with, and control of, the metropolis.[12]

SYNEKISM POLICED, TRANSCULTURATION LIMITED

The mechanisms by which the privilege of the claimant to autochthony is enforced are multiple, but they share in excluding and disenfranchising peoples from synekistic processes. These include institutionalized perspectives on the proper methods of cultural representation in the landscape. George Lipsitz calls this institutionalized dominance in the United States the "white spatial imaginary." This spatial imaginary "idealizes 'pure' and homogenous spaces, controlled environments, and predictable patterns of design and behavior."[13] David Harvey warns that "attachment to 'pure' values of authenticity, originality, and an aesthetic particularity of cultures... can too easily veer into local, regional, or nationalist identity politics of the neofascist sort."[14] Yet this is precisely what occurs. On the basis of "white" values, many creative forms of urbanism are suppressed. Graffiti, an art form arising from displacement and subjugation, is quashed as grotesque and subversive. A great mass of land in the US—land of high agricultural and residential value—is given over to lawns of Poa pratensis and saturated with expensive, toxic chemical inputs. The erection of buildings in almost every town in

the US is regulated by codes of zoning and historic preservation. What may seem trivial spatial norms are in fact the means by which the dominant cultural view is imposed on the land and on its other inhabitants. And indeed, it is disproportionately the displaced and economically subjugated whose labor is erased in the policing of graffiti, or commanded for the mowing of the lawn or the construction of a conforming building.

We also see dominant spatial imaginaries preserved by emphases on private property, a system that supposedly protects the right to representation within that private sphere, but has two severe limitations in terms of synekism. First, relegating expression to the private sphere limits the processes of collaboration on which synekism is founded. It turns potentially interactive and synthesizing groups away from each other, and back toward spaces in which they have been socially relegated or legally segregated. Segregated landscapes of representation, even if enacted on equal footing (as is rarely the case), reinforce the production of multiple and conflicting cultures, despite proximity, and thus re-produces binaries of self/other. Second, true private property in land remains highly restricted to privileged classes, so that those with severely limited access to private spaces of their own may be entirely denied the right to represent themselves in the city. This is especially true of homeless and migrant communities, and tenant classes whose agency over private spaces is severely limited by the conditions of rental agreements. Tenants are typically penalized for unapproved alterations made to rented property and their ability to accumulate and employ capital for development on their own terms is sapped by the ongoing payment of rent. In alignment with an originary politics of autochthony, private property in land relies largely on claims to precedence—prior ownership, legitimizing deeds—that place value in the possession of the dominant, established class. Such a system is oriented toward the past, to the convenience of those in power. This backward-looking system denies the distinctly contemporary nature of inhabitation, as the value of land is the direct result of urban agglomeration, of synekism. As Henry George so clearly pointed out in his 1879 *Progress and Poverty*, "value… is the creation of the community," as it results from the accumulated investment of labor and capital into infrastructure, and from the market benefits of proximity to human density. Power to command capital and labor are vital to enfranchisement in synekism, as without either, one cannot enact culture materially.[15]

However, in the face of these institutionalized exclusions, displacement has generated a mass of intercultural contact and co-habitation. Renato Rosaldo has termed these sites of co-habitation "border zones" of culture. This specifies particular geographies of "between-ness"—"those areas on the periphery of stable metropolitan discourses [where] there is an incessant and playful heteroglossia" animated by cultural exchange.[16] Francoise Lionnet distinguishes between outcomes in these border zones. Where hegemony over the racialized under-caste is successfully maintained, unidirectional influence may be accomplished through "acculturation" and "assimilation," both tending toward "erasure of one element by another."[17] But another type of exchange—one that is "mutual and reciprocal"—is possible and occurs where unstifled. For this reciprocal exchange, Lionnet supplies the neologism "transculturation"—"a circulation of practices that creates a constant interweaving of symbolic forms and empirical activities among the different cultures that interact" resulting in "a méttisage of forms and identities."[18] Transculturation is evident throughout human history, riddled

as it has been by the constant flux of peoples (though never as dramatically as in the colonial and post-colonial eras). By the principle of synekism, new and syncretic cultures and forms can be expected to arise directly from the fact of living in a shared city, and increasingly so in metropolises that have attracted the displaced. But transculturative synekism can only function fully if the barriers placed upon the displaced and racialized "other" are lifted. In other words, to derive the cultural stimulation from cohabitation in the city, the city must be inhabited on equal footing.

By guaranteeing the right to actively and agentially inhabit the city, enfranchisement in synekism can be extended to those whose claim to belonging is rooted in present habitation, rather than in exclusionary claims of originary relations. This right to agentially inhabit has been formulated before—though as a counterpoint to autochthony—by those who call for "the right to the city." This call was introduced by Henri Lefebvre his *Le Droit à la Ville*:

> The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization.[19]

While the right to the city has often been taken to mean the right of the homeless or migrating to perform basic functions in public places—which is undoubtedly an important facet—at its core, it is much more. As Don Mitchell notes in his *The Right to the City*, it is "the right to inhabit, to appropriate, and to control" the manifestations of material in space, and to participate in the creative exchange that results in the city's form.[20] This is precisely because the right to culture demands space for the material representation of that culture. Without using Soja's language of synekism, these geographers cite the importance of agency over place-making to the constitution of both the self and the place. It is the constitution of the self and the place, and the inseparability of those two entities, that a politics of autochthony portends to describe. Yet an autochthony comprised of exclusive claims to indigeneity and enforced through erasure works precisely against synekism, and blunts the evolution of the city and its culture. Instead, what is needed is a new politics of autochthony, which enables, rather than suppresses, the intercultural exchange through the spatial medium. This demands that the temporal priority of autochthony, and of citizenship itself, be reoriented from the maintenance of the originary, to the richness of the contemporary.

SYNEKISTIC POTENTIAL OF THE POST-COLONIAL METROPOLIS

Synekism tells us that the richness of city and culture derive from congregation and exchange. If this is so, then the post-colonial city liberated from exclusionary autochthony politics has unprecedented potential for innovation. Nearly a century ago, Lewis Mumford asserted "the positive need for variety in urban life: varied groups: varied personalities: varied activities" because an urban order "in which more significant kinds of conflict, more complex and intellectually stimulating kinds of disharmony, may take place" is that with the greatest potential for innovation.[21] The constituents for his wish have been assembled: they are the people and places of metropolises ev-

erywhere. For all of the violence that has gone into its construction and maintenance, the post-colonial condition ensures greater intercultural contact than ever before. Yet for the creative capacities of urban agglomeration to manifest, the barriers discussed above that tend to suppress public and private agency over the cultural landscape of the city must be cast aside. Culture groups cannot be turned inward, through segregation or the sanctification of the private as an equally meaningful space for cultural representation as the public. The spatial imaginaries and cultural lives of the racialized and marginalized must be elevated onto equal footing with their dominant counterparts. All of this will be to the benefit of the city at large. Each of these aims call upon vast spheres of politics, theory, and activism, in order to legitimize subversive and segregated cultural geographies, and to bring them into conversation.

Cities can, and should be, sites of free and equal participation. The right to the city must be guaranteed. Otherwise, we must surrender to a contradictory logic of autochthony that masks power differentials with claims to originary belonging—claims which, in themselves, are evidently falsified by the fact of constant cultural and locational flux in human history. In surrendering to such a logic, we give credence to exclusion and racialization, to the erasure of cultural knowledge, and to the stifling of human potential. This has taken, and will take, the form of strict control over life in public and in private. Displacement has never, and will not, cease, as the movement of peoples is a condition of human life. What can be controlled is the outcome of this movement. Will it be forced homogenization, increasing disparity in power, and the perpetual racialization of the displaced into an under-caste? Governments and other institutions willing to adopt an exclusionary ethic of autochthony will perpetuate such evils. They will deny the progress of civilization, whether that progress is formulated as technical innovation, or as the universal guarantee of human rights to well-being and selfhood. If either of these ends is to be achieved, governments must instead adopt a new logic of autochthony. In this alternate autochthony, both the selves and soils may be cultivated to the benefit of all. The urban forms of the future that will result from such an orientation cannot be readily ascertained. Of course, myriad forms and cultures are imagined in the utopian and normative ideals of existing culture groups, and are practiced inwardly under varying degrees of segregation. But if synekism is conducted on equal footing, all and none of these ideals will manifest. They will instead be brought into creative compromise, and enacted as the forms and cultures of future metropolises, in amalgams and syntheses heretofore unseen.

NOTES

1 Don Mitchell, The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space (New York City: Guilford Press, 2003), 33.

2 Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), 5.

3 Ibid.

4 Edward Soja, "Writing the City Spatially," City 7, no. 3, (Nov. 2003): 273.

5 Ibid., 274.

6 Ibid.

7 Peter Geschiere, "Autochthony, Citizenship, and Exclusion – Paradoxes in the Politics of Belonging in Africa and Europe," Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies 18, no. 1, (Winter 2011): 323.

