COMMUNITY CLEARCUTTING & THE ENIGMA OF TRUTH: A HISTORICAL CASE STUDY IN URBAN RENEWAL, STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE & CULTURAL TRAUMA IN COLUMBIA, MO.

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COMMUNITY CLEARCUTTING & THE ENIGMA OF TRUTH:
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DEDICATION

For Alina

To whom I owe a debt of gratitude for sticking with me from the beginning, needly distracting me, pulling me off the path every once in and while to talk, walk, kayak, camp, and encourage.

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I remember receiving the email stating I was accepted into the Ph.D. program at the University of Missouri in 2015. I was excited to tell one of my mentors, Debra Lee, a former University of Missouri Ph.D. student and the lead organizer of the program I was working with on the St. Cloud Campus called the Community Anti-Racism Education Initiative (C.A.R.E). I distinctly remember her face being one of fear and confusion, as her response was, "why the hell do you want to go there, with all the racial tension…and what's going on"? In response, I stated, "because you taught me, it is not so much about where you want to be, but where you are needed," and what a ride it has been.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACEs	Adverse Childhood Experience Survey
A.I.M.	American Indian Movement
B.L.M.	Black Liberation Movement
CBD	Central Business District
CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps.
CDC	Centers for Disease Control
C.H.N.A.	Community Health National Assessment
C.R.T.	Critical Race Theory
D.I.H.D.	Department of Interior Housing Division
F.B.I.	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FWA	Federal Works Agency
G.L.O.	General Land Office
H.U.D.	Department of Housing and Urban Development
I.R.B.	Institutional Review Board
K.K.K.	Ku Klux Klan
L.C.C.	Land Clearance Committee
MoDOT	Missouri Department of Transportation
N.A.A.C.P.	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
N.A.R.E.B.	National Association of Real Estate Boards
N.H.A.	National Housing Agency
PRIM	Puerto Rican Independence Movement
PW	Public Works
P.W.A.	Public Works Administration
R.A.	Redevelopment Authority
SBD	Special Business District
USHA	United States Housing Act

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ABSTRACT

American cities are systems of complex organisms shaped by many forces. How cities and towns are organized, planned, and developed bears the fingerprint [s] of planners and policymakers who have shaped them. At the root of many of these practices and policies that justify developmental expansion and spatial isolation within American cities is racism, brought forth by legacies of racial bondage, colonialism, transatlantic slavery, and historical discrimination. However, little attention has been made to landscapes associated with collective historical-cultural trauma brought forth by urban renewal in smaller post-colonial cities. Embedded within Columbia, Missouri, is a place called The Douglass School Neighborhood. City planners clearcut the Douglass School Neighborhood with the aid of eminent domain. Much has been discussed regarding the Douglass School Neighborhood Urban Renewal Project. Yet, there is scarce research and analysis centered around understanding the long-term effects of collective historical-cultural trauma experienced with the loss of the Black sense of place (geography), space, identity, and community.

Keywords: *planners, policymakers, policies, racial bondage, transatlantic slavery, structural violence, black geography, collective cultural trauma, urban renewal, colonialism.*

PREFACE

As landscapes and geographies can be socially created, so too is race. "Race" is a concept with no biological or anthropological basis, and therefore, it is a human-invented classification system known as a "social construct." However, as Ibram X. Kendi (2019) states: "it is more accurate to call the race a 'power construct' because it is used to maintain power for those who already have it." Whiteness (and thus the creation of race) was invented as a utility to justify enslavement and has been used to categorize physical differences based on melanin levels.

Therefore, this research intends to destabilize the normalization of this power by doing two things. First, to recognize the complex diversity of people who live within Columbia and the former *Douglass School Neighborhood,* it has been decided to refrain from using the dominant racial constructs of Black and African by adding a +. The signifier (+) recognizes the complex variability within the community. It allows these individuals to self-identify within the community without being placed under the umbrella term of a singular construct.

For example, the participants in this study have self-identified as Black, African American, Afro-American, Mulatto, Afro-Caribbean, and Mixed. Additionally, the plus acts to simplify the community's complexity and move us beyond the reductionist socio-political, economic, and colonial dichotomies, allowing us to move towards a more inclusive and realized representation of diversity in the community and the people's lives and families.

Secondly, and more importantly, to move from a socially constructed category of race as a caste-based social system, one built into the infrastructure of the U.S. as the

quality of division. A quality of division is an invisible architecture of social hierarchy and the subconscious code of instructions for maintaining it. It is intended within this research to destabilize colonial history by adding "human, people [s], and community members" rather than national identity, which erases "its" significance in human social relations.

The only times the colonial socio-constructed use of specific racial identifying markers, such as Black, African American, Colored, and Negro, will be used is when they refer to persons within the contextual and literal use of the terms reflected in archival documentation or narrative explanation or geography within Columbia, MO

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 1619, a ship with 20-30 enslaved Africans landed in Port Comfort, a British colony in Virginia. Their arrival in the U.S. ushered in the era of chattel- slavery. This system of forced legal enslavement created a distinct and separate class of human beings reduced to property or common livestock (Brace, 2004).

