Strategies for Performing Citizenship: Rhetorical Citizenship and the
Black Freedom Movement
by
Derek Graves Handley

A dissertation submitted to the Department of English in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of:

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN RHETORIC

Carnegie Mellon University May 14, 2018

Acknowledgments

Abstract

Strategies for Performing Citizenship: Rhetorical Citizenship and the Black Freedom Movement

My dissertation examines the rhetorical and discursive strategies embraced by African Americans during the 1950s and 60s in their attempts to protect their communities from urban renewal. While many rhetoric scholars tend to focus on citizenship as deliberative democracy, my research examines citizenship as acts of resistance for African Americans. Neighborhood organizations such as Citizens Committee for Hill District Renewal in Pittsburgh and the North Side Community Inventory Conference in Milwaukee used acts of citizenship to simultaneously resist urban renewal policies and to demand better housing. In this rhetorical history, I use rhetorical, narrative, and discourse analysis to examine articles, editorials, organizational memos, letters and government documents written from 1945-1970 in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee.

My analysis reveals that (1) a "master narrative" of urban renewal was created by federal, state, and city officials to implement urban renewal projects, and (2) African American residents in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee used a cluster of rhetorical strategies that incorporated counternarratives, rhetorics of place, and rhetorical education to increase agency in a struggle for power with municipalities over the future of their neighborhoods. This research uncovers the residents' abilities to make their own rhetorical choices and highlights their struggles to acquire expanded rights and privileges, illuminating in the process the complex intersections of race, place, and power in Northern cities during the mid-twentieth century.

I conclude by arguing that the strategies of civic resistance were rooted in cultural rhetorical traditions, and that they provide a better understanding of how political community building occurs within social movements. My research intervenes in arguments surrounding the origin of rhetorical agency as residing with the speaker/writer. Adopting an African American Rhetoric perspective to examining agency shows that scholars' focus on the individual has left the manner in which agency is circulated within social movements understudied. This approach focuses the analysis on the distribution of agency, opening a new direction for studying rhetorical tactics within social movements.

Table of Contents

"When we deal with cities, we are dealing with life at its most complex and intense…Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody."

Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*

CHAPTER 1 - Rhetorical Histories of the Black Freedom Movement

A few years ago, several of my students from the Community College of Allegheny County and I were standing at the corner of the Centre Avenue and Crawford St. waiting for our guide to arrive to give us a walking tour of Pittsburgh's historic Hill District, the home of August Wilson and the setting for nearly all of his Century Cycle plays. During our wait, an elderly woman in the passenger seat of a car driving by rolled down her window and said loudly in our direction, "we are still slaves." Perhaps if we were standing at a different location in Pittsburgh, her comments would sound strange, but we were standing at Freedom Corner Memorial, a historic site of protest, struggle, and civic engagement during African American's resident's fight against urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s.

Pittsburgh, like many other northern cities, was a final destination for many African Americans migrating from the Deep South in the 1940s including my parents. My mother came to Pittsburgh from rural North Carolina soon after WWII. My father came to Pittsburgh in the early 1940s from rural Alabama. The southern immigrants sought better jobs, better opportunities, and better treatment as human beings than they had experienced in the Jim Crow South. I imagine that many things seemed better at first, but the North had its own racial problems. James Grossman in his text *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* highlights migrants' "perceptions of their place" in their newly adopted Midwestern city. He reveals how they perceived structural forces both in the places they left and

the places they arrived, including the experience of movement, and the racial attitudes they encountered.

The first stop for my parents, like many other migratory African Americans in Pittsburgh, was the Hill District. I have often heard stories from family members about the Hill District's heyday in the 40s and 50s as a "jumping town" with an exciting night life[1]. How you could run in to celebrities and see Negro League baseball players eating in the fancy restaurants. How you could buy anything you needed from the markets. A lot of these places and social venues were lost due to urban renewal. Many in my family lived in the Hill District during this time of urban renewal. All who lived in the Hill District were directly affected by urban renewal, whether they were forced to move or simply watched as their surrounding neighborhood became more crowded by those who were forced to move. Everyone lamented about the destruction of the Lower Hill and how the neighborhood was not the same. Mindy Fullilove, in *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It*, examined the effects of urban renewal on the African American residents of four U.S. cities, including Pittsburgh, through numerous interviews of citizens, historians, and politicians. She provides an in-depth look on the psychological effects that forced moving has had on residents and how they coped with that loss. Fullilove argues that urban renewal can have traumatic physical effects on a person and the aftermath of the experience will remain with a person for a lifetime. Her solution is that African American communities must make a concerted effort to (re)connect with each other through local community centers. In recent years, the Hill District has been the site of crime, drugs, and gun violence. But still it is a place of tremendous pride for the residents and

---

[1] Mark Whitaker's Smoketown: The Untold Story of the Other Great Black Renaissance tells many stories of Pittsburgh luminary figures and exciting nightlife

those who lived and grew up here. It is this historical story of urban renewal and resistance in the 1950s and 1960s that my project explores.

The lives and experiences of urban African Americans have traditionally been a rich and popular topic for scholars within the humanities. Historians during the 1970s focused on the Southern beginnings of the Civil Rights movement and its impact on the nation at large. The primary reason for this focus was related to the sources and evidence which were generally available with the leading civil rights organizations and the presidential archives. These sources generally emphasized the roles and activities of the national leaders in the civil rights movement or other persons who became nationally known. Events examined in detail were the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Selma March, and Birmingham confrontations. In the years since the initial civil rights scholarship appeared, approaches and foci have shifted because subsequent scholars were asking questions that the first-generation civil rights scholarship could not answer. Recently historians have proposed alternative ways of interpreting the chronological framework of the Civil Rights Movement. In addition, these scholars question whether or not the Black Power Movement constituted a separate movement or a continuation of the original civil rights movement. Another important shift in the historiography has been the proliferation of studies focusing on local, rather than national narratives and events.

Thomas Sugrue's *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* takes the stance that civil rights in the North was just as important as the movement in the South. He argues that civil rights scholarship often ignores the movement in the North prior to the Black Power Movement of the late 1960s. His political history stakes the claim that "Northern blacks [sic]—and their allies—made their own history but on contested plain" (xxiv).

Sugrue's exhaustive research shares the works of many forgotten and unknown individuals in the civil rights struggle in Detroit, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

Extending the work of Sugrue, urban historians Matthew Countryman and Patrick Jones examined the civil rights struggle of African Americans in Philadelphia and Milwaukee during the twentieth century. Countryman's *Up South Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* takes a critical look at the Black Power movement in Philadelphia. Countryman suggests that the northern city of Philadelphia is comparable to the segregation of the South. He wrote, "Racism was never just a southern problem. Nor were civil rights activists ever solely concerned with solving southern variants of racial segregation and inequality" (4). Countryman demonstrates that the goals of Black Power and Civil Rights were intertwined, but that each had different strengths in methods. For instance, Black Power activists help to organize the movement in a manner that was more community oriented than the movements of Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He concludes that the greatest achievement of the Black Power movement was its critique of America's failure to provide "full citizenship" as promised.

In *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee,* Jones argued that the civil rights fight in Northern cities such as Milwaukee and Philadelphia was similar to those in the American south. His study highlights the growing conflict between the NAACP and the black power philosophy in Milwaukee. The text also examines the unique role a catholic priest named James Groppi had within the Milwaukee Civil Rights movement. Jones concentrates on the African American community's fight for an open housing law and the clashes between NAACP Youth Commandos and working-class whites in the surrounding neighborhoods. Within his examinations, we see the tensions of class struggle, strategy building, and ideology disputes

in the Milwaukee civil rights movement. However, Jones' monograph rarely mentions the effect of urban renewal policies or the resistance to these policies by African American residents.

In *Race and Renaissance: African Americans in Pittsburgh Since World War II*, Joe Trotter and Jared Day examine the lives of African Americans in Pittsburgh in the second half of the twentieth century. They argue that the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968 shifted the focus from the "nonviolent direct action" civil rights movement to the more antagonistic Black Power stance. The authors contend that the limitations of race and the effects of economic decline were exposed by the freedom struggle. They also call for new historical research to be conducted in order to "generate more just social policies and movements for social change." A call to which rhetoricians should want to respond to in our work.

These monographs show how the local movement in northern cities both drew from and influenced the national movements. The focus of the scholars was on the political and legal victories of the movement. Steven F. Lawson noted the shift of historians from a national focus on the freedom era to a more local focus on regional leaders and participants. Another example is James Collins' article, "Taking the Lead: Dorothy Williams, NAACP Youth Councils, and Civil Rights Protests in Pittsburgh, 1961-1964." This article focused on the actions of a community leader organizing and leading sustained protest activities in an African American neighborhood of Pittsburgh in the early '60s. With this approach, Collins is trying to situate the events of Dorothy William's life as being important to the larger African American struggle for civil rights. Collins writes of Williams, "An effective organizer of young people, she also astutely captured the political mood of a large segment of the African American community by choosing the right issue around which to mobilize--job discrimination--and utilizing the direct-action tactics that had been successful for African Americans in other parts of the country." With

a bottom up approach to studying the movement, Collins asserts that African American women's leading and organizing at the local level could no longer be neglected in the civil rights historiography.

For historians like Countryman and Jones, the black power movement is part of the larger theoretical "long civil rights" framework. By having this framework, these scholars want "to disrupt the geographical, chronological, and ideological neatness" narrative of the conventional 1954/55-65 timeframe. As historian Jacquelyn D. Hall points out, much of civil rights scholarship focuses on the South, legal segregation, and African Americans struggling for the right to vote. Scholars of the civil rights movement often view struggles against urban redevelopment as somehow separate from the so-called "classical phase" (also known as "short") of the civil rights movement. The short civil rights scholarship focuses primarily on the actions of Martin Luther King, Jr. and locates the beginning of the movement with the 1954 decision of Brown vs. Board of Education and the end of the movement with the signing of the Civil Rights Act in 1965. The events that make up the "classical phase" and the historians who have focused on them, Hall notes, emphasize a narrative that is too much of a "satisfying morality tale" (1235). The Long Civil Rights Movement thesis expands the civil rights period from the 1930s until the present. Hall insists that the shortened civil rights period is problematic because it confines the struggle to the American south, which minimizes the movement's effectiveness and leaves out other significant events of the Black Freedom Struggle such as the Black Labor Movement of the 1930s, the Black Power movement of the late 1960s, and the economic objectives and segregation practices in the 1970s.

The four propositions of the Long Civil Rights Movement Thesis, as described by critics of the movement Cha-Jua and Lang, are as follows: (1) Locality, the modern Civil Rights (and

Black Power) movements was a series of local struggles rather than a national social movement; (2) Reperiodization, the modern Civil Rights (and Black Power) movement(s) transcend the historical period 1955-1975; (3) Continuity, the Civil Rights and Black Power movements are not distinct social movements, but rather a single continuous struggle for black freedom; and (4) The South was not distinct, the differences between southern *de jure* and northern *de facto* racial oppression were exaggerated, and racism is nationwide (265).

Cha-Jua and Lang argued that one of the problems with the Long Civil Rights Movement thesis framework is that it folds the "concepts of 'Civil Rights' and 'Black Power' and treat them as one "undifferentiated mass of characteristics." The authors claim that "what Long Movement advocates miss is that ideology, discourse, and long-range objectives matter as much, if not more, than the specific inequities challenged, or the particular means employed toward those ends" (266). Although Cha-Jua and Lang make valid points about objectives, I assert that the civil rights movements cannot be separated from the Black Power movement because people in cities with smaller African American populations were involved in both movements. Many African Americans from the North participated in Freedom Rides and voting registration drives in places like Alabama and Mississippi. Some of them, return home and later became involved with the Black Power movement. The fight over urban renewal brought the traditional organizations of the Black Freedom Struggle such as the NAACP alongside the budding Black Power organizations to fight against its implementation. Because of this overlap of movements, I prefer to use the term Black Freedom Movement in my study which incorporates both the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement.

However, these important historical studies of northern urban African American communities do not fully address how other acts of civic engagement—discursive and

rhetorical—by African Americans on the ground level served as strategies of resistance during the Black Freedom Movement in northern cities. I focus more so on community agency as opposed to individual agency. Examining urban renewal and the Black Freedom Movement as a rhetorical history can offer insights to the study of rhetoric as well as provide a deeper understanding of historical events in urban communities. In the introduction to her edited anthology *Doing Rhetorical History*, Kathleen Turner writes, "rhetorical criticism seeks to understand the messages in context, rhetorical history seeks to understand the context through messages that reflect and construct that context" (2). In other words, rhetorical histories reconstruct the events of the time in the interest of understanding the messages of the time. History can contribute to rhetorical knowledge and rhetoric can contribute to historical knowledge. According to rhetoric scholar Kirt Wilson, "When critics analyze [historic] events rhetorically, they ask different questions and gain different insights" (Interpreting xvi). Wilson and I believe that these critical insights may contribute to a better understanding of the historical event while also contributing to a better understanding of rhetoric.

My project conducts a rhetorical history of urban renewal and examines the ways African American residents in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee who were threatened by urban renewal policies in the 1950s and 1960s enacted citizenship. The African American residents of Pittsburgh and Milwaukee faced similar consequences from urban renewal policies that stemmed from the 1949/1954 Housing Acts and are representative of other cities in the Northeast and Midwest-– places that are traditionally under-examined in Civil Rights scholarship because African Americans were not prevented from voting or faced with "legal" segregation. These two cities are representative of African Americans living in the urban north where urban renewal destroyed the economic center of African American neighborhoods.

This work responds to historian Clayborne Carson's call that an in-depth study of internal processes of the movement at the local level may reveal how social movements are maintained or deteriorate. In addition, this project follows David Zarefsky's mandate that rhetoricians should continue to study history with a view to understand "how people defined the situation, what led them to seek to justify themselves or to persuade others how their processes of identification and confrontation succeeded or failed" (32). Conducting a rhetorical history, according to Zarefsky, can show how the principles of rhetoric shape history. Rhetoric scholars can make visible how rhetoric serves as a social force in historical events.

In my rhetorical history of urban renewal, I explore the relationship between rhetorical agency, space and citizenship within African American resistance to urban renewal projects. More importantly, I examine the rhetorical and discursive strategies reflected in the acts of citizenship by African American residents to combat or modify urban renewal policies. Citizenship is an active role that does not only include voting and deliberation but also organizing and speaking out on issues. Rhetorical Education has fulfilled these needs throughout the Black Freedom struggle. Citizenship is action and it is survival. For African Americans, citizenship is the work to show that you belong someplace and deserve equal treatment under the law.

My examining how marginalized African American residents in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee in the 1950s and 1960s embodied citizenship through several discursive and rhetorical strategies provides a different perspective within the Long Civil Rights Movement debate. This project contributes to the Long Civil Rights Movement thesis because it focuses on northern local communities fighting for political power in determining the future of their neighborhoods.

Rhetoric and History of the Black Freedom Movement

Arguments over space and place are often at the center of rhetorical histories of the Black

Freedom Movement. Kirt Wilson's text *The Reconstruction Desegregation Debate* examines the

definition and the rhetorics of black equality in the decade after the Civil War. His examination

of place focused on place as a social status. In the South, "place existed as a kind of

condensation symbol; it signified a person's identity and location within the organic communities

of the South. Individual and communal, place determine the spaces that a person could occupy

and how one could interact, privately or publicly, with others. It even determined a person's civil

rights: "place applied not only to Blacks, but all people and things" (12). In his epilogue, Wilson

connects the nineteenth century arguments with the mid-twentieth century civil rights movement.

Wilson believes that these critical insights may contribute to a better understanding of the

historical event as well as contribute to a better understanding of rhetoric.

In *A Voice That Could Stir an Army Fannie Lou Hamer and the Rhetoric of the Black

Freedom Movement*, Maegan Parker Brooks takes rhetorical history a step further. Her

rhetorical biography of Fannie Lou Hammer analyzes the public oratory of the civil rights figure

from her involvement with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1962

until her death in 1977. Brooks' research uncovered thirty unpublished speeches by Hamer

which highlight "Hamer's rhetoric and activism" (6). Brook also analyzes the speech where

Hamer testifies before the Credentials Committee at the Democratic National Convention about

being denied access to the voting booth and being prevented "to register to become first-class

citizens" (Brooks and Houck 42). With a bottom-up approach to Famer's place in the Civil

Rights Movement, Parker asserts that Famer should be recognized as a more important figure in the movement and that she exemplified the grassroots organization of the movement.

Steven Goldzwig takes a top-down approach to the civil rights movement in his journal article "Civil Rights and the Cold War: A Rhetorical History of the Truman Administration and the Desegregation of the United States Army." Goldzwig examines the rhetorical battles over desegregation legislation and demonstrates rhetorical history's utility by providing a rhetorical analysis of the letters, memorandums, and government documents that were used by the federal government and U.S. Army during the Truman era. He suggests that understanding the Army's desire not to integrate will help us better understand the debates surrounding affirmative action today.

These rhetorical histories provide much-needed perspectives on various aspects of the Black Freedom movement. However, we as rhetoricians have not sufficiently "turned North" in our rhetorical histories of the Civil Rights Movement. A rhetorical history of the Black Freedom Movement in the North provides an ideal field in which to explore the theoretical connections between citizenship and rhetorical theory.

Citizenship and Rhetorical Studies

Studying citizenship is central to rhetoric and is as important to democracy today as it was during the time of Aristotle. Drawing from Aristotle's *Art of Rhetoric*, Danielle Allen subscribes to a theory of "citizenship of political friendship" in her book T*alking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship since Brown v. Board of Education*. Allen argues that the U.S. was "reconstituted" after the US Supreme Court decision. She conceptualizes citizenship as political friendship which includes "a set of ideas and some core habits" that will guide relationships among citizens

for the sake of improving American democracy (140). The goal of her interaction with rhetoric and citizenships is to provide a roadmap to better race relations in the United States.

In rhetorical studies, we also see a renewed interest in pedagogy and citizenship. Amy Wan notes in her book *Producing Good Citizens: Literacy Training in Anxious Times*, many educators see their pedagogy as helping to develop "good citizens." She notes the strong connections between literacy and being a U.S. citizen. The contributors to the "The Mt. Oread Manifesto on Rhetorical Education 2013" wrote that they wanted to see a world where "average citizens can perform rhetorical analyses of the discourse around them and ask productive questions of politicians, employers, business and community leaders, and each other, as fellow citizens." Rhetoric scholar Rebecca Nowacek along with scholars in history and political science have promoted the idea in their collection of essays *Citizenship Across the Curriculum* that citizenship should be taught throughout the academy regardless of discipline. The editors argue that the "preparation for citizenship should be the goal of undergraduate education (x).

Race can be factor when analyzing citizenship. In her article "The 1919 Prison Special: Constituting white women's citizenship," Catherine H. Palczewski argues that white women former prisoners claimed citizenship by expulsion of Black women as citizens. To make her argument, Palczewski examined the "visual, embodied, and verbal enactments of imprisonment and civic action" of 26 women who went on a nationwide tour. The women had been jailed for their protest activity involving the women's suffrage movement. The author concludes, "The very constitution of white women's citizenship was formed by the constitutive outside of Black women prisoners" (125).

Not all rhetoric scholars view citizenship as a productive analytical tool. Through the lens of queer rhetorics, Karma Chavez argues that citizenship does more to exclude marginalized

groups and that we should be skeptical in our approach to the language of citizenship. Chavez asserts that "citizenship is a *double discourse* that simultaneously mobilizes people and acts of resistance and erases some of those same people, dissident actions, and colonial pasts and presents" (13). According to Chavez, rhetoric scholars who use the logics of citizenship reinforces those exclusionary practices of the western political nation-state. Instead, Chavez prefers "world making practices" to replace the ideas of citizenship for marginalized groups (Chavez podcast interview).

Although Chavez makes valid points on discouraging the use of the language of citizenship, I assert that a rhetorical analysis of the actions of African Americans within the Black Freedom Movement cannot avoid the ideas or language of citizenship dating as far back as the Dred Scott decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1857 where Chief Justice Roger Taney wrote "There are two clauses in the Constitution which point directly and specifically to the negro race as a separate class of persons, and show clearly that they were not regarded as a portion of the people or citizens of the Government then formed" (Fehrenbacher 187). The Black Freedom Movement has often been characterized by African American activists as the right for "first-class citizenship" or "full citizenship." Famed historian Rayford Logan in his introduction to *What the Negro Wants* defined first-class citizenship in part as the "equal protection of the laws," "abolition of public segregation," and the "equal recognition of the dignity of the human being" (14). The language of citizenship is integral to the history of African Americans and to the goals of the Black Freedom Movement.

My project extends the view of citizenship as a site of resistance as noted earlier. Throughout American history, citizenship was both the practice and the goal of African Americans. Citizenship as a goal is one way that African Americans attempt to "deal with their

experience of alienation in America" (Gordon 23). Although African Americans were "legal

citizens," their ethnic heritage was used to exclude them from many of the benefits of

citizenship. Aihwa Ong describes this situation as "cultural citizenship" which is defined as the

"dual process of self-making and being made and the cultural practices and beliefs produced out

of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic

forms" (qtd in Wan 2). In other words, African Americans were defining their beliefs about

citizenship while engaging civically in contested issues with government officials.

Citizenship can also indicate a sense of belonging to a place. The residents belong to the

city but they also feel a stronger sense of belonging to their neighborhoods, which were often

organized and reinforced legally, economically, and politically by racial identity. In America's

urban environments, space and race are closely related. Space is contested both materially and

culturally and is often used to help define race because it plays an "active role in the construction

and organization of social life" (Neely and Samura 1936). Therefore, most arguments over space

in an urban environment should include race as part of the analysis. In many urban renewal

projects, space was contested both materially and culturally and often used by authorities and

residents to indicate racial groups. Names of neighborhoods often were invoked to indicate the

race of the people who lived there. For instance, some white residents stated that they did not

want their neighborhood to become a "Hill District" which was predominately African

American.

Space can also play an "active role in the construction and organization of social life"

(Neely and Samura 1936). In urban environments, spaces became racialized through federal

policy, social customs, and local laws. Because African Americans were concentrated in and

restricted to specific areas of cities, they had to build organizations and coalitions with

institutions close to them. And these organizations and institutions provided places for deliberation on matters that affected the African American community. There were places in the African American community that allowed for a forum in which members of the community could discuss their ideas and proposed actions without fear of reprisal. For instance, Black Churches were meeting places for discussion or for organizing protests. These Black controlled institutions were instrumental in the Black Freedom struggle because they helped to organize community unity. Vorris Nunley's examination of "Hush Harbors" highlights these safe spaces where African Americans could discuss politics, pop culture, and other issues that affected their community without fear of the "white gaze."

Because of segregation and the dynamics of race, I believe theories of African American rhetoric should be incorporated into the analysis when African Americans are the subject of the study. When doing so—especially in the case of urban renewal and housing policies—we can see different strategies of resistance that incorporate place and agency which will contribute to our understanding of citizenship. Rhetorical citizenship studies may have to take into account the scholarship on the confrontational rhetoric of the Black Power Movement. Molefi Asante examined the speeches of early leaders in the Black Power Movement and theorized a Black Revolutionary Rhetoric which offered an understanding of the assertive ideology held by some African Americans during the late 1960s and early 1970s. This aggressive revolutionary rhetoric varied from the more peaceful and conciliatory language of the traditional Civil Rights Movement. For instance, self-defense as espoused by the Black Panther Party was emphasized more than the non-violence tactics held dear by Martin Luther King, Jr. Instances of these rhetoric and leadership styles were present in both Pittsburgh and Milwaukee amidst the argument over urban renewal projects.

Within rhetoric studies, the theories of African American Rhetoric have a direct connection with the Black Freedom movement. However, there are different understandings of what is African American Rhetoric. Alkebulan argues that African American Rhetoric is best understood within the field of cultural linguistics. "Sermonizing, signifying, playin' the dozens, stylin' out, soundin', lyricism, improvisation, indirection, repetition, poetry, spirituals, history, style, culture, rhythm, and (African American vernacular) are all significant aspects of language and African American rhetoric that are firmly rooted in the African oral tradition" (23).

Style within African American Rhetoric have often been the most examined by scholars of rhetoric. Gumperz' work on ethnicity in political rhetoric has also been useful in describing code-switching and style shift. With a focus on black political oratory and black preaching, Gumperz argues that "dialect switching is systematically related to the discourse structure of the speech event and to other rhetorical devices used therein, and that the study of its communicative function can provide important insights in the social motives which underlie dialect maintenance and dialect change in urban societies" (188). Barbara Johnstone's work on stance taking, style, and identity shows how Barbara Jordan, a leader in the Civil Rights movement and former political figure drew upon the African American oral tradition. Johnstone writes, "Jordan drew on discursive resources from the African American church and from American traditions of legal and political debate and oratory" (29). Wharry's work on African American sermons has been useful in understanding call and response. Her work examined "discourse marker functions of sermonic expressions" used by African American preachers (203). Wharry's study also suggests that it is not the spiritual language and a verbal invitation by the African American speaker alone that invoke a response from the African American audience. The audience assists the speaker in jointly constructing the message.

Understanding call and response proves useful when analyzing the social dynamics of African American community organizing (Ch. 4). As part of political community building, we often see African American leaders draw from the Afro-American Jeremiad tradition with the purpose of being heard outside of the community. Pitney states that Jeremiad style of leadership draws upon narratives of the Bible to unify African Americans but also find understanding with a moderate white Christian audience.

It is difficult to separate religion from social justice for African Americans. Frank's rhetorical analysis of Obama's "A More Perfect Union" speech argues that Obama accesses the "the prophetic tradition" of the African American experience in his speeches. This tradition is centered on the "Africentric expression of Christianity" (Frank 171). According to Frank, the master narrative of the Africentric prophetic tradition as it is translated through the experience of slavery and desegregation, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the civil rights legislation of 1964 and 1965, assumes a loving and active God, working with humans who desire justice. The distinction between worship and practice in this tradition is collapsed, with social gospel taking priority (172-173).

Resistance rhetoric has been central to the notions of "full citizenship" among African Americans. The staple of African American rhetoric is the rhetoric of resistance. Ella Forbes, in her article "Every Man Fights for His Freedom: The Rhetoric of African American Resistance in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," gives numerous examples of powerful resistance rhetoric by African Americans in the nineteenth century. She states that white people prefer to see the peaceful, nonviolent images of African-Americans as opposed to those of self-empowerment. Her assertion is that African American rhetoric "has consistently challenged the notion of African American passivity and civility" (157).

Karenga's essay "Nommo, Kawaida, and Communicative Practice: Bringing Good Into the World" attempts to define and show the function of African American rhetoric using African concepts. He reveals four distinct forms of rhetoric that traditionally make up African-American rhetoric: resistance, reaffirmation, community, possibility. He notes that African [American] rhetoric is a rhetoric of communal deliberation, discourse, and action, oriented toward that which is good in the world (3)." He describes how African rhetoric is both a rhetoric of community and a rhetoric of resistance. The citizens in my study exemplify those goals in their quest to improve their living condition. His theory of African American Rhetoric provides a useful analytical framework for rhetoricians to examine and re-examine what we mean by citizenship.

Urban Renewal in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee

Pittsburgh and Milwaukee are the two case studies that I examine for African American rhetorical resistance to urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s and to assert their rights as "first-class" citizens. To date, no full-length monograph has been published which solely focused on African American resistance to urban renewal polices in Pittsburgh or Milwaukee. Pittsburgh and Milwaukee are Northern cities where African Americans already had the ability to vote unlike many of those living in the South during the civil rights era. The African American residents of Pittsburgh and Milwaukee faced similar consequences of urban renewal policies that stemmed from the 1954 Housing Act and are representative of other cities in the northeast and Midwest – places that were traditionally under-examined in Civil rights scholarship because African Americans were not prevented from voting or faced "legal" segregation. These two cities are representative of African Americans living in the urban north where urban renewal destroyed the economic resources of the African American neighborhoods.