8 Ibid., 330.

9 Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "police", accessed January 2015. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/146824?rskey=UTKms6&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid.

10 David Harvey, Rebel Cities (London, New York: Verso, 2012), 67.

11 Windell Berry, The Unsettling of America: Culture & Agriculture (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1977), 2.

12 Francoise Lionnet, "'Logiques métisses': Cultural Appropriation and Postcolonial representations". College Literature 19/20, no. 3/1. (Oct 1992-Feb 1993): 105.

13 George Lipsitz, How Racism Takes Place (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 29.

14 David Harvey, Rebel Cities (London, New York: Verso, 2012), 111.

15 Henry George, Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth: The Remedy (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1879), 378.

16 Francoise Lionnet, "'Logiques métisses': Cultural Appropriation and Postcolonial representations". College Literature 19/20, no. 3/1. (Oct 1992-Feb 1993): 100.

17 Ibid., 101.

18 Ibid., 104.

19 Henri Lefebvre, Le Droit à la Ville (1968), quoted. in David Harvey, "The Right to the City" The New Left Review 53 (Sept/Oct 2008): 23.

20 Don Mitchell, The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space (New York City: Guilford Press, 2003), 9.

21 Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), 485.

PARKING
Melissa Isidor

2016
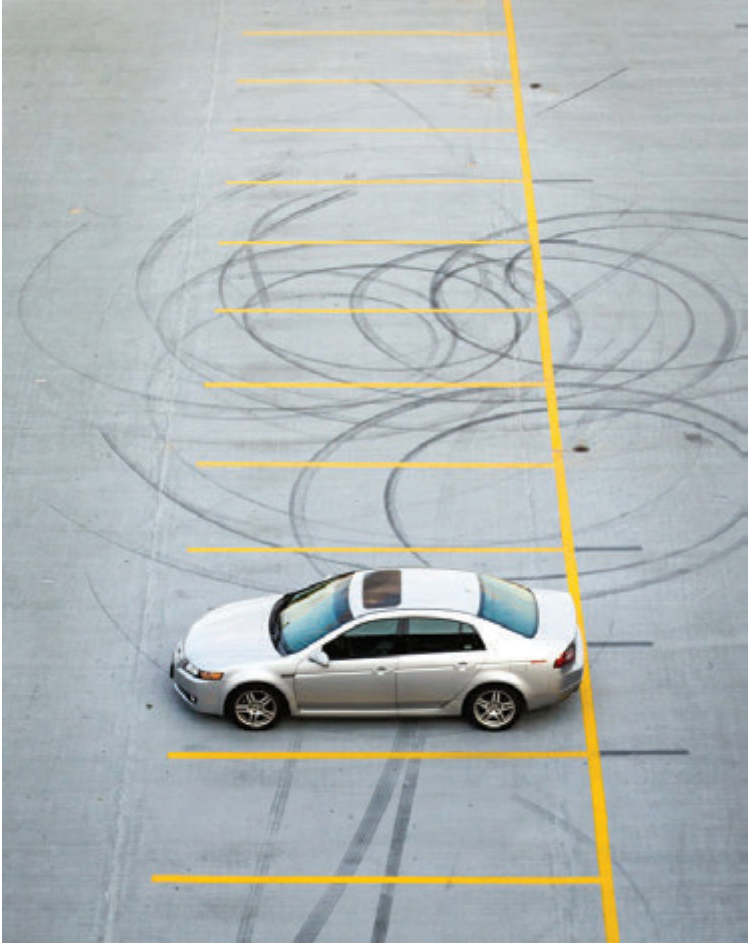
2016

THE POLITICAL SUCCESSES OF URBAN DISPERSAL
Lauren Sukin

2016

Advertisement for all-concrete blast-resistant houses (*Better Homes and Gardens,* June 1955)

The great dreams of the Cold War's urban dispersal advocates—who argued that the geographical dispersion of the US population would serve as a defense against atomic attack—never quite emerged according to plan. The current literature generally dismisses urban dispersal as a fanciful reaction to the atomic age, but the reality is that the advocates of the movement did actually have some, albeit limited, success. So while extensive restructuring on par with the hopes of urban dispersal advocates didn't fully occur, and the centralized American city remained a staple throughout the Cold War and beyond, policies that promoted suburbanization and the spread of cities were informed and inspired by these advocates.

A report by Philip Clayton in 1960 concluded that the Office of Area Development, which had encouraged the spread of manufacturing facilities, and the Housing and Home Finance Agency, which had worked to reduce city congestion and promote suburban homes, had both contributed to "a sort of dispersal, albeit a rather ineffective sort."[1] At the same time, the factories and corporate headquarters of "the military industrial-complex made a marked exodus in the 1950s away from America's industrial heartland, often in favour of low-density Sunbelt locations," a phenomenon Michael Dudley explains as "perfectly consistent with the bomb-inspired...dispersal policies of the time."[2] In addition, slum clearance projects were widely accomplished throughout the 1950s and 1960s through various government-sponsored urban renewal projects.[3] All these changes were recommendations that urban dispersal advocates had identified as critical components of civil defense.

Another concrete impact of urban dispersal was changing the shape of the new American household. "The suburban ranch home became the ideal" during the 1950s, writes Kathleen Tobin, a fact directly influenced by the architect of urban dispersal, Tracy B. Augur, and her research on the defense project entitled *Project East River*, which had recommended dispersion and the embrace of suburbs.[4] The project called for decreasing American architectural vulnerability, which led to expanded federal housing budgets and the addition of a clause in the 1954 Housing Act that directed housing agencies to "facilitate progress in the reduction of the vulnerability of congested areas

to attack."[5] In 1955, in fulfilment of the goal to reduce vulnerability, the government constructed and tested various buildings for their structural integrity under atomic attack. One conclusion from the tests was that ranch homes with Venetian blinds were more likely to stand up to the thermal and blast effects of a weapon than other residential designs.[6] As building codes and housing subsidies were updated, incentives for building this model increased, and ranch-style homes, as a result, became more popular.[7] Furthermore, as mass media—especially during the Korean War—continued to portray the city as a dangerous space, real estate markets reacted in a way that encouraged the development of small, suburban homes. Some families, in response to advertisements for new housing projects bearing slogans like "beyond the radiation zone," "outside the fifty-mile limit," "country properties for this atomic age," "protected country living," "houses for the atomic age" and "buy now for security later," voluntarily left city centres for suburbs or rural communities.[8,9] These advertisements often included images of suburban ranch homes. Contributing to the attraction of moving away from urban centres was the fact that urban dispersal, as Matthew Farish, a professor of urban planning at the University of British Columbia, argues, had made its way by the 1950s into the popular consciousness through science fiction, in which the "ideal" post-apocalyptic town was almost always a small, self-contained settlement with single-family houses in non-urban settings.[10] Civil defense training pamphlets and videos, like the FDCA"s Home Protection Exercises, also showed nuclear families in suburban, "Levittown-style dwellings."[11]

Further evidence that these plans began to intrude into the national consciousness—and the layout of cities—can be found in the 1951 convention of the American Institute of Architects, at which the designers of new shopping centre complexes sold their plans to urban developers with the argument that they could serve as evacuation centres during a war.[12] The argument wasn't just about good protection; it was also about good business. Doubling as evacuation centres let shopping complexes receive their profits free of income-tax.[13] Even popular media was on board by 1950, with *Life*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *Collier's* running features discussing the potential effects of bombs on US cities.[14]

Urban dispersal had a few advocates in powerful places who may have helped turn ideas into action. One such individual was Bernard Brodie, a well-known military strategist who, though he rejected the idea of forcibly dispersing existent urban populations, was an early believer that suburbanization combined with dispersion of industry and infrastructure would benefit military preparedness.[15] Brodie's relationships with top Navy personnel and his connections at the RAND Corporation made him an advocate with more potential influence than many urban planners who preceded him had been. Another important urban dispersal advocate was Clarence Stein, president of the Regional Development Council of America, who in 1951 suggested to the Senate that the development of new industries and associated "limited-sized communities" with "new housing" and "urban community facilities" should be considered part of a civil defense platform. By 1953, urban dispersal had even made it to the ears of the president, after Robert Mitchell, a prominent city planner and professor, advocated for a large urban renewal program and for federal highways by telling President Eisenhower that "densely packed urban concentrations [were] so vulnerable to attack that the se-

curity of the nation would be severely threatened in another war."[16] Eisenhower understood the principle of dispersal as defense—one of his worries concerning the time pressure of nuclear warfare was that, even with warning, the United States would have "little [it] could do...in the way of dispersal of population, of industries" if it learned of an attack.[17]

As arguments for dispersal began to be heard by the politically powerful, city planning became increasingly intertwined with national security issues. The American Institute of Planners (AIP) began to develop a close relationship with the National Security Resource Board (NSRB), the chairman of which also served on the National Security Council.[18] With this connection came increased political prominence for urban dispersal. In 1950, the AIP had written to the NSRB, insisting on the importance of including urban planners in civil defense planning, and by 1951, Augur was working for both organizations alongside other prominent advocates of urban dispersal. Soon after, the NSRB began to work on its "industrial dispersal" policy, a limited program designed to locate new defense-related industrial capacities away from cities. By the mid-1950s, the NSRB had established and funded "local dispersion committees" in eighty municipalities, which were supposed to design and help implement dispersion plans. In addition, the NSRB secured tax breaks for industries moving outside of cities and hired defense contractors to work on the dispersion of military and industrial plants.[19] The success of these efforts contributed to the effectiveness of urban dispersal policies—as Clayton observed in his 1960 report.

