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Parramore and the Interstate 4: A World Torn Asunder (1880-1980)

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Dedicated to all those who struggle against any form of racial oppression and social inequality.

Acknowledgments

One year ago, after I started the research and established the foundation of my study I did not know what to expect besides working daily over one of my passions: the history of cities. As the year changed and my research moved on, obstacles hindered my path: not having a car in a postwar city, not possessing a fluent command of English as a native language and working on a low budget were the main ones. Thus, I established a fixed and organized schedule of writing chapter-by-chapter as the research progressed in order to overcome all complications and prepare myself to delve into a world torn asunder. In this context, I perceived myself developing better knowledge about how to approach research participants and how to be an independent researcher.

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These words are the proof of what I read, listened, processed, analyzed and concluded. I take responsibility for them because I believe in them.

Abstract

The present project centers on how the African American community of Parramore in Orlando, Florida, became a low-income neighborhood. Based on a timeline from 1880 to 1980 and the construction of the Interstate 4, this thesis investigates Parramore's decline grounded in the effects of urban sprawl and racial oppression. Among the effects that contributed to the neighborhood's decline in the postwar era were the closing of black schools and the migration of black residents to other places after the 1960s; the disruption of the neighborhood with the construction of highways and public housing; and the lack of investment in new urban infrastructure. The social, economic, and cultural decay of this community begins with the racist ideology of the Jim Crow era and continues with the racialization of spaces and the control of the wealth distribution through the urbanization of the Sunbelt region. Divided into five chapters, the paper presents the following: Intersection of modern social black history and racial segregation; history of the American urban sprawl; historical development of racial segregation in Florida; history of the National Highway System; and history of Parramore. Ultimately, this thesis aims to draw awareness to how urban megaprojects serve as class and racial barriers. Thus, this paper presents the history of an inner city built upon the violence of the Jim Crow era, and the postwar development that led to the transformation of a thriving neighborhood into a low-income community.

Keywords: Racism, African Americans, Orlando, Urban Sprawl, Parramore, Social Inequality

Introduction

When driving around a city it is easy to overlook the erosion of the historical factors that have shaped a neighborhood. Such is the case when considering the trajectory of the postwar urban development in the racially segregated American South. The historical timeline of cities' development contains the unsavory incidents of violence through lynchings, property loss and disparity between social classes. Thus, even technological advancement such as transportation and housing are tainted with limiting racial oppression. Such is the case when observing the facts following the construction of a highway in Florida, Interstate-4 (I-4). This major highway was by no means a simple innovation of metropolitan transport. Guided by the racialization of spaces, I-4 disrupted Parramore and became a physical barrier between the low-income neighborhood and the affluent downtown area. Thus, Parramore became a region plagued by unemployment, poverty, physical decay and racial isolation.

However, the interstate construction is not the only phenomenon responsible for Parramore's social and economic decline. The neighborhood faced many other issues. The focus of this thesis is the impact of racial segregation and uneven economic development on the African American community of Parramore in Orlando, Florida. Among the factors that contributed to the neighborhood's decline in the postwar era were the closing of black schools and the migration of black residents to other places after the passage of civil rights legislation; the disruption of the neighborhood with the construction of highways and public housing; and the lack of investment in new urban infrastructure. Beyond investigating the role of segregation, this paper emphasizes how physical violence and disenfranchisement shaped the black neighborhood during the Jim Crow era.

Between 1910 and 1940, although segregated and surviving through racial segregation, Parramore had good economic development with successful professionals and establishments.[1] The community had schools, churches, and an established commerce with a vivid presence of community leaders such as Dr. Sylvester Hankins Jr. and Dr. William Wells. However, after 1940, the federal investment in the Sunbelt region transformed the urban landscape of Orlando. More than a geographic notion, the Sunbelt region is a historical concept based on economic, social, and political factors linked to the evolution of the southern and western regions of the United States.[2] The subsequent development transformed cities such as Miami, Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston, Phoenix, and Los Angeles. On one side, the Sunbelt region experienced a development boom that supported the mass production of suburbs with single-family housing, the construction of a highway system focusing on the car industry, and the creation of suburban employment. On the other side, inner cities were left behind without good quality infrastructure and more destruction provided by highways and racially segregated public housing.

The changes faced by Parramore were part of a broad context spread throughout the entire United States. The same happened with the African-American community of Overtown in Miami, Florida. According to historian Raymond Mohl, "State highway planners, acting in conjunction with local officials, routed the Interstate-95 expressway directly through Overtown and into downtown Miami."[3] Thus, the expressway system provided a new opportunity to reorganize Miami's racial space. Understanding the relevance of the social impacts caused by

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[1] Benjamin D. Brotemarkle, *Crossing Division Street: An Oral History of the African-American Community in Orlando* (Florida Historical Society Press, 2005), 23.

[2] Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980,* (Oxford University Press, 1991), xiv.

[3] Raymond A. Mohl, "The Second Ghetto Thesis And The Power Of History," *Journal of Urban History* 29, no. 3 (March 1, 2003): 243–56, doi:10.1177/0096144202250382.

megaprojects such as the National Highway System, the present paper uses the construction of I-4 as a key element to study the transformation of Parramore from a thriving community into a low-income neighborhood between 1880 and 1980.

The scholarly discussion about the Sunbelt region urban development is an understudied subject. As a recent discussion, most of the material emerged between the 1980s and the 2000s. During the 1970s, most scholars established quantitative research based on studies such as Stephen Thernstrom's *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century City*.[4] However, after the 1990s, most of the studies were based in a qualitative design of research focusing in the history of ethnic and racial minorities.[5] As part of the Sunbelt region, the urbanization process of Orlando and Parramore emerges as an understudied subject by scholars. There are only six main research papers written by scholars about Parramore's development. Among them, urban researcher Kristin Larsen contributed a body of work, as well as, historian Ben Brotemarkle. Historian Tana Mosier Porter also provided historical research and finally urban researcher Jennifer Lynn Wheelock also submitted a work on Parramore.[6] Hence, the

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[4] Raymond Mohl, *The Making of Urban America,* edited by Raymond Mohl. Rowman and Littlefield, 1997, 337.

[5] Mark S. Foster, "Urbanization in the Wide-Open Spaces: Recent Historiography on Sunbelt Cities," *Journal of the Southwest*, no. 1, Vol. 33, (1991): 69.

[6] These are the papers written about Parramore's history: Ben Brotemarkle wrote *Crossing Division Street: An Oral History of the African-American*

Kristin Larsen, "Revitalizing the Parramore Heritage Renovation Area: Florida's State Housing Initiatives Partnership Program and Orlando's historic African-American community," *Housing Policy Debate*, 9(3), 1998, 595-630.
---, "Harmonious inequality? Zoning, public housing, and Orlando's Separate City," 1920-1945, *Journal of Planning History*, 1(2), 2002, 154-180.

---, "New Urbanism's role in inner-city neighborhood revitalization", *Housing Studies*, 20(5), 2005, 795-813.
Tana Mosier Porter, "Segregation and Desegregation in Parramore: Orlando's African American Community." The Florida historical quarterly, Vol. 82, No. 3, 2004.

Jennifer Lynn Wheelock, "Examining the Urban New Urbanism for Compatibility with the Evolving Patterns of the Traditional City: A Case Study of the Parramore Heritage District in Orlando, Florida." (Master's thesis, University of Florida) 2007.

challenge presented in this paper lies in presenting the story of an understudied African American community in a postwar city. In order to answer this question, the following paper is divided in five chapters following a geographical order starting from a broad national context first, reduced to Florida's context and finally narrowed it down to the local context of Parramore.

The first chapter presents a social history of African Americans after the period of Reconstruction and the beginning of Jim Crow laws and racial segregation. Divided in three parts, Chapter 1 presents in the first part the period between 1865 and 1920 in which southern white supremacists started to institutionalize segregation in all spheres of society. During these years, racist customs combined with restrictive laws to create segregation and isolate African Americans. As blacks had less space in southern cities, and lynchings and massacres started to increase, a massive wave of migration took place from South to North creating the Great Migration. In the second part, Chapter 1 presents the First Great Migration that happened between 1920 and 1945. During these years, African Americans moved to high-density cities up north forming what was later known as *ghettos.* In the third part, I present the process of Second Great Migration and the social and economic decline of the American inner city between 1945 and 1970. Depictions of African Americans' lives offered by observers such as Henry Louis Gate Jr., Gilbert Osofsky, Arnold Hirsch, and Manning Marable offer remarkable insights to an analysis of how black communities were disrupted by physical violence and isolation.

Establishing a relation between the postwar development and African American communities, Chapter 2 tells the history of the American urban sprawl. In this second chapter, I demonstrate how the modern history of blacks parallels the history of United States' urbanization through the mass production of suburbs. Describing the postwar years, I explain how the federal government designated funds for single-family housing in the suburbs and the construction of the

National Highway System caused destruction in the inner cities. In this sense, the second chapter provides a comprehensive history of housing development and transport investment focusing on the car industry and the freeway revolts that took over the entire country. In describing the path for construction of suburbs, I analyze the process of urban sprawl through ideas offered by scholars such as Andres Duany, Raymond Mohl, Robert Bruegman, and Kenneth Jackson. In order to comprehend the economic relations developed by suburbanization I discuss ideas from authors such as Neil Smith, David Harvey and Gregory Squires. As I formulate a broad perspective over economic and social elements of urban sprawl, I use Federal Housing Administration documents in order to portray the political factors attached to the federal funds designated for urban development.

Narrowing down the geographical environment of my research, Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive history of racial segregation in Florida between 1860 and 1980. Similar to the national history of the Great Migration, Chapter 3 delves into the particularities of Florida's black communities and its struggle against racial segregation and the brutality of physical violence. Following a similar history as the one told on the first chapter, Florida's black communities suffered with increasing the violence of lynchings, and massacres from 1860 to 1950. As the urban sprawl modernizes the American south, white brutality over blacks reduces and more subtle oppressive actions take over. Discussing authors such as David Colburn, Gary Mormino, and Jerrell Shofner, I portray the urban development of Florida during the transition from the 1930s era to the postwar period. Describing the lives of African Americans in Florida, I discuss scholars such as Maxine Jones, Vertamae Smart-Grosvenor, and Robin D. G. Kelley to portray the main role played by women in the anti-lynching and anti-discrimination struggles.

In order to understand the impact of the construction of Interstate 4 through the neighborhood of Parramore, Chapter 4 unfolds the construction of the National Highway System and the I-4 in Central Florida. Using scholars such as Benjamin Ross, Tom Lewis, Raymond Mohl, Gary Mormino, Chapter 4 delves into the backstage of the political and economic factors related to the state of roads and highways in the United States and Florida, the wartime and postwar defense expenditures in Florida, and the construction of I-4 in itself. Besides discussing ideas from scholars, I analyze reports from the Florida State Road Department from the 1950s and 1960s in order to present the continuous changes of transportation policies during the postwar era. Thus, as I close Chapter 4, I establish a connection between I-4 in Orlando, and the history of the National Highway System throughout the country.

As the paper reaches its end, Chapter 5 presents Parramore's history from 1880 to 1980. The chapter explores the main factors that made the African American community changed from a thriving neighborhood into a low-income one. In order to capture the reality of the community, I made interviews in the first semester of 2015, with Parramore's residents from the 1950s and the 1970s and cross-referenced them with the established literature and local newspaper's articles. In this context, I divided chapter 5 in three parts. In the first part, I unveil Parramore's foundation and the impacts of racial segregation. Unfolding these first 60 years, I explain how Parramore, although segregated and isolated, had a relatively good economic development with some successful establishments and professionals until 1940. In this second part, Chapter 5 demonstrates how the wartime and postwar urban development affects the community with the construction of public housing projects. Finally, the third part unveils the effects of the construction of I-4, the process of integration and the uneven economic development between suburbs and inner cities on the neighborhood of Parramore.

Through this detailed analysis of historical changes of African American communities in the United States, the present paper unveils the intersection between urban planning and racial segregation. I hope to model a comprehensive image of how harmful ideology such as racism can metastasize in the public and private spheres through institutions such as affordable housing and federal highways consolidating a class barrier between low-income African Americans and affluent whites. This project is a contribution to all future investigations that intend to struggle against remnants of any kind of racial oppression and social inequality.

Chapter I

Social Black History and Racial Segregation

The bourgeoisie is fearful of the militancy of the Negro woman, and for good reason. The capitalists know, far better than many progressives seem to know, that once Negro women begin to take action, the militancy of the whole Negro people, and thus of the anti-imperialist coalition, is greatly enhanced. (Claudia Jones)[7]

1865 to 1920

The history of African Americans in the United States was built with oppression; racial segregation and social inequality have existed since the foundation of the country. In order to tell the modern social history of black Americans, one needs to comprehend post-Civil War experience. In 1865, the House of Representative passed the Thirteenth Amendment that abolished slavery and any involuntary service except as punishment for a crime. One year later, the U.S. Supreme Court approved the first federal law that defined citizenship to include African Americans. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 terminated discrimination against blacks and inaugurated Reconstruction. However, by 1877 the period of Reconstruction ended after the withdrawal of federal troops from the South. According to historian John Hope Franklin, the United States had a favorable climate to implement segregationist ideas after the Reconstruction ended.[8] Even before the battles over federal control began in earnest, southerners fought over control of public transportation. Franklin writes that southern whites passed laws that demanded racial segregation and that the first states to adopt segregation statutes were Mississippi and Florida. These laws required separation on public transportation.[9] Historians C. Woodward and William McFeely write that, after 1877, "It was becoming clear that the Negro would be effectively disfranchised throughout the South, that he would be firmly relegated to the lower

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[7] Claudia Jones, *Daughters of Africa: An International Anthology of Words and Writings by Women of African Descent*, ed. Margaret Busby (Vintage edition, 1992), 262.
[8] John Hope Franklin, "History of Racial Segregation in the United States," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* no. 304, (Sage Publications, 1956): 05.
[9] Franklin, *History of Racial Segregation in the United States*, 05.

rungs of the economic ladder, and that neither equality nor aspirations for equality in any department of life were for him."[10] Hence, as Reconstruction ended, racist politicians advanced in promoting racial discriminatory policies.

Moreover, in 1875 the U.S. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act in order to protect all citizens from discrimination in public places such as the public transportation system. After eight years, the U.S. Supreme Court considered the under the law carriers could segregate and at the same time, all facilities provided needed to be equal. Historian Sarah Lemmon affirms that, "As it became evident that the federal courts were going to leave segregation to the authority of the states, an epidemic of comprehensive "Jim Crow" laws broke out."[11] Public transportation was a key space to develop and legalize segregation. From 1881 until 1891, Tennessee and eight additional Southern states passed Jim Crow laws inaugurating the wave of judicial clashes between Federal courts and state politicians.[12]

The *Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)* case established itself as a pivotal moment in the history of the Segregation Era. Homer Plessy was arrested for violating the Louisiana separate coach law while traveling between two stations both within the state. Plessy lost the case. The decision affirmed Louisiana law granted power to railroad officials to determine racial identity and forwarded them to coaches designated for their races. Demonstrating the importance of public transportation in structuring racial discrimination, the case confirmed the *Separate but Equal* political doctrine that considered racial segregation as a law supported by supposed scientific

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[10] C. Vann Woodward and William S. McFeely, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow: Commemorative Edition with a New Afterword by Will*, Commemorative edition (Oxford University Press, USA, 2001), 06.

[11] Sarah M. Lemmon, "Transportation Segregation in the Federal Courts since 1865," *The Journal of Negro History* 38, no. 2 (Association for the Study of African American Life and History, 1953): 180.

[12] Lemmon, *Transportation Segregation in the Federal Courts since 1865*, 181.

research of racial inferiority.[13] David Bishop affirms that Plessy v. Ferguson proved the existence of "a consistent pattern of a system of legal racism in American jurisprudence."[14] In other words, the case justified racial exclusion of African Americans at the end of the 19th century.

At the turn of the century, between 1901 and 1907 the states of North Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Maryland, Florida, and Oklahoma legally approved separation of the races on streets cars.[15] Three years later several cities such as Baltimore, Atlanta and Louisville extended segregation laws to housing. These cities passed ordinances designating blocks and districts as "black or white," and prohibited races to live in each other's area.[16] The legal punishments for breaking racial segregation laws varied from fines to imprisonment. Based on this initial segregational context, most of the Negro population worked unskilled and low-paid jobs, and had a small middle class. In Harlem, New York City, more than 90 percent of the community worked these blue-collar jobs as servants, waiters, dressmakers and janitors.[17] Blacks were not slaves, but they had limited means of social mobility and were isolated in specific city areas.

Between 1890 and 1914, Negro population increased substantially in urban areas. Osofsky explains that the black migration occurred with the intent of expanding the opportunity to improve their quality of life.[18] Racial antagonism, violence and residential segregation grew as the African American population increased in northern cities. The phenomena of the *Great*

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[13] David W. Bishop, "Plessy V. Ferguson: A Reinterpretation," *The Journal of Negro History* 62, no. 2 (Association for the Study of African American Life and History, 1977): 126.
[14] Bishop, *Plessy V. Ferguson: A Reinterpretation*, 131.
[15] Franklin, *History of Racial Segregation in the United States*, 07.
[16] Franklin, *History of Racial Segregation in the United States*, 07.
[17] Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto. Negro New York, 1890-1930*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1963), 18.
[18] Osofsky, *The Making of a Ghetto*, 22.

Migration was established after millions of African Americans migrated from largely rural areas of the Southern United States to northern cities during and after the two World Wars.[19] Harlem, like the South Side of Chicago or Dorchester, home of W.E.B. Du Bois in Boston became centers of African American settlement as a result of the existence of designated black areas. Thus, an inevitable consequence of the Negro's migration from the South was to create ghetto such as Harlem where black Americans lived isolated from the rest of society.[20]

Racist customs combined with restrictive laws to create segregation. The anti-black customs left over from America's history with slavery reappeared in the form of national laws. These laws manifested in the institutionalization of segregation in housing, education, and in public places. However, this racial division established in every aspect of society moved beyond private and public space as whites and blacks were educated to be accustomed to a separated life. Historian Franklin points that separate doors for whites and blacks, separate elevators and stairways, separate drinking fountains, and separate toilets existed even where the law did not required them.[21] Historian Jennifer Roback explains that segregation did not simply translate an existing social custom.[22] On the contrary, according to Roback, "Contemporary reports indicate that whites and blacks customarily sat where they chose on municipal streetcars in the absence of segregation ordinances."[23] Thus, through daily routine customs of common people and powerful politicians using law, racism was disseminated and reinforced year after year. In this sense, not all whites were racist, and streetcar companies frequently resisted segregation, both as custom and law due to the fear of losing customers.

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[19] Spencer R. Crew, "The Great Migration of Afro-Americans, 1915-1940," *Monthly Labor Review* (1987): 34.
[20] Osofsky, *The Making of a Ghetto,* 17.
[21] Franklin, *History of Racial Segregation in the United States,* 08.
[22] Jennifer Roback, "The Political Economy of Segregation: The Case of Segregated Streetcars," *The Journal of Economic History* 46, no. 4 (Cambridge University Press, 1986): 894.

On the other side, in the beginning of the 19th Century African Americans refused to accept the inferior status imposed to them. Several strategies appeared in reaction to the generalized racial oppression by whites. Among them different organized institutions arose with different ways of approaching the issue of racism and creative ways of enacting their protests. Some people followed W.E.B. DuBois, a founder of both the Niagara Movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and others followed Booker T. Washington, founder of the Tuskegee Institute. DuBois advocated a frontal assault on discrimination, disfranchisement, and Jim Crow. In contrast, Washington "cautioned against the vigorous pursuit of Civil Rights and political power and insisted that agricultural and industrial training would generate prosperity and self-sufficiency among black people."[24] A year after the foundation of the NAACP, in 1909, another anti-segregation and anti-racism organization appeared in the United States, the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, commonly known as National Urban League (NUL) or just Urban League. Black activists such as Ruth Standish Baldwin and George Edmund Haynes founded NUL to serve as a social welfare organization dedicated to improving living conditions for urban African Americans.[25] Ruth Standish Baldwin and George Edmund Haynes joined forces to build up the Nation Urban League, where they led by example showing how multiracial character could bring success to American National identity.[26]

Thus, by the end of 1913, several organizations dedicated to promoting African American uplift were active in the United States. The NAACP was a solid, well-organized institution with

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[23] Roback, *The Political Economy of Segregation,* 894.
[24] Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine, and Stanley C. Harrold, *African Americans: A Concise History, Combined Volume*, 4 edition (Boston: Pearson, 2011), 281.

[25] Anne Nixon, and Kay Horsch*, The National Urban League, 100 Years of Empowering Communities Ruth Standish Baldwin and George Edmund Haynes, 1950-1980* (Cork: Book Baby, 2013): 01.
[26] Nixon, and Horsch, *The National Urban League*, 02.

huge influence in the struggle against the segregation and with a full-time lawyer, J. Chapin Brinsmade and a secretary, May Childs Nerney.[27] Even before this formal insurgency, a group of black women formed the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) that included thirty-six women's clubs in twelve states. The organization of colored women counted with leaders and pioneers such as, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Hallie Quinn Brown, Mary Ann Shadd Cary, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Ida B. Wells Barnett, Mary Church Terrell, Fanny Jackson Coppin, and Amanda Smith.[28] The NACW adopted the motto "Lifting as We Climb," and by 1914, they had fifty thousand members in clubs nationwide.[29] According to the Association's Constitution, the NACW arose from "The need of united and systematic effort and hoping to furnish evidence of the moral, mental, and material made by the people of color through the efforts of our women, do hereby unite in association of colored women."[30]

As African Americans organized themselves into associations, churches, institutions, and grassroots movements, racial conflicts and riots occurred sparked from these movements for social mobility. The racial violence reached a peak right after the World War I in 1919 with White-Americans confining African Americans into restricted spaces and blacks taking action to establish a more equitable basis in American society.[31] Between 1906 and 1925, race riots spread throughout the United States. In 1917 East St. Louis, Illinois faced racial tensions after 470 black workers were hired to replace white members of the American Federation of Labor who had

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[27] Roger L. Rice, "Residential Segregation by Law, 1910-1917," *The Journal of Southern History* 34, no. 2 (Southern Historical Association, 1968): 182.

[28] LaVonne Leslie, *History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.: A Legacy of Service*, (Xilibris Corporation, 2012), 11.

[29] Hine, Hine, and Harrold, *African Americans: A Concise History,* 281.

[30] Leslie, *History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs*, 47.

[31] David F. Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence: How African Americans Fought Back.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 3-4.

gone on strike against the Aluminum Ore Company.[32] Violence increased when white mobs fired guns in a black community, and African Americans reacted against two white police officers on July 1. After that night, white mobs attacked the same black neighborhood mutilating and killing African Americans and burning their houses.[33] Against the killing of thirty-five African-Americans, the NAACP organized a protest in New York City with thousands of black Americans. In 1919, a black man crossed the imaginary border that separated the black and white beaches and bathing areas in Lake Michigan, and was stoned by white people and drowned.[34] After the police defended white aggressors and arrested a black man that protested against injustice, blacks and whites clashed over a week that left twenty-three African-Americans and fifteen Caucasians dead.[35] As black people reacted against Jim Crow laws, and migrated towards North, white people increased their violent actions leading to what became known as Red Summer. Journalist Cameron McWhirter discusses the interracial tensions felt in the year 1919. In the period after World War I when peace and community was encouraged among Americans, the nation faced a strong anti-black backlash.[36] Violence and chaos escalated between blacks and whites despite African American military service and interracial efforts to defend the United States.[37] Therefore, the year of 1919 earned the title "Red Summer" due to the rioting and deaths of this era.

In the first 20 years of the 1900s, segregation had spread throughout several spheres of the North American society and "bred suspicion and hatred, fostered rumors and misunderstanding, and created conditions that made changing discrimination extremely difficult

[32] Hine, Hine, and Harrold, *African Americans: A Concise History,* 299.
[33] Hine, Hine, and Harrold, *African Americans: A Concise History,* 299.
[34] Hine, Hine, and Harrold, *African Americans: A Concise History,* 301.
[35] Hine, Hine, and Harrold, *African Americans: A Concise History,* 301.
[36] Cameron McWhirter, *Red Summer: The Summer of 1919 and the Awakening of Black America,*" (New York, N.Y.: Henry Holt, 2011), 14.
[37] McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 15.

and prevented any steps towards its reduction."[38] In general, legal segregation made buying and selling, working, renting, railroads, prisons, leisure, sports, churches, eating and drinking, living a problem of race. Therefore, African Americans reacted with generalized methods to respond against the institutionalized racial oppression that occupied all spheres of society. Black and white institutions organized themselves against Jim Crow laws that segregated African Americans from the rest of society.

1920-1945

The two World Wars exposed United States contradiction over racial issues. Abroad the U.S. army fought for self-determination and freedom in WWI and against racial and ethnic genocide in WWII, yet at home, both conflicts increased tension around racial segregation. From 1917 until 1918, the United States participated in the First World War. African Americans positively responded the call to war over the objection of racist government officials, as they had in other conflicts. They joined a Jim Crow military fighting for a world safe for democracy that rested on foundation of "political liberty."[39]

However, as African Americans joined the fight against a common global enemy, their local community faced racial conflicts that continued during and after the War. Looking for the turning point in the history of the urbanization of African Americans, the decades of 1910 and 1920 established a change from a rural to an urban life."[40] According to Henry Louis Gates Jr., between 1895 and 1925 the creation of an urban black identity created the 'New Negro myth'.[41] The New Negro myth embodied a new identity for African Americans who sought to build a new

[38] Franklin, *History of Racial Segregation in the United States,* 8.
[39] David Anderson, "Making the World Safe for Freedom? | Commentary," *Roll Call*, accessed March 8, 2015, http://www.rollcall.com/news/making_the_world_safe_for_freedom_commentary-229337-1.html.
[40] Henry Louis Gates Jr., *The Trope of a New Negro and the Reconstruction of the Image of the Black,* (University of California Press, 1988), 137.
[41] Gates Jr, *The Trope of a New Negro*, 132.

urbanized expression of self.[42] According to Osofsky, in New York, "between 1910 and 1920 the Negro population of the city increased 66 percent (91,709 to 152,467); [and] from 1920 to 1930, it expanded 115 percent (152,467 to 327,706)."[43] Therefore, the Great Migration continued its process from the South towards the North and segregation conflicts increased as African Americans gained an urban identity.

