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## The Inegalitarian Metropolis Prelim Reading Lists

### Questions

1. How have mid-century policies in urban planning, market actors, white homeowners, and trends in policing urban space created the socially, spatially, and racially divided metropolis of today? What is the range of local, state, and federal laws that created these divisions today?
2. How were state and federal policies responsible for white flight and economic flight from Newark? And how did urban planners, politicians, and other actors use urban renewal and slum clearance as tools to economically stabilize the city?
3. From urban and working-class non-white activists to suburban and middle-class white activists, how did regular people and community groups shape the programs of urban renewal?
4. How can Newark's story be framed as a national story? How did the processes of segregation, desegregation, deindustrialization, and urban decline play out in Newark and other metro areas like Newark? What is unique about Newark?
5. How can the tools of visualization and cartography reveal new aspects of American urban history, and communicate this history to larger audiences?

### Committee

Robert Fishman	Chair	Urban Planning History
Ana Morcillo Pallares	Co-Chair	Architectural History
Matthew Lassiter	Cognate	20 <sup>th</sup> -c. Metropolitan History (Urban/Suburban)
Dan O'Flaherty	External	Urban Economics
		From Columbia University to be added at dissertation stage

## Project Brief

“Wherever American cities are going, Newark will get there first” Mayor Kenneth Gibson declared in 1970, as the first black mayor of any major city in what is now the American Northeast and the Rust Belt. The history of Newark’s urban decline is specific to Newark and unique to the details of this city. And yet, Newark’s story is national in its implications, and mirrored in hundreds of other American cities large and small that also experienced decline.

From the 1950s through 1970s, Newark embarked on one of the most extensive programs of state-funded urban renewal in the nation, less costly only than those of New York City (20 times Newark’s population); Chicago (eight times larger); Philadelphia (five times larger), and Boston (twice as large). Newark’s program was certainly among the most ambitious: to clear out the areas called slums, to construct highways, to build public housing, to stimulate the urban economy, and – in the end – to stop urban decline. And yet for all the billions spent and an estimated 70,000 out of Newark’s 400,000 people displaced, the program failed spectacularly. What mixture of actors and institutions – city planners, politicians, realtors, developers, and banks – caused Newark’s program to fail?

This project describes how two national programs impacted Newark: urban renewal (a program that invested in keeping the city stable) and redlining (a program that deprived investment to make the city unstable). The two programs – both initiated by the state and designed to profit real estate developers – coexisted and undermined each other in a decade of flaws and contradictions. Redlining usually refers to the practice when banks choose to not invest in a certain neighborhood or city because of the race of who lives there. Redlining is racial discrimination. More importantly, although rarely framed in such terms, redlining describes the practice more broadly of choosing not to invest in a place because it is a city and considered a less profitable investment. Banks, developers, realtors, businesses, department stores, and the fabric of social institutions vital for urban life all migrated from the city to the suburbs. These other institutions all redlined Newark independently of the real estate lobby. More than anti-black, redlining is anti-urban.

This project frames Newark’s story in national terms. Each chapter examines one form of redlining in Newark, and then frames this form of localized redlining in the national picture of urban abandonment. There are five frames: transportation, finance, housing, welfare, and employment. This range of actors across areas – public and private, local and national – did not collaborate in a conspiracy to deprive Newark and the American city of wealth. But their actions overlapped and mutually reinforced each other to leave the American city behind and ensure that attempts to save the city through state-funded urban renewal would fail. Through anti-urban redlining practices in each of these five areas – transportation, finance, housing, welfare, and employment – urban decline was the inevitable result. The history of all places is told through one place, and the history of one place is told through all places.

