

A Research Guide to the Mapping Urban Fracture Project

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Table of Contents

1. Little Rock and Urban Renewal: An Overview, 2-5
2. Guide to Collections, 5-10
 - i/ The Little Rock Housing Authority and Metroplan Manuscript Collections
 - ii/ Pamphlets, Reports, Films, and Models
 - iii/ Photographs
 - iv/ Other Manuscript Collections
 - v/ Oral Histories
3. Guide to Further Reading, 10-13

1. Little Rock and Urban Renewal: An Overview

Little Rock, Arkansas, made international news headlines in September 1957 when the city sought to desegregate its high schools following the US Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.

The night before schools were due to desegregate, on September 2 Gov. Orval E. Faubus called out the National Guard to surround Central High School. The following morning, state soldiers blocked the attempt of Black student Elizabeth Eckford to enter the school.

Events precipitated a constitutional crisis that pitted state power against a federal court order to desegregate. Over the following weeks, tense negotiations between Faubus and President Dwight D. Eisenhower took place. Days after Faubus finally removed the National Guard from Central High, on September 23 a mob of over 1,000 white people gathered at the school. The Little Rock Police Department was charged with the task of keeping the mob at bay.

Although Black students entered Central High on September 23, they soon had to be removed for their own safety when the city police insisted that they could not control the mob. This prompted Eisenhower to federalize the National Guard and send federal troops from the 101st Airborne Division to Central High to ensure the entry and safety of nine Black students, who became known collectively as the Little Rock Nine. On September 25, the Little Rock Nine attended classes escorted by federal soldiers.

Within a month, federal troops were deescalated and the National Guard took over responsibility for maintaining law and order at Central High. During this time, much of the focus shifted to inside the school. A core of white students, many of them the sons and daughters of prominent community segregationists, tried to harass and intimidate the Little Rock Nine to get them to voluntarily withdraw from the school.

Daisy Bates, a Little Rock Black newspaper owner with her husband L. C. Bates, and the president of the Arkansas National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) State Conference of branches, became a mentor to the Little Rock Nine. Bates advocated with school officials and the federal government to ensure their safety. Eight of the nine students survived the school year, with Minnijean Brown expelled in early 1958 when she retaliated against her attackers. Ernest Green, the only senior among the nine students, became the first Black student to graduate from Central later that year.

The following school year, 1958-1959, Gov. Faubus closed all of the city's high schools to prevent desegregation. In a subsequent referendum, Little Rock voters backed keeping the schools closed. Only when a slate of white moderate business candidates gained control of the school board, urged on by a group of white women who formed the Women's Emergency Committee to Re-Open Our Schools (WEC), did the high schools reopen on a token integrated basis in August 1959.

Although the flashpoint of the Little Rock School crisis is well-known, its deeper and wider roots in the community have often remained unexplored. The city's urban renewal projects are a vital part of that story.

Urban renewal is the generic term given to the redevelopment of land in urban areas. In the United States, it is more specifically identified with the Housing Act of 1949, which provided federal funding for slum clearance and urban renewal projects. The act provided funds for the modernization and beautification of cities in the post-World War II era.

In practice, critics noted, urban renewal programs were used to establish, perpetuate, and/or extended geographical segregation, particularly in southern cities where the "Jim Crow" system of segregation laws was under increasing scrutiny and threat of being dismantled by the courts.

Little Rock became known nationwide as a city that aggressively pursued urban renewal funding. Before urban renewal, Little Rock's housing patterns had been relatively integrated. Much of the city was concentrated in a small downtown core that had identifiable areas of Black and white residence, but that also contained many integrated—dubbed "pepper and salt"—neighborhoods too. A good deal of Black life centered around the city's thriving business and entertainment district on West Ninth Street.

Urban renewal fundamentally changed these residential and commercial patterns. Many urban renewal projects in Little Rock targeted Black downtown areas of residence for demolition as slums. At the same time, new segregated public housing projects were built that encouraged the eastward movement of the Black population and the westward movement of the white population. The city began to rapidly expand and sprawl over a much wider area.

Various practices aided and abetted this process. Some white homes had restrictive covenants that prevented their sale to African Americans. Redlining by mortgage brokers restricted loans to Black families in certain areas. Racial steering by realtors meant that potential Black and white buyers were only shown homes in the east or west of the city depending on their race.