By examining urban renewal discourse in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee, we see African American residents resisting urban renewal by building a political community in order to strengthen their citizenship rights in the face of the city's usage of eminent domain. In addition, various modes of citizenship as resistance are being used by African American organizations such as Citizens Committee for Hill District Renewal in Pittsburgh and the North Side Community Inventory Conference in Milwaukee.

In both cities, African American residents used several strategies to strengthen their citizenship rights in resistance to the city's usage of eminent domain. Within the racialized spaces of Pittsburgh and Milwaukee, agency can be limited to an extent, but these spaces can also allow for the development of rhetorics and rhetorical strategies for those alienated communities.

Examining the effects of urban renewal can help put into larger context the current issues affecting the African American community. In *Streetwise: Race, Class, and Change in an Urban Community,* Elijah Anderson employed ethnographic research methods to explore the tension between the middle class mostly white residents of the Village neighborhood in Chicago and the lower class African American residents of Northton. Anderson argues that the middle-class residents gain street wisdom through a process of "uptightness" in order to determine which Black male may or may not become a threat. She explains the differences between Black to Black greetings and White to Black greetings and their possible consequences. Anderson concludes that successful intercultural communication can build stronger communities, but the declining economy is the biggest threat to shared community values.

In the mid-twentieth century, the mostly white city governments were not interested in improving Black neighborhoods but rather tearing them down to build sports arenas, highways

and high-end apartment buildings. Many of these urban renewal projects were designed to either keep white families from moving to the suburbs or to make it desirable for white families to return to the city for sporting events and entertainment. During the height of urban renewal programs, spaces became racialized through federal policy, social customs, local laws, and violence. In urban environments, policies such as urban renewal increased the formation of racialized spaces and thus hindered the ideals of citizenship as being inclusive. Restriction on housing based on race predetermined where African Americans could live after being displaced from their homes. Because of racialized spaces, African Americans had little representative power in northern city governments in the mid-twentieth century and lacked traditional civic means, such as governmental representation, to prevent being uprooted from their homes, businesses, and churches. As a result, African American residents were disproportionately affected by urban renewal, which many of them dubbed "Negro Removal."

To compound the trauma of this forced removal, African Americans were not free to move anywhere else in their cities due to red-lining (preventing African Americans from getting mortgages in certain areas) by financial institutions, racist housing covenants that restricted African Americans from certain rental properties, and outright physical and verbal hostility from white residents when African American families tried to move into exclusively white neighborhoods (Jones; Fleming). In other words, white residents enforced a strict segregation of space in many urban neighborhoods. This violence along with racist housing laws restricted African Americans to living in "blighted" neighborhoods such as the Hill District in Pittsburgh, and "Bronzeville" in Milwaukee.

Throughout the Black Freedom Movement, segregation enforced "the purity of racialized distinctions" (Crocco). Voices of marginalized communities often had to take new

approaches to civic participation. In urban environments, policies such as urban renewal

increased the formation of racialized spaces and thus hindered the ideals of citizenship. Since

African American communities were disproportionately affected by these policies, many were

forced to live in other overcrowded African American neighborhoods. African American voices

were not often heard, nor were they valued when they did speak. In practice, segregation was

essentially the racialization of urban space.

Although many African Americans were excited about the city's redevelopment plans, the

means of achieving them became a central point of contention. Racial segregation inherent

within urban renewal and federal housing policies were the source of the contention. These

issues were magnified by urban renewal polices that took away African American housing

without creating sufficient replacements. Renters, small business owners, and church

congregations were often unable to stop the "buying" and demolition of their property and homes

for civic projects. This conflict led African Americans to politically organize and develop

rhetorical strategies to save their neighborhoods and modify public policies. African American

resistance against urban renewal employed some of the same rhetorical strategies of resistance

that were being used to combat racial segregation in the South. To be clear, the African

American community was by no means monolithic and neither were their rhetorical strategies,

but in facing a common threat of eminent domain, there was more consensus than conflict (class,

gender or other) over the strategies employed.

Other rhetoricians have examined urban renewal in other contexts. In her text, *Urban

Renewal and Resistance: Race, Space, and the City in the Late Twentieth to the Early Twenty-

First Century,* Mary Triece examines the rhetorical constructions of neoliberalism discourses

with in urban spaces and the affect these constructions have on urban growth. David Fleming in

City of Rhetoric: Revitalizing the Public Sphere in Metropolitan America argues that the "decentralizing and fragmentation" of urban space and racial political discourse help create poverty and disenfranchisement of poor people and proposes that more urban space is needed where citizens can deliberate and negotiate conflict in the interest of forming a stronger bond with each other. In addition to extending Fleming and Triece's extensive research and analysis of urban discourses, my project contributes to the rhetorical history of the Black Freedom Movement by demonstrating the central role of urban renewal arguments in the overall circulation of Civil Rights rhetoric.

Theoretical Approaches to Urban Renewal

With resistance to urban renewal in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee as my case studies, my dissertation investigates rhetorical citizenship as resistance by African Americans to urban renewal and housing policies during the Civil Rights movement. I explore how African Americans conceptualize citizenship and what is traditionally viewed as citizenship actions in an effort to understand how these citizens saw themselves as rhetorical citizens in a struggle for power with the municipalities. I examine the rhetorical and discursive strategies embraced by African Americans in their attempts to protect their communities from the destruction in the 1950s and 1960s.

Rhetorical citizenship is defined as the discursive acts of deliberating citizens that are not "prefatory to real action, but is in many ways constitutive of civic engagement" (Kock and Villadsen 1). This dissertation uses the concept of rhetorical citizenship as "a toolkit of ideas rather than a theoretical framework" (Crocco 3). This concept of rhetorical citizenship embraces scholarship from communication studies, discourse analysis, political philosophy, political

science, sociology, and other fields in the humanities (Kock and Villadsen 8). The concept of rhetorical citizenship offers ways of "conceptualizing the discursive, processual, participatory aspects of civic life" (Kock and Villadsen 5).

Although seemingly a broad framework, rhetorical citizenship allows for discursive practices to be viewed as constitutive of civic engagement. In their definition of "rhetorical citizenship," Kock and Villadsen state, "discourse is not prefatory to real action but is in many ways constitutive of civic engagement." In other words, Kock and Villadsen build upon the idea that citizenship is a discursive practice. Likewise, Keith and Cossart define rhetorical citizenship as the "deliberative, communicative, and discursive acts by a culture or community that enable or embody citizenship" (46).

Rhetoric scholar Robert Asen, in his discourse theory of citizenship, advocates that we view citizenship engagement as "a mode of public engagement" (191). Doing so allows for citizenship to be understood as a specific act but rather as a "process that may encompass a number of different activities" (191). Asen asserts, "Actions that begin on a small scale may spread across social, cultural, and political sites. Seemingly unimportant issues may increase in magnitude. Citizenship as a mode is also potentially unruly because it exceeds the control of authorities, institutions, or influential groups" (195). This definition allows citizenship to be viewed as a source of resistance and not adherent to the power structure.

I approach the concept of citizenship as encompassing the concepts of agency and place in the interest of being both specific and rigorous. I believe rhetorics of place should be added to the concept of rhetorical citizenship when analyzing urban discourses. With this approach, I am able to examine citizenship as encompassing various rhetorical strategies of resistance. Informed by Maulana Karenga's claim that African American rhetoric is a rhetoric of community and

resistance, this approach uncovers (or recovers) the acts of agency by African Americans in the Urban North. Agency is a theoretical strand of rhetorical citizenship (Kock and Villadsen). Hauser notes that agency deals with voice, power, and rights. Agency is the ability to act and make a change in the world. But the conditions of agency—means and resources—and who gets to be heard are also important features of rhetorical agency.

Using rhetorical citizenship as an analytical framework, I ask the following four questions:

1) How did government officials argue for urban renewal? (Ch. 2)

2) How might we understand the relationship between rhetorical agency, space and citizenship within African American resistance to urban renewal projects? (Ch. 3 and Ch. 4)

3) What were the rhetorical and discursive strategies reflected in the acts of citizenship by African American residents to prevent or at least modify the effects of urban renewal? (Ch. 3 and Ch. 4)

4) How can we better understand citizenship as a strategy of resistance rhetoric? (Ch. 5)

I believe that this study will provide a new understanding of rhetorical citizenship by examining the ways these residents enacted citizenship. But more importantly, this study will provide an understanding on some of the outcomes of urban renewal policies.

Data and Methods

To answer the research questions stated above, I employ a multiple case study method to get a better understanding of African American rhetorical strategies used in response to urban renewal and housing policies during the 1950s and 1960s. A multiple case study allows for a "qualitative approach to research that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context

using a variety of data sources" (Baxter and Jack 544). Also, a case study research method

allows for different methodologies to be "combined with the purpose of illuminating a case from

different angles: to triangulate by combining methodologies" (Johannson 2). My project pursues

a larger rhetorical approach to the data, and employs various modes of analysis including

rhetorical analysis, discourse analysis, narrative analysis, and public address.

Specifically, having two case studies allowed me to compare the rhetorical strategies

between African American residents in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee, but it also allowed me to

make broader arguments about African American rhetoric. A rhetorical approach to the data asks

different questions from those of a historian or a political scientist. A rhetorician "approaches the

past to interpret how discourse shaped the meanings of past events" (Wilson xvi).

Because my focus is on how the performance of rhetorical citizenship functions as

resistance during rhetorical exchanges between city leaders and African American residents (Ch.

3 and Ch. 4), my corpus primarily focuses on "bottom-up" arguments from African American

citizens and organizations. However, to establish the context of the resistance, I also identified

and included top down institutional arguments (Ch. 2). Most of my corpus is available through

archival research which includes organizational documents such as the Allegheny Conference On

Community Development (Pittsburgh) and the Milwaukee Urban League.

I examined articles, editorials, articles, memos, letters and government documents written

from 1945-1970 in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee. This time-period was selected for several

reasons: (1) Urban renewal policies began to be deliberated immediately after World War II and

reached its high point in the 1960s. (2) This time-period is significant to the debate in African

American studies over the Long Movement versus the Short Movement of the Civil Rights

period. (3) African American migration to the North was prevalent just after World War II and changed the demographics of many urban centers. I divided my corpus in the following ways:

(1) Narratives used in the arguments for urban renewal

(2) Narratives used to argue against urban renewal

(3) Arguments made about place as situated within the African American rhetorical tradition

(4) Arguments made about place as an anchor for community beliefs, attitudes, and identity

I used rhetorical and narrative analytical tools as described in chapters three, four and five to identify narratives and arguments.

For chapters three and four, I reduced my corpus size by limiting my focus to African American responses to the urban renewal policies. I focused on documents written by African American organizations and newspapers because the mainstream newspapers often lack minority voices. Van Dijk notes how politicians and powerful elites use media discourse as "the main source of people's knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, both of other elites and of ordinary citizens" (36). These African American Newspapers include the *Milwaukee Star* and the *Pittsburgh Courier*. In beginning my research, I used a keyword search in the Historical Black Newspaper database and the Google archived newspaper database. Some of the keywords were "*slum,*" *blight*, *housing*, *urban renewal*, *citizens*, and *leader*. These keywords were chosen for the following reasons

(1) Spaces labeled "blighted" by city governments were then eligible for federal dollars for urban renewal projects. Places labeled "blighted" or "slum" by city governments were most often inhabited by Black residents.

(2) "Urban Renewal" and "housing" searches lead directly to articles and editorials that discuss local and federal policy.

(3) "Citizens" and "leaders" help to locate the actions and civic groups of African

Americans that were prevalent during the civil rights movement such as the North Side

Community Inventory Conference (NCIC) in Milwaukee and the Citizens for Hill

District Renewal in Pittsburgh.

This search produced over 100 articles, editorials, and letters to the editor for analysis and to

establish context. In addition, I conducted limited personal interviews and listened to oral

histories of African Americans who were citizens in Milwaukee and Pittsburgh so that I could

provide more context to the events of the Civil Rights time-period.

My goal was to identify those actions that would be considered civic activity: political

organizing, demonstrations, and narratives of place. Viewing some of these articles as well as

conducting personal interviews gave me some names and places on which to direct more detailed

research through both primary and secondary articles. Visits to the archives of the Senator John

Heinz History Center in Pittsburgh, Marquette University, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee,

and the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison provided access to organizational memos,

letters, college syllabi, and other materials useful to this project. The data collected from these

sources is not intended to be representative in the statistical sense. But collecting data from two

different cities allowed me to show that my arguments were not isolated or pertinent to only one

place.

Chapter Overview

Each chapter provides a particular history of urban renewal and ends with a discussion

about the effects and actions of urban renewal discourse. This project explores urban renewal as

a rhetorical situation and uncovers perspectives that other scholars may have overlooked. In this

project, I contend that the residents developed three strategies to resist the city's usage of

eminent domain including forming community organizations, building partnerships with faculty

from nearby academic institutions and creating or repurposing objects (maps, seminars, street

corners) to aid in arguments in urban renewal discussion. Below is an overview of each chapter:

Chapter Two: Urban Renewal/'Negro Removal:' Creating A Master Narrative of Urban Renewal

In chapter two, I provide a detailed history of the urban renewal policies in the United

States. I also examine the ways in which narratives of urban renewal were created by federal,

state, and city officials to implement these policies. I show how this "master narrative" of urban

renewal is repeated by government officials and newspaper editorials during this time-period.

This master narrative included three key features: (1) metaphors of sickness or disease, (2)

progress toward idealized futures (3) absence of racial divisions or racial inclusions. Finally, I

explore how urban renewal was initially accepted by some in the African American community

because the master narrative caused them to believe that it would be good for them and the city

as a whole.

Chapter Three: 'Freedom Corner': African American Rhetorics of Place and Citizenship

In chapter three, I provide the historical background of urban renewal policies and actions

in Pittsburgh. I explore how citizenship performance creates power through a rhetorics of place.

First, as the imminent destruction of the Lower Hill became apparent, counternarratives of place

that resisted the dominant narrative of blighted neighborhoods began to appear in the African

American Newspapers. These narratives challenged the existing master narrative of urban

renewal history in Pittsburgh. Second, I show how residents employed a materialist rhetoric of

place by producing a map which depicted their vision of a renewed and revitalized neighborhood that ran counter to the city's plans. In the final section, I examine how Pittsburgh's Freedom Corner spoke symbolically and materially as a "place in protest." A "place in protest" is where citizens used place "as an anchor for community attitudes and beliefs," and to signal types of action by the African American community (Endres and Senda-Cook). In addition, I show how this final strategy indicated different sets of performances between the emerging black power movement and the traditional civil rights movement.

Chapter Four 'The Citizen and Social Action': Leadership Seminars and the Distribution of Agency

In chapter four, I provide a brief background on Black Freedom Struggle in Milwaukee. I explore the ways African American residents and organizations build partnerships with nearby academic institutions to increase their ability to get heard as increasing resistance to urban renewals mounted. These partnerships were consistent with some methods of the traditional civil rights movement. In particular, residents and African American organizations worked with the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Marquette University to create "Leadership seminars" in Milwaukee as part of a rhetorical strategy to resist urban renewal and other housing policies and to produce more active citizens. An examination of the leadership seminars will help us understand three things about African American rhetorical citizenship: (1) the importance of rhetorical education to informed citizenship, (2) individual leadership as a central part of African American conceptualization of citizenship (3) a counterhegemonic space that provides conditions for rhetorical agency in civic engagement.

Chapter Five: Citizenship and Resistance

In my concluding chapter, I summarize the citizenship practices that resisted urban renewal. I situate my analysis in the broader context of studies of African American rhetoric. To this end, I focus specifically on possible links between the rhetorical strategies used by African Americans to protect their communities from the damage caused by urban renewal projects in the 1950s and 1960s and the broader rhetorical strategies of the Civil Rights Movement and Black Power movements which developed by the late 1960s. Finally, I conclude with how this study can help us to think about the organizing and rhetorical strategies of Black Lives Matter and their arguments against police killings of unarmed African Americans.

The City of New York was able in the last 15 years to reconstruct itself, to tear down buildings and raise great new ones, and has done nothing whatever except build housing projects, mainly in the ghettoes, for the Negroes. And of course the Negroes hate it. The children can't bear it. They want to move out of the ghettoes. If American pretensions were based on more honest assessments of life, it would not mean for Negroes that when someone says "urban renewal" some Negroes are going to be thrown out into the streets, which is what it means now.

James Baldwin, "The American Dream and the American Negro" 1965

Chapter Two: History of "Negro Removal:" Creating A Master Narrative of Urban

Renewal

Only weeks after the U.S. Supreme Court passed down its verdict of Brown vs. Board of

Education, President Eisenhower signed into law the Housing Act of 1954 (Flanagan 267-268).

Although both of these legal milestones would have significant consequences for African

Americans in Cold War America, it was the Housing Act of 1954 that drastically altered the

living conditions for vast numbers of African Americans across United States. The passing of

the Housing Act of 1954 gave American cities unprecedented power to build arenas, highways,

apartment buildings, and shopping areas, which transformed the material layout and appearance

of their cities.

Eisenhower saw the signing of the Housing Act of 1954 as a significant accomplishment

during his administration. Of the signing of the act, he wrote in a public relations statement:

THE COUNTRY will be benefited by the Housing Act of 1954 which has now become

law. It has been one of our major legislative goals. It will raise the housing standards of

our people, help our communities get rid of slums and improve their older

neighborhoods, and strengthen our mortgage credit system. Millions of our families with

modest incomes will be able, for the first time, to buy new or used homes. Families will

be helped to enlarge or modernize their present homes. Another feature of the law is

especially important. Many families have to move from their homes because of slum

clearance and other public improvements [sic]. This law provides especially easy terms

for these deserving people. The new law makes available, for the first time, a practical

way for our citizens, in the towns and cities of America, to get rid of their slums and

blight. (Eisenhower Statement)

This statement by Eisenhower reveals the law's difficult and at times conflicting goals. His

statement begs the question what is the difference between a "slum" to get rid of, and an "older

neighborhood" to improve? As my analysis will show, Eisenhower and others in the federal

government made it possible for local governments—who implemented the law—to privilege

certain language that supported their interpretations of the Housing Act of 1954.

The law empowered city governments to increase their usage of eminent domain to seize

property, "to redevelop blighted areas, and drastically reduced the funds to build public housing"

(Gotham 287). Federal dollars were spent by city governments to demolish neighborhoods

labeled "blighted" and rebuild for private development. This approach in combating "blight"

suited the needs of private construction and real estate companies because "urban revitalization

required the condemnation of blighted properties and the transfer of this real estate to developers

who would use it more productively" (Pritchett 7-8). City officials needed a way in which to

argue for clearing certain neighborhoods and leaving others unaffected. As a result, the urban

landscapes of numerous American cities were altered dramatically.

In my research in the origins of the urban renewal policy, I initially discovered that many

African Americans did not strongly resist urban renewal. Organized civic resistance and mass

protests often developed after the initial urban renewal projects had been completed. Why was

this case? Why did African Americans not resist the implementation of a policy that would be

detrimental to them? Why did the majority of African American organizations and residents not overtly resist the city governments invoking the policy of eminent domain, which left many residents without a home? This chapter seeks to answer some of these questions.

This chapter takes up the analysis of the narrative features that contribute to the arguments made by city influencers to construct urban renewal projects in mostly African American neighborhoods. I examine the language of the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954 and show how the language provided the roots for an urban renewal "master narrative" which was used by city governments to invoke eminent domain and to remove "blight" and slums in parts of African American neighborhoods. In analyzing the arguments made by federal and local city officials, we can see that the same narrative of urban renewal discourse was being used by city governments nationwide to similar effect.

For example, both Milwaukee and Pittsburgh use the term "renaissance" to describe the desired effects of urban renewal. In 1953, the then mayor of Pittsburgh, David Lawrence, stressed "civic renaissance" as the main goal in his successful re-election campaign of 1953 (Democrats 1953). Likewise, in a 1966 letter to the Mayor of Corpus Christi Texas, Milwaukee Mayor Maier wrote that urban renewal "has been an important key to Milwaukee Renaissance." This use of the word "renaissance" was prevalent in creating the belief that urban renewal would create an idealized community. For both of these cities, renaissance functioned as a euphemism for the destruction of homes and businesses standing in the way of urban renewal. To resist the renaissance was to resist progress and the projects held dear by many city leaders. This constant reinforcement of renewal made by politicians, newspapers, and individuals established a narrative that demolishing neighborhoods, primarily African American ones was required for a city's rebirth.

In what follows, I provide the background and define the arguments made for urban renewal in American cities as a "master narrative." I argue that through narrative, federal and local government officials created a myth that their city would transform into a "city of tomorrow," a "modern acropolis," "a city upon a hill[2]." This narrative of removing blight to build beautiful buildings was repeated continuously in newspaper editorials and political speeches throughout the early period in which urban renewal projects were taking place. By using this concept of "master narrative," I draw attention to the way language is arranged and connected to the actions and civic decisions of local governments. The narrative was simple. For American cities to become "modern" or even to survive, the "blighted" and mostly African American spaces had to be demolished and remade into spaces used by majority white people. This master narrative was not the only way in which city governments argued for urban renewal, but it was utilized in many instances.

My theoretical and methodological approach centers on how the persuasive power of master narrative of urban renewal was undergirded and amplified by metaphors. Drawing from Lindemann-Nelson's concept of master narrative as well as rhetorical and discourse theories, I identify three key features of the urban renewal master narrative: (1) metaphors of sickness or disease, (2) progress toward idealized futures (3) absence of racial divisions or racial inclusions. These features do not have clear delineation points and often overlap in the repetition of the narrative. Repetition here simply means the same words used in a variety of texts, which in terms of discourse analysis is referred to as "horizontal" intertexuality or the way texts build on each other and are related sequentially (Kristeva; Johnstone). The repetition of urban renewal

---

[2] phrase first used by John Winthrop in a1630 Sermon "A Model of Christian Charity" which appears in the Norton Anthology for American Literature, 7th edition. The phrase has been used by many political figures including Ronald Reagan.

words are fashioned so as to convey that only the complete razing of neighborhoods can be recognized as urban renewal.

The chapter is organized in three sections. First, I explain the roots of the master narrative in the deliberations about and responses to the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954. Then I detail each key feature and provide examples from Congressional hearings and speeches and editorials from my case study cities: Pittsburgh and Milwaukee. I conclude the chapter by showing how the persuasive power of the urban renewal master narrative and the "mythic image" it served initially persuaded many African Americans to accept urban renewal policy as something that would be good for everyone in the city. But more importantly, the urban renewal master narrative allowed many African Americans to believe that they too were citizens in the "city upon a hill and part of an urban renaissance.

Roots of the Master Narrative

The history of the1954 Housing Act is complex, so before an analysis of urban renewal's master narrative can ensue, one must first untangle the debates, declarations and processes that led to the law's passage. The genesis of the Housing Act of 1954 began in public housing debates during the 1930s and sprouted from the overwhelmingly negative reaction by conservatives in Congress and the building industry to the Housing Act of Act of 1949 (Hoffman 1). The 1949 Act was unpopular among private housing interests but lauded by those interested in the social conditions of inner cities. Von Hoffman argues that, the Housing Act of 1949 was contradictory and "relied too heavily on simple solutions...to solve complex problems of American cities" (299). The legislation declared "the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing through the clearance of slums

and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation" (1949 act). This law focused on building "wholesome homes" for low-income families through federal spending (Truman). The language of this law situates clearance development in cities as contributing to the security of the nation. This language not only gives the law a sense of urgency but also a sense of inevitability. The act authorized over a billion dollars in loans and grants over a five-year period to local governments to help them acquire the land that needed to be redeveloped and to cover the "loss involved in connection with slum-clearance operations" (1949 Act). However, local governments were required to cover one-third of any loss associated with land clearance.

This commitment to federal dollars to build public housing angered many in the private building sector and galvanized the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB). As Eisenhower noted in his statement about the 1954 act, the private housing industry would play an important part in the law's application and NAREB led the charge to transform the 1949 legislation into the more agreeable act passed in 1954. NAREB's argument against public housing was that if more houses were built in the suburbs, then more suitable housing would be available in the cities for low-income families who were affected by "slum clearance." The building industry was also opposed to any involvement by the "creeping socialism" of the federal government (Gotham 296). This charge, in the height of the Cold War, resonated with many influential citizens. In addition, NAREB proved effective in organizing a lobbying campaign in Washington D.C. and a marketing campaign called "Build a Better America." The results of this multi-prong strategy were that the 1949 law was amended by the Housing Act of 1954.

The aggressive tactics used by NAREB were very effective in shaping popular opinion about public housing. Von Hoffman writes,

> The trade groups distributed colorfully written and illustrated pamphlets aimed at fanning resentments of programs targeted for low-income people. The title of NAREB's publication "The World Owes Me a Living!" conveyed its message. In the anti-communist fervor of the time, the enemies of public housing were not above attacking the program as socialist.

This view was in direct contrast to how the federal government viewed urban redevelopment. The initial 1949 law was an attempt to "reclaim the central city," to restore downtown to business interests, and to improve the community. For the law's proponents, these accomplishments would be considered a blow against communism.

But NAREB's claim that the federal government's actions were more symptomatic of socialism won out in the end. NAREB capitalized on the nation's fear of slums, "blight," and diverse populations to get a more aggressive law passed that benefitted their stakeholders. Political scientist Kevin Gotham points out that "the Housing Act of 1954 changed the name of the program from "urban redevelopment" to "urban renewal," empowered municipalities to redevelop blighted areas, and drastically reduced the funds to build public housing" (287). This change in approach to combatting "blight" suited the needs of the private industries because "urban revitalization required the condemnation of blighted properties and the transfer of this real estate to developers who would use it more productively" (Pritchett 3). "In 1954, the government amended the Housing Act of 1949 to include provisions for redevelopment, rehabilitation, and conservation of neighborhoods. The new Act continued to place emphasis on

the clearance and redevelopment of severely blighted Neighborhoods" (Niemuth 11). But the changes also meant that less low-income housing would be built.

Most of the concerns of the private building and banking industries were argued and debated in the Hearing before the Committee on Banking and Currency concerning the passing of the Housing Act of 1954. The language of urban renewal can be traced to these hearings. In the 900-page document that transcribed the hearing, the word, "blight" was mentioned over a 140 times; "modern or modernization" 139 times; the phrase "slum clearance" nearly 200 times. The language used in the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954 and in the debates surrounding the legislation trickled down to the local level government officials and newspaper editorials. But each locale used the language of urban renewal and the blight metaphor to create a narrative to fit their desired projects.

After vigorous debate in Congress, the Housing Act of 1954 was signed into law on August 2, 1954. Several parts of the law are important to note. First, the 1954 Act prohibits demolition of "residential structures" if local governments determine that it would create undue housing hardship in the locality. The act stipulates that those living in new projects should be "low income families in need of adequate housing." Also, discrimination is not permitted against "welfare cases" (1949 and 1954 Act). "In no event may a project be undertaken which is of elaborate or extravagant design or materials." Yet these stipulations lack teeth because it was the local governments who decided how, and more importantly where to implement urban renewal policies.

City governments would select an area for urban renewal which would later be approved by federal authorities in Washington. Then a public hearing would be held and city officials would argue for the urban renewal plan while providing an opportunity for citizens to speak for

or against the plan. Then, "Once the project has been officially approved the authorities either persuade the owners of real estate in the area to sell willingly or force them to sell by invoking the power of eminent domain" (Andersen 2). The cases made by city officials were enhanced by the urban renewal master narrative.