During the Great Migration racial conflicts increased. However, through the work of the NAACP and several other organizations, African Americans established themselves with a stronger socio-political validation in American society. In the 1920s, the NAACP focused all of its efforts in securing constitutional rights by advocacy in political and judicial systems. The organization expanded in members and its influence when James Weldon Johnson joined the group and began traveling all over the country recruiting and spreading the organization's message.[44] After Weldon's national tour, the NAACP grew from 9,000 members in 1916 to 90,000 in 1920.[45] Thus, the expansion of NAACP empowered African Americans to change the way they organized themselves.

However, considering that almost all labor unions appeared hostile toward African Americans in the 1920s, the NAACP avoided focusing its energy on organizing unions. Racism in unionism started to be tackled after the emergence of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the 1930s. According to labor and civil rights researcher Michael Botson, the CIO's call for interracial unionism and abolition of Jim Crow segregation gained support from workers,

[42] Gates Jr, *The Trope of a New Negro*, 132.
[43] Osofsky, *The Making of a Ghetto*, 128.
[44] Hine, Hine, and Harrold, *African Americans: A Concise History,* 315.
[45] Hine, Hine, and Harrold, *African Americans: A Concise History,* 315.

anti-racism, and communist organizations.[46] Between 1930 and 1940, the CIO organized marches, protests and strikes with hundreds of thousands of workers fighting for advancements in civil rights, higher wages, and improved benefits.[47] As blacks achieved more visibility in society, companies decided to employ only black employees. At the same time that African Americans started to be hired, they were employed in the hardest, most dangerous, and lowest-paying jobs. The Great Migration of 1916-1930 marked the transition from south to north for approximately 400,000 African Americans in search of better lives.[48] The employment of African Americans grew in industrial branches such as steel, automobile, shipbuilding, and meatpacking.[49] In 1910 and 1920, the number of blacks employed grew from 500,000 to 901,000.[50] The hiring of only African American workers by Pullman Palace Car Company served as an example of the state of the relationship between blacks and the employment situation in the United States post World War I.[51] After Pullman hired the socialist and unionist Asa Philip Randolph, black workers decided to form a union inside the company.[52] Organized, African Americans had the opportunity of improving their quality of life through their union. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters struggled for recognition under A. Philip Randolph's efforts to convince the Pullman Car Company, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), and the U.S government.[53] He succeeded in 1937, gaining adequate compensation and job security for

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[46] Michael Botson, "Revisiting the Battle of Baytown: Unions, Reds, and Mayhem in a Company Town," *East Texas Historical Journal* XLIX, no. 2 (2011), 14-17.
[47] Steve Rosswurm, "Congress of Industrial Organizations," Encyclopedia of Chicago, http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/326.html Accessed in June 19, 2015. Website.
[48] William H. Harris, *The Harder We Run: Black Workers since the Civil War.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 61.
[49] Harris, *The Harder We Run*, 61.
[50] Harris, *The Harder We Run*, 61.
[51] Hine, Hine, and Harrold, *African Americans: A Concise History,* 321.
[52] Hine, Hine, and Harrold, *African Americans: A Concise History,* 322.
[53] Herbert Hill, *Black Labor and the American Legal System*, (Washington: Bureau of National Affairs, 1977), 77-94.

black railroad workers.[54] Randolph's success served as an example of how to fight racism in the workplace and nationwide. Although black communities empowered themselves and members started having jobs and establishing unions, they were still paid less than whites were. In other words, society acknowledged African Americans as part of the workforce, but still not provided fair wages and welfare provisions. Hence, the Great Depression halted the progress for labor issues as America faced massive unemployment.

During the 1930s, the big picture of the civil rights movement changed with the empowerment of the African Americans with the establishment of unions, associations and different leagues. From the end of 1920s until the end of the 1930s, United States faced a massive wave of protests organized by communists and socialists pressuring President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to create more extensive social welfare programs.[55] Throughout these 10 years, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party built unemployed groups that mobilized hundreds of thousands of jobless workers in protests, and convinced the popular opinion about the necessity of workers' having government's support.[56] Following years of protests, President Roosevelt felt the pressure from the streets and established a series of welfare programs in order to control the Great Depression that affected Americans.[57] After the federal government shifted towards a more progressive perspective, the Supreme Court shifted it views on civil rights.[58] Therefore, the New Deal only appeared due to several years of massive demonstrations pressuring local and federal governments in approving social and economic measures that favorite unemployed citizens and the working class.

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[54] Hill, Herbert. *Black Labor and the American Legal System*, 77-94.
[55] Danny Lucia, "The unemployed movements of the 1930s: Bringing misery out of hiding," *International Socialist Review* no. 71 (May 2010). http://isreview.org/issue/71/unemployed-movements-1930s. Website. Accessed June 19, 2015.
[56] Lucia, *The unemployed movements of the 1930s*, xx.
[57] Lemmon, *Transportation Segregation in the Federal Courts since 1865*, 189.
[58] Lemmon, *Transportation Segregation in the Federal Courts since 1865*, 189.

On one side, the New Deal politics brought professional politicians of the Democratic Party toward a more grassroots activism. According to historian Thomas T. Spencer, "By 1940 politics and policymaking were altered under the far-reaching changes brought about by New Deal programs and Roosevelt's commitment to forging a new, liberal Democratic coalition."[59] Five years before, Roosevelt understood the New Deal coalition rather than the Democratic Party as the key action for his future reelection in 1936.[60] Roosevelt's policies specially target and attracted groups such as unions, African Americans, American youth, farmers, women and independents.[61] In order to attract these specific voters, liberal democrats operated through nonpartisan committees and developed a grassroots campaign.[62] In this context of motivating changes in politics, African American activists with accumulated experience pursued fair trials and the right to vote, leaving the Separate but Equal politics as secondary issue.[63]

On another side, Southern white Democrats backlashed against New Deal politics as they helped reinvigorate democratic politics in the South.[64] The New Deal strengthened the federal government to become directly involved in national issues, such as aid for African Americans in employment and housing.[65] However, Roosevelt's dramatic political reforms sparked increased activity in civil rights groups and encouraged Southern democrats to have a stronger role in national politics.[66] Yet this influence on the segregated South caused southern whites to be

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[59] Thomas T. Spencer, ""Old" Democrats and New Deal Politics: Claude G. Bowers, James A. Farley, and the Changing Democratic Party, 1933–1940" *Indiana Magazine of History* [Online], (1 March 1996), 27.
[60] Spencer, *Old Democrats and New Deal Politics,* 35.
[61] Spencer, *Old Democrats and New Deal Politics,* 35.
[62] Spencer, *Old Democrats and New Deal Politics,* 35.
[63] Lemmon, *Transportation Segregation in the Federal Courts since 1865*, 189
[64] Roger Biles, *The South and the New Deal,* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1994), 122-125.

[65] Biles, *The South and the New Deal,* 122-125.
[66] Biles, *The South and the New Deal,* 122-125.

suspicious of the New Deal because of the difficult race relations in the region.[67] Thus, causing conflicts inside the Democratic Party between Southern politicians and Northern politicians.

The Great Depression further degraded and oppressed the black community's quality of life. By the end of the 1920s, black communities were already considered slums and deteriorating due to high density and subpar services. According to Osofsky, Harlem changed from a potentially ideal community to a neighborhood with social and economic problems based on the high cost of living.[68] Apartments in Harlem had high rents with low-income tenants and an "unprecedented demand created by heavy Negro migration and settlement within a restricted geographical area."[69] High rents with poor salaries led to a congested neighborhood with unsanitary conditions and the declining of African American communities. The declining of black communities preceded the Wall Street Crash in 1929.

African American families faced a new wave of hardship in the wake of the Great Depression. African American women became sole breadwinners and endured virulent racism due to paranoid employers and a desperate economic atmosphere. Work opportunities to black women barely changed from 1900 to late 1950s.[70] According to historians Leslie Brown and Anne Valk, some black women remember the 1930s as a time when everybody faced economic problems, even white people.[71] White families fired African American women from domestic help forcing them onto public relief, selling home-raised produce and establishing community gardens to have their own food at home.[72] In agreement with Brown and Valk, journalist George S. Schuyler affirms that the Depression's effect on blacks was not as harsh simply because they

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[67] Biles, *The South and the New Deal,* 122-125.
[68] Osofsky, *The Making of a Ghetto*, 135.
[69] Osofsky, *The Making of a Ghetto*, 136.
[70] Leslie Brown and Anne Valk, *Living with Jim Crow,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 82.
[71] Brown and Valk, *Living with Jim Crow,* 82.
[72] Brown and Valk, *Living with Jim Crow*, 82.

"had been in the Depression all the time."[73] In this sense, although low-income black American families faced some troubles after the stock market crash, they did not have their lives drastically changed.

On one side, New Deal policies affected black Americans positively by giving them the possibility of sustaining themselves. Reflecting on racial considerations in public policies in the 1930s, John Brueggemann affirms that industrialization, the Depression, the changing role of black labor, and southern economic differentiation forced the government's shifting toward policies that benefited African Americans, especially those in urban areas.[74] Besides appointing pro-Civil Rights representatives to senior positions in his administration, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt appointed blacks to several different cabinet departments and federal agencies.[75]

In order to tackle Great Depression's issues, U.S. government released several public policies through the creation of governmental agencies. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) in 1933 rose as the first major governmental effort to address the social economic crisis of the Great Depression.[76] FERA designated $500 million to distribute amongst various local economic relief programs with direct assistance and transient care.[77] Considering black communities as one of the main population affected by the Depression in 1935, around 3.5 million African Americans received FERA aid.[78] In the same year, Congress approved the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to preserve jobs for young people that suffered from the

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[73] Osofsky, *The Making of a Ghetto,* 149.
[74] John Brueggemann, "Racial Considerations and Social Policy in 1930s: Economic Change and political Opportunities," *Social Science History* 26, no. 1 (Social Science History Association, 2002): 142.
[75] Brueggemann, *Racial Considerations and Social Policy in 1930s,* 143.
[76] T.H. Watkins*, The Great Depression: America in the 1930s,* (Boston, New York, Toronto, and London: Little, Brown and Company, 1993), 124.
[77] Watkins, *The Great Depression*, 124.
[78] Brueggemann, *Racial Considerations and Social Policy in 1930s,* 143.

stock market crash. Despite discriminatory local administrations, the CCC affected 200,000 African Americans of the 2.5 million participants along nine years of existence.[79] The program could not change the entire racist context facing the black community. However, the CCC did affect individuals and provided some job stability.

The federal government took some steps to address African American communities in its welfare programs. However, the New Deal policies reinforced the institutionalization of discrimination by affirming African Americans as a socially excluded minority. According to Steve Valocchi, President Roosevelt signed the National Housing Act of 1934 expanding mortgage loan guarantees for working and middle class families with the condition that housing projects would remain segregated.[80] Moreover, the Underwriting Manual of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) told banks that in order to maintain stability in the neighborhoods all the properties needed to remain occupied by the same social and racial classes.[81] Notwithstanding President Roosevelt, administrators advised developers of residential projects to establish restricted contracts "against non-whites as a condition of obtaining FHA-insured financing."[82] Thus, Roosevelt's New Deal policies considered capitalist private profits and collective security for the working class, and dismissed the practice of racial discrimination.

The social climate of the early 1940s favored African Americans with some of the New Deal economic policies. However, as black shifted into better opportunities in society through the Second Great Migration, white society reacted aggressively. African Americans continued to be excluded in many aspects of life and continued to protest against segregation. Thus, with a vast expansion of industrial demand in 1942, black Americans had the opportunity of having a

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[79] Brueggemann, *Racial Considerations and Social Policy in 1930s,* 145.
[80] Steve Valocchi, "The Racial Basis of Capitalism and the State, and the Impact of the New Deal on African Americans," *Social Problems* 41, no. 3 (Aug 1994): 353.
[81] Valocchi. *The Racial Basis of Capitalism and the State,* 353.
[82] Valocchi. *The Racial Basis of Capitalism and the State,* 353.

factory job in the urban North and West.[83] In the same year, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) established itself as one of the most important Civil Rights organization applying the nonviolent direct actions against segregation and discrimination in housing, employment, and education.[84] In addition to CORE's actions, the socialist leader A. Philip Randolph united with some members of NAACP and NUL formed a grassroots movement called March On Washington Movement (MOWM) and mobilized hundreds of thousands of African Americans against racial discrimination in the army and fair employment measures.[85] Randolph's actions differentiated from the strategies of civil rights leaders at the time as he gathered with ordinary people and not black elites or politicians.[86] As Randolph announced the march to D.C. would gather more than 100 thousand participants, President Roosevelt felt pressured and announced the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC).[87] After the forming of FEPC and facing a boycott from liberal whites and blacks, Randolph canceled the march.[88] The massive postwar migration of African Americans and the mobilization of thousands of workers into protests and marches led to many race conflicts, riots, and the creation and strengthening of several race organizations. In the middle of the race wars, the development of the car culture, the growing federal involvement in the economy and the transition from industrial to postindustrial work occupations, changed the direction of the black experience.

1945 to 1970

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[83] Kenneth Kusmer, *African Americans in the City since World War II: From the Industrial to the Postindustrial Era* in "The New African American Urban History" edited by Kenneth W. Goings and Raymond A. Mohl, Sage Publications, 1996, 321.
[84] Kusmer, *African Americans in the City since World War II,* 321.
[85] Wayne Price, "The 'Negro March on Washington' Movement in the World War II Period: A Radical Contribution to African-American History Month," (January 2013), 05. Website. Accessed June 20, 2015. http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/wayne-price-the-negro-march-on-washington-movement-in-the-world-war-ii-period.pdf
[86] Price, *The Negro March on Washington*, 05.
[87] Price, *The Negro March on Washington,* 05.
[88] Price, *The Negro March on Washington,* 06.

After 1945, black urban development advanced through the Second Great Migration from the rural South to Northern cities. The mass displacement among African Americans continued until the late 1960s. According to Kenneth Kusmer, "Two fundamental causes of this second migration were the mechanization of agriculture in the South, which drove black sharecroppers off the land, and the opportunity for better work in the urban North."[89] The influx of black migrants triggered a radical transformation in American cities with an increasing number of black urbanites. In this sense, the federal investment in urban renewal and highway construction resulted in people and capital displacement.

In the 1950s, United States immersed in the Cold War with the USSR. Historian Manning Marable writes that anti-communist propaganda created a "near-totalitarian" environment with the institutionalization of the Red Scare by federal government through Senator Joseph McCarthy's effort to uncover potential communists inside the country.[90] Specifically Marable argues that the anti-communist wave had a "Devastating effect upon the cause of blacks' civil rights and civil liberties."[91] From 1947 onward, five million public employees were investigated for possible communist affiliation, several trade unions were pressured into avoiding contact with leftist anti-racists activists and 15 states passed "anti-subversion laws."[92] As the Cold War moved along the postwar years, part of the population considered the civil rights movement as a communist plot. In 1960s, even some democrat senators, such as Strom Thurmond from South Carolina considered the anti-segregation activism as a Communist conspiracy.[93] According to historian Jeff Woods senator Thurmond considered sit-ins, marches and rallies, actions supported

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[89] Kusmer, *African Americans in the City since World War II,* 323.
[90] Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1982,* (University Press of Mississippi, 1986), 18.
[91] Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion,* 18.
[92] Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion,* 18.
[93] Jeff Woods, *Black Struggle, Red Scare: Segregation and Anti-Communism in the South, 1948-1968* (LSU Press, 2004), 176.

by the communist ideology.[94] In another case of social injustice, the NAACP leader Harry T. Moore's home was bombed in Miami, Florida, in 1951. Moore and his wife Harriette died in the attack and civil rights proponents demanded justice. However, President Harry S. Truman and the federal government avoided investigating the case and thousands of local black leaders were threatened, arrested, and intimidated.[95] After the federal government delegitimized African American's demand of investigation, and South Carolina legislators declared the NAACP, a 'subversive organization' several other local governments denied anti-segregation groups and activists' demands.[96] Thus, the paranoid mood of anti-communist America debilitated the organization of the black movement against social inequality and racial segregation considering them as a threat for United States capitalist society.

In the middle of McCarthyism, the anti-racist black social movement achieved a victory against the Jim Crow segregation laws. After the judicial case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* in 1954, the United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional state laws that segregated public schools for white and black students. The Supreme Court understood that racial segregation of public education "Deprived minority children of equal educational opportunities in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment."[97] The case involved four class-action suits defending African American students who were denied admission to schools attended by white children. Based on Social Sciences research, the major argument of the Supreme Court concluded that the doctrine of "Separated but Equal" debilitated

[94] Woods, *Black Struggle, Red Scare*, 176.
[95] Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion,* 46.
[96] Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion,* 67.
[97] Charles J. Russo; J. John Harris III and Rosetta F. Sandidge. *Brown v. Board of Education at 40: A Legal History of Equal Educational Opportunities in American Public Education.* Howard University Press. The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 63, No. 3 (summer, 1994), 297.

public education.[98] About the *Brown* case, the U.S. State Department affirmed that racial discrimination in the education system harmed U.S. relations with ally nations with the same objectives in the Cold War.[99] U.S. law researcher Mary Dudziak affirms that, Roosevelt's Secretary of State Dean Acheson concluded that racial discrimination appeared as a source of constant embarrassment to the federal government and jeopardized the maintenance of moral leadership "the free and democratic nations of the world."[100] After *Brown v. Board of Education,* more African American students won several other cases against segregated schools. In reaction to the federal decision of desegregate education, many states governed by white supremacists decided to close black schools. Thus, intensifying the racial conflicts in the judicial sphere and in the streets.

One year later, in the evening of December 1, 1955, the member of the NAACP Rosa Louise McCauley Parks was arrested defying the bus segregation law in Montgomery, Alabama. Parks refused to give up her seat in the colored section to a white person, after the white section was filled. Parks was not the first person to defy segregation in public transportation. In 1953, African American residents of Baton Rouge, Louisiana organized a brief bus boycott; and nine months earlier than Parks' civil disobedience, Claudette Colvin, high school student was arrested for allegedly violating Montgomery's bus segregation ordinance.[101] Parks' direct action sparked a larger civil disobedience movement that lasted from 1955 to 1956, the Montgomery Bus Boycott. From leaderships of Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., E.D. Nixon, Rosa Parks, Fred

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[98] Russo, Harris III, and Sandidge, *Brown v. Board of Education at 40*, 299.
[99] Mary Dudziak, "Brown as a Cold War Case," *Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (June 2004): 34.

[100] Dudziak*, Brown as a Cold War Case*, 34.

[101] Clayborne Carson, "To Walk in Dignity: The Montgomery Bus Boycott," *Magazine of History* 19, no. 1 *(*Organization of American Historians, 2005): 15.

Gray and Jo Ann Robinson, the Boycott manifested the power of mobilization and organization of African Americans against segregation and discrimination.[102] At the same time that the *Brown v. Board of Education* case appeared as the legal turning point against segregation in education, the Montgomery Bus Boycott became the practical turning point in the struggle against public transportation segregation. One year after the Boycott ended, King and other leaders founded the Civil Rights organization called Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and helped to create an organized national Civil Rights Movement. Between 1955 and 1968, the African American Civil Rights Movement struggled against racial segregation and social inequality.

The Movement advanced and generated diverse groups dedicated to civil rights. During the 1960s, anti-segregation organizations such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), organized by people such as James Forman, Bob Moses, Marion Barry, and Stokely Carmichael, led college students over the slogan of "Black Power." SNCC was an American Civil Rights organization that began at Shaw University and organized direct actions such as sit-ins, voter registration marches, and Freedom Rides.[103] As a pacifist organization, SNCC promoted education and participation in the democratic process and inspired millions of African Americans to act towards important changes in American society.[104] In addition to Carmichael, Malcolm X, one of the leaders of Nation of Islam emerged as one of the most articulated spokesperson of the African-American rights and highly critical of white society.[105] According to Marable, Malcolm X believed the Civil Rights Movement meant that African Americans wanted freedom, justice and equality, and not integration or segregation.[106]

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[102] Carson, *To Walk in Dignity*, 15.
[103] Clayborn Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 120-123.
[104] Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening*, 120-123.
[105] Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion,* 62.
[106] Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion,* 63.

After four black students from North Carolina sat in a "whites-only" countertop of a drugstore and peacefully resisted leaving there in 1960, black students held sit-ins in Richmond, Virginia; Tallahassee, Florida; Baltimore, Maryland; Nashville, Tennessee, and in two dozen other cities in Southern states.[107] This event marked an important milestone in the process on the Civil Rights movement. Throughout the 1960s, many civil rights groups adopted Martin Luther King Jr.'s pacifist practice of doing "Sit-ins." Black and white civil rights activists staged sit-ins nationally with the support of CORE, SNCC and NAACP.[108] William Henry Chafe describes the segregationist atmosphere in south by quoting a Greensboro white liberal Louise Smith as saying, "Somebody … could run around another twenty years trying to take down the [Jim Crow] signs … and they would get nowhere."[109] After the birth of the sit-in, the civil rights movement spread to fifty-four cities in nine states and more than one hundred cities engaged in the desegregation of public facilities in response to student-led demonstrations.[110] By 1969, SNCC changed its name to Student National Coordinating Committee and its politics.[111] More specifically, the Committee moved away from a pacifist political stance and adopted a more radical secular humanistic philosophy.[112] Hence, the trajectory of the African American social status culminated in the form of national awareness and radical actions in progressing the rights of black citizens.

In order to empower local groups and challenge the state practice that ignored federal law in term of interstate travel, CORE and NAACP mobilized their activists and formed the Freedom Riders. Black and white activists considered the Freedom Riders, rode interstate buses from

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[107] Clayborne Carson and Martin Luther King, "The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr." Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1992, 4.
[108] Marable, *Race, Reform and Rebellion*, 26.
[109] William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 71.
[110] Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights, 71.*
[111] Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening, 04.*
[112] Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening, 04.*

Northern cities to Southern cities defying state governments that ignored desegregation approved laws. The first Freedom Ride left Washington D.C. on May 1961, heading towards the segregated South with 13 people of different ethnicities, races and genders.[113] Ten days later, a white mob set one Ride's bus on fire and a second one faced a Ku Klux Klan hostile ambush. According to Diane McWhorter, the Freedom Rides formed a campaign that lasted more than seven months with more than 400 direct members, and desegregated bus and train stations from Virginia to Texas.[114] After doing countless trips on Greyhound buses, visiting hundreds of cities in all the Southern states, and being beaten, burnt, and killed, Freedom Riders gained national support and some victories.[115] The most concrete victory of the Freedom Rides came after the Interstate Commerce Commission banned segregation in all facilities serving interstate passengers with the help of Robert F. Kennedy.[116] However, the most important victories of the Civil Rights Movement in the legislative sphere came after President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and finally the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

Even with three important Civil Rights bills signed in the 1960s, the peak period for segregation in the United States was 1970. That year the average African American lived in a neighborhood that was 68 percent black.[117] According to Cutler, Glaeser and Vigdor, from 1940 to 1970, ghettos consolidated and expanded, "With continuing black migration to urban areas and increased racial tensions, ghettos came to dominate the central city."[118] In this sense, during

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[113] Diane McWhorter*,"* The Enduring Courage of the Freedom Riders," *The Journal of Black in Higher Education*, no. 61 (The JBHE Foundation, 2008): 66.

[114] McWhorter. *The Enduring Courage of the Freedom Riders,* 66.
[115] McWhorter. *The Enduring Courage of the Freedom Riders,* 66.
[116] McWhorter. *The Enduring Courage of the Freedom Riders,* 70.
[117] David M. Cutler, Edward L. Glaeser, and Jacob L. Vigdor, "The Rise and Decline of the American Ghetto," *Journal of Political Economy* 107, no. 3 (J University of Chicago Press, 1999): 456.
[118] Cutler, Glaeser, Vigdor, *The Rise and Decline of the American Ghetto,* 456.

1930s African Americans continued migrating to the North and West expanding established ghettos and triggering a second *ghettoization*. The authors affirm that segregation's history had three moments: From 1890 to 1950 in which segregation spread through the country creating the modern ghetto, from 1940 to 1970 in which segregation expanded, and from 1970 forward segregation declined.[119] In other words, the history of racial segregation in the United States appears as the history of the rise and decline of the American inner cities.

For the purposes of this chapter, we have focused on the history of African Americans in the United States starting from the Reconstruction era. This introduction chapter presented how public transportation was essential to understanding how racial oppression took shape in the public space. When the Reconstruction era ended in 1877, Jim Crow laws became an American practice in the south after the iconic *Plessy V. Ferguson* trial and the *Separate but Equal* doctrine was used by the law to validate racial inferiority. American spaces transformed under the influence of these policies that racially categorized both public and private spaces. Racist culture permeated into state legislation and promoted segregational politics nationwide. This combination of racist ideology, social custom and enforced laws signified the propagation of racism nationwide. In reaction to a hostile environment, African Americans created clubs and associations to defend themselves from oppression.

In 1914, Organizations such as NAACP, NUL, the Niagara movement, and NACW joined to promote education and awareness about the oppressive statutes of racial segregation. During WWI, the U.S saw the escalation of violence against African Americans and clashes between whites and blacks. By 1920, the legal institutionalization of racial oppression occupied all spheres of society. By 1930, the first Great Migration of African Americans from the rural south to urban cities in the north, created the urban black identity. The empowerment of African

[119] Cutler, Glaeser, Vigdor, *The Rise and Decline of the American Ghetto,* 456.

Americans expanded with the establishment of unions, associations, and leagues. The politics of the New Deal obligated the federal government to take notice of African American rights. Although New Deal policies gave financial aid to impoverished African Americans by assisting them with housing and employment, the welfare program also ignored the rampant oppression still present with segregation. The Second Great Migration from 1945-1970 happened against the backdrop of the Cold War. The United States was stifled under the paranoia of McCarthyism against the threat of Communism. Thus, the American government demonized the work of civil rights activists as dissenters or communists. During the Red Scare, the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case legally signified the beginning of racial integration. In the 1960's the civil rights movement gained strength along with national recognition. They established several direct actions such as sit-ins and freedom rides.

These actions represented the African American effort to take back the cities and public spaces robbed by oppression and legalized segregation. Through these actions came legal changes such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Acts of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968. Concrete changes appeared after cultural and economic changes that established a better quality of life for African Americans. In this sense, the history of racial segregation in the United States appeared as the history of the rise and fall of inner cities. From a broader analytical perspective, the racialization of the space stemmed from the urbanization process that married to the oppression of African Americans.