**Major in Architectural History with Ana Morcillo Pallarés**  
**Major in Urban Planning History with Robert Fishman**

1. Walking in the City / City as Poetry
2. History of Streets and Street Network Development
3. Impact of Redlining (esp. Chicago)
4. Impact of Public Housing (esp. Chicago)
5. Assorted Histories of the Urban Form
- 6.0 History of Newark
- 6.1 Newark General History
- 6.2 Newark Black and Ethnic History
- 6.3 Newark Urban Planning and Public Works
- 6.4 Economics of Newark
- 6.5 Newark Primary Sources

**Minor in 20<sup>th</sup>-century Metropolitan History**  
**Urban/Suburban with Matthew Lassiter**

1. Downtown Economics, Urban Economics
2. Early History of the Suburb
3. Great Migration and Its Effects on Northern Cities
4. Later History of the Suburb
6. Trans-Historical Comparisons of Urban Decline and Urban Renewal
7. American City as Carceral State

**Major in Architectural History with Ana Morcillo Pallarés**  
**Major in Urban Planning History with Robert Fishman**

**1. Walking in the City / City as Poetry**

Not strictly historical books, but books that think of the city in poetic and lyrical terms. How did history happen vs. how did history feel?

Alexander, Christopher. *Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction*. Oxford University Press, 1977

Jackson, Kenneth T. and David S. Dunbar. *Empire City: New York Through the Centuries*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002. (An anthology of authors writing about the city)

Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House, 1961.

Mumford, Lewis. *The City in History*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1961.

Vergara, Camilo José. *The New American Ghetto*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995. Photo essays and reflections on urban decline, urban decay, and race in the city.

White, E.B. *Here Is New York*. New York: Penguin Books, 1949.

## **2. History of Streets and Street Network Development**

Ballon, Hilary. *The Greatest Grid: The Master Plan of Manhattan, 1811 to today*. Museum of the City of New York, 2012. Also duplicated as website: <https://thegreatestgrid.mcny.org/>

Regional Plan Association of New York, *A Region at Risk: The Third Regional Plan*, 1996.  
<https://rpa.org/work/reports/a-region-at-risk-the-third-regional-plan>

Regional Plan Association of New York, *The Second Regional Plan*, 1968.  
<https://rpa.org/work/reports/the-second-regional-plan>

Reps, John W. *The Making of Urban America. A History of City Planning in the United States*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965.

## **3. Impact of Redlining (esp. Chicago)**

**Coates, Ta-Nehisi. “The Case for Reparations.” *The Atlantic*. June 2014.**

Fishback, Price V., Jonathan Rose, Kenneth A. Snowden, and Thomas Storrs, “New Evidence on Redlining by Federal Housing Programs in the 1930s (Working Paper 29244),” National Bureau of Economic Research: Working Papers Series, September 2021, accessed April 23, 2023:  
<https://www.nber.org/papers/w29244>.

Gordon, Colin. *Patchwork Apartheid: Private Restriction, Racial Segregation, and Urban Inequality*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2023.

Jackson, Kenneth T. "Race, Ethnicity, and Real Estate Appraisal: The Home Owners Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration." *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 6 No.4. August 1980. Pp.419-52.

Macnamara, Jack, Alfonso Vaca-Loyola, et al. "The Plunder of Black Wealth in Chicago: New Findings on the Lasting Toll of Predatory Housing Contracts." Duke University: The Samuel Dubois Cook Center on Social Equity, 2019.

Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York: Liveright Publishing Company, 2017.

Satter, Beryl. *Family Properties: Race, Real Estate, and the Exploitation of Black Urban America*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2009.

Sternlieb, George and Robert W. Burchell. *The Tenement Landlord: Residential Abandonment Revisited*. New Brunswick, N.J., Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, 1973. Technically Newark history but relevant as a mirror for broader history.

Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta, *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019.

Winling, LaDale, and Todd M. Michney and LaDale. "New Perspectives on New Deal Housing Policy: Explicating and Mapping HOLC Loans to African Americans." *Journal of Urban History*. 2019.

#### **4. Impact of Public Housing (esp. Chicago)**

Hirsch, Arnold R. *Making the Second Ghetto Race and Housing in Chicago 1940-1960*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998.

Amanda Irene Seligman, "What is the Second Ghetto?" *Journal of Urban History* 29:3 (2003), 272-280.

Thomas J. Sugrue, "Revisiting the Second Ghetto," *Journal of Urban History* 29:3 (2003), 281-290.

Vale, Lawrence J. *From the Puritans to the projects: public housing and public neighbors*. Harvard University Press, 2000.

