PLANNING IN THE ABSENCE OF DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF GARY, INDIANA

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This thesis is dedicated to my father Olon F. Dotson. His love and sacrifice has given me life.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

The social and institutional abandonment in America’s post-industrial inner-cities is widespread, unprecedented, and its patterns are unique. In *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, Thomas Sugrue (1996, xxv), published almost two decades ago, sends us a stern warning:

It is dangerous to let our optimism about urban revitalization obscure the grim realities that still face most urban residents, particularly people of color. Acres of rundown houses, abandoned factories, vacant lots, and shuttered stores untended in the shadow of revitalized downtowns and hip urban enclaves. There has been little “trickle down” from downtown revitalization and neighborhood gentrification to the long-term poor, the urban working class, and minorities. An influx of coffee shops, bistros, art galleries, and upscale boutiques have made parts of many cities increasingly appealing for the privileged, but they have not in any significant way altered the everyday misery and impoverishment that characterize many urban neighborhoods. Redevelopment projects- those that have attracted the lion’s share of tax subsidies and public investment- have left places like Santa Rosa and Chalfonte untouched. Neighborhood shopping districts, particularly in African American sections of cities, are dominated by pawn shops, check cashing agencies, liquor and beer stores, and cheap clothing sellers. Full-service supermarkets are still scarce and quality cloths, with the exceptions of sneakers, are hard to find. Little city, state or federal money goes into fixing up rundown neighborhoods.

These conditions call to question the practice and potential agency of environmental policy, planning, and design. The abandonment is such that during my preliminary visits to such cities I could not believe what I was witnessing. I wondered whether it is possible that, from the mist of naming and defining what development is through the commodification of land and
manipulation of labor, the “society” has been perpetuating a sense of civilization and development that has since been found to be detrimental to the overall health, safety and welfare of human beings.

Statement of the Problem

In producing social space, planners develop ideas and implement plans that are perceived and understood within larger frameworks. Through a predetermined lens, we classify, interpret, and apply planning and design principles that are within our specific intersection of time and space.

Efforts have been made by private and public officials to revitalize and bring people and business back into Gary through the construction of, for example, the Genesis Convention Center and the adjacent hotel in 1982, establishment of the Majestic Star Casino, expansion of the Chicago/Gary International Airport, revitalization of Marquette Park in the Miller neighborhood, transit-orientated development via the South Shore Rail Line, construction of a $45 million U.S. Steel Yard Base Ball Stadium in 2002, and even a Hope VI urban revitalization strategy in the urban core. In 2010, the Gary and Region Investment Project (GRIP) surveyed over 800 Gary residents to learn their thoughts for improving the city. According to their survey, implementing the Chicago/Gary International Airport’s Business Plan for expansion was top priority. One wonders how people’s needs do not become prioritized even on people’s own priority list developed through a survey of people’s opinions. There is something seriously wrong with these methods.
The “survey” was conducted by GRIP amongst residents within the region of Gary. Although residents identified the airport as a primary revitalization strategy, planners must recognize false consciousness - constructed by hegemonic institutions and perhaps planners themselves - as an inevitable factor in residents’ responses. Karl Marx’s (1971) concept of false consciousness refers to the systematic misrepresentation of social relations in the perception of subordinate classes. In that, members of the working class suffer from a false representation of social relations that camouflage the realities of exploitation and subordination. As evident in the ruins of Gary, the current system of economic development in which people believe in has failed them. The people living in Gary are still battling poverty, unemployment, a shrinking population, and a negative reputation.

The research question is: Why have development and planning strategies failed to address and prevent the unprecedented conditions of social fragmentation, economic decline, and environmental destitution currently present in these cities? This thesis focuses on the city of Gary, Indiana, built by U.S. Steel.

The Project

This research project attempts to understand whether and how the historical development patterns of Gary and the social construction of race have contributed to the severely distressed conditions in the city. Moreover, it asks what conditions have made planning practices and methodologies unable to address the severity of decline within the city. The thesis explores whether a rudimentary and empathetic understanding of Gary residents and their perspectives, through ethnography and sociological interpretations, are capable of
laying a foundation for alternative (more viable) planning and development strategies. It will investigate current planning ideologies, the impact of the construction of race in America, and sociological understanding of their impacts on inner cities with the view of understanding whether ethnography can be a vehicle to acknowledge the people which is crucial for the future stability of “plans” for Gary and similar cities.

Methodologies

With the goal of proposing a workable planning strategy which can help produce a better future for the citizens, this study first attempts to understand the historical factors that have produced the contemporary conditions in Gary. I have endeavored to employ ethnographic research to study these circumstances from a perspective empathic to the residents of the city. The initial stages of this investigation include collecting historical and archival data, building ecological and economic inventories, conducting environmental assessments, and talking with people and to help familiarize the environment. The objective is to develop a rudimentary understanding of the current social and economic conditions of the inhabitants, the structural-institutional and social-cultural forces that have contributed to these circumstances, the people’s own cultural understandings of this predicament, and how they respond to these conditions.

Working with and learning from the people who exist, survive, eat, sleep, and drink the water of Gary is the only possible means to begin to understand their predicament. In order to begin to understand what can benefit or perhaps even ensure the survival of future generations in the city, it is imperative that this study be conducted from a perspective empathic to the remaining residents. A key methodology is therefore ethnography, but will simultaneously
investigate the potential role of ethnography as the foundation and guide for planning in Gary. Ethnography has the potential to provide deep insights into people’s processes and reveal self-motivated initiatives conducted to improve or enhance their quality of life. Ethnographic research is therefore, centered upon two goals: understanding socio/cultural contexts, conditions, and issues in communities and institutions and developing and accessing approaches to bring about positive changes in institutions or communities.

Ethnography involves the researcher's study of human behavior in the natural settings in which they live. Although there are shortcomings – the tendency to generalize, variations in question interpretations, validity of responses, bias caused through the difference between the self and the other, ethnographic research can provide qualitative insights that conventional quantitative research and surveys cannot. The voices of Gary residents not only add legitimacy to any understanding of the dismal conditions created by larger social, economic, and cultural forces within the United States, and the more specific structures in Gary, but also enable us to understand how the citizens perceive, feel and respond to these conditions. This knowledge will enable planners to develop a more grounded understanding of the current perpetuation of predetermined mainstream ideologies which have been put to practice without exploring major aspects of America’s social-economic-geographical cultures and their effects on cities.

Focusing on the physical process of ethnographic research, Robert Emerson (1995) uses unfinished field notes to illustrate the options for composing and analyzing field notes, interviews and participant observations. Margaret LeCompte (1999) identifies the key aspects in the critical processes of ethnographic research and describes the applicability of ethnography in solving social and institutional problems.
I began by using a random sampling model of over thirty residents in Gary and conducted interviews over a period of five months. The interviewees ranged from retired workers and self-employed to fully employed persons, unemployed and underemployed persons, and “homeless” residents.

From the saturation model, four interviewees were selected for more extensive formal interviews; lasting one to three hours. Interviews began with an introductory script, review of consent and authorization to release information and making necessary arrangements for the comfort of the interviewee such as choosing video and/or handwritten documentations and answering any and all questions. Together, voices of interviewees give light to past and present social, economic and environmental conditions and shed light on substantial issues that can be creatively and articulately addressed by planners.

In addition, mapping, statistical analysis, and multivariate time series analysis are used to compare connections between population declines and time over the past century, within a sampling of comparable post-industrial cities. These statistical techniques have the ability to provide a means to (quantitatively) examine the dynamic historical processes over a long period of time. Statistical analysis will serve primarily as the quantitative foundation, questioning, validating, and providing shape to the geographical and spatial patterns of development in Gary over the last century.

**Justification**

Urban planning is a relatively young profession, just over one hundred years old. The profession is in need of critical reflection of practices and results thereof (Humphrey, 1913). The origins of modern urban planning lie in 19th Century social movements for urban reform
that emerged as a reaction to the miserable conditions in western industrial cities. In Great Britain, the first academic planning program began at the University of Liverpool in 1909, and the first North American program was established at Harvard University in 1924.

Planning approaches and theories were first developed to positively intervene into the dismal conditions in industrial cities. Yet many visionaries of the period sought an ideal city - a utopia. Yet practical considerations of adequate sanitation, movement of goods and people, and provision of amenities also drove the desire for planning. More contemporary innovations in environmental planning and design have involved urban growth boundaries, transit-oriented development, economic development strategies, mixed-use development, urban revitalization, and sustainable development. This thesis argues that it is time for planning to pay attention to the urban crises in today’s post-industrial cities in America.

Within American planning discourse, the term “sustainable development” has come to represent an ideal outcome for future planning and development strategies. As advocated by the United Nations-sponsored World Commission on Environment and Development in Global Sustainability: Development in the Twenty-first Century, sustainability is referred to as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Lee, Holland, and McNeil, 2000, pg. 42). In Gary and similar peripheralized (a classification designated by Saskia Sassen-Koob (1984)) post-industrial cities, the development trajectory has resulted in heavy environmental degradation, social fragmentation and economic decline. This results in conditions that incapacitate future generations’ ability to meet their own needs. Hence, these cities are highly unsustainable.
It is therefore, time for critical reflection on planning practices and socio-economic discourses that provide ideologies for such development. In order to ensure the survival of residents in declining post-industrial cities, it is essential for the professional field of environmental design, planning and policy to broaden the spectrums of understanding to accommodate residents’ voices. Decision making methodology and ‘development’ strategies must reflect on development patterns and race relations over the past century.

The Chapters

Chapter Two examines the background literature on the decline of post-industrial cities. Chapter Three explores the historical trajectory of planning and development discourses in Gary. Chapter Four critically discusses the social construction of race as it relates to Gary. Chapter Five documents the multitudinous present day issues facing Gary. By utilizing concepts founded on the voices of residents, this research will provide a base for future planning and development in Gary and other post-industrial cities. Chapter Six presents a summary and conclusion.

Chapter 2: Review of Related Literature

Introduction
In the planning and construction of Gary, what once was, has been removed and replaced with what is perceived as development, progress, and growth. The planners of Gary, much like many visionaries, sought to create an urban utopia within the age of industrialization that could further withstand inevitable chaos of the city. The city was envisioned as an urban industrial utopia that could withstand the imminent conflict between capital and labor. Gary was built for inevitable progression, unconstrained growth and expansion, unlimited capital accumulation, and consumption and production, which have over the last century defined the “American way”. Gary was built for permanency. Discussing the structural composition of Detroit, yet another post-industrial city with similar economic and social conditions Robert Beauregard (1993) states that permanence of the city proved easy to accept when the city was viewed as necessary to the progress of civilization.

As an urban utopia, Gary became a combination of perfected American and western European ideologies that simultaneously maintained a relationship, in a balanced dichotomy between capital and labor, while taking into consideration socio-economic hierarchical manifestations. U.S. Steel, a product of capitalist-based models and processes, has had insurmountable influence in Gary’s physical and social planning. Attempts at paternalistically controlling the built environment and its inhabitants in efforts of creating utopias have merely resulted in dystopias and, as described by George Orwell (1992), and are illustrated by social and political societal degradation. As argued in this thesis, these processes are in need of critical reflection for the inevitable and ultimate survival of American cities. In evaluating the historical discourse of development, I wish to focus on the construction of the term “development” and the use of planning to achieve it.
Development within American Capitalism

Exploring Gary requires knowledge of American planning, development, and implementation strategies and their particular applications in the city. The American ideologies of planning and development are contextualized in the larger development discourse constructed as part of building U.S. hegemony. These are the foci of this chapter, the purpose of which is to review the relevant literature. The chapter will explore the American development discourse, the ideologies of race and class on which this is built, and the resulting development and planning practices.

Although urban renewal strategies for post-industrial cities have enhanced the overall quality of life for some, the development and planning practices at large have contributed to bleak conditions for inner-cites throughout the United States. According to Immanuel Wallerstein (1974), national and international manifestations of modernization are in fact the development and expansion of the modern world-system, which is essentially a capitalist world-economy. It is for him, the crucial product of the rise of northwestern Europe to world supremacy. Libby Porter (2010) further argues that in order for planners to truly carry out what they intend to, they must first unlearn predetermined ideologies and elements of institutional, social, cultural and economic socialization within the European colonial system. Alluding to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s (1988) “Can the Subaltern Speak?” this thesis critically investigates whether historically oppressed populations, surviving within preexisting structural and cultural systems, especially in Gary, can actually be represented. As demonstrated in the following pages, the social construction of race and the particular capitalist models of development have had insurmountable influence on the economic, social and environmental wellbeing of
American cities. They have contributed to the creation of dismal conditions for millions of American citizens, transforming them into voiceless subalterns. At the same time, these systems are so deeply intertwined within the roots, the fabric, and the founding basis of American Exceptionalism. Hence, I question whether it is possible to break free from the past, unlearn, reimagine, and ultimately produce social-economic and environmental planning programs directed toward the survival of cities and the empowerment of their populations.

Marx (1848), Raúl Prebisch (1970), and Andre Gunder Frank (1970), among others, explored the idea of development. Focusing on the history of class struggles, Marx (1971) suggests that development occurs in stages of human evolution, defined by modes of production. According to Marx, exploitation of labor is one of the fundamental bases for development and its measurement. This is a theory that relates to the founding of capitalist cities such as Gary, established as an experimental, capitalist and urban industrial utopia.

Prebisch (1970) added to Marx's argument of exploitation by identifying underdevelopment as caused by a structural relationship between two sets of countries he saw as the core and periphery: an economic-geography of a systematic relationship between capital and labor in which the periphery is economically dependent on the core. The planning of Gary specifically divided the geographical location of the capital and labor, which created a core and periphery within the city and an economically dependent urban relationship.

Frank (1970) enhances Prebisch's (1970) argument by further demonstrating that the economic growth of the core states is dependent on the exploitation and underdevelopment of the peripheries and the ability for “developed” nations to prosper at the expense of underdeveloping other countries. He calls this the development of underdevelopment. This structure
of (under)development enables divine prosperity for some, and economic, social, and environmental devastation for most. Gary, being planned and constructed by a capitalist corporation and inhabited by labor, is essentially a microcosmic model of an American capitalist core and periphery structural economic relationship. The implications of this discourse are reflected in the conditions of an institutionally abandoned community.