What makes the U.S. different from other colonizing countries is the system of slavery. In their pathbreaking book, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class,* David Roediger (1991) argues that the inception of America, its labor, and ideals can be directly associated with the artisan. An artisan could aspire to own their shop, or skilled laborers could spend their lives laboring for wages under conditions set by an employer. Creating divisions of labor and ownership helped define the working class in the U.S. and caused resentment and protest by the white male artisans. They objected to the loss of opportunities that their forefathers had enjoyed.

Within this development, the author argues that the newly created socioeconomic change allowed the "…pleasures of whiteness …" to "function as a' wage' for white workers. Which designated social status and privilege to a specific race and justified alienating and exploitative class relationships", between White and Black (Roediger, 1991). The ideas of Whiteness served to do two things, prop up the republican ideology used by laborers to claim their rights in the early republic. Secondly, it supported the predominant narrative that the struggle was real for White Americans and their plight for political independence from Britain.

This racialized caste-system called slavery and the ideas that stem from it justified the separation of the two countries and protected slavery. David Roediger states, "In this

slaveholding republic, where independence was prized, especially among Northern artisans was threatened, Black/African + peoples bondage served as a benchmark by which dependence and perversion of slavery were measured. Therefore, racial and class formation "penetrate each other at every turn" (Roediger, 1991). As laborer's expressed an ideology to articulate their objections to the changes in their lives, Black/African + humans remained a continual negative reference point. In this place, the U.S. built an army of disposable surplus labor directly linked to the global market of capitalism and exploitation (Marx, 1955). Some would say it was America's original sin, but its "much more than that, for it is the country's" origin story (Hannah-Jones, Roper, Silverman, & Silverstein, 2021).

For the next 246 years, this system managed to persevere until Jun. 19th, 1865, when Major-General Gordon Granger, upon entering Galveston, TX, with a critical announcement. This announcement was a declaration that the Civil War was over, and those held in bondage were free (National Archives, Access online, 2022). Following this announcement, most Black/ African + persons living in post-antebellum America were forced to live in desperate rural abject poverty. Due to the initial destabilizing forced resettlement of their bodies and then the ensuing *Jim Crow* and *Black Code laws* that denied free Black/African + citizens opportunities for equity in many social life areas, such as voting and equal education (Reid-Merrit, 2019).

As David Roediger points out, through language and culture, the U.S. successfully weaponized the term "freemen" as a derogatory identity marker to further assert White working-class power in both politics and work. The author convincingly

argues that the use of the term freemen was "intrinsically assumed that Black/African + humans were "anti-citizens" because of their dependent status (Roediger, 1991).

David Roediger argues that free Black/African + people were routinely precluded from exercising their constitutional civil rights by lacking access to property ownership, politics, and work. Namely, because the term freemen supported being anti-American, and by extension, most Black/African + people, reduced them to "unfree," even if not a slave (Roediger, 1991).

Due to their economic circumstances, lack of access to political representation, and property, formerly enslaved people were forced to resettle in other areas of the U.S. or resettle in local cities, otherwise known as "The Great Migration" (Berlin, 2010). Unfortunately, many formerly enslaved people ended up in racially segregated spatial geographies known as 'ghettos' (Rothstein, 2017; Wilson, 2009; Sibley, 1995).

These resettlement areas were typically overcrowded. The housing was either substandard or worn down. Because of this, houses often lacked appropriate ventilation or protection from external elements, such as weather and rodents. More importantly, racialized spatial geographies during this time were typically located near the inner core of the urban city center, not by choice but a necessity. The residents residing within them were forbidden from moving freely, such as their white counterparts, as recalled by one Columbia, Missouri resident:

> *In Columbia, Missouri, we were told not just where we could live, but where we could not live. Where we could not shop. Where we could not eat. There was that barrier that kept me from being a part of the rest of the community. But we had this cocoon community where we could talk about anything and any issues, and everyone was always on their best behavior. (Saidi & Conte, 2020)*

Because the normalized socio-structural systems of racism persisted over time, institutional organizations such as real estate agents who used blockbusting, redlining, and exclusionary clauses, known as restrictive deed covenants, aided in racial and spatial inequality, leading to spatial geographical segregation in many U.S. cities.

We see clearly that historical events, legal and political precedence, and lack of access to work and property have had a tremendous negative impact on Columbia, MO. Black/African + humans. Despite these legalized institutional systems of exclusion, Black/African + peoples created highly remarkable and functioning educational, social, religious, and economic communities. One such community existed in Columbia, MO., called the *Douglas School Neighborhood*, which included the Sharp End, the only Black/African + independent economic center in the city.

Over the next 93 years, this *Douglass School Neighborhood* would develop and endure similar racialized systems of oppression while creating its culturally-rooted community system. A human ecosystem on the surface encompasses specific street locations of confinement, blocks, homes, and storefronts. Beneath the surface lies an interconnected root system that helped create the shared communication methods, norms, values, memories, hope, despair, laughter, and tears of each identity.

However, in the second part of the 20th century in the U.S., certain cities like Columbia, Mo., started experiencing increased deterioration of core neighborhoods, commercial business districts, and failing infrastructures. To resolve these issues: urban city and industry leaders in manufacturing, investments, private developers, real estate speculators, and brokers affiliated with the National Association of Real-Estate Boards (N.A.R.E.B.) began to demand the U.S. Federal Government create policies to resolve

the issues of urban decay (Rothstein, 2017). In theory, if done correctly, these policies would revitalize the central business districts (CBDs), protect real estate investments, and increase taxable revenue for each city (Gotham, 2001).

