

Correlations in Racialized Landscapes of Milwaukee and Kansas City Historical and Representational Violence Enacted in Everyday Life

Chelsea Wait, School of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

Abstract

This article presents an argument that as we move through space, we “racialize,” a concept formulated by Omi and Winant,¹ the world around us through materiality, discourse, and embodiment. I build a theoretical framework that weaves together theories of public, power, and practice; I combine this with critical race theory, theory of racial formation, and theories of whiteness. I use methodologies and build on scholarship in cultural landscapes and cultural geography. I provide an overview of historical processes that produced demographic polarization in the American landscape, that, when partnered with discursive racialization in American policy, social science scholarship, and media, produced the aggregated racializing forces that reproduce ongoing segregation in the landscape today. I use the suburban shopping landscapes of Zona Rosa in Kansas City Metropolitan Area and Bayshore in the Milwaukee Metropolitan Area as a comparative case study for this theoretical framework.

Introduction: Race and the World around Us

What we believe about race impacts how we perceive the world around us—places where we labor, live and recreate.² Our sense of our own racial identity and that of those around us frames

¹ Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

² It is essential to be specific about the “we” that I am describing in this article. I describe how people in the US think about race as they move through space (particularly urban space, although all space is racialized); and while I believe this is true regardless of identity, it is the racialized power and imagery produced by a culture of white supremacy that I am describing and analyzing. It requires my own systematic white privilege to blind me to the role of race in moving about the world, only to “uncover” it in this research, as my whiteness does not restrict my body in space because the US landscape is designed to

how we move through public and private spaces. It augments our routes, routines, and behavior in places; it structures how we sense the condition of buildings, land, culture, and society. Information we absorb about race factors into our sense of space and place, such that we ‘feel’ race as an aspect of social order or disorder,³ in which we each individually connect ourselves to broad discourses on social science, criminality, urban space, and race.⁴ This is a process that imbricates centuries of shifting thought on race into our daily lives, and through our routine behaviors, reshapes and reconceptualizes society and space from individuals to the scale of the entire United States. This area of studies runs counter to a post-racial understanding of US identity. If we live in a post-Civil Rights Era, in northern states without the history of Jim Crow, and without overt signs of segregation, what are the material and cultural signs of segregation? Do we sort ourselves? If not, what reproduces segregation decades after it was legislated away? How does this affect our sense of self, our social connections, and our set of privileges, opportunities, and resources?

I argue that ideas of race interlace our bodies and minds with our everyday world. We embody racialization in the city. Through the sensate interactions with the physical spaces, we enter a process of racialization,⁵ imbuing the world with difference, similarity, comfort, fear, investment, or disinvestment. Author Toni Morrison explains that she lives and works “in a wholly

welcome and facilitate the movement of white bodies through space, while simultaneously restricting and incarcerating the bodies of people of color.

³ Greene, Helen Taylor, and Gabbidon, Shaun L. “Social Disorganization Theory.” *Encyclopedia of Race and Crime*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2009, 762.

⁴ I am referring here to the Moynihan Report and Broken Windows Theory, to be detailed in a few pages.

⁵ A process theorized by Omi and Winant which will be described in further detail shortly.

racialized world.”⁶ Building on this revelation, geographer David Delaney lays out a brief overview of the ways in which our world is racialized:

*“Among the central places of what might be called conventional geographies of race lie “the inner city,” “the reservation,” and “the border.” In contrast to some—perhaps imagined—normal or nonracialized places, these are all anomalous, localized places. However, “the outer city,” “the heartland” and the vastness of “unreserved” space are no less raced. The geographies of race we inhabit also include the gated community, the boardroom and the faculty lounge, the dish room, the locker room, the stitching room, the classroom, the prison, the convenience store, the cafeteria, public spaces, and—perhaps especially—home. **But there is no outside to a wholly racialized world.**”⁷(emphasis added)*

The first items in Delaney’s list are distinct locations of race in conventional public thought; places that have been represented repetitively as racially ‘other.’⁸ These are not simple stereotypes of the location of race; the ‘inner city’ is a contradictory cultural package, a dangerous place, a place of ‘moral poverty’⁹ outside of standard American values, it represents a void in the map for many, and it comes with a set of material characteristics: trash and indications of vagrancy, chain link fences, board-ups and vacant buildings, broken glass, potholes, weeds coming through

⁶ Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark : Whiteness and the Literary Imagination / Toni Morrison*. First Vintage Books ed. 1993.4. She writes “My work requires me to think about how free I can be as an African-American woman writer in my genderized, sexualized, wholly racialized world. To think about...the full implications of my situation leads me to consider what happens when other writers work in a highly and historically racialized society.”

⁷ Delaney, David. "The Space that Race Makes." *The Professional Geographer* 54, no. 1 (2002): 6-14.

⁸ I borrow this term from Derrida’s body of work in relation to the self. see *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (1995) p. 637.

⁹ Dilulio, John Jr. “The Coming of the Super-predators.” *The Weekly Standard*. November 27, 1995.

<http://www.weeklystandard.com/the-coming-of-the-super-predators/article/8160#!>

concrete, and other indicators of abeyance and disrepair.¹⁰ This repeated trope makes ‘the inner city’ not only produce ‘the other,’ but also distinguishes it from the hegemon,¹¹ or the normative, dominant, yet ordinary person. In this power relation, the ‘inner city’ is rendered as a place one doesn’t go, one doesn’t need to go, and if one ends up there, the experience is escalated and tense. In contrast, the places in Delaney’s second list (*the outer city, the heartland*) work to structure race just as much as the first list, reinforcing hegemonic values, order, and comfort. This polarizes space, producing ideological difference that far outweighs the actual physical and cultural differences, a polarity that works to reproduce difference, reinforcing the vulnerability of the ‘other’ and the privilege of the hegemon. In order to investigate how the world around us is racialized, I will explain my theoretical framework; provide a brief overview of the historical process that produced the ‘inner city’ in opposition to suburbs and rural places; the social science that intertwines race, space, and history; and explore racialization of the American landscape through a case study comparison between Milwaukee, WI and Kansas City, MO-KS.

Part One: Theoretical Framework, Historical Processes, and Representational Violence in the Racialization of the Landscape

This article begins with broad critical theory concepts of public space, power, and their ideals. Then, I bring in theoretical frameworks, arguments, and concepts from practice theory, embodiment, and aesthetics. I combine this theoretical framework of power, perception, and the everyday with critical race theory, the theory of racial formation, and white supremacy in order to

¹⁰ The portrait that broken windows conjures (maybe see book) article, book, police documents. These materialities themselves have come to stand in for crime, and create a criminal scene, indicting the place and the people, making them vulnerable to fines, incarceration, surveillance, and the health risks associated with overpolicing.

¹¹ *Oxford English Dictionary*: "A leading or paramount power; a dominant state or person" Here, I borrow Gramsci’s use of hegemony, a hegemon being one who enacts hegemony. *Oxford English Dictionary*: "A leading or paramount power; a dominant state or person"

understand racial power in space. I engage cultural landscapes and vernacular architecture arguments and methodologies that analyze space, place, and social behavior, particularly those that examine the subject of race critically.

Public Space, Power, and Ideologies of Social Formation

Theoretically, all people have a right to access public space, participate in public culture, and contribute to the making of the physical world and the world of ideas. Philosopher Hannah Arendt writes, “the reality of the public realm relies on the simultaneous presence of innumerable perspectives and aspects in which the common world presents itself and for which no common measurement or denominator can ever be devised.”¹² Arendt presents a theory that the public world is a place with democratized meaning, and that the construction of the world, by millions of people, ideas, and processes. This democratized meaning impels collective society to also take into consideration time and future generations, “[public space] must transcend the life-span of mortal men.”¹³ Again, the meaning of public space is constructed ideologically as much as physically. Jurgen Habermas describes the “public sphere”¹⁴ and the interstitial discursive space that mediates between the state and the private sphere, essentially allowing society to outline democracy.¹⁵ Furthermore, the city figures in this body of theory as the *place* where the public sphere is constructed, discussed, and takes action. Henri Lefebvre explains that access to the city as a space where human society churns and pivots is a right, a necessity by which people become part of the project of humanity. Henri Lefebvre writes, “the *right to the city* cannot be conceived of as a simple

¹² Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958. 57.