**The Social Construction of Race**

For at least since “Enlightenment,” people in the western world have acted upon the assumption that external appearance of the bodies bears the identity of the people who were then classified into racial groups of which some are inherently superior to the others (See Freund, 2007, pg. 11). According to David Freund (2007), these assumptions have had a dramatic impact on the experience of populations classified along racial lines, particularly those who fell on the wrong side of the classification. Europeans created the modern-day concept of race during the “age of exploration” as a means to justify the conquest and/or the eradication of indigenous peoples in the western hemisphere and the, simultaneous, massive expansion of the African slave trade. He has demonstrated that “White racial privilege and the degradation of people considered non-White has long been protected by institutions and by popular practice [and] is still enshrined in law, reproduced by class structure and celebrated in White-produced popular culture” (Freund, 2007, pg. 11).

In order to realize, understand, and interpret the resulting social disenfranchisement of minority populations within the socially constructed notions of race and class in America, it is essential to develop a basic understanding of the Critical Race Theory (CRT). CRT, an international legal theory, utilizes four methodologies to understand the incoherence in the
ideology of law in reference to domestic inequalities. While external critique exposes the impact of law on material social conditions, internal critique exposes inconsistence and incoherence in legal reasoning and decision-making. In a broader sense, legitimate-ideological critique exposes the role law plays in creating and maintaining liberal ideology; ideological critique exposes the role law plays in creating and maintaining illiberal social ideologies such as racism and colonialism (Delgado, 2001).

This theory not only relates to internal American discourses and constructions but also to international discourses and their corresponding relations with domestic roles and notions. Colonizing states of Europe transformed southern economies into satellites of the northern economies. Delgado (2001) suggests that [northern] society perpetuates the “underdevelopment” of others, particularly the South, entrenched in the discourse of economic inequality relative to the north and by failing to correct economic disadvantages imposed on the south by colonization (Delgado, 2001). These development patterns allowed northern economies to develop off of the underdevelopment of southern societies. According to critical race theorists, the colonial international economy not simply failed to develop the South, but “underdeveloped’ it by extracting indigenous resources and transforming it from a series of self-reliant economies into one dependent on imports from and exports to northern markets (Delgado, 2001).

As a northern city established in 1905, Gary exhibits the destructive results of unequal incorporation of minority ethnic groups within mainstream institutions and culture. As African Americans and other ethnic groups moved into northern regions, the cities experienced
dramatic shifts in demographic compositions and corresponding institutional and geographical interrelations, a phenomenon occurred in the larger world after decolonization.

CRT also exposes the insufficient integration of historically subordinate populations (African Americans and other ethnic minorities) into the dominant legal system. This seems true to other formal systems as well. Critical race theorists argue that the “colorblindness principle” adheres to classically liberal notions of formal neutrality and equality that entrench, rather than correct, racial subordination. The late Derrick Bell (2002), credited as one of the originators of CRT, argues that African Americans continue to suffer disproportionately higher rates of poverty, due to unequal integration into dominate legal system, joblessness and insufficient health care than any other ethnic population in the United States (Bell, 2002). This institutionalizes a particular worldview of race constructed in the USA.

In examining the historical discourse of development and the social construction of race in America, colonialism plays a crucial role in planning cities. Nihal Perera (1998) has detailed that colonialism consists of four stages: the use of military force to physically subjugate local populations; the establishment of a colonial administrative structures to govern them; economic incorporation through the incorporation of new societies and transforming these into a peripheral economy dependent on the core and, finally, the establishment of European cultural hegemony, i.e. colonization of the mind in which oppressed are institutionally, linguistically and cognitively conquered. In this context, I focus on the contributions to the understanding of social space and planning made by Henri Lefebvre (1991), Ashis Nandi (1987), and Arturo Escobar (1995).
In *Intimate Enemy*, Nandi (1987) argues that the British colonizers believed that Europeans were the superior race; therefore, it was in the best interest of all to civilize and develop these underdeveloped people (i.e. “the White man’s burden”). Ultimately, the oppressed assimilate, individual perceptions and conceptions shift from “traditional” beliefs and practices to those of the colonial power. In this spectrum of understanding, we perceive, interpret, respond, and apply within a predetermined body of absolute and universal knowledge. As a planner, I may be a mere agent for the very power I am fighting against.

Lefebvre (1991) suggests that through colonization, professional planning and implementation strategies and structures of meaning and truth that give planning agency are drenched in colonial historiographies. In this, individual perceptions of predetermined mores, which become absolute knowledge, are perceived as the truth and reality. According to Libby Porter (2010), the very practice of implementing a land use plan has colonial roots that powerfully shape conceptions of and actions in a place. “Yet the distinctly modern form of controlling and regulating space and population - the production of what Lefebvre (1991) calls “abstract space” – were influenced by colonial processes” (Porter, 2010, pg. 52).

Escobar (1995) takes this point further by arguing that representations of development are bound in Eurocentric ideologies and scientifically limited by facts observable to the five senses. He critically identifies an issue that is one of the founding base of this study: Contemporary planning bound by Eurocentric ideologies and scientific analysis and used as the means for the production of social-economic and environmental space neither captures the underlying issues, nor aids in resolving them.
In 1893, the United States mass-educated its citizens and the world of the exceptionality of western development by hosting the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago and naming it the “White City.” As the name indicates, it also celebrated the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus’s “discovery” of America. The planning and implementation of the Exposition was a symbol of American Exceptionalism. The Exposition appropriated and valorized European architectural forms, focusing on capitalism, technology, and education. It also exhibited the other of the Exceptionalism, the “primitive” beings (majority from Africa and Asia). These representations helped solidify a measurement of American civilization as the idealized “developed American,” further perpetuating the hegemonic perceptions of development, spatial planning, and race-ethnicity (Vujovic, 2004).

In projecting an urban utopia, and an illustration of American Exceptionalism, the Exposition was a preamble to the pursuit of the mythical “American Dream” and its subsequent socio-economic, racial, and environmental manifestations. The Exposition was a monumental declaration of the bourgeoning American ideologies of the time in regard to infrastructure, technology, capitalism, commerce, education and “civilization.” Chicago was also the location, in the late 19th century, of the largest incorporated steel manufacturing zones in the United States, containing over 200 companies and producing two thirds of all American steel (O’Hara, 2011). U.S. Steel’s further economic and geographical expansions led to the planning and development of the city of Gary.

Self-identifying as being founded on individualism, commerce and technology, as so grandly displayed in the Columbian Exposition, Gary was a pedestal for those with access to the
American Dream within context of American social, economic and racial constructions, in the image of American Exceptionalism.

The planning and construction of Gary is a beacon in American history. It represents the planning model of the capitalist industrial utopian city of the 20th Century (Lane, 1978). James Lane (1978) documents how, learning from the socio-economic failures of past social-industrial experiments, the planners of Gary sought not to control the inevitable chaos of industrial cities, but to withstand industrial, racial and ethnic strife. According to John Bodnar (2004), Gary is an example of how utopian ideals rooted in the process of industrialization have resulted in racial segregation and the demise of the American standards associated with industrial growth. Bodnar (2004) further suggests that it was in the industrial geography and the language of Gary that new ideologies of modernity were developed and exported into the physical structures and public policies of the city (Bodnar, 2004).

Although Bodnar (2004) does not provide extensive details on the planning process in Gary, Lane (1978) and O’Hara (2010) provide complex chronological documentation of the processes of seeking, acquiring land, planning, and developing the city. These details are crucial steps in conventional planning processes. The spatial planning of Gary was both a reflection of American social, political and cultural ideologies and a vehicle to maintain these predetermined systems.

Over six million African Americans migrated to northern cities during what became known as the “Great Migration.” Many migrated to Gary. In 1906, approximately 400 African Americans resided in Gary, within 55 years, by 1960, African American’s made up over 50% of the population (Betten, 1993). In 1967, with the election of Mayor Richard Gordon Hatcher, the
nation’s first Black Mayor of a major city, the African American population in the city hoped for political representation and power over their oppressive and depleting city. Alex Poinsett (1970) states that Gary is an example of the African American experience, the African American culture, and the dreams that the African American lower-class parents have for their children. Unlike any of the books articles and other forms of documentation described within this section, Black Power Gary Style documents the goals of Gary from the perspective of former Mayor Hatcher whose family came from the south during the Great Migration. The publication adopts an alternative lens to understand the intended city-wide objectives, national disinterest, and racial issues from an African American perspective.

There are many hidden stories of the Great Migration of African American citizens who left the south for northern and western cities in search of a better life. From 1915 to 1970, this exodus of over six million people changed the face of America, as compared to pre-Great Migration demographic, economic and cultural concentrations. Stanley Folmsbee (1949) demonstrates that the greatest reason why African Americans left the southern States and migrated to northern States was Jim Crow Laws. These laws of the South were so deeply interwoven into the socio-economic cultural and structural systems. Despite the establishment of a formal, legal hierarchy of the Whites over African Americans, the north appeared to be full of glorious opportunities. Under this construction of race, the Whites, no matter the socio-economic status or educational attainments, have supreme allocation, jurisdiction and authority (Folmsbee, 1949). Wilkerson (2010) compares this epic migration to the migrations of other peoples in history, particularly the migration of Jews out of Egypt. Providing perspective to the stories of American citizens, she interviewed more than a thousand people to write a
vividly authentic account of how these journeys were conducted, altering America and its cities forever. Her work presents the Great Migration as an emotional, economic and American dream-driven journey undertaken by predominately African Americans.

European immigration to Gary is just as essential as it provides the background to the development of interactions between the races and their geographic distribution. Many early immigrants were rural laborers from small farms, fruit growers and fishermen unfamiliar with urban life or factory work coming largely from Poland, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Italy, Greece and the Balkan nations (Mohl and Betten 1974). Raymond A. Mohl and Neil Betten (1974) document how immigrants faced severe language problems as well as cultural shock. Many industrial cities with large communities of foreign-born residents became arenas of cultural and ethnic conflict.

Upon arriving to Gary, citizens underwent mass “Americanization.” O’Hara (2007) analyzes how African Americans, Mexicans, and European immigrants of various nationalities adjusted to life in their new surroundings and the institutions with which they interacted. Primarily U.S. Steel, churches, schools, and community social agencies endeavored to “Americanize” new citizens. Mohl and Betten (1974) document the conditions of institutional socialization by describing racial and ethnic exclusion and inclusion within educational facilities and workplaces. Their publication, Paternalism and Pluralism (Mohl and Neil, 1974) adds to O’Hara’s (2010) theory of socio-ethnic marginalization by stressing that the Americanization of immigrants was itself an instrument of social control.

Ronald Cohen (2000) challenges both liberal and conservative perspectives on the devastating effects that large-scale economic shifts have had on urban poor communities in the
United States. He demonstrates the difficulty of and resistance to integrating schools in Gary from 1906 to the late 1960’s due to systematic and institutionalized racial discrimination. As a product of the construction of race in America, African Americans were both socially and economically segregated from both American Whites and foreign-born Whites (European immigrants). Cohen (2000) documents Gary Public School Superintendent Wirt’s mass educational system implementation and the 1919 race riots through social interactions from 1920-1945. Although Gary schools remain segregated to this day, racial segregation was “planned” into the physical space of the city, and its schools, from its creation. The Dilemma of School Integration in the North: Gary, Indiana 1945-1960 (Cohen, 1986) documents the reality of social and cultural relationships and spatial arrangements among predetermined superior and inferior “races.”

In understanding the relationship between the allocation of resources in Gary and their racial and ethnic distribution through spatial planning, environmental changes to the city can be seen through the lens of conflicting social agendas. Although various ethnic groups encounter environmental hazards based on their locations, Andrew Hurley (1995, pg. 15) stresses that “African Americans, Europeans immigrants, native-born Whites, factory workers, white-collar professionals, affluent families and poverty-stricken individuals all endured certain hazards and inconveniences associated with industry’s manipulation of the natural environment.” Reflecting on the period between 1945 and 1960, Hurley (1995) documents the historical correlation between the quality of environments and ethnic compositions. He highlights how the predetermined, planned ethnic segregation in Gary generated environmental justice issues. Cohen then stresses that the exploitation of race, and the resulting environmental pollution,
manipulation exposes deterioration of neighborhoods and neighborhood social organization are quite evident in the steel mill community of Gary.

Considering the relationship between the condition of postmodernity and social justice, particularly exploring issues associated with urban poor communities, David Harvey (1989) questions the validity of developing up-scale infrastructures and urban environments in the 21st Century. Exploring the state of planning and development within an urban poor region in Baltimore, Harvey suggests that paternalistic development ideologies have produced seemingly fiat cities. He suggests that we break the political and institutional constraints which have inhibited the advancement of capitalist societies of their development (Harvey, 1973). Although U.S. Steel planners vowed to avoid management strategies such as those adopted by Pullman, Illinois, they utilized comparable planning and development strategies of the company town in regard to geographic spatial arrangements, property ownership and unconstrained production. U.S. Steel also voiced opposition to planning a similar paternalistic city, but the decline of Gary has been impacted in part, by the similar forces which led to the deterioration of Pullman. In short, the planning of Gary has roots in the Colombian Exposition, especially in the worldview expressed in it. Gary was comprised primarily of migrants and immigrants, both white and black.

**Present Conditions of Gary, Indiana**

Gary has suffered from severe decline in regard to revenue, population, jobs, quality and quantity of institutions, and physical infrastructure. In *New Inequalities: Cost of Being Poor*, Sandra Barnes (2006) adds to the study of how individuals cope with everyday stress resulting from institutional economic disinvestment along with social marginalization stemming from
their lower positions in racial and socio-economic hierarchies. The degree to which families suffer in urban poor communities and the large-scale concerns of economic survival can be best illustrated by comparing urban and suburban Gary regions (suburban Gary will be so mentioned). This study testifies to the harsh conditions of being poor in the urban neighborhoods of Gary which is quite well known. Despite being a native of Gary however, Barnes (2005) seemed unable to access the voices of individuals residing in Gary. As a result, she provides an external view as O’Hara (2010). Going beyond this limitation, in The Warmth of Other Suns, Isabel Wilkerson (2010) documents the stories of over a thousand individuals associated with the Great Migration of predominately African Americans to Gary and other northern American cities. This thesis builds on Wilkerson’s approach.

The notions of race and racial differences have been the critical base that encouraged disinvestment. As stated by St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Clayton (1945), the African American story in the United States has great complexity and should be considered as having insurmountable influence in the past and present discourses in America. Discrimination implied in this disinvestment is a major contributor to the failure of the American urban systems for millions of citizens.

Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (1993) suggest that racial segregation is crucial in explaining the creation of the African American underclass as alluded to in the late Manning Marable’s (1983) How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America and Julius Wilson’s (2009) More Than Just Race. Massey and Denton (1993) further argue that socio-economic solutions will fail if we do not explore, measure and appreciate the disadvantages caused by racial discrimination and prejudice. Marable (1983), Wilson (1997), Poinsett (1970), Sugrue and
Barnes (2005) collectively provide much insight into the current economic, socio-political, and environmental deprivations of majority African American populated inner-city communities.

Massy (1993) identifies that residential segregation is a key variable in the concentration of poverty in inner cities and the resulting social and environmental conditions. Following the initial “White-flight” which was a response to the influx of African Americans and with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s through the 1970s, and generating new opportunities for middle-class African Americans, many well-to-do African Americans moved-out leaving behind an isolated very poor minority community without visions, institutions, and resources necessary for success in the present society (Massey, 1998). From a race, class and gender perspective, bell hooks (1984) highlights the centrality of race for the construction of difference in America:

Yet class structure in American society has been shaped by the racial politics of white supremacy; it is only by analyzing racism and its function in capitalist society that a thorough understanding of class relationships can emerge. Class struggle is inextricably bound to the struggle to end racism (pg. 3).

Conducting a series of tests with hypothetical cities, Massey (1993) questions whether there is a statistically significant relationship between the level of segregation and level of change in the structure of income distribution. Ultimately, Massey finds that within a segregated community, any economic shock that causes a downward shift in the distribution of minority income, such as factory closings, the mechanization of production, the suburbanization of employment and the outsourcing of industrial jobs will increase poverty for the group as a whole and will cause an increase in the geographic concentration of poverty.

With regard to planning in the absence of development, and considering complex and dynamic historical socio-economic and cultural forces, it is essential to reflect on past planning
trajectories and hegemonic ideologies, particularly how they contributed to the current predicament. In *The Next American Revolution*, Grace Lee Boggs (2012) identifies crucial moments in American history that have contributed to social, economic, and environmental decline of America’s inner-cities, specifically Detroit. She documents, investigates, and ultimately reveals, revolutionary ideologies as inevitable planning theories for the future survival of our cities. Nabeel Hamdi (2004) suggests that planning principles must first begin with the people and (secondly) planners must plan at an individual level, emphasizing small change. Incorporating a variety of social, economic and environmental theories, sociological interpretations of ethnographic documentation, and progressive planning principles, planning must provide a framework to confront the severe conditions of Gary to ultimately ensure and protect the survival of all American cities.
Chapter 3: Discourse of Development within American Capitalism

As being a new city, planned, constructed and managed from the ground up, a clean slate on which to employ perspectives and conceptions, Gary’s trajectory serves as a foundation for understanding ideologies of development. The planning and construction of the city reflects values and ideologies of the American social system. This model capitalist utopia served as one of the many cities thousands migrated to, from southern American states and Europe.

Planning the Magic City

Excavating the most diverse ecological habitat in the United States, beginning in 1905, the Gary Works of U.S. Steel Factory built its factory along Lake Michigan beach front, supplying steel demands of the Midwest's expanding industrial economy. In her study of Australian colonial spaces created at the expense of natural and indigenous spaces, Libby Porter (2010) demonstrates that western conceptualization of nature is a key concept in environmental management and policies. “Nestled among these huge mounds of sand were various sloughs, bogs, valleys, forest, and lowlands, constituting, in historian Powell A. Moores’ words, “A treasure of plant life,” including more than 1,300 species of flowering plants and ferns” of desert, woodland, swampland, and prairie variety” (Porter, 2010, pg. 3). According to Cronon (1995), western ideologies over the indigenous people associates “wilderness” with danger and fear and this dictates the management of the ecological environment.
Porter (2010) further suggests that this construction of nature has served to perpetuate the colonial ideologies of dispossessing indigenous peoples who lived on these lands and from these lands. Centuries ago, the area which would eventually become Gary was home to Potawatomi. In 1773, the British gained possession of the Calumet Region and violence began. Potawatomi joined with Ottawa and Chippewa people in numerous uprising against British power. As described by a 99-year old pioneer Lane (1978, pg. 7), in *City of the Century*, “the Indians loved their homes as well as we loved ours and this dispossession war certainly was a sad sight. They sat around in their blankets looking sorrowful and dejected. Some, even the bravest, broke down and sobbed”.

According to Lane (1978), the Potawatomi had been promised ten cents an acre for their land. This was yet another broken promise. A final sighting of Potawatomi occurred in Glen Park when, according to Lane, Williams Reissig, spotted three Indians approaching an oak tree. Apparently the individuals pulled a tin box from under the bark of the tree, and vanished.

The planned efficiency, integration of the privatized corporations and technological innovation of the new city of Gary together reflects the new system of industry. Chicago was an epitome of capitalist development. By the late 1890’s, Chicago was capable of producing 4,000 tons of 80 lb. steel rails in twenty-four hours (O’Hara, 2011). The entire mill contained over 200 companies with nearly 1,000 miles of railroad tract and produced two-thirds of all American steel (Lane, 1978). The U.S. Steel Mill’s profits exceeded one billion dollars, making it the first major American integrated corporation in the United States (O’Hara, 2011). U.S. Steel, due to great demand for its products, chose to locate its new development on undeveloped, cheap land near water and rail, iron ore, limestone and coal (Lane, 1978).
Gary began as an experiment in industrial urban planning. Gary was founded as an industrial city in 1906. The environmental conditions and social arrangements were planned and controlled by the U.S. Steel integrated corporation. The planners of Gary sought to create a town that would be a solution to not only the problems of the industrial city but also to the social and cultural problems of urban centers. This idea of a model city had existed prior to the development of Gary. Attempts had been made to escape the ills of industrialization; through modernization, now as self-dignified technologically and intellectually advanced beings living in it. Similar to the production center for manufacturing George Pullman’s sleeping car, attempts were made by planners to create a model city through controlling social, cultural and economic conditions. With strategic arrangements, and the testing that followed, planners were able to create an industrial town that was not only a “solution” to the problems of large scale industrialization but also social and cultural issues associated with it. Planners sought to control through strategic separation.

The planning of the City of Gary sought to separate space in a way that ensured that the production of steel could continue without interruption. The planners of Gary assumed the presence of potentially chaotic elements and that the urban upheaval and violence was inevitable (O’Hara, 2011, pg. 45).

Urban theorists, such as Mohl and Betten, recognize Pullman’s experiment as having paternalistic control over the corporation, the labor force, and the laborers’ cultural lifestyles. “Workers not only had to embrace the middle-class standards of moral uplift, leisure, and entertainment; they also had to accept the company’s ownership and control over everything” (O’Hara, 2011, pg. 43). Despite these paternalist controls, a series of wage cuts in 1894 caused a major strike that resulted in violence and death. The conflict began on May 11th 1894 when
nearly 4,000 employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company began a wildcat strike in response to reductions in wages (Lane, 1995). The Pullman Strike turned into a nationwide conflict which was joined in the summer of 1894 by the new American Railway Union (ARU) and the Railroad Corporation joined it (O’Hara, 2011). During the course of the strike, a total of thirty strikers were killed, fifty-seven were wounded and property damage exceeded $80 million (Papke, 1999). The result of the Pullman experiment illustrates the failure of creating a social utopia. Among those most disappointed where the urban planners who believed and hoped in the idea of an urban utopia (O’Hara, 2011).

Planners designed Gary not to prevent social and cultural tensions and violence but to survive the very kind of ills that had ended the Pullman production experiment in 1894. Gary involved the complete manipulation of the environment; thus it became a brand-new space, seemingly with limitless opportunity. As a new creation, Gary had no standing traditions, neighborhoods, communities, separations, or segregation. As a technologically advanced society, as demonstrated in the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in nearby Chicago, the planning of Gary set the stage for creating an American industrial urban utopia becoming known as the “City of the Century”.

Figure 1.1 Excavation of Natural Landscape (Midwest Region National Park Service, 1998)
With the purchase of 9,000 acres of property along the shore of Lake Michigan for about $7.2 million, about $800 per acre, U.S. Steel turned a wilderness area into an industrial city.\(^x\) (Figure 1.1) The city model involved organizing within the American hierarchical system of the spatial relationship not only organized along class lines, but also along racial and ethnic divisions. “Thus the creators of Gary, Indiana sought to clearly define, confine, and restrain the spaces of their city” (O’Hara, 2011, pg. 85). Learning from former failures in creating a paternalist city such as Pullman, Gary planners sought to eliminate industrial strife and socio-economic inequalities and tension and control, contain, and withstand it (O’Hara, 2011, pg. 45). During the spring of 1905, construction engineers began preliminary plans for the railroad yards and plant. During the winter of 1905, project engineer Arthur PG. Melton began planning the city south of the relocated Grand Calumet River, which was regarded as a “moat” between the mills and the residential district, aiding the separation of capitalists (including the executives) and laborers (Lane, 1978, pg. 28).

Figure 1.2: Plan of Gary 1907- First Sixty-four Subdivisions (MIT, 2002)

The initial plan of Gary as displayed in Figure 1.2 illustrates the use of Grand Calumet and rail line as division between the capitalist corporation and laborers’ housing. Just south of
the rail line are the first sixty-four subdivisions which housed executive corporate members employed by U.S. Steel.

Gary was also planned with ethnic and racial lines in mind. As a result of U.S. Steel’s concept of town planning, two strikingly different Garys emerged: one neat and clean and the other chaotic. North side businesses, plant foremans and skilled workers sought social isolation from the “other Gary” inhabited primarily by immigrants and African Americans (Lane, 1978). This southern district was known as the “patch” which by 1910 had developed over 200 saloons. In essence, there are three distinctly different and separated districts: the mills of Gary Works, the first Subdivision and the “Patch” (O’Hara, 2011).

In short, Gary was planned to be segregated first between capital and labor, and secondly, by race, ethnicity and class. So it was hierarchically organized from the north to the south.

![Figure 1.3: Planned Racial Hierarchy in Gary (Hurley, 1995)](image)

The plan of Gary initially sought to withstand the endemic social ethnic and industrial strife that had plagued industrial centers before. By separating capitalistic production centers from residential labor supply, Gary Works seemingly created a fortress on the frontier or virgin land, reinforcing geographic separation of production and labor by extensive rail lines and the
relocation Grand Calumet River. The balance of the city was organized along racial and ethnic lines.

**Construction of the Magic City**

The Magic City is an apt nickname given to Gary due to the extremely swift rate at which the city was constructed with U.S. Steel being sole developer. By the summer of 1905, construction teams began leveling and grading the land, preparing road beds and pathways for 51 miles of railway and moving the Grand Calumet River 1,000 ft. south of its natural route.\(^{\text{x}}\)

The expansion of the Gary Works included an axle mill, a slabbing mill, two blooming mills, three new open-hearth shops, and a sintering plant. Gary Works then built facilities and factories for Gary Sheet and Tin mill, The National Tube Company, and the American Bridge Plant which were subsidiary plants that relied on Gary Works (Hurley, 2011, pg. 18).

In 1906, the Gary Land Company paved the streets of the first subdivision, laid sidewalks, brought in top soil from Illinois, planted trees, and installed utilities and sewers. This section of Gary became the home of U.S. Steel foremen and executives, but also the center of political power in Gary (O’Hara, 2011).

![Housing in First Subdivision: (MIT, 2002)](image)
This northern area and residential subdivision served as the headquarters for town government, commercial corridor, houses, and a bar nearly 100 feet long (Lane, 1995). At this time, Broadway was only half-paved, and occasionally wolves were sighted crossing the street; however by 1908, there were 2 banks, two hotels, an assembly hall and several dozen shops along northern Broadway (O’Hara, 2011). By 1910, the north side of Gary was becoming the “civilized” place for those settlers who could afford to live there and those who were within reach of acceptable ethnic and racial backgrounds. While the corporation employed modern construction to build the north side of Gary, it virtually ignored the southern end of the city.

The reality of the Southside of Gary in 1908 was that many settlers lived in tents or tarpaper shacks. According to Lane (1978), there was a spirit of camaraderie on the southside among the many nationalities sharing crowded living quarters. African Americans sometimes taught English to immigrants and, in turn, some African-American children grew up with knowledge of Serbian or Croatian (Lane, 1978).
Approximately half of Gary’s population came from the “old country,” individuals carrying with them ethnic customs illustrated through speech, dress, customs, child-rearing practices, and religious activities. These families stuck together, but also adjusted their old-world lifestyles to new circumstances.

By World War I, the steel mill sprawled eleven miles along the former sand dunes, off the shores of Lake Michigan. By 1915, the city had constructed schools, ranges of homes, commercial, retail, and entertainment facilities and sustained a steadily growing population of 16,802, most of whom coming from southern states, and Europe (O’Hara, 2011).

The Magic City was merely a nickname, with U. S. Steel being the magician, and Gary being the trick – the end product. As an attempt at creating and controlling an industrial utopia, Gary was essentially a reflection of capitalist goals of non-stop production and paternalistic
planning coupled with the persistence of blatant discriminatory practices based on race and class. So prominent was the variable of race that a distinctively different Gary emerged. Since its conception, the geographical language of separation and segregation through which Gary emerged is drenched in racial antagonism. Racial hatred has had insurmountable influence on corresponding allocations of resources and access as well as the irrational geographical development pattern in the city.
Chapter 4: Social Construction of Race in Gary

Immigration and the Great Migration

Gary was planned to both accommodate and segregate the incomers according to their race and ethnicity, but within the larger realm of capitalist and laborer division. Nevertheless, it soon became home to rapidly growing populations of European immigrants and African Americans escaping the Jim Crow laws and oppressive Whites in the southern regions of the United States. The most unskilled steelworkers came primarily from southern and eastern Europe: Italy, Greece, Poland, Russia, and the Balkans. The company's skilled workers and managerial staff were primarily English, Irish, German, or native-born White (O’Hara, 2011).