Chapter II

History of American Urban Sprawl

It was, I think, very well understood by planners and policy makers that the suburbanization of the United States after 1945 would not only help rescue the US from the prospect of a return to the depression conditions of the 1930s by way of a vast expansion of effective demand, but that it would also serve to create a social and political world devoid of revolutionary consciousness or anti-capitalist sentiment. Small wonder that the feminists of the 1960s saw the suburb as their enemy and that the suburban lifestyle became associated with a certain kind of political subjectivity that was class-prejudiced, exclusionary and racist in the extreme. (David Harvey)[120]

The modern history of African Americans parallels the history of United States' urbanization and modernization. When recounting the history of black communities in the U.S., one must also tell the history of urban sprawl and its transformative influence on the American South and West. The modern history of the southern region after the Reconstruction refers to the first Great Migration of African Americans from the southern towns to northern cities as a major event that changed the structure of cities on a national level. In this sense, the Great Migration of the early twentieth century implies the transformation of African Americans from a rural to urban population. Historian Joe William Trotter Jr. writes how the migration concentrated out of deep southern states such as Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana.[121] Many factors influenced the movement of the African American population. Racial discrimination, disfranchisement, and lack of fair labor motivated the move of southern blacks.[122] In the North, African Americans could have access to jobs in labor industries and greater rights as citizens with wages ranging from $3 to $5 per eight-hour day, versus the $.75 to $1 per day paid in southern industries.[123]

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[120] "New David Harvey Interview on Class Struggle in Urban SpacesCritical-Theory.com," *Critical-Theory*, accessed June 5, 2015, http://www.critical-theory.com/david-harvey-interview-class-struggle-urban-spaces/.

[121] Joe W. Trotter, "The Great Migration," *OAH Magazine of History* 17, no. 1 (2002): 31-33.
[122] Trotter, The Great Migration, 31-32.
[123] Trotter, The Great Migration, 31-32.

In 1945 after the First Great Migration, the south and west experienced a wave of revitalization through federal funding that led to a super charged urban development. Regions such as Miami, Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston, Phoenix, and Los Angeles all enjoyed a boom in industry due to the investment of the government. This investment supported defense spending, the construction of a highway system, and the growth of tourism industry. The Sunbelt is more than a geographic region, it is a historical concept based on economic, social, and political factors linked to the development of the southern and western regions of the United States.[124] The postwar development linked to the Sunbelt region appeared as the direct result of urban sprawl, which stemmed from suburbanization. Urban sprawl emerged as the outcome of a number of policies that resulted in the massive encouragement of people's dispersal and cities' growth.[125] Urban sprawl consisted in a few homogenous components that developed independently from each other. Housing, transportation, and employment were the main components affected by the postwar urban transformations.[126] Although the sprawl established a consistent lifestyle, these three parts need to be individually analyzed to understanding postwar development.

After World War II, the United States dealt with a construction boom supported by federal policy. According to urban historian Raymond Mohl, big-city mayors, downtown business groups, and urban planners clamored for the reconstruction and modernization of the

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[124] Bruce J. Schulman Assistant Professor of History University of California at Los Angeles, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980* (Oxford University Press, 1991), 220.

[125] Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck. *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*, (Macmillan, 2010), 07.

[126] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, Speck. *Suburban Nation, 6.*

American cities.[127] The construction of the highway system was prioritized in the list of investments due to several demands related to suburban growth and military infrastructure. In the early years after the WWII, the Second Migration took African Americans toward Northern, Midwestern and Western urban centers, and upper class and middle-class whites abandoned the downtown area to live in suburbs.[128] In this shifting context, Mohl explains that, "More than five million African Americans made that pilgrimage in the three decades after 1940. Many northern and Midwestern cities already had sizable black populations, but those numbers rose rapidly."[129] As a result, during the 1950s, black communities in big cities faced overcrowding and housing shortages. According to urban historian Hayden Dolores, in 1945 housing construction failed to meet American demand for the sixteenth consecutive year.[130] The Great Depression and the World War II, slowed-down the construction industry progress. However, Dolores states that, the housing shortage really happened after the return of war soldiers and the expansion of families with during the *baby boom* phenomena.[131] In one example, urban historian Tom Martinson affirms that even having enough money to move to another house, his family did not find available housing in Chicago.[132] In addition, dominating the 1947 and 1948 Congress hearings about the housing crisis, Senator Joseph McCarthy achieved the goal of reducing federal investment in public lodging.[133] Thus, with housing shortages, expansion of the population,

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[127] Raymond A. Mohl and Mark H. Rose, *Interstate: Highway Politics and Policy since 1939*, (University of Tennessee Press, 2012), 95.

[128] Mohl; Rose, *Highway Politics and Policy since 1939,* 95.
[129] Mohl; Rose, *Highway Politics and Policy since 1939,* 103.
[130] Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 131.
[131] Hayden, *Building Suburbia,* 131.
[132] Tom Martinson, *American Dreamscape: The Pursuit of Happiness in Postwar Suburbia* (New York: Carroll and Graf Publishers, Inc., 2000), xvi.
[133] Hayden, *Building Suburbia,* 131.

explosion of consumerism, cities required urban renewal as a means of adjusting to the rapid development of the incoming motor age.

Transportation technologies have been shaping cities along human history. Until the 18th century, United States had dense walking cities with people commuting by foot and boats, and housing and jobs close to each other.[134] The omnibus, the streetcar, and the subway expanded all cities throughout the 19th century moving people away from cities' core.[135] However, the development of the car established the most dramatic effect on the city than any other transportation innovation by practically eliminating the necessity of commuting by foot.[136]

Transportation Development

Comprehending the necessity of investment in the construction of the Interstate Highway System, United States government developed the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944. In their report, the National Interregional Highway Committee developed a plan considering the nation's distribution of population, manufacturing activity, agricultural production, employment situation, the location of military and naval establishments, and interregional traffic demand.[137] However, the Federal Aid of 1944 did not mention that the highways needed to serve the local traffic.[138] Different from 1944, the 1956 Interstate Highway Act incorporated some highways for local

[134] Edward Glaeser and Matthew Kahn, *Sprawl and Urban Growth,* (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2003): 03.

[135] Glaeser; Kahn. *Sprawl and Urban Growth*, 03.
[136] Glaeser; Kahn. *Sprawl and Urban Growth*, 03.
[137] Nathaniel Baum-Snow, "Did Highways Cause Suburbanization," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, (MIT Press, 2007): 03.
[138] Baum-Snow, *Did Highways Cause Suburbanization*, 04.

commuting and expanded the mileage to a 41,000-mile interstate system establishing a commitment to pay 90 percent of the cost of the whole construction.[139]

In order to build the system, the federal government discussed and convinced every state of the importance of this massive public construction. However, federal and state governments clashed in the subject of planning routes for highways and local land use plans. Professor Rabin affirms that, "The planning of highways [was] carried out, not by metropolitan planning agencies as might be reasonably expected, but by state highway departments whose officials have repeatedly contended that they have neither the responsibility nor the authority to deal with land-use matters."[140] Land use characteristics constantly engage with highway construction. After the construction of the expressway, the highway agency lost the control over the changes in land use and any change in land use could destroy the usefulness of an interchange.[141] On one side, the county and municipal government controlled the land use planning and on the other side, the federal government constructed the highway system.[142] In this sense, land use plans appeared separated from the expressway plans. Plans for land use by the Bureau of Public Roads had no requirements to adjust within the developmental impacts of routes, intersections, and access points.[143] Thus, highway paths had free range. In this sense, the focus on urban sprawl started with highway construction because transportation was a major factor in urban dispersal.

As a massive public work program, the construction of the expressway system spread through the entire country. Between 1956 and 1972, Interstates highways popped up through

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[139] Yale Rabin, "Highways as a Barrier to Equal Access," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 407, (Sage Publications, Inc., 1973): 71.

[140] Rabin, *Highways as a Barrier to Equal Access*, 72.
[141] Frank M. Covey Jr., "Freeway Interchanges: A Case Study and an Overview." *Marquette Law Review* 45, no. 1 (1961): 24.
[142] Covey Jr., *Freeway Interchanges*, 24.
[143] Rabin, *Highways as a Barrier to Equal Access*, 72.

landscapes and with them interchanges, cloverleaves, and on-off ramps that created areas of useless space in central cities.[144] In order to open space for roads to go straight to cities' cores, governments destroyed swaths of housing and dislocated people. According to Mohl and Rose, by 1960, expressway construction demolished around 37,000 urban housing units per year.[145] Most of the proprieties destroyed were located in low-income African American communities considered "blighted areas" attached to the city's central portion.

The expressway building became the cheapest way of trying to save downtown from decline with an old deteriorating agglomeration of houses.[146] Public housing projects built in African American neighborhoods to accommodate black, low-income families evicted by the expressway construction reproduced racial segregation and social inequality.[147] Considering that public housing projects accommodated poor African Americans residents, the highway construction often meant evictions and removals of disenfranchised dwellers from the central-city area.[148] Designed to prevent racial desegregation, public housing projects reinforced a rigid color line and separated poor blacks from middle-class blacks.[149] Thus, urban renewal appeared as an effective way of gentrifying the downtown area. This development interested urban policymakers, urban real estate interests, and central city business groups.

Groups such as the Urban Land Institute (ULI), the American Road Builders' Association (ARBA), and American Concrete Institute (ACI) publicly considered expressway construction as

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[144] Mohl; Rose, *Highway Politics and Policy since 1939*, 96.
[145] Mohl; Rose, *Highway Politics and Policy since 1939*, 96.
[146] Sheryll Cashin, *The Failures of Integration: How Race and Class Are Undermining the American Dream* (Public Affairs, 2004), 113.
[147] Raymond Mohl, "Race and Housing in the Postwar City: An Explosive History," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 94, no. 01, (Chicago, 2001): 13.
[148] Leonard Blumberg, and Michael Lalli, "Little Ghettoes: A Study of Negroes in the Suburbs," *Phylon* 27, no. 2 (1966): 125.

[149] Robert Hartmann McNamara, *Homelessness in America,* (ABC-CLIO, 2008), 37.

an opportunity to clear the central city of slums.[150] According to Mohl and Rose, in a letter to President Truman, ARBA affirmed that roads could "contribute in a substantial manner to the elimination of slum and deteriorated areas."[151] Moreover, the ACI affirmed that expressways could solve America's problems through "the elimination of slums and blighted areas."[152] Hence, corporations, city planners and mayors exploited the opportunity of building highways as a tool for progress and reinforced racial segregation through the destruction of black neighborhoods.

Between 1940s and 1950s urban planners and architects, elaborated highway plans influenced by the racial segregation context imposed during those decades. In Nashville, Tennessee, after highway planners decided to adjust Interstate-40 in order to pass through one of the city's black community, African Americans decided to launch an opposition campaign.[153] In the end, the campaign failed when the federal court defeated a residents' lawsuit. This trend repeated itself in Montgomery, Alabama, as Interstate-85 destroyed the major black neighborhood of the city and had the support of a notorious racist member of the White Citizens Council, Alabama state highway director Samuel Englehardt.[154] The black population of St. Paul, Minnesota suffered a major disruption after the construction of I-94.[155] In Columbia, South Carolina, even with a strong campaign rallied by the NAACP fighting the route of the Bull Street Expressway, the state Highway Department decided to build it anyway over Franchot Brown, a

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[150] Raymond Mohl, "Planned Destruction: The Interstates and the Central City Housing," in *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America,* ed. John F. Bauman, Roger Biles and Kristin Szylvian, (Penn State Press, 2010), 233.

[151] Mohl; Rose, *Highway Politics and Policy since 1939,* 101.
[152] Mohl; Rose, *Highway Politics and Policy since 1939,* 102.

[153] Cashin, *The Failures of Integration*, 114.

[154] Mohl; Rose, *Highway Politics and Policy since 1939,* 107.
[155] Cashin, *The Failures of Integration*, 114.

famous black community in the city.[156] In addition, cities such as Atlanta, Georgia, and Memphis, Tennessee faced a visible reformulation of the space with Interstates separating white neighborhoods from black neighborhoods.[157] All these examples present the devastating impact of the construction of the highway system in African American neighborhoods in the United States. Despite all the evidence provided there are still those historians who believe that growth of highway systems and car culture are natural steps in social evolution.

Urban planner Robert Bruegmann dismisses the idea that car culture is an offshoot of social prejudice and argues the inevitability of the urbanization of city freeways. Robert Bruegmann affirms that people already intended to move towards a private way of mobility and not a public one.[158] Bruegmann states that automobile replaced the private carriage, not the streetcar lines.[159] The growing American interest in automobile transportation transferred into a preference for private cars instead of depending on public transportation.[160] The automobile, as Bruegmann explains, emerged as another incarnation of class privilege embodied in the agency of being able to afford private transportation.[161] Therefore, streetcar lines became bus lines, and cities experienced a shift in public transportation that developed into an individual system because "Given the management practices and available technologies, it allowed ordinary middle-class citizens the kind of privacy, mobility, and choice once only available to the wealthiest citizens."[162] In other words, with the popularization of the car through the availability of technology and practicality, people "naturally" chose the private transportation over the public

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[156] Mohl; Rose, *Highway Politics and Policy since 1939,* 107.
[157] Cashin, *The Failures of Integration*, 114.
[158] Robert Bruegmann, *Sprawl: A Compact History*, (The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 45.
[159] Bruegmann, *Sprawl: A Compact History*, 45.
[160] Jane Holtz Kay, *Asphalt Nation: How the Automobile Took over America, and How We Can Take It Back,* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1997), 175-177.
[161] Bruegmann, *Sprawl: A Compact History*, 45.
[162] Bruegmann, *Sprawl: A Compact History*, 45.

one. In this sense, the main reason for the construction of the expressway system was simply an expansion of the old highway network based on people's desires.[163] Nevertheless, car culture in the case of highways and urban sprawl appeared as a social construct, despite Bruegmann's comparisons between historical examples of the progression of private transportation

Contradicting Bruegmann, several cases of popular revolts occurred against the construction of highways or specific routes chosen by highway planners. The freeway revolt started in San Francisco in 1959 with public outrage against the building of a massive double-decked Embarcadero Freeway that would destroy the city's historic waterfront and cut the city through the bay-front harbor.[164] Attached to the construction of the Freeway, city planners desired to implement upscale residential neighborhoods, extending business districts for the benefit of downtown businesses.[165] A powerful coalition of neighborhood associations gathered with environmental groups and a board of supervisors to force a shutdown on the Embarcadero Freeway proving that its construction would bring environmental, aesthetic, mass-transit, and housing issues to San Francisco.[166] The construction of the Interstate 95 through downtown Miami clearly demonstrated dramatic consequences of Florida Road Department's (FRD) plan for the city's largest black residential district. FRD's plan created a massive downtown interchange that destroyed 87 acres of housing and commercial properties, and wiped out Overtown's business district.[167]

In another case of anti-freeway protest, Baltimore's black activists in the Relocation Action Movement (RAM) united with the South-East Council Against the Road (SCAR), the

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[163] Bruegmann, *Sprawl: A Compact History*, 38.
[164] John F. Bauman, Roger Biles and Kristin Szylvian, *The Ever-changing American City: 1945-present,* (Lanham, Md., Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), 91.
[165] Bauman, Biles and Szylvian, *The Ever-changing American City*, 91.
[166] Bauman, Biles and Szylvian, *The Ever-changing American City*, 91.
[167] Cashin, *The Failures of Integration*, 114.

Southeast Community Organization (SECO), and the South-West Association of Community Organizations (SWACO), and formed the Movement Against Destruction (MAD) becoming the most influential anti-freeway voice in the city.[168] Between 1968 and mid-1970s, MAD advocated against freeway construction in the city. The organization believed that the expressways mainly benefit private corporations that supplied cement, tires, oil, and automobiles and not the African American communities massively affected by the constructions.[169] The outcome of the fight in Baltimore was a truncated expressway system and the preservation of almost all of the targeted black neighborhoods.[170] In the early 1970s, MAD members participated in a larger movement linking freeway opposition in Boston, Philadelphia, Washington D.C., San Francisco, Baltimore, New York, Memphis, New Orleans, Portland, Seattle, and the state of Virginia.[171]

The Freeway Revolt had modest success. As a national grassroots neighborhood centric opposition movement, these protesters resisted highway construction helping shift the legislative perspective and bureaucratic environment in Washington D.C.[172] The biggest shift occurred when Alan S. Boyd assumed the secretary of the Department of Transportation (DOT) forcing a national multi-modal transportation system and effectively advocating for the Freeway Revolt.[173] At the end of 1960s, in a series of speeches throughout the country, Boyd shocked audiences of transportation officials declaring that the freeway revolts were a good thing and the decision-

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[168] Geneviève Massard-Guilbaud and Stephen Mosley, *Common Ground: Integrating the Social and Environmental in History* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 184.

[169] Massard-Guilbaud and Mosley, *Common Ground,* 184.

[170] Massard-Guilbaud and Mosley, *Common Ground,* 184.
[171] Massard-Guilbaud and Mosley, *Common Ground,* 184.

[172] Ginger Strand, *Killer on the Road: Violence and the American Interstate*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 96.

[173] Bauman, Biles and Szylvian, *The Ever-changing American City*, 92.

making tables should listen more to citizen's claims.[174] In the 1970s, public transportation received a more dominant role in the government's budget. In 1971, the Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act authorized $10 billion for subways and bus transportation. Moreover, in 1973 the Federal-Aid Highway Act invested around $1 billion and provided local governments control of some transport funding.[175] In summation, the federal government spent 75 percent of its transportation expenses with highways as opposed to 1 percent with public transportation.[176] By 1973, the Freeway Revolt had run its course and presented people's disagreement with urban renewal as the public favoring investments towards the car industry, but not public transportation.

Housing Development

Transportation was not the only aspect of urban sprawl. The expressway system built by government agencies provided access and created new land values, enriched landowners and developers, and formed new suburban municipalities. However, the highway construction "Failed to take any steps to protect equal access to benefits such as housing and employment."[177] Investment in private transportation did not produce housing accessible to low-income African Americans, or avoided the decline of downtown, neither created access between existing housing and existing jobs.[178] Therefore, racial concentration appeared as a major effect of urban sprawl.[179] Between 1950 and 1970, the downtown African American population doubled and

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[174] Bauman, Biles and Szylvian, *The Ever-changing American City*, 92.
[175] Bauman, Biles and Szylvian, *The Ever-changing American City*, 92.
[176] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States,* (Oxford University Press, 1985), 250.

[177] Rabin, *Highways as a Barrier to Equal Access*, 64.
[178] Rabin, *Highways as a Barrier to Equal Access*, 64.
[179] Blumberg, and Lalli, *Little Ghettoes*, 117-118.

central cities lost more than 1.9 million whites.[180] In other words, urban sprawl's decentralization meant more racial concentration and segregation.

In the 1930s, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) established itself as the main actor in shaping housing development during the process of suburbanization of the United States. Created as part of the National Housing Act of 1934, the FHA insurance focused on new all-white single-family residential developments located on the outskirts of metropolitan areas and neglected multi-family housing in core cities.[181] Reflecting the racist tendency during the segregation era, in 1938 the FHA appeared concerned with "inharmonious racial groups."[182] More specifically, the FHA recommended that restrictions could include provisions for the "prohibition of the occupancy of properties except by the race for which they intended."[183] According to Jackson, in the FHA's map of Brooklyn, New York, when adding one single non-white family to any block appeared as a reason to mark the whole block as black.[184] By 1966, whole regions of cities were ineligible for loan guarantees secured by the FHA.[185] In this sense, by establishing racial segregation in the housing market, the FHA established redlining practices as public policy. Thus, the redlining practices and disinvestment in core cities emerged as a major cause of concentrated African American communities.

Questioning the reasons of the process of suburbanization, Bruegmann affirms that urban sprawl always existed throughout human history due to people's desire to spread out.[186] Thus, the choice of millions of individuals and families to move to suburbs appeared as the real force

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[180] Rabin, *Highways as a Barrier to Equal Access*, 65.
[181] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontie*r, 206.
[182] Federal Housing Administration, *Underwriting Manual: Underwriting and Valuation Procedure Under Title II of the National Housing Act With Revisions to February 1938* (Washington, D.C.), Part II, Section 9.
[183] Federal Housing Administration, *Underwriting Manual,* Part II, Section 9, 980 (3).
[184] Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier, 208.
[185] Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier, 213.
[186] Bruegmann, *Sprawl: A Compact History*, 224.

behind the massive sprawl phenomenon found in postwar cities.[187] Considering the advancement of prefabricated building techniques, favorable taxes, and mortgage policies for homeowners the suburban dream was available to millions of Americans.[188] However, according to Urban Sociologist Gregory D. Squires, the pattern established by the urban sprawl process represented at the same time "Cause and consequence of economic restructuring and emerging social inequalities. These three trajectories of change-spatial, structural, and social—are parts of the same complex process of uneven development shaping urban and metropolitan development."[189] In other words, housing and transportation development in postwar cities had an unbalanced investment.

Parallel to the construction of expressways, the postwar urban sprawl boom influenced housing development. Discussing the creation of new municipalities, Squires affirms that the implementation of a competition among local governments provides a diversity of goods that improves the quality of life in metropolitan areas.[190] Private corporations made decisions that nurtured the uneven development of cities with support of several local governments.[191] Most of the major forces that fed the sprawl received subsidies for homeownership and the automobile industry. In the housing construction, Squires affirms that, federal tax laws that enabled homeowners to deduct interest on their mortgage loans and property taxes on their homes

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[187] Bruegmann, *Sprawl: A Compact History*, 224.

[188] Raymond Mohl, *Race and Housing in the Postwar City*, 10.

[189] Gregory D. Squires, "Urban Sprawl and the Uneven Development of Metropolitan American," in *Urban Sprawl: Causes, Consequences and Policy Responses*, ed. Gregory D. Squires (Washington D.C.: The Urban Institute Press, 2002), 18.

[190] Squires, *Urban Sprawl*, 08.

[191] Myron Orfield, "Atlanta Metropatterns: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability," ed. David C. Soule, *Urban Sprawl: A Comprehensive Reference Guide* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 175.

facilitated people that could not afford to buy purchased expensive homes.[192] The implementation of the long-term 30-year mortgage subsidized by Federal government permitted down payments of 10% to 20% making homeownership accessible for many people.[193] Urban historian Kenneth T. Jackson states that, "Between 1941 and 1950, FHA-insured single family starts exceeded FHA multi-family starts by a ratio of almost four to one. In the next decade, the margin exceeded seven to one."[194] In 1971, the year that the FHA insured the largest number of multi-family units, single-family properties overcame it by 27 percent and guaranteed homeownership concentrated in the new suburbs.[195] In other words, through the FHA, the federal government facilitated the purchase of all-white single-family homes in suburbs putting citizens in endless debts and forming new cities in the process of suburbanization.

Together with the flight of whites from the central city to suburbia, African Americans migrated *en masse* from the South to North and West. During this first Great Migration from 1915 to 1930, white mobs used intimidation and terror to maintain racial segregation.[196] As blacks moved towards big cities, the breaking of the color line on housing was inevitable and personally risky for African Americans.[197] Between 1940 and 1970, black citizens made a Second Great migration and again suffered with diverse violent attacks from white groups trying to prevent African Americans from moving into their neighborhoods.[198] Whites' brutal responses against racial transitions occurred in different manners and in a daily basis all over the United

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[192] Squires, *Urban Sprawl*, 09.
[193] Squires, *Urban Sprawl*, 09.
[194] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 206.
[195] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 206.

[196] James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (University of Chicago Press, 1991), 19.

[197] Grossman, *Land of Hope,* 19.
[198] Grossman, *Land of Hope,* 19.

States. These responses occurred in southern and northern cities, big and small cities, eastern and western regions always followed a similar pattern of attacking a black family that recently bought or rented in a white region.[199]

White violence towards African Americans continued after the Great Migration and moved forward during the Second Great Migration. Between 1945 and 1951, Miami faced constant chaos with cross and house burnings following the migration of blacks into white neighborhoods.[200] In the same years, white bombers terrorized African American homes in the white neighborhoods of Los Angeles, Dallas, Birmingham and Tampa.[201] According to Mohl, "More than fifty house bombings and burnings lit up Birmingham nights before the mid-1960s, as neighborhoods began turning over racially, earning Birmingham the unenviable label "Bombingham."[202] Moreover, the city of Chicago faced intense attacks from white mobs against black newcomers during the first five years in the 1950s.[203] Between 1953 and 1954, Chicago's white homeowners' association from the Trumbull Park Homes neighborhood launched a political campaign with daily demonstrations pressuring Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) to block black presence in the neighborhood.[204] In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Atlanta suffered from white mobs using dynamite to destroy African American houses. In the year of 1951 dynamite attacks destroyed several houses on the East End section of the city mostly promoted by the white supremacy group known as the Columbians.[205] Thus, following desegregation and

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[199] Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America,* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1991), 71.
[200] Mohl, *Race and Housing in the Postwar City*, 17.
[201] Mohl, *Race and Housing in the Postwar City*, 19.
[202] Mohl, *Race and Housing in the Postwar City*, 19.
[203] Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago 1940-1960*, (Chicago, Ill: University Of Chicago Press, 1998), 232.

[204] Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 232.
[205] Mohl, *Race and Housing in the Postwar City*, 20.

the demographic shifts, the situation intensified along with housing race-wars and mob violence throughout the country.

As roads grew, pieces of land became available for purchase and housing gradually migrated from cities' core to the outskirts creating several new subdivisions. The formation of new subdivisions shifted commuting patterns towards a suburb-to-suburb pattern and made many center cities expendable.[206] According to Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Speck,

> Not only is housing separated from industry but low-density housing is separated from medium-density housing, which is separated from high-density housing. Medical offices [were] separated from general offices, which are in turn separated from restaurants and shopping.[207]

In this sense, new subdivisions appeared out of the implementation of the single-use zoning policy perpetuated by the urban sprawl planning.[208] Separating housing from stores in a low-density urban planning, local ordinances forced developers to build walls around strip malls and condominiums. Instead of walking for five minutes through a residential street, residents faced an entire expedition using gasoline, roadway space, and searching for parking.[209] In this context, residents that lived just fifty yards from the store needed to use the car in order to do their shopping. The use of car appeared as the only way of commuting due to the effects of urban sprawl. The process of urban sprawl elevated the costs of housing, decreased available public transport to lower-income communities, and influenced the fact that white families rarely

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[206] Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia*, (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 3-4.
[207] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, Speck. *Suburban Nation,* 10.
[208] Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*, 3-4.
[209] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, Speck. *Suburban Nation,* 25.

interacted with people from different ethnic, racial, and economic classes.[210] However, the FHA maintained quite secretive about the information dealing with the location of loans.[211] Thus, keeping it difficult to determine the precise extent to which the agency discriminated African Americans and other minorities. In a way, white violence towards blacks developed from lynching in the 1910s and 1920s to house bombings in the 1940s and racist zonings in 1960s and 1970s following the suburbanization changes.