Real estate agents also engaged in "block-busting" by deliberately moving Black families into centrally located white blocks of residence to encourage whites to move out and purchase more expensive homes in the growing Little Rock western suburbs. Blacks then paid higher prices for the limited downtown housing stock left available to them. This created a racially driven real estate boom in the city. While all of these practices were later declared illegal, by that time much of the damage had already been done.

Urban renewal profoundly influenced Little Rock's plans for and responses to school desegregation. When the *Brown* decision was handed down in 1954, Little Rock was at the forefront of southern urban school districts in drawing up plans to desegregate. Superintendent of Schools Virgil T. Blossom assumed responsibility for the city's desegregation plan to such a degree that it became known as the "Blossom Plan."

In a seeming contradiction, the Blossom Plan for school desegregation led to the building of more segregated schools. Central High School, which, as its name suggests, was centrally

located in the city at the time, was the largest white high school. The Blossom Plan proposed to build two new high schools, one in the historically Black East End of the city named Horace Mann High and one in the white affluent suburbs of the West named Hall High.

Although Blossom initially promised the schools would not be racially designated, his allocation of an all-Black teaching faculty to Horace Mann High and an all-white teaching faculty to Hall High revealed the true intentions of the school building program to perpetuate and extend segregation in the school district while providing for very limited and token desegregation at Central High. It was at this point that the NAACP challenged the Blossom Plan in *Aaron v. Cooper* (1956), which became the central piece of school desegregation litigation in the district.

The segregationist roots of the expanding Little Rock School District had a lasting impact that can still be seen in the city. So too did the rapid expansion of private schools after busing was introduced to achieve racial balance in public schools in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Today, Little Rock is a city of predominantly white private schools and predominantly Black public schools.

White flight out of and Black migration into the city has doubled the percentage of Little Rock's Black population. From twenty-five percent in 1957, Blacks now make up closer to fifty percent of the city's population. For the first time in the 2010 census, Little Rock became a majority nonwhite city. The majority of the Black population is concentrated in the East and South of the city and the majority the white population in the West and North of the city. Increasing school and residential segregation have gone hand-in-hand since 1957.

The dismantling of Jim Crow segregation in Little Rock has been replaced by a new form of geographical segregation. Many cities outside the South had already established racial and ethnic enclaves in residential patterns. Southern segregation laws provided daily reminders of and reinforced notions about white superiority and Black inferiority in social, political, economic, and cultural spaces. As this system of laws was undermined by federal litigation and legislation, geography became the new racial marker in Little Rock.

The interstate highways that were built in the city reinforced these racial lines. The construction of Interstate 630 in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, proved especially controversial since it laid a hard and wide concrete line across the city that definitively divided a Black South from a white North. Interstate 630 also further paved the way for more white flight out to the western suburbs.

Meanwhile, the construction of the downtown Interstate 30 cut off the Black East End neighborhoods from the rest of the city. The construction of Interstate 430 cut off the white western suburbs from the rest of the city. Both interstates facilitated further white flight, this time out of the city altogether, with the rapid growth of predominantly white cities outside of Little Rock, such as Jacksonville to the North and Benton and Bryant to the South.

Such residential segregation was reflected not only in school segregation, but in many other public facilities too. For example, Black neighborhood parks and white neighborhood parks are in practice segregated since those who frequent them come from the segregated neighborhoods that surround them. In this way, geographical segregation made redundant the artifice of Jim

Crow laws by structurally embedding racial segregation into the very fabric of the city, and further beyond into Central Arkansas.

Although there are those who would still insist that this situation came about through a series of individual choices made in the housing market, there is strong evidence, including material introduced into the 1982 Little Rock Schools desegregation lawsuit and upheld in the federal courts, to suggest that the city's current geographically segregated housing patterns have been consciously created by public policy, with private-sector collusion, since the 1950s.

The archives at the Center for Arkansas History and Culture and the Butler Center for Arkansas Studies, both housed in the Bobby L. Roberts Library of Arkansas History and Art, offer a wide range of manuscript materials that illuminate the various aspects and impacts of urban renewal in Little Rock. The following provides a guide to those materials, indicating the most rewarding and helpful entry points into the collections, many of which are also available to consult online.