Vale, Lawrence J. *Purging the poorest : public housing and the design politics of twice-cleared communities*. University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Vale, Lawrence J. *After the projects : public housing redevelopment and the governance of the poorest Americans*. Oxford University Press., 2019.

Zipp, Samuel. "The Roots and Routes of Urban Renewal," *Journal of Urban History*. 39:3, 2012. Pp.366-391.

Zipp, Samuel. *Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York*. Oxford University Press, 2010.

Website – Mapping Inequality:

<https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=11/40.802/-74.431&city=essex-co.-nj>

## **5. Assorted Histories of the Urban Form**

Clutter, McLain. *Imaginary Apparatus: New York City and its mediated representation*. Zurich, Park Books, 2015.

Fishman, Robert. *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise And Fall Of Suburbia*. New York: Basic Books, 1989.

Fishman, Robert. *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982.

Kelbaugh, Douglas. *Repairing the American Metropolis: Common Place Revisited*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.

Kickert, Conrad and Hans Karssenber. *Street-Level Architecture The Past, Present and Future of Interactive Frontages*. Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2022

Pallarés, Ana Morcillo. *Manhattan's Public Spaces: Production, Revitalization, Commodification*. Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2022.

Thun, Geoffrey, Kathy Velikov, Robert Fishman, et al. *Infra Eco Logi Urbanism: A Project for the Great Lakes Megaregion*. Zurich: Park Books, 2015.

## **6.0 History of Newark**

### **6.1 Newark General History**

Not particularly groundbreaking in historical methods, but helpful as a point of reference for fact checking and the equivalent of encyclopedia.

Atkinson, Joseph. *The History of Newark, New Jersey: Being a Narrative of Its Rise and Progress, From the Settlement in May 1666, by Emigrants From Connecticut, to the Present Time, Including a Sketch of the Press of Newark, From 1791 to 1878.* Newark Public Schools, 1913.

Cunningham, John T. *Newark.* Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1966. [for general history introduction]

Bebout, John E. and Ronald J. Grele. *Where Cities Meet: The Urbanization of New Jersey.* Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1964.

Blackmer, Peter. "Rise Up Newark: Civil Rights and Beyond in Urban America."  
<https://riseupnewark.com/>

Winters, Stanley B. "Charter Change and Civic Reform in Newark, 1953-1954," *New Jersey History 2000* 118 (1-2): 34-65.

Website – Newark Changing: Mapping Neighborhood Demolition 1950s to present:  
<https://newarkchanging.org/>

## **6.2 Newark Black and Ethnic History**

Churchill, Charles Wesley. *The Italians of Newark, A Community Study.* New York: Arno Press, 1975.

Curvin, Robert. "Black Ghetto Politics in Newark after World War II." in *Cities of the Garden State: Essays in the Urban and Suburban History of New Jersey*, edited by Joel Schwartz and Daniel Prosser. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1977, 145-160. 1917-1947.

*Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder: Report For Action.* Trenton: Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968, edited by William C. Wright.

Greason, Walter. *Suburban Erasure: how the suburbs ended the civil rights movement in New Jersey.* Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University, 2013.

Grover, Warren. *Nazis in Newark.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003.

Helmreich, William B. *The Enduring Community: The Jews of Newark and MetroWest.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1999. to edited by William C. Wright

Immerso, Michael. *Newark's Little Italy: The Vanished First Ward*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997.

Price, Clement A. "The Beleaguered City as Promised Land: Blacks in Newark, 1917-1947." In *Urban New Jersey Since 1870: Papers Presented at the Sixth Annual New Jersey History Symposium*, December 7, 1974, held by the New Jersey Historical Commission at the State Museum Auditorium.

Stellhorn, Paul and Charles Stephenson. "The Process of Community: Class, Culture, and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Newark." In *New Jersey's Ethnic Heritage*.

### **6.3 Newark Urban Planning and Public Works**

Galishoff, Stuart. *Newark: The Nation's Unhealthiest City, 1832-1895*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988, 8-70.

Galishoff, Stuart. *Safeguarding the Public Health: Newark, 1895-1918*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975.