¹³ Arendt, *Human Condition*, 55.

¹⁴ Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991.

¹⁵ For example: Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." *Social Text* 25-26 (1990): 56-80.

visiting right or as a return to traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed *right to urban life*.”¹⁶ Together, through these theories, I formulate the mechanism of public space, public discourse, and public access as an ideal configuration of the construction of culture, whose fulcrum is located in cities.

As stated before, I build on ‘hegemony’ as a structural system in which the ruling faction’s system of cultural values are used to socially perpetuate their control of the ruled, precluding the need of elaborate enforcement of power, and Jacques Derrida’s ‘other,’ or the marginalized entity that a person distances from their self and thereby structures group power. I bring in elements of Michel Foucault’s philosophy of power, particularly the idea of embodied normalization¹⁷ in which social norms are produced and reinforced through the body, using surveillance to influence people to control themselves as if they monitored and routine movement that reinforces correct behavior.¹⁸ Embodied normalization is also psychological. W.E.B. Du Bois writes about a “double consciousness” in which African Americans had come to see themselves, particularly their bodies, spiritual selves, and heritage, through the eyes of white people.¹⁹ Likewise, philosopher Frantz Fanon describes the internalization of power that suffuses ‘other’ individuals with a dual sense of their own cultural identity, and the one that abides by cultural hegemony, but is cast outside it.²⁰ Together, these theoretical frameworks analyze the process and structure of power, as a relationship across society and rooted within.

¹⁶ Henri Lefebvre. "The Right to the City." *Writings on Cities* (1996): 63-181.

¹⁷ Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.

¹⁸ Foucault, *Discipline*, 135.

¹⁹ DuBois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Paperback Classics, 2007. *Cross-listed in minor area: Cultural History of Racism*. 8.

²⁰ Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Weidenfield Press, Inc., 1967.

Practice Theory, Embodiment, and Aesthetics

Power is internalized, rooted within the self in such a way that it guides our bodies through the normalization of behavior, which is gleaned from the world as we are socialized in it, absorbing, responding, translating, testing, and resisting the social norms we are taught. Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, which he defines as "a structuring structure which organizes practices and the perception of practices"²¹ describes the power and process of socialization and cultural awareness, but also the possibility for fluctuation within it. Similarly, Henri Lefebvre's concept of *rhythmanalysis* describes the role of repetition in social learning, particularly through movement, routine, and spatialized praxis. "Everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time, and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm."²² This rhythm is characterized by repetition, interference, and "birth, growth, peak, then decline and end."²³ How does repetition of normalization encounter 'interference' as Lefebvre calls it? Jacques Ranciere describes resistance in even what is thought to be one of the most passive acts, viewing. In *The Emancipated Spectator*, Rancière refutes the myth that the spectator is transparently compliant, and that the act of viewing requires understanding and interpretation.²⁴ Even in media consumption, a viewer modifies what is seen and restructures the message that was transmitted. Whereas Ranciere describes spectators, one could substitute pedestrians in the physical world. Pedestrians interpret and translate what they encounter and observe in the built environment. Together, these three concepts give a sense of how

²¹ Pierre Bourdieu. (1984) *La distinction: Critique sociale du jugement*, Paris: 1979); trans. R. Nice, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 170.

²² Lefebvre, Henri. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013. 25.

²³ Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis*, 25.

²⁴ Ranciere, Jacques. *The Emancipated Spectator*. London: Verso Books, 2009.

practice reproduces the world, while practitioners also transmuting and rewriting normalized practices.

My metaphor mirrors how Michel de Certeau illustrates this concept of practice, as he describes the role of pedestrians in the making of urban space: “Their swarming mass is an innumerable collection of singularities. Their intertwined paths give their shape to spaces. They are not localized; it is rather they that *spatialize*” (emphasis added).²⁵ In this description of a scene, de Certeau describes how the use of space folds, perhaps hierarchically through paths and frequencies, into the concreteness of the place to render social pattern and meaning. While in this example, it is easy to imagine the architectural scale of a plaza, one could also think of pedestrianism throughout an entire city, the edges and centers apparent in those paths, and begin to analyze those phenomena. De Certeau describes practice theory, but with the addition of bodies and space, which crystallizes the focus of Foucault, Lefebvre, Du Bois, Fanon, and Bourdieu into cognition and perception. Arijit Sen and Lisa Silverman, in *Making Place*, write that “to embody something is to express, personify, and give concrete and perceptible form to a concept that may only exist as an abstraction.”²⁶ Yet, place “is not a neutral site into which human beings enter; our current experiences as well as memories of past events frame how we understand and reproduce it.”²⁷ This concept of embodiment describes just how beliefs and ideas about race extend beyond our brains to influence our feet, eyes, gestures, dress, and so forth. These ideas about race form a mindset, which is employed in the physical world and influences our senses, in what Ben

²⁵ De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.97

²⁶ Sen, Arijit, and Lisa Silverman, eds. *Making Place: Space and Embodiment in the City*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014.

²⁷ Sen and Silverman, “Making Place,” 4.

Highmore calls *social aesthetics*.²⁸ Ben Highmore clarifies that the original meaning of aesthetics inscribed both the practice of viewing art, but also the “lower senses” of taste and touch to form a “sensate perception” of the world.²⁹ In this section of my theoretical framework, the theory of practice, or the enactment of normalizing routines that bend, fold, and shift through repetition and resistance, combines with the concept of embodiment to describe how the physical world is rendered through practicing norms or resisting norms in physical places. The concept of social aesthetics synthesizes practice and embodiment as a cognitive and *sensate* process; *we engage our sensory faculties, adapt our gestures and movement, our trajectories, and our attire as we move through space and think about race.*

Critical Race Theory, the Theory of Racial Formation, and White Supremacy

At the center of critical race theory (henceforth CRT) is Derrick Bell’s argument that there has been no progress regarding race in the United States, an idea which was creatively illustrated in his seminal book, *The Faces at the Bottom of the Well*.³⁰ Bell explains that the Civil Rights Movement and others working toward equality were paralleled by movements to derail equality that were disguised or hidden by hegemonic power. This thesis prompted studies in legal processes that confer or deny constitutional rights.³¹ Legal scholar Cheryl Harris describes ‘whiteness’ as a process and a characteristic that bestows value on the property of white people, and encourages whiteness as a habitus (not merely the possession of white skin, but a behavior) to acquire property

²⁸ Highmore, Ben. “Bitter After Taste: Affect, Food and Social Aesthetics.” In *The Affect Theory Reader*, edited by Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, 118–137. Detroit: Duke University Press, 2010.

²⁹ Highmore, “Bitter,” 3.

³⁰ Bell, Derrick. *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism*. New York: BasicBooks, 1992.

³¹ Stefancic, Jean and Richard Delgado. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction. 2nd Edition*. New York: New York University Press, 2012.

and actively seek the accumulation of wealth.³² Whiteness is a *habitus*, but also a *rhythmanalysis*, with a spatial dimension, and an embodiment, because it marks and sorts white and non-white bodies in space and place. Charles W. Mills describes a framework of “white supremacy,” which also structures and orders the world, with dimensions that are “juridico-political, economic, cultural, cognitive-evaluative, and somatic,”³³ outlining a pervasive system in which white people and whiteness as a practice are superior to non-whites. While white supremacy is pervasive, it is also intentionally obscured in our contemporary “post-racial,”³⁴ in order to maintain that supremacy through what scholar Ian Haney-Lopez calls “dog whistle politics.”³⁵ This concealment of white supremacy is also carried out by what Eduardo Bonilla-Silva terms “color-blind racism,”³⁶ or the notion that as systems of racism fades, they are purported to dissolve racism with them, but in actuality, the practices, embodiments, and the ‘habitus’ of race remains.³⁷ The ‘habitus’ of race suggests a process in which race structures our routines and places in which our lives play out. Racial formation theory, outlined by Michael Omi and Howard Winant, is also a processual framework with which to understand how the idea of race imbues the world around us, as beliefs, stereotypes, or stigmas, but I would argue that racialization is and spatial as well. Omi and Winant “define race as *the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group*. Racialization occurs in large-scale and small-scale ways, macro- and

³² Harris, Cheryl. “Whiteness as Property.” In *Critical Race Theory: The Writings that Shaped the Movement*. Crenshaw et al eds. New York: The New Press: 1995. See also Roediger, David R. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London: Verso Books, 1999.