Another significant project of urban dispersal advocates was the construction of highways. The *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* was surprisingly influential in the passage of the 1956 Federal Highway Act—a law often credited with significantly escalating suburban development across the country.[20] Lobbyists from the American Road Builders Association and various construction and automobile companies used the publication's arguments on decentralization as a civil defense mechanism as they pushed for the bill's passage. For example, the chairman of Eisenhower's commission to study highway proposals, Lucius Clay, testified before Congress that the highways were a national defense priority, saying that they would be "roads for survival" and "necessary for defense needs."[21] Clay also held a position on the board of directors for General Motors.[22] Though many elements contributed to the development of the highway system, urban dispersal seems to be one that had considerable political weight. This connection is evidenced by a comment made by Eisenhower after signing the Act: "[In] case of atomic attack on our key cities, the road net must permit quick evacuation of target areas."[23] Further evidencing this idea is the fact that the highways themselves were called the "Interstate and Defense Highways."[24] Edward Ziegler, a law professor at the University of Denver, similarly concludes that "defensive dispersal...was an important factor in the passage of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956."[25]

Overall, urban dispersal and its advocates affected a litany of policies that promoted urban sprawl. As Dudley describes it, decentralization of cities in the post-war era, then, was "not so much an accident of history as [...] at least in part, an intentional [...] strategy for survival in the nuclear age."[26] Indeed, he writes, "the evidence indicates that the efforts of the defensive dispersal movement did, in fact, achieve a certain level and quality of success."[27]

NOTES

1 Michael Dudley. "Sprawl as strategy." Journal of Planning Education and Research. (2001): 56.

2 Ibid. Pg. 61.

3 William Collins and Katharine L. Shester. Slum clearance and urban renewal in the United States. No. 17458. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2011.

4 Kathleen Tobin. "The Reduction of Urban Vulnerability: Revisiting 1950s American suburbanization as civil defense." Cold War History 2, No. 2 (2002): 25.

5 Ibid. Pg. 24.

6 Ibid. Pg. 25.

7 Ibid.

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BEACH REPLENISHMENT
Dylan Everett

2016

2016

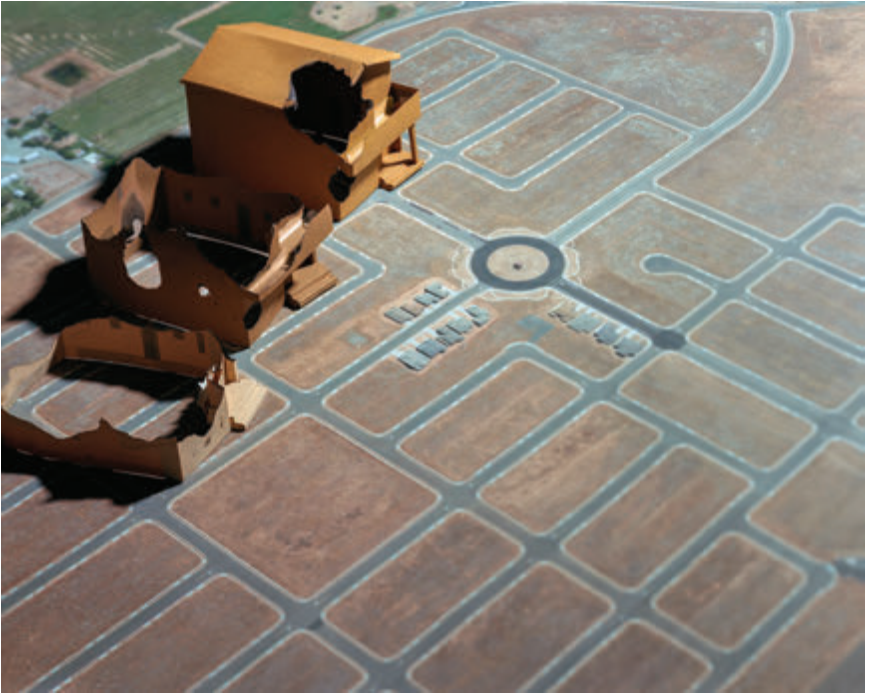# MODEL HOMES
Dylan Everett

2016

2016

CITY TO WATCH: BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA
Dietrich Neumann

2016

On January 1, 2016, one of of Latin America's best-known politicians returned to public office: Enrique Penalosa had been elected to serve again as mayor of Bogotá, a position he had held previously from 1998-2001. Trained at Duke University and in Paris, the Washington-born economist had become famous for the radical changes he introduced in the city of eight million inhabitants, when he declared "war on the automobile." He curtailed traffic in the city at rush hour, created a system of city libraries, introduced 185 miles of bike paths and several new parks, and, most importantly, a new mass transit system—the TransMilenio. The long buses, painted in a striking red, run on dedicated lanes and thus avoid the city's notorious gridlock traffic. They can only be accessed from stations entered via turnstiles with the swipe of a card. Two million inhabitants use this system every day. As much as possible, the TransMilenio stations intersect with bicycle paths and contain racks where commuters' bikes can be stored safely.

Penalosa had followed in the footsteps of previous mayor and fellow Green Party member Antanas Mockus Šivickas, who had won over the city residents with his lively and unconventional governing style (occasionally dressing up in spandex and cape as "Supercitizen") and who had introduced creative initiatives leading to great improvements in other areas of city life: under his administration, 7000 security groups were established—which led to a 70% drop in the homicide rate, traffic fatalities were reduced by 50%, drinking water and sewerage connections were provided to many homes, and income from taxes rose. After an unsuccessful bid for president, Mockus became mayor again after Penalosa's first term in 2001. Penalosa himself ran—unsuccessfully—for president and again for mayor in 2011. He was defeated in the mayoral election by Gustavo Petro, a former member of a guerilla group who had a rather controversial tenure as he was temporarily removed from office for perceived irregularities.

But Petro is remembered for a political act of similar creativity as those of Pena and Mockus. When a young graffitist, Diego Felipe Becerra, was shot and killed by the police in 2011, a public outcry and vast demonstrations followed. Mayor Petro issued a decree that legalized and promoted the practice of street art as legitimate artistic expression in Bogotá. Since then vast murals have sprung up all over the city, graffiti sprayer collaboratives have been formed, foreign graffiti artists have been invited to work in the city. Bogotá has become one of the most colorful cities in Latin America.

Much still needs to be improved in Bogotá, while the country is still struggling to come to terms with its violent past. Gridlocked traffic still persists, and while the homicide rate has dropped, petty theft is still common. The city is still perceived as one of the least desirable in Latin America. Penalosa's second term promises a new wave of creative initiatives, but their results are far from certain.

SKATEBOARDING IN KENNEDY PLAZA
Cameron Johnson

The Alex and Ani City Center, located near Kennedy Plaza in the heart of downtown Providence, Rhode Island, operates as an ice-skating rink from late November to mid-March and a "premier event and programming center" from mid-March through October. As signs posted at the rink make clear, however, skateboarding is not allowed at any time during the year. The rink is rather busy with serving ice skating patrons during the winter months, operating from 10 AM to 10 PM. During the spring and summer months, it transitions into the "premier event and programming center." However, a glance at the Center's calendar indicates that in April 2015, there was one scheduled event. In May 2015, there were three. So, whenever the rink takes a well-deserved break from being a "premier event and programming center," it just sits there. Empty.

Nevertheless, about everyday during that time of the year, you can find skateboarders at the rink. During all of those mild spring days not reserved for private events, local residents—particularly youth—can be found skating in the late afternoon, often in a small group. Occasional passersby making way through the nearby tunnel en route to Waterplace Park or sparse onlookers sitting on the adjacent giant steps can observe teenagers in street clothes and worn-out skate shoes trying to nail illegal ollies, kickflips, and Shove-its.

So what should one make of those 25+ days out of the month on the calendar of events where there was no scheduled use—no "sanctioned use"—for the rink? Think of them less like days on a calendar and more like *fissures*. When the city makes clear—like through its subtle yet unmistakable sign—that skateboarders are not welcome, that they are not legitimately using the city-space as it was intended to be used by top-down

urban planning, the skateboarders then reimagine those unutilized "days of the week" of the event calendar by growing out of the fissures and appropriating the space for their own use, a use not originally envisioned for that space.