To resolve these housing issues, the U.S. Federal Government voted on and passed, *The Housing Act of 1949*. This act set in motion 2,532 urban renewal projects in 992 American cities. Of those urban renewal projects, 2/3 were areas where Black/African + peoples lived. (Fullilove, 2015).

The central justification of urban renewal within *The Housing Act* is *Title 1. Title 1*. allowed the U.S. Federal Government to distribute redevelopment grants to U.S. cities. Based on the contingency of receiving these grants, recipient cities would need to prove that "blight" or "slum "conditions existed. The blanketed justification argued that modern improvements would protect its public citizenry. These general use areas were taken from local citizens and given primarily to private entities for redevelopment, designed to improve and extend CBDs or attract White middle & upper-income interests.

COMMUNITY CLEARCUTTING

In the 1950s, the City of Columbia, MO, decided to take advantage of the *Housing Act*. Local city planners and developers voiced their full intent to implement a sweeping plan to clear and redevelop the *Douglass School Neighborhood*, a predominantly low-income Black/African + community.

What follows is a process known as the deconstruction of the "new urban enclosure," or what will be referred to as 'community clearcutting' throughout this paper (Fullilove, 2001; Cooper, Hubbard, & Lees, 2020). Community clearcutting is a helpful metaphor that accurately describes the political policy process. Clearcutting in forestry

argues that forests must be actively replaced because "without human intervention, their ability to provide goods and services will decline …and disease will eventually destroy them" (Franklin, Perry, Noss, Montegomery, & Frissel, 2000).

Likewise, Governmental policies in urban renewal argue that human communities also necessitate the area be replaced with new growth to remove and prevent the disease from spreading. Hence the word renewal. However, using derogatory language such as 'urban' & 'renewal' suggests that it is both a natural and positive occurrence. For example, the Oxford Dictionary (2022) defines renewal as: "the replacing or repair of something worn out, run-down, or broken." However, it does not account for the essence of what resides there. Furthermore, it does not denote for who and with what. However, when 'community clearcutting' is used, it more accurately describes the violence embedded within the process.

The process clearly outlines what occurs within Black/African + neighborhoods and their experiences that have led to the traumatic stress of losing their community, culture, foundation of support, and individual and collective identity which is directly linked to Mindy Fullilove's (2016) theoretical concept of root shock. Root Shock is a metaphor Mindy Fullilove (2004) uses to illustrate the damaging trauma an individual and community experience during forced resettlement.

The analogy argues that: like plants when describing transplantation, a trauma after which, if repeated, many plants cannot recover from their forced displacement, and resettlement can also define the harmful and traumatic experience by those who have suffered from the destruction of their community. Not unlike community clearcutting.

Therefore, it is a trauma for those who suffer it and society as a whole; since it increases social disintegration, collective anger, and segregation, both cultural and social (Fullilove, 2004: Fullilove, 2011: Massey & Denton,1993).

It is precisely here, in this dislocation of history, geography, race, and time where I plan on examining and connecting the complex spatiality's of exploitation, oppression, resistance, and cultural-historical trauma within the Black/African + human life in Columbia, MO. This dissertation intends to problematize Columbia, MO., as a qualitative longitudinal historical within-case study. One of the main objectives of this dissertation is to discover the origins, participants, and structural forces that aided in the forced settlement and resettlement of Black/African + humans in post-emancipation Columbia. In addition, this research will look at the specific periods leading up to urban development and land clearance of the Douglass School neighborhood, including the Sharp End (a majority Black/African + business district) between 1958- 1965.

An integrated theoretical approach using *Intersectionality* and *Structural Violence* will be used in the interpretive analysis of this dissertation. Both theoretical approaches, when combined, will enable a more nuanced analysis of the socio-structural, cultural, political, economic, and historical forces that shape inequality and suffering through the intersectional lens of gender, race, ethnicity, and culture. The analysis will create an opportunity to seriously consider the role of different types of marginalization, such as sexism, racism, and poverty, in making life experiences that are fundamentally less equal. Therefore, this approach will use a top-down/bottom-up approach to meet in the middle.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

QUESTION I. How do we explain the historical role slavery played in the development of racial segregation in the state of Missouri and the City of Columbia's trajectory resulting in urban renewal in the late 1950s?

QUESTION II. What are the experiences of those who have undergone urban renewal in Columbia, Missouri, known as *The Douglas School Urban Renewal* project?

A. What are the varying subjective experiences of urban renewal between genders?

QUESTION III. How does forced relocation impact those removed from their spatial geography?

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research will explore a literature review about trauma, emotional trauma, cultural trauma, gender, and spatial geography in this chapter. This exploration will entail the meaning of trauma and its importance. Furthermore, when discussing spatial geography, and historical-cultural trauma, one must also consider how they are inextricably linked to structural forces and institutions that function with both latent and manifest functions and how these lived experiences vary between the intersections of race and gender.

Trauma

The term "trauma" has often been borrowed from the medical or biological sciences, which means some physical injury (Kirmayer, Lemelson, & Barad, 2007). Typically, the term "trauma" is used to characterize certain disturbing events to the point of causing irreparable psychological harm based on symptoms (McNally, 2012). The name "trauma" implies there is some objective and verifiable damage. An individual has

sustained the damage, and the term psychological trauma alludes to the negative impact was sufficient to cause harm that can be long-lasting psychologically.