Scholars and policy makers considered racial segregation of African Americans as an important determinant to black poverty. The isolation of black families to inner city communities were connected to poor employment outcomes.[212] According to Michael Stoll, after the World War II, "Changes in the spatial location of employment opportunities within metropolitan areas served to increase the physical distance between predominantly black residential areas and the locations of important employment centers."[213] "Spatial mismatch" is important to consider when examining the lack of investment in public transportation, and the difficulties of African Americans had to acquire a car. This result influenced African American residences and their relationship with their location of employment. As jobs moved towards the suburbs, the black population concentrated in inner cities found itself unemployed and disconnected from many jobs that moved towards the suburbs.[214] In order to attract investments from outside the region, local jurisdictions of suburbs offered tax abatements, below-market-rate loans, training grants, and several other subsidies.[215] The creation of new cities in the process of suburbanization

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[210] Donald C. Williams, *Urban Sprawl: A Reference Handbook*, (ABC-CLIO, 2000), 16.

[211] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 209.

[212] Michael A. Stoll, *Job Sprawl, Spatial Mismatch, and Black Employment Disadvantage*, (California Center for Population Research On-line Working Paper Series. UCLA 2005), 01.

[213] Stoll, *Job Sprawl, Spatial Mismatch, and Black Employment Disadvantage, 0*1.

[214] Stoll, *Job Sprawl, Spatial Mismatch, and Black Employment Disadvantage, 0*1.

[215] Squires, *Urban Sprawl*, 10.

brought new office parks and small downtowns at the intersection of major thoroughfares developing the massification of plazas with vast parking lots and large avenues.[216] Thus, besides huge investments in highways and all-white housing migration to suburbs, government and private corporations heavily invested in the facilitation of transferring of employment from the cities' core to their outskirts.

Through an economic point of view, the process of suburbanization in the United States permitted the centralization of capital in the expansion of urban areas into rural ones.[217] According to Neil Smith, through the FHA mortgage subsidies, the construction of highways and tax break, the State subsidized suburbanization as a "Concrete spatial response to the depressions of the 1890s and 1930s, in the sense that suburban development opened up a whole series of investment possibilities which could help to revive the profit rate."[218] In other words, the revitalization and construction of cities appeared as the revitalization of the U.S. economy. The production of space through the postwar urban sprawl came to resolve the capitalist crisis of over accumulation absorbing surpluses of capital and labor.[219] In this sense, geographer David Harvey affirms that suburbanization in the United States created a new way of life in which all the new technologies played a role in absorbing the surplus through the investment of capital in the fixed environment such as highway systems.[220] Thus, investing in the urbanization permitted the State to expend the excess of production and open up possibilities to produce more capital to organize housing, transportation, employment and the national industry.

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[216] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, Speck. *Suburban Nation,* 30.
[217] Neil Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*, (Psychology Press, 1996), 84.
[218] Smith*, New Urban Frontier*, 84.
[219] David Harvey*,* "Globalization and the 'spatial fix'," *Geographische Revue* 2, (2001), 28.
[220] David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, (Verso Books, 2012), 09.

Understanding massive transformations of the urban sprawl, geographer Neil Smith affirms that the same forces that invested in suburbs also participated in the gentrification and declining of inner cities creating an uneven development.[221] The uneven development meant capital investment in the development of one area, and avoided developing any other ones.[222] According to Smith, the production of gentrification urged an uneven development endemic of capitalist societies in which banks, real estate developers, lenders, and retail corporations verified the land before the State."[223] By the 1970s and through the 1980s gentrification appeared as part of a larger redevelopment process of revitalization of the profit rate and a back to the city movement.[224] Hence, Smith affirms that, through the gentrification process "Many downtowns [were] converted into bourgeois playgrounds replete with quaint markets, restored town houses, boutique rows, yachting marinas and Hyatt Regencies."[225] In this sense, between 1970 and 1980 the struggle over the use and production of space appeared as part of an economic restructuring initiated after the World War II inscribed by social class, race, and gender, and manifested in concrete transformations such as the suburbanization and gentrification processes.

In a summary, the modern history of African Americans parallels the history of the United States' urbanization and modernization. One must tell the history of urban sprawl and its transformative influence on the Sunbelt region in order to tell racial segregation's history. After the Reconstruction, African Americans moved from the south to north in what became known as the Great Migration. Racial discrimination, disfranchisement, and lack of fair labor motivated the move of southern blacks to the U.S. northern region. In 1945, during the second Great Migration, the south and west experienced a wave of revitalization through federal funding that led to a

[221] Smith, *New Urban Frontier,* 37.
[222] Smith, *New Urban Frontier*, 84.
[223] Smith, *New Urban Frontier*, xviii.

[224] Smith, *New Urban Frontier*, 86.
[225] Smith, *New Urban Frontier*, 85.

super charged urban development. The Sunbelt region as a historical concept based on economic, social, and political factors appeared with the process of suburbanization of the country after the WWII.

The urban sprawl phenomenon prioritized the construction of the highway system, single-family housing, and the popularization of the car as means of transportation. In this sense, while the cities grew towards suburbs, downtown areas declined through an uneven development. The public and private investments in urban sprawl appeared as means of adjusting to the rapid growth of the incoming motor age. While white middle class families moved towards suburbs, African Americans migrated towards the north of the United States. The government funded agencies, allowed banks to provide benefits for those moving to the suburbs, and disinvested in housing in inner cities and downtown. In the process of suburbanization, the disconnection between the construction of the highway system by the federal government and the land zoning organized by local governments caused displacement and evictions. In addition, engineers, urbanists and researchers behind the construction of expressways implemented the idea of building highways through African American communities in order to revitalize those areas. In other words, the highway systems meant the displacement of disenfranchised African American dwellers. Hence, corporations, city planners and mayors exploited the opportunity of building highways as a tool for progress and reinforced racial segregation through the destruction of black neighborhoods.

The idea that car culture and the construction of the highway system is a natural progression for the city space was supported by some and rejected by others who understood as a social construct. Freeway revolts and public outrage against the building of highways expressed the discontentment of a generous parcel of society against the forced suburbanization. In terms of

engineering and technology, the highway system developed a huge success for transportation of goods and technological development of the nation. However, the highway system failed to protect human basic needs such as housing and employment for African Americans. Thus, Urban sprawl's decentralization meant more racial concentration and segregation.

As times changed with the postwar II suburbanization, racial oppression of whites over blacks also shifted. During the first Great Migration (1910-1930), whites reacted lynching, bombing, and protesting against black presence. During the Second Great Migration (1940-1970), white violence shifted towards more subtle actions such as housing discrimination, and infrastructure disinvestment. As businesses moved towards the suburbs, lack of employment also was a factor of black impoverishment. In this sense, racial segregation emerged as a major cause of poverty African American neighborhoods.

The process of suburbanization in the United States permitted the centralization of capital in the expansion of urban areas into rural ones. Thus investing in the suburbanization process permitted the State to expend the excess of production and open up possibilities to produce more capital to reorganize housing, transportation, employment, and the national industry. Hence, understanding massive transformations of urban sprawl means understanding that the same forces that invested in suburbs also participated in the gentrification and declining of inner cities through an uneven development. In this sense, the 1970s and 1980s the struggle over the use and production of space appeared as part of an economic reconstruction of space inscribed by social, racial, and economic factors, manifested in concrete transformations such as the suburbanization and urban renewal processes.

Chapter III

Racial Segregation in Florida

Lynching, forced labor conscription, or residential white terrorism represented expressions of white supremacy, to be sure. Yet, there was also a white supremacy to Progressive Era housing development, New Deal housing reform, and postwar land liberalism, in that black containment and displacement remained the easier of several hard choices. White supremacy, likewise, set the guidelines of suburban homeowner politics, in that poorer people of color, and black people especially, were principally considered a danger to property values. At the very same time, white supremacy made black people, as tenants, generators of fantastic profits (N.D.B. Connolly).[226]

1860 to 1920

In the transition to the twentieth century, Florida's southern identity determined the state's place in the nation for the next 100 years.[227] Southern social and cultural values ran deep in Florida during the Civil War and continued into Reconstruction and beyond. Lynchings and the black out migration defined Florida's racial history. In 1860, Florida had 140,424 inhabitants and by 1870, the state had 187,746 with 96,057 whites and 91,689 African Americans scattered over nearly 60,000 square miles.[228] Historians David Colburn and DeHaven-Smith write that Florida established strong connections with the Deep South through early migrations from Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina in the mid-nineteenth century.[229] The settlers developed the plantation system, and timber and turpentine industries strengthening southern ties with state

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[226] N. D. B. Connolly, *A World More Concrete: Real Estate and the Remaking of Jim Crow South Florida* (University of Chicago Press, 2014), 279.
[227] Colburn, David R., and Lance DeHaven-Smith, *Florida's Megatrends: Critical Issues in Florida* (University Press of Florida, 2010), 14.
[228] Joe Martin Richardson, *African Americans in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (University of Alabama Press, 2008), 01.

[229] Colburn; DeHaven-Smith, *Florida's Megatrends*, 14.

neighbors.[230] By 1900, Florida developed as one the poorest states of the U.S. with an agricultural economy dominated by wealthy planters.[231]

After the Civil War Florida became a hostile environment for African Americans. Florida's social landscape shaped itself based on a society "for whites only."[232] As Florida's white leaders embraced the search for a more diverse economy with railroad, cattle, lumber and citrus industries, the state government in Tallahassee moved to restrict civil rights acquired by blacks during the Reconstruction.[233] White politicians reacted to black freedom by creating black codes. In 1865, delegates of the constitutional convention enacted the Florida "black codes."[234] The same dominant white political class that created slave code regulations during the slavery shaped "black codes" after the Civil War.[235] In the words of a black editor during the Black Codes period, "We did not have a hard time after we were freed. They [slaveholders] got mad at us because we was free . . ."[236] In Mississippi, the government forbade African Americans of renting and leasing and allowed them to buy land.[237] However, according to Litwack no one of black freedmen could purchase not even a quarter of an acre.[238] As a result, while blacks were free, the same racist ideology shaped their public lives.

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[230] Colburn; DeHaven-Smith, *Florida's Megatrends*, 14.
[231] Richardson, *African Americans in the Reconstruction,* 02.
[232] Irvin D. S. Winsboro, *Old South, New South, Or Down South?: Florida and the Modern Civil Rights Movement* (West Virginia University Press, 2009), 05.

[233] Winsboro, *Old South, New South, Or Down South, 0*5.
[234] Jerrell H. Shofner, "Custom, Law, and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's Black Code." *The Florida Historical Society* LV, no. 03 (1977): 278.

[235] Shofner, *Custom, Law and History*, 279.

[236] Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2010), 369.

[237] Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long,* 369.
[238] Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long,* 369.

As black codes institutionalized racism, racist customs spread throughout the south by the turn of the century. Historian Irvin Winsboro writes that, between 1880 and 1930 white mobs lynched 3,220 blacks in the South. Florida had one of the highest per capita rates of extralegal deaths.[239] According to Winsboro, by 1915 Florida had added racial disparity into its criminal and penal systems through "a race-based convict lease system and a death penalty that executed twice as many blacks as whites."[240] Whites judged African Americans biologically inferior and mentally incompetent.[241] They used this excuse to regulate blacks' lives through laws that criminalize certain activities and limited opportunities.[242] For example, in the 1885 Florida's Constitution stated that,

> White and colored children shall not be taught in the same school, but impartial provision shall be made for both . . . All marriages between a white person and a negro, or between a white person and a person of negro descent to the fourth generation, inclusive, are hereby forever prohibited.[243]

The 1885 Constitution was a backlash against Reconstruction era laws. The laws established a Jim Crow system by 1890 that effectively imposed a subservient status onto African Americans.[244] Hence, Florida legitimized institutional racism in marriage, law, and education.

At the turn of the century, Jim Crow society combined discriminatory laws and racist social custom. This transformation from "black codes" to Jim Crow went beyond legalizing existing conditions and forced inequality into all spheres of life.[245] According to historian Jerrell Shofner, racial segregation in Florida established itself more extensively in 1900 than it had been

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[239] Winsboro, *Old South, New South, Or Down South, 0*6.
[240] Winsboro, *Old South, New South, Or Down South, 0*5.
[241] Shofner, *Custom, Law and History*, 279.
[242] Shofner, *Custom, Law and History*, 278.
[243] Florida's Constitution of 1885, http://archive.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1885con.html.
[244] Colburn; DeHaven-Smith, *Florida's Megatrends*, 15.
[245] Shofner, *Custom, Law and History*, 289.

in 1865.[246] For instance, on public transportation, a 1905 law separated races on streetcars and obligated companies to operate with segregated facilities.[247] The systematic disenfranchisement "meant limited economic and educational opportunities, low-paying jobs, and a life of abject poverty" for African Americans.[248] In this climate of social inequality and racial segregation, widespread and random lynchings became a tool to control African Americans accused of violating social norms.

Anti-black violence became a daily custom in the United States after the Reconstruction. Historian Tameka Hobbs states that, misdeeds such as ignoring white racial norms constantly ended in cruel punishments.[249] Lynching was the most common type and occurred primarily against African Americans, and sometimes against anti-racism whites. Hobbs writes that attempting to vote, self-defense, testifying against a white man, establishing contact with white women, and accusation of murder and rape incited white mobs to lynch a black person.[250] According to historian Jeffrey Adler, with African-American migration to southern urban centers, racial conflicts became more common.[251] Hobbs affirms this fact writing that, "Between 1882 and 1951, 4,730 lynchings were recorded in the United States. Of these, 82.8% took place on southern soil and 72.5% of the victims were black."[252] Between 1882 and 1930, Florida had

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[246] Shofner, *Custom, Law and History*, 289.
[247] Shofner, *Custom, Law and History*, 289.
[248] Tameka Bradley Hobbs, "Strange Fruit: An Overview of Lynching in America," in *Go Sound the Trumpet!: Selections in Florida's African American History,* ed. David H. Jackson Jr. and Canter Brown Jr. (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2005), 92.

[249] Hobbs, *Strange Fruit,* 93.
[250] Hobbs, *Strange Fruit,* 93.
[251] Jeffrey S. Adler, "Black Violence in the New South: Patterns of Conflict in Late-Nineteenth-Century Tampa" (Southern Historical Association, 1993), 207.

the highest rate of lynching per 100,000 residents at 79.8%.[253] Statistics indicate that between the 1880s and 1930s, one-third of lynching victims were falsely accused.[254]

During the Reconstruction period, African Americans empowered their own settlements towards becoming self-sustaining. Located six miles from Orlando, Eatonville, emerged as the first example of an incorporated all-black town in the United States. The city's history mirrored the post-Civil War experience of African Americans. During the 1860s, a group of ex-slaves formed a settlement in order to break away from racist whites that avoided selling land and equipment to African Americans.[255] The group included former slaves from Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. The settlement quickly planted food crops, citrus groves, built houses, hotels, and a railroad.[256] In 1887, Eatonville became the first all-black city incorporated in the country.[257] Eatonville established itself as a city after a meeting of 27 black men in the "Town Hall" that approved the town with registered voters and the community's integration into Orange County.[258] The Mayor from 1900 to 1912, Joseph E. Clark opened a general store that housed the post office for the town, supplied all the merchandising needs of the local people, and served as a community-gathering place for storytelling.[259]

Although a poor city, historian Frank M. Otey affirms that Eatonville's population slowly increased throughout the twentieth century because black people valued the opportunity to participate fully in the democratic process.[260] In Otey's words, "Here [Eatonville] a black man

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[252] Hobbs, *Strange Fruit,* 97.
[253] Hobbs, *Strange Fruit,* 97.
[254] Hobbs, *Strange Fruit,* 93.
[255] Frank M. Otey, *Eatonville, Florida: A Brief History of One of America's First Freedmen's Towns* (Four-G Publishers Inc., 1989), 3.
[256] Otey, *Eatonville*, 1.
[257] Otey, *Eatonville*, 3.
[258] Otey, *Eatonville*, 1.
[259] Otey, *Eatonville*, 16.
[260] Otey, *Eatonville*, 26.

could vote for his choice for office-holder, he had a say in the laws that governed him, and he could himself run for and hold elected office. Few other persons of color in this country could make that claim."[261] In other words, Eatonville emerged in the 1900s as a collective action of resistance against the systematic racist oppression that already contaminated politics, economy, and culture.

In addition to outmigration during the Great Migration Florida's black population moved considerably within the state. Between 1916 and 1920, about 40,000 African Americans left the Florida's northern counties and migrated towards South Florida.[262] Jerrell Shofner writes that Gainesville, Apalachicola and Ocala lost about twenty-five percent of their African Americans, and Orlando and Lakeland lost approximately a fourth of their black populations.[263] With black migrants seeking employment elsewhere, many southerners worried that their labor supply could vanish permanently.[264] Thus, by 1918, all of Florida's counties and the cities of Jacksonville, Miami, Pensacola and Tampa established biracial committees in order to solve racial tensions.[265]

Despite these biracial committees, Florida's racial conflicts grew in intensity by the end of the 1910s. In 1916, Newberry, Florida, faced a traumatic massacre after a black man killed the white sheriff.[266] According the civil rights researcher Marvin Dunn, the massacre resulted in nine African Americans killed.[267] After searching a whole night for the sheriff's killer, a white mob lynched and hung five black men, and a pregnant woman in the picnic grounds of Newberry.[268] Therefore, by 1920 Florida's racial landscape seemed define by violence and conflict.

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[261] Otey, *Eatonville*, 26.
[262] Jerrell H. Shofner, "Florida and the Black Migration," *The Florida Historical Society* LVII, no. 3 (1979): 267.
[263] Shofner, *Florida and the Black Migration,* 268.
[264] Shofner, *Florida and the Black Migration,* 274.
[265] Shofner, *Florida and the Black Migration,* 275.
[266] Marvin Dunn, *The Beast in Florida: A History of Anti-Black Violence* (University Press of Florida, 2013), 83.
[267] Dunn. *The Beast in Florida,* 83.

[268] Dunn. *The Beast in Florida,* 83.

Florida's black population reached 329,487 or 34 percent of the total population.[269] The state became a major tourist center and the total population went from 752,619 in 1910 to 968,470 in 1920.[270] However, even as the African American population grew, according to Historian Maxine Jones black communities realized that "surviving in freedom was almost as difficult as surviving slavery."[271] Whites began physically threatening blacks—when they attempted to legally vote—and blocking African Americans from voting after the black population of the city appeared to legally vote.[272] After African Americans tried to vote in Ocoee, Florida, whites destroyed the black section of the city.[273] Mose Norman and July Perry tried to vote and bring more blacks to vote.[274] However, a mob formed around the streets of Ocoee burning down churches and houses of blacks with people inside of it.[275] The mob spread throughout other counties killing around fifty African Americans and burning all of their properties between November 2 and November 3 of 1920.[276] Three years after the Ocoee Massacre, white violence against blacks destroyed the small town of Rosewood, Florida. After a white woman's fabricated claim of sexual assault by a black man, a white mob took over the town's streets in search of the possible rapist.[277] The white mob burned black churches and black

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[269] Maxine D. Jones, "No Longer Denied: Black Women in Florida, 1920-1950." in *The African American Heritage of Florida* edit by Colburn, David R., and Jane Landers (University Press of Florida: 1995), 241.
[270] Jones, *No Longer Denied,* 241.

[271] Jones, *No Longer Denied,* 241.

[272] Vertamae Smart-Grosvenor, "Black History Bonus: The Ocoee Riot," *Essence* 19, no. 10 (1989): 62.
[273] Hobbs, *Strange Fruit,* 98.
[274] Smart-Grosvenor, *Black History Bonus,* 63.
[275] Smart-Grosvenor, *Black History Bonus,* 63.

[276] Paul Ortiz, "Ocoee, Florida: 'Remembering 'The Single Bloodiest Day in Modern U.S. Political History'," *Facing South – The Institute for Southern Studies,* 2010 http://www.southernstudies.org/2010/05/ocoee-florida-remembering-the-single-bloodiest-day-in-modern-us-political-history.html
[277] Dunn, *The Beast in Florida,* 100.

houses, and the killed, mutilated, tortured and lynched six African Americans. Despite this hostile environment, African Americans became more audacious and sought their rights.

1920 – 1950

The search for African American rights coincide with the transformation of the political landscape in the 1920s. The participation of women in the political process propelled the transformation of the political climate. In 1920s, the KKK increased its violent actions against African Americans, as white supremacist feared the impact of black female voters on the political process.[278] While white supremacists clashed against the black community, the ratification of the Nineteenth amendment allowed women the right to vote, but the participation of black women threatened white southerners' by opening the door for more black voters to challenge white power. Indeed black women intensified their activism in the public sphere.

In this context, Mary Jane McLeod Bethune, the powerful African American female founder of the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls decided to transition from informal to formal political leadership in 1922.[279] Prior 1922 Bethune focused in promoting black education, after that period Bethune expanded her activities towards rallying African Americans to vote. Bethune's social activism started in 1904 with the foundation of the school for African American girls. However, besides being socially active in the education and women's rights, Bethune served as president of the Florida Federation of Colored Women's Clubs between 1917 and 1924. In addition, Bethune served as president of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) from 1924 to 1928 and founded the National Council of Negro Women in 1935 after considering that the NACW created division among black women

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[278] Joyce Ann Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black Women's Political Activism* (University of Missouri Press, 2003), 79.

[279] Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black Women's Political Activism,* 78.

based on class status.[280] Historian Maxine Jones states that between 1920 and 1950 most of the black women in Florida worked as domestics or personal servants.[281] Bethune was an example of resistance against racial segregation, and social inequality for other African Americans. Bethune rallied 500 black voters toward the polls for the 1922 mayoral election.[282] In the same year, Bethune encouraged blacks and whites to sit side by side in Daytona Institute's auditorium despite all the Jim Crow laws.[283] Bethune's actions reflected commitment to change social and political practices during the racial segregation.

Between 1920 and 1950, African American women in Florida used the legal system to fight racial discrimination and established important roles in civil rights organizations fighting against white oppression. Historian Robin Kelley writes that by 1942, statistics indicated that women outnumbered men in incidents of racial discrimination in public transportation.[284] In addition to the struggle over public transportation, African American women established a strong presence in the fight against racial discrimination in the health care and education systems, and against the lynching culture. Women such as Eartha White, Ida B. Wells, Blanche Armwood Beatty, Viola T. Hill, and, Alice Mickens, worked daily to improve the quality of life among black women. [285] Beatty fought for political, economic, social equality for blacks in Florida and actively participated in Tampa's National Urban League (NUL) and White participated as the Florida director of the Anti-lynching Crusaders Committee.[286] Ida B. Wells appeared amongst all of African American women protagonist as one of the pioneers and most active militants in the

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[280] Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black Women's Political Activism,* 165.
[281] Jones, *No Longer Denied*, 246.
[282] Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black Women's Political Activism,* 79.
[283] Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black Women's Political Activism,* 80.
[284] Robin D. G. Kelley. "We Are Not What We Seem": Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South. *The Journal of American History, Vol. 80, 1 (1993), 105.*

[285] Jones, *No Longer Denied*, 263.
[286] Jones, *No Longer Denied*, 263.

anti-lynching movement.[287] Born in Mississippi, Wells actively campaigned for truth and justice writing pamphlets on lynching and investigating cases of lynching as a sociologist and journalist.[288]

Florida native born in Eatonville, anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston collaborated as a protagonist of the anti-racist movement. Hurston grew up in a black town governed by black people and black people could self-sustain themselves autonomously.[289] Different from what most of the civil rights movements' activists believed, Hurston criticized racial integration as rhetorical because she valued black culture without apology.[290] In the 1930s, Hurston had a recognized career within the academy with articles published in journals and magazines that characterized in detail the life of African Americans in Florida.[291] Publishing books, papers, and different studies, Hurston participated in the resistance against white supremacy politics that avoided registering any information about blacks. Considering the unfavorable social environment for African Americans, women staged important direct actions and civil disobedience movements against Jim Crow laws involving voting rights, educational discrimination, and the health care system.

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[287] Ida B. Wells, *Southern Horrors and Other Writings; The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900*, ed. Jacqueline Jones Royster, First Edition (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1996), 3.

[288] Wells, *Southern Horrors and Other Writings, 03.*

[289] Charles T. Banner-Haley, *The Fruits of Integration: Black Middle-Class Ideology and Culture, 1960-1990* (Univ. Press of Mississippi, 2010), 87.

[290] Banner-Haley, *The Fruits of Integration, 87.*

[291] Andrew Delbanco, "The Political Incorrecteness of Zora Neale Hurston." *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no 18 (1997-1998): 103.

In the 1930s, Florida's radicalized racial war resulted in specular acts of violence that included assassinations of NAACP members and heinous murders of falsely accused victims.[292] The KKK's revival in the 1920s intensified white brutality. Newspapers across the state reported the Klan recruited young people and organized public parades in small towns across the state.[293] In 1934, white supremacists lynched Claude Neal in Jackson County. Historian Ben Green writes about Neal's imprisonment and transfers from nearly every jail in Florida and Alabama after the accusation of murdering a white girl.[294] Later, a white mob kidnapped, tortured, mutilated, and hung Neal in the courthouse square of Marianna, Florida.[295] Florida's branch of the NAACP published a detailed report about the case. This report aroused indignation across the country in part because the state and federal governments refused to intercede in the case.[296] African Americans outrage grew with groups such as NAACP, in response to these killings.

In 1934, Harry Tyson Moore, teacher at the black elementary school in Mims, Florida, and activist against racial segregation in education, founded the Brevard County Branch of the NAACP and organized a legal campaign against educational inequities.[297] Between 1936 and 1950, southern teachers filed more than 30 suits against local school districts in order to obtain equal pay.[298] Moore started his branch of the NAACP with the intention of organizing African Americans towards social and educational improvements.[299] Moore's main mission in life became NAACP work. He organized meetings, wrote letters, and arranged programs all over

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[292] Ben Green, *Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr* (Simon and Schuster, 1999), 31.

[293] Green, *Before His Time*, 31.
[294] Green, *Before His Time*, 31.
[295] Shofner, *Custom, Law and History*, 293.
[296] Shofner, *Custom, Law and History*, 293.
[297] Tywanna Whorley, "Harry Tyson Moore: A Soldier for Freedom," *The Journal of Negro History* 79, no 02 (1994): 198.
[298] Whorley, *Harry Tyson Moore,* 200.
[299] Green, *Before His Time*, 38.