When city-planners and enforcers engage in a dialectic between themselves and the group of people that they "other"—the people they turn into a subculture, a taxonomy in which skateboarders are probably the most often notable—they inadvertently force that subgroup's radical reconfiguration of the fissures created by that process. What better example of those spaces waiting to be filled with action than those empty days of the week being taken over by skateboarding?

Skateboarding is clearly banned at the rink now, but it wasn't always that way. In the late 2000s and the early part of the next decade, skateboard apparel companies like Vans used to sponsor skateboarding events at the rink. Skaters from all over the city and beyond could come downtown to practice tricks, see new moves, make friends, and have a fun place to skate. Fountain of Youth, a former skate shop on Eddy Street in downtown Providence, used to sponsor an event on Thursday nights during the late spring and summer months where people could come to the rink and skateboard in a permitted setting. The impromptu miniature skatepark filled the City Center with ramps, rails, funboxes, and eager young skateboarders gleefully shredding over all of it. People who skate at the rink now still have fond memories of having access to the space and being able to congregate with fellow skaters in the community. Unfortunately, the skate shop closed after a few good years of business. The Thursday skate jams at the rink were shuttered up with it. Skaters at the rink now lament its passing, wishing there was still some apparatus that facilitated access to that prime, unused chunk of urban space to just hang out and skate around. Despite their hopes, permitted skateboarding at the rink came more or less to a close and remains so to this day.

Surely, the officials running the rink do not ban skateboarders for no reason. They insist that all the impact from skating affects the heating system under the concrete, which is necessary for the ice rink to properly function. However, as many skateboarders claim, all the aforementioned permitted skating at the rink over the years never once prevented ice skating from occurring during the winter months.

When asked if the illicit nature of their activity makes them feel like they should not be there, virtually every skateboarder I asked said "no." Whether they know it or not, by insistently skateboarding in the City Center rink, they are participating in a contestative act. While city officials declare the act unsanctioned and undesirable, the skateboarders respond that as members of the city, they have a right to the space and to even find new, creative ways to utilize it. This right to the city can be exercised in unique ways of city residents' imagining that transcend the narrow and defined modes delineated by authority.

When asked if the existence of other sanctioned places to skate would deter their illicit use of the ice skating rink (there are only two skate parks in the city of Providence, and the second one only broke ground in 2014), the skateboarders responded that the rink is special. It has a central location in the middle of downtown. Moreover, it is more than just a skate spot; it is a locus of community: friends get together after school or on the weekend, friends only seen at that spot come together, and new friends are made as the love of skateboarding is shared.

2016

All photographs by Cameron Johnson

Skateboarding walks a weird line at the rink. It is officially banned, yet this ban is not strictly enforced. Police may come over and ask you to leave, but you can usually just come right back. After 5 PM, it is usually smooth sailing. However, police always have the *ability* to detain you, whether they choose to or not. Indeed, many skaters are always on the watch for cop cars, and will not hesitate to wrap it up for a day if they see one in the distance. In this way, that power dynamic is not avoided. The mere *idea* that police officers could be present, the *possibility* that they could stop and detain you at anytime, or the *potentiality* that they are an antagonist whom one always has to be cognizant of when trying to have fun all induce what could be considered a *paranoia* in the skater. Although it may not always affect itself, it is there. As long as the power dynamic still exists, skateboarders will always be otherized. But as long as the "others" continue to congregate illicitly and remake city space in the face of an authority that wishes otherwise, the process of citizens asserting their right to the city will continue to be enacted, even in something as seemingly innocuous as skating around.
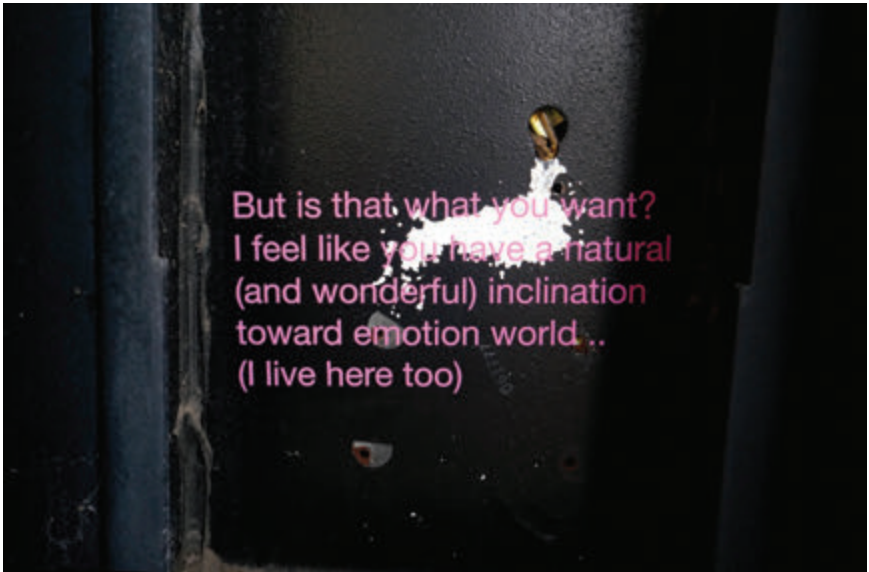
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*MURKYYYY
Pierie Korostoff

Vinyl lettering on outdoor surfaces.

2016

And I feel like it would always
be kind of like tempered by
that first break of the dreaminess
do you know what I mean??

2016

I love the idea of being
natural partners
Makes me feel like
we're animal friends
I mean we are but
you know what I mean

2016

She said this thing
"You have to find people who
make you feel seen
That's what family is to me
people who make you feel seen"
I teared up on the Q train
It hit me in a funny way

How should I respond to this
all I want to say is
"WHEN CAN I GIVE YOU
A HUG AND A KISS"

HUSTLE!
PERFORMANCE, PHYSICALITY & STRUCTURE
Andres Chang & Stefano Bloch

2016

The process began around 4:45 am on October 24, 2015. After lifting the pre-cut and drilled lumber, steel pipes, tools, and hardware over the fence, I slid myself between two sections of fence (not bound together tight enough) from the street into the construction site. The site exists in a transient state of demolition, shaped by the progressive urban instinct; my presence there is ghostly—soon to be razed, overprinted, rebuilt.

Moving and assembling the pieces took a couple of hours. After centering the materials, I built a large wooden structure—a standing frame with a steel rung at the top, but empty space where the other rungs of a ladder would be. During breaks from assembly, I worked on digging a trough that would later be filled with mud—the missing rungs would be entrenched within.

After constructing the framework, I engaged in a physical challenge. I began on one side of the 12-foot ladder with only one rung at the top; on the other side was the mud pit with the metal rungs within. I hurdled over the ladder to retrieve each rung, progressively building the ladder over time and tracing my movement through the spread of mud. —AC

The frame is complete, carefully assembled among the ruins with skill and foresight. He teaches himself what it will take to scale the structure and summit the top. With careful energy and only a small snag, Chang completes the first rung and propels himself over the structure and back to the ground. He inserts the second rung with equal agility, and again he makes it over the top.

The third rung takes a moment longer and the ascent is not so swift as the structure demands righting. He is unsure of himself, despite the rungs already put in place that have made the climb seemingly simpler, deceivingly safer. This time he appears to push himself over the structure, but not before a moment of dangerous hesitation. Self-doubt or muscle fatigue.

Back to the mud to collect more materials, still with determination but far less vigor. It is the fourth and fifth rungs on which he stands and lingers, momentarily losing his momentum, making success seem more attainable but simultaneously less achievable. The last rungs provide Andres with a view from the top, but he also appears to realize that from such height a plunge would be that much more devastating. He spends more energy on climbing down than he did initially on climbing up. His attention has shifted and he is driven not by excitement but by a fear of falling, the fear of failure. Success in the form of the secured rungs below has made for self-doubt at the top. His final movements are devoid of wide-eyed enthusiasm and the energetic motivation of the hustle. —SB

Stills from *Hustle!* (2015) – a piece by Andres Chang, filmed and edited by Cole Moore

CHICAGO HOUSE MUSIC
THE CITY AS INCUBATOR & COLLABORATOR
Emily Maenner

Sound and geography is one of history's most complicated relationships. Historians paint cities as birthplaces of genres. Musicians credit hometowns as influences. Promoters hype concert venues as hearts of cities. These events are grounded in places, but they're blurry. The development of a sound is often considered an amalgamation of migration patterns, histories, and actors. How, then, can we write the story of a genre when its narrative looks more like a web than a straight line?