Kaplan, Harold. *Urban Renewal Politics: Slum Clearance in Newark*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

Levitus, David. *An Anatomy of Urban Renewal in Newark, NJ, 1933-1967: How Patronage Politics, Planning Policy, and a Powerbroker Shaped a City*. Unpublished Senior Honors Thesis, New York University, 2005. Accessed via Newark Public Library.

Lovelace, Eldridge. *Harland Bartholomew: His Contributions to American Urban Planning*. Urbana, IL: Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University Of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, 1999. Online in PDF form at

<http://stlouis.missouri.org/heritage/bartholomew/>.

[Harland Bartholomew developed both Newark's 1913 and 1945 master plans]

### **6.4 Economics of Newark**

Stellhorn, Paul A. "Boom, Bust and Boosterism: Attitudes, Residency and the Newark Chamber of Commerce, 1920-1941." In *Urban New Jersey Since 1870: Papers Presented at the Sixth Annual New Jersey History Symposium*, December 7, 1974, held by the New Jersey Historical Commission at the State Museum Auditorium, edited by William C. Wright. Trenton: The New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975, 47-72.



Hirsch, Susan E. “Newark in Its Prime, 1820-1860: Private Wealth and Public Poverty.” in *Cities of the Garden State: Essays in the Urban and Suburban History of New Jersey*, edited by Joel Schwartz and Daniel Prosser Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1977, 1-16.

O’Flaherty, Brendan. *Making Room: The Economics of Homelessness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996

[Most examples in text are drawn from his study of Newark. Study of Newark and national affordable housing policies post Pruitt-Igoe.]

Troutt, David T. and Katharine Nelson. “Who Owns Newark? Transferring Wealth from Newark Homeowners to Corporate Buyers.” Rutgers Center on Law, Inequality, and Metropolitan Equity (CLiME). May 2, 2022.

## 6.5 Newark Primary Sources

Historical news clippings, government reports, and city planning documents from the collections of the...

### Source:

Newark Public Library  
Newark Housing Authority  
Public Service Electric & Gas  
New Jersey State Archives  
National Archives

### Documents:

General inquiries  
Urban renewal history  
Trolley and transportation history  
Highway construction history  
Federal Housing Administration

Newark Housing Authority publications and plans, only partially digitized at:  
[https://archive.org/details/newarkcitydocs?and\[\]=subject%3A%22Housing%22](https://archive.org/details/newarkcitydocs?and[]=subject%3A%22Housing%22)

City of Newark Master Plans from 1933 (start of New Deal) through 1967-68 (“Riots” and MLK assassination)

Historical news clippings:

*Newark Evening News* (on microfilm, in person access only)  
*The Star-Ledger* (Newark local paper digitized through NewsBank.com)  
*The New York Times* (Digitized through TimesMachine)

Website – The History Makers:

[https://www.thehistorymakers.org/search?search\\_api\\_fulltext=newark](https://www.thehistorymakers.org/search?search_api_fulltext=newark)

Search term: Newark. Oral histories of Black Newark residents through time.

# **Minor in 20<sup>th</sup>-century Metropolitan History Urban/Suburban with Matthew Lassiter**

## **1. Downtown Economics, Urban Economics**

Eisenberg, Allison. *Downtown America: A History of the Place and the People Who Made It*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Fogelson, Robert. "Inventing Blight: Downtown and the Origin of Urban Redevelopment," in *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. Pp.317-380.

Kickert, Conrad. *Dream City: Creation, Destruction, and Reinvention in Downtown Detroit*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2019.

O'Flaherty, Brendan. *City Economics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010. [Not specific to Newark, but he is from Newark. And the literature from urban economics provides a solid framework to understand urban decline.]

Simon, Bryant. *Boardwalk of Dreams: Atlantic City and the Fate of Urban America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Phillips-Fein, Kim. *Fear City: New York's Fiscal Crisis and the Rise of Austerity Politics*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2017.

Rose, Mark H. and Raymond A. Mohl. *Interstate: Highway Politics and Policy Since 1939*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, Author, 2012.

## **2. Early History of the Suburb**

**Fishman, Robert. *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise And Fall Of Suburbia*. New York: Basic Books, 1989.**

Cohen, Lizabeth. *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2004.

Dilworth, Richardson. *The Urban Origins of Suburban Autonomy*. Cambridge: Harvard by History University Press, 2005.