From 1930 to 2000, Gary experienced dramatic shifts in the composition and the distribution of population. First the population increased dramatically; it was followed by a substantial population decrease. The White population in 1930 was 80%, and then fell to 60% by 1960. By 1990, the White population had been reduced to 16%, falling again to 10% in 2000. Simultaneously, Gary’s African American population grew exponentially. During the 1930s, Gary’s African American population was just over 17%. In 1960, the percentage of African Americans was almost 39%. By 1990, the African American population in the city had swelled to over 80%; by 2000, the percentage stabilized at 84% (See Table 1.1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total (and by category)</th>
<th>Foreign Born</th>
<th>Native with foreign parentage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>100,426</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>78,992 White (78.7%)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17,922 Negro (17.8%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Indian (0.0%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 Chinese (0.0%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 Japanese (0.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,486 Mexican (3.5%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4 Other (0.0%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>178,415</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>108,980 White (61.1%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69,123 Negro (38.7%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>217 Other races (0.1%)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>116,646</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18,995 White (16.3%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>94,013 Black (80.6%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>207 American Indian (0.2%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>145 Asian/Pacific Islander (0.1%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,286 Other race (2.8%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6,282 Hispanic Origin* (5.4%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>102,746</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12,245 White alone (11.9%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>86,340 Black or African American alone (84.0%)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>213 American Indian and Alaska Native alone (0.2%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>140 Asian alone (0.1%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone (0.0%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,023 Some other race alone (2.0%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,761 Two or more races (1.7%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5,065 Hispanic or Latino* (4.9%)</td>
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Table 1.1: Shifts in the population and its ethnic composition, 1930 to 2000 (Bureau of the Census: United States National Archives and Records Administration, 2005)

Gary’s African American community began with the founding of the city; in 1910 there were approximately 400 African American residents in Gary. The African American population grew rapidly during World War I, the Strike of 1919, and World War II. Both the father and mother of Leonard Dotson, one of the four selected interviewees, migrated to Gary in the early 1950s as the former found employment in U.S Steel. Leonard’s mother stayed at home and raised their five children. Dotson’s family lived on the westside of Gary which housed a predominately African American population by the 1950’s.
According to historian Powell Moore (cited in O’Hara, 2011), the African Americans (referred to as “Negros” at the time) encountered racial barriers in the region; these barriers were almost as severe as those they had known in the south. African Americans were forbidden to utilize some entertainment venues and discouraged from using public facilities (O’Hara, 2011). Preventing economic advancement and racial separation was a common reality for African American residents in Gary. Parks and benches were segregated until the 1930’s; forms of social and cultural discrimination have been historically intertwined in the fabric of Gary (Mohl, 1971).

On the city’s south side...the federal government built a divided park. Whites used one half, Blacks used the other. The park included a small swimming pool for Blacks and two golf courses, one for Blacks (nine holes), and one for White (eighteen holes). Private pools, country clubs, and benches also maintained a Black exclusion policy. Neighborhoods were segregated and Blacks ghettoized through housing codes and real estate agreements. Steel mills had segregated bathroom facilities and discriminated against Blacks in employment and promotion. By 1940 Gary, The Steel City of the north, had much in common with Birmingham, the Steel City of the Deep South (Mohl, 1971, pg. 87).

Mary Edwards migrated to Gary at age twenty-two; as she recounts, it was understood that “there were opportunities for a better life up north”. People held this perception not only for employment, but also for opportunities for social and educational attainment. She was highly concerned about education for her children. Her husband had left for Gary years prior to her relocation to the city, but returned to Mississippi to marry her. xiii Two days after their marriage, the couple moved from Greenville, Mississippi to Gary, Indiana. According to Ms. Edwards, her marriage was her passport to get out of Mississippi.
In this way, people fled to northern American cities, escaping racial, economic, or ethnic oppression and violence in the south. Yet individuals and families encountered familiar social and cultural barriers upon arriving in the “promised land”. Those not within acceptable American ethnic and racial hierarchy experienced discrimination, violence and prejudice that ultimately laid a foundation for ethnic and racial strife. The results of these social ills are illustrated in present demographic composition of Gary (and the majority of post-industrial cities). As the established institutions of the city began to assimilate various European ethnicities, racial and ethnic hierarchies were reestablished along new demographics and were reinforced. As illustrated below, Americanization also involved the transmission of cultural values, particularly the American notions of race and race relations. For White Americans, in the early 20th century, the Irish were socially comparable to Negroes; however, within a couple of decades they became “White”. xiii

We have the tragic story of how one oppressed “race,” Irish Catholics, ultimately, perhaps through Americanization, oppressed the other race, within the American construction of race, the African American, simultaneously securing their place in the White political realm. Becoming White meant losing their greenness, i.e., their Irish cultural heritage and the legacy of oppression and discrimination back home (Ignatiev, 1995, pg. 12).

The Great Migration and immigration with planned segregation and discrimination, coupled with deliberate capital and laborer separation is a preamble to civil conflict. Ultimately ethnic and racial groups entered into an institutional order in which the people of color were disenfranchised, merely based on the physical appearance. In order to realize the extent of the
historic division along ethnic and racial lines, it is essential to understand principles that have led to the discourse of social injustice.

**Americanization**

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Gary served as a testing ground for the assimilation and Americanization of migrants from the southern regions and European immigrants. Surrounding institutions, such as educational facilities and employment centers built consciousness and pride in various heritages of immigrants and encouraged inter-ethnic cooperation and understanding (Lane, 1995). Many of the city’s American institutions—schools, churches, workplaces, settlement houses, political systems, and newspapers—focused on the struggle to Americanize the immigrant steelworkers and their families as soon as possible (O’Hara, 2011). Gary’s nationally famous “work-study-play” or “platoon school” system, implemented by long-term school superintendent William A. Wirt, sought to ‘Americanize’ immigrant children, prepare them for industrial work, and entry into the mainstream (middle-class) American culture. In O’Hara’s (2011) words: “...new models of social reform, urban education, religious integration and Americanization could be tried, refined, perfected [in Gary] and eventually exported to other industrial cities”. Gary combined the American experience of conquering, acquiring, taming and modernizing the frontier, which needed controlling, and Americanizing of the ethnically diverse industrial city. Both objectives had a similar interest: capitalistic production and expansion.

In contrast, African Americans and Mexicans were respectfully marginalized and isolated behind the powerful walls of discrimination, segregation, and racism. In addition to the
structural and cultural segregation by ethnicity and by race, divisions also existed within residential communities of Gary. O’Hara quotes Helen Baxter Hansen (O’Hara, 2011, pg. 68) who recollects her experience in Gary:

So he came over. And there were a lot of Scotch people that came over at that time. They all worked in the Gary, Steel Mill. The city of Gary is a, was a (sic) funny town. In the east side, where we lived, was a whole bunch of Scottish people and then, like on the south side there was a lot of Slavic and, you know, Polish and what else was there? Just, you know, the Slavic people in another end of town, and they all kind of clannish, you know. But they got along, but they were kind of clannish. ... you just kept to your own.

Those that settled to work either at the mills or subsidiary employment had to adjust to an industrial economy and accept and embrace pre-established segregated surroundings. Specifically the emergence of African American communities demonstrated the sub-proletarianization of African Americans. According to O’Hara, “While internally divided, there was often a unified rejection of outside organizations” (O’Hara, 2007, pg. 99). Moreover, very few residents had lived in Gary for long due to the short existence of the city; therefore, there was a general lack of neighborhood and community social organization. Although the residents were located within a particular geographical arrangement in designated ethnic zones, families and individuals possessed distinctive individual characteristics which were not predetermined by the imposed ethnic composition. Internal racial divisions, existing within a larger framework of capital and labor division, established a discourse which presents a crude reflection of America’s internal social issues and inevitable failures.
The Gary school system was a significant tool of Americanization. It represented a structure of mass education in a multiracial, multiethnic, class-structured urban setting (Cohen, 2000). Superintendent Wirt became nationally renowned for his work-study-play plan. In his study of the rise and fall of Gary, Ronald D. Cohen’s argues Wirt’s attempt for mass education is notable because it represents the first attempt at mass education through progressive ideologies (Children of the Mill, 1990). According to Cohen, Wirt "epitomized the new breed of urban superintendents --White, male protestant to Republican, small town-who believed in individual and civic virtue" (Cohen, 1990, pg. 5).

In September 1908, over 600 students arrived at the new Jefferson School. According to Children of the Mill, the thirty African American children were transferred to rented faculties in a Baptist Church (Cohen, 2000). The separation of African Americans from the general public was thus integrated into the educational system of Gary from the beginning. This move was portrayed as positive: “This move of the school board which has always been included in its plans has met with the favor of the better element of the Negro residents of this city” (Lane, 1978, pg. 144). Interestingly, the Baptist Church to which the African American students were relegated was in relative proximity to a saloon. Wirt believed “that it is only in justice to the Negro children that they be segregated. There is naturally a feeling between the Negros and the Whites in the lower grades and we are sure the colored children will be better cared for in schools of their own, and they will take pride in their work and will consequently get better grades” (Cohen, 1990, pg. 8).

The Gary Daily Tribune alluded to the perception that having African American teachers would enable the African American children to do better in school and get better grades. The
newspaper argued: “It is certain that as soon as they become accustomed to the new situation the [African American] school children will become friendly rivals of the other children in their school work” (Cohen, 1990, pg. 8). Wirt believed that it was only justice to segregate the African American children. Although the Baptist Church housed thirty children in 1909, many African American children were educated in the basements of other facilities (Cohen, 2000).

In view of Americanization, Wirt established kindergarten and preschool education to expose immigrant children to English and wean them from perceived cultural limitations of their family environment (Cohen, 2002). As well as educating preschool and kindergarten, Wirt also established an extensive school (K-12) curriculum. Students under sixteen would be taught general courses while those over sixteen would be subjected to more specific job-related programs. The School Board of Gary stated: “it will give the opportunity to every young man and woman in Gary to secure a practical training for life’s work in any commercial, professional or industrial line” (Cohen, 2002, pg. 14). The high school’s curriculum consisted of wood-working, sheet-metal work, cook-binding, pattern-making, printing, pottery for boys and domestic “science” and art for girls. These main facilities were in use both day and night essentially functioning as a social center. This approach of mass education “Americanized” immigrant children while simultaneously and conveniently segregating, isolating, and ostracizing “Negro” children. It also provided opportunities for adults to ‘voluntarily’ educate themselves -- through voluntary assimilation.

As early as the 1919 steel strike, race had been a key determinate in Gary’s political culture and vernacular imagery (O’Hara, 2011). Following the Strike of 1919, much concern with regard to segregation was focused on the school system which, as aforementioned, instituted
segregation from its inception. In 1927, *Time Magazine* chronicled White students of Emerson High School, rebelling against the admittance of twenty-four African American students (O’Hara, 2011). The students held signs stating, “We won’t go back until Emerson is White...no niggers for Emerson...Emerson is a White man’s school” (O’Hara, 2007, pg. 195). By the second day, White student protestors numbered 1,357 (O’Hara, 2011).

Emerson would then face the same issues in 1947, when administration suspended all striking students over the age of sixteen and cancelled all activities for the year. Despite these attempts, over 1,300 students continued to strike, accompanied by 500 parents in front of the school (O’Hara, 2011). Even after the Supreme Court case of *Brown V. Board of Education* in 1954, Gary schools remained segregated by race. In 1964, the Gary School Board argued that it was not responsible for integrating unintentional segregation caused by racial separation in neighborhoods. The Gary School Board stressed that the persistence of segregation and inability to cure racial discrimination is grounded in the geographical planned segregation of the city. Ironically, the city was utilizing conditions established by leaders to defend segregationist practices. Dorthy Mockory remembers attending such an event at school. She recalled noticing an African American man at an event and thought to herself, what is this African American man doing here on this side of town? It was actually a darker skinned Croatian. According to Dotson,

> The separation is real, the east side, where Delaware is, all the State Streets are White people, we lived on the Westside, it was an all-African American neighborhood. There might be a White family, but they were a part of our community ... but after you crossed that street ... it was their community (Dotson, 2012).

In essence, development is not only the physical manipulation of the natural environment, but also involves the socialization of individuals to support the pre-determined system and trajectory of progression. As people made Gary their home, they entered into a
controlled structure where individuals were drafted into a historically planned socio-ethnic-economic hierarchy through pre-established employment, recreation, commerce and entertainment systems which was a large institution by itself.

**The Environment**

The planning and construction of the city was based on environmental intrusion. It was the frontier myth once again and included the complete removal, destruction and annihilation of the natural ecology and re-routing of the Grand Calumet River. The physical founding of the city resembled the multitudinous disregard, lack of concern, chauvinism, and egotism of its creators and this has directly contributed to environmental, socio-economic, and planning issues evident today.

The 1905 industrial expansion, north of the re-routed Grand Calumet River, intensified the environmental manipulation. U.S Steel modified the natural shore of Lake Michigan by extending the lake shore by filling it with slag, thus reclaiming 500 acres.\textsuperscript{xvi} This destruction of water resources continued throughout the area.

Still huge quantities of slag had to be disposed of elsewhere, as did other more hazardous wastes such as tar sludge, acids, and steel scales. So the company took advantage of the plentiful swampland along the lakefront by using repository for much of this refuse. Slag, tar, and other waster were discarded in vacant pits and lagoons scattered throughout the property (Hurley, 1995, pg. 18).

This way, the U.S. Steel’s manufacturing site discharged several hundred tons of waste annually into Gary’s atmosphere and waterways (Hurley, 1995). When the corporation found waste recycling profitable, it engineered waste disposal systems that maximized profits. However, when waste disposal turned out to be not profitable, U.S. Steel allowed toxic waste to enter into the atmosphere (Hurley, 1995).
The effect of hazardous exposure depended on where one worked, lived, and spent leisure time. At the same time, these activities and their location were shaped by one’s position in the social hierarchy organized around class, race and ethnicity. Hurley (1995) explains: “Uncovering the precise relationship between social organization and industrial pollution pattern requires that we follow manufacturing waste as they intruded on human activity both in the factories and in the neighborhoods” (pg. 23).

Although U.S. Steel had hired a substantial amount of women during both World War I and World War II to compensate for absence of male workers, preferred male laborers encountered harsh work environments due to the harsh by-products released into the surrounding environment. xvii

Employees who toiled in the coke plant, sintering plant, blast furnaces, and open-hearth ovens suffered the most hardships. Coke battery workers, for example, faced blast of thick smoke when they open dove doors to insert or remove materials. Visibility sometimes become such as problem that workers rang bells and clapped shovels to communicate. Duke Lee, who worked in the coke plant until 1946, remembered that conditions were so dusty that three years after leaving U.S. Steel he was still spitting up particles of coke. Lance Burners, who rejected oxygen into the open-hearth furnaces, fastened themselves to one another with rope to navigate their way through the particulate fog. Curtis Strong, who began working in the mills in 1943, recalled that in the sintering plant, the dust was so bad, you couldn’t see. You couldn’t tell Blacks from Whites; everyone was completely red (Hurley, 1995, pg. 23).