The Constitution of Master Narrative as Political Discourse

In the language surrounding urban renewal, there are several masterplots at work. Masterplots are stories that connect "with our deepest values, wishes, [and] fears" (Abbott 42). These masterplots create clear images of what is good or evil and which characters can be blamed in a story (Abbot 44). Some masterplots include "the quest, the story of revenge, [and] seasonal myths of death and regeneration" (44). These are stories told by cultures to establish morality and an understanding of the world. Abbot notes how some theorists use narrative and master plot interchangeably. Abbot's definition of narrative is "the representation of an event or series of events." He argues that a narrative is a rendering of only one particular event, whereas masterplots are more "skeletal and adaptable…and can recur in narrative after narrative" (43). But there is a slight distinction between master narrative and masterplot. I posit that narratives told repeatedly over time by different people, governments, and organizations, which draw from "values, wishes, fears" of a masterplot can be called master narratives. As Lindemann-Nelson notes, master narratives are "stories found lying about in our culture that serve as summaries of socially shared understandings" that we also use to "justify what we do" (6). But to take her claims one step further, I suggest that these "socially shared understandings" are created when specific narratives of past or future events are repeated over time. The primary urban renewal narrative is that the "good" (buildings, neighborhoods, citizens) must overcome, defeat, or

eliminate the "bad" (blight, crime, sickness) in order for all of the city to prosper. This political narrative contains several discursive features that makes it effective.

Metaphors of Disease and Sickness in the Master Narrative

Ancient rhetoricians remarked on the power of the metaphor in language. Aristotle called metaphors a "bringing before the eyes" that has clarity and sweetness and strangeness, and its use cannot be learned from someone else (Aristotle 200, 220). Aristotle noted the effect of metaphor on audiences and the usefulness of metaphors in creating knowledge. He believed that "to learn easily is naturally pleasant to all people, and words signify something, so whatever words create knowledge in us are pleasurable" (218). Quintilian viewed metaphor as a trope that is "the artistic alteration of a word or phrase from its proper meaning to another" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 398-399).

Metaphors help to restructure a person's thought about a political subject. In more recent studies Lakoff and Johnson assert, "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 4). Metaphors shape understanding because it is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but also in thought and action and make it easier for an audience to understand a complex idea. Metaphors structure the way we think and the way we act, "and our systems of knowledge and belief, in a pervasive and fundamental way" (Fairclough 194). In other words, metaphor adds a structuring principle to our thinking because it focuses on particular aspects of whatever phenomenon is under scrutiny, but at the same time, metaphor can hide other aspects of that same phenomenon (Commer).

These theories of metaphors help us to understand how narrative and metaphor are closely linked. Metaphors provide background and foundation for narratives, and narratives does

the same for metaphors. Because metaphors can emerge from and support stories, narratives can become metaphors whereby legal concepts may be "formed by and understood as both, separately and in combination" (Berger 269). Also, narrative "leads to the shorthand use of metaphors: once a story is embedded in tradition and culture, the die is cast and you no longer have to tell the tale, you can simply use the name of the character or the title of the story as a metaphor, and the plot, characters, and moral will follow, appearing to be logical entailments" (269). Berger's explanation of the shorthand use of metaphors highlights the strength and the effectiveness of the metaphors surrounding urban planning, which were instrumental in the construction and the effectiveness of the urban renewal master narrative.

The "blight" metaphor often served as the indicator for the urban renewal narrative. Eisenhower's words in the quote in the beginning of this chapter indicated that a major perceived threat to a vibrant city or community is "blight." This metaphor contributed to the veracity of the master narrative and assisted city governments to argue for a desired identity for their cities.

In traditional usage, blight is defined as "a disease or injury of plants marked by the formation of lesions, withering, and death of parts" (Breger 370). Blight sometimes grows to the point that it will destroy the plant. In order for the plant to survive, the diseased part of the plant must be removed. The diseased metaphor allows government officials to make it easier to seize private property because "blight" is the threat to the health of the city. In other words, "blight" is the city's antagonist and provides the central conflict in the narrative that government officials must defeat. In this narrative, victory in the struggle against "blight" would result in the city prospering and growing with new modern buildings and different people replacing the diseased parts.

Blight does not have a specific meaning when used in an urban setting, but there are "common elements unifying the urban blight concept" (Breger 371). For instance, the large community will not accept blight because of the significant stigma associated with the term urban blight (371). Also, the "blight" metaphor has the ability to hide other aspects of the city's targeted areas for urban renewal projects in part because it obscures the complexity of a neighborhood. The "blight" metaphor may not allow for buildings, structures, or people to be seen individually.

In the examples to follow, primarily African American neighborhoods were often referred to as "blight," or as being "blighted." Applying this metaphor continuously to poor areas created an imagined reality that strong measures must be taken immediately to stop it. City governments were required to label a place as blighted in order to receive federal funds for redevelopment. An urban policy of demolishing and rebuilding must take place to rid of "blight". By referring to poverty and poor housing as blight, its removal (or relocation) would mean that the community would thrive again. Therefore, using the metaphor blight to refer to certain neighborhoods meant that no other possible approaches could be taken to improve its conditions.

The metaphors of disease, illness, or malady were prevalent in the congressional deliberations of the Housing Act of 1954. In a statement read during the Hearing before the Committee on Banking and Currency, Norman P. Mason from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce said the following:

> The chamber has worked for many years to encourage the e**limination of slums** and the restoration of **blighted urban** areas to economic and social usefulness. While we had reservations about the urban rehabilitation plans established in the housing acts of 1949,

believing it to be too limited and too costly, the pending legislation promises to remove

these defects. This legislation places a definite responsibility on the locality to put its own

house in order with ordinances and enforcement of these ordinances to assure the proper

maintenance of housing and to prevent its overcrowding, before that community can go to

the Federal Government for assistance. It lets the Federal Government help in such a way

as to encourage the conservation of sound structure. It helps to retard the decline of

existing neighborhoods and to eliminate the causes of **blight** before it becomes necessary

to do a **wholesale clearance** operation. Because of these desirable features, the provisions

of title IV of the bill are strongly supported by the chamber and we urge their enactment.

(Hearings)

The word blight is paired up with words like clearance and elimination. Using the metaphor

blight in this context limits other possible approaches to improving neighborhood conditions

once the neighborhood receives the "blight" designation. In the entire Hearings document, the

word "blight" is mentioned 146 times. This language of urban renewal and the blight metaphor

were also used on the local level in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee.

"Blight" was also repeatedly used as part of other metaphors within the urban renewal

discourse in Pittsburgh. Blight is sometimes personified as a foe or something to be defeated.

This disease as the enemy metaphor is pervasive in our culture (Sontag; Hauser and Schwarz;

Flusberg, Matlock & Thibodeau). In urban renewal discourse, if 100 acres of an area is blighted

then it must be defeated through removal. An editorial on the urban renewal project in

Pittsburgh's Lower Hill District neighborhood titled "The Fight on Blight" has several examples

of this metaphor:

We have tolerated the Lower Hill district for a long time. Every Pittsburgher has known

for years how badly this section was run down and how much it has cost us to do nothing

about it...combating **blight** has been used with great success in other cities." ("Fight,"

1953)

This paragraph works in personifying the Lower Hill District as a foe that needs to be defeated.

Blight in of itself may be difficult to understand but a "fight against blight" indicates that blight

is undesirable. Characterizing a neighborhood in this manner ignores the Lower Hill residents

who would be adversely affected by the defeat of "blight." I do not mean to suggest that the

editors of these pieces did not care about the residents, but rather that the language they used

helped to inhibit the emotional connection readers might have had with the residents of the

Lower Hill by use of this metaphor.

In addition to the "fight" metaphor, blight can be depicted within a medical procedure

metaphor. In the next excerpt, the clearing of the Lower Hill district is a medical procedure that

is performed by a doctor:

We're about to perform a **surgical operation** here. With the help of state and federal

funds for slum clearance, the Lower Hill District's humble old structures are scheduled to

come down and give way to a civic center bordered by modern housing. ("Fight," 1953)

The use of this medical metaphor implies that the clearing of the neighborhood will be precise

and cause minimal damage. The city of Pittsburgh is a body that needs an operation to surgically

remove "blight" and replace it with modern buildings. By referring to poverty and sub-standard

housing as blight, its removal (or relocation) would suggest that the community would thrive

again.

Since blight is a disease, health-related metaphors about the Lower Hill seemed common in the Pittsburgh papers. In the next example, we see the Lower Hill characterized as a dead body part:

> Now it [URA] turns its efforts to the Lower Hill District, for decades an **eyesore** and a **dead hand** on Downtown growth. One hundred **blighted**, slum-ridden acres in that area are to be cleared and redeveloped for modern civic residential uses. ("Redeveloping," 1951)

Again, what is problematic about this metaphor is not that "slums" should not be rehabilitated but rather that the metaphor suggests that there is only one way to solve the problem—removal of every building in the area. Another article continues this pattern…

> Slum clearance projects of the kind being planned for Pittsburgh's Lower Hill district are big and expensive. That's because the problem has been allowed to go untended for so long that **radical surgery** is needed to eliminate **blight**. But an application of some of the principles of the Pasadena plan could slow up the **creeping blight** that create slum areas. ("Operation," 1952)

This writer places the adjective 'radical' in front of surgery, which gives the procedure a sense of urgency. Also, the word "untended" suggests gardening, in this case a situation in which the problem needs to be weeded out. What is consistent about these metaphors is that the focus is placed on the conditions of the buildings and not on the people living in them. The language used to talk about the Lower Hill project insulated the readers from feeling compassion for the emotional consequences that will befall the families affected by the project0.

In a 1955 speech announcing the start of the Lower Hill Urban renewal plan, the mayor of Pittsburgh David Lawrence suggested "blight" applies to additional conditions of the Lower Hill. Lawrence stated,

> The major objective of this project is the clearing of an area of massive **blight** which, due to a poorly designed street pattern, overcrowding, outmoded or completely lacking in sanitary facilities, improper mixed land use, has deteriorated beyond any point where rehabilitation would be conceivable." ("City Council")

In this example, "blight" is all consuming and nothing short of clearing the Lower Hill is possible.

The metaphor "blight" also could be used as a label by officials. For instance, in a 1950 article in the *Pittsburgh Press*, the Lower Hill had to designated "blighted" by city officials so that federal money can be used for its demolition. This designation was "preliminary to razing the entire area and replacing it with modern housing" ("Lower"). The varying and expanding movement of "Blight" as demonstrated in urban renewal discourse creates a space to which any person can attribute their greatest fear.

In many of these examples, there is a lack of agency due to the use of passive voice sentence construction. This construction gives the sense that "blight" occurred naturally without any institutional causes. Similarly, the positive future of being modern and envious of others will also occur naturally.

This framing of blight as an antagonist against progress was repeated in Milwaukee within arguments and discussions surrounding urban renewal. Early in their urban renewal phase, a free movie[3] about blight entitled "Our Living Future" was shown to Milwaukeeans so

---

[3] The movie was filmed by Life magazine and was created to show how blight can affect transportation, schools, parking and other urban related issues. The event was hosted by the Citizens Urban Renewal Committee and the Vocational School.

they could "have an opportunity to penetrate the problems of a blight and how see they are being combatted ("Free Movie").

An editorial stated, "The hope is that at last we're on the way with a program that will take in the whole city and get some effective work done on the **blight** that is destroying tax values, creating bad health and social condition and driving people into the fringe areas" (Urban Renewal Program, Milwaukee Journal 1961). Here blight is playing a larger menacing role in Milwaukee. It is directly affecting the economy, health, and citizenry of the city. As a consequence, the families and businesses in the affected area would have to relocate so that blight can be stopped and progress can take place.

Progress Toward an Idealized Future in the Master Narrative

Urban renewal polices began to take root during the euphoria of post-World War II America. The phrase "urban renewal" gives the sense of hopefulness, a desire for newness. This hope for a better future was desired by many Americans after winning the war. A more literal definition of renewal is "to make like new: restore to freshness, vigor, or perfection, and to make new spiritually" ("Renew"). Synonyms for the word include regenerate, revive, and rebuild. With that sentiment in mind, the goal of many American cities was to become "modernized." This modernization was implied in euphemisms such as renaissance. A euphemism is the use of a supposedly less objectionable variant for a word with negative connotations (Johnstone 59). The choice of these words may suggest its significance. Carol Cohn wrote of how euphemisms used by military intellectuals "were so bland that they never forced the speaker or enabled the listener to touch the realities of nuclear holocaust that lay behind the words" (690). I suggest that euphemisms used within the urban renewal master narrative worked in the same way in the sense

that both urban renewal euphemisms and metaphors hid the realities faced by African Americans most affected by urban renewal.

As suggested above, in the urban renewal master narrative, the defeat of the blight antagonist will result in an idealized future for all citizens. This sentiment was expressed in several forms. The master narrative of urban renewal had to be constructed in a way that would create hope and optimism. The constant use of euphemisms for demolition by city politicians and newspaper editorials, created a utopian vision about urban redevelopment in northern cities. There was overwhelming use of the words "modern," "renewal," and "renaissance." This repetition of the urban renewal narrative is similar to what Burke calls a "body of identifications" in his book *A Rhetoric of Motives.* Burke states, "often we must think of rhetoric not in terms of some one particular address but as a general body of identifications that owe their convincingness much more to trivial repetition and dull daily reinforcement than to exceptional rhetorical skill" (26). The urban renewal master narrative was effective in large part because of how frequently it was repeated in speeches and in print.

The notion of a progression toward an idealized future can be traced to the 1949 Housing Act. A portion of that law says that through the clearance of slums and blight, American families will have more suitable housing and thus contribute "to the development, and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the nation. (Housing 1949).

This idea of safety and security was echoed in a congressional hearing for the 1954 Act. In a written statement in support of amending the 1949 Housing Act, William L. Rafsky— Housing Coordinator, City of Philadelphia, PA—argued that a decrease in crime would result from the passing and implementation of the revised Housing Act. He writes,

Indicative of the high price of inferior housing is the fact that in 1953, 65.3 percent of all

police arrests were of individuals who resided in Philadelphia's officially certified

blighted areas, which contain only 23.5 percent of the city's population. Similar statistics

on juvenile arrests reveal that unless our slums are removed, significant numbers of our

future juveniles from these areas are doomed to a life of crime. Despite the fact that the

cause of crime is usually far more complex than physical environment, it would be

ostrich like to ignore the fact that in the third largest city in the country, arrests of

juveniles residing in deteriorated neighborhoods were 46.4 percent of the total, as

compared to the area's juvenile population of 25.2 percent of the entire city Similarly, our

losses of life and property by fire, our health, and our welfare problems are concentrated

in districts where sub-standard housing predominates. From the longer-range point of

view, Philadelphia's survival depends upon the solution to this problem. (878)

Despite the attempt to modify the strength of his claim, Rafsky established the blighted

neighborhood as the primary source of many the ills of the city and as a significant threat to the

city's well-being. The stakes for passing the act are raised by this claim. In terms of narrative,

Rafsky's claim places "blight" at the center of conflict.

However, at the end of the statement, Rafsky argued that the passing of the proposed act

would benefit "Philadelphia's Negro Population" by providing decent shelter. The act would

provide federal dollars to build new housing for many of those living in those blighted areas.

Many African Americans who were living in those sub-standard dwellings saw new opportunity

for a better life in new clean housing.

Part of the master narrative in Pittsburgh's urban renewal projects was the constant use of the slogan "renaissance." The Lower Hill District development[4] fell under the label the "Renaissance," which captured the desires of residents and city government under the slogan. For the city of Pittsburgh, renaissance functioned as a euphemism to the urban renewal that displaced thousands of residents and businesses. Renaissance itself is defined as a renewal of life, vigor, interest, etc.; rebirth; revival (Webster's). But when capitalized, the word harkens back to the movement in Europe which began in 14th-century Italy and lasted into the 17th century, and was "marked by a humanistic revival of classical influence expressed in a flowering of the arts and literature and by the beginnings of modern science." This period is marked by scholars as the transition from the medieval to the modern world. To resist the Renaissance was to resist modernity and progress. In 1951, the *Pittsburgh Press* published an editorial on how the "new planners of Pittsburgh" have targeted redevelopment of the lower Hill as part of the "spectacular civic renaissance" (Hill 1951).

Another article published prior to the city council's approval of the plan noted that the Lower Hill project was "vital" to the Renaissance (City 1955). An editorial in the *Post-Gazette* reiterated a similar theme: Urban Redevelopment now. "One hundred blighted, slum-ridden acres in that area are to be cleared and redeveloped for modern civic and residential uses" (8). Articles in these mainstream newspapers repeatedly concluded that to have a modern Pittsburgh, the plan by the city had to be implemented.

The narrative about the Hill was effective in shaping the public's thinking about redevelopment. Although, the "blight" metaphor encompassed different negative depictions of

---

[4] The Lower Hill Development is explained in more detail in Chapter 3

the Lower Hill, the desired outcome would be the same - a new modern city. This outcome can only be achieved through the demolition of the neighborhood. In the examples to follow, the ideas of progress in the Lower Hill are presented as consequences of overcoming the blight metaphor.

In a 1950 brochure promoting the redevelopment project, the Allegheny Conference On Community Development wrote:

> At the present time, this area (Lower Hill district) is a welter of substandard housing, obsolete commercial structures and narrow cobblestone streets and alleys. It is a **blight** upon our community and nothing will do more to change the appearance and character of Pittsburgh than to replace this old, worn-out section with a park-like development, **crowned** with a great civic auditorium--and ultimately flanked with other **modern** structures (Allegheny Conference records).

This excerpt provides a more specific understanding of how housing, structures, and roadways of the Lower Hill are represented as blight, which needs to be replaced. Adjectives such as "substandard," "obsolete," and "narrow," characterized the Lower Hill in an extremely negative manner. These negative terms contrast sharply against the notion that the neighborhood's removal and replacement structures would result in a "crown" for the city and allow it to take one step closer to being "modern."

The ideas of progress, safety, and security were sometimes presented as a plant metaphor as well.

> The plan for turning **blight** into **blossom** constitutes a far -sighted solution…The Lower Hill tuberculosis rate is triple, and its juvenile delinquency incidence is 2 ½ times higher than the City [sic] average. ("Cultural Center," 1953)

The writer uses the plant metaphor to describe how the city will "bloom" with removal of the Lower Hill and the construction of a "pleasure dome such as Kubla Kahn never dreamed of" (par. 6). This section indicts the health of the Hill's residents and the actions of its youth as the target domain for "blight." This construction suggests that getting rid of these problems will help save the "City."

Urban renewal euphemisms such as renaissance were employed by city politicians and newspaper editorials to provide a romanticized view of the city's future. For instance, in the following editorial, blight needs to be cleared first and then new modern buildings can be built in its place:

> As detailed by the Urban Redevelopment Authority, 105 acres of the lower Hill which planners call a blighted area, would be cleared...Then the land would cleared for some much needed buildings-an auditorium which could be used for summer opera, conventions, and sporting events...All these things are needed and are desirable if Pittsburgh is going to keep up its **spectacular development** that is the **wonder and envy of many cities**. (Fine 1953)

This characterization of the project places the importance on the thoughts of people in other cities. This competition for wonder and envy among other cities is another reason for the clearing of the city and displacing numerous residents.

Pittsburgh government officials painted the same sort of picture. In a 1955 speech mayor David Lawrence stated that the multiple local, state, and federal agencies will "join hands soon to change the 103.6 acres of blight into an urban wonderland" ("City Council," 1955).

In Milwaukee, Mayor Henry Maier was an important proponent of urban renewal projects and the general improvement of the city. In 1961, he gave a speech stating "We have

been concerned for some time that the convention and tourist business has suffered because we lack modern attractive and large enough facilities in which to conduct tourist and convention activities." For Milwaukee, Urban renewal meant an economic turnaround.

Urban Renewal Commissioner William Slayton [5] made a spiritual claim about the future of the city after urban renewal. In a 1962 speech giving at an urban affairs seminar in Los Angeles, Slayton stated, "urban renewal has given a new impetus, a new meaning, and a new practicality to planning." The repeated use of the word "new" in that sentence can only invoke positive feeling to those in audience listening to the speech. Slayton concludes the speech by saying "If we are to rebuild are cities, we must rebuild them so that the spirits of men will be uplifted as they contemplated their handiwork…we must strive to make men consciously proud of their other accomplishments" (URA press release Oct 1962). Slayton situates urban renewal as a source of dignity and gratification.

The repetition of the words—modern, renaissance, civic asset—in local newspapers and by government officials reinforced the belief that for city centers to become better places redevelopment must occur, which often meant the demolition of African American homes and businesses with new buildings to be built in their place. As a consequence, the families and businesses in the area would have to relocate in order for this progress to take place.

Absence of Racial Division and the Repetition of wishes and fears

Master narratives are created by those with the greatest ability to deploy their usage, such as media organizations and government agencies. However, part of what makes the urban renewal master narrative of progress versus blight so effective is what is absent from the

---

[5] Slayton would later become a planning analyst and special assistant to the mayor and city council in Milwaukee.

narrative. What is missing in the narrative is the racial division—spatial and social—that existed

in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. Northern cities suffered from de facto

segregation primarily enforced by racial housing covenants. Yet, the depiction of urban renewal

by city officials and editors in city newspapers, (both mainstream and African American) helped

to create an image of the ideal city, a mythic futuristic city that was either free of racial division

or had greatly reduced the division. The hope for the Housing Act of 1954 was the creation of an

improved community, one which not everyone in the community would benefit when a law

was passed. As Celeste Condit points out, "a sharing of community may not include all

individuals who, territorially, might live within the boundaries of the community" (289). In

Norther urban spaces, race often determined who fit where within the "community."

The absence of racial division from the narrative and the promises made of better

housing allowed many African Americans to believe that they too would be potential

beneficiaries of urban renewal. In reality, the racial division in northern cities was exacerbated

by the mass migration of African Americans from the rural South to the urban North. By 1970,

over 7 million African Americans had left the rural South to live in northern cities. (Johnson

590). For many of those fleeing the Jim Crow south, this migration meant new freedoms such as

voting and new job opportunities. Africans Americans flocked to laborious jobs such as

domestic help, steel workers, manufacturing, and the automobile industry. Many believed that

jobs were plentiful and life was significantly better up North than in the oppressive south.

However, this massive influx of southern immigrants increased cities' populations and placed

extreme pressure on city governments to absorb the large increase in population. More

drastically, the increase in the number of African Americans moving to the city aggravated

whatever racial and class tensions already existed there. Fear gripped many city residents and

political leadership at the thought of the decline of the urban centers. Consequently, African American migration cannot be separated from any analysis of the history and impact of urban renewal policies.

The master narrative of urban renewal helped to create the myth of a better tomorrow for everyone. According to Kenneth Burke, a myth is not an idea but an image, a term that takes us "from the order of reason to the order of imagination" (Burke cited in Crable). For urban renewal, the futuristic image created was set in a future that seems to overcome the racial divide, a vision perhaps rooted in the idealism of a postwar America. At least this was the thinking of many African Africans for whom waged the Double V campaign, victory against the axis overseas, and a victory against racists at home. But this idealistic thinking about urban renewal promises was enhanced because the myth of the ideal city omitted any discussion of the racial divide. Since there were no images of people in those depictions of "modern buildings" and new housing, everyone could see what they wanted to see as far as who would inhabit those spaces. In addition, the repetition of words such as modern, blight, and slum in local newspapers reinforced the master narrative that for the urban center to be a better place, neighborhoods must be torn down and replaced with new buildings. Because of this repetition, African Americans' hope for the city was more inclusive than those who held racists beliefs. For African Americans, a modern city would also mean civil relations between the two races and cohabitation. They hoped that African Americans would now equally benefit from the exciting changes proposed to the urban center because they too were part of Chicago, St. Paul, Detroit, Milwaukee, or Pittsburgh.

Many influential African Americans were hopeful and identified with the repetitive argument that ridding the city of specific blocks would help the city to grow and prosper. This

belief rested on the ideas that urban renewal would help bring equality. Robert Clifton Weaver, an African American who served as an advisor to Franklin D. Roosevelt and as the first secretary of Housing and Urban Development under Lyndon Johnson, believed that urban renewal could be "opportunity or threat" for African American neighborhoods (Pritchett 153). Weaver himself suggested that urban redevelopment could be a way that changed the living conditions of African Americans by providing more ways of integrated living in northern cities.

In Milwaukee, the Hillside urban renewal project was initially supported by the lone African American on the city council, Vel Phillips[6]. Phillips said of the project that she was "wholeheartedly in favor of urban renewal in this particular project" (Hillside). Although some business people were "irritated" about losing their businesses, the residents affected by the urban renewal project were promised that they would be relocated to "decent housing at a comparable rent anywhere in the city of Milwaukee that such facilities can be found" (Hillside). This promise that they could live anywhere in the city appealed to many African Americans. For a short time in its history, urban renewal represented equality. Unfortunately for Phillips and the affected residents, those dreams of plentiful housing and equality were not immediately realized. The project displaced over a hundred families and not enough housing was built to replace that was lost (Niemuth 12).

The Black newspapers in Milwaukee also saw the potential benefit of the urban renewal program. However, unlike the predominately white newspapers that employed the master narrative, African American newspapers focused on the people who would be directly affected by the policies. An editorial in the *Milwaukee Defender* drew a direct connection between blight and the human beings living in the dilapidated buildings. The writer focused on the effects poor

---

[6] Phillips will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4, would later champion a local open housing law that would mean freedom for African Americans to choose where they wanted to live.

housing had on residents, especially juveniles, in the city. Renewed housing can also mean better living conditions for residents. As stated in the editorial, the "Urban renewal program will also result in the human rehabilitation" for the affected citizens ("Editorial" 1957). These were lofty goals of course, but the way in which the master narrative operated, it was easier to conclude that the program would be beneficial to the residents.

In Pittsburgh, the effect of the repetition of wishes and fears found its way into the discourse of residents of the Hill District. A 1954 essay contest entitled, "What Pittsburgh redevelopment program means to an eleventh-grade student" was held by Duquesne University, a private college located near the Hill District and potential benefactor of one of the urban renewal project. One of the winners was an African-American student from the Hill District who ended his essay with the following:

> Beautiful residential streets and modern houses will soon be available for just about everyone. The specially designed arena to be built in the Lower Hill district will provide great enjoyment for many years to come…I shall tell one and all, whom I may meet, how our city has shown the rest of the world that it is not only the industrial giant of old but that it is also the most modern city in America (Courier 1954).

But of course this was not true. Not only was the housing built insufficient, many African Americans did not have the same opportunities to buy new housing in other mostly white neighborhoods as explained in chapter one. City officials did little to prevent African Americans exclusion from these neighborhoods. For example, residents in the North Side of Pittsburgh resisted the idea of public housing being built in their neighborhood. In a response to this resistance, an African American newspaper editorial stated, "We shall extremely regret the transformation of this housing issue into a political issue base on race...we do not believe the best

white citizens in our community want to see Negroes, or any other group, permanently restricted to a slum ghetto" (Challenge 1950).

But those white residents and some officials in power did not see the African American residents as part of their mythic image of the "City of the Future ." For city officials, urban renewal was a way to attract white suburbanites to return to the city to attend sporting events at the arena or live in the new downtown apartment building. Their mythic images were operating on the then present "racial divide." In terms of race, the future should still look like today. City officials envisioned a city with increased financial opportunities and more white residents in downtown Pittsburgh. A city center where those people living in the suburbs who would either return to the city to live or at least come to the city and be entertained at a basketball or hockey game.