2. Guide to Collections

i/ The Little Rock Housing Authority and Metroplan Manuscript Collections

The best starting point to gain an overview of the ten main urban renewal projects in Little Rock is the [Little Rock Housing Authority Scrapbooks Microfilm Collection, 1950-1980 \(UALR.MS.0085\)](#). Microfilm rolls 1 through 4 contain newspaper scrapbook records that extensively document the projects. Microfilm rolls 4 and 5 contain documents and promotional materials that outline various project plans and how they were advertised and sold to the public.

The [Metroplan](#) records contain a wealth of primary documents related to urban renewal and urban planning. From 1955, when it was founded, through to 1970, Metroplan was known as the Metropolitan Area Planning Commission (MAPC). The organization was a committee of one hundred influential citizens chaired by local businessman Raymond Rebsamen. The MAPC was originally formed to address the economic impact of the Little Rock Air Force Base in Jacksonville. In 1970, it was renamed Metroplan, when it expanded its activities beyond Pulaski County.

MAPC played a major role in providing studies related to urban renewal. Below is a chronological list of some of the key documents and maps that illustrate the development of urban renewal projects in Little Rock over time. They also include documents that examine the intersection of urban renewal with other related projects in the city, such as the construction of city parks, Interstate 630, and retail development.

For developments in the 1950s see:

[Metropolitan Housing Alliance, Housing Authority of the City of Little Rock: Central redevelopment area topographic and utility map, 1951](#) One of the earliest maps related to urban renewal in the city.

[Urban Renewal A Plan for the Livestock Show Area in Little Rock \(Metropolitan Housing Alliance, 1958\)](#) A map of one of the city's first major urban renewal projects.

[Parks for the Metropolitan Area of Pulaski County \(Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, July 1959\)](#) Highlights the intersection of urban renewal and city parks and recreation.

For developments in the 1960s see:

[Preliminary Engineering Report East-West Expressway \(Arkansas State Highway Department, 1962\)](#) An analysis of the impact of Interstate 630 on urban renewal projects in the city.

[Manes and Associates, "Urban Renewal Agency Market Plaza Project ARK R-48 Preliminary Report No. 4 'Riverside Drive'," November 1963](#) An overview of the Riverside Drive urban renewal project.

[Housing Authority of the City of Little Rock: Urban renewal project location map \(Metropolitan Housing Alliance, 1967\)](#) A map of urban renewal areas in the city in 1967.

The following documents provide overviews from various perspectives on the status of urban renewal projects by the late 1960s:

[Sneak preview of the central Little Rock urban renewal project \(Urban Progress Association, Inc.: 1968\).](#)

[Sneak preview of the central Little Rock urban renewal project reverse map \(Urban Progress Association, Inc., 1968\).](#)

[Metropolitan Housing Alliance, Housing Authority of the City of Little Rock: Urban renewal project location map, 1968.](#)

[Initial Housing Element: Little Rock-North Little Rock Metropolitan Area \(Metroplan, September 1969\).](#)

For developments in the 1970s see:

[Alexander & Moskowitz, Inc., "Retail Space Supplementary Report of Economic Survey and Market Analysis for the Central Little Rock Urban Renewal Project," July 1970](#) An overview of the impact of urban renewal projects on downtown retail space.

[Analysis of Parking Supply Little Rock-North Little Rock CBD \(Metroplan, June 1975\)](#) An overview of the impact of urban renewal projects on parking in downtown Little Rock and North Little Rock.

[Final Environmental Impact Statement, Interstate 630 \(U.S. Department of Transportation Federal Highway Administration and Arkansas State Highway Department, 1978\)](#) An analysis of the environmental impact of the construction of Interstate 630.

The following documents all provide updates and snapshots of urban renewal projects throughout the 1970s:

[Neighborhood Development Program Urban Renewal Area One program boundary, 1970.](#)

[Metropolitan Housing Alliance, Housing Authority of the City of Little Rock: Little Rock South 20 year study plan, part F., 1970.](#)

[Metropolitan Housing Alliance, Housing Authority of Little Rock: Locality map neighborhood development program, 1970.](#)

[Housing Market Analysis \(Metroplan, March 1971\).](#)

[Metropolitan Housing Alliance, Housing Authority of Little Rock: Project location map, 1971.](#)

[Housing: Revised Housing Element \(Metroplan, March 1972\).](#)

[Neighborhood analyses : Little Rock-North Little Rock Metropolitan Area. Little Rock : Metroplan, 1973. CAHC HT168.L5 M4.](#)

[Housing in 1974: Little Rock-North Little Rock SMSA \(Metroplan, June 1974\)](#)

[Housing in 1975 in Little Rock-North Little Rock Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area \(Metroplan, June 1975\).](#)

[Little Rock New Town In-Town: A Downtown Residential Feasibility Study For Little Rock Unlimited Progress, Inc. \(Metroplan, August 1975\).](#)

ii/ Pamphlets, Reports, Films, and Models

There are various pamphlets, reports, films, and models in other manuscript collections that provide useful supplements to the Little Rock Housing Authority and Metroplan collections.