³³ Mills, Charles W. *From Class to Race: Essays in White Marxism and Black Radicalism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.

³⁴ D'Souza, Dinesh. *The End of Racism: Principles for a Multiracial Society*. New York: Free Press, 1995.

³⁵ Ian Haney Lopez. *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism & Wrecked the Middle Class*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

³⁶ Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006.

³⁷ Particularly salient in the chapter of racism after the Civil Rights Era

micro-socially” (emphasis theirs).³⁸ In this definition, the ‘previously unclassified’ lends a temporality and a history to racialization, both socially and personally, as we attribute race to contemporaneous phenomena, but also to phenomena as we encounter them for the first time and interact with them in new ways. In this, I mean that racialization is an ongoing process; for example, we continually racialize the ‘inner city’ in a way that the framework of ‘rhythmanalysis’ suggests that repeatedly engage, redefine, and resist the exact process as a part of a cycle that adapts. These theoretical frameworks for describing the processes and power structures of race in the United States lend valuable analytical tools for examining how we perceive places, where we take up residence, and how we think about the world around us on multiple scales.

Cultural Landscapes, History, and Geography

Carl Sauer, in “The Morphology of Landscape,” argued that geography is inherently cultural as culture is not a product of the land, but the two are mutually constructed,³⁹ thus forming the basis of the area of cultural landscape studies,⁴⁰ with the concept of landscape as a central means for examining the co-construction of the physical and the cultural. As cultural geographer Denis Cosgrove writes, “Landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world. Landscape is a *way of seeing* the world (emphasis added).”⁴¹ Cultural landscapes assess patterns of phenomena, but also architecture, infrastructure, and nature, and the interstitiality of each within each other. Within my research, I figure landscape as a relationship of places to each other. Removal in one area pulls at resources from multiple sites in the interconnected web of landscape—likewise, addition in one area impacts others; furthermore,

³⁸ Omi and Winant, “Racialization,” 111.

³⁹ Sauer, C. O. 1925. “The Morphology of Landscape”. *University of California Publications in Geography* 2 (2):19-53.

⁴⁰ Wallach, Bret. *Understanding the Cultural Landscape*. New York: Guilford Press, 2005. 2.

⁴¹ Cosgrove, Denis E. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* Wiley Online Library, 1998.

removal and addition are related to each other. If one point in a landscape is struck, a constellation of places is pulled in impact.

Several cultural landscapes scholars examine patterns and practices of race. Richard Schein looks at historical manifestation and depictions of race as traces of racializations in the past.⁴² Vernacular architecture historian Dell Upton looks at patterns of movement and race in 18th Century Virginia, noticing that for white masters, places were connected and the masters possessed mobility, but for slaves, places were discrete and static, mobility was restricted.⁴³ Architecture historian Dianne Harris observes that suburbanization was a means of racial purification, the result of a process that involved picture windows, community surveillance, and the concern for privacy.⁴⁴ Gender studies scholar Katherine McKittrick, in *Black Geographies* describes the concentration of vulnerability and the hierarchical distribution of destruction that disproportionately impact neighborhoods of color, particularly through the overlap of poverty and race in the American urban landscape.⁴⁵ Interdisciplinary scholar Rashad Shabazz's *Spatializing Blackness* is an important precedent for my work, because he looks at the historical process and cultural construction through which race becomes incarcerated and restricted in landscapes.⁴⁶ Critical race geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore developed the concept of 'premature death,' or the statistically risk of earlier death, disease, or disabling of wellness that occurs in black communities as a result of racialized

⁴² Schein, Richard H. *Landscape and Race in the United States*. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2006.

⁴³ Upton, Dell. "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." *Places* 2, no. 2 (1984)

⁴⁴ Dianne Harris. "Race, Class, and Privacy in the Ordinary Postwar House, 1945-1960." *Landscape and Race in the United States* (2006): 127-156.

⁴⁵ Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods, eds. *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2007.

⁴⁶ Shabazz, Rashad. *Spatializing Blackness: Architectures of Confinement and Black Masculinity in Chicago*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015.

practices.⁴⁷ These examples provide more than just methodologies, these are works that test arguments and build an aggregate body of work that examines racialized power in the American landscape as a historical, geographic, and cultural process.

Together with this theoretical framework which combines a critical understanding of racialized power with the embodiment of racialized thought in cultural landscapes, which puts fatal caveats on the ideal of public space and the rights of human beings. Some of the distinct patterns I analyze are *racialized dispossession*, a process in which neoliberal economics, white supremacy, and color-blind policy concentrate the failure of the housing industry (real estate, finance, and housing policy) in urban, poor places where people of color make up a large demographic. This leaves scars—physical evidence that dispossession has become racialized, such as boarded up buildings, broken windows, and empty lots. These material instances are racialized such that they engender fear in white supremacist, mainstream culture.⁴⁸ The removal of buildings (through demolition or abeyance), disrepair of neighborhoods (markers of poverty), and overpolicing (institutional but also cultural) void and negate the power of these places, obstructing cultural wealth, necessitating resistance⁴⁹ within the ‘rhythmanalytical’ racialization of the world around us. Yet, these contemporary markers of racialization had antecedents, and today’s racialized landscapes are the result of an ongoing historical process.

⁴⁷ Ruth W. Gilmore, "Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference: Notes on Racism and Geography." *The Professional Geographer* 54, no. 1 (2002): 15-24.

⁴⁸ For example, http://www.popcenter.org/problems/pdfs/abandoned_buildings_and_lots.pdf is a document produced by the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing that gives a detailed outline of the dangers of abandoned buildings.

⁴⁹ Resistance seen today in organizations such as Movement for Black Lives.

Historical Overview of the Concentration Black Urban Poverty

During the critical years after Reconstruction, the policies⁵⁰ meant to end systems of enslaved labor and grant political rights were stripped of power or ignored, and provisions to make reparations were reversed under the guise of “states’ rights.”⁵¹ With the institution of the Black Codes in nine southern states, blackness was transmuted into vagrancy and criminality. The “An act to confer civil rights on freedmen, and for other purposes,” of the state of Mississippi was one of the first laws to do so; it required written permission from the mayor of a city, town, or village or a member from the “board of police” if outside of those areas,⁵² a means by which black people could be pushed into cities. As black people acquired wealth and mobility,⁵³ they were able to more fully inhabit the public sphere and blurred what W.E.B. Du Bois called the color line. In turn, in the form of *Plessy v Ferguson*, white backlash brought a vast new materiality signifying and designating racial segregation.⁵⁴ Jim Crow laws allowed the extralegal atrocities of lynchings, which had a profound impact on social control and racial power; visual culture scholar Nicholas Mirzoeff describes the enthusiasm that white audiences had for attending the spectacle of lynchings, but also the deep psychological impacts that the images of lynchings had on black

⁵⁰ Here, I mean the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments

⁵¹ Anderson, Carol. *White Rage: The Unspoken Truth of Our Racial Divide*. New York: Bloomsbury Publications, 2016, 38.

⁵² State Legislature of Mississippi, "An act to confer civil rights on freedmen, and for other purposes." January 1, 1866. EBSCOhost (accessed April 3, 2017). Clause 5) “on the second Monday of January, one thousand and eight hundred and sixty-six, and annually thereafter, have a lawful home or employment, and shall have written evidence thereof, as follows, to wit: if living in an incorporated city, town or village, a license from the mayor thereof; and if living outside of any incorporated city, town or village, from the member of the board of police of his beat, authorizing him or her to do irregular and job work, or a written contract, as provided in section sixth of this act, which licenses may be revoked for cause, at any time, by the authority granting the same.”

⁵³ DuBois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Paperback Classics, 2007. *Cross-listed in minor area: Critical Geographies of Race*. Du Bois describes the growth of the Black middle class in 1903: “The best of the whites and the best of the Negroes almost never live in anything like close proximity. It thus happens that in nearly every Southern town and city, both whites and blacks see the worst of each other.”