However, African Americans envisioned improved housing and more economic opportunity in urban renewal projects. They saw themselves living and enjoying pristine buildings on flawless landscaped grounds. Instead, many African American found themselves forced into crowded neighborhoods in other parts of town as well as being restricted from living in white areas of the city.

The issues of race were not absent in the federal government's assessment of future urban renewal programs. In a 1956 document titled Urban Renewal in the Interest of All the People: A racial Relations service Document," B. T. Andrew of the Office of the Administrator Housing And Home Agency noted the expected consequences of the urban renewal policies. He writes:

> In the very nature and purpose of its operation, whether Federally aided or not, urban
>
> renewal will inevitably and intimately involve disproportionately high percentages of
>
> Negroes and other racial minorities because of the highly-concentrated incidence of their

residency in the very areas to be cleared or rehabilitated. Thus inherent in urban renewal

are at once vast potentials for improving, as well as great dangers for worsening, the

housing opportunities of minorities…A more negative approach to urban renewal runs

the danger of eventuation in some dire consequences to minorities such as direct

hardships upon the displace families, about two-thirds minorities, increasing their

overcrowding in other areas, and furtherance of their segregation and exploitation

through differential treatment, to the general detriment of the community as a whole."

But the problem in this document and within the laws themselves, is that the final determination

of which projects would be implemented was made by the local agencies. These government

bodies did not operate in a colorblind manner and had specific agendas that were also part of

their planning process.

However, the document prescribed ways in which minorities could protect themselves

including participating in public hearings which is required for all urban renewal projects, and

participation in any "voluntary rehabilitation program." These strategies were used by African

American residents, some of which will be analyzed in Chapters 3 and Chapters 4.

The impact of urban renewal on African American communities was not lost on the

legislators and private housing industry. In a Hearing before the Committee on Banking and

Currency, the President's Advisory Committee on Housing was unhappy with the proposed

changes to the previous housing act. They felt that the bill did not provide enough housing for

displaced residents, and it relied too heavily on public housing. James Thimmes, the chairman of

the committee, believed that more affordable home purchasing options should be made available

to those displaced residents. Thimmes appealed to the congressional committee to recognize the

problems for minorities to obtain suitable housing. In a statement to the congressional

committee, he wrote "To solve the minority housing problem, special attention must be given to making sites available for new construction of units available to minorities ; the tendency to squeeze minorities into overcrowded, restricted areas must be success fully resisted; and the relocation of minority families in slum areas which are demolished must be provided in such manner as to provide better housing and more democratic neighborhood patterns" (Housing Act of 1954. Hearing before the Committee on Banking and Currency, United States. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1954). Unfortunately, the legislation did not do enough to prevent Thimmes' predictions. Affected residents organized to get their voices heard as well.

Conclusion

The language used in the 1949 and 1954 Housing laws and subsequently used by city officials and newspaper editors was significant in the arguments for urban renewal policies, which disproportionately targeted African American neighborhoods. The arguments for urban renewal illustrate how a master narrative is constructed and repeated in order to implement a plan that fails to solve the problems of the affected residents. Here I agree with Murray Edelman's belief that "problems come into discourse and therefore into existence as reinforcements of ideologies they signify who are virtuous and useful and who are dangerous or inadequate, which actions will be rewarded and which penalized" (13). The ideology reinforced in the master narrative of urban renewal is a prosperous city or community.

The metaphor "blight" was consistently placed in opposition to the city: "old" versus "modern," diseased versus prosperous, sick versus a healthy city. The construction and repetition of this narrative allow it to function as a master narrative which overlooked race, space and class within its notion of community is complicated when considering race space and class.

Despite the verbal emphasis given to rehabilitation, "since 1954, less than two-tenths of one percent of the gross project cost of urban renewal at the end of 1962 was for rehabilitation" (Andersen 2). For all practical purposes, "The federal urban renewal program was a clearance program" (Andersen 2). As a result, the master narrative of urban renewal informed several of the rhetorical strategies of resistance used by African American citizens who faced in the implementation of the new urban planning policies across America during the 1950s and 1960s.

In chapter three, I explore the rhetorical concept of counter narrative and how African Americans in Pittsburgh responded to urban renewal projects. I look at the rhetorical approaches of using place in Pittsburgh as acts of citizenship and resistance. African American residents used various strategies of rhetorics of place as ways of resisting urban renewal and to unify the community. These various uses of place served as a rhetorical strategy by African American residents in a struggle for power with city governments. We see how community identity, informed by place, played a role in the ways in which African American residents established political and rhetorical agency against urban renewal projects. It is my goal that this research and analysis of urban renewal discourse will contribute to African American rhetorical history by demonstrating the connection between rhetoric of place and African American rhetoric.

DOUB: I was just talking to Clifford next door. He say the man is gonna board his place up next month.
BECKER: Yeah, I know. The man from the city was by here two weeks ago, too. They're gonna tear it all down, this whole block.
DOUB: The man was by here and you ain't told nobody! What he say?
BECKER: They're gonna board the place up first of next month.
DOUB: Why in the hell didn't you tell somebody!
BECKER: I'm telling you now.

August Wilson, *Jitney,* Act 1 Scene 2

Chapter Three: 'The places we knew so well are no more': African American rhetoric

of place and citizenship In Pittsburgh

The bulldozers arrived early the morning of May 31, 1956 to 1206 Epiphany Street in the

Lower Hill neighborhood of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Nearby residents watched the demolition

of the building with the understanding that their homes, businesses, and churches would be next.

However, some took comfort in the fact that they had been promised new clean public housing in

other parts of the city. Others believed that there would be new public housing built on the very

acres that were being razed by the bulldozers and wrecking balls (See FIG 1.).

Yet the city government failed to follow through on the promised public housing and

many African American residents soon felt betrayed by those who had urged them to support the

urban revitalization plan. So when the city began looking at the Upper Hill neighborhood for

future development, that painful lesson emboldened the remaining residents to organize a

resistance to future urban renewal plans.

Fig. 1. From Carnegie Museum of Art: Demolition of Bethel AME Church by the Cuyahoga

Wrecking Company, Wylie Avenue and Elm Street, Hill District, 1957. Photographer: Charles

"Teenie" Harris

This chapter explores one historical moment in Pittsburgh during the fight over urban

renewal and how the use of place and arguments over place functioned during the Civil Rights

era. Many of our Civil Rights rhetorical histories focus on African American Civic engagement

in the South (Schneider; Wilson). Since legal segregation was widespread in the United States in

the 1950s and 1960s, African Americans were not able to take full advantage of citizenship

practices including voting in the southern states. In some extreme cases, African Americans were

legally forbidden from entering places of public deliberation. Such was the case for Fannie Lou

Hamer and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party who tried to be seated at the 1968

Democratic Convention (Brooks). But segregation was prevalent in the Northern states as well,

and as a result, African Americans' had limited political representation in many Northern cities.

Comparing the North and South in her study of race displacement in Detroit and Harlem, Mary

Triece writes that "urban spaces have been places of struggle, wherein a Woolworth's lunch

counter, a bus seat, a factory floor or more recently a square or park has become the physical site

and trope of resistance" (x). The African Americans fight against urban renewal in Pittsburgh is

useful to extend this critique, as this struggle was closely tied to the Civil Rights movement, and to a lesser extent the Black Power movement.

During the height of urban renewal programs, spaces became racialized through federal policy, social customs, local laws, and violence. Historian Robert Self in his study of post-World War II Oakland, California, stated, "We cannot separate historical actors from their spatial relationships…Class and race are lived through the fabric of urban life and space" (142). The threat of urban renewal for African American neighborhoods began with the Housing Act of 1954, which was signed into law weeks after the U.S. Supreme Court passed down its verdict on Brown vs. Board of Education (Self 142). Although both laws had significant consequences for African Americans, it was the Housing Act of 1954 that drastically changed the urban landscape of numerous American cities by empowering city governments to increase their usage of eminent domain to seize property for redevelopment. Martin Luther King expressed concern at the impact of these actions. During a visit to Chicago in 1966, King noted how "numerous forces both private and public" were profiting by discriminatory housing policies. He stated, "I am convinced that if we are to have a truly integrated society we must deal with the housing problem" (King). Arnold Hirsch argues in his text *Making of the Second Ghetto* that white racism and federal housing policies such as urban renewal created "ghettos" in urban centers. African Americans who attempted to live in other parts of the cities were often met by violent reactions by white immigrant populations (59). In *Selma of the North,* Jones tells of how an NAACP-led march over school segregation into the predominately white southern neighborhoods of Milwaukee in 1967 ended in violence and eventual destruction of the NAACP youth headquarters (187). Because the majority white population isolated African Americans in certain parts of the city, African Americans created and patronized many of their own institutions

and businesses. These institutions provided them organizing and political power. It also forced African Americans of varying socio-economic status to live alongside each other.

African Americans in the Hill District neighborhood of Pittsburgh represented many African Americans living in the urban north and Midwest in the 1950s and 1960s where urban renewal destroyed the economic center of African American neighborhoods. The Housing Act of 1954 provided the Pittsburgh city government with federal dollars to demolish neighborhoods labeled "blighted" and to rebuild on those sites for private development. Specifically, I argue that the African American residents of Pittsburgh operated as rhetorical citizens in a struggle for power with the municipalities over the future of their neighborhood, a struggle situated in the larger black freedom movement of the 1950s and 60s. I show how this struggle involved using place as a rhetorical strategy to increase the power of African American voices in the community. To make this argument of rhetorical citizenship, I draw from Keen's features of counternarratives, Endres and Senda-Cook's theory of "place in protest," and Maulana Karenga's theory of African Americana rhetoric. Using this blended approach, I contend that African American residents in Pittsburgh employed rhetorics of place in three ways to resist the city's usage of eminent domain: (1) counternarratives to resist the city's master narrative of blight, (2) visual rhetoric of place by producing a map which depicted their vision of a renewed and revitalized neighborhood that ran counter to the city's plans while simultaneously drawing from the ethos of nearby academic institutions by developing partnerships, and (3) the rhetorical construction of "Freedom Corner" as a place for community unity and beliefs.

My chapter proceeds in several steps. First, I explain how rhetorical strategies of place operate as citizenship. Second, I provide background on the history of urban renewal policies in Pittsburgh. Third, I examine the visual counternarratives of place, both visual and textual.

Fourth, I show the emergence of "Freedom Corner" as a symbolic and material site of urban renewal resistance. I conclude the chapter with implications of rhetorics of place for understanding future African American movements.

Theorizing rhetorics of place as Rhetorical Citizenship

The African American struggle against urban renewal policies provides an interesting site to extend discussions of citizenship and rhetorics of place. In his discourse theory of citizenship, Asen urges that we view citizenship engagement as "a mode of public engagement" (191). Viewing citizenship in this manner allows for citizenship to be seen not as a specific act but rather as a "process that may encompass a number of different activities." Asen asserts, "Actions that begin on a small scale may spread across social, cultural, and political sites. Issues that appear initially as unimportant may increase in magnitude. But rhetoricians should not only examine the "different activities" as suggested by Asen and how they are used by social movements in the effort to make change, but also the spatial relationship in where they take place.

Public places, according to David Fleming in *City of Rhetoric*, are where citizenship happens. He examined the limitations of public discourses in the segregated South Side of Chicago. Fleming argues that segregation of poor African Americans into public housing in 1995 Chicago isolated them from participating fully in public deliberation. Drawing on the example of ancient Greece, Fleming writes, "the city so seen was not simply (as we would have it) a place, it was also a people, bound together by shared ancestors, values, customs, institutions, and language" (Fleming 196). But these common spaces were few and far between in the segregated northern cites. Informal places for deliberation on city matters that affected African

Americans may not have been accessible to members of the African American community. But

this separation did not mean public deliberation failed to occur among African Americans in the

community. For many African Americans, deliberations took place in several areas of the

community. Vorris Nunley's examination of "Hush Harbors" highlighted the safe spaces such as

churches and barber shops in the African American community that allowed a forum in which

members of the community could discuss their ideas and proposed actions without the "white

gaze." These spaces were often owned and operated by African Americans and were places

where different strategies for civic engagements could be deliberated among African Americans.

Quoting Bettinger, Nunley asserts, "Race is based on exclusion. Space therefore is an ideal

means of creating and asserting racial identities." Citizenship as a mode is also potentially

unruly because it exceeds the control of authorities, institutions, or influential groups" (195).

These ideas hold true for marginalized groups with limited political and social power.

    With this concepts of space and citizenship as in mind, my examination of African

American resistance of urban renewal policies in Pittsburgh during the 1950s and 1960s reveals

the production of counternarratives of place and the rhetorical construction of place. These

strategies are not rigid in their categorization and may at times overlap during their execution.

But each strategy served as citizenship engagement and allowed for residents "to consider new

issues and see existing issues in new ways" (Asen 199). The broadness and appeal of using

rhetorics of place as a rhetorical strategy allows for alliances across economic groups and

generations.

Counternarratives of Place

    Counternarratives offer different and distinct perspectives and may encourage different

ways of participating by the audience. Thinking of counternarratives in this manner allows for

those who are not overtly political to still serve a political purpose. For instance, narratives of

non-political events can still be viewed as political counternarratives because they bring to

attention events or issues that could unify or empower the audience. Perelman & Olbrechts-

Tyteca developed a concept of presence that is applicable to this idea. "Presence" is when a

narrator or rhetor selects certain events, facts, or information to present to the audience" (116).

Just by the narrator bringing these "elements" to the forefront, "their importance and pertinence

to the discussion is implied." In Karon's analysis of presence, two of the effects of presence are

that it focuses the audience's attention "while altering its perceptions and perspectives," and it

"disposes the audience toward an action or judgment" (97). Counternarratives shift the focus of

attention to overlooked events, views and ideas that are portrayed differently than those

presented in master narratives.

A positive result for a counternarrative is that it can enable those hurt or oppressed by the

master narrative to once again view themselves in a positive manner. Lindemann-Nelson's study

on nurses suggests that a "counterstory" may undo the effects of a master narrative, which can

"infiltrate a person's consciousness." A counterstory can change self-understanding, resist the

oppressor's viewpoint and replace the oppressor's viewpoint with respect (6). However,

counternarratives need a venue or space where they can be read or heard.

A counternarrative must have the ability to persuade or resonate with its readers. Keen

describes two features of narratives in which readers can feel empathy for the characters and/or

the narrator of the narrative. The first is "character identification" where the reader feels an

"empathetic concern" for the characters. Keen suggests that the more of what we know or see of

a character may invoke familiarity empathy by the reader (216). In narratives that may serve a

political purpose, the effectiveness may be measured in the extent to which the reader identifies

with the narrator or characters in the narrative. The second narrative feature described by Keen that creates empathy is called "narrative situation." This feature is defined as the narrator telling the story from the viewpoint of one character or as connected to the consciousness of one character. The reader may feel empathy for this character because the narrator remains with the consciousness of one character throughout the story. In personal narratives, the story is usually told in first person and the reader experiences the accounts through the narrative.

Rhetorical Construction of Place

Civic identities can be formed in how places are used. In their theory of "place in protest," Endres and Cook show how places can act rhetorically and be very effective in argument. Endres and Senda-Cook assert that, "repeated reconstructions over time can result in new place meanings" (258). For these authors, place has the ability to affect public discourse just as powerfully as speeches, signs, and marches (Endres and Senda-Cook 257). Freedom Corner's geographical location personified resistance by Hill District residents against the city of Pittsburgh in the 1960s. Subsequent protest demonstrations in the 70s and 80s would have this "rhetorical performance" of resistance as part of the message (Endres and Senda-Cook 258).

African American residents in Pittsburgh rearticulated the meaning of the corner of Crawford and Center through protest, billboards, and meetings making it a focal point of both symbolic and material sites of civic resistance, civic engagement, and community unification. This rearticulation of the street intersection as a place for civic engagement created what has since become known as Freedom Corner. Maulana Karenga notes that African American rhetoric is a rhetoric of communal deliberation, discourse, and action, oriented toward that which is good in the world (Karenga 3 in AAR)." In addition, he describes how African rhetoric is both a

rhetoric of community and a rhetoric of resistance. But community also suggests place, and thus

rhetoric of place should also be examined when examining African American rhetorics. Both the

Lower Hill and Freedom Corner became integral to the arguments against urban renewal.

African Americans used rhetoric of place as a rhetorical strategy to get their voices heard

to obtain what famed historian Rayford Logan called "first class citizenship," which is the "equal

protection of the laws," "abolition of public segregation," and the "equal recognition of the

dignity of the human being" (14).

Master Narrative of the Hill District

The master narrative of urban renewal, as explained in Chapter 2, led directly to the

destruction of the Lower Hill neighborhood in 1956 (Fullilove 171). After the end of World War

II, Pittsburgh leaders were concerned to remake the city's image from that of a smoky-smog

filled town into that of a more "modern city." A 1947 *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* article entitled

"City of the Future" signaled the beginning of the redevelopment and the city's so-called

"Renaissance." On the heels of a successful urban development project downtown, the mayor of

Pittsburgh and the Urban Redevelopment Authority wanted to create a "modern acropolis" which

included a new arena to house the Civic Light Opera; a new symphony hall; a museum; and new

"modern" apartment buildings -- all to be built in Pittsburgh's primarily African American Hill

District ("City of the future") (see FIG 2.).
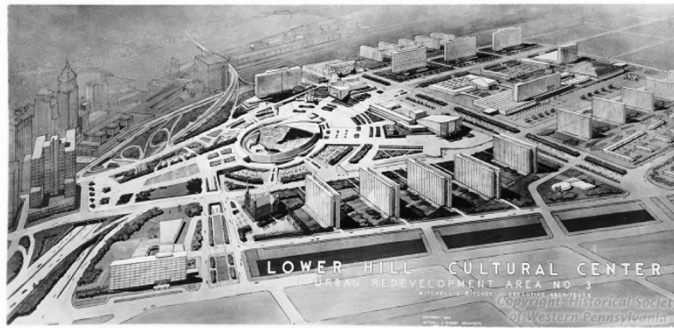
Fig. 2 From Allegheny Conference on Community Development Photographs: Proposed Lower Hill Cultural Center. Creator: Unknown

The area targeted first for urban renewal was the Lower Hill in an area known as the Hill District, home to the famous playwright August Wilson and jazz singer Lena Horne. The Hill District, situated between downtown and the University of Pittsburgh, was the heart of Pittsburgh's African American community, and the Lower Hill was its business center[7]. Although African Americans were the majority of residents living there by the mid-twentieth century, the Hill District was still home to many Jewish, Italian and Syrian residents and businesses as well, making it the most racially/ethnically integrated neighborhood in Pittsburgh (Trotter and Day). During its prime, African Americans often referred to the Hill as "Little Harlem," and it was thought of as the "crossroads of the world where there was 'never a dull moment'' and where 'people never went to bed' (Trotter and Day). However, Pittsburgh's all-white city officials did not share the same view of the Lower Hill. In their minds, the Lower Hill could not be reconciled as an ideal community and it had to be removed with the help of the Housing Act of 1954. That law provided the city of Pittsburgh with federal funds that covered over 70% of the

---

[7] Some businesses located in the hill include Crawford Grille No, 1, Proctor's Hair Shop, Stanley's Tavern, and Washington Playground where the Homestead Grays of the Negro Leagues played.

total costs of demolition and redevelopment ("Allegheny Conference Records, 1920-1993," n.d.)

These funds included the $14 million expected costs of the "world's largest dome" auditorium.

At the time, this project was one of the most dramatic in Pittsburgh's history.

Ending "blight" and providing low-income housing were the stated purposes of the law,

but the City of Pittsburgh officials used the language of the law and the narrative of

modernization to demolish the Lower Hill so new cultural sites can be built. It was a narrative

that was repeated numerous times in the local media in the years prior to the Lower Hill

redevelopment. One of the first instances of the narrative was in a 1947 *Post-Gazette* article:

"Like something conceived by Norman Bel Geddes for a World of Tomorrow is the plan for

reconstruction of the Lower Hill District… Instead of being a handicap, the sloping terrain on

which the project was built has been made an asset" (Love).

The master narrative of urban planning in Pittsburgh during the 1950s and 1960s was that

city leaders must get rid of the "blighted" Lower Hill so that the city can "blossom" and become

more modern ("Cultural Center," 1953).

The idea of a "modern" city was prevalent in the plans for the Lower Hill. In a 1950

brochure promoting the project, Allegheny Conference On Community Development wrote:

> At the present time, this area (Lower Hill district) is a welter of substandard housing,
>
> obsolete commercial structures and narrow cobblestone streets and alleys. It is a blight
>
> upon our community and nothing will do more to change the appearance and character of
>
> Pittsburgh than to replace this old, worn-out section with a park-like development,
>
> crowned with a great civic auditorium--and ultimately flanked with other modern
>
> structures (Allegheny Conference records).

This excerpt provides a more specific description of how housing, structures, and roadways of the Lower Hill were represented as blight, which needed to be replaced. Adjectives such as "substandard," "obsolete," and "narrow," characterize the Lower Hill in an extremely negative manner. These negative terms support the notion that demolishing the entire Lower Hill would allow the city to take one step closer to being "modern." In a 1955 speech announcing the start of the plan, the then mayor of Pittsburgh David Lawrence stated that the multiple local, state, and federal agencies will "join hands soon to change the 103.6 acres of blight into an urban wonderland" ("City Council," 1955).

The power of this narrative and the prospect of new housing may have persuaded the residents of the Lower Hill because many of them did not resist the plan when it was first implemented. Interestingly, this message was repeated in the African American newspaper as well:

> Broken-down housing, over crowded living conditions, lack of sanitary facilities and obsolete street patters and the general deterioration of the district were some of the factors reviewed by the Commission in determining officially what has long been known that the Lower Hill is blighted. ("Redevelopment" 1950)

As argued in Chapter 2, this constant reinforcement of rebirth and renewal by politicians, newspapers, and individuals, established a narrative that demolishing one hundred acres of the Lower Hill was required for the city's rebirth. Mainstream newspaper editorials also argued for a need to build the civic assets that a city needs: museum, music hall, etc. For example, a mainstream Pittsburgh newspaper writer argued that, "One hundred blighted, slum-ridden acres" of Lower Hill must be cleared and replaced with beautiful buildings for "civic and residential

uses" ("Fine," 1953). But the African American newspaper emphasized the need for better

housing for the public residents.

The *Pittsburgh Courier*, the nation's most prominent African American newspaper during

this time, featured a series of articles that reinforced the idea that redevelopment of the Hill was

necessary but also questioned what the impact of redevelopment would be for the low-income

residents of the area. African Americans in Pittsburgh associated modernity with better housing.

One writer for the *Pittsburgh Courier* described the following as a potential outcome for the

redevelopment plan:

> Many people who now reside in dingy, crowded back streets of the lower Hill
>
> will be eligible for public housing… For those who are found eligible, the
>
> entrance into a public housing community will be the first time in their lives that
>
> they have enjoyed a new home, one with adequate space and facilities. The
>
> street won't be their children's only playground. Wintry blasts will no longer
>
> make the inside of the house as cheerless as the outside (Jones 1950).

For African Americans in Pittsburgh, it was the housing part of the redevelopment plan

that held the most importance for the city's renewal. In other words, to them, the ideas of

modernity and Renaissance meant better housing for Lower Hill residents.

City officials and mainstream newspapers repeating this claim that the Lower Hill was

the central point of conflict in the urban renewal narrative resulted in a belief among many

Pittsburghers that the Lower Hill had no redeeming qualities. The usage of the blight metaphor

helped politicians to create a policy for urban renewal by placing "blight" in opposition to the

city's potential prosperity. Absent in this master narrative of the Lower Hill were the people who

lived and prospered in the area as business owners.

The power of the master narrative was made clear in the July 6, 1953 public hearing before city council regarding the Lower Hill proposal. According to city records, there was "little opposition" to the civic auditorium plan. On July 12, 1953, the City Council approved the plan. Three years later, the city purchased their first Lower Hill property and the demolition began.

In November 1956, the city government invoked the policy of eminent domain, razing 100 acres of land and displacing nearly 9000 people, some of who were forced into public housing in three separate parts of the city (Lubove). Others moved into the Upper Hill, which then became overcrowded. However, the city had ideas for this part of the city as well. By the early 1960s, the African American Hill District residents articulated a challenge to this view of a "blighted" Hill District.

Visual Counternarratives and Map of The Hill

After the destruction of the Lower Hill, rumors began among the residents about urban redevelopment in the Upper Hill. In October 1957, the Hill District Home Owners and Tenants Association gave public officials a tour of the Middle Hill in hopes of avoiding the mass demolition that the Lower Hill suffered (Glasco). The goal of the tour was to refute the claim that their neighborhood was blighted. However, this attempt did not persuade the city officials to stop their planning, and a few months after the tour, the city of Pittsburgh acquired fifty million dollars in federal funds to clear the Middle and Upper Hill. This failure to convince city officials not to tear down the rest of the Hill, home to the famous playwright August Wilson and jazz singer Lena Horne, resulted in the formation of the Citizens Committee for Hill District Renewal (CCHDR) led by realtor Robert Lavelle, businesswoman Frankie Pace and civil-rights activist

Jim McCoy (Glasco). This new organization along with United Negro Protest Committee

(UNPC), Urban League, and NAACP began a decade-long fight to push the city to rehabilitate

individual homes in the Hill District rather than pursue massive redevelopment.

The CCHDR developed a new rhetorical strategy to save their neighborhood with the

help of a young white Carnegie Tech architecture faculty member named Troy West who opened

an office in the early 1960s in the Hill District (HAC Lab Pittsburgh). West had already been

taken under the wing of a group of African American artists, including the painter Ewari Ed Ellis

and budding poet and playwright August Wilson. Their interactions helped West to understand

the importance and the value of the Hill District to African Americans. With the technical

expertise of West, the CCHDR developed a three-dimensional architecture model of the Hill

District with the purpose of arguing their ideas in opposition to the city's plans (See FIG 3.). The

model also argued that urban renewal should meet the community needs and make a better place

for the residents, and that desires of city government and real estate developers should not trump

the needs of the residents.

Lower Hill Development for the Citizens Committee for District Renewal, Model, Troy West, 1966

Fig. 3 From CMOA's HACLab Pittsburgh: Imagining the Modern exhibit: Model of the Lower
Hill developed by CCHDR and Troy West

The CCHDR presented the model and plan to the city in January 1965 at the Anna B.

Helman Community Center ("Citizens unveil Plan"). According to CCHDR chairman Lorenzo

A. Hall, the model highlighted the residents' attempt to bring more affordable housing to the

neighborhood instead of the city's desire for "expensive housing which so far has invaded the

Hill up to Crawford Street" ("Citizens unveil Plan"). Small businesses, schools and homes for

rent or sale were taken into consideration when designing the model. The model depicted rebuilt

homes and businesses that residents could either buy or rent. During the presentation to the city

officials, CCHDR explained the model and the residents' plan:

> In this part of the city, life takes place on the street. There is interest here. The sidewalks
>
> were widened to 30 feet on the sunny side of the street. Deciduous trees shade the
>
> passing parade in the summer. Shops face the new sidewalks an open on to it. Above the
>
> shops are house. Houses step up the steep hill on a series of gradations. Beneath theses
>
> platforms are the cars, utilities, rubbish removal, storage, etc. These activities underneath
>
> receive light and air from a terraced flower garden. Above are the play yards and
>
> gardens. The houses orientate to the sunlight and the summer breeze from the southwest.
>
> The houses that look upon the street have porches. The school nestles into the little
>
> community and completes the level change up the hill. The kindergarten and the first
>
> grade face into a sheltered court yard. The other elementary grades look out to the
>
> community. After school hours the building becomes an adult community center.
>
> (Citizens unveil Plan 1965)

This narrative of the imagined neighborhood supports the idea that maps and models are a way

of seeing, and a way of depicting a reality. It was a counternarrative to the city claims that the

demolition of the neighborhood and building of a new arts center was best for the city of

Pittsburgh. The model emphasized family and community. The CCHDR argument was that a more community-oriented development for the neighborhood would be better for the residents. An arts center would not best serve the community and would only exacerbate the limited housing situation in the neighborhoods where African Americans were permitted to live. The model served both as a material and symbolic argument against urban renewal, and was a visual depiction of civic ideals. The African American residents created a material object of citizenship and both the artifact and the images depicted served as an argument against the wishes of the city, and this argument was made explicit in the residents' presentation of it to city officials.