Within the literature and research in trauma, studies find increased variability in the types of trauma. For example, it is estimated that 89% of adults in the U.S. have experienced a traumatic event (Breslau, Davis, Andrecki, Federman, & Anthony, 1998). Such events include natural disasters, life-threatening accidents, illnesses, and witnessing or experiencing interpersonal violence. Other research has examined survivors of childhood abuse and found that early experiences of violent physical and sexual abuse have a higher average of predictability in experiencing posttraumatic stress, depression, mental illness, alcohol and drug abuse/addiction, and dissociation in adulthood (Carlson et al., 2001).

Additionally, research indicates that familial violence can be associated with a violation of one's trust that can have a long-term negative impact on the individual's ability to form meaningful relationships as a child or adult. Research shows that these same violations interfere with healthy self-development (Bostock, Plumpton, & Pratt, 2009).

Moreover, studies on adult survivors of intimate partner violence (IPV), historically known as domestic violence, report 47% higher posttraumatic stress symptomology (Vogel & Marshall, 2001). The critical thing to understand here is that the common thread connecting trauma in psychological cycles when discussing individual violence is called the "dose-response relationship" (Norris, 2002). The dose-response relationship maintains that as the frequency, intensity, and severity of exposure increases, psychological disorder symptomology also increases in intensity and severity.

This phenomenon has dire implications for urban renewal events. It necessitates the often-forced removal and resettlement of individuals and entire communities that cause disruptions and dislocations of identity formation and maintenance in all impact ages. Trauma literature often refers to this type of trauma as "complex trauma" (Resick et al., 2012). Complex trauma indicates one of the following or both: a certain kind of trauma (single severe exposure, or repeated traumas, or trauma occurring during states of vulnerability (trauma with little or no social support, trauma at an early age, genetic susceptibility, or ongoing stress) (Bryant, 2012).

According to Devon Hinton and Byron Good (2016), on the most basic level, trauma is classified by the nature of the trauma event itself, such as "torture, an illness, slave labor, starvation, observing someone being beaten or killed "(p.53). Each trauma event has specific subtypes, such as slave labor, depending on its perpetration (Ursano & Rundell, 1986). Each event has effects and forms a fundamental "aspect of local trauma ontology" (Hinton & Good, 2016). The ethnography of the trauma event 'and its classification is a critical part of witnessing (Hinton & Good, 2016).

If we consider complex trauma, which states that there is a severe single or repeated trauma, the population affected may be vulnerable, with little social support and ongoing stress. And the nature of trauma from a basic level includes torture, illness, slave labor, starvation, and the observation of someone being killed or beaten: does this not equate to cultural or historical trauma? The question that should follow asks: how do we explain the historical role slavery played in the development of racial segregation in the state of Missouri and the City of Columbia's trajectory resulting in urban renewal in the late 1950s? And what are the experiences of those who have undergone urban renewal in

Columbia, Missouri, known as *The Douglas School Urban Renewal project*? Furthermore, did that urban renewal project live up to the expected positive outcome for those who would be displaced?

Cultural-historical trauma

The definition of cultural trauma is a theoretical construct/concept that explores the socio-psychological consequences of historically based, intergenerational cultural misery, pain, and torture rooted in a terrible cross-cultural experience, such as imperialism, colonialism, genocide, and chattel-slavery (Davidson & Milligan, 2004; Stamm & Stamm, 2004; Alexander, Eyerman, Gieson, Smelser, & Sztompka, 2004; Eyerman, 2001). Cultural trauma occurs when individuals and communities suffer from a horrendous event. An event leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity fundamentally and irrevocably (Alexander J. C., 2020).

When we consider both complex trauma and the dose-response relationship, the psychological, emotional, and physical effects of a social behavior manifested from institutional and structural forces, forces stemming from the historic foundation of America's history in colonial chattel slavery (Wilson, 2014). One that has caused severe, ongoing stress through repeated events of rape, torture, forced separation, witnessing, and exposure of these traumatic episodes over time, only one conclusion remains, historical, cultural- trauma.

If we reflect on colonial chattel slavery, wherein Columbia, Missouri, was the third-largest enslaving city in Missouri. Conversely, Columbia enslavers participated in the same brutal indignities in slave life, such as the state's post-emancipation black codes

that made it illegal for Black/African + peoples to live in specific spatial areas. This led to the prohibition of them from owning property using restrictive deed covenants and regulating where they could and could not move in the community. The only option was residential mobility into the area known as the *Douglass School Neighborhood.*

The trauma in question within this research would be the historical linkage between slavery in Columbia, MO., and not so much the economic capitalist institution or experience. Instead, the intention and focus would be on the collective memory that grounds the identity-formation of a group of people within a geographical landscape known as the *Douglass School Neighborhood,* including *The Sharp End* (Eyerman, 2001; Alexander et al., 2001).

According to Ron Eyerman (2001), trauma is a distinct difference as it impacts an individual via the cultural production and process. As an artistic process, cultural trauma negotiates through various forms within one's representation and is linked to the reformation of collective identity and the reworking of collective memory.