⁵⁴ Fagan, William. "PLESSY VS FERGUSON." *Interrace* 7, no. 4 (1997): 14.

people.⁵⁵ As journalist Isabel Wilkerson details in *The Warmth of Other Suns*, as black people acquired wealth and means from the 1880s to the 1940s, they exercised mobility, in part to find more opportunities, but equally to escape the horrors of Jim Crow, while fully aware the Northern cities were segregated as well.⁵⁶ Historian Thomas Sugrue describes the difficulty that met black migrants coming to northern cities like Detroit: systematic exclusion from sustainable employment, exclusion from healthy neighborhoods, and disenfranchisement from legal rights.⁵⁷ Sugrue also describes the heightened tension in Detroit as the Civil Rights Era drew on, escalating and organizing violence against black people who would try to move into white neighborhoods.⁵⁸ The assassination of Martin Luther King was a pivotal moment in which many white neighborhoods groups and individuals gave up the violent means they used to keep black people out of their neighborhoods and turned to the suburbs in what is known as ‘white flight.’⁵⁹ While this was a turning point in demographic shift, it was not a new era of geographic violence, as historian James Loewen details in *Sundown Towns*, which reveals an extensive (nearly every state had this practice) practice of effectively racial cleansing rural America.⁶⁰ As black people were more and more geographically restricted throughout the country, the government actively facilitated the mobility and accumulation of wealth for white people through institutionalizing property values based on racial purity, mirrored by institutions of real estate and housing loans.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Mirzoeff, Nicholas. “The Shadow and the Substance: Race, Photography, and the Index.” in Fusco, Coco, Wallis, Brian, eds. *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 2003.

⁵⁶ Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America’s Great Migration*. New York: Random House, 2010.

⁵⁷ Sugrue, Thomas J. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. 2nd ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005, 91-178.

⁵⁸ Sugrue, *Origins*, 231.

⁵⁹ Sugrue, *Origins*, 268.

⁶⁰ Loewen, James W. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism*. New York: The New Press, 2005.

⁶¹ Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. See also Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*.

This historical process that produced a demographic polarization between the urban and the non-urban American landscape produced the “concentrated vulnerability”⁶² that McKittrick described. As economic depressions, natural disasters, and epidemic problems hit the United States from 1980 until the 2000s, the impacts hit ‘inner cities’ heavily, in part due to the materiality of overlapping of race and poverty. Yet, the polarization geography of the physical world is not nearly as stark as the representational discourse of racialized places in policy and modern media.

Racialization of the Landscape: A Representational Violence

The racialized discourse representing the urban landscape from the 1890s until today carries cultural weight that borders on the absurd and paints a totalizing portrait of Black America as impoverished, deprived, and immoral. Many assume that the disrepair, dispossession, and poverty of poor areas where people of color live are due to the problems with the people that live there, and this has been intentionally advanced by social scientists, policymakers, popular culture, and the press. Scholar Khalil Muhammad describes the rise of statistical racism: the 1890 census revealed that a disproportionate amount of incarcerated people were black, fueling a supposedly scientific and incontrovertible argument that black people were inherently criminal.⁶³ For most of the Twentieth Century, the Chicago School produced damning concepts in social science such as social disorganization theory,⁶⁴ and broad ontological urban concepts of naturalized “concentric zones,”⁶⁵ which placed racialized people within “zones of transition,”⁶⁶

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993. I will also discuss Kevin Fox Gotham’s historical research into real estate mechanisms of segregation later in this paper.

⁶² McKittrick and Woods, *Black Geographies*.

⁶³ Khalil G. Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2011.

⁶⁴ Greene, “Social Disorganization.” 762.

⁶⁵ Ernest Burgess. “The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project.” *The Trend of Population*, (independent publication) American Sociological Society, Vol XVIII, 85-97. 1925.

⁶⁶ Burgess, “Growth,” 91.

establishing their vulnerability and lack of stability in the eyes of city planners, policymakers, and developers. During the Civil Rights Era, policy analyst-cum-politician Daniel Patrick Moynihan deceptively explained that black people in America had been subject to some of the worst atrocities the world has seen, and praised their resilience, but then built an argument that the history of black people had deeply and almost irreversibly created an inferior culture, in which black men shirked their patriarchal duties and black mothers, by definition, could not socialize their children to the standard of American values, setting up future generations prone to crime and depravity.⁶⁷ Other social scientists⁶⁸ added to these theses, creating a vast myth conflating the materiality of poverty with criminality and with people of color, a tripartite elision that allowed the nullification of rights. In 1982, criminologists George Kelling and James Q. Wilson furthered this elision with “broken windows theory,” which suggested that signs of social disorder should be criminalized, police should be free to take extralegal action when they see the need, and that a vast increase in crime is on the horizon should their warnings be ignored.⁶⁹ In their logic, the built environment stood in for the people, operating on the now ubiquitous trope conflating poverty, race, and ‘the urban.’ Markers of disrepair and dispossession, as simple as broken windows, took on inflated cultural significance and images of broken windows, especially of the contemporaneous failure of public housing, were widespread in mass print media. Little structural analysis at the time looked for the actual causes of the collapse of public housing projects such as Pruitt-Igoe and Robert Taylor

⁶⁷ Daniel Patrick Moynihan and the United States Department of Labor Office of Policy Planning Research. *“The Negro Family : The Case for National Action.”* 1965.

⁶⁸ Edward Banfield. *The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970. See also Wilson, William J. *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978. See also William Julius Wilson. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987. *Wilson has since retracted his idea of the ‘underclass’

⁶⁹ George L. Kelling, and James Q. Wilson. "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety." *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1982. And Kelling, George L. and Catherine M. Coles. *Fixing Broken Windows: Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in our Communities* Simon and Schuster, 1997.

Homes,⁷⁰ projects that were depicted as vast solutions for segregation.⁷¹ The very scale of these projects made them destined to fail without funding for maintenance, but between the popular depiction of black people as immoral and undeserving and the need for white supremacy to protect its privilege, Pruitt was unable to find funding for maintenance.⁷² Just as the Moynihan Report suggested that absent fathers and indolent mothers were the reason for the degradation of the “urban ghetto,”⁷³ the failure of public housing was seen as a failure of the black family. The 1995 discourse of “super-predators” amplified this argument, and explained in an absurdly alarmist tone an apocalyptic increase in crime, just on the horizon.⁷⁴ John Dilulio, a political scientist, wove a story of fear, black childhood, and “moral poverty” meant to scare the public.⁷⁵ Like Kelling and Wilson, Dilulio called for a broad expansion in the enforcement of crime, especially among black, urban youth predicated on gangs, “complete disregard for human life,” and a lack of spirituality.⁷⁶ Altogether, these elements of racialized discourse portended what would be a massive expansion of the prison industry.

These representations themselves commit a violence; while residential segregation comes with systemic restrictions, these representations create an otherness and a cultural opposition of far greater proportions and oppositions that fuel the ‘premature death,’ as Ruth Gilmore conceives of it.⁷⁷ These images are written by white supremacy to reinforce white privilege. The materiality

⁷⁰ Bristol, Katharine G. "The Pruitt-Igoe Myth." *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, no. 3 (1991): 163-71.

⁷¹ Oscar Newman. "Whose Failure is Modern Architecture?" In B. Mikellides (Ed.), *Architecture for People* (45-88). New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston. 1980.

⁷² Bristol, "Pruitt-Igoe."

⁷³ Moynihan, "Negro Family," i.

⁷⁴ Dilulio, John Jr. "The Coming of the Super-predators." *The Weekly Standard*. November 27, 1995.

<http://www.weeklystandard.com/the-coming-of-the-super-predators/article/8160#>!

⁷⁵ This article uses metaphors, exaggerations, and other figures of speech such as “kids that pack guns instead of lunches...”

⁷⁶ Dilulio, "Super-predators," 1995: Dilulio ended with a call for spirituality, eventually working the soon-to-be-established “White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives” under George W. Bush.

⁷⁷ Gilmore, "Fatal," 17.

of dispossession is commonly misunderstood, and there's a violence in thinking that it's the fault of the people who live there because those thoughts manifest in the avoidance (and voidance) of the 'inner city' and the incarceration of the people there, whether in poverty or in prisons. This obscures the systemic reasons: the neoliberal processes of privatizing public amenities, using austerity to minimize the benefit of those amenities, and then demonization and myths about the people who live in these areas or that cities area drain on the economy of the rest of the state. The dispossession, disrepair and criminalizing of the city is part of the systemic dismantling of black culture and the control of black people in the city.