Brevard County.[300] In 1941, Moore organized the first state conference of the NAACP. Five years later, Moore achieved the full-time, paid position of state executive director of the NAACP and made the principle of "equal pay for equal work" for Florida's black teachers a goal for the organization.[301] Between 1940 and 1946, Moore helped the NAACP membership in Florida grow from 482 to 31,966.[302] Moore defended black lives after hundreds of whites attacked several African American communities in Central Florida burning their houses, torturing, and killing them.[303] However, Moore achieved his greatest recognition during the Groveland case.

As an executive director of Florida's NAACP branch, Moore launched a campaign for a fair trial for four African Americans youths accused of raping a white seventeen-year-old girl in Groveland.[304] Groveland's case lasted from 1949 to 1951 when unidentified people bombed Moore's home killing him and his wife, Harriette Moore.[305] Moore's death symbolized the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. Moore's actions and leadership as a part of the NAACP served as a foundation for the modern civil rights movement.

1950 – 1980

Florida's history reflected the national climate on civil rights and the struggle to end segregation. Florida faced massive social changes after 1945. In 1950, Florida had 2.7 million residents. Although predominantly white, protestant, and southern-born, the state included immigrants coming from Great Britain, Canada, and Central America.[306] Between 1940 and

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[300] Green, *Before His Time*, 38.
[301] Whorley, *Harry Tyson Moore,* 199.
[302] Whorley, *Harry Tyson Moore,* 199.
[303] Whorley, *Harry Tyson Moore,* 202.
[304] Green, *Before His Time*, 87.
[305] Whorley, *Harry Tyson Moore,* 209.

[306] Gary R. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (University Press of Florida, 2008), 09.

1970, the Old and New South collided in Florida and transformed the state's future.[307] Historian Gary Mormino writes that in the 1950s vestiges and symbols of the Old South lingered in schools named after generals; Confederate Memorial Day still being observed; and Jim Crow laws still enacted.[308] However, Florida's context slowly changed with the infusion of massive federal expenditures and the migration of millions of men and women for military training.[309]

In 1950, Florida's ethnic diversity started growing faster than other South states.[310] Presenting the Sunshine state's postwar transformations, Mormino writes that, "Shaped by the automobile and real estate developer more than by streetcar or industry, cities in Florida tended to be characterized by low-density development, horizontal sprawl, and small urban centers."[311] In this case, establishing itself as the most urbanized state of the South with almost two-thirds of its residents living in cities, Florida's connection to the South cracked after 1950.[312] Therefore, through massive infrastructure investment, Florida inaugurated a new era in its history.

In the postwar period, the process of urban transformations changed Florida's landscape and white oppression. In the 1950s and 1960s, Florida transitioned from lynching, massacres and residential white terrorism to black containment and displacement. A more sophisticated form of racial segregation appeared through housing reform, and expressway construction organized by powerful white racists.[313] At the same time the civil rights movement expanded by incorporating youth participation courting a black press, and fostering improved communication between urban

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[307] Colburn; DeHaven-Smith, *Florida's Megatrends*, 28.
[308] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 15.
[309] Colburn; DeHaven-Smith, *Florida's Megatrends*, 29.
[310] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams,* 17.
[311] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams,* 19.
[312] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 19.

[313] Connolly, *A World More Concrete,* 279.

and rural blacks.[314] The increasing black student participation provided the possibility of an alliance between established groups and new anti-racist organizations. This partnership would take the fight against institutionalized racism into different spheres of public society. Thus, in 1956 the city of Tallahassee, Florida faced an intense bus boycott staged by African American students against racial discrimination in public transportation.

The methods of political and cultural segregation used by white supremacists became more sophisticated and in turn, black civil rights activists reacted with better tactics. Both parties involved in enacting and protesting racial segregation witnessed new forms of protest and discrimination. The Tallahassee bus boycott began on May 27, 1956 after two *Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University* (FAMU) students, Wihelmina Jakes and Carrie Patterson sat next a white woman on a city bus. Afterward, the police charged the two girls with inciting to riot.[315] The white community reacted by placing a burning cross in front of the coed rooming house on FAMU's campus. After a campus assembly, FAMU students decided to refrain from riding city buses for the rest of the school term.[316] Civil rights leader and writer, Charles Kenzie Steele wrote that after 33 days of boycott, the bus company declared bankruptcy and with that, Tallahassee's Negro community gained respect.[317] Concerning Tallahassee's boycott, Historian Theodore Hemmingway affirms that different churches and the NAACP in Florida's capital city emerged as strong supporters of the struggle.[318]

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[314] Theodore Hemmingway. *The Rise of Black Student Consciousness in Tallahassee and the State of Florida* in *Go Sound the Trumpet!: Selections in Florida's African American History,* ed. David H. Jackson Jr. and Canter Brown Jr. (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2005), 266.
[315] Hemmingway*, The Rise of Black Student Consciousness,* 266.
[316] Hemmingway*, The Rise of Black Student Consciousness,* 266.
[317] Charles Kenzie Steele, "The Tallahassee Bus Protest Story" in *Go Sound the Trumpet!: Selections in Florida's African American History,* ed. David H. Jackson Jr. and Canter Brown Jr. (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2005), 325.

[318] Hemmingway*, The Rise of Black Student Consciousness,* 266.

As a spiritual leader in the community and member of the NAACP, Charles Steele remained faithful to the students' spirit and provided all the necessary tools to back up the protesters with the NAACP body of lawyers and militants.[319] Beyond violence, Reverend Steele advocated racial integration through pacifism affirming that, "Whereas we hate segregation, racial prejudice, and injustice, we are committed to not losing our white friends. We know that they are victims in need of rescue from the poisonous fangs of racial customs and traditions that have grown up out of the hotbed of ignorance and prejudice."[320] The African American fight against racial segregation in public transportation expressed a positive comprehension of reclaiming dignity over the Negro's role in the U.S. society and the world. The simple gesture of sitting beside a white person brought to light resistance and confidence into black Floridians' lives.

In the 1960s, along with the rest of the country, Florida's civil rights movement intensified its actions. From 1960 to 1964, the city of Jacksonville emerged as an example in which massive protests and sit-ins sponsored by the NAACP took over the streets initiating a successful civil rights campaign.[321] In 1960, Rutledge Pearson challenged members of the Klansmen, Sons of the Confederacy, and White Citizens Council founding a chapter of the NAACP in Jacksonville and leading a series of sit-ins in local stores such as McCory's, Kress and Woolworth's.[322] Once again, Jacksonville's African Americans organized collectively and claimed for their rights similarly to the *Race Riot of 1892* in which hundreds of black men and

[319] Steele, *The Tallahassee Bus Story,* 326.
[320] Steele, *The Tallahassee Bus Story,* 328.
[321] Abel A. Bartley, "The 1960 and 1964 Jacksonville Riots: How Struggle Led to Progress," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 78, no. 1 (1999): 46.
[322] Bartley, *The 1960 and 1964 Jacksonville Riots*, 50.

women patrolled the city streets for three days in order to avoid lynchings and massacres.[323] In the 1960s case, Jacksonville became a battlefield when white mobs formed by members of the KKK rallied against the black protesters at a sit-in armed with ax handles, baseball bats, and golf clubs.[324] After 1964, violent white reactions to black protests, led a few African Americans gangs to defend themselves against rising physical abuse.[325] The intensified direct actions against segregation in Jacksonville emerged as a snapshot of all the civil rights movements that popped up throughout the United States.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Florida's population diversity grew with the arrival of thousands of Cubans in the state. The newcomers settled in the Greater Miami and enabled the region to grow financially, economically and culturally. Orlando emerged as an international tourist destination 1971 with the opening of Disney World. Orlando's dynamic changed from small town to a sprawling metropolis with nearly 100,000 residents transformed Central Florida.[326] Considering Florida's demographic change, urban sprawl, transplanted northerners, and tourism, the NAACP's actions stood out and emphasized "the postwar emergence of an aggressive black middle-class cohort of ministerial, professional, and business leaders that was essential to the fight for racial equality."[327] The growth of ethnic diversity transformed the struggle against racial discrimination creating alliances among NAACP, a small left-wing

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[323] Robert Cassanello, *To Render Invisible: Jim Crow and Public Life in New South Jacksonville* (University Press of Florida, 2013), 63.

[324] Bartley, *The 1960 and 1964 Jacksonville Riots*, 51.
[325] Bartley, *The 1960 and 1964 Jacksonville Riots*, 56.
[326] Colburn; DeHaven-Smith, *Florida's Megatrends,* 43.
[327] Chanelle Rose, "The 'Jewel' of the South? Miami, Florida and the NAACP'S Struggle for Civil Rights in America's Vacation Paradise," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 86, no. 01 (2007), 41.

interracial coalition of laborers, militant blacks, and left-wing Jewish groups.[328] After 1970, several different ethnicities and races affected Florida's political discussion over racial segregation and black oppression.

Anti-segregation organizations such as Brownsville Improvement Association (BIA), the Dade County Negro Teachers' Association, the Dade County Young Democratic Association (DCYDA) and the Negro Service Council (NSC), took Florida's civil rights movement towards a path of challenging racial discrimination on local issues such as slum clearance, the equalization of teachers' salaries, better housing and improved schools.[329] In the 1970s, racism in the United States suffered a slight change of focus. In Nathan Connolly's words, "Ku Klux Klan cross burnings, 'colored only' water fountains, or even the pronouncements of frothing segregationists were already relics of what seemed like another country. America suffered, instead, under the kind of racial violence that I-95 wrought."[330] White supremacy established the control over African Americans through infrastructural forms considering commercial and institutional priorities related to the construction of expressways over black communities and housing discrimination.[331]

From 1950 to 1980, Florida suffered from race and income-segregated housing development. Florida's real estate established itself as "The latest form of landed investment in a country built through slavery, racial exclusion, and repeated acts of race-based land expropriation."[332] During the heyday of urban sprawl, the popularization of the automobile shaped the modernization of the Sunshine state. President Eisenhower signed the Highway Act

[328] Rose, *The Jewel of the South*, 42.
[329] Rose, *The Jewel of the South*, 42.
[330] Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, 04.
[331] Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, 04.
[332] Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, 07.

in 1956, and one year later Florida started the construction of Interstate 4 (I-4) from Tampa to Daytona Beach. Unintended consequences of I-4 construction affected Florida's African American communities. Black neighborhoods such as Parramore in Orlando, and Overtown in Miami suffered devastating effects based on the expressways' routes choices.[333] In this context, Florida quickly advanced in technology and infrastructure and maintained racial segregation's roots hidden in its institutions.

In summarizing, one can see parallels in the advancement of the political sentiments of the civil rights movement and further suburbanization of the United States, as politics and culture grow in the national sense and the local sense in Florida. The energies that once motivated white supremacists and segregationists transformed into the policies of state legislators and urban planners as seen in the development of highways, city structures, and neighborhood zoning. Therefore, racism followed the modernization of spaces such as the highway and single-family housing construction and renting.

Chapter IV

The Highway System and the I-4 Construction

[333] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 247.

The electrification of the railways within the city, which cannot be long delayed, will serve to change radically for better the dirt conditions in this neighborhood; but the slum conditions will remain. The remedy is the same as has been resorted to the world over: first, the cutting of broad thoroughfares through the unwholesome district; and, secondly, the establishment and remorseless enforcement of sanitary regulations which shall insure adequate air-space for the dwellers in crowded areas, and absolute cleanliness in the street, on the sidewalks, and even within buildings (Daniel Burnham and Edward Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*, 1908).

United States' Roads and Highways

In order to understand the impact of the construction of Interstate 4 through the neighborhood of Parramore in Orlando, Florida, one needs to comprehend the history of roads and highways in the United States. The construction of the Interstate Highway System reshaped the United States after the World War II. Researcher Tom Lewis asserts U.S. expressways appeared based on technical expertise led by technocrats that established a national network.[334] As a result, interstates fueled the growth of Sunbelt cities serving the automobile industry, the petroleum and chemical industry, national defense, and all levels of government bureaucracy.[335] In one aspect, highways improved American development, the economy, national mobility, and national communication.[336] On the other hand, as highway researcher Phil Patton affirmed,

> They have often rolled, like some gigantic version of the machines that build them, through cities, splitting communities of into ghettos, displacing people, and crushing the intimacies of old cities with a scale taken from dreams of the wide-open spaces."[337]

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[334] Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (Cornell University Press, 2013), 14.

[335] Phil Patton, *Open Road: Celebration of the American Highway* (Simon & Schuster, 1986), 17.

[336] Patton, *Open Road*, 17.
[337] Patton, *Open Road*, 20.

The growth of the American highway was not limited to the motives of industrialization and city politics but also carried remnants of classism and discrimination. Racist ideology informed the decisions around expressways, gentrification, and residential displacement. Thus, at the same time that the Interstate System emerged as a necessity, its construction was based on suburban development ideas that facilitated the destruction of urban communities and hasten social and economic decline.

In the 1820s, United States was a predominantly preindustrial society in which villages organized themselves around the main square with open markets, sites for religious meetings, governmental buildings, and police headquarters.[338] Small towns established a society in which residents lived close to their workplaces and used carriages as the main way of commuting.[339] In 1825, intercity railroads emerged when the U.S. Congress debated over the construction of canals, turnpikes, and the importance of horses as the primary source of motive power with private carriages.[340] Most of the road surveying and clearing by the federal government appeared in the form of military roads.[341] For instance, the course of Route 66 developed from Captain Randolph Marcy and James Simpson expedition in 1849 and the Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale's expedition in an 1857 expedition from Santa Fe to the Colorado River.[342] Over the 1880s, elitist railroad suburbs emerged and cities started to spread far beyond their original limit due to the new technology of the street railway.[343] Through the end of the 1800s, safety bicycles

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[338] Clay McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path: The Automobile and the American City* (Columbia University Press, 1994), 02.

[339] McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path, 0*2.
[340] McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path,* 10.
[341] Patton, *Open Road*, 20.
[342] Patton, *Open Road*, 37.
[343] Benjamin Ross, *Dead End: Suburban Sprawl and the Rebirth of American Urbanism* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 12.

became popular, streetcars became big business but the invention of the car revolutionized the whole history of cities.

After the turn of the century, cars gained more physical and social space in American culture. In 1908 wealthy estate owners built the first highway called Long Island's Motor Parkway as a private enterprise intended for racing.[344] However, soon highways became public spaces managed by the government and big magazines such as the *Times* introduced large amounts of automobile advertising every brand new year.[345] Before the Civil War, property owners needed to petition the local government to act in order to pave and widen streets.[346] In other words, individual citizens as property owners paid special assessments to the city and decided how and when to pave streets. From 1900s on, the public works departments paid most of the amenities to the American neighborhood and not individual citizens.[347] According to Jackson, "The centralization of street administration meant that all city dwellers subsidized those who moved to the edges."[348] Thus, in the turn of the century, with governments' full responsibility over the streets, American society established a new era of growth and development of the public sphere that considered the car as an emerging mean of transportation.

With car's popularity, the first suburbs "Developed just outside the central cities and experienced the majority of their growth before 1960."[349] As early as 1915 cities considered

[344] Ross, *Dead End*, 18.
[345] McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path,* 184.
[346] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 131.
[347] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 131.
[348] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 131.

[349] Christopher Niedt, *Social Justice in Diverse Suburbs: History, Politics, and Prospects* (Temple University Press, 2013), 186.

traffic a crucial problem that required rebuilding U.S. cities.[350] Advocates turned to Daniel Burnham's City Beautiful ideas for guidance.[351] Architect and urban planner, Burnham emerged as the main theorist behind the City Beautiful movement. The principal idea of City Beautiful urban planning emphasized orderly downtown space to support commercial development connected to residential spaces outside the city.[352] Planning Chicago's urban reform in 1908, Burnham affirmed that, "The remedy [was] the same [that] resorted to the world over . . . The cutting of broad thoroughfares through the unwholesome district; and . . . absolute cleanliness in the street, on the sidewalks, and even within the buildings."[353] In this sense, City Beautiful thinkers appreciated rotaries with magnificent monuments in the middle, similar to Haussman-style boulevards, and planned radials to clear or wall off poor neighborhoods.[354] Therefore, the most popular and influential urban designers of the early 1900s advocated the destruction of poor neighborhoods by the construction of roads in order to clean old cities and implement the City Beautiful plans.

Between the 1920s and the 1930s, City Beautiful inspired planning shaped American cities.[355] However, city planning changed as experts with backgrounds in civil engineering assumed bureaucrat position within city governments. These technically adept bureaucrats collected data on urban growth and began calculating the future needs of major U.S cities.[356] As a civil engineer and a politician, Thomas Harris Macdonald's actions reflected an example of a technocrat takeover of the public sphere. MacDonald served as the head of Bureau of Public

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[350] McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path,* 200.

[351] McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path,* 209.
[352] Daniel H. Burnham; Edward H. Bennett. *Plan of Chicago* (Commercial Club of Chicago, 1908), 108.
[353] Burnham; Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*, 108.
[354] McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path,* 211.
[355] Ross, *Dead End*, 22.
[356] Ross, *Dead End*, 22.

Roads in Washington, D.C and transformed the agency into a powerful force. As would become the model of this kind of transformation, a mix of cooperation between the federal government and private corporations allowed the full implementation of the highway system in the 1950s.[357]

MacDonald used his position as a city official to foster cooperation among state and federal organizations to create policy linked to four interrelated components of the American life: agriculture, recreation, commerce, and defense.[358] From 1920 to 1944, MacDonald convinced the states and federal governments of the importance of investing in road networks.[359] Journalist Tom Lewis affirms that, "In 1930, Herbert Hoover raised federal aid from $75 million to $125 million and added additional $80 million in future federal funds. Between 1933 and 1940, the New Deal was responsible for more than $1.8 billion in road construction."[360] The Great Depression increased the federal highway funding as politicians used highway construction as a means to stimulate employment.[361] Considering MacDonald's success forging relationships with state agencies and private contractors about the construction of the National System of Interstate Highways, President Roosevelt signed the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944.[362] MacDonald's technocracy allowed ideas championed by Daniel Burnham and others at the turn of the century to become key tools to redevelop the American city.

In the 1940s, declining neighborhoods were labeled "slums" as urban planners' biases and social perceptions targeted certain sections of the American city for urban renewal redevelopment. In reality, this urban renewal program or "slum clearance" meant "Negro

[357] Lewis, *Divided Highways,* 12.
[358] Lewis, *Divided Highways,* 12.
[359] Mohl; Rose, *Interstate*, 26.
[360] Lewis, *Divided Highways*, 22.
[361] Lewis, *Divided Highways*, 22.
[362] Mohl; Rose, *Interstate*, 26.

removal."[363] The implementation of the program allowed government to bulldoze black ghettos in bad conditions.[364] However, the replacement homes displaced residents into public housing in isolated sections of the city.[365] Considering the government's necessity for rebuilding large areas at one time, many states empowered redevelopment authorities to assemble lands under a single owner using the power of eminent domain.[366] Journalist Jim Moorhead defines this term as,

> The long established right by which the government can assume title of privately owned land, through reasonable compensation, when it is deemed in the public interest. Road right-of-way acquisition is one exercise of that right. [367]

The policies associated with eminent domain left declining neighborhoods vulnerable to the whims of politicians and developers. Low-income residents could easily be threatened with the loss of their homes and no compensation in terms of housing or financial aid. Although MacDonald defended the construction of highways as much as possible, he also understood the importance of building new housing for families displaced by expressway constructions.[368]

Throughout the 1940s, MacDonald promoted the connection between highways and housing in order to secure relocation housing for those families removed from the highways' path.[369] However, in 1949 the Congress forced President Harry S. Truman to reject the coordination of highway and housing programs proposed by MacDonald, claiming high costs

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[363] David Rusk, *Inside Game, Outside Game: Winning Strategies for Saving Urban America,* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1999), 90-91.
[364] Rusk, *Inside Game, Outside Game*, 90-91.
[365] Rusk, *Inside Game, Outside Game*, 90-91.
[366] Ross, *Dead End*, 52.
[367] Jim Moorhead, "Eminent Domain Takes Months," *The Evening Independent* (St. Petersburg, FL), Nov. 1967.
[368] Raymond A. Mohl, "The Interstates and the Cities: Highways, Housing, and the Freeway Revolt," *Research Report Poverty and Race Research Action Council* (University of Alabama at Birmingham 2002), 07.

[369] Mohl, *Interstate and the Cities*, 08.

and difficulty of Congressional implementation.[370] More specifically, throughout the 1940s, two groups inside the government debated the necessity of annexing public housing funds to the urban renewal act. On one side, a liberal coalition – including President Truman, social welfare groups, housing organization and trade unions – defended public housing as essential to urban revival.[371] On the other side, urban researcher Alexander von Hoffman affirms that, a conservative alliance of building, real estate, banking, and chamber of commerce organizations just as adamantly opposed funding public housing as a "socialistic" interference into the private market.[372] In 1949, after nine years of discussion between these two groups, President Truman signed the Housing Act according to his own ideas.[373] Hoffman affirms that, one year later, Truman cut the program back worried about shortages of materials and the return of inflation as he sent the country to war in Korea.[374] In Hoffman's words,

> To prevent such unhappy developments, in July 1950 he ordered the government to build only 30,000 public housing units—or just over one-fifth of the average annual total of 135,000 units allowed by the 1949 law—during the remaining six months of 1950.[375]

Thus, the destruction of neighborhoods by highways continued without enough public housing for those dispossessed.

The Housing Act of 1949 allowed for the demolition of blighted areas under the now titled the friendlier term of "urban renewal."[376] Urban renewal was a disaster for cities as the

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[370] Mohl, *Interstate and the Cities*, 08.
[371] Alexander von Hoffman, "A Study in Contradictions: The Origins and Legacy of the Housing Act of 1949," Housing Policy Debate 11, no. 02 (2000), 307.
[372] Hoffman, *A Study in Contradictions*, 307.
[373] Hoffman, *A Study in Contradictions*, 307.
[374] Hoffman, *A Study in Contradictions*, 311.
[375] Hoffman, *A Study in Contradictions*, 311.
[376] Ross, *Dead End*, 53.

FHA tore down poor working-class neighborhoods as Congress slashed public housing programs.[377] In 1956, Eisenhower's economic advisor Arthur F. Burns criticized a housing bill that extended the Federal National Mortgage Association's activities in order to provide grants for individuals and businesses displaced by an urban renewal project.[378] In the same year, President Eisenhower solved the differences among participants of the highway project, and formed two groups that created National Highway Program.[379] The Interagency Committee and the Budget Bureau headed by Francis du Pont of the Bureau of Public Roads established the two groups containing the Association of General Contractors, the National Asphalt Pavement Association; the National Ready Mixed Concrete Association; the American Concrete Paving Association; and the American Road Builders Association, National Automobile Dealers Association; the American Automobile Association, the Rubber Manufactures Association, the American Truckers Association, and the American Association of State Highway Officials.[380] Thus, the Federal Government started a massive construction of the Highway System one year later.

Eighteen years after Eisenhower signed the Highway Act., the U.S. Department of Transportation managed by the Federal Highway Administration admitted that, "Dislocated residents of urban areas who are poor, *old* or *non-white* had serious economic and social problems in relocating their homes."[381] Moreover, the Department of Transportation affirmed

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[377] Ross, *Dead End*, 53.
[378] Mohl, *Interstate and the Cities*, 18.

[379] Owen D. Gutfreund, *Twentieth-Century Sprawl: Highways and the Reshaping of the American Landscape* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2004), 55.

[380] Lewis, *Divided Highway*, 105.

[381] United States, *Economic and Social Effects of Highways; Summary and Analysis.* (Washington: [for sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off.], 1972), http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000964250, 04.

that, "Just compensation for property taken did not cover all costs of relocation and that many of those relocated suffered financially."[382] In this sense, the technocracy that commanded the BPR limited the highway system project to specific technical studies and avoided social research. Hence, the U.S. government demonstrated that the 1956 Highway Act failed to address the questions of housing demolition and family relocation.

Wartime and Postwar Defense Expenditures in a Growing Florida

In the 1940s, the Sunshine state established an aggressive economic development after the War Department secured federal funds for the coastline's defense.[383] In the 1940s, governors Spessard Holland (1941-1945) and Millard Caldwell (1945-1949) worked to get investments from federal government for military installations, and encouraged tourists and potential residents to move to Florida in order to avoid a possible postwar recession.[384] Beyond the massive Cuban migration to Miami after the Communist revolution, World War II played a pivotal role in South Florida's development as the *Magic City* received massive investments in the form of military bases and wartime training facilities. The construction of the Army Air Force's Air Transport Command shop, the U.S. Navy torpedo base in Opa-Locka, and the Richmond Naval Air Station of dirigibles came up as examples of defense constructions in Miami.[385] In addition, federal wartime expenditures produced vital transformations in different means of transport with the construction of shipbuilding installations, and the vast expansion of Miami's airport facilities.[386] Besides changing the means of transportation, defense expenditures helped boost the local economy as air corps trainees and different military personnel migrated to

[382] United States, *Economic and Social Effects of Highways,* 04.
[383] Colburn; Dehaven-Smith, *Florida's Megatrends*, 32.
[384] Colburn; Dehaven-Smith, *Florida's Megatrends*, 32.
[385] Raymond Mohl, "Miami, Florida," in *Encyclopedia of American Urban History,* ed. David Goldfield (SAGE Publications, 2006), 468.
[386] Mohl, *Miami, Florida*, 468.

Miami and occupied more than 100 Miami Beach hotels.[387] Beyond Miami, Pensacola, Florida, emerged as a pivotal spot for military training and base installations. From 1942 to 1945, federal expenditures for the Naval Air Training Command in Pensacola (N.A.S.) paid civilians a total of $50,000,000 and generated unprecedented income and savings in the city's economy infusing $160,000,000.[388] Hence, the expansion of military facilities influenced the urban transformations in Florida in order to fortify the state against the threats created by war. According to historian Gary Mormino, by December of 1945, around 70 of 175 military installations survived demobilization after the end of the World War II.[389]

After the World War II, as part of the defense expenditures the federal government space program developed new high-technology aerospace and electronics industries in Melbourne-Titusville, Florida, Huntsville, Alabama, and Houston, Texas.[390] As the Cold War started, Titusville became the "Space City, U.S.A." More specifically, Cape Canaveral became the center of Florida's space age beginning in the mid-1950. Beginning with first missile launch over Cocoa Beach, Cape Canaveral's expansion increased with an annual payroll going from $2 million in 1950, to $136 million by 1962.[391] Investment in military defense during the Cold War boosted Florida's economy and population growth. With growth, the demand for infrastructure construction increased.