Gans, Herbert. *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community*. Columbia University Press, 1965.

Freund, David. *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* (Historical Studies of Urban America). Chicago University Press, 2010.

**Jackson, Kenneth. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.**

### **3. Great Migration and Its Effects on Northern Cities**

Grossman, James. *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration*. University of Chicago, 1991.

Boustan, Leah P. *Competition in the Promised Land: Black Migrants in Northern Cities and Labor Markets*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Massey, Douglas and Nancy Denton. *American Apartheid*. 1993.

Fernández, Lilia. *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago* (Historical Studies of Urban America). University of Chicago, 2012.

Wilkerson, Isabel. *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration*. New York: Random House, 2010.

Muhammad, Khalil Gibran. *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*. Harvard University Press, 2011.

Website – Renewing Inequality: Urban Renewal, Family Displacements, and Race 1950-66: <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/renewal/#view=0/0/1&viz=cartogram>.

### **4. Later History of the Suburb**

Kruse, Kevin and Thomas Sugrue (editors). *The New Suburban History: Historical Studies of Urban America*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006.

Delmont, Matthew “Why Busing Failed: Race, Media, and the National Resistance to School Integration.” <http://whybusingfailed.com/anvc/why-busing-failed>.

Lassiter, Matthew, and Christopher Niedt. “Suburban Diversity in Postwar America.” *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 39:1. January 2013. DOI:10.1177/0096144212463541.

Geismer, Lily. *Don't Blame Us: Suburban Liberals and the Transformation of the Democratic Party* (Politics and Society in Modern America, 109). Princeton University Press, 2014.

Frank, Thomas. *What's the Matter with Kansas?* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2005.

Lacy, Karyn. 2007. *Blue-Chip Black*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lacy, Karyn. 2016. "The New Sociology of Suburbs: A Research Agenda for Analysis of Emerging Trends." *Annual Review of Sociology* 42:369-84.

Lassiter, Matthew. *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South*. Princeton University Press, 2006.

## 6. Trans-Historical Comparisons of Urban Decline and Urban Renewal

Biles, Roger. *The Fate of Cities: Urban America and the Federal Government, 1945-2000*. University Press of Kansas, 2011.

Ballon, Hilary and Kenneth Jackson (editors), Robert Fishman (contributor), et al. *Robert Moses and the Modern City: The Transformation of New York*. W.W. Norton, 2007.

Cohen, Lizabeth. *Saving America's Cities: Ed Logue and the Struggle to Renew Urban America in the Suburban Age*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019.

**New Haven, Boston, New York City**

Self, Robert. *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Fullilove, Mindy. *Root Shock: How tearing up neighborhoods hurts America and what we can do about it*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2004. Several cities but especially **Cleveland**.

Gillette, Howard. *Camden After the Fall: Decline and Renewal in a Post-Industrial City*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

Gordon, Colin. *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.

Highsmith, Andrew R. *Demolition Means Progress: Flint, Michigan, and the Fate of the American Metropolis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Johnson, Walter. *The Broken Heart of America: St. Louis and the Violent History of the United States*. New York: Basic Books, 2020.

Rae, Douglas W. *City: Urbanism and Its End*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

## **7. American City as Carceral State**

Hinton, Elizabeth. *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America Hardcover*. Harvard University Press, 2016.

Kohler-Hausmann, Julilly. *Getting Tough: Welfare and Imprisonment in 1970s America*. Princeton University Press, 2017.

Balto, Simon. *Occupied Territory: Policing Black Chicago from Red Summer to Black Power (Justice, Power, and Politics)*. University of North Carolina Press, 2019.

Thompson, Heather Ann and Donna Murch. “Rethinking Urban America through the Lens of the Carceral State.” *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 41: 5. DOI: 10.1177/0096144215589939.

Forman Jr., James. *Locking Up Our Own: Crime and Punishment in Black America Hardcover*. Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2017.

Lassiter, Matthew. [Pushers, Victims, and the Lost Innocence of White Suburbia California’s War on Narcotics during the 1950s](#). *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 41: 5. 2015.

**Sugrue, Thomas. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.**