The city's urban renewal director, John Mauro, was present for the presentation was reported as sitting "without comment except to say that he and other city planners will discuss and look at the CCHDR's, plans and model later" ("Citizens unveil Plan"). Based on my research, the city did not respond to CCHDR's proposal and none of the changes appear to have been implemented after this presentation. The residents, along with West, would later create a large "room size map" to continue their argument for a better Hill district. The maps projected an image that residents wanted city officials to recognize and respect.

The production of the model and map is just as important to African American Rhetoric's notion of community as the visual images they displayed. Creating the maps provided another avenue to unify the community and to resist the policies of the city. The CCHDR claimed that "the modern-day idea is to unite people, not to separate with artificial boundaries." Since residents were instrumental in the model's design and the plans for their neighborhood, the designed building, streets, and schools allowed residents to take ownership of their community while developing a sense of belonging.

The residents exerted agency through the production of the model and map in an otherwise hopeless situation against the city and federal machine. Creating the map was an act of rhetorical agency where the residents could express their ideas to the city in a visual manner and increase their ability to have the city hear their desires for the Hill District. Enlisting the help of West increased the residents' ethos with the city because of West's status as a Carnegie Tech architecture faculty member at a respected institution. He provided legitimacy to the arguments of the residents to those who lived outside of the Hill district. Also, West and his graduate students were able to provide the technical knowledge to depict the desires of the residents who simply wanted to protect their homes.

By creating this map, the residents participated in and performed an act of citizenship. The residents produced a map of what they wanted to see for their neighborhood and for the city in general. Their model countered the city government's view that most of the Hill District neighborhood was neglected or blighted space which needed to be developed. But, in addition to the map, residents used other rhetorical strategies of place to save their neighborhood.

Urban Renewal Counternarratives

As discussed in Chapter 2, many African American residents embraced the master narrative with a belief that it would be good for them and their city. They were convinced the improvements promised were going to benefit them as well. Substandard housing owned and operated by slumlords were prevalent in many places. Urban renewal was going to bring better "bright shiny" low-income housing. The discriminatory housing policies at the time kept African Americans in one part of the city so that housing owners could take advantage of renters. Urban Renewal as it was sold was going to change that dynamic, but as the imminent destruction of

neighborhoods became apparent, counternarratives that resisted the dominant narrative of

blighted neighborhoods began to appear in the *Pittsburgh Courier.* The belief shared by

residents in the Courier and in the "hush harbors" of the neighborhood was that the Lower Hill

was not as bad as depicted by city officials, and no further changes to the Hill District will be

permitted. These counternarratives were widely circulated within the African American

community in "hush harbors."

For identification and analysis of the narratives of the residents in Pittsburgh, I use the

narrative analytical tools of Labov and Waletzky, Chatman, and Bal. Labov and Waletzky define

a narrative as "any sequence of clauses that contains at least one temporal juncture" (21).

Perhaps the most import of the clauses is the "narrative clause" which cannot be moved within

the narrative without changing the meaning of the narrative. I use these definitions to identify

urban renewal counternarratives by residents in the *Pittsburgh Courier* articles, and to determine

which parts of these narratives were most important to the narrators. Chatman provides a more

precise vocabulary to describe narrative functions that traditionally were labeled "point of view."

The way in which a story is told--and by whom--may affect how the reader perceives the

characters in the narrative. Chatman describes "filter" as the narrator retelling "a story neutrally

or from or through one or another character's consciousness" (196). This type of commentary

within a narrative text is a "slant" which can be made either "implicitly or explicitly" (197).

Chatman writes that a reader should view this commentary as an "observational post" within the

story world. Chatman's multiple terms for "point of view" allows me to examine the texts more

accurately to determine which parts may invoke empathy with the reader (204). Finally, Bal

offers several analytical tools that are useful for identifying the fabula of the narrative.

According to Bal, "a fabula is a series of logically and chronologically related events that are

caused or experienced by actors" (5). In other words, fabula tells the reader the logic of events and answers the question of "what happened?" By using citizen engagement as a theoretical framework, the importance of the Pittsburgh African American community narratives about the Lower Hill become more apparent because they can serve as acts of citizenship.

Conducting a narrative analysis of these narrative texts allowed us to see the oppositional relationship each have with the master narrative. These African American narratives countered directly the city government official's discourse of "blight" by providing another view of the Lower Hill. Narrative analysis may help us to understand the role of narratives in shaping community identity and empowerment, which are the constitutive elements of citizenship engagement.

Personal accounts of events in the Lower Hill may invoke empathy because the reader "sees" what the narrator wants the reader to "see." By feeling sympathy for the former residents of the Lower Hill, the reader may also conclude that the Lower Hill neighborhood should not have been completely demolished.

In 1962, the *Courier* published Mary Burwell's memories of her life lived in the Lower Hill as told to a writer for the newspaper. The article does not state what this elderly resident's importance was to the community beyond her ability to describe specific events that took place in the Lower Hill. In this article, she tells numerous short narratives about people who lived, worked, or performed in the Lower Hill. She mentions over 150 individuals by name in the article. In analyzing this article, it's important to keep in mind what Bal describes as the different voices that speak in the text (18). Since Mrs. Burwell told her story to a reporter, I will refer to the "speaker" in the article as narrator in my analysis (and in subsequent analysis).

The narrator begins by addressing the master narrative about the Lower Hill directly. The narrator states, "To one born and raised in the Lower Hill, the changes which have taken place, bring a touch of sadness, because the places we knew so well are no more. **Some people have the idea the "Lower Hill" was a slum area**, always. This is not so (Par. 1-2). With this introduction to her memories, the narrator has already created a framework signaling that the stories that follow will oppose the belief that the Lower Hill has never been a vital part of the city. In the following narrative, the narrator recalls one of the many families she knew in her neighborhood in the Lower Hill and their importance to the community. The temporal juncture is highlighted in bold:

> The Halls, Sellers, Howard and George, lived with their housekeeper, Mrs. Russell **after** their mother died. Their father, George Williams Hall was the first president of the Loendi Club, which he organized while living on Pasture St. He also published a newspaper, the Pittsburgh Independent. (Clark par 8)

The readers of the *Courier* during this time would recognize the Loendi Club as an upper-middle class social organization for African Americans. The fact that this family was African American and had a housekeeper would also suggest an above-average income.

The narrator continues to choose to make positive comments about the people she knew and grew up with in the Lower Hill. She writes, "I went to Franklin School on Logan St…**and** some of my schoolmates became noteworthy citizens" (par 10). Some of the occupations and accomplishments of her friends and neighbors of the Lower Hill include grocery store owner, "colored school director", undertaker, jewelry store owner, "star" basketball player, barbershop owners, and several others (Clark). Her sharing these narratives of the Lower Hill challenges the

notion that the neighborhood was not worth saving or being rehabilitated. It affirms, rather, that the Lower Hill was a vibrant community full of African American business owners.

While Burwell's narrative focused on the overwhelmingly positive features of the people in the Hill, other narratives provided insight regarding the nightlife and the colorful characters of the Lower Hill, which was also known as "Deep Wylie" by the residents. Most of the short narratives served the purpose of showing the importance of the persons mentioned.

> Deep Wylie had its list of colorful characters…some good…some bad…some handsome…some homely clean to the bone. And its various establishments were equally colorful and unforgettable. Let's trip down memory lane ("Wylie Avenue")

This article also includes a host of characters whose actions are told through various multiple narratives. These narratives demonstrate the strongest form of presence as defined by Perelman. The characters may not be as prominent as the ones in Mrs. Burwell's narrative, but the telling of their stories gives them power and provides a human component that is absent from a metaphor-laden master narrative.

> **Later**, W.H. (Pat) Patterson leased the entire first floor of the Star Theatre, **after** it closed in **1926**, for a general store in the front and a poolroom in the rear. He bought the three-story property a few years **afterwards and** continued in business until the Redevelopment Authority took over.

The structure of the narrative contributes to the goal of the text. The clause "and continued in business until the redevelopment took over" is both a narrative clause and the resolution to the narrative (Labov and Waletzky) As a "narrative clause," it cannot be placed where in the narrative and have the same meaning. The location of this "narrative clause" in the narrative text signals to the reader how detrimental the actions of the Redevelopment Authority

were to Patterson's business operations. His story ends with this action because after this line is a short narrative about another business owner.

This narrative also speaks to the fabula of the larger narrative. Although this specific narrative text is about the events in the life of Patterson, the fabula is that African Americans owned and operated businesses in the Lower Hill that were later destroyed by the urban renewal development.

The article ends with what could be described as a coda for the multiple narratives told in the article. Labov and Waletzky define coda as the "functional device for returning the verbal perspective to the present moment" (35). The narrator stated, "And now, in 1962, colorful Wylie Avenue is DEAD! [sic] Urban redevelopment could not be denied" ("WYLIE AVENUE," 1962). The coda provides the answer to the question of "what happened next?" The narrator uses personification to explain the fate of the Lower Hill and names "who" is responsible for its demise.

In response to the previous article, a reader sends a reply to the article listing his memories about visiting the Lower Hill as a child. On its surface, the collection of narrative fragments does not appear to present a significant political response to the master narrative about the Lower Hill as a "blighted" area. But taken together, the several narrative fragments listed here help to shape a new identity for the Lower Hill—one that contrasts sharply with the master narrative of "blight." These narratives about African American business owners and residents add to the discursive field for urban renewal that may be collected by leaders and added to those actions more politically motivated to make change. These stories are told through the "filter" of the narrator (Chatman 96). The narrative being told primarily through the narrator's consciousness may allow the reader to see the Lower Hill the same way that the narrator sees it.

The narrator of the article shares one of his earliest memories of childhood. "It was around 1925[…] I remember my mother taking me to the old Star Theatre where I saw my first silent movie" (Davis). This simple narrative would find a like-minded person in the readership of the *Courier* who also remembers his or her first movie, and thus empathize with the narrator. The narrator continues telling the positive events of life in the Lower Hill:

> I remember when Wylie Ave. and Fullerton St. looked like 125th Street here in New
> York, on a Saturday night. Gaitey and laughter everywhere, throngs and throngs of well-
> dressed people living it up as though there were no tomorrow.

The narrator did not dwell only on the positive aspects of the Lower Hill. Naming characters that did not do good things helps to humanize the neighborhood and to make the account realistic rather than merely nostalgic. By doing so, the narrator creates narrative verisimilitude.

> The lower part of the Hill District had drama of every description. When 'Grey Eyes,'
> the gambler was slain, people talked about his death for months. He was one of the most
> feared men who ever walked the Hill." (Davis)

Throughout the narrative, the events of the narrative are told from the narrator's vantage point. This narrative situation, as defined by Keen, may allow the reader to empathize with the author/narrator as he is telling these events and thus, in this case, to view the Lower Hill differently than it is presented in the master narrative of the Lower Hill. In addition, this story may assist in galvanizing its audience in opposition to the master narrative, as appears to have been the case when the urban renewal project in Pittsburgh was later turned towards the Upper and Middle parts of the Hill District.

As mentioned earlier, the articles printed in the *Courier* in the early 1960s began to take a different tone against urban renewal. A series of articles published in 1961 told the stories of

some of those who were displaced by the Lower Hill redevelopment project. In the introduction

of these narratives, the *Courier* makes extensive use of "judgmental commentary" of the events

that took place in the Lower Hill.

> When Pittsburgh (The Renaissance City) proudly displays its renovation of the Golden
>
> Triangle, highlighted by the $28 million Civic Arena, to many citizens and visitors […] it
>
> has 'swept under the rug' its dregs of human misery'—these displaced persons, a
>
> majority of whom are Negroes, who either have not been relocated or unable to find
>
> suitable housing on their own (Garland).

This commentary within a narrative text is described as a "slant" which can be made either

"implicitly or explicitly" (Chatman 197). This form of narration allows the narrator to take a

direct opposition to the master narrative of the Lower Hill. All of these narratives become a part

of the urban renewal discursive field which is "comprised of local history, folklore, private

conversations, and public rhetoric" (Wilson). In subsequent years, other citizens and leaders in

the African American community accessed this field to organize resistance to future urban

renewal plans.

The effects of recasting the Lower Hill as a place that should have been saved resulted in

the residents of the Hill becoming more aggressive in saving the rest of the neighborhood. To

save the rest of the Hill District, residents employed material rhetorical strategies to counter the

city government's claim that the entire Hill district was "blighted."

Rhetorical Construction of 'Freedom Corner'

One important rhetorical strategy for the residents of the Hill District was to use Freedom

Corner as a centerpiece for resistance rhetoric against the city of Pittsburgh's urban renewal

policies. In the early 1960s, James McCoy, former chair of the Pittsburgh NAACP's labor and

industry committee, first empowered the corner by giving it the name Freedom Corner (freedom

corner.org). This name was significant and functioned in terms of rhetorical effects. The

influential African American newspaper *Pittsburgh Courier* regularly used the term Freedom

Corner for the intersection of Crawford and Center in their coverage of the events and protests

held there, which cemented the symbolic nature of the corner within the community.

The geographic location of the corner of Crawford St. and Center Avenue was ideal for

symbolic representation of the remaining Hill district residents and as a site for community

gatherings. The clearing of homes, businesses, and churches in the Lower Hill ended just before

Crawford Street (see FIG 4.)

Fig.4. From Heinz History Center: View of the Civic Arena in the Lower Hill. Freedom

Corner is to the right of the church in center top of the photo. Photographer: Robert E. Dick

Also, Freedom Corner was next to downtown and thus became a convenient meeting place

where many of the city-wide demonstrations were launched (Proctor). From this location, a

person could have an unobstructed view of the new arena and downtown Pittsburgh.

Unsurprisingly, the Civic Arena served as a stark visual reminder of the false promises of urban renewal to the gatherings by CCHDR or the NAACP or UNPC at the corner of Crawford and Center. The location was suitable on a practical level as well. The Church of St. Benedict the Moor, an African American Catholic church, was located on the other side of the corner and provided hospitality and support during demonstrations (FIG 5). The church played a supportive role during Pittsburgh's Black Freedom movement including access to restrooms for protestors and usage of the sanctuary itself for rallies (Moody).

Fig. 5 From Carnegie Museum of Art: Black Monday demonstration, September 1969. Photographer: Teenie Harris.

Hill District residents used the location of Freedom Corner to establish a symbolic boundary between "Black Pittsburgh" and "White Pittsburgh." They saw that the housing being built in the lower Hill was not being built for low income residents who had been displaced by Urban Renewal. The space that was previously majority African American was now becoming a primarily white space. An official in a Hill District organization asserted that Freedom Corner "symbolized the demarcation of the black vs. white community" ("The Line"). Ralph Proctor, a long-time civil rights activist, stated that the location was a "demarcation zone between the ill-fated urban renewal and what was left of the Hill" (Proctor). Another activist and former city councilman, Sala Udin stated, "residents drew a line in the sand at Crawford Street" (Courier).

Another activist declared that Crawford Street was the "end of the line" for urban renewal in the

Hill (Dietrich-Ward 178). Often this language of boundaries indicates potential conflict between

nations. This assessment constructs the corner not only as a boundary to keep Pittsburgh

officials from overtaking the rest of the Hill District but also as a place for residents to

congregate and organize to protect the boundary. Within this language of place, Hill District

residents described Freedom Corner in the same manner as language that is generally used to

describe relations between sovereign nations. This language of "demarcation" for Freedom

Corner results in a unifying effect for African Americans in the city. The language of

"demarcation" creates an "us vs. them" mentality that social movements sometimes require when

trying to make policy change. This urban renewal resistance rhetoric created an environment for

residents to unify in determining the future of their neighborhood.

Hill District residents' rhetorical construction of Freedom Corner as a symbolic site of

resistance to urban renewal enabled the corner to also become an important material site for

protest. One protest in particular centered on the ironic fact that not only were African American

homes and businesses being destroyed in the Lower Hill, but African Americans were also being

excluded from the labor pool that was redeveloping areas such as the Lower Hill. The 1969

"Black Monday" march was organized by the Black Construction Coalition to protest the lack of

construction jobs for African Americans in Pittsburgh. The march lasted two hours from start to

finish and wound three miles from Freedom Corner through Downtown and back ("Black

Monday"). These incursions from "Black" Pittsburgh into the "White" downtown drew attention

from government and business officials.

Freedom Corner as resistance rhetoric

In 1969, members of the Citizens Committee for Hill District Renewal (CCHDR), United

Negro Protest Committee (UNPC), Model Cities, and the Pittsburgh chapters of the Urban

League and NAACP, erected a billboard at the intersection of Crawford and Centre Avenue in the

Hill District neighborhood of Pittsburgh. The Hill District, situated between downtown and the

University of Pittsburgh, was the heart of Pittsburgh's African American community, and the

Lower Hill was its business center. The billboard overlooked the newly constructed $22 million

Civic Arena and was located in a place where anyone attending an event at the new arena would

see the sign which read "Attention City Hall and U.RA.: No Redevelopment Beyond this

Point!/We Demand: Low Income Housing for the Lower Hill" (see FIG. 5).

Fig. 5. From Carnegie Museum of Art:1969 Hill District neighborhood billboard in

Pittsburgh. Photographer: Charles "Teenie" Harris

The message written on the billboard endeavored to accomplish three rhetorical goals.

First it sent a clear message of resistance to Pittsburgh City Hall. The billboard faced downtown

and was placed in a direction where anyone attending an event at the new arena would see it. In

conducting a discourse analysis of the billboard, we see strong indicators of emphasis. First, the

word "NO" is printed in larger and bolder type than any other words on the billboard. "NO" is

also underlined. An exclamation point ends the phrase and further emphasizes the citizens'

ultimatum. The second section has the phrase "We Demand" underlined. The verb "demand" is

a performative verb which are sometimes used "in situations in which it is important that a

person's intentions in saying what he or she says be absolutely unambiguous" (Johnstone 233).

The language used in the billboard is also consistent with the elements of a revolutionary rhetoric

as defined by Arthur Smith (now known as Molefi Asante) in his text, *Rhetoric of Black*

Revolution. Smith writes that revolutionary rhetoric is essentially aggressive rather than

defensive and becomes a unifying force (1).

Second, the billboard endeavored to show and maintain unity of the community to stop

redevelopment of the Hill District. Four organizations that represented many of the residents in

the Hill District, NAACP, CCHDR, Model Cites, and Poor People's Campaign paid for the

billboard. The sign also began to unite more residents of the Hill District to not only stop

redevelopment of the Hill but also to make other political demands. The language used on the

billboard is representative of how the corner served as a protest site for the residents of the Hill

District and reinforced the community's attitude toward urban renewal. A resident of the Hill

District recalled, "That billboard gave hope to those of us who had watched the demise of the

Lower Hill. We had businesses and homes and we wouldn't give them up" ("The Line Drawn").

Essentially, the billboard unified the community by resisting the goals of the city government.

The third rhetorical goal of the billboard was to signal types of action by the African

American community. Since the new housing built in the Lower Hill was not affordable for

those who were displaced by the construction, residents were determined that the Upper Hill

would not become a "white space" while simultaneously demanding that the Lower Hill become

an integrated space. Residents would remain engaged in the developments concerning their

neighborhood. The billboard complemented the previous protest marches that began at Freedom

Corner and ended downtown. The billboard cemented Freedom Corner as a physical place from which African American residents can still communicate their views, ideals, and demands. In other words, the corner of Crawford and Center Avenue was transformed from a "space" without significant meaning as defined by Tuan, to a "place" endowed with value for the residents of the Hill District (Tuan 6). Freedom Corner not only united residents of the Hill District to stop redevelopment of the Hill, but it also signaled action for other community issues.

The corner personified self-empowerment for residents of the Hill District who insisted on determining the future of their neighborhood. In a 1998 interview with the *Pittsburgh Courier*, former city councilman Sala Udin stated the message as such: "residents drew a line in the sand at Crawford Street. There was a billboard on Centre that sent a message to downtown planners that they would not go any further than here." In the end, the residents of Middle and Upper Hill saved their homes and businesses of mass demolition. This chapter serves as critical reflection on how rhetorics of place were one rhetorical strategy that resisted the urban renewal plans of city of Pittsburgh.

In Chapter Four, I take up the issue of citizenship and agency by examining how African American residents in Milwaukee responded to the growing threat of urban renewal. As I will show, there is more than just utilizing place as a rhetorical strategy to fight urban renewal. For instance, political organizing is required to have an effective message. The African American community is not a monolithic body where everyone has the same knowledge about the operations of city government. Differences arise especially among those immigrants from the segregated South who came to Northern cities for more economic and civic opportunities. Chapter Four attempts to answer the question of how did African American residents organize in pursuance of implementing strategies of resistance? By turning to rhetorical theory and

leadership studies, I examine how African American residents in Milwaukee increased their

power in the public discussion of urban renewal by using rhetorical education. The current

rhetorical framework for resistance is what I will call African American Rhetorical Citizenship or

the way in which African Americans push civic engagement as a way to achieve full citizenship

rights. But it is also a way to maintain community unity while pursuing those rights.

"Democracy is not a gift of power but a reservoir of knowledge. Only the soul that suffers knows its suffering...The people alone are the sources of that real knowledge which enables a State to be ruled for the best good of its inhabitants. And only by putting power in the hands of each inhabitant can we hope to approximate in the ultimate use of that power the greatest good to the greatest number."

W.E.B. Dubois 1915 From the Boston Globe Writings (qtd in C. K. Doreski)

Chapter Four 'The Citizen and Social Action': Leadership Seminars and the Distribution of Agency

As discussed briefly in Chapter 1, rhetorical agency is a highly-debated topic among rhetoric scholars. Gerard Hauser notes in Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Spheres that agency deals with voice, power, and rights. Agency is the ability to act and make a change in the world. But the conditions of agency —means and resources— and who gets to be heard are also important features of rhetorical agency. Marilyn Cooper views agency as being "based in individuals' lived knowledge" and that a difference can be made in the world "without knowing quite what you are doing" (155). Geisler defines rhetorical agency as the ability of rhetors to be able to act and be heard while adapting to shifting circumstances. But the conditions of agency —means and resources — and the question of who gets to be heard are also important features of rhetorical agency.

Yet some scholars disagree about the definitions of rhetorical agency, which is a key component of rhetorical citizenship. Geisler traces the difficult questions that some rhetoricians have about the concept of agency in her essay "How ought we to understand the concept of rhetorical agency?" She writes that some scholars are "explicitly or implicitly" concerned with "the post-modern critique of the autonomous agent" (8). Quoting Dilip Gaonkar, Geisler writes that this critique "faults traditional rhetoric for an 'ideology of agency' viewing 'the speaker as origin rather than articulation, strategy as intentional, discourse as constitutive of character and

community, ends that bind in common purpose'" (10). Lundberg and Gunn take issue with her belief of a "post-modern assault" against the idea of agency. They argue that Geisler creates a "straw person argument about 'postmodernism'" (Lundberg and Gunn 83). They believe that the theories of Derrida, Lacan, Foucault shift the focus of agency away from the "rhetorical agent" as being the initiator of effects. According to Lundberg and Gunn, rhetorical scholars should not focus on whether or not a rhetor creates agency or possesses, but rather on tracking the rhetorical effects of agency.

I suggest agency falls somewhere in between Geisler's position and Lundberg sand Gunn's position. A rhetor may not fully possess agency, but through their deliberate rhetorical actions, some modicum of agency can be achieved for themselves or the community both through initiation and conferral. Drawing from Alinsky's *Rules for Radicals,* I also believe that degree of agency is dependent on how committed the rhetor is to the issue. Alinsky would argue that an effective rhetor has to be passionate and fully committed to the issue(s).

In rhetorical situations where race is involved, the question of agency is not whether it resides within an individual or not but whether it is distributed. When a group of people are in a setting that systemically, legally, and culturally constrains the full exercise of agency, what are the opportunities for agency afforded to them within this framework? Since, African Americans, like other marginalized communities, were not always heard or respected by the city officials when it came to having input on city policies, establishing relationships with other organizations and individuals outside of the African American community provided opportunities for increased rhetorical agency. As discussed in Chapter 1Rhetorical agency is a central theoretical concept of "rhetorical citizenship" (Kock and Villadsen's). Using rhetorical citizenship as an analytical framework, I posit that the relationships between the African American community and nearby

higher education institutions were key to the distribution of agency of the African American in Milwaukee. Racialized urban spaces can limit the full exercise of agency because of the systemic legal and cultural constraints but they can also allow for several permeations to engage that system in somewhat tactical ways.

By examining urban renewal discourse in Milwaukee, I show how the leadership seminars created the conditions for distribution of agency within the Milwaukee African American community. The African American community built relationships with individuals at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Marquette University. These coalitions provided resources and speakers that assisted the residents to shape the discussions of their community. In addition, these partnerships provided a space where African Americans could learn about the urban renewal policies and thus develop strategies to resist them.

Urban Renewal in Milwaukee

The Black Freedom Movement in Milwaukee was engaged in civic battles on multiple fronts. The more widely known civil right issue in Milwaukee was the fight against de facto segregation in the public schools led by Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC) (Smith 93). Numerous protests were held in 1963 over the segregation of schools and school busses. But the challenge of integrating schools was exasperated by the lesser known problem of de facto segregation in Milwaukee's housing sector. Affordable housing in the city was difficult to find for many African Americans and more leaders were needed in the community to fight that battle (Gordon Letter). Although the African American population in Milwaukee was much smaller than those in other cities like Chicago and Pittsburgh, working class whites were threatened by the growing African American population immigrating from the

deep south. In Milwaukee, the number of African Americans grew from 8,821 in 1940, to

21,772 in 1950, to 62,458 in 1960 (Niemuth 37; Smith, K. 73). Local chapters of national

African American organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League offered programs to

help newcomers adjust to urban life and to make them aware of their citizenship rights. This

influx of new residents heightened the "racial anxieties" of the city and brought racial prejudice

by Milwaukeeans to the forefront of racial politics.

The anxieties of white Milwaukeeans were further increased with the election of

African American politician Velvalea "Vel" Phillips to the Milwaukee city council in 1956 and

by the growing national civil rights movement (Smith, K.). Although African Americans were

less than 8.4 percent of the city's population, Phillips provided African American residents one

representative voice in the city's political arena. In 1962, Phillips championed a bill to alleviate

the housing pressure within Milwaukee's African American neighborhoods. If passed, the bill

would prohibit "both formal and informal discrimination in the renting or selling of housing

within the city" (Smith, K. 91). However, due to the lack of African American voting power, the

measure was "defeated overwhelmingly year after year during the mid-1960s" (Smith, K. 92).

The housing crisis and school segregation were made worse by the increasing number of

urban renewal projects in Milwaukee. In 1963, the Hillside Neighborhood Redevelopment

Program "displaced 69 individuals, 116 families, and destroyed [...] 204 buildings" with several

other projects to follow (Niemuth 12). The heart of Milwaukee's African American business

community was the Bronzeville neighborhood, a significant part of which was destroyed by the

city government to build the I-94 / I-43 freeway. Despite their minority status in Milwaukee,

"African Americans accounted for more than half of the people that would be displaced by the

construction of Milwaukee's highway system in the 1960s" (Niemuth 12).