There are variations within geographical places of development based on the scale or size of an area and how landscapes have been created, unique to Black/African + human identities in post-antebellum America. Therefore, the only logical conclusion would be that the misery, pain,

and torture experienced by those in forced chattel slavery during the antebellum era in the U.S., and post-emancipation period can only be described as traumatic.

One must accept that slavery and bondage, along with these experiences, may not have been experienced by all Black/African + humans within the U.S., in Columbia, nor experienced the same between genders (Chase, 2020). Research and theory have

historically attempted to create a unified and central collective identity from this remembrance (Essien-Udom, 1962; Rashad, 2019; Zamalan, 2019). In hindsight, the collective memory of colonial historical slavery in the U.S. associated with the trauma of this event formed a primal scene that acts in such a way to unite all Black/African + humans in the U.S... Regardless of whether they did or did not experience directly or indirectly the family history of slavery, they have direct knowledge or feeling of chattel slavery itself.

The former use of chattel slavery in the U.S. by its very cultural production, known as ethnic identity formation, is a colonial process that forms the new collective identity. It also creates the collective memory that manifests and distinguishes a specific racial group, people, gender, and spatial place. The most immediate and immediately felt geography resides in the "felt geography of the body," which is both experience and expression (Milligan & Davidson, 2004). To be sure, these lived experiences take place within and around their closest spatial scales.

When individuals' sense of self moves beyond the body, their sense of self and identity are no less critical but arguably less visible, less centrally placed within their home, community, or city. (Smith, 1992, 1993). These spatial areas external to the individual's body become conceptual placements and displacements, segregations-integrations, centers-margins, migrations – settlements, domination, and resistance. Even when considering the binaries of spatial body and material landscape, there remains another distinction bound, no less important, yet separated in the spatial struggle: Black, Afro/African femininity, and humanness in the ongoing battle felt twice. First,

colonialism's regarded trauma and the trauma of patriarchal social displacement from white and black male dominance.

Moreover, while it seems almost common sense that these things, materials, objects, bodies, boundaries, geographies, landscapes, genders, and social interaction systems are connected: visible and seeable, they are neither. According to McKittrick (2006), these objects within the spatial context are never "complete nor fully intelligible. No, these objects are intensely experimental, uneven…spaces that require us to" engage in things lost. Seemingly invisible, gendered, classed, racialized, sexualized bodies are infused into our normalized lives like bones beneath our skin.

Therefore, the view of space, spatiality, humanness, gender, and history is more complex and less visible than one would think. Even though we see spatial landscapes as fixed places, we also know that the objects within them, whether real, imagined, or in memory, are flexible and always work with or against others' interpretations of oneself compared to others.

Spatial geography

We often conceptualize geography as a broad and thick idea of a place: normalized and unquestioning. However, within this place resides the landscapes that make it so. The landscape is both the destination and de/valuation of the area assigned to ascribe Black/African + human bodies onto the capitalist economic systems of value that work within it. As Lisa Lowe (2015) in *The Intimacies of Four Continents* states, "the racialization and exploitation of enslaved Africans and indentured colonial servants interconnected through a variety of commodities they produced" through labor regimes."

Despite empirical evidence indicating a clear connection, geographical areas and landscapes are spatial systems of domination through capital exploitation such as enslavement, imperialism, and colonial projects. Many landscape theorists focus on the singular concept of representation and art in earlier periods of social development, leading to modernity in Europe (Cosgrove, 1985; Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Della Dora, 2013; Minca, 2007). Or in North America (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Olwig, 2003; Savoy, 2015; Shcein, 1993). Although previous theorists focused on developing landscape through city planning, geometry, and artistic representations as a domination process, a few have targeted the political regime, institutional, and structural components perpetuating domination and repression systems. Yet, they do not intend to extrapolate the voices and experiences of those on the receiving side of inequity and inequality regarding political and economic social structures.

Still, others have studied landscapes that typically sought to examine the landscape and how human beings interact with the environment, later considered 'environmental determinism' (Sauer, 1925; Livingston, 1992). Environmental determinism essentially argues that the environment, most notably the natural material landscape associated with specific geographies, determines human interaction patterns, culture, and social development. Later, Carl Sauer (1971) would reject his environmental determinism in his book entitled *The Morphology of landscapes.*

Sauer conceded that landscapes do not have monolithic control over human activity and development. Instead, social interactions and individuals have an agency that dialectically manipulates their [environment]. By doing so, the landscapes of geography change, and so too does human interaction. This method of study would later be called

the "morphological method." The study aimed to seek out ideal types and patterns that may give rise to predicting a future landscape.

The issue with Sauer's argument is that he [Sauer] treats the history of specific landscapes as a mere convenience in allowing our attempts to manufacture future conceptions of space. Research has necessitated those spatial geographies are culturally embodied areas of bondage for those enslaved or emancipated from slavery (Daigle & Ramirez, 2018). As a result, this conceptualization regarding landscapes and geography sets predetermined boundaries that limit further discourse. Within this same threaded argument, geography and landscapes remain fixed in specific temporal periods, such as the territorial expansion of the nation-state, and how these colonial and imperial practices instilled and coerced those subjected to these practices to the idea of self with relation to place (Schendel, 2002; Weik, 1997). These essential elements can decode the value and dialectical relationship based on the characteristics and people associated with them in each spatial unit of analysis but offer little else. (Aptheker, 1939; Wade, 1964; Norton & Espenshade, 2007; Lockley & Doddington, 2012).