At this point in my article, I have discussed in detail how racialization happens materially and discursively. Using a case study comparison between the racialization of the metropolitan landscape at both the urban and the architectural scales, I would like to explore how racialization happens as a process of embodiment.

Part Two: Racialization at the Urban and Architectural Scales: A Case Study Comparison

I have chosen to compare Milwaukee, WI and Kansas City which spans the state line and exists in Missouri (hereafter KCMO) and Kansas (hereafter KCK), because they are comparable in city population,⁷⁸ metropolitan population,⁷⁹ black population,⁸⁰ dissimilarity indices and current residential segregation,⁸¹ processes of suburbanization,⁸² historical processes of

⁷⁸ According to Census.gov, Milwaukee City has a current population of 600,155 and Kansas City, KS and Kansas City, MO combined have a population of 611,093. <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/5553000,2036000,2938000>

⁷⁹ Based on the 2010 US Census, the Kansas City Metropolitan Statistical Area was populated by 2,035,334 people and the Milwaukee Metropolitan Statistical area was populated by 1,555,908 people.

⁸⁰ Based on the population statistics at www.census.gov the percentage of African American inhabitants in Milwaukee is 40.0% and in the KCMO combined city area, 29.1%

⁸¹ According to www.census.gov, Milwaukee's dissimilarity index is 84.4 while Kansas City (MO-KS) is 72.7, a modest difference, but still significant scores. The dissimilarity index is based on even distribution across the geographical entity, and the score represents how much of the population would need to move to achieve evenness, according to the Population Studies Center: <http://enceladus.isr.umich.edu/race/calculate.html>

⁸² Gotham, *Race and Real Estate*.

segregation,⁸³ economic deindustrialization that has disproportionately impacted minority communities,⁸⁴ and situation in the political landscape.⁸⁵ Based on US Census data, Kansas City and Milwaukee have a similar general population trajectory, with total population peaks in the 1960s and 1970s while the African American population continues to increase.⁸⁶ These statistical and historical similarities permit me to make a spatial comparison between the Milwaukee metropolitan area and the Kansas City metropolitan area.

Kansas City Historical Processes of Racialization

As James Shortridge details in *Cities on the Plains*, Kansas City rose as the central city of the plains of eastern Kansas between the 1860s and 1880s, bolstered principally by railroad lines and mercantile relationships and headquartering, but also the boom in mining (coal, zinc) companies and processing industries, manufacturing and food companies, and the agricultural industry.⁸⁷ As a nexus in shipping, Kansas City became an agricultural center for the country; packinghouses filled the industrial valleys.⁸⁸ Race does not enter this overview of urban formation at this scale; rather, Shortridge handles the subject of race with a solely urban focus on race relations in the city in *Kansas City and How it Grew*.⁸⁹ In this book, he describes the industrial opportunities that black southern migrants sought and found on both sides of the state line,⁹⁰ which

⁸³ Gotham, *Race, Real Estate*. And Greg Carman and Amanda I Seligman. *Wall of Exclusion: The Persistence of Residential Racial Segregation in Metropolitan Milwaukee*, 2010, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.

⁸⁴ Milwaukee: Mark Levine and the UWM Center for Economic Development. "The Economic State of Milwaukee's Inner City: 1970-2000" Accessed April 4, 2017. <http://www4.uwm.edu/ced/publications/innercity2002.pdf>

Kansas City: Leonard Zeskind, "Deindustrialization and Race in Kansas City." (public talk) March 27, 2015. <http://www.irehr.org/2015/03/30/deindustrialization-and-race-in-kansas-city/>

⁸⁵ Ali Zifan, "2016 Presidential Election by County." Accessed April 4, 2017.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2016_Presidential_Election_by_County.svg

⁸⁶ Gotham, *Race, Real Estate*, 17.

⁸⁷ James R. Shortridge, *Cities on the Plains: The Evolution of Urban*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 2004.

⁸⁸ James R. Shortridge, *Kansas City and How It Grew, 1822-2011*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2012, 149.

⁸⁹ Shortridge, *Kansas City*.

⁹⁰ Shortridge, *Kansas City*, 87.

established a black neighborhood in KCK, in close proximity to packinghouses—but which would also place them at lower elevation in the industrial valley and more vulnerable to events like the flooding of 1951.⁹¹ It is important to know that the migration of black people to Kansas City occurred much earlier than in many other parts of the country because of the movement of “Exodusters” or black migrants fleeing the Black Codes by moving to Kansas.⁹² Kansas City journalist Charles Coulter, traces the establishment of black culture and jazz in Kansas City back to 1865, with emphasis on the lack of cultural and political relations between black and white societies.⁹³

With the Exodusters and the Great Migration came the backlash of white people to the presence of black people, in the form of restrictions of residence: racial exclusion laws, restrictive covenants, and practices of segregation perpetuated by the real estate industry. Kevin Gotham describes the campaign that the National Association of Real Estate Boards undertook to perpetuate the idea that black people moving in meant a decline in value through pamphlets, reports, and publications.⁹⁴ This campaign aimed to stigmatize black residents in a way that did not previously exist, thereby *racializing* their bodies, homes, and presence—furthermore, this equation of blackness with the loss of value is the fundamental aspect of *redlining*, a practice of creating maps of home value that would facilitate disinvestment and investment.⁹⁵ In top-down tandem, Gotham explains that city governments first used racial zoning ordinances to restrict race until the Supreme Court struck down its constitutionality, and in their place, real estate markets

⁹¹ Shortridge, *Cities*, 296.

⁹² Nell Irvin Painter. *Exodusters*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979, 27.

⁹³ Coulter, Charles E. "Take up the Black Man's Burden": *Kansas City's African American Communities, 1865-1939*. 2006.

⁹⁴ Gotham, *Race, Real Estate*, 34.

⁹⁵ Amy E. Hillier. "Redlining and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation." *Journal of Urban History* 29, no. 4 (2003): 394-420.

used racial restrictive covenants and deed restrictions.⁹⁶ This practice proliferated and was the maintaining factor in the ongoing segregation of the city. In addition to these top-down forms of instituting segregation was the practice of developers and real estate agents who sought to profit from racial fear, through blockbusting. One of the most prominent forms of blockbusting, a practice whose precedence spread nationwide through Kansas City developer JC Nichols, Gotham argues.⁹⁷ In fact, Nichols had an influential role in national organizations such as the Federal Housing Administration, and it was through these professional networks that he spread the idea of blockbusting.⁹⁸ Historian Amanda Seligman describes the practice of spreading fear about blacks moving into neighborhoods or whites moving into black neighborhoods and driving up costs.⁹⁹ Historian William Worley describes Nichols' influence on the landscape of Kansas City, particularly in commissioning buildings with European architectural influences and planning golf courses, shopping centers, and planned developments in towns on the outskirts of Kansas City, many of which had implicit or explicit exclusions based on race.¹⁰⁰ These architectural elements of suburban recreation and 'orderly' life began a pattern of turning away from the city for culture, recreation, and consumption. While Nichols was influential in the racialization of the city and its suburbs, it is important to discussing the shaping of the rural. The practice of sundown towns was present in Missouri, as Loewen has researched extensively, but it is also difficult to precisely document the practice, so Loewen relied on rural black population statistics in order to assess the

⁹⁶ Gotham, *Race, Real Estate*, 38. Also Jeffrey Gonda. *Unjust Deeds: The Restrictive Covenant Cases and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

⁹⁷ Gotham, *Race, Real Estate*, 41.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Seligman, Amanda I. *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side*. Historical Studies of Urban America. 2005.