Although its dominant narrative is neat and grounded in a specific location, the origins of Chicago house music is still an enigma. In the early 1970s, disco music's popularity raged in New York City. Clubs like the Paradise Garage and David Mancuso's Loft were responsible for giving outsiders of the city a place to dance, take drugs, and find community. One attendee, Robert Williams, lived for the energy, but could no longer afford the rent in New York to sustain his lifestyle. In 1972, Williams packed his bags and moved to Chicago. Once settled into his midwestern life, he felt restless. There was no place to dance to CHIC. There was no community to celebrate the individuals that society had deemed "others." Williams decided it was his responsibility to recreate this scene and to help others see the importance of dance clubs as sites of community. Over the next five years Williams threw parties all over the north side with a group of friends to no avail. He needed someone electric, a DJ, to help actualize the potential of the Chicago music scene.

Enter Frankie Knuckles: an up-and-coming New York City DJ with a gift for showing his audience sounds they never knew they needed. Robert Williams hired Frankie to be the music director for his new club on the north side of Chicago—the Warehouse—

in 1977. By 1978, Frankie had taken the queer community of Chicago by storm. In an interview with the *Chicago Sun-Times*, Knuckles recounted one of his most infamous tricks, "I guess I'm best known for "the train," I was playing with the balance one night and I put on the sound of an express train. I turned all the lights out, and the roar started at the back of the room and moved toward the front. Everyone thought it was a damn train moving through the place. It scared the shit out of people. But they came back, hoping to hear it again." His music selection at the Warehouse became so infamous that record stores in the area began to stock shelves of music titled "Heard at the Warehouse." Over time, clubgoers would shorten these tracks to "house music"—and the rest is history.

But lingering questions from this narrative remain: how can one man from New York take credit for an entire genre? Does Chicago really deserve to be considered the home of house music if two men from New York City curated it? And upon further research, why do so many people claim to be the godfathers of house music?

<div align="center">+++</div>

The story of Chicago pre-Knuckles begins with a man named Herb Kent. Herb Kent was born in 1928 on the South Side of Chicago and is recognized by the *Guinness Book of World Records* for being the longest running disc jockey in radio history. During the '60s and '70s Herb became the top DJ at the most powerful black station in the country (WVON), and a large influence on the youths on the south side of Chicago. Throwing parties for middle to high school aged kids at a club called Times Square, Herb Kent established himself as an influential and trustworthy figure for the younger generation at the time. He provided them with a space to dance, explore, and hear music they had never heard before.

A few years later, a teen on the south side (and follower of Kent) by the name of Wayne Williams began to develop an interest in DJing. "In 1975 my sister's boyfriend used to give basement parties... I'd be back there by the turntables, I would put the next record on and liked seeing how people would keep dancing." He began to attend different clubs in the city, one of which was Den One, a gay club on the North Side where Chicago resident Ron Hardy was DJing. Williams describes attending the party in 1975:

> "I heard the music keep going, it kept going. I thought, 'Oh I've got to play this. I want my music to keep going.' I knew what disco was, it was the music of the '70s. But to hear it keep going. The DJ was Ron Hardy. I asked him afterwards where can I find this music and buy this music. At that party I made up my mind that I was going to bring that music back to the South Side to the people I was DJing for."

With a new thirst for DJing, Wayne Williams began to host parties all over the South Side, DJing at high schools in the area. He cites that they initially wanted to hear the music they were used to—R&B hits from artists like George Clinton, Harold Melvin and the Blue Notes—and found his new taste in disco off-putting given its affiliation to the gay community. However, as time progressed people warmed up to it, and were hooked. With tracks like Labelle's "Lady Marmalade", or "Never Can Say Goodbye" by Gloria Gaynor, Williams soon faced demand all over the city, and began to recruit others

to help him throw these events. With Jesse Saunders, Tony Hatchett, and eventually Alan King, they formed a group called the Chosen Few. As disco began to trickle down into mainstream America, euro-disco, italo disco, and new wave music began to make its way into Chicago and the Chosen Few's sets. Frankie Knuckles would arrive at this time as well.

Having established himself as a DJ in the high school scene, Wayne Williams garnered the attention of Herb Kent, who enjoyed hearing the sounds of the B52s and Devo at his social clubs. With a new show at WXFM, Herb decided to replace his original R&B standards with the new wave trends, calling his show "Stay Up and Punk Out". His large fan base of teens all over the South Side began to go crazy for his new show, eventually giving Herb the title of the "Pied Piper"—whatever he played, the kids of the south side followed. This would prove to be a large influence, as it created a different type of tolerance amongst the South Side population. Kids found themselves enjoying music that had previously been exclusive to those who were white, queer, or both.

By 1980, Chicago was buzzing from the different musical influences that were seeping into the city. The record store Imports Etc, began to carry Frankie's brand of house music, and teens on the South Side and North Side wanted to join. This is what led a group of five teens known as the Hotmix 5 to secure their own show on WBMX, and ultimately help spread dance music all over Chicago. Their names were Farley Jackmaster Funk "Farley Keith", Kenny "Jammin" Jason, Ralphi "Rockin" Rosario, Mickey "Mixin" Oliver, and Scott "Smokin" Sills, and they are the main voices who dispute the dominant narrative supporting Frankie Knuckles.

In 1983, Frankie chose to split away from Robert Williams after management disputes at the Warehouse. This led him to develop his own club, the Power Plant, and led Robert Williams to replace Knuckles with Ron Hardy, renaming his club the Music Box. With this friendly rivalry in place, dance music dominated the radio. Teens in the area, initially aware of its value, began to notice dance music's power. With records flying off the shelves due to their pre-approved "house" music label, people began to notice the weight a house record carried.

With a love for music and cheap music equipment, Jesse Saunders sat down with Vince Lawrence to create "On and On" in 1984. Due to the connections they had with those at the Hot Mix 5, the record was able to make it on the airwaves, and into the home of everyone in Chicago. It was considered to be the first definitive house music record because it was the first one that explicitly used the term house and attached it to new material. The music that had initially been deemed house had simply been a name for obscure disco tracks Frankie had curated. However, that same year Frankie Knuckles met local teen Jamie Principle and put out their first house record, "Your Love."

Both tracks have equal importance in the historical narrative of house music for different reasons. With Jesse Saunders, "On and On", the track's low quality signaled to budding artists in the area that music-making was an endeavor anyone could pursue. To quote Marshall Jefferson, "It gave us hope, man. When Jamie Principle was doing it, nobody thought of making a record. His shit was too good, it's like seeing John Holmes in a porno movie. You know you can't do better than him. But if porno movies were just starting, and you see a guy with a three-inch peter, and all the women are swooning all over him and he's a fucking millionaire, you would seriously consider it, wouldn't you?"

Jesse Saunders gave people hope, while Jamie Principle and Frankie Williams gave them inspiration. This dynamic of vulnerable creativity and refinement would continue throughout the rest of the decade. After Jesse Saunders, people like Chip E, Scott Sills, Marshall Jefferson, Larry Heard (Mr.Fingers) would all put out records.

Thanks to the friendly rivalry between Ron Hardy and Frankie Knuckles (Music Box vs Warehouse) there were now two spaces where people could go to hear house music. Ron Hardy's uncontrollable, fast-paced style provided an infectious energy and plat-form to experiment, as he would happily play any new tape thrown his way. Frankie, on the other hand, chose to focus on his new productions, editing old disco tracks, and occasionally playing new tracks given to him, giving makers in Chicago a place to aspire to. Through this hive of musical creativity and expression, house music soared in pop-ularity. It became a staple on the radio through the Hot Mix 5, and eventually reached international fame once it spread to places like London and Ibiza.

Considering the role that Chicago natives played in the development of house mu-sic, it is clear that the genre didn't result from the sole effort of Frankie Knuckles. Peo-ple like Herb Kent primed the people of Chicago for the influx of dance music, Wayne Williams helped bring the underground to the surface, the Hot Mix 5 helped spread it all over the city, and people like Jesse Saunders signaled to the city that anything was possible, triggering a mass production of distinctly Chicago house sounds. These peo-ple are often seen as the unsung heroes, the people left out of the story. Yet it must be said that house music would not be what it is had Frankie not come to town. It was his records that people responded to, found solace in, and eventually sought after, which would trigger people like the Hot Mix 5 and Jesse to make something happen. It is no surprise that the roots of house music are so fiercely contested; it was the result of a perfect storm.

Abstracting this battle further, it becomes apparent how integral Chicago truly was. At the time, the city represented a fertile ground, free of the pretension of New York, but rich with culture and diversity that would act as the perfect platform for Knuckles' influence. It was large enough to host different pockets of identity, but small enough that they would eventually interact. Most importantly, upon accepting this cre-ative storm of music, Chicago was vibrant enough to contain its new sound for almost 10 years.

Today, the advent of technology has further blurred the relationship between sound and geography. It is now much more difficult for artists to contain their sound in one place and the direct role of the city has been minimized. Though house music now exists mainly in digital form, its influence has left an indelible mark on the city. To the natives of Chicago, the music itself transcends the battles of ownership; house at its core is a form of celebration and acceptance. But for those house heads who demand accountability, they can walk downtown to the streets of Frankie Knuckles Way and the Hot Mix 5 Way. They might even attend the Chosen Few Picnic, a music festival that happens every summer in Jackson Park.