Still, other theorists such as David Harvey (2005) and Neil Smith (1996) discuss uneven geographical development, wherein Harvey, to his credit, takes on such subject matter as colonialism. Smith brings race issues about "the centrality of white supremacy to capitalism's advent and global articulations" (Wright, 2019). The spatiality of capital necessitates racial spatiality. In addition, it clearly shows how both space, place, and social groups endure over time. Both Smith and Harvey rightly argue that it is possible to theorize and see the material physical world and its correlation to capitalist spatial development. Development is created unevenly through economic expressions such as

urban development, gentrification, and low-income living. These expressions contradict use-values and exchange values, wherein space seems rational from the dominant side (theoretically speaking).

However, irrational from the oppressed side, as one benefits while the other, namely minority Back/African + humans, are isolated but cannot afford to own or rent the properties they reside in. Therefore, we are left with a fundamental question: how does spatial representation, such as landscape, community, and historical markers, impact those removed from their historical spatial geography of self and identity?

Community clearcutting & root shock

Some have started to connect policies, structures, and political and economic ideologies to the negative consequences of urban renewal, gentrification, and displacement. These scholars argue that "displacement is a useful concept…it gathers together and generalizes the range of what may otherwise be dissimilar events and experiences" (Delaney, 2004). This research focuses on the active coercion necessary for displacement as a mode of de-subjectification. The displaced bodies are seen only as objects operated on by external, violent forces. These same scholars commonly refer to "displacement' in terms that often overlap and are used synonymously, such as 'democide,' which is the planned destruction of someone's home (Porteous & Smith, 2001). Yet this does not apply to all gentrification because not all spatial geographies are designed and willful.

Douglass Porteous (1988) developed a concept called 'topocide.' This concept argues that once a person's sense of place has been destroyed, it also alters a person's memory of it. But does not address the issue of whole communities or people within the

home. Mindy Fullilove comes closest to incorporating the sense of loss regarding an individual and collective failure of one's 'emotional ecosystem' (Fullilove, 2016). Fullilove parallels the physiological shock experienced by an individual who has suffered a grave injury. When severe damage has occurred, the body and its nervous system attempt to compensate to survive by cutting off circulation to the arms and legs. This ensures that the brain, heart, and essential organs can sustain themselves briefly.

Just as the body can protect itself and create balance, so do individuals connect to the external environment. By inhabiting spatial geographies of harmony, one maximizes the odds of survival from predators, nutritional intake, and shelter. And like the body, when the external system experiences an injury, the person will also go into root shock. Because individuals and communities become rooted into a collective consciousness over time, once the place has been destroyed, it can ripple out intergenerationally.

Black/African + humans were taken from their land, forced into slavery, further disrupted by emancipation, and moved into resettlement during reconstruction. Once settled, faced the institution of Jim crow and Black Code laws, the great migration and second migration, and finally under urban renewal, created, what one can only consider, a continual destabilizing path. Therefore, it is argued that through these historical linkages, there remains a constant. This constant is racialized institutions that have become manifest functions that serve two purposes and support David Roediger's central thesis: justify White power and authority and reinforce the concept of the freeman.

And although Fullilove does state root shock can have an intergenerational emotional toll. She does not synthesize the structural violence associated with policy and how healthcare outcomes may affect overall health. Moreover, psychological, and

emotional shock is when you experience a surge of strong emotions and a corresponding physical reaction to a stressful event. The shock response eventually goes away or is minimized over weeks (Boyes, 2022). Therefore, a more accurate summation would be cultural and historical trauma. Be that as it may, I am interested in both individual and collective experiences. That is, the good, bad, and ugly.

I use the term community clearcutting to accurately portray the decimation of entire communities to justify new urban growth. Forests, like communities, provide ecosystems that are essential for human well-being. Individual trees that make up the forest are rooted and intersect with and into one another beneath the surface, creating a symbiotic community (Wohlleben, 2015). All these things Fullilove expresses. But it is the seemingly temporary individual emotional response is disagreed upon and inaccurately applied to my argument. Moreover, clearcutting gets at the aspects of long-term devastation and loss and allows a person to perceive a system's attempt to make an area disappear.

Imposed historical trauma

This research intends to expose the current inadequacies within the historical and broader theoretical views that work toward understanding policy, race, trauma, and healthcare outcomes and how they are interconnected. This dissertation aims to join this conversation to fill in these gaps.

Research has not adequately connected the trauma imposed historically, even though research recognizes uneven development, such as Smith and Harvey. Therefore, studies have limited the role of cultural trauma's historical component connected to urban

development policy. Events that negatively impact communities and individuals through the continuance of intergenerationally and gendered memory.

This literature review shows that research in this area necessitates that the focus of our attention should contain complexities of Black/African + human spatiality of life and its connections to oppression, slavery, resettlement, and exploitation. It is precise because these experiential narratives decenter the historical canon of White male space and violent practices. Yet, there is a lack of emphasis on how white spatial imagery affects the ability or inability to reconcile trauma and historical trauma.