¹⁰⁰ William Worley, *J.C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City: Innovation in Planned Residential Communities*. Columbia, MO: The University of Missouri Press, 1990. 25.

pattern; Loewen observes that the number of counties with a Black population at ten percent or lower increased steadily from 1890 until 1970..¹⁰¹

Some Kansas City historians describe the Civil Rights Era in Kansas City as more calm than others,¹⁰² but Charles Coulter describes that the movement was no less prolific; he explains a pivotal moment in which members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized an activist effort to expand public accommodations to places of recreation, which made it through a successful referendum vote.¹⁰³ Likewise, historian Sherry Schirmer documented the racial divisions in mid-Twentieth Century Kansas City and broad organizing efforts of anti-segregationists that pivoted on recreation and public accommodation and labor rights.¹⁰⁴ Despite the supposed ‘calmness’ of the Civil Rights Movement in Kansas City, Gotham writes that white flight took place within just a few years of housing reforms.¹⁰⁵

Milwaukee Processes of the Racialized Landscape

The city of Milwaukee also rose as a significant city of the Midwest in the 1880s, through heavy industry, livestock and tanning industry, and railroad and Great Lakes shipping.¹⁰⁶ Historian Joe Trotter chronicles the early era of the Great Migration in Milwaukee from 1915-1945, tracing a small but robust group of working class black people that strive to make a place for themselves in the city.¹⁰⁷ The Great Migration of black people peaked in Milwaukee much later because it lay in Chicago’s shadow, but also because Milwaukee’s industry leaders refused to hire black people

¹⁰¹ Loewen, *Sundown*, 56

¹⁰² Shortridge, *Kansas City*, 165.

¹⁰³ Charles E. Coulter, “Civic: An Essay,” *The Kansas City Star*, September 18, 2005. Accessed April 4, 2017.

<http://www.kansascity.com/latest-news/article295442/Civic-An-essay-by-Charles-E.-Coulter.html>

¹⁰⁴ Sherry Lamb Schirmer. *City Divided: The Racial Landscape of Kansas City, 1900-1960*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002.

¹⁰⁵ Gotham, *Race, Real Estate*, 131

¹⁰⁶ John Gurda. *The Making of Milwaukee*. Milwaukee: Milwaukee County Historical Society, 1999.

¹⁰⁷ Joe Trotter. *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915-45*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985.

until the 1941 fair employment reform.¹⁰⁸ It was not until the 1960s that the black population of Milwaukee substantially increased, a group that historian Paul Geib describes as determined, prepared, and aware of the obstructions they would face in northern cities.¹⁰⁹ Just as many cities before, there was white backlash to the influx of black people in Milwaukee. In Milwaukee, the practice of redlining and discriminatory mortgage lending created stark disparities.¹¹⁰ Unlike racial zoning or restrictive covenants, this left a legacy that hid from courts by being a part of mortgage approval based on place, bolstered by institutions such as the Homeowners' Loan Corporation.¹¹¹ This effectively wrote value into the landscape for generations through housing market discrimination.

The Civil Rights Era in Milwaukee was driven by inequities in the housing market, manifested in demonstrations and 200 nights of marches for open housing, led by the NAACP Youth Commandos and a white Catholic Priest.¹¹² White groups on the South Side of Milwaukee, many of whom were Eastern European descendants, violently countered these peaceful demonstrations in effort to protect the racial divide that the industrial Menomonee River Valley had created.¹¹³ These protests ended in arson, committed by white segregationists on the headquarters of the Commandos.¹¹⁴ These events, along with the assassination of Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. fomented the white flight that would see a huge shift of white people from the

¹⁰⁸ Paul Geib. "From Mississippi to Milwaukee: A Case Study of the Southern Black Migration to Milwaukee, 1940-1970." *The Journal of Negro History* 83, no. 4 (1998): 229-48.

¹⁰⁹ Geib, "From Mississippi," 244.

¹¹⁰ Eloisa Gomez. *Historic Origins and Contemporary Realities of Racial Disparity in Milwaukee's Mortgage Lending Market: 1930s to Present*. Proquest Dissertations. 1995.

¹¹¹ Gomez, *Historic Origins*, 9-11

¹¹² Patrick Jones. *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

¹¹³ Margaret Rozga and Wisconsin Historical Society. "March on Milwaukee." *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Vol. 90, no. 4 (Summer 2007), 28-39.

¹¹⁴ Rozga. "March," 32.

north side neighborhoods of Milwaukee to the suburbs that ring it.¹¹⁵ For the rural areas beyond the Milwaukee metropolitan area, Loewen's documentation of sundown towns provides context: in 1890, 35 of Wisconsin's 71 counties had fewer than 10 black people, a figure one would expect to decrease as the Great Migration progressed, but in 1930, 58 of the 71 counties had fewer than ten black residents.¹¹⁶ These processes produced the racialization of Milwaukee's landscape, but due to the timing of migration, the proximity to the South, the proximity to Chicago, because of local industry leaders' exclusionary hiring practices, and due to the shift from racial zoning and covenants, Milwaukee's racialized landscape was different from the process that took place in Kansas City, it was more embedded in land and home value rather than race: patterns of lower value were concentrated in the "North Side" while white flight effectively extracted land value as white bodies moved to the suburbs.¹¹⁷ This value-based racial segregation has a quality that lends itself to disparate materialities.

Current Urban Form of Racial Segregation

Comparing the "Racial Dot Maps"¹¹⁸ of Kansas City and Milwaukee, I find two significant patterns, which led me to choose Kansas City and Milwaukee as the cities in my case study comparison. In these maps, both Milwaukee and Kansas City demonstrate startlingly abrupt racial boundaries and one or two large pools of segregation rather than multiple pockets that are dispersed across the city, as other Midwestern cities like Cincinnati demonstrate. These stark edges create a demographic and geographic boundary; they become an embodied, culturally and socially

¹¹⁵ Sugrue, *Origins*. And Kruse, Kevin M. *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.

¹¹⁶ Loewen, *Sundown*, 56.

¹¹⁷ Carman, *Wall*, 16.

¹¹⁸ Cable, Dustin A. "The Racial Dot Map: 2010 Census Block Data." The University of Virginia, Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service. <https://demographics.virginia.edu/DotMap/>

constructed divide that changes the behavior of those who cross the line. When comparing these racial dot maps with median household income maps,¹¹⁹ we can begin to connect spatial and material contexts to segregation, and notice distinct patterns of vulnerability through economic precarity. These patterns have attendant physical characteristics at the urban scale, and I will choose one example from each city to explain how racialization through embodiment happens at an urban scale.

In Kansas City, the “Troost Wall” signifies the stark racial divide that Troost Avenue marks between white and black neighborhoods in Kansas City, as it has for decades.¹²⁰ Gotham argues that this is due to school district boundaries, but the divide was not solely the decision of the school district, but a line which real estate agents used to build panic and extract profit.¹²¹ Using the future of white children as a collateral, real estate agents would steer customers along the boundaries of majority-black schools. In “Policing Troost: A Replication and Expansion of Herbert's Territoriality and Normative Orders Thesis,” a criminological dissertation by Craig Short, Short describes that “Troost Avenue ... influences everything in Kansas City, Missouri. Lifetime residents of either side of the line rarely venture to the other side.”¹²² He describes that residents on the largely white side of the line see no economic, educational, or political reason to cross the line.¹²³ In his dissertation, Short observed three months of police calls to qualitatively study the behavior of the police, noticing striking differences: the police embodied an complete disrespect,

¹¹⁹ I have used the following resources: <http://www.city-data.com/income/income-Milwaukee-Wisconsin.html> and <http://www.city-data.com/income/income-Kansas-City-Missouri.html>

¹²⁰ Gotham, *Race, Real Estate*, 91.

¹²¹ Gotham, *Race, Real Estate*, 93.

¹²² Craig Short, Kenneth Novak, Jessica Hodge, and Toya Like-Haislip. *Policing Troost: A Replication and Expansion of Herbert's Territoriality and Normative Orders Thesis*, 2011, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 38.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

aloofness, and malice for residents east of Troost Ave., while responding kindly, gently, and thoroughly to residents just west of Troost.¹²⁴ Furthermore, “East of Troost” was a common language in police reports. This boundary produced polarity in reactions of the police. While this embodiment is meaningful in itself, it has vast ramifications on the mobility and health of those living there and is a clear example of “premature death.”¹²⁵

Milwaukee has a similar pattern of changing police behavior in the “North Side,” particularly influenced by broken windows theory, as it has been instituted by Chief of Police Ed Flynn.¹²⁶ In instituting this policy, Flynn effectively creates a habitual embodied practice of routine checks of materialities in poor places. In a criminological study of broken windows policing theory and practice, Michael Jenkins completed 99 surveys among Milwaukee Police Department (MPD) officers to establish a consensus that

“the MPD must work with the community to reduce crime, disorder, and fear of crime. This function is rooted in a general understanding of the positive relationships among disorder, the fear of crime and disorder, and in the belief that different communities have different definitions of problems and various capacities to try to lower levels of these phenomena. The next section describes tactics and technologies used by the MPD in fulfilling their function and the manner in which they account for and measure their outcomes.”¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Gilmore, “Fatal Couplings.” 2002.