TERRAIN VAGUE
Ariana Martinez

"The relationship between the absence of use, activity, and the sense of freedom of expectancy, is fundamental to understanding the potential of the city's *terrains vagues*. Void, absence, yet also promise, the space of the possible, of expectation… this absence of limit precisely contains the expectations of mobility, vagrant roving, free time, liberty."

–Ignasi de Sola-Morales Rubio
Painted steel, tinted plaster, cherry wood.

2016

2016

THE PROPOSED PROVIDENCE STREETCAR LINE
Lloyd Soh

Since 2012, the City of Providence has been looking into a proposal to establish a streetcar line downtown. The Environmental Assessment of the Providence Streetcar highlighted the need for the streetcar as there is currently a problem of connectivity—Providence "lacks seamless connections to residential and employment activity centers within reasonable walking distances."[1] The proposed streetcar route connects major employment hubs, as it runs through Brown University, Downtown Providence and the Hospital District. Increased connectivity has the potential to improve job and educational opportunities, spurring economic development. The $100 million project is further expected to boost economic development by increasing accessibility to the downtown area, as customers could visit businesses and shops more easily, while employees would have increased access to more job opportunities. Because streetcars are not obstructed by traffic, they are faster, more efficient, and have shorter wait times than buses. But the question is: how well the proposed streetcar line would serve the people of Providence, and how much of the population would actually experience the increased access coverage?

In the broader context, access coverage is not the only consideration. Having more stops increases coverage but comes at the expense of travel time competitiveness.[2] In order to attract passengers, the streetcar needs to be a reliable alternative to driving in terms of speed. A streetcar that covers a shorter distance and makes fewer stops will be a faster streetcar, all else being equal. Access coverage is something to be optimized as there can be such a thing as too much coverage. A misjudgment of transit stop coverage would not fully serve the needs of the population.

Previous studies have used GIS to analyze public transport access coverage. Patrick Picard did a GIS analysis of population and employment centers served by the Metro Denver transit provider's passenger rail expansion project.[3] A similar project used a simple distance buffer around transit stops in Seattle, as referenced by Picard. Distance is an important component of accessibility: the larger the distance, the more inaccessible the public transit system becomes for public transport users. Access to a public transport stop is done by walking. Foda and Osman point out that the reasonable amount of walking distance in an urban area is about a quarter mile.[4] Hence, using a distance buffer around a transit stop makes sense for assessing accessibility.

A more accurate method would be a network analysis of the streetcar stops. Picard's use of the buffer assumes that passengers can reach the bus stop from any location in the buffer. Foda and Osman propose using the actual pedestrian road network, which GIS is able to do. Their study of bus stops in Egypt showed that the actual bus stop access coverage, measured by network analysis, is smaller than ideal bus stop access coverage, measured by distance buffers. This can be a significant misrepresentation. A study in South Korea found that access to public parks decreased by nearly half when using network analysis instead of the buffer method.[5] A network analysis offers a more accurate estimate.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The method of areal interpolation is used to estimate the population within walking distance of a station. Areal interpolation was first carried out using a straight line or "as the crow flies" buffer. After which, a network analysis based on the actual lengths of the road network is carried out. The method of areal interpolation assumes that the population is evenly distributed throughout the census tract. This is unlikely to be the case, but it nonetheless offers an estimate of the population that would have access to a streetcar stop.

The data was used to analyze three things: first, the population of Providence that would be within walking distance of the streetcar; second, the redundancy of streetcar stops by examining if there was any overlap in walking distance area between streetcar stops; third, the level of poverty of the areas that were within and outside of walking distance from a streetcar because areas with more poor people are more likely to have people who do not drive and hence need the streetcar.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Figure 1 shows the difference between the distance buffer and network analysis buffer, which has a more irregular shape. Consistent with the findings of Foda and Osman, the network analysis can be seen to be smaller, as it takes into account barriers to pe-destrian walking. However, the network analysis buffer area of 1.36 square miles is not significantly smaller than the distance buffer area of 1.75 square miles.

Figure 1.

Map of Providence Streetcar Line with Network Buffer on Distance Buffer
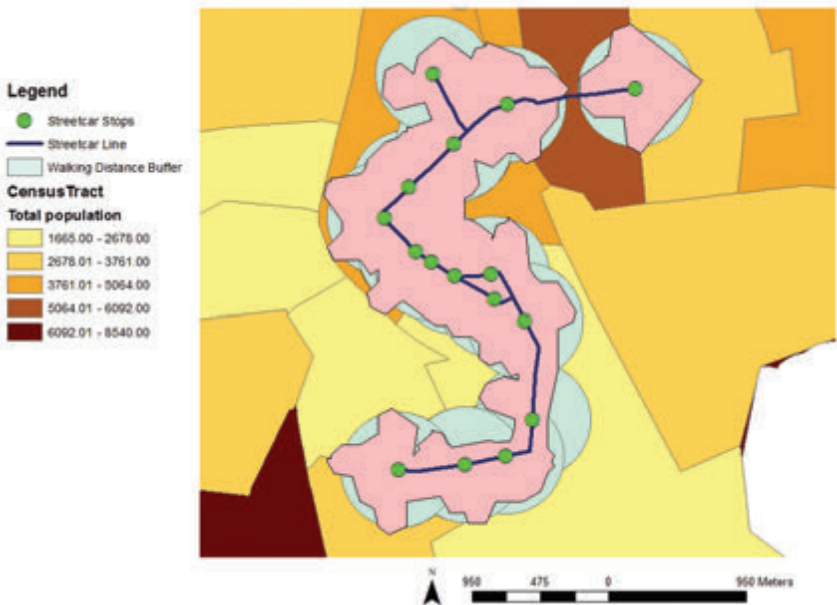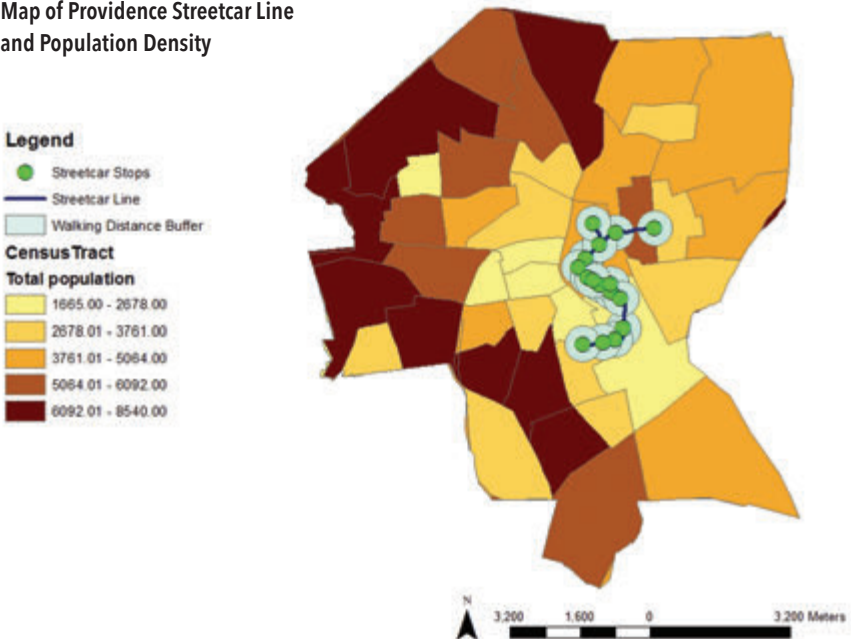
How does the streetcar fare in terms of increasing access coverage to the population in Providence? According to the distance buffer, approximately 7967 residents will be served by the streetcar line. This is 30% of the population within the group of census tracts that have access to the streetcar line, which has a total population of 25949. However, in terms of the overall population of Providence being served, the results are less impressive: Only 4% of the entire Providence population will be within walking distance to a streetcar stop. The number shrinks even further to 6353 if we used network analysis to generate a polygon for areal interpolation.

The population density of Providence is represented in Figure 2. The darkest areas of the map, which represent areas of high population density, are not reached by the streetcar. If anything, the streetcar line passes through some of the least densely populated areas, with the exception of the College Hill area. This is likely because the streetcar line passes through business areas, which has fewer residents. College Hill, on the other hand, is both a center of employment and residence. Some of the most densely populated areas are to the North and Southwest of the streetcar line. If the Southern end of the streetcar line was extended further by 0.5 to 1 mile, it would be able to serve a census tract with one of the densest populations.

It can be seen from the maps that there are multiple overlaps in the walking distance buffers. 15 out of 16 streetcar stops have buffer zones that overlap – there is only one stop on the map where the buffer zone can be seen in its entirety and not overlapping with another buffer zone. The same applies for the network analysis buffers. Note that while 15 streetcar stops have walking distance buffers that overlap, this does not

Figure 2.