Florida's growth exploded in the period from 1945 to 1960 as the Housing Act and the Highway Act transformed the country. According to historian Mormino, "No other state matched Florida's velocity, and only California attracted more new residents during the 1950s."[392] After

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[387] Mohl, *Miami, Florida*, 468.
[388] James McGovern, "Pensacola, Florida: A Military City in the New South," *The Florida Historical Society* LIX, no. 1 (Tampa, 1980): 38.
[389] Mormino, *Land of the Sunshine, 156.*
[390] Carl Abbott, "Urbanizing the Sunbelt," *OHA Magazine of History* (2003), 02.
[391] Mormino, *Land of the Sunshine,* 157.
[392] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine*, 12.

1945, Florida's population grew an average of 558 people per day and established a record in which more people lived in the state in the postwar period than all the years prior to 1920.[393] From 1940 to 1970, Florida's population changed from 1,897,414 to 6,791,418.[394] Economist Stan Smith affirms that migration appeared as the most important cause of Florida's population growth and that most of migrants came from other states in the United States.[395] Between 1955 and 1970, around 2.3 million people moved to Florida from across the United States.[396]

Spurred on by this massive migration, the Sunshine state created more metropolitan areas. In the 1950s, only Miami, Tampa-St. Petersburg, Jacksonville, and Orlando qualified as Florida's metropolitan areas.[397] In the 1960s, quick growth created new Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) such as Lakeland-Winter Haven, Daytona Beach, Sarasota-Brendenton, Fort Myers, Gainesville, and Tallahassee.[398] In the process of establishing metropolitan areas, the racial composition of Florida's population changed abruptly. Hence, in the postwar period population growth and racial diversity progressed along with huge military expansion and development.

Defense spending in Florida financed highway construction. In 1952, a study of Florida highways for the State Road Department informed that, principal highway deficiencies appeared along the central region from Daytona Beach area to Tampa Bay area.[399] In this case, in order to solve the mobility issue, the Report suggested "A System of limited access toll highways roughly from Jacksonville to Miami and from the vicinity of Daytona Beach to the Tampa Bay area. . .

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[393] Colburn; Dehaven-Smith, *Florida's Megatrends*, 33.
[394] Stan K. Smith. "Florida Population Growth: Past, Present and Future." University of Florida, (Gainesville 2005), Table 01.

[395] Smith, *Florida Population Growth*, 06.
[396] Smith, *Florida Population Growth*, 06.
[397] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine*, 19.
[398] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine*, 19.
[399] Parsons, Brinckerhoff, Quade and Douglas, "Report on a study of Florida Highways for the State Road Department of Florida" (New York, 1952), 87.

,"[400] In other words, the report demonstrated suggested the future route of Central Florida highway extension that would become Interstate 4 built in 1957.

Florida's Roads and Highways

The combination of a variety of factors such as military development, local industry, and migration resulted in a push for developing roads and highways in Florida. Up to 1850, the federal government built and maintained Florida's roads. After that period, the legislature provided a general law for the incorporation of plank roads into local budgets.[401] However, Florida's roads only became important after 1915 when the legislature established the first State Road Department as an advisory agency to assist local governments.[402] The Road Board commission organized by Florida's governor established two levels of administration in the Road Department. The upper level included the participation of a Chairman, a highway engineer and assistant engineers for administration and operation, and the lower level consisted in the staff engineers and the line agencies responsible to the state highway engineer.[403] The changes in the road system started after Thomas Harris MacDonald took over the Bureau of Public Roads (BPR) in 1920.[404] The next important leap in transport investment happened in the end of the 1950s with the construction of 1,006.6 miles of primary roads classified as Interstate Highways.[405] Florida gained huge investments in highways and Floridians embraced the car culture as MacDonald implemented a strong improvement in BPR's policies.

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[400] Parsons, Brinckerhoff, Quade and Douglas, *Report on a Study of Florida Highways*, 88.
[401] Joseph A. Uveges Jr., "Federal-State Relationships in Interstate Highway Administration: A Case Study of Florida," *Public Administration Clearing Service - Studies in Public Administration (*Florida, no. 24): 44.

[402] Uveges Jr., *Federal-State Relationships*, 45.
[403] Uveges Jr., *Federal-State Relationships*, 46.
[404] Mohl; Rose, *Interstate*, 26.
[405] Parsons, Brinckerhoff, Quade and Douglas, *Report on a study of Florida Highways*, 16.

Florida's interstate commuting clearly developed in the first 15 years after the World War II. According to the Twenty-Second Biennial Report of the State Road Department, in 1958 vehicles traveled the double of miles on state highways than registered in 1949.[406] During the period of 1957 and 1958, cities of Jacksonville, Orlando, and Miami opened Interstate offices and the Orlando office spent $2,800,000 for right-of-way on another section of the Orlando Interstate Expressway.[407] Moreover, in 1958 the state collected $62,883,380 million more in motor fuel than collected in 1949.[408] In addition, in 1958 the state registered 13 million more motor vehicles than in 1949.[409] In 1960, Florida ranked first in the utilization of the Federal Interstate investment of $194,000,000 awarded in 1956 and used in the construction of Interstates 4, 10, 75, and 95.[410] Therefore, the massive investments in highway construction during the 1950s forced Florida's society to embrace the broader car culture in the U.S. and invest in the construction.

Orlando and Interstate 4

In order to understand the construction of Interstate 4, one needs to comprehend the region's postwar development. Florida's development after the World War II appeared tightly connected with a consumptive ethos deeply established in United States' history.[411] However, according to urban historian Julian Chambliss and critical media researcher Denise Cummings, "A fractious political climate, a harsh environment, and unstable population complicated this

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[406] "Biennial Report of the State Road Department of the State of Florida for the Period 1957-1958 : Florida. State Road Department : Free Download & Streaming," *Internet Archive*, accessed April 25, 2015, 17.

[407] "Biennial Report of the State Road Department of the State of Florida for the Period 1959-1960: Florida. State Road Department : Free Download & Streaming," *Internet Archive*, accessed April 25, 2015, 18.
[408] *Biennial Report 1957-1958*, 23.
[409] *Biennial Report 1957-1958*, 23.
[410] *Biennial Report 1957-1958,* 10.
[411] Julian Chambliss and Denise Cummings, "Florida: The Mediated State," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 90 (Florida, 2012): 278.

consumptive pattern."[412] In 1950, the federal government reactivated the Orlando Air Force Base, and eight years later the McCoy Air Force Base for B-47 jet bomber crew training.[413] In 1955, Eisenhower designated Cape Canaveral as the official U.S. Missile Test Center.[414] After that year, a series of aerospace, military, and technology firms established themselves in Florida. Companies such as Glenn Martin installed a missile research and production facility south of Orlando, and firms such as Boyle Engineering Corporation, and IBM, become established in Orange County in the 1960s.[415] Besides building military training facilities, Central Florida modernized vital transportation stations such as the Orlando International Airport and the Port Tampa Bay.[416] After the creation of NASA, the state space's program spurred Orlando's Florida Institute of Technology development and required a connection between the center of the state and the Space Coast.[417] Central Florida became the home of a dynamic cultural, economic, and l ethnic society as the military and space programs developed through the region.

Orlando's transformation was symbolic of the entire region. The Orange County's population reached 114,950 in 1950, 253,540 in 1960, and 286,619 in 1970.[418] Orlando reached 52,367 in 1950; 88,135 in 1960; 99,066 in 1970, and 128,291 in 1980.[419] In the years before Walt Disney World opened Orlando considered 50,000 visitors a good season, and the region

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[412] Chambliss; Cummings, *The Mediated State*, 278.

[413] *Orange County Sheriff's Office Orlando, Florida* (Turner Publishing Company, 1994), 25.

[414] Timothy J. Brock, "Entrepreneurial Planning and Urban Economic Development: The Case of Establishing Commuter Rail in Orlando, Florida" (PhD Thesis, University of Kentucky, 2014), 38.
[415] Brock, *Entrepreneurial Planning and Urban Economic Development*, 39.
[416] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine*, *State of Dreams*, 117.
[417] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine*, *State of Dreams*, 157.
[418] *Orange County Sheriff's Office,* 25.

[419] Richard E. Foglesong, *Married to the Mouse: Walt Disney World and Orlando* (Yale University Press, 2003), 05.

celebrated "Sugar-white beaches, emerald water, and eternal sunshine" and the major draws.[420] Before the construction of Interstate 4, Dixie Highway handled the state's tourism. According to Mormino, Dixie highway took Michiganders and Ohioans to Florida's west coast, and New Yorkers and Jerseyites down the east coast.[421] As Central Florida's population grew after World War II, downtown Orlando suffered the same result as other downtowns across the United States. Retailers, service providers, and residents moved to fast growing suburbs.[422] Researchers Ruth Steiner and Scott Wright affirm that, throughout the 1960s urban sprawl accelerated downtown's disinvestment, and by 1970, "The once prosperous downtown was deserted, rundown, and blighted."[423] Therefore, even though Orlando's population and the tourism industry grew during the postwar period, both developed on the suburbs of the city and avoided the downtown area.

In the 1960s, as Walt Disney World established itself outside Orlando, commercial and infrastructure investments moved from the urban core to the suburbs. In order to understand the importance of the Interstate 4, one needs to comprehend how Disney chose Kissimmee as the location of his theme park. Walt Disney's childhood in Ocala brought him back to Central Florida while choosing the perfect place for his theme park. With Disney's announcement of his plans, Florida decided to focus supporting the theme park's development.[424] According to researcher Timothy Brock, Disney scouted Central Florida in 1963, planning a larger version of his California theme park. He chose Orlando after realizing that the region provided a vast amount of cheap undeveloped land, warm climate and good transportation connectivity.[425] The

[420] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 78.
[421] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 78.
[422] Ruth L. Steiner; Scott A. Wright. "Travel in New Urbanist and Traditional Communities: A Case Study of Downtown Orlando," (Florida Department of Transportation, 2000), 16.

[423] Steiner; Wright, *Travel in the New Urbanist and Traditional Communities,* 16.
[424] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, States of Dreams,* 102.
[425] Brock, *Entrepreneurial Planning and Urban Economic Development*, 42.

most important aspect of Disney's choice appeared while flying over Central Florida's landscape. Disney saw a network of turnpikes, interstate highways such as I-4, and airports all connected and connecting with the proposed site.[426] More specifically, Disney chose the region "Not because its road system was sufficient, but because the state had a sound basis for building an adequate road system in the future."[427] Thus, Disney World's presence in the city of Orlando became effective with the existence of an expressway system.

The postwar growth of Central Florida demanded change on the way-of-life of visitors and residents. Researcher Brock summarizes Central Florida's changes between 1950 and 1980 affirming that,

> Local roads and rural highways were filled with military personal, engineering researchers, college students and families on holiday. The postwar expressway boom was anchored by the new Cape Canaveral space and missile programs to the east, the accompanying defense contract firms in Orlando proper, and Walt Disney World to the southwest.[428]

Thus, the I-4 construction came to change the space, time and life of Central Florida. I-4 changed intrastate and interstate commuting during the expansion of suburbanization, accessibility towards military and defense facilities, theme parks, beaches, natural reserve parks and facilitated the logistics of commercial transportation becoming one of the main arteries of Florida highway system.

Interstate 4 construction plans developed throughout the 1950s, as the city grew in population and businesses. National defense purposes, tourism and the suburbanization process

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[426] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, States of Dreams,* 102.
[427] Foglesong, *Married to the Mouse*, 57.
[428] Brock, *Entrepreneurial Planning and Urban Economic Development*, 38.

necessitated I-4's construction. In 1954, after conducting an $11,000 survey over transportation mobility, Florida's State Road Department recommended an elevated, limited-access highway running through Orlando and Winter Park.[429] Different from the Bureau Public of Roads guidelines for a city of Orlando's size, instead of cutting through downtown, I-4 needed to ease the north-south traffic flow facilitating access to downtown.[430] However, in reality the highway cut downtown Orlando in half. More specifically, within the Orlando area, I-4 established a route of eight and one-half mile expressway that started in South Orlando and turned northeast along S.R. 17-92 passing close to Winter Park.[431] The highway construction cost $30 million in which 90 percent paid by the federal government and 10 percent by the state.[432] Eisenhower's administration guaranteed I-4 in the highway system funding after an agreement made with Orlando's Mayor J. Rolfe Davis, Orlando Planning Board, and Florida's road planners.[433]

Throughout the 1950s, federal and state government needed active people in the role of defenders of the I-4 plans. Political Scientist Richard Foglesong affirms that Florida's government established a tight bond with two leaders of the pro-growth private sector, Billy Dial, president of the First National Bank (now SunTrust), and Martin Andersen publisher of *Orlando Sentinel* and *Orlando Star*.[434] Dial and Andersen lead a group of local influential residents such as Beth Johnson, state senator; C. Walton Rex, famous Orlando realtor; and John Newsom, Kendall oil dealer, that acted as lobbyists pro-growth in Central Florida.[435]

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[429] Richard E. Foglesong, *Prologue to Light Rail: The Interstate - 4 Controversy in Winter Park*, 1999, 26.

[430] Foglesong, *Married to the Mouse*, 26.
[431] Foglesong, *Prologue to Light Rail*, 11.
[432] Foglesong, *Married to the Mouse*, 27.
[433] Foglesong, *Married to the Mouse*, 27.
[434] Foglesong, *Prologue to Light Rail*, 12.
[435] Foglesong, *Prologue to Light Rail*, 12.

Controlling the most influential newspapers in Central Florida, Andersen openly advocated the construction of I-4 in the region. In 1957, year that I-4 started to be built, Andersen's newspapers opened space for daily editorials about the negotiations in order to convince Floridians of the highway's importance for the state. In the first week of April, *Orlando Evening Star* defended the necessity of I-4 passing through Orlando and Winter Park affirming that Central Florida's motorists wanted that for their lives.[436] One week later, Andersen's newspaper launched an editorial stating I-4's importance for Florida's growth,

> In the face of these figures, the traffic planners tell us that whether we like the expressway now or not, every prognostication of our future growth in population and physical expansion of our residential and business areas, points to the fact that expressway-type trafficways inside the cities will be an absolute "must" in less than 10 years time.[437]

Therefore, Andersen constantly reiterated the fact that technocrats studied people's will and that appeared as the truth. In this case, defending I-4 route through downtown Orlando, *Orlando Sentinel* released an editorial that stated trust in the highway's builders and explained the reason for choosing that route.[438] In the editorial, *Orlando Sentinel* affirmed that, I-4 route needed to avoid going around Orlando because only 10 percent of the drivers would be benefited.[439] *Orlando Sentinel's* editorial considered a technical study made by the State Road Department that affirmed that, "Nine out of every 10 cars on the major highways leading into Orlando want to go into, or have just come from downtown Orlando." Hence, Andersen endorsed with all his

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[436] Editorial, "Expressway Route for Local Traffic," *Orlando Evening Star*, April 6, 1957.
[437] Editorial, "An Expressway at 10 cents on the Dollar," *Orlando Evening Star*, April 15, 1957.

[438] Editorial, "Why an Expressway Anyway?" *Orlando Sentinel*, April 25, 1957.
[439] Editorial, "Why an Expressway Anyway?" *Orlando Sentinel*, April 25, 1957.

powers the construction of I-4 crossing through the middle of Orlando and Winter Park, and acted indirectly as Eisenhower's Highway System promoter.

However, readers constantly sent letters worried about the lack of beauty in the highway's architecture, downtown disinvestment, and the impoverishment of neighborhoods. In April 9, the Orlando Park Board pronounced against the Orlando Expressway route due to the destruction of the city's beauty.[440] Moreover, in the beginning of April, *Orlando Star*'s reader Frank A. emphasized that I-4 plans emerged as a "beauty killer" for the city.[441] Worried about downtown's commerce situation, *Orlando Star's* reader J. W. Burkhalter affirmed in a letter to the Editor that, "Downtown merchants will suffer a considerable loss of business for the reason that people are not going to go to the trouble of getting off that highway to do any shopping downtown, but will do their shopping in outlying centers where the convenience of parking is a prime factor."[442] Besides complaining over the destruction of Orlando's beauty, and downtown's disinvestment, *Orlando Evening Star's* readers sent letters worried with evicted homeowners and I-4 emerging as an impoverishment neighborhood. In April 20, reader Howard Phillips sent a letter to Editor affirming that the eviction of homeowners appeared as "A most vital problem to certain groups of our citizens who find it difficult, if not outright impossible, to secure lands for their occupancy or ownership."[443]

Following this track of the ways in which roads and highways expanded and modernized in the United States, we see how urban planning moves into the local expression of city development. Nationally, the U.S. faced a shift from antiquated systems of transportations;

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[440] Letter sent to Editor, "Park Board Hits Route of Expressway," *Orlando Evening Star,* April 9, 1957.

[441] Letter sent to Editor, "Orlando Expressway," *Orlando Evening Star,* April 1, 1957.
[442] Letter sent to Editor, "Letter to the Sentinel," *Orlando Sentinel,* April 10, 1957.
[443] Letter sent to Editor, "Evicted homeowners," *Orlando Evening Star,* April 20, 1957.

Americans moved from horse-drawn carriages to automobiles and switched their preferred system of travel to the highways and roads designed for the easy movement of cars. Locally, Orlando's transformation confirmed ideas first articulated by Daniel Burnham and institutionalized by Thomas MacDonald in the first half of the twentieth century. Florida changed due to tourism, mass migration, and defense spending. As a state, Florida served as a prime example of the aftermath of postwar development fueled that brought a population's increase and growth in the tourism. All of these factors set the stage for the decision to construct Interstate-4. I-4 served as a symbolic culmination of the results of urban planning in contemporary times. Following the example of other cities in the United States affected by highway development, the impact of the construction of I-4 collaborated in the isolation and economic decline of the African American neighborhood of Parramore.

Chapter V

Parramore and the Interstate 4

Different from the rest of the city, Parramore was always mixed-use neighborhood. Now it's like pulling teeth, it's like a skeleton. It's like the community is being squeezed out. (Vencinia Cannady)[444]

Racial Segregation and Parramore's Foundation

In order to comprehend how the construction of Interstate 4 affected the African-American neighborhood of Parramore, one needs to understand Orlando's history and the foundation of African American settlements after the Reconstruction period. The overall theme

[444] Vencinia Cannady, interviewed by Yuri K. Gama, June 2015, in Parramore, Orlando, transcript of an audio interview.

of this chapter focuses on presenting how Parramore's history intersects with the national history of racial segregation and postwar federal investment in urban development. In order to demonstrate this connection, this chapter will present the main factors that led Parramore from a thriving segregated neighborhood to a low-income and disrupted community. The timeline begins in 1836 when the government of United States controlled most of Central Florida and established a series of forts to defend against the Native-Americans.[445] Orange County's first African American settlements appeared through the influence of white employers that wanted to provide housing for black domestic help and grove workers.[446] In 1870, businessman and diplomat Henry Sanford opened Georgetown for his black citrus pickers. In 1885, Winter Park developers plotted and laid out the community of Hannibal Square for their black employees. After the Reconstruction, African Americans communities appeared in Central Florida as part of the economic and social fabric of the region. The main pattern of development established an interdependent relation between black communities and white businessmen. This relation developed through the fact that whites decided the space in which African Americans could live and where they would work.

Orlando became a permanent settlement in 1856.[447] Orlando was a tiny community of settlers who raised cattle and cotton, and had a small slave population.[448] After the end of the Civil War in 1865, Congress readmitted the state of Florida to the Union and guaranteed full

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[445] LeRoy Argrett Jr. *A History of the Black Community of Orlando, Florida.* (California: Cypress House Press, 1991), 11.

[446] Tana Mosier Porter. "Segregation and Desegregation in Parramore: Orlando's African American Community." The Florida historical quarterly, Vol. 82, No. 3, 2004, 292.

[447] Argrett Jr, *A History of the Black Community of Orlando*, 11.

[448] Argrett Jr, *A History of the Black Community of Orlando*, 12.

civil rights for African Americans.[449] According to historian Ben Brotemarkle, during Reconstruction, black and the white communities appeared simultaneously in Orlando.[450] However, African American settlements established after Reconstruction faced segregation as whites organized specific spaces for blacks to live. Whites plotted land imagining that blacks would work in their crops, groves and farms. Historian Leon Litwack writes that majority of the black Southerners lived as tenants and had white landowners.[451] In Litwack's words, "If sharecropping and tenantry represented a compromise between tenant and landlord, it proved in practice to be a one-sided compromise in which almost all the advantages rested with the planters eager to gain and control black labor."[452] Thus, Central Florida's development after the Civil War followed the same pattern evident across the entire south demonstrated by Litwack's work.

Before Parramore established itself as a community, Jonestown appeared as the first African American settlement in Orlando. In 1880, James Magruder, a white homebuilder, subdivided into lots the location of Jonestown in the southeast section of downtown Orlando between South Street and Bumby Avenue. This location was named after its first residents Sam and Penney Jones.[453] Although Jonestown emerged as the first, Parramore became the biggest black community in Orlando. Historically speaking Parramore is known as only one neighborhood. However, its history is more complicated. The neighborhood is formed by three

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[449] Benjamin D. Brotemarkle, *Crossing Division Street: An Oral History of the African-American Community in Orlando.* (Florida: The Florida Historical Society Press, 2005), 08.

[450] Brotemarkle, "Crossing Division Street," 09.

[451] Leon F. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2010), 127.

[452] Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 128.

[453] Kevin M. McCarthy, *African American Sites in Florida* (Pineapple Press Inc., 2007), 196.

different sections: Lake Dot, Callahan and Holden. James B. Parramore, a confederate soldier and ex-Orlando mayor plotted the area for the community in 1881.[454] Five years later, Andrew Hooper, another white builder, added cottages on West Church Street bringing the black workforce closer to white-owned businesses in downtown and establishing what became known as Pepperhill - the first section of Parramore.[455]

In early 1900s, Pepperhill changed its name to Callahan Neighborhood to honor Dr. Jerry B. Callahan the first black physician to practice at the Orange County General Hospital.[456] Another black community, Holden Neighborhood developed and merged with Callahan. Holden residents became citrus plantations workers, helped clear out land, and built the streets of what later became downtown Orlando.[457] Beyond manual jobs, several Holden residents became involved in black leaderships, attained success as physicians, and other professions. Some of these notable individuals included Dr. Cecil B. Eccleston, Dr. William Monroe Wells, Dr. Henry Wooden, and Dr. I Sylvester Hankins Jr.[458] As the neighborhood grew, in 1892, a blacksmith shop appeared at Hughey Avenue and South Street as the first commercial establishment in Parramore.[459] By the turn of the century, Parramore was an African American community comprised of black owned homes and businesses with black institutions led by prosperous community leaders. Beyond working in citrus plantations, black residents helped clear out the land and built the streets of what later became downtown Orlando.[460] Hence, Lake Dot, Callahan

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[454] Joy Wallace Dickinson, "Exploring the Path to Parramore's Past," *Orlando Sentinel* (June 26, 2005). Web. http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/2005-06-26/news/ORFLASH26_1_parramore-south-street-casino
[455] Kelly Brewington and Melissa Harris. "An Identity Uprooted." *Orlando Sentinel,* December 14, 2003, 02.
[456] McCarthy, *African American Sites in Florida,* 197.
[457] Brewington and Harris, *An Identity Uprooted*, 02.
[458] Geraldine F. Thompson, *Black America Series: Orlando, Florida,* (Arcadia Publishing, 2003), 07.
[459] Sherri M. Owens, "Warehouse, shelters are too plentiful for residents," *Orlando Sentinel,* November 3, 1997.
[460] Brewington and Harris, *An Identity Uprooted*, 02.

and Holden formed the entire Parramore Neighborhood and made up the only place in Orlando where African Americans could live and thrive.

Churches and schools emerged as the first constructions that anticipated the permanent establishing of African American communities in Orlando.[461] Parramore's churches such as Ebenezer United Methodist Church and Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church both started before the community was plotted.[462] More specifically, Mount Zion Church opened in 1880 the Callahan Neighborhood in a wood-frame building. From 1880 to 1899, besides Ebenezer United and Mount Zion churches, the black community built St. John Episcopal, Mt. Olive CME Church, Mt. Olive AME, and Shiloh Baptist.[463] In 1882, Orange County School Board approved a petition to open the Orlando Colored School in the area that later would be known as Parramore.[464] In 1895, the Orlando Colored School changed its name to Johnson Academy and moved to the corner of Garland and Church Street.[465]

As the educational and religious institutions established themselves, Central Florida's population grew from the Civil War period onward. In 1860, Orange County's population reached 2,195; in 1870, the county had 6,618 residents and by 1890, the county achieved a population of 12,584 inhabitants.[466] In a larger spectrum in the same decade, Florida's black population reached the total number of 127,000, while whites reached the number of 143,000.[467]

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[461] Porter, *Segregation and Desegregation in Parramore*, 293.
[462] Porter, *Segregation and Desegregation in Parramore*, 293.
[463] Argrett Jr, *A History of the Black Community of Orlando*, 27.
[464] Jerrell H. Shofner, *Orlando: The City Beautiful*, (Tulsa: Continental Heritage Press, 1984), 162.
[465] Argrett Jr, *A History of the Black Community of Orlando*, 30.
[466] James C. Clark, *Orlando, Florida: A Brief History*, (Charleston: The History Press, 2013), 34.
[467] Brotemarkle, *Crossing Division Street*, 09.

In Orlando, as black settlers established houses, schools and churches Orlando's African-American community attracted migrants to the city. By 1884, Orlando had 1,666 residents.[468]

Historically speaking, scholars discussed how after the Reconstruction African American communities developed surrounded by railroads. Researcher Elizabeth Ananat explains that cities subdivided by railroads into insular neighborhoods applied those boundaries in order to isolate and concentrate black population in settlements.[469] Historian Arnold Hirsch portrays the case of Chicago in which the African American region of *Black Belt* developed throughout the 20th century surrounded by railroads.[470] The railroad separated the *Black Belt* from the white region of *Park Manor*.[471] In the period of 1850 and 1900, at the same time African Americans descended into Jonestown in Orlando, the region's railroads emerged and expanded.[472] Central Florida's railroad came on the scene in 1880, after the South Florida Railroad installed the tracks between Sanford and Tampa.[473] In October of 1880, the first train started running in Orlando and one year later, the city attached itself to the entire nation through the railroad system spanning from Sanford to Jacksonville.[474] In 1884, the railroad expanded from Tavares through Orlando and all the way to the Atlantic Ocean crossing over West Robinson Avenue on north of the Pepperhill neighborhood which later became known as Parramore.[475] Two years later, the railroad continued south of Kissimmee and invaded Lake Lucerne in the Southeast corner of

[468] Clark, *Orlando, Florida: A Brief History,* 51.
[469] Elizabeth O. Ananat, "The Wrong Side(s) of the Tracks: The Causal Effects of Racial Segregation on Urban Poverty and Inequality," American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 3 (2011), 14.