¹²⁶ Michael Jenkins and George L. Kelling. *The Shifting Organizational Strategies of Police Departments Implementing Broken Windows Policing*, 2011, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 107.

¹²⁷ Jenkins, “Shifting.” 113-114.

Jenkins describes here the theoretical reasoning for divergent policing practices in statistically different communities, largely based on crime, but in a segregated, racialized landscape, crime, race, and poverty often overlap. This logic permits police to practice various ‘tactics’ of policing, based on place. However, as argued in the historical process and representational analysis of part one, ‘place’ elides with ‘race’ and the materiality of poverty to produce guiding ideas for broken windows theory (social disorder) that systematically locate criminality in poor places of color. The “tactics” that Jenkins describes become a repetitive process, a rhythm analytical embodiment, of criminalizing places. As Lefebvre describes, these rhythm analysis cycles are not perfect, but contain variations and interferences. One officer said in Jenkins’ interview

“They’re smart enough cops to say, ‘Oh, okay. I’m going to do this or that.’ And then we discuss and we adjust based on what works. It is really that problem-oriented policing model of S.A.R.A. Not that it’s all in theory and in paper, but it is in daily discussions about what I’m doing about this problem, and other people can listen to it. There isn’t this fear that you’re going to be yelled at.”¹²⁸

The system of broken windows policing has expansion built into it, based on “decision-making,” but which also allows for the reservoir of racialized experiences and material aspects as well as racial projects to come into play. The implicit racialization of ‘social order’ in broken windows theory is a habitus, and a means by which racialization is a perpetually expanding, material cycle of criminalizing people and places.

Comparison at Architectural Scale

¹²⁸ Jenkins, “Shifting.” 116

As J.C. Nichols enacted development projects, suburban shopping was the “heart of planned development,”¹²⁹ but what is the center of the suburb can also be seen as a counterpoint of the racialized city. This counterpoint is related in the landscape through removal: the integration of consumption with the suburban landscape becomes a means of extraction from the city, of financial wealth, material wealth, social wealth, and symbolic wealth, written into the very architecture of the mall. Anthropologist Setha Low argues, “The shift to a spatial analysis of the city requires reconsidering this separation in that contradictions and conflicts at the center are often drawn more vividly at the edge.”¹³⁰ What Low describes here is that while social science lenses have been trained closely on the city, the suburbs are equally laden with cultural and social constructions. At the architectural scale, I will analyze how racialization occurs as an embodiment at the architectural and body scale.

Both Kansas City and Milwaukee have open malls operated by Olshan Properties: Zona Rosa Town Center in Platte Woods, MO (about twelve miles from city center) and Bayshore Town Center in Glendale, WI (about six miles from city center). Olshan Properties is a real estate firm that manages multiple shopping centers throughout the US and is headquartered in New York City.¹³¹ Both properties come with a set of practices that reinforce the concepts of social order, white privilege, and the aesthetic of whiteness. Both of these shopping malls are constructed around the design principles of New Urbanism,¹³² a design method that critiqued the monotonous of the suburbs, becoming an embodied method of extracting the aesthetic of the urban public

¹²⁹ Worley, *J.C. Nichols*, 232

¹³⁰ Setha M. Low. "The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear." *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 1 (2001): 45.

¹³¹ Olshan Properties. "About" Accessed April 4, 2017. <http://www.olshanproperties.com/About.aspx>

¹³² Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. "Neighborhoods and Suburbs." *Design Quarterly*, no. 164 (1995): 10-23.

sphere and re-centering it on suburban development. The stylistic appropriation of simplified but differentiated architectural mimics the centuries of architectural development of downtown culture, but removes it from the racialized landscape of ‘the urban.’ As a landmark, Zona Rosa has an Italianate clock tower, a marker of space which signifies a relationship to European heritage, and serves to reinforce the white supremacist enshrinement of European ancestry. While Bayshore lacks obvious symbols of European architectural landmarks, both malls have central, symmetrically-planned plazas (figures 1 and 2) which also hearkens back to European urban planning. These elements serve to order space by guiding, marking, and framing public space through a sense of European heritage, a social aesthetic that serves as a ‘home’ for whiteness, a place of comfort and heritage. Furthermore, both malls have rewards programs for frequent shoppers entitled “Privilege Loyalty Club,”¹³³ a normalization of the concept of white supremacy, and of the concept of privilege, of being better than something ‘other.’

Both locations reinforce aesthetics of whiteness and white supremacy, but they also enact “codes of conduct”¹³⁴ and “parental escort policies.” Each of these codes of conduct forbid congregation of more than four people, regardless of age. This rule would be ridiculous to enforce on a family of five, but can be enforced discretionarily, as Kelling explains in broken windows theory.¹³⁵ The Bayshore Town Center describes in its “Behavioral Expectations,” “non-purposeful behavior” can be an offense, a very loose definition that echoes the vagrancy laws of the Black

¹³³ Bayshore Town Center. “Bayshore Privilege Loyalty Club.” Accessed April 4, 2017.

<http://www.bayshoretowncenter.com/PRIVILEGE-LOYALTY-CLUB> and Zona Rosa Town Center. “Zona Rosa Privilege Loyalty Club.” Accessed April 4, 2017. <http://www.zonarosa.com/PRIVILEGE-LOYALTY-CLUB>

¹³⁴ Zona Rosa plaza. “Code of Conduct.” Accessed April, 2017. <http://www.zonarosa.com/GUEST-SERVICES/GUEST-INFORMATION#146416-code-of-conduct> Bayshore Town Center. “Code of Conduct and Parental Escort Policy.” Accessed April, 2017. <http://www.bayshoretowncenter.com/GUEST-SERVICES/GUEST-INFORMATION#13513-code-of-conduct>

¹³⁵ Kelling, “Broken,” 1982.

Codes. Dress, behavior, music, consumption of legal substances, and certain kinds of movement are on these lists; the effect is to describe a performance that is acceptable and a performance that is not. Furthermore, as these places have reconstructed a shallow version of Europeanized public space that acts as a scene, the behavior that belongs in places like this is the embodiment of whiteness.

Conclusion

In this article, I have described a theoretical framework that conceptualizes public space and the right to exist in urban public space. I then use critical race theory and the theory of racial formation to investigate a process in which these rights are laden with caveats for those people and spatial situations that do not fit into or perform an aesthetic of whiteness. I have used methodologies of cultural landscapes to explore the historical process of segregation in the American landscape, and an analysis of public discourse that has framed race and conceptualized it in various cultural packages. I then took this study and applied it in a comparative case study exploration of Kansas City and Milwaukee at urban and architectural scales.

Bibliography

- Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958.
- Banfield, Edward. *The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970.
- Bell, Derrick. *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism*. New York: BasicBooks, 1992.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Bristol, Katharine G. "The Pruitt-Igoe Myth." *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, no. 3 (1991): 163-71.
- Burgess, Ernest. "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project." *The Trend of Population*, (independent publication) American Sociological Society, Vol XVIII, 85-97. 1925.
- Carman, Greg, and Amanda I Seligman. *Wall of Exclusion: The Persistence of Residential Racial Segregation in Metropolitan Milwaukee*, 2010, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.
- Cosgrove, Denis E. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* Wiley Online Library, 1998.
- Coulter, Charles E. "Civic: An Essay by Charles E. Coulter," *The Kansas City Star*, September 18, 2005. Accessed April 4, 2017. <http://www.kansascity.com/latest-news/article295442/Civic-An-essay-by-Charles-E.-Coulter.html>
- D'Souza, Dinesh. *The End of Racism: Principles for a Multiracial Society*. New York: Free Press, 1995.
- De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- Delaney, David. "The Space that Race Makes." *The Professional Geographer* 54, no. 1 (2002): 6-14.
- Dilulio, John Jr. "The Coming of the Super-predators." *The Weekly Standard*. November 27, 1995. <http://www.weeklystandard.com/the-coming-of-the-super-predators/article/8160#!>
- Duany, Andres, and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. "Neighborhoods and Suburbs." *Design Quarterly*, no. 164 (1995): 10-23.