See for example:

[A workable program for the City of Little Rock, Arkansas. \[Little Rock, AR : s. n.\], 1955. CAHC HT177.L5 W5 1955.](#)

[Raymond Rebsamen, Little Rock, Poised for Progress. Little Rock : Urban Progress Association, 1960. ARK PAM 00445.](#)

[Wittenberg, Delony and Davidson, Central Little Rock urban renewal project Ark. R-12 \[Little Rock : Arkansas Printing & Lithographing Co., 1962\] CAHC NA9127.L5 W5.](#)

[Raymond Rebsamen, Keep this city moving. Little Rock, Ark. : Urban Progress Association, 1964. PAM 02956.](#)

[Urban Progress Association, "Quest," 1962](#) A short film to promote the Central Little Rock Urban Renewal Project's vision for redeveloping the city's downtown.

[Central Little Rock project model for Quest, c. 1962](#) Image of a scale model of the Central Little Rock project.

[Urban Renewal Agency of the city of North Little Rock Arkansas, 1965 annual report. PAM 04627.](#)

[Dave Park, Little Rock looks ahead. \[Little Rock, Ark. : Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, 1966\].](#) Reprinted from Southwestern scene magazine, August 1966 issue, through the cooperation of Southwestern Bell Telephone Company with the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce.

[Alexander & Moskowitz, Inc., Economic survey and market analysis for the central Little Rock renewal project : prepared for the Housing Authority of the City of Little Rock, May 1970. PAM 04608.](#)

[Neighborhood analyses : Little Rock-North Little Rock Metropolitan Area. Little Rock : Metroplan, 1973. ARK OVERSIZE NA9127 .A65 .N6.](#)

[Urban Planning and Development Corporation, Design report. \[Little Rock, Ark.\] : s.n. , \[1973\]. PAM 04634.](#)

[Urban Progress Association, A sneak preview of the central Little Rock Urban Renewal Project : bringing new convenience to you in downtown Little Rock, 1980. ARK PAM 00417.](#)

iii/ Photographs

A number of collections provide a visual perspective on urban renewal projects and their impact on Little Rock's city landscape. The [Earl Saunders, Jr., photograph collection \(UALR.PH.0106\)](#) provides an extensive set of images from the 1940s through the 1970s that incorporate the impact of urban renewal, as does the [Clifton Hull photograph collection \(BC.PHO.37.A\)](#) which covers the period from the 1940s through the 1980s. The Hull collection has some digitized images of urban renewal, such as the [Military Heights urban renewal, site of Holiday Inn Motel, northwest corner Main Street and Pershing Boulevard, North Little Rock, Ark., 1962](#) and [Urban renewal demolition, northeast corner Capitol Avenue and Center Street, looking north at Tower Building, Little Rock, Ark., March 1967.](#)

More photographs of urban renewal can be found in other collections, such as the [Charles E. Wade Worthen Bank collection \(BC.MSS.11.73\)](#), which includes "View from the intersection of West Capitol and Center, showing half block cleared by Central Little Rock Urban Renewal Project, site of construction of new Worthen Bank building, Little Rock, Ark., ca. 1965" (box 5,

folder 17); “Northwest corner of West Capitol and Louisiana St., showing two buildings remaining on Louisiana St., after clearing by Central Arkansas Urban Renewal Project, the Tower Building at Fourth and Center in the background Little Rock, Ark., ca. 1965” (box 5, folder 18); and “Aerial view of west side of Louisiana St. from West Capitol to West Fourth St., after demolition by Central Little Rock Urban Renewal Project, Little Rock, Ark., ca. 1965” (box 5, folder 68).