In the process of producing steel, Gary Works produced clouds of tar, hydrocarbons, sulfur, methane, carbon monoxide, and carbon into the atmosphere which inevitably flows into communities south, east and west of the eleven mile long production facility. My father, Olon F. Dotson, recalls a journey from Indianapolis to Gary. As a small child, he observed a dark could
of smoke through the car window and encountered a smell seeping from the smoke stacks of Gary Works. He asked, “What’s that smell daddy?” Cloice C. Dotson, my grandfather responded: “That’s the smell of money boy!” According to Charles Shaw, a resident of Muncie, Indiana who went searching for work in Gary in 1963, if one was to peer down Broadway, you could not see down the street due to the red cloudy smoke produced from the steel mill.

As Gary’s population swelled from over 10,000 in 1908 to over 100,000 by the end of World War II, the physical growth of the city shifted from central Gray to the outskirts, developing on areas which were swamps, marsh land and dunes; the process continued to a greater degree even after the election of Hatcher in 1967 (Hurley, 1995). Interviews, although depicting the steel mill from varying environmental and institutional perspectives, all recite a similar pattern of memory of ‘their’ neighborhood. Most residents and former citizens of the city I interviewed describe a history of environmental injustice and their and persistence into the present.

Racial Ethnic and Industrial Strife

Three years prior to 1914, Gary was experiencing a recession that resulted in unemployment for many Gary Works employees. According to Lane, the recession was so severe that Mayor Johnson set up several relief centers for the unemployed. On April 6, 1917, the United States’ declaration of War on Germany had a momentous impact on Gary’s economy. The city even published a brochure proclaiming, “Cosmopolitan Gary, the Magic Steel City, welcomes all comers to its confines, where health, wealth, and pleasure combine to make it the most wonderful city of the present century. Thrice welcome! Ye patriotic peoples of the universe” (Lane, 1995, pg. 87).
By broadcasting employment, Gary Works enabled thousands of people to gain access to the “American Dream.” As illustrated below (Table 1.2) between the 1910 and 1930, the African American population in Gary increased from 383 to 18,922, with an increase in “Other Races” from 16 to 3,512. This substantial increase of what was believed as an “inferior” race, coupled with a massive immigration of “foreign born” Whites created the perfect storm in the Gary region. Making a key change in human classification, the US government counted foreign born immigrants as simply “White”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>1910 pop.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native White</td>
<td>4,480</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>16,519</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>33,635</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born White</td>
<td>8,242</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>16,460</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>19,345</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native White with one or more Foreign-Born Parents</td>
<td>3,681</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>17,065</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>26,012</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Races*</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>3,512</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5,299</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>17,922</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16,802</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>100,426</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2 Population and Ethnic Compositional Shifts from 1930-2000

* Mexican immigrants made up 3,486 of the total listed under "other races" in 1930.


With the slowing of European immigration after the outbreak of World War I and exportation of men into the military, manufacturing increasingly turned to African Americans to fill the lowest ranks of the industrial hierarchy (Hurley, 1995). Mary Edwards remembers how momentum to move north spread through her hometown of Greenville, MS. “Life in Greenville was segregated” (Edwards, 2012). Living under segregation, African American families were seeking better opportunities. Mary Edward’s mother was a sharecropper with a third grade education. At the age of six, Ms. Edwards was introduced to picking cotton, by ten she was
chopping cotton. “All day long,” she gazed at the ceiling while recalling the, “overbearing Mississippi heat, from sun to sun, and the work is never done” (Edwards, 2012). Escaping the oppressive Jim Crow laws and sharecropping system in the American South, African Americans and other socially, politically and economically oppressed citizens migrated north to work in packing houses, auto plants, and steel mills.

The influx of African Americans split the urban societies along racial lines (Hurley, 1995). By 1919, less than a third of Gary’s 60,000 residents were White, compared to 50 percent in 1910 (Lane, 1995). The division was apparent on the production floor as well: Most of the migrants carried out the least desirable and most dangerous tasks in the factory (Hurley, 1995). That fact is, “Racial segregation and racial violence had long been a part of American society, especially in northern cities since the Great Migration during the First World War…” (O’Hara, 2011, pg. 121). According to Hurley, industrial corporations deliberately used White workers against African American workers. For example, U.S. Steel hired African Americans who were not, nor permitted to become, members of the union, as strike breakers (Hurley, 1995). According to David Brady (1970) African Americans and Hispanics were used as a source of cheap labor to compete with ethnic Whites for employment and as strikebreakers during the Great Steel Strike of 1919.

Although industrialization did not create racism, industrialists’ hiring practices sustained and deepened it. The resulting racial animosities spilled over into community life, in which White residents systematically excluded African Americans from important civic institutions, social venues, and political structure (Hurley 1995, pg. 4).

According to O’Hara (2011), prior to the strike of 1919, there were two interrelated movements that redefined Americanism and reshaped communal identities and social
relationships between Gary residents. First, efforts to unionize plants of the U.S. Steel industry by the Amalgamates Association of Iron and Steel Workers of North America; second is the replacement of ethnic traditions with working class realities which created a new vision of American citizenship (O’Hara, 2011). By 1918, The American Federation of labor began to organize a campaign to fight against U.S. Steel. The formation of unions was a major threat to the U.S. Steel industry. In 1919, workers faced the steel corporation in a national-wide confrontation. The picketing, violence, and racist propaganda that accompanied the strike took place in Gary as in every steel city [In the United States] (Mohl, 1971). It should be noted again that the plan of Gary and construction of the steel mill had not envisioned preventing conflict, but rather withstanding it. Prior to the strike, as unions began collectively organizing, U.S. Steel decided to reject the union’s partnership, stating that all of its plants after June 20, 1919, would be operated as “open shops”. World War I provided the opportunity to challenge the relationship between the capitalist and the worker. With higher production came higher profits. The union recognized this and fought back. Ironically, the language used to fight against the economic exploitation of Gary Works in 1919 was the same language of democracy and patriotism utilized during the First World War. Many new Americans were thus challenging the very definitions of Americanism, demanding higher wages, better benefits, shorter working hours and overtime. They were thus questioning the processes of the American Dream and democracy as propagated by the authorities. This epidemic of socio-economic turmoil represented the beginning of the demise of Gary.

At 4:30 pm on Saturday 4, 1919, violence broke out along Broadway and steelworkers surged onto a streetcar transporting strikers to the mill; as reported in the Chicago Tribune.
The riot in Gary started shortly after five o’clock when the crowds of strikers leaving the mass meeting came upon the streetcar filled with strike breakers, which had been halted at Tenth St. by a passing Michigan and Central train. The crowd surged about and began jeering.

The motorman for the car started, but the throng surges in front of it and all around it, impeding progress. By the time the fourteenth street was reached the crowd had swelled to 5,000. Someone jerked the trolley from the wire and twenty-five strikers climbed into the car to single out the strike breakers.

“Yank them off,” shouted a striker from the crowds that was gathering around that car. One of the Negros was said to have drawn a knife. Another urged him to use it, according to the pickets. The trolley pole of the car was jerked off and the Negros thrown off the car. The motor man and the conductors fled. One Negro was beaten into insensibility. The rest tried to escape. Each became center of a hooting mob.

A Negro deputy worked his way into the jam and rescued the Negro, who had defended himself with the knife. Dragging him to safety, he took his knife from him and sent him home. This enraged the crowds and an attack was made on the deputy, while the others chased the Negro.

In five minutes the mob numbered from 5,000 to 6,000. The police, headed by Capt. James McCartney, arrived on the double quick, filled by armed businessmen in automobiles. A large force of deputy sheriffs arrived at the same time. They organized with the police and charged the mob, which stood its ground. The police formed a wedge and bored in, swinging clubs and blackjacks. Gradually the mob was forced backward to Fifteenth Street.

Some construction was going on at this corner and piles of bricks stood in a vacant lot. These were hurled into the lines of advancing police, several of whom were injured. Ordering his men not to fire, Capt. McCartney fought his way into the lot. Patrol wagons and automobiles were backed into the curb and scores of rioters were over powered and thrown into the machines. They fought bitterly, several of them reaching out of the patrol wagons to hit whoever stood near.

For nearly two hours, the fighting masses surges up and down Broadway Gary’s main street, between tenth and eighteenth streets. The sound of falling bricks and broken glass were interrupted by the clanging bells of ambulances and patrol wagons (cited in O’Hara, 2011, pg. 56).
In all, thirty four strikers were arrested and several were hospitalized (Lane, 1995). Two days later, the strikers held a march and rally at Eastside Park that state troopers were unable to prevent. Thousands of people led by 500 men in uniform lead to Governor Goodrich’s request for the importation of 1,500 federal troops to Gary. During the first week of the strike, steel production nearly stopped; however, Gary Works’ agents began recruiting “scabs”. \textsuperscript{xx}

Between 500 and 1,000 strike breakers were smuggled inside the mills and provided with cots, entertainment, and overtime pay. On one occasion, mills officially paraded a large number of Blacks through the streets in an effort to demoralize the strikers (some Black residents accepted money to be in the demonstration and then went home afterwards rather than to the mill). The strikebreakers had less effect on the outcome of the dispute... But the corporation had exploited skilled workers’ feelings of superiority (Cohen, 2000, pg.58).

By October, impoverished and with winter approaching, the mills were soon functioning at near capacity (Lane, 1995), and federal troops left Gary. However, the strike of 1919 had revealed underlying social issues in relation to the social construction of race in the city. In Isaac J. Quillen’s (in Lane 1995, pg. 93) words: “Gary had always been fragmented but during the winter of 1919, the gap at the Wabash tracks became a canyon”. This story of Gary highlights the capitalist desire for non-stop production, race and ethnic relations, and the resulting strife. According to Lane (1995), as an expression of social tension, the aftermath of institutional segregation and historical slavery, 1919 divided churches and families, fostered contempt for law and government, and bred cynicism and disillusionment.

According to O’Hara, like most northern cities, Gary had its difficulties with segregation and racial violence. According to \textit{The Economist} (1997), the legacy of racial segregation whether
through de-facto, industrial labor, or through social interactions still continues and recently earning the unfortunate title of “the most racially segregated city in America”.

**Shifts in Ethnicity and Space**

African American migration from the South had displaced the ethnic and racial arrangements of immigrant and native communities on Gary's south side. Poles, Serbs, Greeks, Russians, and others moved further south to the Glen Park section of the city, or to emerging ethnic enclaves on Gary's northeast side (Hurley, 1995). Mexicans and African Americans lived side-by-side in neighborhoods isolated from Whites. Despite these demographic changes beginning in the mid-twenties, the settlements tried to retain their hold on the declining numbers of immigrants and immigrant children in their neighborhoods (Hurley, 1995). At first, due to learned racist attitudes of early settlement leaders and, as a consequence, developing hostilities of eastern and southern Europeans toward African Americans and Mexicans; classes, team sports and other activities were segregated. The African American migration which continued through the 1940's, and the World War II, brought temporary integration to immigrant districts, but eventually the dispersal of the Whites south to Glen Park and nearby suburbs escalated, causing further segregation (Hurley, 1995)(See Figure 1.8).

Population and politics are related. Hatcher was elected Mayor in 1967 and he was one of the nation's first big-city African American mayors. In O’Hara’s words:

In the traditionally Democratic city of Gary, incumbent A. Martin Katz had received the endorsement of both Democratic Party and the United Steelworkers support that normally would have guaranteed him victory. In 1967, however, the rules of Gary politics changed. Instead of supporting Katz in the primary, many African American voters supported Black candidate Richard Gordon Hatcher. The primary campaign between Katz and Hatcher was fierce and highly racialized (O’Hara, 2011, pg. 137).
Edwards states that, “We loved our Mayor. We thought he could do great things for our city...”, “We were proud to have an African American mayor” proclaimed former Gary Leonard Dotson. For Dotson, “I know people [Whites] had been moving out, but it seemed like when he was elected, [he moved his hands quickly slapping them across each other in a swift motion] they all left...” White flight to nearby suburbs had already begun prior to the 1950’s, but Hatcher’s election and his perceived confrontational style accelerated the exodus considerably. Levi recalls:

When the first black Mayor came, we was so proud. Then fights and BATTLES started. Then the flight started. Then it slowly started to depreciate. Stores started closing up, people started packing up...A lot of things have been torn down and never rebuilt. I use to be able to leave one job today and get another job next week (Gildon, 2012).

This epidemic was accompanied with White business flight (Poinsett, 2000). With a secure African American power base, Hatcher was reelected four times, an unusual record for a big-city administration. He ultimately served twenty years as the Mayor of the City of Gary (Poinsett, 2000).
The prospect of sharing a neighborhood, especially in a city planned and constructed on the premise of racial segregation, was viewed by many as undermining the very dream for which people had worked and fought hard. According to O’Hara (2011, pg. 139), “The notion that the barriers of racial separation had broken down and integration of neighborhoods was unstoppable drove many of Gary’s White residents to look for housing in surrounding communities.” Since 1950, the downtown central business district saw large amounts of net population loss, but Glen Park, Miller and other surrounding racially homogenous (White) communities saw high rates of population growth. Planners allocated resources to the privileged and facilitated their ‘escape’ through new developments, red lining, zoning, restrictive convents and other forms, at the same time, hindering the mobility for minority populations, serving segregation through discriminatory urban planning practices (Freund...
Eugene Kirtland, witnessing the influx of African Americans into the historically homogeneous White community of Glen Park, states “there could never be, in his mind, any kind of compromise because any integration would undermine the utopian nature of Glen Park” (cited in O’Hara, 2000, pg. 139).

As descendants of European immigrants emptied out of the city, the population declined dramatically to 116,646 by 1990. From 1960 to 1990, the white population plummeted from 61% to 16.3% while the proportion of African Americans rose to over 80%. With the White, more affluent, ethnically acceptable, and the privileged population decreasing, downtown businesses also sought to relocation and retail jobs were reduced by more than a third. Stores such as Gordon’s, Goldblatt’s, JC Penney’s, Sears, Kay Jewelers, and countless others relocated to surrounding cities of Merrillville and Hobart. In this, retail and commercial services followed initial White flight.

Lenard Dotson recalls that in the late 1960s Gary still had businesses, but the election of Hatcher also brought political and governmental change. Most of the Whites moved out, and the business, commercial and retail services followed them. “As White people in Glen Park moved to Merrillville, so did all of the businesses”. He remembers: “When the downtown Gary theatre closed, it seemed liked more and more businesses left and none came back; some tried to survive”.