As many of these political events were taking place in Milwaukee, sometime in early 1964, Lucinda Gordon, the community director of the Milwaukee Urban League, contacted Leo Ryan, the Director of Continuing Education at Marquette University and Roger Axford of the University of Milwaukee's extension division requesting help in developing three leadership courses for "individuals working in our neighborhood organizations and in civic groups" (Gordon Letter). The leadership seminar was offered in five weekly sessions between September and October 1964 (Gordon Letter). The Milwaukee Leadership seminars took place on Wednesday evenings in October and continued for 6 weeks (Milwaukee Urban League, 1964, Press Release). The seminars were designed to foster active participation by African American residents in civic activities in the community.

These seminars provide a meaningful opportunity to examine the relationship between leadership and citizenship. In particular, the exigencies of the Black Freedom Movement, such as segregation and housing discrimination, change the way we should think about the conditions of leadership. For African Americans, these exigencies constructed leadership to operate as inter communal reciprocity. In other words, given the various rhetorical situations caused by racism, African Americans required a broader range of political responses based on the different skills and different talents of the people. This model does not replace the traditional model of leadership, but rather broadens it to accommodate the larger role that followers have within that model.

African Americans had to model a form of citizenship to achieve their goals. Residents in Pittsburgh, relied heavily on claiming, naming, and protecting place as strategies of rhetorical citizenship. In Milwaukee, we see African American residents reconfigure the traditional understanding of leadership to strengthen their citizenship rights in the face of the city's usage of

eminent domain. In this chapter, I argue that the leadership seminars served in part as a rhetorical strategy for the African American residents of Milwaukee to resist urban renewal and other housing policies by producing more active citizens.

The Urban League and the Northside Community Inventory Committee, an "organization of 60 religious, civic, education, social, professional and other organizations in the city's north side" (Niemuth14), created the seminars for the purpose of equipping citizens in the movement to become better leaders in the community and thus become better citizens. These organizations wanted to increase the numbers of active citizens by creating these leadership seminars with the help of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Marquette University. Using rhetorical analysis, an examination of the leadership seminars will help us understand three things about African American rhetorical citizenship: (1) the importance of rhetorical education to informed citizenship, (2) the necessity for a counterhegemonic space to provide conditions for rhetorical agency in civic engagement (3) leadership as a mode of African American Rhetorical Citizenship, which responds to the problems of urban renewal by distributing agency.

In facing urban renewal policies and the urban renewal master narrative as explained in Chapter 2, the Milwaukee African American community were faced with the question of what tasks must be accomplished for their community to survive. One rhetorical strategy was to create the leadership seminars. I argue that the goal of these seminars was to create rhetorical leaders in the community - not a leader in the traditional top down from on high orator but adaptive leaders, people with basic training in rhetorical skills who could work to represent their community in complex and politically charged situations. The development of these community leaders was a result of rhetorical agency being distributed through the leadership seminars.

Theorizing leadership and agency and their implication for citizenship

The rhetorical analysis conducted in this chapter is different than in Chapter Three because I am analyzing a specific program created to educate citizens about urban renewal and become leaders in their neighborhood. To establish the significance and functions of leadership within the African American community, I draw from leadership studies, rhetorical theory, and public sphere theory to show how rhetorical education creates leaders in the community who can then organize others and practice leadership. This process distributed agency throughout the Milwaukee African American community and served as a rhetorical strategy of resistance. I do this to show how leadership can operate as an analytical concept as well as a rhetorical strategy.

Rhetorical Education and the Public Sphere

Rhetorical education allows leadership to function as a rhetorical strategy. The classical aims of rhetorical education are highlighted in the Mt. Oread Manifesto where William Keith and Roxanne Mountford request that, "We seek a world in which Citizens recognize the limits and possibilities of a given mode of communication for their purpose and the needs of the audience and situation...and average citizens can ask productive questions of politicians, employers, business and community leaders, and each other, as fellow citizens" ("The Mt. Oread Manifesto on Rhetorical Education 2013" 3). But rhetorical education came in a variety of ways for African Americans. The Milwaukee leadership seminars operated in part as what Shirley Wilson Logan calls a "nontraditional site" of rhetorical education. A nontraditional site is a place such as the church, Black newspapers, and literary societies where African Americans "improved their communicative skills" (Logan 6). In her study, Logan examined the way in which African Americans utilized rhetorical education in the 19th century to gain more citizenship rights. She

notes that literary societies and church groups were ways for African Americans to increase their literacy skills. Logan defines a site of rhetorical education as "involving the act of communicating or receiving information through writing, speaking, reading or listening" (Logan 5). But given the specific purpose of Milwaukee's leadership seminars, I think Jessica Enoch's definition of rhetorical education may be more applicable. Enoch "equates rhetorical education with any educational program that develops in students a communal and civic identity and articulates for the rhetorical strategies, language practices, and bodily and social behaviors that make possible their participation in communal and civic affairs (Enoch 8-9). The course content for the seminars not only provided content information for urban policies and practices but also provided a guide for actions and behavior when speaking in public on civic issues.

Understanding the spaces where rhetorical education takes place is equally important for marginalized people. The Milwaukee leadership seminars provided a "counter hegemonic public" for African Americans to learn about the housing and community renewal policies. Higgins and Brush define counterhegemonic public as the sort of public that "people on the margins need to constitute themselves." Higgins and Brush's counterhegemonic public study focused on a community writing project that helped welfare recipients use "personal narratives to enter into the public record their tacit and frequently discounted knowledge" (694). The authors write that, "A 'counterhegemonic public' is a separate rhetorical (and often literal) "safe space" for building and expressing identities, analyses, solidarity, leadership skills, and other basic social movement capacities" (695). In other words, a counterhegemonic public offers a space where oppressed individuals can learn and express their perspectives with confidence and competence to a larger community. In the case of the Milwaukee leadership seminars, the safe spaces were located at University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (UWM) and Marquette University.

What made these locations safe spaces was the fact that they were organized by the Urban League and the seminars were advertised by the African American newspaper the Milwaukee Defender.

Leadership and organizing the community

Leadership can operate as an analytical concept. The traditional understanding of leadership comes from Aristotle's definitions of hegemonia as being leadership within military or governmental structures within the Greek political system where as the Greek city-state could exercise control over other Greek City states. But Isocrates, in his Antidosis, shifts the definition of hegemonia to assert "how a superior education in intellect and speech is what sets the Greeks apart from the Barbarians [and] that one must respect the people who have received this education, because the educated are in a position of leadership over the uneducated (Kofoed). It is this definition that gets a little closer to the reconfiguration of leadership within the fight against urban renewal.

Within the concept of rhetorical citizenship, leadership operates as an intercommunal reciprocity meaning that leaders are followers and followers are leaders. It operates on a similar principle as the African American rhetorical concept "call and response," which is a spiritual component to the rhetor's message that can only be validated by the audience's participation through utterances of 'teach,' 'that's right,' 'preach,' 'Amen,' and 'Go ahead on' to obtain a "spiritual and harmonious balance" (Alkebulan 37). The specific exigency of the African American community is that a model of leadership that is strongly oriented around one top down figure making things happen is not sustainable in all situations. In fact, the primary conditions of political motivations require that people see leadership as a reciprocal relationship, which means

bringing your gift, serving your talent or sometimes stepping aside for the sake of the whole. Leadership is reconfigured to mean organizing and organizing means "helping others to develop their own potential" (Payne 84). The leadership seminars in Milwaukee as well as the citizenship schools in the deep South were part of that process. Thus, more informed and situationally adaptable citizens are created for the democracy to oppose polices that are harming them disproportionately.

This sort of leadership is "transformative" and can be viewed as "the activity of a citizen from any walk of life mobilizing people to do something" (Heifetz 20). Heifetz makes a convincing argument that leadership should be viewed as an activity for anyone and not just for those with authority. He defines leadership as "the activity of a citizen from any walk of life mobilizing people to do something" (20). In addition, leadership can be employed by individuals regardless of their position in an organization. Leaders should encourage "leadership" by those not in leadership positions. In other words, leadership does not mean an authority figure making all the decisions, but leaderships can exist within each individual citizen. This idea that all citizens are empowered to take action enables the African American community to better resist the discriminatory policies while simultaneously creating a foundation of civic leadership in the community which strengthens the resistance against the changes to their neighborhood or to fight for better housing. The Urban League's leadership seminars followed three of Heifetz's leadership principles: (1) keeping the focus on the issue of Urban Renewal, (2) giving "work back to the people," and (3) protecting "voices of leadership without authority" (128).

Leadership and implications for African American Rhetoric

Because the majority white population isolated African Americans in certain parts of the city, African Americans created and patronized many of their own institutions and businesses. These institutions gave African Americans organizing and political power. It also forced African Americans of different socio-economic status to live alongside each other. Joe Trotter, in his famous book *Black Milwaukee*, highlights the socioeconomic differences of African Americans in the community. His study of the complex interactions of racial and class consciousness and behavior- to analyze urban history uncovered the agency and autonomy that urban Black people had over their lives - a perspective that is often overlooked by historians of African American urban history. It is a shift in focus from hostile race relations to a central concern with questions of economic and class relations. With this shift in focus, agency or the actions within the African American community become more prevalent. I believe that this shift in focus is relevant when analyzing leadership as a concept of citizenship.

Unfortunately, this type of leadership has not been fully explored by scholars of African American Rhetoric. A larger focus on African American rhetorical leadership during the Black Freedom Movement has focused on the rhetor and the traditional definition of leadership. For instance, Marable examined the "messianic" leadership style of Martin Luther King and Frederick Douglass. He argued that this style of leadership helped audiences to see these men as being a deliverer from the hardships which African Americans were facing during their times. Since the Black church played an important role in organizing resistance to laws and practices that harmed African Americans, this was the common source to examine leadership. Leaders of the church were often seen as leaders of the community. But to be a leader in the African American community, a person had to have excellent speaking abilities (Asante). In other words, a great leader equals great oratory. Asante argues that the power of the spoken word,

which he labels it as nommo, resonates with African Americans because of the oral traditions of Africans and because African Americans were denied the ability to learn how to read and write for a large part of their history. The spoken word was all that belonged to African Americans during slavery. Since these great orators were often found in the Black Church, an institution that African Americans had complete control over, the church became central in organizing the African American community. The stories of the bible told by a preacher became important metaphors for freedom narratives from American oppression. In his book, the *Origins of the Afro-American Jeremiad*, Harrell examines the close relationship of Black leadership, stories of the bible, and Black audiences. He traces the effectiveness of this persuasive rhetorical style with African American audiences. The power of this style was due in part to African Americans being overwhelming Christian. But this Judeo-Christian rhetoric shifted in the mid to late 1960s.

Black leadership existed outside the church as well. Arthur Smith (now known as Molefi Asante) examined the speeches of Malcom X and Stokely Carmichael. Smith theorized of a Black Revolutionary Rhetoric that led to a new ideology among some African Americans during the 1960s. This revolutionary rhetoric took a more aggressive stance than the traditional civil rights argument. For instance, the phrase Black Power, coined by Carmichael was confrontational and demanding, rather than conciliatory. This "revolutionary rhetoric" was reflected in the billboard placed in Freedom Corner by African American residents in Pittsburgh that stated no new demolition will take place "beyond this point" as explained in Chapter 3. Instances of these oratory styles and leadership were present in both Pittsburgh and Milwaukee during the argument over urban renewal projects.

Although this type of scholarship is important to the African American rhetorical tradition, examining the role of "followers" are just as important to understanding leadership. A definition

of leadership must include followers. Robert Kelley argues that "followers" are not only more important to an organization than leaders but also that they determine whether or not a leader will lead. He believes that too much scholarship is devoted to the "idolatry" of leadership to the point that it can be detrimental to an organization's well-being. Leaders are given too much credit. True "followership" is being a person who participates with "enthusiasm, intelligence, and self-reliance" (27). Kelley argues is that a follower must have a "courageous conscience" because there will be times when a leader will ask them to do unethical things. Essentially, the goal of Kelley's text is to debunk the myths that leaders are primary to an organization's success and that followers are "passive sheep." But to take his points one step further, followers and leaders can be one and the same depending on the rhetorical situation they are facing. Urban renewal is a rhetorical situation in which African American residents had to practice leadership — follower and leader — within their community with the hope of saving their community.

The Milwaukee leadership seminars and their reconfiguration of leadership as acts of citizenship is also closely tied to African American rhetoric and pervaded throughout the Black Freedom movement during the 1950s and 1960s. The model for leadership during the Black Freedom Movement had to be different because of the national and local scope of segregated spaces. It would have to have a diversity of strategies in relationship to power as ways of realizing its conceptual leadership. Accordingly, leadership is reconfigured to mean organizing and organizing means "helping others to develop their own potential" and the leadership seminars and citizenship schools were part of that process (Payne 84). Thus, more informed and situational adaptable citizens are created for the democracy to oppose policies that are discriminatory disproportionately. The root of this reconfiguration of leadership appears to lie in the women leaders of the civil rights movement including Ella Baker and Septima Clark. Their

belief is that leaders create other leaders. Charles Payne refers to this style of leadership as a

"philosophy of collective leadership." In explaining the beliefs of this philosophy, he quotes

Clark, "broadening the scope of democracy to include everyone and deepening the concept to

include every relationship" Clark is best known for her creation and operation of the Citizenship

schools in South Carolina. Of these citizenship schools, Clark stated that "the basic purpose of

the Citizenship Schools is discovering local community leaders." Ella Baker in her work with

the Southern Christian Leadership Council endorsed the same philosophy.

Through leadership training, more informed and situational adaptable citizens are created

to oppose discriminatory polices — actions that are needed for a functional democracy. Stephen

Schneider's' writings on Septima Clark's Citizenship Schools in South Carolina and Stokely

Carmichael's Freedom schools in Mississippi emphasized the importance of leadership among

citizens. Schneider writes that Carmichael's Freedom School provided a "revolutionary

pedagogy...that encourages community action and political leadership" (54). According to

Septima Clark, the creator of the civil rights era Sea Island schools, "The basic purpose of the

citizenship schools is discovering local community leaders…the ability to adapt at once to

specific situations and stay in the local picture only long enough to help in the development of

local leaders.... It is my belief that creative leadership is present in any community that and only

awaits discovery and development" (Qtd in Payne 75). In other words, within the African

American community during this time frame, leadership is citizenship, and citizenship is

leadership.

Although not the same size or scope as the Sea Island Schools, Milwaukee's leadership

seminars operated under the same premise. Gordon and the Urban League repurposed the

traditional understanding of leadership and reconfigured it to mean service to the community.

Gordon's desire for community strength and well-being is reflected in her letters. She emphasized the need for active citizens in the community. The Milwaukee leadership seminars re-purposed the traditional understanding of leadership to now mean service to the community. The seminars were designed to foster active participation in civic activities in the community and eventually led to the creation of influential neighborhood organization in Milwaukee.

Milwaukee Politics and Urban Renewal

One of the reason urban renewal in Milwaukee was different from Pittsburgh was because Milwaukee implemented urban renewal policies a few years after Pittsburgh. This later date of implementation was because Milwaukee shifted in political identity during the mid 1950s and elected a new mayor in 1960. Milwaukee had a socialist mayor at the start of the policies but most the urban renewal projects occurred during the Maier administration.

The two-term socialist party mayor in Frank P. Zeidler was challenged by conservative Democrat Milton J. MicGuire. McGuire was an alderman in the third ward where many Irish and Italian immigrants lived. The Third Ward was also slated for urban renewal projects (Miner, section 2). According to historian Kevin D. Smith, this contentious 1956 political race centered on Urban renewal and "race." Smith argues that the 1956 Milwaukee mayoral race set the stage for a shift in political identity in Milwaukee. The class-based identity of Milwaukee politics was now being exchanged for race based politics. Zeidler was accused of advertising to African Americans in the south to come to Milwaukee and "take advantage of its public housing and liberal social-welfare policies" (Smith, K 71). McGuire supported the free enterprise system and the "need to stand firm against 'Negro Lovers'" (Miner section 2). According to Jones, McGuire's 1956 mayoral campaign was called by *Time* magazine, the "Shame of Milwaukee"

Many white Milwaukeeans had come to associate public housing with the influx of new

black residents and urban decline and so opposed the project. Real estate brokers

exploited these fears by circulating rumors that Mayor Zeidler planned to import African

Americans into their neighborhoods. During the campaign, McGuire revived these old

rumors and added new ones. One smear claimed that Zeidler's oldest daughter was

married to a black man, a billboard throughout the South that invited black people to

move to Milwaukee…During a debate on public housing, McGuire—whose campaign

used the slogan "Milwaukee needs an honest white man for mayor"—opposed building

more low income housing units, stating "I will call a spade a spade. If there is more

housing, more people will move into Milwaukee. The only thing that has kept…Negroes

from coming up here is the lack of housing. (Jones 29)

Although McGuire lost the election, Smith asserts that the racial critique of Zeidler' Socialist

Party had its effect and began the ardent resistance among racist white citizens to integrated

public housing and integrated neighborhoods in Milwaukee (Smith, K. 86). Working class

whites wanted to protect their neighborhoods from the "Negro invasions" which limited

implementing urban renewal policies by the Zeidler administration. Smith asserts that without

an increase in public housing, the overcrowded African American neighborhoods continued to

deteriorate.

Milwaukee's shifting political identities led to Zeidler's failed fourth bid for mayor and

saw the rise of Henry Maier's' administration. A weakened Zeidler was defeated in 1960 by

Henry Maier. Under the Maier administration, three important political decisions occurred

which made it easier for the city of Milwaukee to acquire property by eminent domain. First, the

state legislature repealed the state constitutional requirement that "a jury must rule, in each

instance" when the city sought property to first condemn and then be reused for public purposes"
(Maier 30). The second was Maier's creation of the Department of City Development, which
consolidated all the staffs of the Executive Director of the Housing Authority and Executive
Secretary of the City Plan Commission. Finally, Milwaukee became the first large city to
endorse the federal Community Renewal Program, which meant "to identify and measure in
broad general terms the total need for urban renewal action in Milwaukee, to relate this need to
the available resources and to develop a long-range program for urban renewal action."
(Milwaukee CRP application qtd. in Honer). The CRP would proceed with urban renewal plans
that fit the city's larger plan. It prioritized projects that focused on blighted areas and preventing
"the creation of slums due to poor planning" (Honer 27). These events by the city of Milwaukee
put the urban renewal program on a direct collision course with the city's African American
neighborhoods.

The Maier administration was aware of the impact on African American families and
seemingly wanted to minimize the negative effects. Maier seemed deliberate in not wanting to
rush on starting new projects without measured urban planning. In fact, he claimed he wanted to
save old neighborhoods as opposed to block razing. Maier emphasized comprehensive planning
to his approach to urban renewal. However, the construction agencies and real estate agents
disagreed with this measured approach. In addition to the private industry push-back, Maier's
primary political support was from the white working class of Milwaukee which meant their
neighborhoods must be treated differently under all urban renewal projects (Smith, K. 71-95).

Leadership Seminar Proposal and African American Rhetorical Citizenship

The NAACP Milwaukee Chapter was aware of the potential problem urban renewal

would bring to the African American community in Milwaukee. NAACP Milwaukee Housing

Chairman Bernard Tolliver writes in a 1957 letter to Madison Jones, Special Assistant for

Housing in the NAACP national office, "we anticipate discriminatory practices by real estate

groups in the relocation process because these groups have placed rental and sales listings at the

disposal of the relocation agency. It is at this point that much of the discrimination is liable to

occur" (Tolliver letter). The Milwaukee NAACP believed that the building of new public houses

would be problematic because "public housing here is identified as Negro housing and is bitterly

opposed by certain elements." Even those African Americans who could afford to make private

housing purchases in other neighborhoods would meet resistance. The housing list was available

to all families, but those families had to deal directly with the real estate organizations who

would prevent them from moving in to white neighborhoods. With this growing threat of

"clearance and redevelopment" to their neighborhoods, the residents of the targeted communities

soon realized that active organizing would be the only way to stop the destruction of their

neighborhoods and create more housing opportunities for themselves. As a result, African

American organizations such as the NAACP and more directly the Milwaukee Urban League

needed to educate African American residents of the new housing policies and the city plans for

urban renewal.

Milwaukee Urban League's Lucinda Gordon, formerly of the NAACP, spearheaded the

creation of the seminars. Lucinda Gordon, Urban League director of community organization,

noted the difference between the two organizations. She stated, "The League's role is to help the

Negro citizen prepare himself for the opportunities which the NAACP secures for him" ("Words

of the week." 30). The Seminars were part of the Urban League's "Emerging Leadership

Training for Minority Groups" that were offered "to citizens of the Milwaukee area and for the

benefit of the whole community" (Proposal). The program was open to minorities who lived in

the Milwaukee area "at least 18 months and who are between the ages of 18 and 45" (Proposal).

The participants had to be recommended by the Urban League, clergy, youth organizations,

schools, etc." (Proposal). According to the 1964 proposal, the leadership program had several

goals to serve the city of Milwaukee:

(1) By providing qualified, social conscious person who will assume the positions of

leadership in the community, thereby helping to avoid the possibility of the less competent and

less aware filling these positions of leadership.

(2) By contributing in the upgrading of leadership standards and thus providing more

vehicles through which community actions can be interpreted by people who are in a minority

(3) By attending the University and associating with a greater cross section of people, the

youth of the community will be encouraged to expand their goals, perhaps even to include a

college education.

(4) By introducing the participants to a more perceptive and sensitive awareness to social

problems.

(5) By helping prepare the participants for a more effective role in community

development. (Proposal)

This proposal is in conversation with rhetorical educators of African-American rhetoric. We can

see Karenga's guidelines for what is African-American rhetoric within the goals of the proposal:

rhetoric of community, rhetoric of resistance, rhetoric of reaffirmation, and rhetoric of possibility

(6). The NAACP wants more citizens with expanded knowledge who can speak for the

community, organize others in the community, and be aware of issues in the community. A goal

within African American Rhetoric is for a rhetor to practice "ethical leadership" and see the

African American community "as agents in the world rather than objects or victims" (Asante

291). This type of leader/citizen could be produced by the Leadership Seminar proposed by the

NAACP.

Leadership Seminars as Rhetorical Education

African Americans in Milwaukee resisted urban renewal policies in part by building

relationships with local organizations such as universities to learn about the urban policies and

to develop more leaders in various neighborhoods. In March of 1964, the Milwaukee Urban

League cosponsored with United Community Services, Committee on Community Relations,

and University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee extension an evening course titled "Neighborhood

Organizations in Government" which was part of the Citizens and the Public course series.

According to the UWM 1963-1964 annual report, 31 persons enrolled in the course which was

led by UWM professors A. Clarke Hagensick and Sara Ettenheim. The background of the

instructors is important because it shows how the residents sought out subject matter experts to

help them understand the urban renewal policies.

The success of this course led to the creation of the Leadership seminars. Hagensick, a

Milwaukee native, also served as assistant director of the Institute of Governmental Affairs for

UWM extension. While serving in this role, Hagensich wrote in a June 1964 letter to

administration requesting a liaison between citizen groups and the University. He writes "The

emergence of voluntary neighborhood councils has been dramatic in many urban areas. At least

seven such groups have been created in Milwaukee, and their membership includes persons who

are dedicated to the notion that their neighborhoods should be improved and preserved. They

represent an excellent vehicle for citizen participation on local problems. Some have been

formed in predominately Negro residential areas, dome in racially-mixed areas and others in

areas populated almost exclusively by whites." Hagensick's letter indicates the importance of

housing policies in Milwaukee and the need to for neighborhoods to get organized. The

participation of residents was already increasing by the numbers of community groups that

sprung up from the urban renewal and urban housing crisis (UWM Annual report). Some were

intent on simply cleaning up the neighborhood while others were more aggressive in finding

suitable housing for residents. But the actions required, as recognized by the Milwaukee Urban

League and others, was informing more citizens about urban renewal in order to increase

leadership in the community.

On the heels of the successful partnership between UWM and the Milwaukee Urban

League, the three seminars offered were (1) "The Citizen and Social Action," (2) "Adult

Volunteer Service with Youth Groups," and (3)" Family Life Leadership" (Milwaukee Urban

League, 1964, Press Release). Gordon characterized these leadership courses as "Seminars for

Community Service" (Gordon Letter). Gordon stated that the Urban League needed more help

in the community, but "We [Urban League] can't afford to pay for it" (Gordon letter). Although

it is the first seminar that directly addresses the problems surrounding urban renewal and how to

address those problems, all three seminars spoke to citizenship education.

"The Citizen and Social Action"

Michael J. Reese of the Milwaukee Urban League was the coordinator for the first

seminar entitled, "The Citizen and Social Action" which directly addressed the policies, plans,

and issues surrounding urban renewal and provided strategies for how to address those issues

(Milwaukee Urban League, 1964 Press Release). There were 32 participants in this seminar

(UWM Annual Report 1964-1965). Each section was taught or administered by faculty from

UWM or a representative from the city. The course content for the first seminar included the

following:

     1. Government Structure

     2. Citizen Preparation for Involvement in Public Hearings

     3. Services of the Department of Public Works

     4. Ordinance of Landlord-Tenant responsibilities

     5. Community Renewal Program

     6. Organization for Public Action (Milwaukee Urban League, 1964 Press Release)

The titles of these lectures reveal that these seminars taught an understanding of city government

and the rules and policies regarding information that could prove valuable when challenging

specific policies. In addition, analyzing the background of the instructors for the lectures help us

to understand their effectiveness as a leader in the classroom.

     The first lecture/class was entitled "Government Structure" and was taught by A. Clarke

Hagensick who was a University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee political science instructor. He was a

native of Milwaukee and earned his Ph.D. from John Hopkins.

     Sarah Ettenheim taught the second class entitled "Citizen Preparation for Involvement in

Public Hearings." Ettenheim was an energetic organizer for these citizen programs and was

considered a dynamic speaker. One of the UWM annual reports notes that Ettenheim "was

called upon for an unusually large number of speeches during the in recognition of her superb

speaking talents" (UWM annual report 64-65). Not only was she a dynamic speaker, she was

also heavily involved in other social causes. She had received awards from the National

Conference of Christians and Jews and from the Women's Municipal League for public service

(Ettenheim biography file). Her teaching this course would not only provide rhetorical education

to African American students taking the lecture but could also provide another bridge for African

American residents resisting urban renewal to build a political community and strengthen their

citizenship rights. Her lecture for the seminar speaks directly to Enoch's definition of rhetorical

education. Years later, Ettenheim would discover that the Milwaukee Police Department's

"Special Assignment Squad" kept a file of her activities dating back to 1964 when she began her

work with the seminars (Ettenheim biography file).

The third class was titled the "Services of the Department of Public Works." This class

was led by Herbert Goetsch, commissioner, Department of Public Works. This class and the

fourth class "Ordinance on Landlord-Tenant Responsibilities" (instructor not listed) could

provide participants a foundation when making their arguments concerning urban renewal and

housing policies. The fifth class was called the "Community Renewal Program" and was taught

by Richard Sinclair, City Development Staff. The City Renewal Program was established by the

Department of City Development in 1961 (Niemuth 11).

The final course was titled "Organization for Public Action" and was taught by Warner

Bloomberg, Professor of Urban Affairs at UWM. Bloomberg was also very active later in

Milwaukee urban politics regarding housing policies. In a 1966 memorandum to the Milwaukee

Metropolitan Area Social Scientists Specializing in Community analysis and Community

Problems, Bloomberg campaigned to help raise money for the Organization of Organizations or

"Triple-O" in order to develop "indigenous leadership and organizations among the people of

inner core North" (Bloomberg).