[470] Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto, 58.*
[471] Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto, 58.*
[472] Brewington and Harris, *An Identity Uprooted,* 02.
[473] Clark, *Orlando, Florida: A Brief History*, 42
[474] Clark, *Orlando, Florida: A Brief History*, 42.
[475] Yeilding and Provost, *Callahan-Holden-Parramore-Lake Dot: Historic and Architectural Survey*, (1988), 04.

Parramore.[476] Historically speaking, the black community has always been linked to the railroads in Orlando. State Senator Geraldine Thompson representative of Parramore affirms that, "[Orlando] was separated generally by the railroad tracks. The white community on one side and the black community on the other. Parramore [was] just west of the railroad tracks in relation to downtown Orlando."[477] Before the construction of the railway in Orlando, the populated part of the city settled around the Orange County Courthouse among these streets, East Washington Street, Court Avenue, Magnolia Avenue and East Central Boulevard.[478] After the rail connection between the city and Sanford, the center of Orlando shifted to the southwest near the train station and the tracks and divided Orlando into east and west sides.[479] Thus, separated by the tracks and concentrated on one prearranged space, Parramore became the place where black Americans slowly developed a community of worth.

Despite the racial segregation in religious and educational institutions, African Americans struggled to overcome challenges imposed by white supremacy in the political sphere. According to Historian Tana Porter, during the period of Reconstruction, "Florida's black voter registrations exceeded those for whites, and blacks flocked to polls to elect nineteen African Americans to the Florida legislature."[480] Between 1868 and 1876, at least thirty-four men registered to vote in the Orange County.[481] However, even during Reconstruction, Florida's

[476] Yeilding and Provost, *Callahan Holden-Parramore Lake Dot*, 04.
[477] Geraldine Thompson, *Riches Documentary Podcast: Histories of Central Florida*, Episode 4, MP3, accessed May 18, 2015, https://richesmi.cah.ucf.edu/omeka2/files/original/254867a60c37e3bc46fe285fbbefc1d7.mp3

[478] Yeilding and Provost, *Callahan Holden-Parramore Lake Dot*, 04.
[479] Yeilding and Provost, *Callahan Holden-Parramore Lake Dot*, 04.
[480] Porter, *Segregation and Desegregation in Parramore*, 294.
[481] Porter, *Segregation and Desegregation in Parramore*, 294.

white supremacists impeded blacks from voting. Historian LeRoy Argrett Jr. writes that, in 1868 forty African Americans endured whippings and expulsion in Orlando after trying to vote.[482]

After Reconstruction, African-American voters continued to strive for political participation. Florida's 1885 constitution hampered blacks from voting by creating barriers such as multiple ballot boxes, requiring literacy tests and poll taxes.[483] In Orlando, the White Voters Executive Committee of the Democratic Party controlled primary elections and denied voting rights to blacks.[484] Local journalist Mark Andrews states that, the committee barred black from "municipal primaries" at a time "when Florida was essentially a one-party state."[485] Challenging these racist laws, between 1910 and 1922 twenty-five black men registered to vote in Orlando.[486] African Americans finally won the right of electing city officials after four black businessmen sued in 1950.[487] According to the *Daily Record newspaper*,

> Orlando, Florida's White Voters Executive Committee, which has conducted city primaries for 46 years, last night recommended that city elections be opened to Negroes. They asked Mayor William Beardall and city commissioners to 'comply with recent Supreme Court decisions.'[488]

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[482] Argrett Jr, *A History of the Black Community of Orlando*, 13.
[483] Porter, *Segregation and Desegregation in Parramore*, 294.

[484] Cassandra Fyotek, "Historic Orange County: The Story of Orlando and Orange County," (HPN Books, 2009), 46.

[485] Mark Andrews, "80-Year Battle Won Blacks the Right to Vote in Orlando," *Tribune digital - Orlando Sentinel*, February 20, 2000, accessed May 20, 2015, http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/2000-02-20/news/0002190266_1_blacks-to-vote-black-men-black-man.

[486] Porter, *Segregation and Desegregation in Parramore*, 294.

[487] Clark, *Orlando, Florida: A Brief History,* 56.

[488] "Looking Back over the Decades," *Daily Record*, Ellesnburg, Washington, 89, no. 171 (July 20, 1990), accessed May 20, 2015, https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=860&dat=19900720&id=c35UAAAAIBAJ&sjid=DY8DAAAAIBAJ&pg=3293,1820723&hl=en

Hence, African American communities only had the opportunity to fully participate in Orlando's democratic process after 1950. Even with this opportunity, African Americans in Orlando still faced political obstacles.

Between 1910 and 1940, Parramore had good economic development with successful professionals and establishments. However, the community still suffered with white racist physical violence. In these years, Orlando formed its first interracial committee, built twelve new black churches in Parramore and Orlando's first black doctors began their practices. Johnson Academy changed its name to Jones High School, moved to a bigger location with a new auditorium, and graduated its first high school class in 1931.[489] These changes reflected the country's racial climate. On one side, Parramore thrived despite racism, but on the other side, African Americans faced violence at the hands of a revived Ku Klux Klan (KKK) that worked tirelessly to enforce Jim Crow segregation. Historian Brotemarkle writes that Orlando hosted several statewide KKK meetings and parades in 1922 and 1923.[490] Besides massacres, lynchings, and whippings, Orlando's white supremacists attempted to create new zoning regulation to institutionalize segregation in 1925 and 1926.[491] Reacting to these racist activities, the Orange County Branch of the NAACP organized to investigate lynchings, racial discrimination, and police brutality.[492] However, when NAACP members Mr. Joe Stevens and Rev. R. H. Johnson came to Orlando in 1925 to recruit members for the Orange County Branch, both activists found that residents feared losing their lives or their jobs and refused to join the NAACP.[493] According to historian Porter, Stevens and Johnson fought for almost five years to recruit the five members

[489] Argrett Jr, *A History of the Black Community of Orlando*, 26-31.
[490] Brotemarkle, *Crossing Division Street*, 12.
[491] Jennifer Lynn Wheelock, "Examining the Urban New Urbanism for Compatibility with the Evolving Patterns of the Traditional City: A Case Study of the Parramore Heritage District in Orlando, Florida." (Master's thesis, University of Florida, 2007), 48.

[492] Thompson, *Orlando: Black America Series,* 12.
[493] Thompson, *Orlando: Black America Series,* 12.

necessary to start a charter.[494] On September 9,1929, the NAACP Orange County branch was organized.[495] Therefore, Orlando's black community managed to grow despite segregation's harsh reality.

For much of twentieth century Orlando's black society strove to establish itself as a thriving community. The leadership of African Americans such as Sylvester Hankins Jr. and Dr. William Wells demonstrated how individuals helped foster Parramore's development. Hankins Jr. was a physician born in Parramore in 1895. He attended Johnson Academy through the eighth grade and helped organizing the Orange County Branch of the NAACP in Orlando.[496] Throughout his life, Hankins prospered as a member of the Mental Health Board of Orange County.[497] In addition to his job, as an anti-segregation activist, Hankins constantly provided free healthcare and tuition donations to low-income African Americans.[498] Besides that, Hankins helped settling the first African American subdivision in Orlando.[499]

Another example was Dr. William Monroe Wells who emerged as a successful black professional in Orlando from his arrival in 1917. A contemporary to Hankins and a physician, Wells delivered around 5,000 babies and provided free healthcare for low-income black Orlandoans with the assistance of Mrs. Josie Belle Jackson.[500] Besides his daily job, Dr. Wells had an important role developing culture, and providing entertainment. In the 1920s, Wells built a hotel and a nightclub only for blacks.[501] Wells built the hotel in order to provide lodging and

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[494] Porter, *Segregation and Desegregation in Parramore*, 297.
[495] Thompson, *Orlando: Black America Series,* 12.
[496] Thompson, *Orlando: Black America Series,* 25-30.
[497] Orlando Sentinel, "Dr. I. Sylvester Hankins, Black Civic Leader," *3 Star Edition* (Orlando, FL), August 25, 1991.
[498] Orlando Sentinel, *Dr. I. Sylvester Hankins, Black Civic Leader*, August 28, 1991.
[499] Orlando Sentinel, *Dr. I. Sylvester Hankins, Black Civic Leader*, August 28, 1991
[500] Wells Built Museum of African American History and Culture Website," *PAST, INC,* accessed May 22, 2015, http://wellsbuiltmuseumofafricanamericanhistoryandculture.org/the-history-of-dr-william-wells/
[501] Orlando Sentinel. "Doctor's Historic Home was 'a place for hospitality,'" December 26, 2006, B7.

the South Street Casino as a nightclub for black entertainers to perform in Orlando.[502] The South Street Casino attracted notable persons such as Ella Fitzgerald, Thurgood Marshall, and Jackie Robinson.[503] Performers such as Cab Callloway, Roy Eldridge, and Count Basie played at the venue and later spent the night sleeping at the Well's Built Hotel.[504] The South Street Casino emerged as a cultural hub and a place of socialization. The venue provided entertainment for black Orlandoans and an opportunity for local musicians. Resident of Parramore since 1948, Johnnie B. West affirms that she and her friends constantly used to go to Wells club in their twenties because the venue used to be a nice place to dance and to meet new people.[505] Talking about the importance of the South Street Casino, Dr. Tim Lucas Adams affirms that his parents used to attend parties and his father, a local musician, had the opportunity of playing trumpet at the venue.[506] Dr. Wells and his establishments' success represented the community's thriving moments.

In the 1930s, Parramore's population and infrastructure continue to grow despite the economic downturn. In 1935, the Orange County Board of Education built the Holden Street elementary school.[507] Four years later, the Federal government approved the Reorganization Act of 1939 and provided funding for national public housing projects.[508] This same year President Franklin D. Roosevelt affirmed that the U.S. Housing Authority would, "administer grants-in-aid and loans to local public housing authorities" for communities "which cannot be reached

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[502] Orlando Sentinel. "Doctor's Historic Home was 'a place for hospitality,'" December 26, 2006, B7.
[503] McCarthy, *African American Sites in Florida,* 199.
[504] Orlando Sentinel, *Doctor's Historic Home was 'a place for hospitality,* December 26, 2006, B7.
[505] Johnnie B. West, 16min 16seg, interviewed by Yuri K. Gama, May 15, 2015, in the interviewee's home in Parramore, Orlando, transcript of an audio interview.
[506] Dr. Tim Lucas Adams, interviewed by Yuri K. Gama, May 19, 2015, interview realized by e-mail.
[507] Argrett Jr, *A History of the Black Community of Orlando*, 31.
[508] Franklin D. Roosevelt: "Message to Congress on the Reorganization Act.," April 25, 1939. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=15748.

economically by private enterprise."[509] Thus, the federal government established a public policy of investment in local housing authorities in order to build affordable public housing. As a result, Parramore saw the creation of two new public housing developments that radically transformed the composition of the community.

Uneven Development and Parramore's Decline

Sponsored by the Reorganization Act of 1939, and built in Parramore, Griffin Park became the first affordable housing project in the city of Orlando.[510] During and after World War II, the federal government built low-income residential buildings with multi-family apartments as housing for poor African Americans as part of 'slum clearance' projects.[511] As part of the urban renewal project, the 'Slum clearance' programs developed throughout the country and destroyed low-income black neighborhoods forcing the government to build public housing for displaced residents.[512]

Griffin Park project consisted of modest scale simple wood frame vernacular style building constructed from concrete block with concrete floors.[513] The housing project contained 174 units and received several families who lived in Jonestown, the first African American settlement of Orlando located at South Street and Bumby Avenue.[514] The 'slum clearance' promoted by authorities demolished the black neighborhood of Jonestown in the East side of Downtown and displaced its residents to the housing project of Griffin Park at the West side of

[509] Roosevelt, Message to Congress, April 25, 1939.
[510] Owens, "Warehouse, shelters are too plentiful for residents," *Orlando Sentinel,* November 3, 1997.
[511] Yeilding and Provost, *Callahan Holden-Parramore Lake Dot*, 09.

[512] Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (MIT Press, 1983), 234.

[513] Yeilding and Provost, *Callahan Holden-Parramore Lake Dot*, 09.
[514] Thompson, *Orlando: Black America Series,* 04.

railroad in Downtown. Ready in 1941, Griffin Park cost a total value of $800,000 for the Federal Housing Authority.[515] In 1940, the government began construction of a "white housing project" with 176 units called Reeves Terrace.[516] Ready in 1943, Reeves Terrace served as home for low-income whites mostly military and civilian war workers.[517] As part of the federal policy of 'slum clearance', Reeves Terrace and Griffin Park emerged as examples of the racialization of the space in Orlando. The construction of Griffin Park together with the destruction of Jonestown and the building of Reeves Terrace symbolized the rearrangement of the city as African Americans were forced moving to West, and whites moved toward East.

Carver Court was the second affordable housing project for African Americans. Constructed in 1945, Carver Court originally consisted of 160 residential units in twenty-eight buildings and one office building on Short Avenue. According to the Orlando Housing Authority archives, "Carver Court was negatively affected by numerous soil impact issues, as well as design-related, structural, and system-wide problems that ultimately became a hazard to the health, safety, and well-being of its residents."[518] More specifically, the OHA reports that, "Likely that little or no soil preparation was done on the site to accommodate the construction of the one- and two-story row house structures."[519] Hence, the Carver Court project provided an

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[515] Thompson, *Orlando: Black America Series,* 31.

[516] Goldie Blumenstyk, "Under The Roof Of Tradition Authority Clings To Old Ways Of Funding Low-income Housing," *Orlando Sentinel (*Orlando, Florida), February 7, 1988.

[517] Luz Villarreal, "Early Public Housing Projects Posed For National Historic List," *Orlando Sentinel,* November 26, 1994. Web. http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/1994-11-26/news/9411260065_1_griffin-park-public-housing-projects

[518] Orlando Housing Authority "The Carver Court Public Housing Site History and the New Carver Park," (April, 2009) accessed May 25, 2015 www.orl-**oha**.org/press%20Rl/**CarverCourt**History.pdf

[519] Orlando Housing Authority "The Carver Court Public Housing Site History and the New Carver Park," (April, 2009) accessed May 25, 2015 www.orl-**oha**.org/press%20Rl/**CarverCourt**History.pdf

example of the public authorities' negligence of public housing offered to African American communities in the postwar era.

The pattern of housing development found in Carver Court and Griffin Park, aligns with cases discussed by scholars D. Bradford Hunt in Chicago and Thomas Sugrue in Detroit. Historian Hunt writes that public housing in Chicago emerged as promise for poor African Americans, and quickly became dysfunctional.[520] As Chicago's housing projects failed in providing quality homes for the displaced black community, Hunt cites the Harold Ickes Homes project as one example that replaced the Federal Street *slum,* ended with acute levels of poverty, and damaged infrastructure.[521] Similar to Chicago's *slum* removal project, Detroit public housing deepened racial segregation concentrating African Americans in black inner-city neighborhoods.[522] According to urban historian Sugrue, during the 1940s, Detroit faced a war between groups in favor of desegregated public housing and groups against desegregated public housing.[523] As local authorities tried to build a black public housing project on the border of a black community and a white neighborhood, whites protested and physically attacked blacks who supported the project.[524] The Gratiot Redevelopment site appeared as a blatant example of private-public housing that replaced the dilapidated black community of Detroit's Lower East Side.[525] However, as the Gratiot became overpopulated, and lacked infrastructural investment,

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[520] D. Bradford Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster: The Unraveling of Chicago Public Housing*, Reprint edition (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2010), 01-05.

[521] Hunt, Blueprint for Disaster, 05.

[522] Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton University Press, 2005), 86.

[523] Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis, 72.*
[524] Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis, 73.*
[525] Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis,* 50.

Sugrue affirms that, "Redevelopment did not ameliorate the living conditions of the impoverished residents of sites slated for slum clearance."[526] Although in different contexts, Gratiot Redevelopment site in Detroit, Harold Ickes Homes public housing in Chicago, and Griffin Park and Carver Court in Orlando were part of the same public policy of urban renewal that destroyed black *ghettos* and reinforced racial segregation and social inequality.

The lack of careful oversight coincided with increased postwar development in Florida and the rest of the southern and western region. This pattern of development led to the investment into housing and stimulated employment in the region. Historian Brotemarkle writes that in the 1940s and 1950s black Orlandoans enjoyed a period of growth as families owned their own homes and businesses.[527] Even though segregated and exploited, some African Americans reached middle-class status and became prosperous with thriving businesses such as the Wells' Built Hotel, Wallace's Beauty Mill, the South Street Casino, Washington Shores Savings and Loan Association, and Prices' Sewing School.[528]

As the community thrived, several successful black civic organizations appeared. In 1945, after six months of discussions between leaders of the white commercial community and black entrepreneurs, the city founded the Orlando Negro Chamber of Commerce as an experiment. The Negro Chamber empowered the black community in Central Florida. One year later, under the presidency of Z. L. Riley, the Orlando Negro Chamber of Commerce became a permanent organization in Florida.[529] Besides organizing black commercial businesses, the

[526] Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis,* 50.
[527] Brotemarkle, "Crossing Division Street," 13.
[528] Thompson, *Black America Series: Orlando, Florida,* 07.
[529] Argrett Jr, *A History of the Black Community of Orlando*, 36.

Negro Chamber sponsored several African American civic groups, providing its offices for organizational meetings and fundraising activities.[530]

In 1945, Washington Shores Inc. purchased land and plotted a subdivision that became one of the first black-oriented suburban communities in the United States.[531] Washington Shores began with five homes on 300 acres between Lake Mann and Clear Lake located at the corner of Rogers Drive and Goldwyn Avenue.[532] The neighborhood was the brainchild of local white entrepreneur John Graham.[533] Graham decided to form a non-profit corporation with borrowed capital from a consortium of local businesses.[534] In 1955, Graham dissolved the corporation and turned over the responsibility of managing the neighborhood to its residents.[535] During the 1950s, Washington Shores became home to African-Americans who prospered during the 1940s and left low-income neighborhoods such as Parramore.[536] By the end of the 1950s, a wave of postwar growth and government investment supported a wide suburbanization process. Yet, these policies also led to an uneven development in inner cities across the United States. As mentioned previously in Chapter 3, the process led to the economic decline of black neighborhoods and the enrichment of white suburbs as discussed by urban researcher Gregory Squires and by geographer Neil Smith. Therefore, as Parramore received less investment than the suburbs and subdivisions such as Washington shores, the community also lost its middle class members.

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[530] Brewington and Harris, *An Identity Uprooted*, 03.

[531] Joe Kilsheimer, "What Is Washington Shores? With History To Grow On, Community Seeks Strong Identity" October 19, 1986. Orlando Sentinel.

[532] Community Planning Studio. "City of Orlando Washington Shores Vision Plan Support Draft Document" (June 2010), 10.

[533] State Archives of Florida, *Florida Memory,* "Beginning of Washington Shores Housing Project," Web. https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/12456. Accessed July 8, 2015.

[534] Kilsheimer, *What Is Washington Shores,* Orlando Sentinel.

[535] Kilsheimer, *What Is Washington Shores,* Orlando Sentinel.

[536] Kilsheimer, *What Is Washington Shores,* Orlando Sentinel.

Parramore and the Construction of the I-4 (1957-1980)

In the mid-1950s, the United States federal government struggled between boosting southern and western development and the issues associated with desegregation. The federal government's investment in infrastructure hastened suburbanization, which in turn led to an ever-shrinking pool of funding for inner cities. This reality can be traced to President Eisenhower signing the Highway Act of 1956. Under this law, planners and politicians started the construction of the highway system that changed the American landscape. Analyzing the uneven development in Florida, historian Gary Mormino writes that, "Interstate 4, so it was believed, would save downtown Orlando, already hurt by suburban sprawl and shopping malls. But I-4 never revived downtown Orlando; instead, it encouraged sprawl and accelerated commercial development in unincorporated areas."[537] Thus, Orlando's experience aligned with the process of postwar development happening across the United States.

At the same time, Orlando slowly moved toward desegregation. In 1950, African Americans achieved the permission to participate in primaries; in 1952, blacks gained the right to use public libraries and auditoriums; and in 1955, Orlando hosted its first inter-racial little league baseball game.[538] While black communities in Orlando could see some of the harshest elements of segregation ending, they also suffered from spatial transformation caused by suburbanization.

As part of the interstate highway plans, the construction of I-4 physically disrupted the community. In response, some Orlando's residents questioned authorities about funding, environmental destruction, and the expressway route.[539] However, Parramore's voice did not appear anywhere during the discussions of the Interstate construction. In 1957, after months of

[537] Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 247.
[538] Argrett Jr, *A History of the Black Community of Orlando*, 47.
[539] Yeilding and Provost, *Callahan Holden-Parramore Lake Dot*, 05.

public debate regarding the route, I-4 construction began. The public debate divided residents between those who wanted the highway passing through downtown Orlando, and those who wanted the highway to bypass the downtown area.[540] As a letter to the *Orlando Evening Star* in March 30th, 1957 explained, "The major trend of cities is to keep expressways on the outskirts. The economic disturbance of this expressway through the heart of the city will be terrific. I believe with H.L.S. that a great majority of the Orlando residents would vote against this proposal given an opportunity to do so."[541] On the other side, a letter dated April 4, 1957, explained, "By far the vast majority of the traffic it will serve wants to come to Downtown Orlando. To bypass would be to completely defeat the purpose of the route!"[542] Hence, most of the public debate happened in the pages of *Orlando Sentinel* and *Orlando Evening Star*, newspapers owned by Martin Andersen. As previously mentioned in chapter 4, Andersen's pro-growth group blatantly defended the presence of the Interstate 4 in Central Florida affirming that the expressway was essential for the state's growth.[543]

Although Martin Andersen's newspapers publicly defended the construction of I-4 through the core of the city, the *Orlando Sentinel* published a few letters complaining about downtown's destruction.[544] Among the letters sent to *Orlando Evening Star*, one came from the Orlando Park Board (OPB) opposing the proposed route of the Orlando-Winter Park Expressway (I-4). According to the OPB, adopting the route through the core of the city "would destroy the beauty of Orlando. The beauty of this town means something to some of us and it shouldn't be

[540] Yeilding and Provost, *Callahan Holden-Parramore Lake Dot*, 05.
[541] "Lateral Connections." Letter to *Orlando Evening Star,* March 30, 1957.
[542] "Expressway Planned to Serve the Most." Letter to *Orlando Evening Star,* April 4, 1957.
[543] Foglesong, *Prologue to Light Rail*, 12.
[544] Foglesong, *Married to the Mouse*, 27.

taken."[545] Residents affected by the proposed I-4 route complained. In a letter to Sentinel dated April 10th, 1957 J. W. Bulkhalter expressed concern about the proposed plan

> I along with many of my neighbors and friends are agreed on the utter absurdity of locating the highway as it is presently planned. This means that downtown merchants will suffer a considerable loss of business for the reason that people are not going to go to the trouble of getting off that highway to do any shopping downtown, but will do their shopping in outlying centers where the convenience of parking is a prime factor.[546]

Worried about the possible problems brought by the building of an expressway through the middle of the city, residents and authorities of Winter Park organized a successful campaign against I-4. In 1961, Winter Park citizens pressured the State Road Department and the Bureau of Public Roads in Washington D.C. to push the expressway trajectory to the outskirts of the city.[547] Residents sent letters to newspapers and the city's civic groups joined the protest.[548] Political scientist Rick Foglesong writes that the vice president of the Winter Park's Commercial Bank, the head of the Merchants Council, the Board of Directors of the Winter Park Chamber of Commerce, and Colonialtown Businessmen's Association, publicly came out against the route proposal and asked for city's authority support.[549] Foglesong writes that in the 1950s most Winter Park residents came from a white middle to upper class background, migrated north in the summer and knew about the destructive effects of highway construction in northern cities.[550] In this sense, Foglesong affirms that powerful commercial institutions such as banks, savings and

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[545] "Park Board Hits Route of Expressway." Letter to *Orlando Sentinel,* April 9, 1957.
[546] J. K. Bulkhalter. "Letter to Sentinel." Letter to *Orlando Sentinel,* April 10, 1957.
[547] Henry Balch, "Tampa-Orlando Interstate Link about Done," *Orlando Sentinel,* February 1961.
[548] Foglesong, *Prologue to Light Rail*, 15.
[549] Foglesong, *Prologue to Light Rail*, 15.
[550] Foglesong, *Prologue to Light Rail*, 17.

loans companies and law firms ran Winter Park's politics.[551] Thus, through the economic power of these institutions and the citizen's awareness, authorities yielded to Winter Park's demand and changed the path of I-4.

In contrast, Parramore was unable to avoid its fate. The expressway engineering company *Howard, Needles, Tammen and Bergendoff* approved a detailed plan of displacing around 551 properties on the African American neighborhood.[552] The elevated Interstate structures ran along Division Street, and separated Amelia Avenue, Livingston Avenue, Robinson Avenue, Washington Street, Central Avenue and Church Street into east and west sides.[553] All of these streets directly connected Parramore to downtown Orlando. Division Street specifically appeared during the Civil War decades as "The traditional dividing line between the part of downtown Orlando where white people live and work and the African-American section of the city."[554] The construction of I-4 reinforced the separation that already existed between Parramore and downtown Orlando. However, the highway enhanced this separation isolating the African American community from the improvement promised by downtown development. Thus, the highway served to create a *class* barrier that enhanced the existing racial boundary.