To be sure, George Lipsitz (2006) candidly points out that "the white spatial imagery views spatial geography primarily through the lens of generational exchange value." Generational exchange value is often related to Marxist ideas that see housing as a market commodity and capital investment. Under such conditions, as we have seen regarding racial and spatial segregation, housing deterioration from an investment side naturally sees deterioration as an inevitable profitable investment. In this case, urban renewal. For example, when buildings lose exchange value through their use-value, they remain the same. An owner, in this case, the city, dispossesses the land and housing to recapture tax revenue through investment and exchange by justifying its use-value.

From this point of view, it does little to explain the trauma and long-term historical trauma experienced by those living in black geographies at the time. Specific authors have contributed to understanding the enduring intergenerational legacy of such social shocks as war, genocide, slavery, tyranny, crime, and disease (Danieli, 2010). Still, others have addressed a wide range of historical events exploring the possibilities and challenges that lie on the path of reconciliation and forgiveness between victims and their

perpetrators (Gobodo-Madikizela & Van Der Merwe, 2009). Mainly these two areas explore the victim's narrative and give credence to the positive effects of truth and reconciliation via public speaking to help heal. Yet, I have not seen or heard any arguments on how white spatial imagery impacts how victimized areas deal with trauma-specific urban development.

We have seen that the White dominant spatial imagery makes those geographies different from their own. Therefore, researching Black/African + human landscapes is sound. The narratives that decenter the dominant narrative are being spoken and give an alternative view of those affected' lived experiences. Through personal records, narratives that bring an alternate perspective from the bottom should decenter the White gaze from the top and change how we interpret history, policy, and power between social constructs of race and gender.

However, what is missing from the scholarship are the voices and differences between how racialized identities do gender and how those lived experiences may show more clear differences between both race and community. One can imagine Black/African + women navigated within the spatial confines of the *Douglas School Neighborhood* as a landscape. A landscape where women often negotiated the intersections between racialized and gendered spaces. Every element of everyday life in post-emancipation Columbia, MO., up to urban renewal must have necessitated planning, effort, and confrontation with racial and gendered geographies. Black/African + women and their awareness of the power implications of racialized space and, to a lesser extent, gendered space must have transformed their everyday interactions in diverse racialized spatial geographies, such as downtown Columbia, into political acts.

Gender

To be sure, Eyerman (2001), Stamm & Stamm (2004), and Alexander et al. (2001) all have played essential roles in the sociological understanding of cultural trauma. Nevertheless, akin to the disconnection in socio-psychological studies that tend to see psychological and cultural trauma as distinct, sociologists and researchers also play a central part in perpetuating cultural incompetence. At the same time, research and theory have made headway in understanding trauma and cultural trauma. Research is still prone to treating all victims of cultural-historical trauma differently, without considering gender, specifically in gendered forms of cultural memory.

There have been feminist scholars who have begun to explore how gender affects a group's cultural memory of events stratified with violence, torture, trauma, terror, and memory work (David, 2008; Lenten, 1997; Jacobs, 2004; Baumel & Cohen, 2003; Ringelheim, 1998). Also, feminist scholarly work has asked questions concerning the effects of sexual assault and abuse against women exploring the interconnections between collective cultural trauma and gender, race, sexuality, class, and nation (Hirsch & Smith, 2002). More recently, research has begun to reveal how trauma as a catastrophe, either individual or collective, affects male and female identities differently and separately, based on their physical and psychological responses in the wake of an event (Jamili & Roshanzamir, 2017). They point out that male and female gendered identities are ascribed during traumatic events because cultural traumas tend to shatter the individual's sense of belonging. In this sense, cultural traumas such as "patriarchy and gender leave collective members in a destructive chain of cultural decay and destruction (Jamali & Roshanzamir, 2017).

The resulting damage impacts the community's cultural tissue and the conditions under which cultural trauma emerges and evolves. They must also include "traumatic symptoms," which include false beliefs in specific behavioral patterns that lump all experiences into a collective but inevitably exclude women's varying experiences. When this occurs, the individual identities lose their coherence, stability, and foundation. In some respect, they [women] become internally traumatized, leaving them disconnected from themselves and preventing meaningful social and cultural connections.

In support of these arguments, mental health professionals and scholars have put forth work on the colonial legacy of slavery in American history and analysis with regards to trauma, identity, and perceptions of self (Akbar, 1996; Grier & Cobbs, 1992; Leary, 2005; Hinton & Good, 2019). These scholars point out that cultural trauma is a unique socio-historical experience that resulted from specific endemic processes and practices that worked through governmental policies and politics that perpetuated chattel slavery systems. These, too, are central to the development of identity formation. Unlike social scientists, these theorists argue that not only does the material body and sense of spatial perception matter, but mental health is also a critical component in a "post" slave status.

Consequently, such terms as post-slavery traumatic stress syndrome (Akbar, 1996) and posttraumatic slave syndrome (Crawford et al., 2003) argue that individual spatial geographical landscapes co-create mental health. This mental health manifests in cultural trauma that induces social and behavioral responses to anger, internalized racism, internalized self-hatred, lack of self-esteem, and depression. However, they also indicate that resilience, spiritual faith and practice, and collective communities fused to the post-

slave experience. These conjoined groups show how society uses "local coping strategies" (Hinton & Good, 2016) that break the inextricable "ghosts of the plantations" (Akbar, 1996).