Map of Providence Streetcar Line and Population Density

Legend
- Streetcar Stops
- Streetcar Line
- Walking Distance Buffer

Census Tract
Total population
- 1665.00 - 2678.00
- 2678.01 - 3761.00
- 3761.01 - 5064.00
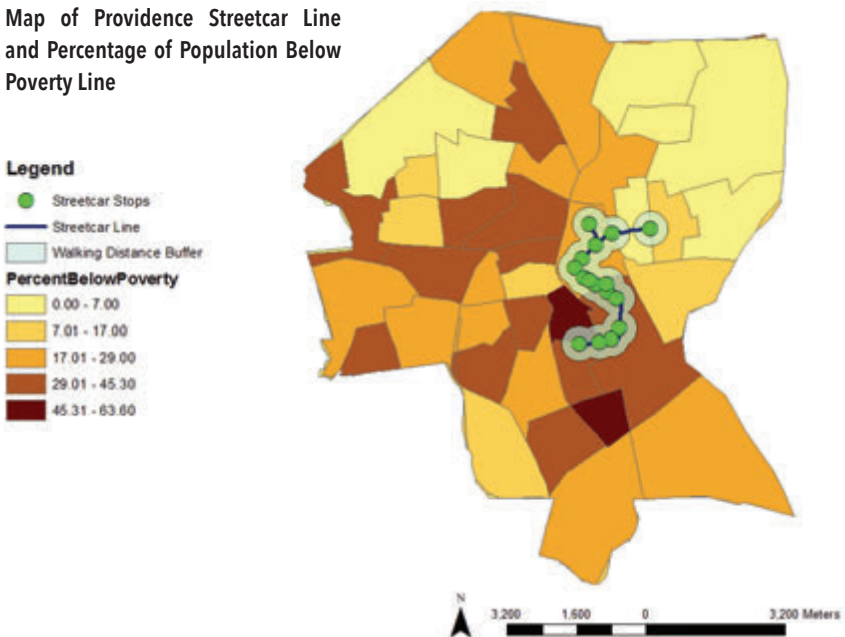- 5064.01 - 6092.00
- 6092.01 - 8540.00

mean that 15 stops are within walking distance. There are however 11 out of 16 stops that are within walking distance from the nearest streetcar stop.

There are two stops which are a mere 0.08 miles apart – less than a third of the 0.25 mile walking distance. To offer a sense of the space that is underutilized, sixteen stops of a quarter mile buffer each could potentially cover 3.136 square miles. But the current arrangement only covers 1.75 square miles – which is only a little more than half the potential area of coverage. The streetcar stops can afford to spread out more to increase access coverage. Analyzing the overlaps in distance buffers is more useful because it is more relevant for examining how much the coverage area will increase if the stops were more spread out. Network analysis buffers are less relevant because spreading the stops out change the road networks surrounding the stops.

The demographics of the area that has access to the streetcar is important. An area with more poor people is more likely to have people who do not own cars and instead have to rely on public transportation. Such areas will likely have higher ridership and thus benefit from the streetcar more than an affluent area of car owners. The streetcar line seems to pass through areas of poverty, mainly in the Downtown area and towards the Hospital District. The South end of the line connects to the Hospital District in Census Tract 7, where 45 to 63 percent of the population is below poverty. However, the walking distance buffer only covers a small area of that Census Tract 7. Furthermore, there are still areas of concentrated poverty to the West of the streetcar line that are not within reach of the streetcar. The area of poverty to the far West side of Providence coincides with an area of high population density. These are areas which are likely to

Figure 3.

Map of Providence Streetcar Line and Percentage of Population Below Poverty Line

Legend

- Streetcar Stops
- Streetcar Line
- Walking Distance Buffer

PercentBelowPoverty
- 0.00 - 7.00
- 7.01 - 17.00
- 17.01 - 29.00
- 29.01 - 45.30
- 45.31 - 63.60

3,200   1,600   0   3,200 Meters

need transit access to jobs and likely to use public transportation. The choice of stop placement thus does not seem to be guided by maximizing coverage. Rather it seems to have been guided by proximity to a landmark. These landmarks are either places where there might be a demand for accessing the location, for instance, Brown University or the Hospital or even restaurants.

With reference to a part of the streetcar line which splits into two, this seems to be for reaching Brown University's Medical School. Once that is taken into account, the duplication and overlap seems to make more sense. There also seems to be a duplication in that two of the stops serve Rhode Island Hospital, but this might be because it is expansive and the stops serve different blocks of the Hospital. The two stops which are located very close together also serve specific purposes: one serves the city administration buildings, such as the U.S. Social Security Administration, while the other stop is closer to Johnson and Wales University and a church.

CONCLUSION AND LIMITATIONS

Proponents of the Providence streetcar have suggested many benefits of having a streetcar, such as spurring economic growth and increasing "affordable access to jobs, education opportunities and key services for those who need them most."[6] While this sounds appealing on paper, the extent to which access is increased seems unclear. The results of a GIS analysis showed that only a small proportion of the Providence population is actually served and there are areas of poverty and high population density that are not served by the streetcar.

Figure 4.

Street Map of Providence Streetcar Line

There are some limitations to the data collected: The paper has offered enough criticism of the areal interpolation method thus far. But this limitation is worsened by the fact that census tracts might be too big and contain a large degree of variation within each tract. The streetcar line might reach the corner of a census tract with a high population density, but it is possible for the majority of the population to be concentrated in area of the tract that is outside of walking distance from the streetcar stop.

Network analysis is not without its limitations either. There may be physical barriers around the station or on the route that will obstruct accessibility. Chung did a GIS analysis of new transit areas in Texas and found that the conditions of the sidewalk could affect walkability as well.[7] In addition, network analysis is unable to show how likely it is for a population to choose to take the streetcar over existing modes of transportation. This paper tried to use the poverty of an area as a proxy for the number of people who are more likely to need public transport, but it is an imperfect measure. The travel time competitiveness of alternative modes of transport have to be taken into account. People might prefer to drive if it offers a faster or more comfortable ride. Similarly, they might prefer to cycle or take the bus if it is cheaper. As the details of the streetcars schedule and costs are yet to be published, it is difficult to tell how competitive the streetcar will be. There is no guarantee that people who live within walking distance from a streetcar stop will definitely take it.

Given the length of the streetcar line, it is unsurprising that not many people live within walking distance of a streetcar stop. It would not be reasonable to expect the streetcar line to reach every corner of Providence. The GIS analysis does however highlight that there is an inefficiency in the allocation of stops. The stops could increase access coverage – into denser areas – if they were more spaced out. However, planners do not allocate stops solely based on optimizing access coverage. There are other factors involved, such as placing the stop in front of a historic landmark or critical financial building – even if the two stops are within walking distance from each other. The primary objective of the Providence streetcar seems to be economic development rather than improving equitable access. However, such a decision should be made as a conscious choice by planners with a full awareness of the tradeoff with accessibility.

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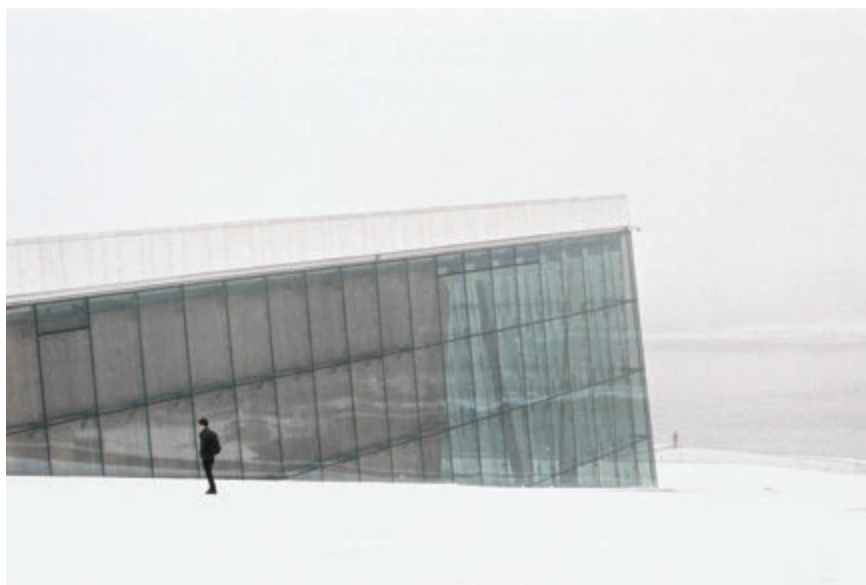
RIGHT ANGLE
Sarah Cheung

2016

2016

IN CONVERSATION WITH CHARLES SIMONDS
Maya Sorabjee

Dwellings. PS 1, New York. 1975.

In his 1976 fictive ethnography fiction *Three Peoples*, New York-based sculptor Charles Simonds imagined the building practices of three civilizations governed by different relationships to time. The first built their homes in a straight line, never to return to their own pasts. The second built in a single circle, condemned to constant retrospection. The third built an ever-ascending spiral, aspiring "towards an ecstatic death."