In the 1960s, inspired by the bus boycotts and sit-ins developed by the civil rights movement around the country, Florida's cities such as Jacksonville, Tampa, Sanford, Sarasota, and Miami protested and faced racial conflicts. However, historian Brotemarkle states that Orlando's protests "occurred without significant problems."[555] One of the reasons for the lack of violence on Orlando's demonstrations appeared to be the lack of universities and colleges in the

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[551] Foglesong, *Prologue to Light Rail*, 18.
[552] Howard, Needles, Tammen, and Bergendoff. "Orlando-Winter Park Expressway: Engineering Design Report," (Orlando, 1953), Plates 18 to 27.
[553] Howard, Needles, Tammen, and Bergendoff, *Orlando-Winter Park Expressway,* 32.
[554] Brotemarkle, "Crossing Division Street," 21.
[555] Brotemarkle, "Crossing Division Street," 21.

community.[556] Historian Porter affirms that during the civil rights movement, "Most of the big protests involved college students because those were the people who were reckless and who were idealistic . . . those were the ones who joined SNCC and CORE."[557]

The civil rights movement developed in Orlando peacefully through lawsuits and small actions of civil disobedience. In the early 1960s, the local branch of the NAACP filed a desegregation lawsuit against Orange County Schools with the support of Orlando residents such as J. P. Ellis, Altamese Pritchett, G. N. Woodly, Mavis Starke, and Marie Curry.[558] Slowly through the 1960s, desegregation transformed Orlando. Among the changes, in 1962 schools desegregated and the Orlando interracial committee expanded its membership.[559] In 1963, *Orlando Sentinel* newsroom accepted its first black worker.[560] In 1964, Pauline Ravenall became the first black clerk at the city hall, and in 1965 Paul C. Perkins became the first black city prosecutor in the state.[561]

As Orlando desegregated in the 1960s, African Americans were able to move to other parts of the city. According to Brotemarkle, after the Civil Rights Act of 1964, "Many community leaders and professional people chose to leave" Parramore.[562] Alfreda Gary, a Parramore resident, confirms Brotemarkle's analysis, stating that she noticed families selling their homes to move to bigger houses in Washington Shores.[563] In a survey of the Orlando Planning and Development Department in 1987, Parramore's population aggressively decreased

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[556] Tana Porter, 21min 50seg, interviewed by Yuri K. Gama, June 2015, in Winter Park, Florida, transcript of an audio interview.
[557] Tana Porter, 22min 08seg, interviewed by Yuri K. Gama, June 2015, in Winter Park, Florida, transcript of an audio interview.
[558] Lilian Lancaster, *Presentation to the Historic Preservation Board* (Orlando, 2007), 05.

[559] Argrett Jr, *A History of the Black Community of Orlando*, 47.
[560] Argrett Jr, *A History of the Black Community of Orlando*, 47.
[561] Argrett Jr, *A History of the Black Community of Orlando*, 47.
[562]

[563] Brewington and Harris, *An Identity Uprooted*, 02.

between 1960 and 1980.[564] In the planning report from 1987, the city's department affirms that, in 1960, Parramore's population reached 10,630 residents, and in 1980, decreased to a number of 5,262 residents.[565] Talking about uneven development in Parramore during the 1970s and 1980s, Vencinia Cannady, a resident since 1954, affirms that, "Grocery stores only work if you have people in the community."[566] Ms. Cannady states that until the late 1970s the community used to have everything they needed in their neighborhood, "Parramore was self-sufficient . . . Had movie theaters, libraries, public schools, community centers, law offices, dentists, you name it."[567] As residents started to leave Parramore, the neighborhood lost important local commerce and social capital. Thus, the African American community suffered as the poorest residents were left behind as middle-class residents moved to other neighborhoods.

As soon as the I-4 construction ended, Central Florida's authorities considered that the area still suffered with a great expansion and not enough roads. Historian Shofner points that, with "more than 300,000 people [living] in metropolitan Orlando, the economy was still expanding rapidly, and new residents were flooding in. The area's infrastructure, constantly strained, was reaching critical."[568] Thus, after months of lobbying from Martin Andersen's pro-growth group, the state decided to build the State Road East-West Expressway (408).[569] By 1966, the agency responsible for lease-purchase agreements, collecting tolls, and organizing funds for state highways, Orlando-Orange County Expressway Authority (OOCEA) started

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[564] Orlando Planning and Development Department. *Holden-Parramore Neighborhood Plan.* (November, 1987), 7.

[565] Orlando Planning and Development Department. *Holden-Parramore Neighborhood Plan.* (November, 1987), 7.
[566] Vencinia Cannady, 14min 30seg, interviewed by Yuri K. Gama, June 2015, in Parramore, Orlando, transcript of an audio interview.
[567] Vencinia Cannady, 14min 30seg, interviewed by Yuri K. Gama, June 2015, in Parramore, Orlando, transcript of an audio interview.
[568] Jerrell H. Shofner, *Building a Community: The History of the Orlando-Orange County Expressway Authority* (Orlando, Fla.: Orlando-Orange County Expressway Authority, 2001, 06.
[569] Shofner, *Building a Community,* 06-08.

building the Expressway 408.[570] According to Shofner, in 1969, the construction plan of the State Road 408 decided to close 58 streets and demolish 1,250 properties, including 1,100 homes, 80 businesses and six churches."[571] Considering the necessity of displacing thousands of people for the construction of the East-West expressway, Florida's government offered a total of $2,000,000 in financial assistance to people displaced by the road."[572]

Although Harvey Gaines, the person responsible for the displacement program considered it a successful relocation action, Parramore's residents and engineering survey companies questioned this position.[573] Different from the 408 technician's position, Ms. Cannady affirms that the loss of her family's house for the construction of the Expressway was a huge issue.[574] According to Ms. Cannady, losing the home traumatized her mother, causing her depression and hopelessness.[575] In Ms. Cannady's words,

> There's no prize that would compensate this disrupt to your roots. My mom never bought a new one. She went from a homeowner to a rental. She couldn't start again and have another 30 year mortgage. She lost our house for the 408, she was compensated, but couldn't afford to find another home. It killed the spirit of homeowner.[576]

Moreover, in a 2006 survey, the City of Orlando admitted that the construction of 408 exacerbated I-4's impact on Parramore, isolating Griffin Park public housing project located

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[570] Shofner, *Building a Community*, 25.

[571] Shofner, *Building a Community,* 25.
[572] Shofner, *Building a Community,* 31.
[573] Shofner, *Building a Community,* 31.
[574] Vencinia Cannady, 25min 12seg, interviewed by Yuri K. Gama, June 2015, in Parramore, Orlando, transcript of an audio interview
[575] Vencinia Cannady, 25min 20seg, interviewed by Yuri K. Gama, June 2015, in Parramore, Orlando, transcript of an audio interview.
[576] Vencinia Cannady, 25min 30seg, interviewed by Yuri K. Gama, June 2015, in Parramore, Orlando, transcript of an audio interview

between both expressways.[577] Hence, the vision perpetuated by road authorities that the relocation of families due to 408 happened smoothly was not a consensus in the city.

In the 1970s, Orlando faced a new modernized era with two expressways cutting the core of the city and with the presence of Disney World. Despite prosperity brought by Disney, the corporation also brought an economy based on low-wage, part-time workers, and few benefits.[578] As Orlando modernized itself, the city became "Home to a permanent underclass of gainfully employed workers who [could not] break through to higher-wage positions."[579] As part of the new suburbanization, state and county funds flowed to the Kissimmee-Disney's region while Parramore and downtown Orlando lacked funding.[580] Beyond gaining power to control land zoning, Disney Co. received from the State Road Board emergency funding for road requests.[581] More specifically, Disney gained three interchanges-at I-4 and S.R. 530, S.R. 530 and their property, and at I-4 and their service entrance.[582] Besides these interchanges, during the first five years Disney received from the state $1 million every year just for road maintenance.[583] Urban researchers Ruth L. Steiner and Scott A. Wright affirm that "By the early 1970s, when Walt Disney began to develop his theme park southwest of Orlando, the once prosperous downtown was deserted, rundown, and blighted."[584] Downtown's situation reached a warning level in which in 1973, a group of concerned citizens passed a referendum creating a special tax district in

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[577] "Downtown Orlando Community Venues Master Plan." City of Orlando, Sep. 2006, 07.

[578] Justin B. Hollander, *Sunburnt Cities: The Great Recession, Depopulation and Urban Planning in the American Sunbelt*, 1 edition (London□; New York: Routledge, 2011)*, 97.*

[579] Hollander, *Sunburnt Cities*, 97.
[580] Ruth L. Steiner and Scott A. Wright, "Travel in New Urbanist and Traditional Communities: A Case Study of Downtown Orlando," Florida Department of Transportation (University of Florida, 2000), 16.

[581] Foglesong, *Married to the Mouse, 74.*
[582] Foglesong, *Married to the Mouse, 74.*
[583] Foglesong, *Married to the Mouse, 74.*
[584] Steiner and Scott*, Travel in New Urbanist*, 16.

downtown promoting a total redevelopment of the region.[585] Therefore, by 1980, Parramore appeared as an example of the decline of inner cities and Disney World emerged as an example of the successful investment in the suburbs.

All of the factors presented in this chapter are reflected in data revealed in surveys elaborated after 1980. Comparing the economic development between the city of Orlando and Parramore, the *Orlando Sentinel* reporter Sherri Owens wrote that in 1960 Parramore's median household income reached $2,700 and Orlando's median household income was around $3,200.[586] In 1980, the disparity between both values increased. According to Owens, while Parramore's average household income was around $6,000, Orlando's number reached the value of $14,000.[587] Hence, the income disparity between Orlando and Parramore increased from $500 in 1960 to $8,000 in 1980. Another important data presented a great disparity between unemployment rate of Parramore and Orlando. In 1960, the unemployment rate in Parramore reached around 7%, and Orlando unemployment rate reached 4%.[588] Twenty years later, Parramore's unemployment rate went over 10%, and Orlando's rate went around 5%.[589] Hence, the postwar uneven development of African American neighborhoods and white suburbs resulted in the social economic decline of Parramore.

Conclusion

In this present paper, I investigated and analyzed how the construction of the Interstate 4 affected the historical African American community of Parramore in Orlando, Florida. As I studied the construction of I-4, I also researched the process of urban sprawl after World War II

[585] Steiner and Scott, *Travel in New Urbanist*, 16.
[586] Owens, "Warehouse, shelters are too plentiful for residents," *Orlando Sentinel,* November 3, 1997.
[587] Owens, "Warehouse, shelters are too plentiful for residents," *Orlando Sentinel,* November 3, 1997.
[588] Owens, "Warehouse, shelters are too plentiful for residents," *Orlando Sentinel,* November 3, 1997.
[589] Owens, "Warehouse, shelters are too plentiful for residents," *Orlando Sentinel,* November 3, 1997.

and the institutionalization of the racial segregation. The idea of researching the proposed topic emerged with the intent of understanding how Parramore became a low-income community in need of urban infrastructure. Reading Orlando's history one might find that often authors cite how I-4 cut through Parramore and disrupted the community. However, rarely one explains how and why that happened. Comprehending the historical social impacts resulted from the construction of mega-projects such as highways and dams; I decided to investigate the relationship between I-4 and the community. In my preliminary readings to establish the research project, I developed a few questions to be answered as I unveiled the answer for my main proposal. Thus, as I researched Parramore's history, I approached how racial discrimination and public policy intersected in order to shape the neighborhood.

The present research paper was structured in five chapters following a chronological order from a broad geographical perspective of the United States and narrowing down towards the local context of Orlando, Florida. In order to understand the relation between the construction of I-4 and Parramore, I unraveled the connection between the history of racial discrimination and urban sprawl. In the first chapter, I presented the African-American social modern history throughout the United States and demonstrated how white supremacy controlled and isolated African Americans through legal actions and physical violence. In the second chapter, I presented the development of urban sprawl in the Sunbelt region and its effects in black communities. In order to provide a more specific context for Parramore's situation, I presented in the third chapter the history of racial segregation in Florida. In the fourth chapter, I presented the history of the construction of the national highway system and Interstate 4 in Central Florida. With that being said, in the fifth chapter I presented Parramore's history from 1880 to 1980 considering the national context of Jim Crow laws and postwar federal investment in urban

development. As I told the community's story, I unveiled how white oppression controlled and isolated African-Americans in Orlando, specifically in Parramore.

The urbanization of the United States shaped African American lives since the end of the Reconstruction in 1877. After 1877, the anti-black customs left over from America's history with slavery reappeared in the form of "codes" that regulated the settlement and commuting of African Americans. In this sense, in order to comprehend the present social, economic and cultural decline of black communities one needs to understand the foundation of these places tracing back to the institutionalization of Jim Crow laws. As the period of Reconstruction ended, white supremacists regulated settlement, voting rights and commuting of African Americans in a labor economy based on low wage and debt. Racist customs and physical violence combined with restrictive laws to create racial segregation. The American south emerged as the birthplace of the white supremacy development.

As a reaction of white violence, African Americans massively migrated from the South to North between 1910 and 1970 creating the Great Migration. The Great Migration was divided into two periods. The first period happened from 1910 to 1940 and the first ghettos were established. The second period happened from 1945 to 1970, when a new wave of migration created new ghettos attached to the old ones. Racial discrimination, disenfranchisement, and lack of fair labor/unemployment motivated the move of southern blacks to the U.S. northern region. During the First Great Migration, beyond segregated spaces, white racists predominantly established their supremacy using physical violence such as bombings, lynchings and massacres.

During the Second Great Migration, the white supremacy manifested in other ways. In this period, the institutionalization of racial segregation in public transportation, education, housing and employment appeared as fundamental to understand how oppression shaped public

and private spaces. Slowly, massive physical violence was reduced and legal measures and public policies implemented by politicians and judges gained more space as a way of controlling and isolating African Americans.

In reaction to a violent environment, blacks created clubs and unions to defend themselves from oppression. Besides forming groups, the empowerment of the civil rights movement came through direct actions and protests such as sit-ins, marches and freedom rides. These actions represented the African American effort to take back cities and spaces robbed by oppression and legalized segregation. Through these actions came legal changes such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Acts of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

Guided by the intersection of the national and local context of racial segregation and the uneven development brought by the process of urban sprawl, the present paper demonstrated the most important factors that contributed to the social, economic and cultural decline of the African American community of Parramore. Until 1980, Parramore's history appeared as one blatant case in which the process of suburbanization contributed to the reinforcement of racial segregation and impoverishment of black neighborhoods reproduced in many other states throughout the United States. The main local factors that led to Parramore's decline were the denial of voting rights; the use of physical violence through lynchings, massacres and bombings; the closing of black schools and the local migration to other places during the integration; the disruption of the neighborhood with the construction of highways and public housing; and the lack of investment in new urban infrastructure.

In Central Florida, the story was not too different from the national context. After the period of Reconstruction, white developers plotted and built African American communities. In the 1880s, Winter Park's white developers plotted and laid out the community of Hannibal

Square for their black employees and Sanford's white farmers opened the Georgetown neighborhood for black citrus pickers. Orlando followed the same pattern as the other cities. In 1880, a white businessmen called James Magruder platted the land of Jonestown in the southeast section of downtown. Jonestown became the first African American community of the city. One year later, James B. Parramore, a confederate soldier and Orlando mayor plotted the area for Parramore and attracted the black workforce closer to white-owned businesses in downtown. By the same time that African American settlements were founded, between 1880 and 1910, railroads were also built. In fact, in the Jim Crow system, authorities used the rail tracks to limit black neighborhoods.

Despite segregated religious, educational and commercial institutions, Parramore struggled to overcome challenges imposed by white supremacy in the political sphere. Florida's 1885 constitution hampered blacks from voting by creating barriers such as multiple ballot boxes, requiring literacy tests and poll taxes. In Orlando, the White Voters Executive Committee of the Democratic Party controlled primary elections and denied voting rights to blacks until 1950.

Although there are no records of brutality against Parramore's residents, between 1915 and 1930, Central Florida suffered with an increasing number of lynchings, and massacres of African Americans. Physical violence intended to keep blacks in their own spaces shaped by white supremacists. During the 1920s, African American communities in Central Florida felt threatened by actions such as the Ocoee Massacre and the Klu Klux Klan statewide meetings and parades held in Orlando.

Between 1880 and 1940s, although segregated from the rest of the city, Parramore had relatively good economic development enough to build churches, schools, and a healthy

commercial community with some successful professionals and establishments. Leaders like Sylvester Hankins Jr. and Dr. William Wells demonstrated how individuals helped foster Parramore's development. Besides providing free health care for blacks, Wells built the South Street Casino that hosted performances from people like Ella Fitzgerald and Count Basie, establishing itself as a cultural hub for the black community in Central Florida.

Between 1940s and 1980s, the federal government, in conjunction with private corporations, invested a huge amount of funding for urban development of white suburbs as part of the urban sprawl process. Urban sprawl developed the mass production of suburbs throughout the country. This process of suburbanization consisted in the construction of the national highway system, single-family housing, creation of suburban employment, and the popularization of the car as the main means of transportation. While white middle class families moved toward suburbs, African Americans migrated toward inner cities in the American north. In this process of migration, the government funded agencies, allowed banks to provide benefits for those moving to the suburbs, and disinvested in qualified infrastructure for inner cities and downtown. Private corporations chose to nurture an uneven development of cities with support of local governments and most of the major forces that fed the urban sprawl received subsidies for homeownership and the automobile industry.

On the other side, African American inner cities received less investment and suffered destruction with the construction of public housing projects, the national highway system and lack of new urban infrastructure. As part of the urban renewal project, the 'Slum clearance' programs developed throughout the country and destroyed low-income black neighborhoods forcing the government to build public housing for displaced residents. **A**lthough these communities needed improvement, public housing had also two other huge issues: the projects

were built based in a low budget and they were racially segregated. Thus, collaborating to the impoverishment and isolation of black communities.

By 1940, the African American community of Orlando started to suffer many powerful changes. Sponsored by the Reorganization Act of 1939 and located in Parramore, Griffin Park became the first affordable housing project in town. The housing project contained 174 units and received families who lived in Jonestown. The slum clearance program demolished Jonestown in the East side of the tracks and relocated black families to Parramore in the West side of the tracks. In the same place where Jonestown once existed, the government began the construction of a "white housing project" with 176 units called Reeves Terrace. Ready in 1943, the project served as a home for low-income whites - mostly military and civilian war workers. Thus, as part of the federal policy of 'slum clearance', Reeves Terrace and Griffin Park emerged as examples of the racialization of space in Orlando. The construction of Griffin Park together with the destruction of Jonestown and the building of Reeves Terrace symbolized the rearrangement of the city, as African Americans were forced to move West, whites moving to the East.

Seventeen years after the construction of public housing, as the U.S. joined in on World War II, the federal government decided to build the national highway system for defense purposes of transporting goods, military equipment and building suburbs. A safe thoroughfare between cities and states was necessary, however, engineers and urban planners behind the construction agreed in building the highways through every single downtown of medium and big cities. In the end, all highways reached downtown area by cutting through black neighborhoods under the pretext of revitalizing them. Hence, corporations, city planners and mayors exploited the opportunity of building highways as a tool for progress and reinforced racial segregation and social inequality.

In Central Florida, the construction of Interstate 4 was part of the National Highway System. Following the same pattern as the rest of the country, the main discussion in Orlando emerged around the route that I-4 needed to take. Worried about the possible problems brought by the building of an expressway through the middle of the city, residents and authorities of the white middle-to-upper class city of Winter Park organized a successful campaign that pushed the expressway towards the outskirts of the city. Different from Winter Park, Parramore could not avoid the construction of I-4 through its land. The construction displaced 551 properties on Parramore and reinforced the separation that already existed between the neighborhood and downtown Orlando. Between the 1970s and the 1980s, Parramore suffered a visible impoverishment, while downtown improved. Thus, the highway served to create a *class* barrier that enhanced the existing racial boundary. The expressway did not create, rather re-inforced segregation, because before I-4, the railroad through downtown already functioned as a racial division.

As Orlando desegregated in the 1960s, African Americans were able to move anywhere in the city. According to historians and residents from the 1960s, many community leaders and professionals left Parramore and moved to places such as Washington Shores. Hence, as residents left the community, an uneven economic development intensified between Parramore and the rest of the city. The African American community suffered as the poorest residents were left behind as middle-class residents moved to other neighborhoods. During the first years of the integration transition, besides the local migration, Parramore suffered the closing of black schools. As one of the foundational institutions of the community, closing schools became a huge issue for Parramore.

By the 1970s, Orlando faced a new era of modernization in which another expressway was built and the process of suburbanization expanded with the construction of Disney World. The destruction of part of Parramore and the expansion of Kissimmee appeared as proof of the uneven development between black neighborhoods and white suburbs. By 1971, when Walt Disney began to develop his theme park southwest of Orlando, the once prosperous downtown was deserted. As part of the suburbanization development, state and county funds flowed to the Kissimmee-Disney's region while Parramore and downtown lacked funding. Beyond gaining power to control land zoning, the Disney Company received from the State Road Board emergency funding for road requests. By 1973, Parramore agonized again with another expressway. The State Road 408 (SR 408) construction was more aggressive than the I-4 construction. SR 408 closed 58 streets, demolished about 1,250 properties in Parramore and isolated from the rest of Orlando the public housing project of Griffin Park.

The construction of I-4 physically disrupted Parramore with houses and commerce being destroyed, and people being displaced. Some residents stopped being homeowners and became tenants, while others left the neighborhood. As an elevated gigantic construction, I-4 became this concrete division between Parramore and downtown, a class and racial barrier between West and East sides with clear differences in incomes and rates of unemployment. Thus, I-4 appeared to reinforce borders already established by the railroad. As part of the postwar investment in urban development, I-4 emerged as one of the causes for the economic, cultural and social decline of Parramore. However, I-4 by itself cannot be entirely responsible for the present community's struggles. In fact, Parramore's decline is directly related to the marriage between racial segregation and uneven development that caused the fall of inner cities across the country. Therefore, urban sprawl through suburbanization led to the impoverishment of isolated African

American neighborhoods and the enrichment of white suburbs, reinforcing racial segregation and social inequality.

Research Limitations, Future Recommendations and Contribution to Scholarly Discussion

The present research faces some limitations. Identifying limitations that had the greatest potential impact on the quality of the findings and on the researcher's ability to effectively answer the proposed research questions appears as an important part of the study. There are two main limitations in this study. One of them was the choice of strictly adopting a qualitative research design that debilitated my capacity to make statistical inferences related to the effects of I-4 on Parramore. The other one was the few number of Parramore's residents interviewed for the research that weakened my ability to capture personal realities and analyze how deeply I-4 construction affected individual lives.

The first main limitation exists because quantitative research could provide a deeper insight on how I-4 statistically affected single lives in order to achieve a broader perspective. However, choosing a qualitative research appealed more due to the difficulty of gathering primary and secondary sources related to the studied area. Parramore, being an understudied place, lacks the academic research to provide comprehensive analysis of the impact of racial segregation on the neighborhood's development. Thus, I concluded that the best choice was building a qualitative research about the community's history in order to establish a solid foundation about the issues faced by it.

The second main limitation exists, because interviewing a larger number of Parramore's residents could provide a better analysis with respect to individual points of view regarding all the transformations suffered by the community. Limiting to only a few of interviewees hindered

my ability to establish more connections between personal reports and the established literature. Though I have only interviewed a few people, that does not change the fact that Parramore's development suffered interruption from several other actions besides I-4. Therefore, in order to answer the proposed questions I needed to expand the scope of my research to accommodate an entire context of changes, not only the expressway construction.

Taking into consideration these research limitations, for future studies I recommend that researchers investigate how deep the uneven development affected Parramore's social, economic, and cultural decline. This kind of investigation can happen by establishing comparative research between the history of downtown Orlando and the history of Parramore, or a comparison between specific suburbs and the African American community. Another recommendation would be the production of a research aiming the understanding of Parramore's residents over their own neighborhood's development, identifying their demands for future changes. In this sense, the research would comprehend Parramore's past and present, exposing necessities and wishes of the population.

Although containing limitations, the present research contributes to the scholarly discussion of the American urban history and the intersection of subjects such as racial discrimination and public policy. This thesis hopes to supplement on the institutions that continue the legacy of racial discrimination, segregation and oppression in the manipulative expression of urban planning such as the case with Interstate 4 and the African American community of Parramore.

Presenting the story of the National Highway System and its social impact in inner cities, the paper follows the same line of research developed by scholars such as Raymond Mohl, Thomas Sugrue and Nathan D. B. Connolly. Elaborating a broad analysis of the uneven

development among regions within cities, the study inserts itself in a research tradition developed by scholars like David Harvey, Neil Smith, Gregory Squires and Andres Duany. Exposing the main factors that contributed to Parramore's socio-economic decline, the present study contributes to investigations over specific connections between racial segregation and postwar federal investments in urban development. Considering the lack in research and scholarship related to the African American history in Orlando, this paper contributes to the establishment of a larger comprehensive study of black community in a postwar city. By offering these words, this thesis hopes to supplement the body of work that investigates institutions that continue the legacy of racial discrimination, segregation, oppression and social inequality in the manipulative expression of urban planning such as the case with the postwar uneven development and the African American community of Parramore.

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Appendix A

Institutional Review Board Rollins College

To: Yuri Gama

From: John Houston, Ph.D.

Chair, IRB

Date: 6/26/2015

Re: Permission to Proceed with Research

The Rollins Institutional Review Board has reviewed and approved your submission and request to proceed with the project titled:

Impact of I-4 on Parramore Neighborhood in Orlando, Florida

If there are any changes to this research, as proposed, please resubmit your request for review. Approval of this research extends for 12 months from the date of this letter. If the project lasts longer than 12 months, you will need to request an extension from the IRB in the form of an addendum. On behalf of the board, I would like to express our best wishes for the successful completion of your research project.

Appendix B

Impact of I-4 on Parramore Neighborhood in Orlando, Florida

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Dear Participant,

I am Yuri Gama, student at the Masters of Liberal studies at Rollins College. I am conducting this research as part of my Masters' Thesis. I am inviting you to participate in this study. Participation involves engaging in one interview, during which you will be asked to discuss your experiences with me. I will ask you questions to guide our discussion. Total participation time will be approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes. Although you may choose to share private information, your confidentiality will be strictly protected. If you agree to participate, this means that you consent to having the interview audio and video recorded. Although this information is individually identifiable, I

will do my best to make sure that no one can identify you in our publications and presentations. The recordings will be transcribed and analyzed by me only.

Results of this research study may be disseminated via conference presentations, journal articles, or book chapters. Your participation is completely voluntary. This means that you can decide whether or not you want to be interviewed. You may decline to participate at any point. There is minimal risk to you, but there is always the chance that talking about your experiences may be uncomfortable at times. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. Also, you don't have to answer any questions you don't wish to answer.

The broad benefit of your participation is that it will help me better understand communication from your perspective. I hope that you may find it interesting and insightful to discuss your experiences. If you have questions about this project, please do not hesitate to contact me by phone or email. If you would like to participate, please complete the information below. You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep for your records.

Sincerely,

Yuri Gama

Student at the Masters of Liberal Studies program at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida.

ygama@rollins.edu

Date: June 29, 2015.

I hereby grant _____ (PRINT NAME) permission to document through audio and/or video recording and transcription oral history interview(s) for the purpose of protection, preservation, and encouragement of history, culture, tradition, and heritage. The knowledge contained in the oral histories will not be given to any non-project staff except in cases where it is useful for protection and preservation purposes. When this material becomes available, it may be read, quoted, or cited from and disseminated for educational and scholarly purposes only.

_____

SIGNATURE OF THE INTERVIEWEE