- DuBois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Paperback Classics, 2007. *Cross-listed in minor area: Cultural History of Racism*.
- Fagan, William. "PLESSY VS FERGUSON." *Interrace* 7, no. 4 (1997): 14.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Weidenfield Press, Inc., 1967.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
- Geib, Paul. "From Mississippi to Milwaukee: A Case Study of the Southern Black Migration to Milwaukee, 1940-1970." *The Journal of Negro History* 83, no. 4 (1998): 229-48.
- Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. "Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference: Notes on Racism and Geography." *The Professional Geographer* 54, no. 1 (2002): 15-24.
- Gomez, Eloísa. *Historic Origins and Contemporary Realities of Racial Disparity in Milwaukee's Mortgage Lending Market : 1930s to Present / by Eloisa Gomez*. 1995.
- Gonda, Jeffrey D. *Unjust Deeds: The Restrictive Covenant Cases and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.
- Gotham, Kevin Fox. *Race, Real Estate, and Uneven Development: The Kansas City Experience, 1900-2000*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.
- Greene, Helen Taylor, and Gabbidon, Shaun L. "Social Disorganization Theory." *Encyclopedia of Race and Crime*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2009, 762.
- Gurda, John. *The Making of Milwaukee*. Milwaukee: Milwaukee County Historical Society, 1999.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991.
- Haney-Lopez, Ian. *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism & Wrecked the Middle Class*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Harris, Cheryl. "Whiteness as Property." In *Critical Race Theory: The Writings that Shaped the Movement*. Crenshaw et al eds. New York: The New Press: 1995.
- Harris, Dianne. "Race, Class, and Privacy in the Ordinary Postwar House, 1945-1960." *Landscape and Race in the United States* (2006): 127-156.
- Higmore, Ben. "Bitter After Taste: Affect, Food and Social Aesthetics." In *The Affect Theory Reader*, edited by Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, 118–137. Detroit: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Hillier, Amy E. "Redlining and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation." *Journal of Urban History* 29, no. 4 (2003): 394-420.
- Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

- Jenkins, Michael, and Kelling, George L. *The Shifting Organizational Strategies of Police Departments Implementing Broken Windows Policing*, 2011, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 113-114.
- Jones, Patrick D. *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Kelling, George L. and James Q. Wilson. "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety." *The Atlantic Monthly*: March, 1982.
- Kelling, George L. and Catherine M. Coles. *Fixing Broken Windows: Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in our Communities* Simon and Schuster, 1997.
- Kruse, Kevin M. *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.
"The Right to the City." *Writings on Cities* (1996): 63-181.
- Levine, Mark and the UWM Center for Economic Development. "The Economic State of Milwaukee's Inner City: 1970-2000" Accessed April 4, 2017.
<http://www4.uwm.edu/ced/publications/innercity2002.pdf>
- Loewen, James W. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism*. New York: The New Press, 2005.
- Low, Setha M. "The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear." *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 1 (2001): 45.
- Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- McKittrick, Katherine and Clyde Woods, eds. *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2007.
- Mills, Charles W. *From Class to Race: Essays in White Marxism and Black Radicalism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas. "The Shadow and the Substance: Race, Photography, and the Index." in Fusco, Coco, Wallis, Brian, eds. *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 2003.
- Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark : Whiteness and the Literary Imagination / Toni Morrison*. First Vintage Books ed. 1993.
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick and the United States Department of Labor Office of Policy Planning Research. "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action." 1965.
- Muhammad, Khalil G. *The Condemnation of Blackness Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2011.
- Newman, Oscar. "Whose Failure is Modern Architecture?" In B. Mikellides (Ed.), *Architecture for*

- People* (45-88). New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, 1980.
- Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States*. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Painter, Nell Irvin (1976). *Exodusters*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company. p. 27.
- Ranciere, Jacques. *The Emancipated Spectator*. London: Verso Books, 2009.
- Roediger, David R. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London: Verso Books, 1999.
- Rozga, Margaret and Wisconsin Historical Society. "March on Milwaukee." *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Vol. 90, no. 4 (Summer 2007), 28-39.
- Sauer, C. O. 1925. "The Morphology of Landscape". *University of California Publications in Geography* 2 (2):19-53.
- Schein, Richard H. *Landscape and Race in the United States*. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2006.
- Schirmer, Sherry Lamb. *City Divided: The Racial Landscape of Kansas City, 1900-1960*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002.
- Seligman, Amanda I. *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side*. Historical Studies of Urban America. 2005.
- Sen, Arijit, and Lisa Silverman, eds. *Making Place: Space and Embodiment in the City*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014
- Shabazz, Rashad. *Spatializing Blackness: Architectures of Confinement and Black Masculinity in Chicago*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015.
- Stefancic, Jean and Richard Delgado. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. 2nd Edition. New York: New York University Press, 2012.
- Short, Craig, Kenneth Novak, Jessica Hodge, and Toya Like-Haislip. *Policing Troost: A Replication and Expansion of Herbert's Territoriality and Normative Orders Thesis*, 2011, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 38.
- Shortridge, James R. *Cities on the Plains: The Evolution of Urban*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 2004.
- . *Kansas City and How It Grew, 1822-2011*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2012.
- Sugrue, Thomas J. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. 2nd ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Trotter, Joe. *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915-45*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985.
- Upton, Dell. "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." *Places* 2, no. 2 (1984)
- Wallach, Bret. *Understanding the Cultural Landscape*. New York: Guilford Press, 2005.

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

Wilson, William J. *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978.

———. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Worley, William J.C. *Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City: Innovation in Planned Residential Communities*. Columbia, MO: The University of Missouri Press, 1990. 25.

List of Figures

Figure 1: Location map of Zona Rosa Plaza (Courtesy of Google Maps, 2017)

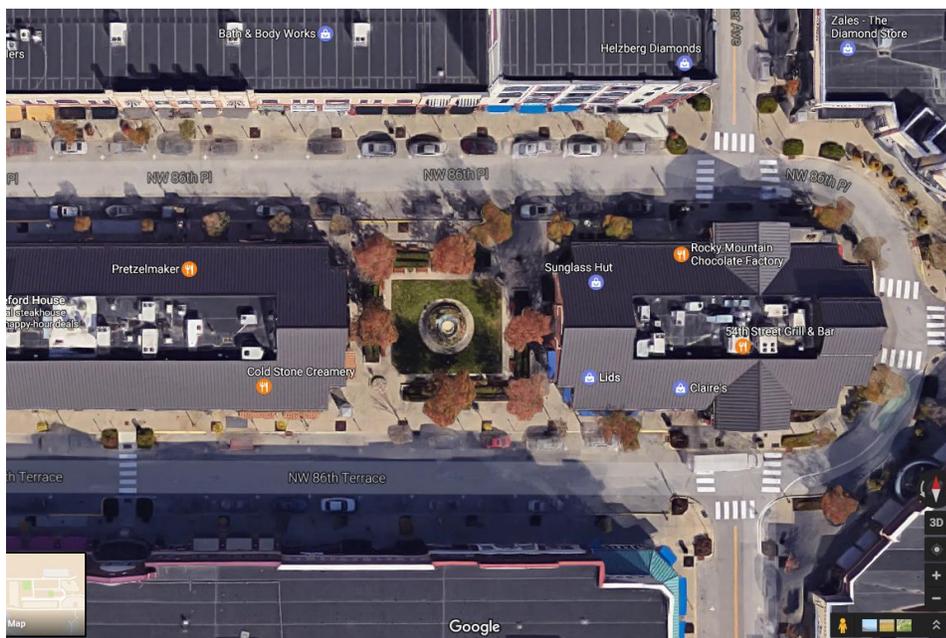


Figure 2: Location map of Bayshore Square (Courtesy of Google Maps, 2017)