Multivariate Time Series Statistical Analysis

Neoliberal planning and development ideologies, with capitalist objectives, have lacked the capacity and/or neglected to formally consider the variable and trajectory of race as a
major element in the quality of life of communities within post-industrial cities. Referring back to Tables 1.1 and 1.2, there is a significant transition in demographic composition within the city over the last century. In approaching the challenges facing Gary in a manner which questions predetermined planning and development perspectives, there is a need to critically identify a statistically significant occurrence in the percentage of population gains and losses in post-industrial cities over the last century. Post-industrial cities refer to cities formerly dominated by manufacturing and service activity often resulting in deindustrialization - these cities may exhibit post-modern forms of consumption, culture, and the characteristics of post-welfare societies. Post-industrial cities used in initial analysis include Detroit, Michigan; Gary, Indiana; Flint, Michigan; East St. Louis, Missouri; Camden, New Jersey; Braddock, Pennsylvania; Cairo, Illinois; and Youngstown, Ohio. The epidemic of minority influx and majority exodus is not particular to Gary alone. To add validity to this racial and geographical discourse, the following hypothesis was tested to determine a statistical relationship in spatial shifts over the past century using Chi Square model:

There is a statistically significant relationship between the rapid population rise and fall within the past century in selected post-industrial cities: Detroit, Michigan; Gary, Indiana; Flint, Michigan; East St. Louis, Missouri; Camden, New Jersey; Braddock, Pennsylvania; Cairo, Illinois; and Youngstown, Ohio.

Null Hypothesis: Population gains and losses by percentage over the past century in post-industrial cities possess variations that are NOT statistically significant.

Alternative Hypothesis: Population gains and losses by percentage over the past century in post-industrial cities possess variations that ARE statistically significant.
Table 1.3 Population Shift Statistical Multivariate Analysis

With an R square value of 99.94, 99.94% of the variance in population decline in these post-industrial cities is explained by time. The percentages of population gain and loss within these post-industrial cities have a strong similar character over the chosen period of time.

An R value of .997 indicates a strong positive linear relationship between the variables. With p-values of -.916, -.929, -.369, 186, .581, .520 and -.040, there is very strong evidence against the null hypothesis. Therefore, we reject the null hypothesis. With 95% confidence, we can formally state there is statistically significant relationship in population gains and losses by percentage over the past century in post-industrial cities. Full statistical data is found in Appendix.

Each post-industrial city has individual stories with a range of contextual history and background; however, as noted, all of these cities are within the domain and power of a historically racial-discriminatory culture and the American capitalist system. After identifying the acceptance of alternative research hypothesis, planners can understand and accept the reality of large geographical shifts.

The population decline in Gary is not a singular epidemic. The lost population over the last century in many American cities, based on the failure to confront race relations in a progressive way, is clearly tangible and must be addressed. Although de-industrialization is
given much emphasis in regard to said de-populations, with these statistics, we can see that geographical population shifts began prior to de-industrialization in late 60’s and early 70’s. Planners, developers, and public officials can, after accepting the reality of aforementioned statistics, potentially begin to address the current results of spatial shifts within post-industrial cities, specifically Gary. This test provides more validity to the American epidemic of stratification.

The flip side of urban deindustrialization, disinvestment, and depopulation was the process of suburbanization. One of the greatest migrations of the twentieth century was the movement of Whites from central cities to suburbs. From the opening of “greenfield” factories to the rise in corporate “campuses” to the proliferation of shopping malls, suburbs have attracted a lion’s share of op postwar private and public sector investment (Sugrue, 2005, pg. xxi).

The shifts in population concentration coupled with historical racial, ethnic, and industrial strife present a significant relationship toward a mass exodus from these cities over the last half-century that must be considered in context to Gary.

With ensuing flight and unprecedented institutional abandonment, Gary’s image has been transformed into an isolated, disenfranchised community, with stereotypical inner-city problems of crime, violence and drugs (O’Hara, 2000). By 1972, the discussions of Gary’s crime corresponding reputation were increasingly defined by terms of race, as displayed in national media.

**Economic Shifts and Institutional Abandonment**

Throughout the 1920s, the city's economic prosperity remained dangerously dependent on a single industry, a condition that backfired during the Great Depression when the steel mills cut back production by nearly eighty percent. Unemployment soared, most banks failed, and
the city government faced bankruptcy (Lane, 1995). The economic demands of World War II revived the steel industry and pulled Gary out of the depression. However, racial segregation and strife, labor problems in the steel industry, industrial pollution, and political corruption earned Gary a national reputation as a troubled town. This other set of dangerous issues were overlooked and continued to haunt the city.

Deindustrialization, a crucial element in discussing the economic discourse of Gary, is well documented. However, it is critical to define deindustrialization within time and historically contextualize this understanding as it relates to Gary. According to Marie Howeland (2010), manufacturing declined in Northeastern and Midwestern cities because the managements of these cities chose to relocate to the suburbs to the south, and ultimately overseas. Along with technological advances, economic shifts are causing the demise of traditional work systems for millions of Americans. Gary, once the heart of an American manufacturing and production center, has borne the brunt of industrial decline.

During the 1960s, the relationship between the steel industry and the communities of Gary become increasingly estranged. Adding to initial struggles between capital and labor, combined with racially and ethnically planned divisions and environmental degradation, U.S. Steel endeavored to prevent economic diversification of Gary’s manufacturing sector by resisting the entry of other industries that would otherwise compete for labor (Mohl and Neil 1974). Coupled with infrastructural, managerial, and institutional relocation to surrounding and increasing in population regions, Gary has lost not only its population and its economic engine,
but also its major commercial, retail, managerial services, public amenities, and the political-economic stronghold that could help improve the existing infrastructure systems.

During September 2012, I visited my cousin Michael Dotson, a life-long resident of Gary and child of a migrant family from Mississippi. Stepping out on his patio, he points across the seemingly endless Lake Michigan waters and said, “On a clear day, you can see Chicago’s skyline”. Residents looking to the southeast from Chicago, on a clear day, can see three decaying monuments to America’s Golden Industrial Age: the Standard Oil Refinery, the Inland Steel Plant and the Gary Works U.S. Steel Plant (Brady and Wallace, 2001). These factories that once employed over 50,000 workers produce relatively the same amount while employing a fraction of the former rate, symbolizing the decline of the manufacturing sector in the United States.

The period between 1970 and 2000 demonstrated unprecedented economic shifts that, due to predetermined and established institutional and structural divisions, plus racial inequality and economic exploitation have resulted in adverse effects on residing populations. According to Jeremy Rifken, “redefining opportunities and responsibilities for millions of people in a society absent of mass formal employment is likely to be the single most pressing social issue in the coming century” (Rifken, 1995, pg. xv). Economists have suggested that we are entering into a world in which fewer and fewer workers will be needed to produce goods and services for a global society, as the permanent replacement of machines for humans laborers has already taken a tragic toll on the lives of millions. Gary, being founded on a single
manufacturer, is essentially a microcosm example for the future of American employment sector.
Chapter 5: The Potentials and Limitations of Planning

...three snapshots of the industrial city of Gary from 1945, 1968, and 1972 should trace the origins of urban crisis and the moment of urban decline. As Thomas Sugrue... has shown in his study of Detroit, in the same period, the so-called urban crisis, often attributed to racial violence, White flight, and riot, had its roots in economic and political decisions that transformed the social structure of the city long before the 1967 riots. For Gary, then, Sinatra’s visit in 1945 should have represented the postwar optimism that so defined the “Arsenal of Democracy” Detroit; the backlash of White voters in 1968 should have defined the splintering of the Democratic Party; and the violence and crime of 1972 should epitomize the racial division and decay of late twentieth century urbanism (O’Hara, 2010, pg. 6).

Affected by de-industrialization, historic segregation and discrimination patterns, suburban sprawl, erosion of a viable tax base, racism, inability to embrace the concept desegregation and civil rights legislation - fear, despair, crumbling infrastructure systems, disinvestment in urban school systems, and environmental injustice, Gary is a product of its century-old history. The city is in desperate need for models of transformation outside the realm of traditional, conventional, and growth-oriented urban planning systems of thinking.

It is essential for planner and environmental designers to accept, recognize, and understand America’s own social and economic structures and cultural forces that caused the decline of Gary and many other cities like it. Gary was founded upon the American brand of capitalism, industry as the economic base, a particular racial hierarchy, a discriminatory spatial model which also transformed with the city, and an attitude towards nature. In order to truly understand the impacts of economic, political, ethnic, environmental worldviews on social space, planners must identify these historical phenomena; reflect as perpetrators and
contributors to the current devastation, and meaningfully incorporate residents into the process of planning for the future of the city.

**A Century Later**

A century later, the 2010 Census reveals Gary's decline: The population, which peaked at 178,320 in 1960, is now less than half at 80,294. During the first decade of the 21st century, Gary lost an additional 22% of its residents. The city's unemployment rate in February, 2012 was almost 14%; While U.S. Steel still employs roughly 3,500, the skeletal workforce is a far cry from the amount of people who, during its peak, worked at the Gary Works facility. The disappearance of work is reflected in the boarded homes, vacant lots, abandoned schools, dilapidated housing and the inability of the city government to provide basic services.

Gary Steel Works sought to build a utopian city which could withstand industrial, racial and ethnic strife. From 1910 to 1970, the city experienced remarkable transformations. According to Freund, “the residential color line remained firm (if shifting) first within the city center itself and then, the suburb” (Freund, 2007, pg. 13). Within this structure however, the Whites, both the locals and those of European descent, gained access to the American dream in which millions became homeowners for the first time (Freund, 2007). A subtle shift in the planning language allowed the discredited biological (racial) differentiations to be associated with property and its privileges (Freund, 2007). Along with restrictive convents, federal appraisers, White real-estate developers—who had monopolized the business-- deemed property unsalable to African Americans in the far larger and federally secured market for “White property”.
Planners have contributed to the mobility of those privileged. Zoning policies created legal instruments and knowledge that empowered homeowners to exclude a wide range of developments and populations. After 1940, as more classified Whites became homeowners, private sector discrimination rapidly created new patterns of metropolitan segregation.

Charles Johnson (1947) and Herman Long (1947) explored links among White people’s ideas about race, politics and geographical property shifts. “Where the factor of decline in property values can be directly linked to Negro occupancy or threaten ‘invasion’, it is evident that the phenomenon is a psychological one existing in the minds of the White people rather than attributable to the Negro themselves” (Johnson 1947, pg. 6).

Johnson and Long further explain that it was the large-scale use of restrictive covenants, the vigilance of White neighborhood improvement associations, planning guidelines, and the complicity of both private interests, and public officials that translated White fears into policy, legal precedence, residential subdivisions, and housing equity (Long and Johnson, 1947). According to Freund, zoning ordinances provide a means for exercising tight control over development patterns. By creating a hierarchy of zones, planners segregated uses and citizens. Zoning statutes and land-use theory provided suburban communities with the authority to exclude entire classes of people, and social-scientific logic enforced Whites’ racial preferences.

Along with the original segregation of ethnic and racial groups, planners planner’s polices supported (and for all practical purposes, encouraged) for the exodus, peripheral development, and ensuing ethnically and racially homogenous incorporations of suburban communities surrounding the Gary region, specifically Merrillville, Indiana. In regard to planning principles of the last century, the trajectory of Gary reveals that since initial planning, planners
working within a society in which racism and capitalism have been dominant forces of rational organization have contributed to the city’s decline.

**Survival and Existence as a Form of Resistance**

It is important to empathize with this population and that can be more effectively carried out by utilizing sociological understandings of social fragmentation, apathy and nihilism, unemployment and poverty, and environmental dilapidation and learning about the people using ethnographic methods. People living in Gary have knowledge of deprivations within the city, in their own ways, which are commonly associated with forms of social, economic and environmental distress. As my ethnographic field notes reveal, people also have aspirations, which this thesis argues, are in need of support. Moreover, we must understand that individuals living in Gary have agency over their own lives and, with the support of future “plans,” they can “plan” for their own existence.

One of the main problems is the dilapidated housing. The Department of Corrections is finally a stakeholder and has started to demolish degraded abandoned buildings, but there are over 3,000 that need to be torn down. People are dependent on welfare, food pantries and shelters. Times have really changed. There are not any opportunities for youth in regard to education. It is non-existent. There used to be summer jobs and work programs, they are all gone. Young people need motivation. These political leaders that are always talking about creating jobs need to motivate our children. The Boy’s and Girl’s Club is coming back mostly because children are involved in the reconnecting. Children make lifelong friends there. The Boy’s and Girl’s Club recently received funding from NIPSCO a supplier of energy. They got two million dollars to rehab the old Toliton School into the new boys and girls club. Gary shifted from a steel mill city to a service industry city. This shifted the tax base responsibility from the steel mill industry to residents. The steel mills leaving Gary hurt this community, it hurt us a lot.

She continues:
The 85,000 people still living here need to have access to services. If a community can thrive, they need dollars turning over within the community. Money needs to be reinvested within the community. Also we need training programs and treatment programs. We need rehabilitation centers. When our people get locked up for drugs or robbery after they serve time, they throw them back out into the streets where they got messed up in the first place. Edgewater is a mental health facility but they need to learn the difference between mental illness verses drug abusers and treat the two separately. The prison population can’t and do not have access to jobs. Do you know the rate of returned offenders for drugs and criminal activity here in Gary? It is very high. People are released from an uncontrolled environment right back into the community (Field notes, Edwards, 2012).

People like Edwards have ideas about the present and aspirations for the near and long-term futures. At the same time, in observing social networks and talking with residents, it is clear that defensive mechanisms work as barriers. Due to the environment in which residents survive, street smarts play a role in both communication and perception. Lack of smiles, greetings, waves and friendliness are social instruments that people use to undermine outside world’s perceptions of their weakness and vulnerability. Individuals demonstrate levels of aggressiveness to resist and alleviate verbal and physical threat. This type of information has never been documented from an inside perspective. Instead of perceiving Gary’s residents as threatening, we should understand that this established social structure is a form of resistance. The way people survive within extant social-economic conditions are commonly documented, by outsiders, as hostile.

Along with social defense mechanisms, social apathy also exists; Emile Durkheim (1897) refers to this as “anomie”. In regard to his theory of natural insatiability of the human, Durkheim states that the human desires can only be held in check by external controls, that is, by social control. When social regulations break down, the controlling influence of society on
individual tendencies ceases to be effective, and individuals are left to their own devices.