The [William L. Terry papers \(BC.MSS.14.24\)](#) include a photograph of a [dinner announcing approval of urban renewal project for downtown Little Rock, including J. William Fulbright and Bill Terry, Little Rock, Ark., June 11, 1962.](#)

iv. Other Manuscript Collections

The [Arkansas Small Manuscripts Collection, 1823-1986 \(UALR.MS.0207\)](#) contains a collection of articles, magazines, speeches, and planning documents concerning urban renewal in Little Rock and Fort Smith written by George Wildgren between 1963-1969 (box 12, folder 8).

The [Raymond Rebsamen papers \(UALR.MS.0263\)](#) contain information about the chair of the Metropolitan Area Planning Commission. Rebsamen helped found the Urban Progress Association that assisted with the planning and execution of the Central Little Rock Urban Renewal Plan. Rebsamen was also the president of civic organizations such as the Greater Little Rock Community Chest and the Greater Little Rock Chamber of Commerce. See especially series 1: personal papers, 1931-2009, box 2, folder 7, Urban renewal, 1955-1969.

The [Jason P. Rouby papers \(BC.MSS.11.67\)](#) contain correspondence, newspaper clippings, awards, and photographs related to the life of journalist Jason P. Rouby. The bulk of the correspondence in the collection relates to Rouby’s professional career at the *Arkansas Gazette*, and his involvement with the Urban Progress Association and Metroplan. Newspaper clippings cover urban renewal in Little Rock.

The [Winthrop Rockefeller Collection, 1912-1973 \(UALR.MSS.0001\)](#) contains materials related to urban renewal that were generated by the first Republican governor of Arkansas in the twentieth century who served two terms in office between 1967 and 1971. See record group IV Public Relations Office, box 303, folder 2 Urban Renewal (file 1 of 2) and folder 3 Urban Renewal (file 2 of 2).

The [Interstate 630 collection \(BC.MSS.98.49\)](#) contains documents related to that construction project, which intersected with and had an important impact on Little Rock’s urban renewal projects.

The [UA Little Rock Seminar in Public History \(HIST 7391\) Files on Downtown Little Rock Partnership \(UALR.MS.0295\)](#) contain materials generated by a UA Little Rock class project paper “Keeping the Lights On: The Evolution of the Downtown Little Rock Partnership,” University of Arkansas at Little Rock Masters of Arts Seminar in Public History Fall 2018.

v. Oral Histories

There are a number of oral histories in various collections that touch upon urban renewal. Several of them can be found in [“Guns to Green Space: The History of MacArthur Park: Oral History Transcripts.”](#) See also the [Elizabeth Jacoway Little Rock Crisis collection \(BC.MSS.10.48\)](#), especially the interviews with Bill Terry and Bob Brown; the [Laverne Bell-Tolliver Papers \(UALR.MS.0285\)](#), especially the interview with Ozell Sutton; the [Grif Stockley Papers \(BC.MSS.01.01\)](#), especially the interviews with [Georg and Wilma Iggers](#) and [the Jeffries Family](#); Frances Ross’s interviews with [Ed Cromwell](#), [Jason Rouby](#), and [Peg Newton Smith](#); and Nancy Tell-Hall’s interview with [Jimmy Moses](#).

3. Guide to Further Reading

Several studies providing starting points to introduce the subject of urban renewal in Little Rock. See for example Ben F. Johnson, III, *Arkansas in Modern America since 1930* (University of Arkansas Press, Second Edition, 2019); John A. Kirk, “Housing, Urban Development and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the Post–Civil Rights South,” *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Society and Culture* 8 (Winter 2006): 47–60, “‘A Study in Second-Class Citizenship’: Race, Urban Development and Little Rock’s Gillam Park, 1934–2004,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 64 (Autumn 2005): 262–286, and [“Urban Renewal,”](#) *Encyclopedia of Arkansas*; John A. Kirk and Jess Porter, [“The Roots of Little Rock’s Segregated Neighborhoods,”](#) *Arkansas Times*, July 10, 2014; Darcy Atwood Baskin Pumphrey, “An Interstate Runs Through It: The Construction of Little Rock’s Interstate 630 and the Fight to Stop It,” MA thesis, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, 2013; Acadia Roher, “Urban Renewal in Little Rock’s Dunbar Historic Neighborhood: A Walking Tour,” MA thesis, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, 2021; Alana Semuels, [“How Segregation Has Persisted in Little Rock,”](#) *The Atlantic*, April 2016; Nancy Tell-Hall, “Little Rock Urban Renewal PROJECT ARK-4: The Demise of West Rock, Arkansas, 1884–1960,” MA thesis, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, 2019; and Martha Walters, “Little Rock Urban Renewal,” *Pulaski County Historical Review* 24 (March 1976): 12–16.