For 45 years, Simonds has been working with the notion of place. His oeuvre is varied in method and medium, from *in situ* to freestanding sculptures, conceptual narratives to filmed performance. His experiments attempt to situate the body in the physical landscape, to discover the landscape within the body, to dream up alternative, often fantastical, ways of living and interacting with the world. The artist tends to prefer a direct engagement with the (often urban) environment, seeking a connection to earth that is lost in the sterile walls of the art gallery. Simonds fiddles with proportion: his 1976 memorial design for urban planner Stanley Tankel took two unfinished high-rises in Queens and proposed to wrap the giant cement skeletons in wisteria. On a less monumental scale, his *Dwellings* is a career-spanning series of miniscule architectures embedded into crevices and walls in cities around the world. Simonds constructs these sculpted ruins for his imaginary Little People by meticulously layering tiny clay bricks into abodes specific to each invisible civilization.

Simonds' work oscillates between site-specificity and pure abstraction; he too, lives between the universe of his own fictions and the terrains that inspired them. The *Urban Journal* spoke with the sculptor about some of his older and more recent projects. In our conversation, his replies disclosed an enchanting self-awareness, an ease afforded by the rare ability to assemble the worlds of the mind and dwell among them.

Urban Journal
Your work with *Dwellings* stems from mythology and fiction, and the dwellings them-

selves are very personal, but the first thing that strikes me are the ideas they embody—of migration, settlement, ruins—and I can't help but think about all the political issues that surround settlements today, especially with the refugee crisis and the destruction of so many archaeological sites in Syria and Iraq. So I was wondering whether the things that are happening today make you reread your past work?

Charles Simonds

My past works or my works' pasts? It's a lot about displacement and lost pasts. So yes, it does; I'm pretty boring in the sense in that I'm constantly thinking about my work and what it was and is.

Journal

That's not boring!

Simonds

I mean I'm boring to myself! (laughs) In other words, the more I go on, the more I try to think about what I have done and what I'm doing. I've had maybe three different moments with disenfranchised groups—the Lower East Side, Turkish people in Berlin in Kreuzberg, Tunisians and North Africans in Paris and Belgium. And whatever it is—and I don't think it's by choice—I just chose to work in neighborhoods that had a lot of broken walls. Certainly I've found that my connection to those groups and their responses to what I do has defined a lot of the things that I think about. For instance—proverbially—a North African seeing one of the *Dwellings* in Paris would say "Oh, that looks like Morocco," and a Turkish person would say "Well, that looks like Anatolia," and an American thinks it's American Indian and they all throw it into their pasts in some wishful and poignant way. I think that's part of what it's about, there's a kind of forgotten past, or hoped-for past, needing to be recaptured; which speaks towards disenfranchisement and speaks towards dislocation and speaks towards transience, all these different things.

Certainly, I think this project in Munich that I've recently proposed, of taking three or five neighborhoods and having them self-identify, is similar to my project in the German department store [part of the *Kunst als soziale Strategie* exhibition at the Bonner Kunstverein, 1978]. And all these groups then would have the chance to interact with each other, because Munich has many different groups of people. I happened to arrive the same day as the first refugees, and I'm sure that's why they chose my proposal. But in a certain way, that's taught me a lot about something about my work, that it has a kind of poignancy; I think there's a kind of tristesse, of something lost.

Journal

Given what you consider to be the limitations of the art world, your choice to work within the built fabric of cities allows you to renounce authorship, and I think that gives the work its mythical quality. But it raises the question of who gets to own the works—is it the people who come and watch you or try to take the dwellings? Is it the city itself that owns these things?

Simonds

Yes, it's so valuable, to be a non-player, to be a harbinger. And I think people's memories own them, I think that's where it resides. I think it resides in a collective memory.

Journal

Your 1972 *Floating Cities* [a project comprising small painted basswood models depicting elements of a built environment (factories, houses, wind mills) that can be arranged into an adaptable metropolis-at-sea], is very different from *Dwellings* in that it is more critical and hypothetical.

Simonds

Basically, they share some conceptual levels. Actually, I can tell you exactly—a lot of my work has to do with mixed metaphors of plants and growth. The floating cities are actually the hinge for them; they're analyses of simple organisms and specialization, so as organisms start to evolve and develop specialization in themselves, it's a corollary. So it's more a reflection of growth and life forms as an architectural hinge.

Floating Cities. 1978.

All photographs taken from charles.simonds.com

Journal

And it seems like the way they could be reorganized, it speaks to the audience again and allows them to apply their own meanings to the city. But you made the modules that were to be rearranged, so how did you decide on which elements of the city to include?

Simonds

It's meant as a caricature of modern architecture. Each one is a send-up of a modern building or a Mies building—they're all completely tongue-in-cheek—nobody knows that, but they're all little jokes! That's the only way I could keep myself amused. So it has garden apartments, suburbia, farms. I make endless configurations and then I photograph them, endless little kinds of cities.

Journal

Did you make *Floating Cities* in reaction to something?

Simonds

It comes from having worked a lot in a neighborhood on the Lower East Side, with community work, and we were always fighting the city to get control of certain buildings, block development, have some leverage, and so on. And so we would have these battles all the time and finally I thought, it would be so much…the idea came from feeling, kind of, how do I escape this? *Floating Cities* was like having property without location, so you could just go wherever you wanted to go. Actually, the idea is kind of analogous to the specialization of cells. So for instance, factories were like digestive systems and stuff like that.

I had thought of the idea and then nothing was happening—I didn't have a barge or anything. But then I saw in the newspaper there was a guy in Germany who was building—you know, shipbuilding is episodic, like real estate—and so there was a big slump in shipbuilding, and so instead of building ships, he was building floating factories in Japan that he would float to Brazil, paper processing plants, and install them and they would do their business and so on. Because it was cheaper to build in a high technology place. And so I thought, well, these are going to be floating cities and they're going to go all around the world and steal all the business.

Journal

So was it ever intended to go beyond this scale?

Simonds

Well it's an idea, it's a poetic thing, but you know now they have seasteading—there's a whole movement where they're trying to do this. But at that time I didn't think of it as a—like my imaginary world, it's a kind of a tool to look at how things are. I think they're all like warped mirrors towards what is. It's a lens.

Journal

Much of your work relates the body to earth to dwelling to land, and I was wondering if, over the course of your career, you've seen the connection between the body and the built environment become more tenuous.

Simonds

I've never thought about it, but some issues of scale have changed. I live across from two buildings that were built in my neighborhood on my block in the past ten years that are nearly as tall as the Empire State Building, and they're just apartment buildings—so like, castles in the sky from Mr. Murdoch and so on—and there's something about the scale and the remove. I always think of them as medieval castles and the workers come from Queens to service the lords at the tops of the buildings. So that's the metaphor for me—it's as if things are going backwards. And you know, I worked for so long in a very intimate neighborhood where everybody knew everybody. The Lower East Side at that time, people knew who was who and who was bad and who was good and who was doing drugs, and you know, even though I know everybody on my block, so to speak, since I've lived there around 35 years, it's very different. So the village thing, it's not in New York.

IN MEMORIAM: EDWARD W. SOJA (1940-2015)
Stefano Bloch

At the start of this academic year, we lost geographer and urban theorist Edward W. Soja. Professor Soja was a distinguished professor of urban and regional planning at UCLA for four decades. Born in Brooklyn and educated at Syracuse University before beginning his planning career in Kenya, it was during his tenure in Los Angeles that he transformed the field of urban thought. His books, *The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* and *Seeking Spatial Justice*, defined his career as a critical spatial theorist and "urbanist," a term that he joking acknowledged was not even recognized by Microsoft Word's spell check. In addition to his insistence on a rigorous spatial perspective when analyzing the complexities of society, he contributed to the founding of the "Los Angeles School of Urbanism" and advanced the concepts of thirdspace, spatiality, postmodern geographies, spatial justice, and crisis-generated restructuring as part of his excavation of the "postmetropolis" and reconsideration of LA's 1965 and 1992 "justice uprising." In the production and application of these concepts, he had two favorite places among the many that he theorized, visited, and called home. The first was Çatalhöyük in modern day Turkey. He identified this neolithic and densely-built environment as the first example of urban settlement and physical manifestation of synekism that predated the agricultural revolution. The second was, of course, Los Angeles. It was in LA—this real and imagined, paradigmatic postmodern, carceral, deeply superficial, limitless and enlivening, exceedingly diverse, endlessly contradictory, and constantly complex, confining, and liberatory metropolis—where "it all came together."

He was instrumental in bringing the work of theorists Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, and bell hooks to the fore of critical geographic thought. His students have gone on to prominent academic careers throughout the social sciences and humanities in the US and abroad, but even more than his stature as a scholar and mentor it is his bellowing laugh and bear hugs that those of us who knew him, including his partner Maureen, his children, and his granddaughter, will miss most.