Anomie does not refer to a state of mind, but to a property of the social structure. It characterizes a condition in which individual desires are no longer regulated by common norms and where, as a consequence, individuals are left without moral guidance [nor support] in the pursuit of their goals. According to Durkheim, the realization of human desires depends upon the resources at hand. The poor are restrained, and hence less prone to suffer from anomie by virtue of the fact that they possess, but limited resources. According to Levi who is from Gary:

Well let’s just say there where some unnecessary events that happen in Gary. I have been working end and odd jobs ever since the 80's. I use to be an operating engineer in the union way back when. It is hard enough for people to get a job but where am I gonna find a job at? There is no employment for the elderly. I need a way of generating positive income. The steel industry privatized jobs and then left us. There was this automobile stamping company named BUDD, it just closed, they had some good jobs for people. There ain’t no more dealerships. There are all kinda social ills here. Young people are trained by immature adults. There are 15 year olds having babies. There might be three generations and the oldest is 40 years old. In the 70's Gary went through a period of drug wars. Hard drugs came on the scene, heroin, cocaine, and crack cocaine. Young people don’t want restaurant jobs any more. They want that fast cash, quick buck and don’t have no respect for others, specially elders.

Levi smiles, leans back in his chair, and reflects:

Everything was working and jumping at that time. It was a booming and bustling city. All down town were people. There were no houses empty in the neighborhood. There were families on every corner. All the children walked to school. In the good ol days I remember singing on street corners under the street lights. My father worked in the steel mill. My sister finished school, left the city and never came back. My brother worked in the steel factory too. We use to have 4 theatres, hotels, auto dealerships, major stores, mom and pop shops, store fronts. My aunt had a deli on Broadway and use to make more than $3,000 a
day. When the 70’s drug wars came, people were fighting over control of drug areas. People say, if you can make it through Gary, you can make it anywhere (Field Notes, Gildon, 2012).

It is unclear the degree of anomie that Gary residents possess. During her interview, Edwards discussed the present economic conditions of Gary. Levi Gildon was also in the room and added, “We are not just economically broke, we are spiritually broken”. Long (simultaneous) pauses by both Edwards and Gildon were preceded by sighs. Although Durkheim argues that the poor are less prone to anomie due to lack of resources to fulfill unlimited needs, Gary along with its history of grandeur is somehow now invisible within mainstream American capitalism, materialism, individualism, consumerism and American Exceptionalism which defined the city less than 100 years ago. Brown and Knight had the following to offer:

Brown: “Yeah everyone used to work there. Well we are just living. She looks around and says, we couldn’t stop them from leaving. Now there are just houses and lots.”

Knight: “Girl, stick your chest out, we are proud of our houses, we have a good community. We couldn’t help the ones that moved out.”

Ms. Brown looks down at the ground and sighs, “yeah” (Field notes, Ms. Brown and Ms. Knight, 2012).

I believe Gary residents carry the burden of anomie that is far higher than what Durkheim would suggest. I believe that residents of Gary have lost far more morale, certainty and customary expectations. These are no longer sustained by the surrounding failing institutions. Within an environment where there are less than adequate resources, what are people supposed to do? People have formulated their own mores and expectations.

Dotson left Gary in 2002. Upon returning three years later, he turned numb as he passed by houses that were completely gone, vacant and/or dilapidated. It is no longer the neighborhood in which he used to live. According to him, individuals residing in these
communities illustrate feelings of hopelessness coupled with surrounding environmental dilapidation. Upon returning to the neighborhoods in which he was raised, Dotson felt a spirit of wickedness, a feeling that something went terribly wrong. He reflected:

Riding through Glen Park, crossing Broadway, I saw this young man, and I spoke to this young man, you know just waved my hand, out of courtesy because that is what we do. And he looked at me like, who in the world is this guy waving at me? And he looked at me like I was crazy. ... Who waves anymore in Gary? I do not know ... Who speaks to people anymore in Gary? ... So I wave, and he just keeps walking, and I felt...I felt hopelessness in that kid. Because as I continued to drive, I rode down Delaware St, 41st and Delaware was a beautiful community. Riding down Delaware, back in the day there used to be ten on each side, now at least 5 houses on each side are dilapidated and boarded up. With this kind of environment, living in and walking in and seeing torn-down buildings, seeing boarded-up building, seeing weeds growing, seeing housing uninhabitable, why [would] not the kid be hopeless? I did not grow up like that; my neighborhood had people in every house. In comparison to now, all you see is boarded-up buildings and what you would call poverty-stricken dilapidated neighborhoods. Why would this kid not be hopeless? Why wouldn’t there be any hope in sight when all he sees every day on every block is devastation (Leonard Dotson, 2012)?

As discussed above, when social structures break down and the social organization and the support systems are no longer effective, individuals are left to their own devices. Under these circumstances, however, people also develop their own mechanisms first to cope with the situation and then to respond it. As Perera (2009) argues, people adapt their daily activities and cultural practices to the new environment, at the same time, transforming (negotiating) extant space for these activities. According to him, the people carve out lived spaces from abstract spaces (provided to them). He calls the outcome, people’s spaces.
In short, people do what they can do to survive but, in the process create their own spaces within the potential and constraints of the environment. (Perera, 2009) Although buildings may be vacant and abandoned, by legal standards, they serve various purposes for the locals. In talking with a homeless resident, she stated that the abandoned buildings on Broadway are where she sleeps. They have turned these into their space, in this case a residential. Jesse explains: “I sleep anywhere I can, I make it day by day. Where I lay my head is where I sleep. I have been trying not to drink as much. God helped me stop drinking for three months, I don’t anybody care about me though”.

Jesse is about 40-50 years old. She states that she is homeless. She says that she has a group of friends who hangs out in park. She talks about her drinking and being saved by Jesus at a church located not far from where we were. She continued to talk about drinking for a while. She says she applied to live in Delaney projects on 21st six months ago, but no access, no help, no care. She says that she spends most of her time at a park, pointing to it across the street. The park is located downtown near the county building. The group calls it the water hole. Jesse insists that she wants to show us the fish that live in the pond. The pond has benches surrounding a two sided circular arrangement. Jesse approaches a group of people sitting on a bench and presents them as her friends. One of the people jumps up dancing and begins to dance toward us. Holding a cup in the air with head down, she, continues to dance for a few seconds, I laugh and continue walking around the water-hole. After a few moments, she, sits down but continues to display excitement, perhaps playful aggression. Jesse walks around the water-hole towards me:

**Jesse:** You see the fishies?
**Chloe Dotson (CD):** Yeah what kind are they?

**Jesse:** They big fishes over there and little fishes over here.

**CD:** Ohh.

**Jesse:** You see em?

**CD:** yes, pointing to one.

**Jesse:** yeah, little fishes (Field notes, Jesse, 2012).

According some residents, including those who live in these buildings, abandoned structures are occupied by disenfranchised, homeless, mentally ill, and drug users.

Diversification of commercial and retail services are unique in Gary. Suppliers have learned to provide a variety of demands in a single location. Upon entering many convenience stores in Gary, one may find tobacco, alcohol, processed and high-preservative infused grocery, hygiene, clothes, shoes, and other miscellaneous items.

During one of my visits to Gary with Dr. Nihal, we decided to turn west on 6th street. We passed a water supplier company. A large metal fence surrounds the building and employee parking lots. Directly north of the water company is a 12-story vacant apartment building. We continued walking west; on the left is Jefferson Elementary School. A bus, public transportation, stops at the corner of 6th and Monroe. A women and her son get off and begin walking our way. The son waves as he passes. We say hello and the mother says hi.

We walked south and turned east on 8th Street and continue along Harrison. Kelly’s Grocery Store is on the right hand corner. It was converted from a gas station in to a grocery store. Now it supplies cold drinks and small selections of clothing and food. As we entered, two older men both with southern accents were talking while two young girls served behind the counter. They have to be sisters, may even be twins. On the wall as you exit is a ‘Remember this’ picture of Gary, Indiana in the 1960’s. They seemed both nostalgic and hopeful (Field notes, 2012).
Although many residents commute to Merrillville and/or other surrounding communities such as Schererville and Chicago for work, many residents who lack mobility are functioning without formal institutions such as super stores, malls, and fresh food markets that many American citizens take for granted. As highlighted above, these provisions are made by the locals who convert structures like abandoned gas stations to convenient stores.

CD: So where do you and others get your grocery from?

Robert: There is a Save More on Broad way right there. ... A county or Country Market, maybe County maybe Country, I am not sure which one, it is kinda far out. Some people go to Merryville to Wal-Mart or something. But you see, the Palestine own all of them small corner stores; Palestine and Muslim, but they sell alcohol and pork. The African Americans had to sell their businesses. There are other ethnic groups in control of our hair supply stores which is where we spend most of our money (Field notes, Lampel, 2012).

Some citizens endeavor to grow their own food (taking into consideration environmental concerns such as brownfield contamination), and others depend on food pantries, federal assistance, and informal social networks. For economic means, many residents participate in the informal alternative economies. Residents have learned to function on minimal mobility and resources. A man, Robert E. Golden sits up straight and crosses his arms:

RG: my name is Robert E. Golden.

CD: Well nice to meet you Mr. Golden

Golden did not want to hang out at the water hole today because he felt like he wanted to be by himself and not with "those crazy folks" over there.

CD: So tell me your story.

RG: I came to Gary, Indiana from Nashville, Tennessee to work at the Steel mill. I remember all different people...diversity. “It was a pretty place, all nationalities, busy … like 2 million people … like Hollywood”
RG: (Pointing down the street): That was the 1\textsuperscript{st} library in Gary. It is on 5\textsuperscript{th} Ave it will be turned into a Museum.

RG: There is a Girls and Boys Club directly south of the first library.

CD: So how are you surviving?

RG: “Hunny most these people living off of Township welfare, that’s how they doing it” Have you been to Michael Jackson’s house … he ain’t did nothing for this City, they done made all that money and left too … they don’t care about us, they [Mayor] all say the same thing”

RG: On 19\textsuperscript{th} Virginia there is an urban garden thing going on.

RG: On 21\textsuperscript{st} there is Brother’s Keeper that is a shelter for men, I go there sometimes.

CD: Where do you get help if you need it?

RG: Church people help and support city … but there ain’t no hope here …

“women killing babies … harming and hating … just don’t care. … You see that building. It’s over a hundred years old … this shit is just worn out, worn down … dumping shit everywhere. Police don’t even come when you call them, you can get stabbed, raped, robbed and they won’t come … that’s how bad it is.”

RG: We have one post office … one hospital and they ain’t doing nothing for this worn out town (Field notes, Golden, 2012).

Engaging in the informal economy, drugs, prostitution and crime should all be seen as a part of a larger system of survival as forms of resistance within a phenomenon worthy of national and international attention and intervention.

Moreover, small agencies too have vested interest in the survival of individuals in Gary. The Alaniz House is an organization dedicated to supporting and aiding the re-stabilization of disenfranchised residents of the city. According to its founder Jerry Alaniz, the incorporation of
people’s ongoing pursuits into the organization’s programs is a monumental task. This organization does understand the cities’ needs and wants. According to Alaniz:

The Alaniz House is a non for profit organization. We try to teach the disadvantaged how to grow and make their own food, how to pay bills and take care of their own. We also provide work in exchange for housing and food. We sometimes do things for the city. We understand they are really broke. We sometimes help out the Parks Department; we cut grass for them and cook for the back to school parade.

All of these guys you see here working have had some types of addiction. Our mission is to help restore families. I work wherever the Lord needs me. I have four children and the most loving wife in the World. I am a landscaper by trade; I have been for over 12 years. One of our missions is to teach these men trade skills to make them self-sufficient. So they don’t have to steal and rob people. I provide them work so they can get back into the world. I deal mostly with men. We fellowship together, this is a catholic religious group you see. We get the people off the street from jail or prison and put them to work.

You see, Broadway should not be dirty, all these people we got in the streets. We should have mentoring programs that help to clean up our neighborhoods.

Some people think I’m crazy for blessing people; they say I operate out of a disadvantage. I grew up doing drugs in Gary, Indiana. 12 years ago I gave my life to Christ. Christ then told me to move downtown. One of my main goals is to teach the fatherless how to be fathers. Like a spiritual revival with God.

I like to help other churches. We need to work together better. Everyone has small groups of people fighting over small members and even smaller ponds of money.

Sometimes I drive around as a soup kitchen. I rather help my men learn how to work it so they can become self-sufficient. See the guys can work it and with that money, they can buy toiletry.

My main two personal and professional goals are to help, encourage and teach self-supported self-sufficiency.

In addition to helping out people, Alaniz also has future plans for Gary and its people:

First of all we need tilapia farms, or some type of farming for fish. We also should have community gardens. Do you see all of this vacant land? This empty block right here (pointing directly south of church),
this plot should feed the entire neighborhood. The children could come and clean, like community management.

Gary needs programs in the summer at the parks and we need social events like work programs. See, I do what I can in the community. As God’s child, I love my neighbors and I feed, cloth and house those who need them. I know that the city don’t have no money. That’s why I cut the grass, so they do not have to. I love the new Mayor. She is great. But if the churches don’t step up it will be pretty rough out here.

One day my dream is that all of my guys are employed (Field notes, Alaniz, 2012).

In the mist of tribulations and regardless of means, Gary residents are surviving. They have knowledge of abandoned buildings, vacant lots, insufficient institutions and population decline. People also see opportunities within their environments. People have visions of what they want to happen and what they need to happen. As far as development, people strive to be self-sufficient in various ways as described by Jerry Alaniz above. Agencies that have vested interest in their community should be incorporated in major plans for the city.

Lampel takes stock of the assets:

There are a lot of good things about Gary. For one we have a lot of space. We don’t have any congestion and we are not crowded. I believe that first of all we need to reform our educational system around agriculture. We got the space to do it. If we start to produce our own food, we can control the chemicals they put in them and the price. We can start dealing with the Amish and handle our own livestock, in that treating animal’s right. Animals should die stress and fear free. There is plenty of nature around us; birds and squires are natural. Big cities are un-natural. Birds singing, brings about peace. When it gets dark around here, nothing moves, it is quiet.

I enjoy the influence of Booker T. Washington theories. I like the fact that in his theories, everything is created, built and maintained by the students. Professors are teaching and living on campus.