The information provided to the African Americans present in the lectures would allow them to organize and participate in the debates regarding their neighborhoods. UWM reports noted the high level of interest in the purpose of the meetings. In addition, Ettenheim wrote a report of the leadership program, but a "decision was made not to publish the manuscript but to use [it] as a basis for further study by a UWM political scientist (UWM annual report 64-65).

Youth and Family Life Seminars

The second and third leadership seminars focused on organizing the youth and family life leadership. These two seminars were held at Marquette University. The course content included several lectures on leadership including Leadership through Logic" which was taught by Marquette faculty member Edward Simmons of the Philosophy Department, and a lecture titled the "Dynamics of Leadership" was led by a communication specialist named Robert C. Niss.

However, as part of the development for this leadership seminar, Leo Ryan from Marquette sent Lucinda Gordon of the Urban league a syllabus entitled "Effective Speaking in Group Situations" by Prof. Joseph M. Staudacher, School of Speech, Marquette University, which I surmise was the original plan for the course. The syllabus was part of an overall outline the university had for the seminar. The course was set up in ten parts with the last three sections speaking directly to items 2 and 6 (above) of the course content. The syllabus included teaching students how to present a proposal to a panel or forum and how "to answer questions and objections, to clarify and persuade, to maintain poise and composure in the face of possible heckling" (Staudacher, n.d., Syllabus). The final section of this course was called "make your final plea." Its purpose was the following:

1. To learn the hard lesson that "you can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him

drink" or "a man convinced against his will is of his own opinion still."

2. To learn how to get the other to want to do what you want them to do.

3. To answer the big question in the minds of the listeners, "What's in it for me?"

4. To learn how to use basic motivation in persuading others to your way of thinking and doing.

5. To strengthen motivation with clearness, showmanship and sincere enthusiasm, watching your tone of voice and body in your sensitive to others. (Staudacher)

Although documents consulted for this research do not reveal how much of this syllabus was taught in the seminars, we can see the importance and value of rhetorical education for understanding leadership during this time.

These two leadership seminars are important to note because of the large role Milwaukee youth played in the Milwaukee Civil Rights movement. By the late 1960s, the NAACP Youth Commandos were on the forefront of the fight for open housing laws. Their 1968 march into the predominately white southern neighborhoods of Milwaukee ended in violence and destruction of the NAACP youth headquarters "Freedom House" (Jones 142). The youth group also assisted in the home construction and security patrol for houses rehabilitated by neighborhood organizations ("WAICO").

Leadership Seminars as a counterhegemonic space

The location where the seminars took place was just as important as their course content for several reasons. Having the seminars at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Marquette University gave credibility to the seminars in the minds of the members of the community and the city at large because of the and expertise provided by the university faculty. Just like the

African American organizations in Pittsburgh working with local universities as explained in Chapter 3, UWM and Marquette provided legitimacy to arguments concerning urban renewal because of the information received by residents who attended the seminars.

The second reason is that the seminars at UWM and Marquette provided an environment that could "protect voices of leadership without authority" (Heifetz 128). The seminars provided a "counterhegemonic" space for Milwaukee residents who took the courses to learn more about city renewal plans and tenant/renter responsibilities. As stated earlier, a counterhegemonic public is a space where "people on the margins need to constitute themselves" (Higgins and Brush 695)." In his research on the Freedom Schools in the South, Stephen Schneider writes that we must "take seriously the role of location—physical and institutional—in the development" of citizenship pedagogies. According to Schneider, "Freedom Schools, being located in community buildings and directed toward concrete goals such as voter registration, asserted an educational model centered not around assessment or standards but rather around action and community organization" (64). Although the Urban League seminars were held in places of hired education, they too were focused on a community goal of understanding the polices of urban renewal, and educating citizens to speak to these policies.

The space served as a training ground or a practice area for marginalized rhetors to develop their rhetorical skills before entering a white majority dominated public sphere. Their rhetorical development could be enhanced by Ettenheim's lecture entitled "Citizen Preparation for Involvement in Public Hearings." Unfortunately, no documents have been discovered that reveal whether or not seminar participants could practice presentations. Nevertheless, sitting through a lecture or watching a demonstration on public hearing discourse could improve a citizen's rhetorical skills. The members of a counterhegemonic public must "connect enough with the

rhetoric of others to be intelligible and persuasive, yet they must rebut rather than reproduce commonsense understandings" (Higgins and Brush 695). In other words, they must develop the ability to produce discourse that may appeal to the majority but not lose the power of their own experiences, in order to contribute new knowledge to the public.

The leadership seminars were both a material and psychological safe space for learning more about urban renewal discussing civic issues, and doing so without having their positions publicly challenged. This space then set the conditions for future actions regarding urban renewal and open housing policies. Attendees would later have the opportunity to organize with the community and "disseminate their perspectives to ever-wider" audiences (Higgins and Brush 695). The participants of the seminar could discuss controversial ideas in the class with comfort and little pressure while improving their rhetorical skills. For example, one of the course participants later formed a neighborhood organization that was instrumental in the fight over urban renewal policies, as will be discussed later in the chapter.

Leadership Seminars as Distribution of Agency

The Milwaukee leadership seminars were noteworthy not only for offering a space for citizens to learn about urban renewal policies but also for connecting the idea of leadership with civic engagement in the African American community. It is through this direct connection that we can understand agency being distributed among the residents of Milwaukee. This blurring of the concepts of leadership and citizenship proved to be effective and necessary to the actions of an organized resistance to the Milwaukee housing policies. These seminars were organized by various African American organizations with the purpose of assisting residents in becoming involved in the decision-making processes affecting their neighborhood. The seminars were acts

of citizenship which enabled Milwaukee's African American community to resist the housing

policies while creating a foundation of civic leadership in the community. In some ways, the

organizing and planning at the community level was a tactical response aimed at taking on public

policies at the city state and federal level. These civic rhetorical strategies of resistance helped to

create more organizations and citizens to participate in civic activities that centered on urban

renewal and changes to their neighborhood.

One neighborhood organization that could be traced back to a participant of the

leadership seminar was the Walnut Street Improvement Committee, also referred to as WAICO.

One of the founding members of WAICO was a product of the first year of the leadership

seminars (UWM annual report 1971). WAICO was founded in 1965 by James Richardson and

quickly gained new members. The organization became an important player in the community

renewal policies of Milwaukee and was very active in other housing issues in the Milwaukee

area. The mission of WAICO was "self-help urban renewal" which meant cleaning up empty

lots as well as buying and rehabilitating homes. WAICO bought and repaired homes, engaged in

"greening unsightly lots," and influencing "city legislation pertaining to neighborhood upkeep."

It also "made consistent efforts toward the preserving and improving of their area" (WAICO

Fights).

By 1968, membership had grown to well over 100. Two members were architects who

designed some of the low-income homes that were built by WAICO. The WAICO homes were

built and sold with help from a FHA program. One-two home project had assistance from UW-

Madison landscape design students. WAICO was intent on showing Milwaukee that the

neighborhoods could be rehabilitated and offer low income housing for residents. Other

accomplishments included painting 100 buildings in their area and conducting Trash Removal

Drives ("WAICO"). The mantra for WAICO and other neighborhood groups was the same as the Urban League seminars: active participation in your neighborhood is a requirement for citizenship.

Other organizations were founded in response to the African American housing situation in Milwaukee. Those organizations included the Marquette Interracial faculty (some of whom participated in leading the lectures during the Leadership seminars) and the Triple O which was an umbrella group for over 40 church, social, and political organizations operating in Milwaukee. The formation of these multiple urban organizations in Milwaukee, which was preceded by the Leadership Seminars, help to unify the community against invasive urban renewal projects in the same manner as the neighborhood organizations in Pittsburgh.

Conclusion

A rhetorical approach to the content of the Milwaukee leadership seminars allows us to see methods of rhetorical education provided to the citizens in the community, which would result in more leader/citizens. Viewing leadership in this manner allows for citizenship to be seen as action. The seminars provided a safe space for agency to be distributed among citizens and for residents to gain a sense of control over their own circumstances. In this chapter, I contend that these leadership seminars increased the power of Milwaukee residents in the fight against urban renewal and restricted housing. Establishing relationships with other organizations and individuals outside of the community benefitted the creation of empowered organizations within their community. The Milwaukee Urban League, Marquette University and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee organized leadership seminars provided citizens with knowledge of how the local government worked and the rhetorical skills necessary for leadership

in their community. These leadership seminars disseminated necessary civic information and rhetorical education to citizens in the community. The success of these seminars resulted in increased resident participation and caused a greater demand for more such courses (UWM extension, End of Year report).

These seminars were just a part of African American residents in Milwaukee becoming critical citizens or "individual[s] who recognize her or his situation within a political community and who engages in the discourses that define both that situation and the parameters of her or his political community" (Miller 51). Perhaps the attendees of these seminars gained a sense of control over their own circumstances. This study of Milwaukee's leadership seminars helps us to understand the importance of the connections among leadership, citizenship and rhetorical education.

"We must realize that we are tied together—white and black Americans—in a single garment of destiny. There cannot be a separate black or white path to power, there cannot be fulfillment for one group that does not share in the other's aspirations. The black man needs the white man to save him from his fear; the white man needs the black man to save him from his guilt. I still believe in the future. Our goal is freedom, and we'll get there because the goal of America is freedom."

Martin Luther King, Jr., 1966 speech given at the University of Pittsburgh.

Chapter Five: **African American Rhetorical Citizenship and Resistance**

The fight over housing—urban renewal and desegregation—in northern urban cities was the catalyst for a significant part of the Black Freedom movement in the North. Martin Luther King, who many scholars consider to be the primary leader of the Civil Rights Movement, recognized both the importance and the struggle of African Americans living in the segregated North.

Martin Luther King's visit to Chicago in 1966 to protest unfair housing policies showed the rest of the country the level of hatred and animosity many whites had for African Americans living in Northern and Midwestern cities. King accurately assessed the major difference between the northern Civil Rights Movement and that taking place in the South. King said, "I have never seen, even in Mississippi and Alabama, mobs as hateful as I've seen here in Chicago" (Pearce). As part of his 1966 nationwide tour of the US, King gave several speeches on the fight for equal rights in housing. In one speech delivered at the Unitarian Universalist Association General Assembly in Hollywood, Florida, King stated

Now, I would hope that everyone under the sound of my voice tonight will do something in a positive manner. I know that you support [the new Civil Rights legislation], but support it by writing your Congressman, support it by mobilizing support within the community in order that it will pass. But there is a more difficult title in that bill, one that

must ultimately be passed if America is to rise to its full maturity. That is the section of the bill which calls for an end to discrimination in housing. It means that discrimination in all housing will be federally non-sanctioned. It involves the sale, the rental, and the financing of all housing. This is the difficult one because there still are many fears around. There are stereotypes about Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and others. Studies reveal that there are numerous forces both private and public which make for the problem, because they are profiting by the existence of segregation in housing. I am convinced that if we are to have a truly integrated society we must deal with the housing problem. ("1966 Ware Lecture")

King recognized that the plight of African Americans centered on housing. This project is inspired by his words and attempts to "deal" with the housing problem as suggested by King and is inspired by his words. Rhetoric scholarship often focused on the national leaders of the movement and leaving under-examined the movement on the ground.

Since urban centers in the North and Midwest suffered from violent and legal segregation practices, I argue that the fight over housing and urban renewal was central to the Black Freedom Movement in the Northern Cities. Despite the tensions between the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement in urban centers, all African Americans were affected by housing conditions and the threat of urban renewal projects taking away homes without suitable replacements.

The rhetorical strategies of African Americans in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee were necessary in the sense that it was important for the community to remain unified in the steps they were taking against urban renewal. In Pittsburgh, this unification hinged on the usage of Freedom Corner as a site for community gatherings and deliberations. While the actions of

African Americans in Pittsburgh were able to affect urban renewal public discourse by modifying city plans, the residents were also able to use rhetorics of place to strengthen unity in the surrounding community. Each rhetorical performance held at Freedom Corner built upon the goals of unity and resistance. It also functioned in the ways in which African American residents established political and rhetorical agency against city construction projects.

In Milwaukee, this unification of community was centered in the belief that citizens needed to be educated in the policies of urban renewal and housing and in the most effective ways to make arguments in public hearings. Residents took advantage of the local resources available to them by enlisting the help of housing and policy experts who taught at nearby academic institutions. The educational setting of the Leadership Seminars provided a secure and contemplative space for residents to learn about issues that directly affected their community. This usage of place in Milwaukee was used differently than place as protest in Pittsburgh.

In both case studies, rhetorical agency was asserted to improve the residents' chances of influencing housing policies and to ensure they would have greater standing in their cities. Whether the attempts to modify policy were successful or not, these respective acts of citizenship are worth examining because they reveal the organizing skills and strategies of the communities.

Urban renewal exasperated the crowded conditions of these cities. It was not until after King's assassination in 1968 at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis that Congress passed the Fair Housing Act that made it illegal to discriminate in housing and lending of money. African Americans who could afford it could now move to the suburbs or other previously race restricted areas. The Fair Housing Act of 1968 was the same type of law that Vel Phillips proposed repeatedly in Milwaukee city council meetings throughout the 1960s, and was repeatedly voted down by other council members. In 1973, the official urban renewal program ended. Between

1949 and 1973, "More than two thousand construction projects on one thousand square miles of urban land were undertaken. Roughly six hundred thousand housing units were demolished, compelling some two million inhabitants to move" (Teaford 310). In Milwaukee, this disruption was caused by construction of a series of interstate highways. In Pittsburgh, the source of disruption was a new arena and shopping districts. Across the United States, hundreds of thousands of African Americans were uprooted, and the social and economic fabric of their neighborhoods was destroyed. The tide against eminent domain turned in 2006 when then President George Bush signed an executive order preventing any federal agencies from seizing private property for "commercial development except for public projects such as hospitals or roads" (Bush Limits Eminent-Domain Seizures).

Yet the policies that separated and isolated African Americans regardless of economic class still affect American today. Ta-Nehisi Coates wrote about this isolation in his June 2014 Atlantic Monthly article "The Case for Reparations," where he rekindled the heated debate about reparations with an examination of the effects of bad housing policies and restrictive covenants. Coates tells the life story of a 91-year-old Chicago resident named Clyde Ross who was misled into signing a bogus mortgage in a segregated neighborhood in 1961 that provided no equity and where house payments were made to the seller. This and other events, according to Coates, prevented wealth building over decades and were all supported, sanctioned, and legalized by local, state, and federal governments.

But I would argue that there are positive effects from the fight against urban renewal and housing policies. Organizational skills developed through civic engagement may help explain the high rate of voting in the African American community as compared to other racial demographics. In addition, other marginalized groups such as the Young Lords in Chicago and

the Woman's Movement have modeled similar strategies from the Black Freedom Struggle (Hinosa; Randolph).

Contributions

The objective of this project was to investigate the citizenship practices that resisted urban renewal and to add new insights to the broader context of studies of African American rhetoric and rhetorical theory. To this end, I focus specifically on possible links between the rhetorical strategies used by African Americans to protect their communities from the damage caused by urban renewal projects in the 1950s and 1960s and the broader rhetorical strategies of the Black Freedom Movement.

This research and analysis of urban renewal discourse contributes to African American rhetorical history by demonstrating the important role of urban renewal arguments in the overall circulation of rhetoric within the Black Freedom Movement. Also, the African American struggle against urban renewal policies provides a useful site for extending discussions of counter publics, rhetorical agency, and rhetorics of place. My research intervenes in the scholarship of African American Rhetoric, rhetorical histories, and citizenship studies. It also provides a different perspective on current research by rhetorical scholars of place by demonstrating how rhetorics of place are a central part of African American Rhetoric.

This project responds to the belief by some critics that rhetorical histories may not sufficiently theoretical. As noted by Zarefsky, a rhetorical can operate in "the area of overlap" of the history and criticism while contributing to both (21). I set out to fulfill and expand Zarefsky's "fourth sense" of rhetorical history where as I view the history of urban renewal for African Americans as a "series of rhetorical problems, situations that call for public persuasion to

advance a cause or overcome an impasse" (30). From a historical perspective, this examination of how marginalized African American residents in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee embodied citizenship through discursive and rhetorical strategies contributes to a better understanding of the Urban North as a site of rhetorical citizenship during the Long Civil Rights Movement.

Implications

I examined African American residents' resistance to urban renewal and public housing policies through the dual lenses of rhetorical citizenship and African American rhetoric. Using one methodological approach or one analytical tool may help us to learn something interesting about rhetoric, which is the heart of our discipline and where so many scholars have done excellent work. But writing a deep rich rhetorical history from the "bottom up" perspective that contributes knowledge for rhetoric and history scholarship requires a set of analytical tools (rhetorical, narrative, and discourse available through a rhetorical citizenship analysis. Kathleen Turner posits that rhetorical histories requires the "construction of a kind of methodological jigsaw" (12). When the subject matter is a rhetorical history of the Black Freedom movement, then I refer to this approach as an African American Rhetorical Citizenship because it incorporates the theories of African American Rhetoric.

In Chapter one, I provided an overview of theories of citizenship and rhetorical history. I argued that more rhetorical histories of the Black Freedom Movement in the North are needed to enable a fuller understanding of how rhetoric shapes historical events. Doing so will also expand our knowledge of political organizing and provide new perspectives on civic engagement rhetorics. Rhetoricians can provide new perspectives to rhetoric while simultaneously contributing new knowledge to historical events. I highlighted an analytical approach that

blended rhetorical, narrative, and discourse analysis methods under the theoretical framework of rhetorical citizenship. This framework incorporated the African American rhetorical theory of community and resistance as being rooted in the Black Freedom struggle.

Rhetorical Citizenship provides a useful framework in which to look at urban renewal as rhetorical situation because of its reliance on agency and deliberation. However, having only rhetorical agency and deliberation as its primary theoretical strands, rhetorical citizenship is not able to take full account of racialized spaces where, as Fleming points out, inhibits the ability of Black, Brown, and other marginalized groups to have full access to places of deliberation. Therefore, rhetorics of place and race needed to be added to the framework.

In chapter two I showed how the arguments to implement urban renewal policies was rooted in federal deliberations over passing the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954. From these sources, a master narrative of urban renewal was created, implemented, and repeated by federal, state, and local government officials. I also demonstrated how this master narrative was repeated in newspaper editorials. This repetition gives the sense of urban renewal as not only being necessary for the health of the city but as an inevitable occurrence. I explained that the master narrative consisted of diseased metaphors, euphemisms which increased its persuasive power. The words "blight" and "renaissance" were used throughout the urban renewal master narrative.

Essentially, African American communities were situated within the narrative as obstacles to progress as supposed to its measured rehabilitation as being a source of progress. The effect of this master narrative was that it persuaded many influential African Americans to first endorse the urban renewal plans.

In chapter three, I used rhetorical and narrative theory to examine rhetorical strategies of place. I identified several rhetorical strategies of place that were used by the African American

residents in Pittsburgh to resist urban renewal and to unify the community. These strategies were (1) counternarratives (2) visual rhetoric of place and (3) the rhetorical construction of "Freedom Corner." These rhetorical strategies of place allowed the residents to claim agency in a variety of ways including designing architectural models and naming and claiming a street corner in their neighborhood. Conceptually, Freedom Corner and the map of the larger community ask us to rethink the connections between place and resistance and their effect on public discourse.

This critical usage of rhetorics of place created "standing" and provided different avenues for residents' arguments to be addressed by city officials. Tracing the changes in the rhetorical strategies of resistance to urban renewal highlights the debate between the "classical/short" civil rights movement and to Long Movement thesis. Long Movement proponent Jacquelyn D. Hall argues that limiting the civil rights movement from 1955 to 1965 or the "classic era" negates significant events of the labor movement in the 1930s and 1940s and the black power movement of the late 60s and 70s.

In chapter four, I found that citizenship and leadership are linked within the African American rhetorical context. I argued that the African American residents of Milwaukee created leadership seminars with the help of University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Marquette University in part as a rhetorical strategy to resist urban renewal and other housing policies and to produce more active citizens.

Through the initiative of the Urban League and Northside Community Inventory Committee, the Leadership Seminars in Milwaukee served as a site for rhetorical education for residents and provided a space for the distribution of agency in the fight against urban renewal. They resisted urban renewal policies in part by building relationships with local organizations

such as universities to increase their ethos and provide residents with training from subject matter experts.

Relevance for pedagogy and the public work of rhetoric

I believe this project's focus on citizenship can inform our rhetoric and composition pedagogy when teaching first-year writing, especially to those who are first generation college students, single parents, or laid off workers. These are the voices that I feel often get overlooked as subjects in rhetorical studies. But more importantly, they are the audience for this project. They too can be leaders without having to be Martin Luther King or a Barbara Jordan. When we teach basic rhetorical theory and argumentation in our first-year writing classes, we should point to examples in the Black Freedom Movement where ordinary people made a difference. When doing so, this rhetorical history project can help instructors to strike a balance between the academic and civic purposes of writing and speaking by allowing students to see a study of a community of citizens who through individual and collective actions use distinct discursive activities to make a difference in their lives. Students should be encouraged to write and speak outside the classroom in civic settings. What we see in the actions of the African American residents of Milwaukee and Pittsburgh is what we hope our students would do when faced with a similar type of rhetorical situation.

This project also provides ways in which engagement can be done by rhetoricians not only in the "public work of rhetoric" as espoused by John M. Ackerman and David J. Coogan in their edited collection of the same name, but also as scholars of understudied movements both historical and current. Ackerman and Coogan and seventeen other rhetoric scholars argue that civic engagement is a rhetorical act and "the rhetorical practices of citizen-scholars" can pursue

democratic ideals in diverse civic communities "by building on the compatible traditions of

materialist rhetoric and community literacy" This public work of rhetoric can be accomplished

by learning the "material and discursive histories of communities," bringing their rhetorical

expertise, and jointly defining the terms for social change (2).

To illustrate, many of the same neighborhoods that were under assault by urban renewal

are now being threatened with gentrification or what I call the sequel to urban renewal. Low

income African American and Latino/a populations are being displaced by private developers

and corporate interests. These events require analysis of the strategies of resistance by residents

against gentrification utilizing our discipline's varied methodological tools, which will provide a

better understanding of the rhetorical situation. In addition to studying these movements,

rhetoricians can assist these communities by helping those interested in learning effective

strategies of public address.

Future of Rhetorical Studies and the Black Freedom Movement

In "The Future of African American Rhetoric" Molefi Asante asserts that the future of

African American rhetoric is hinged upon the assertion of "ethical leadership" and "seeing

ourselves as agents in the world rather than objects or victims." My project took a similar

approach whereas I wanted to examine African Americans as rhetorical agents in an adverse

rhetorical situation. Full citizenship did not always apply to African Americans because they

were not always recognized as citizens or treated as citizens. I believe future examinations of the

Black Freedom Movement must incorporate or acknowledge African American rhetorical history

and traditions.

In this project, I explained how the language of urban renewal can shape our understanding of the Black Freedom Movement. Debates continue in Civil Rights scholarship over the relationship between the traditional civil rights movement and the Black Power movement as well conversations over the importance of the "classical" Civil Rights movement. This debate over the long movement thesis is a necessary one. The tensions between the two different camps on the chronological approaches to examining the Black freedom struggle are resulting in new and exciting historical literature of the movement.

We are beginning to see a shift in examining the Civil Rights Movement and the Black power movement through a globalization lens. Scholars are showing how the movement here influenced other social movements around the world. This new perspective reinforces the idea that scholars are influenced by the times in which we are writing. This new scholarship indicates that the Civil Rights legacy of African Americans still offers new stories to tell and new understandings to provide rhetoricians. Moving forward I have offered several ways in which we could look at the rhetorical history of urban renewal that may also provide a new pathway to understand the movement.

Future rhetorical scholarship on public policy decisions should consider these ideas on agency to see how it manifests itself away from a single rhetor. Focus should not be restricted to top-down ideas of power such as presidential speeches. We can gain insight as well from the extent to which ordinary citizens have agency and rhetorical leadership and from the degree to which their power is effective. In addition to the roles that mass media play in policy decisions, an examination of other institutions such as schools and churches other may help broaden the picture in understanding political truths. Finally, I suggest that in examining how the power of public policies operates, a critic must first examine how master narratives are established and

perpetuated. This sort of examination may prove useful to community organizers in creating "community knowledge," as well as to composition scholars who teach community writing.

Finally examining African American lives in urban centers and how such places act rhetorically may provide insight for scholars examining other places within the Black Freedom struggle. The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, which was founded by three African American women after the Trayvon Martin shooting in 2013, has held numerous demonstrations and made their presence known on many college campuses. According to the BLM website, "Black Lives Matter is an ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise." In 2016, Black Live Matter activists protested police brutality by blocking highways in cities such as St. Paul, Minn., Chicago and Atlanta. The highway chosen by BLM protesters in St. Paul was a project of urban renewal, which destroyed the economic center of the African American community in the 1960s. A Milwaukee neighborhood affected by urban renewal was the site of civic unrest and major protests over the treatment of African Americans by police officers in the summer of 2016. The roots of these strategies of resistance and protest in the urban North can be found, in part, in the African American fight against urban renewal during the 1950s and 1960s. But these protests also demonstrate the important role acts of rhetorical citizenship have played in the African American struggle for "full citizenship." To paraphrase the caption on Pittsburgh's Freedom Corner memorial, African Americans are a visible part of the landscape, with a sense of place and identity that reaches beyond a single location into the social fabric of America and beyond.

WORKS CITED

5th Ave. High Student Wins Prize In Duquesne Univ. Essay Contest: 'What Pittsburgh's

      Redevelopment Program Means to an Eleventh-Grade Student. (1954, January

      16). *Courier (1950-1954)* (City Edition), A7. Retrieved October 3, 2010, from

      ProQuest Historical Newspapers Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002. (Document ID:

      1110706952).

"1966 Ware Lecture: Don't Sleep Through the Revolution, by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr."

      UUA.Org, 17 Jan. 2013, https://www.uua.org/ga/past/1966/ware.

Abbott, H. P. The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative (2 edition.). Cambridge; New York:

      Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Ackerman, John M., and David J. Coogan. *The Public Work of Rhetoric: Citizen-Scholars and*

      Civic Engagement. University of South Carolina Press, 2010.

Alinsky, Saul D. Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals. New York:

      Vintage, 1989. Print.

Alkebulan, Adisa. A. "The Spiritual essence of African American Rhetoric." *Understanding*

      African American Rhetoric: Classical Origins to Contemporary Innovations. New York,

      Ny: Routledge, 2003. Print.

Allegheny Conference On Community Development (Pittsburgh, Pa.), Records, 1920-1993.

      (n.d.). Series II, Folders 13-14. Detre Library & Archives, Heinz History Center

Allen, Danielle. S. *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship after Brown v. Board of*

      Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004.

Altshuler, Alan A. *The City Planning Process: A Political Analysis.,* Cornell University Press,

      Ithaca, N.Y, 1965.

Anderson, Martin. *The Federal Bulldozer: A Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal*, 1942-1962.

    MIT Press, 1964. Print.

Aristotle. *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. OUP USA, 2007.

Asante, Molefi Kete. "The Future of African American Rhetoric." *Understanding African*

    American Rhetoric: Classical Origins of Contemporary Innovations. Eds. Ronald L.

    Jackson II & Elaine B. Richardson. New York: Routledge, 2003. 285-291.