For a wider overview of urban renewal, see for example the classic work on the topic by Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Vintage, 1961); a more recent bestseller, Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (Liveright, 2017); and a short socio-economic analysis in William J. Collins and Katharine L. Shester, “Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal in the United States,” *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 5:1 (2013): 239–73.

A number of case studies about urban renewal and its effects on various American cities have been written, and they serve as useful templates and points of comparison for studies about urban renewal in Little Rock. See for example Hilary Ballon and Kenneth T. Jackson, *Robert Moses and the Modern City: The Transformation of New York* (Norton, 2007); Robert A. Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (Knopf, 1974); Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (Vintage, 1992); Anthony Flint, *Wrestling with Moses: How Jane Jacobs Took on New York’s Master Builder and Transformed the American City* (Random House, 2009); Roberta B. Gratz, *The Battle for Gotham: New York in the Shadow of Robert Moses and Jane Jacobs* (Nation, 2011); Daniel Kay Hertz, *The Battle of Lincoln Park: Urban Renewal and Gentrification in Chicago* (Belt Publishing, 2018); Arnold R. Hirsch,

Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago 1940-1960 (University of Chicago Press, 2009); Derek S. Hyra, *The New Urban Renewal: The Economic Transformation of Harlem and Bronzeville* (University of Chicago Press, 2008); Alison Isenberg, *Designing San Francisco: Art, Land, and Urban Renewal in the City by the Bay* (Princeton University Press, 2017); Thomas H. O'Connor, *Building A New Boston: Politics and Urban Renewal, 1950-1970* (Northeastern, 1993); Lydia Otero, *La Calle: Spatial Conflicts and Urban Renewal in a Southwest City* (University of Arizona Press, Third Edition, 2010); Erkin Özey, *Urban Renewal and School Reform in Baltimore: Rethinking the 21st Century Public School* (Routledge, 2021); Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton University Press, 2005); James Robert Saunders and Renae Nadine Shackelford, *Urban Renewal and the End of Black Culture in Charlottesville, Virginia: An Oral History of Vinegar Hill* (McFarland, 2005); Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton University Press, 2005); Forrest R. White, *Pride and Prejudice: School Desegregation and Urban Renewal in Norfolk, 1950-1959* (Praeger, 1992); Samuel Zipp, *Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York* (Oxford University Press, 2010);

On freeways and urban renewal, see for example Eric Avila, *The Folklore of the Freeway: Race and Revolt in the Modernist City* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Roger Biles, Raymond A. Mohl, and Mark H. Rose, "Revisiting the Urban Interstates: Politics, Policy, and Culture since World War II," *Journal of Urban History* 40:5 (2014): 827-30; Raymond A. Mohl, "Stop the Road Freeway Revolts in American Cities," *Journal of Urban History* 30 (2004): 674-706; and Mark H. Rose and Raymond A. Mohl, *Interstate: Highway Politics and Policy since 1939* (University of Tennessee Press, 2012).

On downtowns in the twentieth century see for example Robert A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline: The Postwar Fate of US Cities* (Blackwell, 1993); Roger Biles and Mark H. Rose, *A Good Place to Do Business: The Politics of Downtown Renewal since 1945* (Temple University Press, 2022); Lizabeth Cohen, *Saving America's Cities: Ed Logue and the Struggle to Renew Urban America in the Suburban Age* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2019); Robert M. Fogelson, *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950* (Yale University Press, 2003); and Allison Isenberg, *Downtown America: A History of the Place and the People Who Made It* (University of Chicago Press, 2004).

On white flight and suburbanization, which were often a consequence of urban renewal projects, see for example Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford University Press, 1987); Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton University Press, 2005); Kevin M. Kruse and Thomas Sugrue, eds. *The New Suburban History* (University of Chicago Press, 2006); Matthew D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton University Press, 2006); Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton University Press, 2001); and Myka Tucker-Abramson, *Novel Shocks: Urban Renewal and the Origins of Neoliberalism* (Fordham University Press, 2019).