Autonomy is what it is. Students provide their own food. They learn how to be self-sufficient. They have the freedom of mobility. They make decisions and have to live with them.
People need to take ownership. In the school, at home, and institutions need to take responsibility. We are our neighbors, like they say, my brothers’ keepers. Our job is to encourage our children. The great motivation is self-confidence because all things live within. Courage, confidence and foresight are all needed for the survival of our community. We will always have the poor and they never should be forgotten. When the African Americans moved out we forget and we lost out on what we had. Integration had its place but then the integrated people moved out. Instead of building upon, we left what we had. We had the tools to be self-sufficient.

We have to re-create employment through education. We need to build our economy. They contracted all of the garbage jobs out of town, many men including myself lost their jobs.

Do for yourself, the honorable Mohammad says. Most African Americans suffer from inferiority complex. They do not see their self-worth or the worth of their ethnicity. We are all former slaves and it still has an effect. Post-traumatic slave syndrome is what they call it, but this is generations and generations and generations of it. In another 43 years it will be 200 years since the abolition of slavery but we are still slaves, through the food. We still eat the slave food.

Education does it. The revolution of the mind is the way to deal with this injustice. What makes a community work are morals. Right now we are buying off politicians for developing new liquor stores in Gary. Liquor in our community is very damaging; sociably, spiritually, economically, and physiologically.

... I am a volunteer at the Boys and Girls club on Tuesdays. I read to first graders there. I work with the young. You have to catch them while they are young. You have to catch them while their minds are still fresh and easy to mold. They haven’t been poisoned yet. Gary has a great deal of land. That is a problem for big cities. We have the land to do something great for our people. There are plenty of trees and good oxygen. The winds carry strong from the north (Field notes, Lampel, 2012).

The mere existence of a population surviving in Gary is, in essence, the ultimate form of resistance. Civilians residing in Gary have innovatively adjusted to social, economic, and environmental shifts. In talking with over 35 residents, patterns of social, physical and
economic resistance became visible. Processes of accessing and supplying basic needs such as shelter, food, clothing, assistance and other resources have been dramatically adaptive.

Engaging in the informal economy, drugs, prostitution and crime should all be seen as a part of a larger system of survival, as forms of resistance within a phenomenon worthy of national and international attention and intervention. Abandoned houses, gas stations, the greenery, low density, all are assets. People go well beyond resistance to creating their own life journeys and lived spaces. Small agencies too have vested interest in the survival of individuals in Gary.

**Planning in the Absence of Development**

Planning over the last century has generally taken a top-down approach to development strategies as illustrated in the initial plan for Gary. Pro-growth-oriented planning practices measured by Gross Domestic Product (GDP) are merely a capitalist-based methodologies forcing human activity to pursue economic development. As evident in this case such a system is impractical, environmentally damaging, and socially chaotic. A major weakness of the current American planning profession is not being close to people by using ethnography as a facilitator in planning strategies and the lack of willingness or interest in doing so. As duly noted by Gallagher (2010, pg. 102), planners are “trained as they are to manage growth, not decline”. As a relatively young profession, urban planning must broaden the current planning models beyond illusions of grandeur and growth (represented as development). Rather than focusing on pro-growth strategies, this thesis argues that there are other ways to empower communities, by engaging, supporting, and facilitating the people’s process through the utilization of ethnography.
Any bona fide development proposal for Gary (and planning for it) requires an understanding of the causes of the current social, economic, and environmental conditions and how the residents perceive and respond to them. To explore viable enhancements to the quality of life for residents living under these conditions, the residents of Gary must have a say in their own “development” processes.

Exploring Gary, documenting current physical environment, utilizing exiting knowledge, talking, interviewing and observing residents, and diagraming social, economic, and cultural areas have set a foundation for planning in the absence of development. Understanding resident’s strategies for survival, beginning from the methods of resistance, could enable planners to aid in the peoples process rather than employ methodologies that have thus far damaged the environment, segregated social and cultural connections, and cause a heavily disproportionate distribution of the results of economic development.

Armed with that insight, we could take the whole paraphernalia of postmodern argumentation and technique and try to ‘deconstruct’ the seemingly disparate images on the giant screen which is the city. We could dissect and celebrate the fragmentation, the co-presence of multiple discourses ... and perhaps develop sophisticated empathies with the multiple and contradictory coding with which highly differentiated social beings both present themselves to each other and the world and live out their lives daily. We could affirm or even celebrate the bifurcation in cultural trajectory, the preservation of pre-existing and the creation of entirely new but distinctive ‘otherness’ within an otherwise homogenizing world (Harvey, 2000, pg. 589).

Armed with critical knowledge of history over the last century in regard to development strategies and construction of race, planners can begin to accept that the city of Gary will never be what it once was. Acknowledging, perhaps even reveling the dynamic contributions to racial
and spatial inequality lays a foundation of empathy for supporting the re-imagining of elements in creation and innovation of opportunities for residents within the city.

Talking with residents, it is clear that a structure of racial and ethnic segregation, whether institutional or de facto, has, over the last century, played a major role in residential location, educational attainment, employment, social interactions, and the overall quality of life for residents. In considering planning strategies for post-industrial cities therefore, it is crucial to acknowledge race and neoliberal planning ideologies as major variables in the spatial organization of society over the past century. Neoliberal ideologies refer to global market-liberalism, i.e. capitalism and free-trade policies.

You can clearly see the effects of neo-liberalism here as the rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer. ... Around the world, neo-liberalism has been imposed by powerful financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank ... the capitalist crisis over the last 25 years, with its shrinking profit rates, inspired the corporate elite to revive economic liberalism. That’s what makes it ‘neo’ or new (Martinez and Garcia, 2005).

These policies are the driving forces of economics and politics and are so intertwined in the institutional structure of the U.S. that, according to Henry Giroux (2004), it may be easier to imagine the end of the world than to imagine the end of neoliberal capitalism. But, for Gary, one must see beyond.

Planners must begin to recognize that systems that once worked, or worked elsewhere, may not apply to Gary. Therefore, environmental designers must see between the positive perceptions of “economic development” and bring to light new solutions that focus on the quality of life for residents, rather than traditional development strategies resulting in further expansion of capitalist venues that lack and perhaps hinder community economic reinvestment.
Instead of spending the majority of time and money on bringing people and businesses back into the city and making feeble attempts to return the city to its days of glory, the strategies should focus on the individuals living in Gary. That should be the point of departure.

Economically, we must realize the effects of de-industrialization at an individual level. According to Jane Jacobs (1961), common city problems such as blight and crime merely reflect deeper social and cultural failures resulting from the economic conditions. According to Jeremy Rifkin (1995), who focuses primarily on economic conditions of America, “Many jobs are never coming back” [to the United States]. He also states that “The end of work could mean the demise of civilization as we have come to know it, or signal the beginning of a great social transformation and rebirth of the human spirit” (Rifkin, 1995).

A principal question is: How have people coped? Although some have resorted to ‘criminal’ activity, as evident in most out-sider stereotypic documentation on present day conditions in the city, it is also clear there has been a need and adaption in pursuing alternative means of employment. People have ideas, dreams, aspirations that are generally undermined and/or hindered when not incorporated into official “plans” for the city. Although institutional systems have failed families residing in the city, residents live within a still functioning capitalist system in which currency is the mean to the ends. Traditional employment, in a scale that will support the city, have shifted resulting in its inability to fully support the city; thus, residents have resorted to alternative means of monetary existence and philosophies for survival.

We must realize that the social constructions of racial and ethnic hierarchies are prominent in determination of social and human capital and access to economic resources. Racial and ethnic divisions have historically played a significant role in the organization of the
American socio-economic spatial and ideological hierarchy. Continuing as a considerable element among geographical planning and resource allocation, race and ethnicity constructions have socially stratified the geography and created isolated inner cities and suburban communities.

Ethnographic research of deprivations and aspirations reveal knowledge beyond present day documentation of the city. These investigations lay a foundation for supporting and aiding the people’s process. The story of residents is the story of Gary. The story of Gary is in essence a reflection of historical development ideologies and social construction of race. A reflection of American development ideologies and social construction of race is a reflection of us, our ideas, and our actions. The level of decline and devastation is in urgent need of attention. As a global crisis, this epidemic, as identified in the body of this thesis, is not particular to the city of Gary alone. It is furthermore important to share the story of Gary and residents nationally and internationally as survivors, innovators and individuals in need, capable of, and in pursuit of having agency over their lives.
Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusions

With the critical knowledge that the historical discourse of development and social construction of race have been primary contributors to the degradation of post-industrial cities, planning can aid our city’s survival. As a planned new city in 1905, Gary’s current conditions reflect the reality of development ideologies and organization strategies largely based on race. Gary is an excellent example of how conventional planning techniques are unable to meet the demands of culturally diverse post-industrial cities. Therefore, it is necessary to incorporate understandings that are outside the realm of traditional ideologies, theories, and methodologies. In this effort, we can create more sustainable city planning and development implementation strategies that do not further deter opportunities for future development and actually begin to address residents’ needs.

The past century can be classified as being a period of American expansion and Exceptionalism. Most cities in the northern United States experienced large-scale changes in their demography. At the beginning of the century, the changes were mainly caused by the influx of both African American and Whites from the south and European immigrants. This experience resulted in large-scale shifts in the distribution and concentration of races, ethnicities, and forms of economic development. Toward the end of the century, Gary and similar cities experienced the loss of industry – deindustrialization - and disproportionate ethnic and spatial relocation. This was followed by large-scale systematic economic shifts and institutional desertion.
Gary has illustrated defining moments in its history that should have illuminated the severity of its urban crisis. The resulting violence, crime, racial segregation, rebellion against integration and environmental dilapidation are merely symptoms of institutional ills that have resulted in institutional abandonment. Both the historical discourse of development and the construction of race are woven into the planning, implementation and management of American cities. Planned as a principal steel-producing city, Gary plays a key role in the history of the region, and more importantly of the entire post-industrial American society. As one walks north on Broadway (the primary north-south artery of the city), and approaches the gates of the U.S. Steel Mill, the pure scale of the factory becomes apparent. It extends eleven miles east and west atop what was formerly the Lake Michigan beachfront. Yet it is not merely an innocent steel mill which provided some livelihood to the residents of Gary. It was embedded in capitalist and race ideologies prevalent in the United States.

Critical analysis and investigation, including ethnographic methods and sociological methodologies will allow room for critical knowledge of residents’ aspirations and deprivations to surface. These understandings can aid in contextualizing models for planning and development within the post-industrial inner-city of Gary. Planning and development strategies have contributed to the current conditions of Gary, and without critical reflection, incorporation of ethnography and progressive and or non-western methodologies, planners will continue to perpetuate pro-growth conventional systems in the absence of development. This knowledge enhances the planning profession by giving critical in sight to the aspirations and deprivations of local residents; an alternative perspective to planning practices. Addressing the distress in post-industrial inner cities requires researchers and planners to rely on historical
analysis of the conditions that caused these situations, combined with the adoption of progressive planning principles based on ethnographic research that provide room for local voices and empathy.
Bibliography


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Appendix

Multivariate analysis
Chi square test

Null: Population gains and losses by percentage over the past century in post-industrial cities possess variations that are statically significant.

Alternative: Population gains and losses by percentage over the past century in post-industrial cities possess variations that are statically significant.

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Endnotes

i American Anthropological Association Statement of Ethnography and Institutional Review Boards

ii Full IRB Certification in Appendix

iii Modes of production: slavery to feudalist, and capitalist. Marx was interested in the next stage of evolution, a socialist nation.

iv That is, southern economic were transformed from largely subsistence production and regional trade patterns to ‘dual economic,’ wherein a significant part of activity became replaced by the production and extraction, directed by Northern colonial powers, of raw materials for export to the Northern centers.

v Discovery of a region occupied by populations prior to being conquered and almost completed driven into extinction as a distinct cultural entity.

vi American Exceptionalism refers to the “proposition that the United States is different from other countries, in that that United States is quantitatively better than other countries or that is has superior culture, but rather that it is “quantitatively different.”

vii Referring to Marx (1971) working class revolution, the working class used religion as a drug to blind itself in the injustice and hopelessness of its economic situation. Taking in consideration that Christianity was introduced to slave labor as a vehicle of control and ‘for the civilization’ of African people; I would argue that religion was a drug given to the working class to blind them of the injustice and hopelessness of its economic situation.

viii Especially for minority and socio-economic disadvantaged populations (adverse effect)

ix “… the process of acquiring, conquering and taming the frontier … had defined the American experience” (O’Hara, 2001, 45)

x U.S. Steel board chairman Elbert H. Gary originally favored a site near Waukegan Illinois however land agnate F. Knotts convinced him that that Indiana site was less congested and better suited, for tax purposed and proximity to Chicago and any other location.

xi Powell Moore called the relocation of the Calumet River “an achievement of epic proportions.” Bradley J. Beacham concluded that “what took nature thousands of years to mold, man in the guise of progress subverted in a few months” (in Lane, 1978, 28)

xii Mary Edwards stated: Although segregation was a constant factor because of this, black communities had to work together. As she lived in Greenville Mississippi, Ms. Edwards remembers the life in a segregated city. She sates, Mississippi don’t owe me nothing.

xiii For a discussion on how the Irish became White, see Noel Ignatiev, 1995.

xiv Those who had access to narrowly determined middle class American.
Proletarianization is the social process whereby people move from being either an employer, unemployed or self-employed, to being employed as wage labor by an employer. An important note: In Marxist theory, proletarianization is often seen as the most important form of downward social mobility.

Slag is a rock by-product of steel production.

Within the social construction of race class and gender, the male plays a historical role as bread winner in the functionality of the household. In that, male dominance of public sphere in reference to power, control, authority and ownership is an historical role; women being confined to private sphere and dealing with matters of the household with holistically, no monetary respect and or dignity of work.

This statement is even more notable and disturbing when considering that in 1910 over 70 percent of the population was either foreign born or had foreign born parents (O’Hara, 2011, 70-71).

Steel strikers are a common term used by scholars documenting the socio-economic discourse of Gary, Indiana in reference to the relationship between Gary Works and labors. Steel Strikers in this study are majority African Americans and few, in ratio to population composition of the time, Hispanics.

Scabs are replacement workers hired during a strike are called strikebreakers or scabs.

Glossary for Urban Social Geography, an introduction http://www.studies/geog_glossary.htm#P

Indiana Department of Workforce Development: The City of Gary, Indiana

For example the use of red lining, zoning, construction of walls as in Detroit, MI, clauses and covenants amongst communities.