Asen, Robert. "A Discourse Theory of Citizenship." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 90(2), 2004.

    189–211.

Bal, Mieke. *Narratology: Introduction To The Theory Of Narrative*. N.p., 1997. Internet Archive.

    Web.13 May 2014.

Baxter, Pamela, and Susan Jack. "Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and

    Implementation for Novice Researchers." *The Qualitative Report*, vol. 13, no. 4, Dec.

    2008, pp. 544–59.

Berger, Linda. "How Embedded Knowledge Structures Affect Judicial Decision Making: A

    Rhetorical Analysis of Metaphor, Narrative, and Imagination in Child Custody Disputes."

    SSRN Scholarly Paper, ID 1231584, *Social Science Research Network*, 16 Aug. 2008.

    papers.ssrn.com, https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=1231584.

"Black Monday set in Pittsburgh" The News and Courier. Sept 15 1969. retrieved Dec. 8

    from Google Archives.

Bloomberg, Warren. Biographical Files item, box 11, folder Bloomberg, Warren, University of

    Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department. 8 May 2016.

Breger, G. E. "The Concept and Causes of Urban Blight." *Land Economics*, 43(4), 369–

    376.1967 doi:10.2307/3145542

Brooks, Maegan P. *A Voice That Could Stir an Army: Fannie Lou Hamer and the Rhetoric of the Black Freedom Movement*. http://www.upress.state.ms.us/books/1926. Accessed 25 Mar. 2018.

Burke, Kenneth. *A Rhetoric of Motives*. First edition, University of California Press, 1969.

Bush Limits Eminent-Domain Seizures. 24 June 2006. www.washingtonpost.com, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/23/AR2006062301722.html.

Cha-Jua, S.K. & Lang, "The 'Long Movement' as Vampire: Temporal and Spatial Fallacies in Recent Black Freedom Studies." *Journal of African American History*, 92(2). 2007. 265-88. Print.

"Challenge." *Pittsburgh Courier (1950-1954)* (City Edition), 1. 1950, October 21. Retrieved October 3, 2010, from ProQuest Historical Newspapers Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002. (Document ID: 1111304332).

Chatman, Seymour. "Characters and Narrators: Filter, Center, Slant, and Interest-Focus." *Poetics Today*, 7(2), 189–204. 1986.

Chavez, Karma R. *Queer Migration Politics: Activist Rhetoric and Coalitional Possibilities*. 1st Edition, University of Illinois Press, 2013.

--. Interview with Karrieann Soto Vega. "Episode 29: Reflections on Rhetoric and Citizenship" *This Rhetorical Life*. http://thisrhetoricallife.syr.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Ep.29-Transcript.pdf

"Citizens unveil plan for Solvent folks to Renew, Remain in Hill." Koger, Ralph E *Pittsburgh Courier* (1955-1966); Jan 16, 1965; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *Pittsburgh Courier*. pg. 1

"City Council Expected To Put Its Approval On Lower Hill Project.". *The Pittsburgh Press* -

1955, July 6. Google News Archive Search. Retrieved May 9, 2014, from

http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=ibwbAAAAIBAJ&sjid=4k0EAAAAIBAJ&pg=7

352,1277599&dq=lower+hill+modern&hl=en

"City Fathers 'Twisted Truth' on Scott Demand." *Pittsburgh Courier* (1955-1966): 1. Jul 24 1965.

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Pittsburgh Courier (1911-2002). Web. 19 Nov. 2012.

"City of the future—all within a city of today." (1947 Oct 30). *Pittsburgh Post*

Gazette retrieved Dec. 8 from

http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=gWMwAAAAI

Clark, J. L. Down Memory Lane: Mrs. Burwell Recalls Days Of Lower Hill. *Pittsburgh Courier*

(1955-1966), City Edition. 1962, February 24. Pittsburgh, Pa., United States. Retrieved

from

http://search.proquest.com/hnppittsburghcourier/docview/202435455/abstract/3B8D2315

CFD0444EPQ/1?accountid=9902

Collins, James. "Taking the Lead: Dorothy Williams, NAACP Youth Councils, and Civil Rights

Protests in Pittsburgh, 1961-1964." The Journal of African American History, vol. 88, no.

2, Apr. 2003, pp. 126–37. JSTOR, doi:10.2307/3559061.

Commer, Carolyn. "Perelman's Dissociation and Metaphor: Working Together to Structure and

Re-Structure Reality." In (Unpublished essay) Carnegie Mellon Univ., Pittsburgh, 2010.

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

https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations/361631/.

Condit, Celeste Michelle. "The Functions of Epideictic: The Boston Massacre Orations as

      Exemplar." *Communication Quarterly* 33.4 (1985): 284–298. Taylor and Francis+NEJM.

      Web. 11 Nov. 2013.

Cohn, Carol. "Sex and death in the rational world of defense intellectuals." Sings,

      Vol12, No. 4, *Within and Without: Women Gender and Theory*. 687-718, 1987.

Cooper, Marilyn M. "Rhetorical Agency as Emergent and Enacted." *College Composition and*

      Communication 62.3 (2011): 420–449. Print.

Countryman, Matthew J. *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia*. University of

      Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

Crable, Bryan. *Ralph Ellison and Kenneth Burke: At the Roots of the Racial Divide*. University

      of Virginia Press, 2011.

Crocco, Andrew. "The Mobocratic City: Race, Space And Citizenship In Nineteenth Century

      Philadelphia." Publicly Accessible Penn Dissertations (2013): n. pag. Web.

Cultural Center to Lift Face of Lower Hill. (1953, December 12). The Pittsburgh Press - Google

      News Archive Search. Retrieved May 9, 2014, from

      http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1144&dat=19531212&id=1F4bAAAAIBAJ&sj

      id=p00EAAAAIBAJ&pg=6812,3884043

Davis, J. "Pgh. Story" Moves Reader To Tears: Your Comments on Supplement "Pittsburgh

      Story" Moves Nostalgic Reader to Tears Recalls Boyhood Days in Old Hill. *Pittsburgh*

      Courier (1955-1966), City Edition. 1962, March 10. Pittsburgh, Pa., United States.

      Retrieved from

      http://search.proquest.com/hnppittsburghcourier/docview/202477834/abstract/55C589C8

      F45B4C14PQ/2?accountid=9902

"Democrats open county, city campaigns." (1953 Sep 26) *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*. Retrieved

  Nov. 20 from http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=Q0YNAAAAIBAJ&sjid=

  12oDAAAAIBAJ&pg=1282,800366&dq=civic+renaissance&hl=en

Dick, Robert E. "Civic Arena." *ULS Digital Collections*. Detre Library & Archives, Heinz

  History Center. MSP285.B001.F17.I05. 1961.

  http://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt:MSP285.B001.F17.I05

Doreski, C. K. *Writing America Black: Race Rhetoric and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge

  University Press, 1998.

Edelman, Murray J. Constructing the Political Spectacle. Chicago: University of Chicago

  Press, 1988. Print.

"Editorial." *Milwaukee Defender.* Feb. 28, 1957. Milwaukee, Wisconsin. NewsBank/Readex,

  Database: America's Historical Newspapers.

Endres, Danielle, and Samantha Sendra-Cooke. "Location Matters: The Rhetoric of Placeand

  Protest." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 97.3 (2011): 257-282. Print.

Enoch, Jessica. *Refiguring Rhetorical Education: Women Teaching African American, Native*

  American, and Chicano/a Students, 1865-1911. 1st edition. Carbondale: Southern Illinois

  University Press, 2008. Print.

Ettenheim, Sara. Faculty Staff Biographical Files item, box 11, folder Ettenheim, Sara (Mrs.

  George), University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department.

  8 May 2016.

Fairclough, Norman. *Discourse and Social Change*. Wiley, 1993.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law and Politics.* First

  Paperback edition, Oxford University Press, 2001.

"Fine, but Where'll We Get The Money." (1953, March 1). *The Pittsburgh Press* - Google News

  Archive Search. Retrieved May 9, 2014, from

  http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=sXwbAAAAIBAJ&sjid=kk0E%20AAAAIBAJ

  &pg=6413,146848&dq=lower-hill+blight&hl=en

Fisher, Walter R. *Human Communication as Narration: Toward a Philosophy of Reason, Value,*

  and Action. University of South Carolina Press, 1989. Print.

Flanagan, R. M. The Housing Act of 1954 The Sea Change in National Urban Policy. *Urban*

  Affairs Review, 33(2), 265–286. doi:10.1177/107808749703300207. 1997.

Fleming, David. *City of rhetoric: revitalizing the public sphere in metropolitan America*. Albany:

  SUNY Press, 2002.

Flusberg, Stephen J., et al. "War Metaphors in Public Discourse." *Metaphor and Symbol*, vol. 33,

  no. 1, Jan. 2018, pp. 1–18. *Taylor and Francis+NEJM*,

  doi:10.1080/10926488.2018.1407992.

Forbes, Ella. "Every Man Fights for His Freedom: The Rhetoric of African American Resistance

  in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Understanding African American Rhetoric: Classical*

  Origins of Contemporary Innovations. Eds. Ronald L. Jackson II and Elaine B.

  Richardson. New York: Routledge, 2003. 155-170.

Frank, David. A. The Prophetic Voice and the face of the Other in Barack Obama's a More

  Perfect Union address, March 18, 2008. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* Vol. 12(2), 167–194,

  2009.

Fullilove, Mindy. *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What*

  We Can Do About It. Random House Digital, Inc., 2009. Print.

Garland, Phyl. "'Help Us!' Urban Renewal 'DP's' Plead." *Pittsburgh Courier (1955-1966), City Edition*, 25 Nov. 1961. *ProQuest*,

http://search.proquest.com/hnppittsburghcourier/docview/202415525/abstract/5FCEF255

61E4113PQ/2?accountid=9902.

Geenen, Paul H., and Reuben K. Harpole. *Milwaukee's Bronzeville:* 1900-1950. Charleston, SC:

Arcadia Publishing, 2006. Print.

Geisler, Cheryl. "How Ought We to Understand the Concept of Rhetorical Agency? Report from

the ARS." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 34.3 (2004): 9–17. Print.

Glasco, Laurence. "The Next Page: That arena on the Hill: The complex legacy for black

Pittsburghers." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. 2010 July 04. retrieved from http://www.post-

gazette.com/pg/10185/1070250-109.stm

Goldzwig, Steven. "Civil Rights and the Cold War: A Rhetorical History of the Truman

Administration and the Desegregation of the United States Army." *Doing Rhetorical

History: Concepts and Cases*, Jan. 1998

https://epublications.marquette.edu/comm_fac/354.

Gordon, Dexter B. *Black Identity: Rhetoric, Ideology, and Nineteenth-Century Black

Nationalism*. 1st edition. Southern Illinois University Press, 2006. Print.

Gordon, Lucinda. letter to UWM. Box 15 Folder 37 Leadership Training Classes, 1964.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department. 8 May

2016. http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-mil000ez

Gotham, Kevin. F. "A City without Slums: Urban Renewal, Public Housing, and Downtown

Revitalization in Kansas City, Missouri." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*,

60(1), 285–316. doi:10.1111/1536-7150.00064

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

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Gumperz, John. J. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1982.

HAC Lab Pittsburgh: Imagining the Modern. September 12, 2015–May 2, 2016. The Heinz

Architectural Center, Carnegie Museum of Art. Pittsburgh Pa.

http://press.cmoa.org/2015/05/27/hac-lab-pittsburgh/

Hagensick, A. Clarke, Faculty Staff Biographical Files item, 1983, box 11, folder Hagensick, A.

Clarke, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department. 8 May

2016. 2016. http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-mil-uwmac0154

Hall, J.D. "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past." *The Journal of

American History*. 91(4). 2005. 1233-1263.

Hauser, David J., and Norbert Schwarz. "The War on Prevention: Bellicose Cancer Metaphors

Hurt (Some) Prevention Intentions." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, vol. 41,

no. 1, Jan. 2015, pp. 66–77. *SAGE Journals*, doi:10.1177/0146167214557006.

Hauser, Gerard A. *Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Spheres. Columbia:*

University of South Carolina Press, 1999.

Heifetz, Ronald A. *Leadership Without Easy Answers.* Harvard University Press, 1994. Print.

"Help for the dispossessed" *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.* 1955 July 8. Retrieved Nov12 from

http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=1ppRAAAAIBAJ&sjid=BGwDAAAAIBAJ&pg

=2587,6438553&dq=lower+hill+merchants&hl=en

Higgins, Lorraine D., and Lisa D. Brush. "Personal Experience Narrative and Public Debate:

Writing the Wrongs of Welfare." *College Composition and Communication*, vol. 57, no.

4, June 2006, pp. 694–729. *JSTOR*, doi:10.2307/20456913.

"Hillside Property Purchase to Begin: Little Opposition Noted.". *Milwaukee Defender*. May 29,

      1957. America's Historical Newspapers.

Hinojosa, Felipe. "Radical Politics and the Making of Latino Religion." James Weldon Johnson

      Institute for the Study of Race Colloquium Series, 2 April 2018, Emory University,

      Atlanta, Ga.

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

      Archive, 1983.

Honer, Matthew J. "The Unworkable Program: Urban Renewal in Kilbourntown-3 and Midtown,

      Milwaukee." The University of Wisconsin - Eau Claire, 2015. Print.

Housing Act of 1949. (1949, July 14). Retrieved from

      https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:nM5fFbYN4CsJ:ftp.resource.org/gao.gov

      /81-171/00002FD7.pdf+1949+housing+act&hl=en&gl=us&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESjip-

      Etbe8fPWXud-

      TV8zo0cV1vxBzpRZYjfNviljlUa0Fl8vwKngLT5_RAZgDhbFlzID2R_ArFSA6QmrrQc

      qMmEuDdHNxXSsl4Ebzutw9OH922Nh1t7OTzdG47MisK-

      keb_jd8&sig=AHIEtbRsnDvIM10D1kutclPPeT-chg3aHA

Institute, National Agricultural. Introduction to Plant Science. Lulu.com, 2014. Print.

Johnson, Roberta Ann. "African Americans and Homelessness Moving Through History."

      Journal of Black Studies. 40(2). 583-604, March 2010.

Johnstone, Barbara. *Discourse Analysis*. 2nd ed. Wiley-Blackwell, 2007. Print.

---. "Stance, style and the linguistic individual". In Jaffe, A. (Ed.) *Sociolinguistic perspectives on*

      stance. (29-51). New York: Oxford, 2009.

Jones P.L. (1950, May 6). 'Hill Housing Future, What Will It Mean?'. *The Pittsburgh Courier*

    (1911-1950) (City Edition), 31. Retrieved October 3, 2010, from ProQuest

    Historical Newspapers Pittsburgh Courier: 1911-2002. (Document

    ID:1110832172).

Jones, Patrick D. *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee*. Harvard

    University Press, 2009.

Karenga, Maulana. "Nommo, Kawaida, and Communicative Practice: Bringing Good Into the

    World." *Understanding African American Rhetoric: Classical Origins to Contemporary*

    Innovations. New York, Ny: Routledge, 2003. Print.

Keith, William and Paula Cossart. "The Search for "Real" Democracy: Rhetorical Citizenship

    and Public Deliberation in France and the United States, 1870–1940." *Rhetorical*

    Citizenship and Public Deliberation. State College Pa: Penn State University Press, 2012

Karon, Louise. A. "Presence in 'The New Rhetoric.'" *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, *9*(2), 96–111.

    1976. doi:10.2307/40236972

Keen, Suzanne. "A Theory of Narrative Empathy." *Narrative*, *14*(3), 207–236. 2006.

    doi:10.1353/nar.2006.0015

Kock, Christian, and Lisa S. Villadsen. *Rhetorical Citizenship and Public Deliberation*.

    Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012.

Kofoed, Emily. "Ancient Rhetorical Excavations K-State Digs: Hegemonia." Ancient Rhetorical

    Excavations K-State Digs, 3 Apr. 2008,

    http://ancientrhetorickstatedigs.blogspot.com/2008/04/hegemonia.html.

Labov, William and Josha Waletzky, J. "Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal

    experience." *Journal of Narrative & Life History*, 7(1-4), 3–38. 1997.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. *Metaphors We Live By* (2nd edition.). Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2003.

"The Line Drawn, a Place to Stand." *Pittsburgh Post -Gazette*: B. Apr 05 1998. ProQuest Central. Web. 18 Nov. 2012.

Logan, Rayford Whittingham. "The Negro Wants First-Class Citizenship." *What the Negro Wants*. University of Notre Dame Press, 1944. Print.

Logan, Shirley Wilson. *Liberating Language: Sites of Rhetorical Education in Nineteenth-Century Black America*. 1st edition. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008. Print.

Love, G. (1947, October 30). Giant Center for Sports, Conventions Proposed for Pittsburgh of Tomorrow. *The Pittsburgh Press* - Google News Archive Search. Retrieved May 15, 2014, from

http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=mS8bAAAAIBAJ&sjid=Gk0EAAAAIBAJ&pg=5107,5813760&dq=lower-hill-district&hl=en

"Lower Hill Officially 'Blighted.'" *The Pittsburgh Press - Google News Archive Search*, 19 Sept. 1950,

http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=x3gbAAAAIBAJ&sjid=ZU0EAAAAIBAJ&pg=4334,1342955&dq=lower-hill+letters+to+editor&hl=en.

"Lower Hill now awaits action after airing woes to city council." *The Pittsburgh Press*. 29 Jan 1969. Retrieved Nov 22 From

http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=0GIqAAAAIBAJ&sjid=HFAEAAAAIBAJ&pg=3914,4647099&dq=lower-hill&hl=en

Lubove, Roy. *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business and Environmental Change* (1St Edition.). John Wiley & Sons Inc, 1969.

Lundberg, Christian, and Ioshua Gunn. Gunn. i Board, Are There Any Communications?tions?Ty, Ontotheology, and the Death of the Humanist Subject, or, Continuing the ARS Conversation.on*Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 4, Sept. 2005, pp. 83ect, o*Taylor and Francis+NEJM*, doi:10.1080/02773940509391323.

Maier, Henry W. "A Mayor Looks at Urban Renewal." Challenge 14.4 (1966): 30–43. Taylor and Francis+NEJM. Web.

Martin, J. R., & White, P. R. R. *Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

McKerrow. R. "Critical Rhetoric: theory and practice." *Contemporary rhetorical theory: a reader* Ed. J L. Lucaites (et al.) New York. Guilford Press, 1999.

Miner, Barbara. *Lessons from the Heartland: A Turbulent Half-Century of Public Education in an Iconic American City*. The New Press, 2014.

Miller, Joshua. "Toward Critical Citizenship: A Study of Citizenship, Legitimacy, and Civic Education*." The Pi Sigma Alpha Undergraduate Journal of Politics.* vol. 8, no. 1. Spring 2008., Web.

Milwaukee Urban League, 1964 Press Release. Box 15, Folder 31. Correspondence and Memoranda, 1963-1966. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department. 8 May 2016.
http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-mil000ez

"The Mt. Oread Manifesto on Rhetorical Education 2013." Rhetoric Society Quarterly 44.1 (2014): 1–5. Taylor and Francis+NEJM. Web.

Neely, Brooke, and Michelle Samura. "Social Geographies of Race: Connecting Race and

      Space." Ethnic and Racial Studies 34.11 (2011): 1933–1952. Taylor and Francis+NEJM.

      Web. 2 Oct. 2014.

Nelson, Hilde. L. *Damaged Identities, Narrative Repair.* Cornell University Press, 2001.

"The Next Page: That Arena on the Hill." Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. Web. 13 Dec. 2012.

Niemuth, Niles. "Urban Renewal and the Development of Milwaukee's African American

      Community:1960-1980." Thesis. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. 2014. Web. 10

      Sept. 2014.

Nunley, Vorris L. *Keepin' It Hushed: The Barbershop and African American Hush Harbor*

      Rhetoric. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2011. Print.

Operation Fix-Up. (1952, April 27). *The Pittsburgh Press* - Google News Archive Search.

      Retrieved May 9, 2014, from

      http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=EZAcAAAAIBAJ&sjid=4I4EAAAAIBAJ&pg=

      2982,4999176&dq=lower-hill+blight+pasadena&hl=en

Palczewski, Catherine H. "The 1919 Prison Special: Constituting White Women's Citizenship."

      Quarterly Journal of Speech, vol. 102, no. 2, Apr. 2016, pp. 107–32. Taylor and

      Francis+NEJM, doi:10.1080/00335630.2016.1154185.

Payne, Charles M. *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi*

      Freedom Struggle. University of California Press, 1995.

Pearce, Matt. "When Martin Luther King Jr. Took His Fight into the North, and Saw a New

      Level of Hatred." *Latimes.Com*, http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-mlk-chicago-

      20160118-story.html. Accessed 11 Apr. 2018.

Perelman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. *The New Rhetoric* (New edition.). University of Notre

        Dame Press, 1991.

Pritchett, Wendell E. "The "Public Menace" of Blight: Urban Renewal and the Private Uses of

        Eminent Domain." *Yale Law & Policy Review*, 21(1), 1–52, 2003.

—. *Robert Clifton Weaver and the American City: The Life and Times of an Urban Reformer*. 1

        edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. Print.

Proctor, Ralph. Personal Interview. Nov. 19, 2012.

Proposal for Leadership Training. Box 15, Folder 37. Leadership Training Classes, 1964.

        University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department. 8 May 2016.

        http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-mil000ez

Randolph, Sherie M. "Florynce 'Flo' Kennedy: Black Feminist Radical." Institute for the Study

        of Race Colloquium Series, 2 April 2018, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.

"Redeveloping Lower Hill." (1951, March 27). *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* - Google News Archive

        Search. Retrieved May 9, 2014, from

        http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=weYMAAAAIBAJ&sjid=02oDAAAAIBAJ&pg

        =2711,6038906&dq=lower-hill+letters+to+editor&hl=en

Redevelopment to Erase Blight in Hill District. (1950, September 23). *Pittsburgh Courier* (1950-

        1954), City Edition. Pittsburgh, Pa., United States. Retrieved from

        http://search.proquest.com/hnppittsburghcourier/docview/202250657/abstract/9571F1C4

        A75C4569PQ/6?accountid=9902

"Renew." *Merriam-Webster.com*. Merriam-Webster, n.d. Web. 19 April 2017.

Sala Udin, Interview by Staff, 13 June 2007, Center for Africanamerican Urban Studies and the

        Economy (CAUSE), Remembering Africanamerican Pittsburgh Oral History Project

(RAP), Department of History, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Self, Robert O. *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland.* Princeton
University Press, 2005. Print.

Schneider, Stephen. "Freedom Schooling: Stokely Carmichael and Critical Rhetorical
Education." *College Composition and Communication*, 58(1), 2006.

---. "The Sea Island Citizenship Schools: Literacy, Community Organization.

Smith, Arthur L. *Language, Communication and Rhetoric in Black America*. First Edition.
Harper & Row, Publishers. Print.

---. *Rhetoric of Black Revolution*. Second Printing edition. Allyn and Bacon, 1970. Print.

Smith, Kevin D. "From Socialism to Racism: The Politics of Class and Identity in Postwar
Milwaukee." *Michigan Historical Review* 29.1 (2003): 71–95. JSTOR. Web.

Sontag, Susan. *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors*. 1st edition, Picador, 2001.

Stack, Carol B. *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community*. unknown edition.
(Basic Books, 1997)

Staudacher Joseph M. "Effective Speaking in Group Situations." School of Speech, Marquette
University. Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin Historical Society Library-Archives, 2015.

Stearns, R. (1973 Oct 13) "100 years in the hill" *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. Retrieved Dec 12
From http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=DAkcAAAAIBAJ&sjid=AlUEAAAAIBA
J&pg=3285,5897468&dq=lower-hill+synagogue&hl=en

"The Fight on Blight." *The Pittsburgh Press - Google News Archive Search*, 18 Oct. 1953,
http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=yUAqAAAAIBAJ&sjid=m00EAAAAIBAJ&pg
=6362,513228&dq=lower-hill+council&hl=en.

Sugrue, Thomas J. *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North*.

    Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2009.

Teaford, Jon C. *The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America*, 1940-1985.

    Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Triece, Mary E. Urban Renewal and Resistance: *Race, Space, and the City in the Late Twentieth*

    to the Early Twenty-First Century. Lexington Books, 2016.

The Hill District" *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.* March 28, 1951. Retrieved Dec 12 from

    http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=TwMiAAAAIBAJ&sjid=cE0EAAAAIBAJ&pg=

    2796,4956153&dq=lower-hill+renaissance&hl=en

Tolliver, Bernard. Letter to Madison Jones. Nov. 29, 1957. NAACP Administration Papers 1956-

    1965. Library of Congress.

Trotter, Joe W., and Day, Jared N. *Race and Renaissance: African Americans in Pittsburgh since*

    World War II (1st ed.). University of Pittsburgh Press. 2010.

Truman, Harry S. "Statement by the President Upon Signing the Housing Act of 1949." July 15,

    1949. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*.

Tuan, Yi-fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of

    Minnesota, 1977. Print.

Turner, Kathleen J. *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases*. University of Alabama

    Press, 1998.

URA press release Oct 1962. Box 188, Folder 7. *Records of Mayor Henry W. Maier*

    administration, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1957-1989. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

    Libraries, Archives Department. 8 May 2016.

    http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-milw0044

UWM extension, End of Year report. Box 4, Folder 50. *UWEX, Annual Report. UW-Extension Center for Community Economic Development Records, 1965-1992*. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department. 8 May 2016. http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-mil-uwmac0154

UWM Annual Report 1964-1965. Box 4, Folder 50. *UWEX, Annual Report. UW-Extension Center for Community Economic Development Records, 1965-1992*. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department. 8 May 2016.

UWM annual report 1971. Box 4, Folder 50. UWEX, Annual Report. *UW-Extension Center for Community Economic Development Records, 1965-1992*. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, Archives Department. 8 May 2016.

van Dijk, T. A. "New(s) Racism: A discourse analytical approach." *In Ethnic Minorities & The Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000.

von Hoffman, Alexander. Enter the Housing Industry, Stage Right: A Working Paper on the History of Housing Policy. Joint Center for Housing Studies, Harvard University, 2008. Print.

"WAICO Fights for Residential Improvements." *Milwaukee Star*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. 11 Nov. 1967.

"WAICO." *Milwaukee Star*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. 11 Jan. 1968.

Wan, Amy J. *Producing Good Citizens: Literacy Training in Anxious Times*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014. Print.

Wharry, Cheryl. "Amen and Hallelujah preaching: Discourse functions in African American Sermons." *Language in Society*, 32(2) 203-225, 2003. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4169256.

Wilson, Kirt H. "Interpreting the Discursive Field of the Montgomery Bus Boycott: Martin

      Luther King Jr.'s Holt Street Address." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8.2(2005): 299–326.

      Project MUSE. Web. 15 May 2014.

---. *The Reconstruction Desegregation Debate: The Policies of Equality and the Rhetoric of*

      Place, 1870-1875. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002. Print

"Words of the week." *Jet* May 10, 1962. *Jet*. Johnson Publishing Company.

WYLIE AVENUE: The Street which began at a Church... ... and ended at a Jail. (1962, February

      24). *Pittsburgh Courier* (1955-1966), City Edition. Pittsburgh, Pa., United States.

      Retrieved from

      http://search.proquest.com/hnppittsburghcourier/docview/202443341/abstract/C53AEC7

      F08504A4DPQ/10?accountid=9902

Zarefsky, David. "Four Senses of Rhetorical History." Ed. Kathleen Turner. *Doing Rhetorical*

      History: Concepts and Cases. University of Alabama Press, 1998

Zipp, Samuel. *Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War*. New

      York: Oxford University Press, 2010. Print.