On housing and federal policy, see for example Douglas R. Appler, ed. *The Many Geographies of Urban Renewal: New Perspectives on the Housing Act of 1949* (Temple University Press, 2023); Arnold R. Hirsch, "Searching for a 'Sound Negro Policy': A Racial Agenda for the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954," *Housing Policy Debate* 11:2 (2000): 393-441; and Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (University of Chicago Press, 2008).

There is a large literature on urban renewal, race, and civil rights. For some useful entry points, see for example John F. Bauman, *Public Housing, Race and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920-1974* (Temple University Press, 1987); Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (Harvard University Press, 2009); Richard R. W. Brooks and Carol M. Rose, *Saving the Neighborhood: Racially Restrictive Covenants, Law, and Social Norms* (Harvard University Press, 2013); N. B. D. Connolly, *A World More Concrete: Real Estate and the Remaking of Jim Crow South Florida* (University of Chicago Press, 2014); Joe T. Dardan, "Black Residential Segregation Since the 1948 *Shelley v. Kraemer* Decision," *Journal of Black Studies* 25 (July 1995): 680-91; Peter Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village: Robert Moses, 6,000 Families, and New York City's Great Experiment in Integrated Housing* (Cornell University Press, 2010); Michael O. Emerson, Karen J. Gai, and George Yancey, "Does Race Matter in Residential Segregation?: Exploring the Preferences of White Americans," *American Sociological Review* 66 (December 2001): 922-933; Robin Flowerdew, "Spatial Patterns of Residential Segregation in a Southern City," *Journal of American Studies* 13 (1979): 93-107; David Freund, *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* (University of Chicago Press, 2010); David G. Garcia, *Strategies for Segregation: Race, Residence, and the Struggle for Educational Equality* (University California Press, 2018); Jeffery D. Gonda, *Unjust Deeds: The Restrictive Covenant Cases and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement* (University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Dianne Harris, *Little White Houses: How the Postwar Home Constructed Race in America* (University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Benjamin Houston, *The Nashville Way: Racial Etiquette and the Struggle for Social Justice in a Southern City* (University of Georgia Press, 2012); LeeAnn Lands, *The Culture of Property: Race, Class, and Housing Landscapes in Atlanta, 1880-1950* (University of Georgia Press, 2009); John R. Logan and Mark Schweider, "Racial Segregation and Racial Change in American Suburbs, 1970-1980," *American Journal of Sociology* 89 (January 1984): 874-888; Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Harvard University Press, 1993); Stephen Grant Meyer, *As Long As They Don't Move Next Door: Segregation and Racial Conflict in American Neighborhoods* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2000); Susan Olzak, Suzanne Shanahan, and Elizabeth H. McEneaney, "Poverty, Segregation and Race Riots: 1960 to 1993," *American Sociological Review* 61 (August 1996): 590-613; Amanda I. Seligman, *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side* (University of Chicago Press, 2005); Christopher Silver, "The Racial Origins of Zoning: Southern Cities from 1910-40," *Planning Perspectives* 6 (1991): 189-205; Ronald Tobey, Charles Wetherall, and Jay Bringham, "Moving Out and Settling In: Residential Mobility, Home Owning and the Public Enframing of Citizenship, 1921-1950," *American Historical Review* 95 (1990): 1395-422; and Rhonda Y. Williams, *The Politics of Public Housing: Black Women's Struggles Against Urban Equality* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

Urban renewal is not just an American phenomenon. It has also had a transnational and global reach too. From this perspective, see for example Christopher Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin* (University of Chicago Press, 2011); S. K. Kulshrestha, *Urban Renewal in India: Theory, Initiatives and Spatial Planning Strategies* (SAGE, 2018); Susan Parham, *Market Place: Food Quarters, Design and Urban Renewal in London* (Cambridge Scholars, 2012); Xuefei Ren, *Building Globalization: Transnational Architecture Production in Urban China* (University of Chicago Press, 2011); K. C. Sivaramakrishnan, *Re-Visioning Indian Cities: The Urban Renewal Mission* (SAGE, 2011); Igor Vojnovic, ed. *Urban Sustainability: A Global Perspective* (Michigan State University Press,

2013); and Paul Watt and Peer Smets, eds. *Social Housing and Urban Renewal: A Cross-National Perspective* (Emerald Publishing, 2017).