These scholarly examples point out that cultural-historical trauma is ever-present and does not remain fixed in the past; misery, pain, and torture are not selected locations within history but are fluid and move with us. Thus, making these emotion-psychological and social experiences inextricably different from gender experiences. However, each historical-critical juncture within spatial relations and its aftereffects remains unique to people and place.

More modern theorists have studied residential displacement or gentrification and the differing experiences between gender, namely women. Nevertheless, these studies are relatively few within sociology and geography. Furthermore, there is a "missing feminist revolution" in urban research and theory (Stacey & Thorne, 1985). The call for scholarly work that focuses explicitly on women and their relation to the city shaped urban feminism. For example, the book entitled *New Space for Women* (1980) is a collaborative effort that addresses topics related specifically to women's lives and how they are affected by urban planning (Wekerle et al., 1980). Additionally, Catherine Stimpson's (1981) work in Women and the American City has broadened the discourse by incorporating women's local participation when dealing with spatial geographical constraints.

Sadly, and I ask myself, is this research contributing to this issue? Historically speaking, urban sociology, urban theory, and urban research have remained fixed within the male academic paradigms (DeSana, 2018). For example, the Chicago School of

Human Ecology still dominates, and funds studies related to gangs, corner boys and college boys, street codes, hobos, defenders of the neighborhood, when workers disappear, and the disadvantaged (Anderson, 1923; Anderson, 2000; Kornblum, 1974; Suttles, 1968; Whyte, 1943; Wilson, 1996). The research is directly related to men's experience, and women are mere extensions of the gentrification experience.

As theory and research progressed, urban studies merely shifted their attention to the capitalist, neoliberal studies related to political economies with an emphasis less on people and more on institutional behaviors such as that of the urban growth machine and real estate brokers,

(Logan and Molotch, 1987; Harvey, 2010). Over time, more urban feminists seized the responsibility of investigating women within the urban theory. However, what is missing within this literature and scholarly work is not the connection to institutional and social structures implicit within the framework of inducing trauma through forced displacement and gendered experiences. No, what is missing is the type of structure and political institution specific to unique experiences regarding gender. Therefore, this dissertation asks an additional question,

What are the varying subjective experiences of urban renewal between genders?

THEORY

This dissertation and its theoretical lens are influenced by two primary theoretical approaches, Structural Violence, and Intersectionality. Structural violence refers to the preventable harm or damage to individuals and communities and, by extension, socio-structures, where there is no singular actor exacting violence; therefore, not practical to search for one. Structural violence best explains the unequal distribution of power and

lack of social resources built into the structure. In addition, the theory of Intersectionality and its strength is its ability to acknowledge there's more to the experiences in life that can be reduced to social class. Intersectionality recognizes that identity markers such as gender, race, class, and other factors coexist and lead to exploitation and oppression.

Structural violence

The theoretical concept of structural violence was introduced by Johan Galtung (1969), a Latin American Theologian. According to Galtung, we can refer to structural violence within institutional and social structures. Examples would be poverty, racism, and gender inequity, which prevent people from meeting their basic needs (Galtung, 1969). According to Galtung, Violence is "the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is" (Galtung, 1969). Therefore, violence can be construed as any harm caused to individuals and is positioned as ".... the avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs (*ibid*, p. 21). However, it is essential to note that violence can be a latent function of an institutional policy. However, it becomes a manifest function normalized through social interaction [s] over time.

One recent example regarding structural violence as a theoretical model applied to the social understanding of health inequities (Farmer, 2003). According to Paul Farmer, in this theoretical lens, modern communicable epidemics such as HIV/AIDS are inseparable from 'violent' socioeconomic structures (Farmer, 2003). Another such example can be seen by reviewing Montesanti and Thurston's (2015) concept of structural violence when conceptualized and used to understand health's ecological framework. Montesanti and Thurston eloquently mapped out the cogent roles of symbolic, interpersonal, and structural violence in women's lives. From this angle,

structural power and the social, institutional process intersects the social determinants of health inextricably linked to individual and collective health outcomes, including interpersonal Violence (Shannon et al., 2017).

Concerning the present research, this embedded nature resides within the representative body of Black/Afro/African persons living in Columbia, MO. The infliction of injury is caused by but is not limited to the unfair distribution or redistribution of resources that negatively impact marginalized communities through the disparities Structural Violence creates. Examples would include the lack of educational attainment, employment opportunities, access to health care, and economically fair & safe housing; all play a role in Structural Violence. Furthermore, embedded within these geographies of inequality are the varying degrees of difference in the lived experiences between gendered bodies (McKittrick, 2006; Collins, 2004). Therefore, an integrated theoretical approach that utilizes structural Violence and Intersectionality would be needed to understand the negative consequences of racial isolation considered culturally traumatic through societal and governmental institutions.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a theoretical framework that allows the researcher to understand how: class, gender, race, sexuality, national identity, age, and ethnicity, are operationalized within social systems. Social systems are not mutually exclusive; instead, these are all reciprocally constructing social phenomena. The intersectionality theory stems from critical race theory (C.R.T.), often attributed to Kimberlee Crenshaw and her essay on Black feminist discourse to flesh out the factors that perpetuate intimate violence and domestic partner abuse against women of color. (Crenshaw, 1989). Pushing

forward, Patricia Hill Collins's (1990) essay on Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and Politics of Empowerment articulated the tipping point that transformed previously marginalized discourse into leading contemporary theory.

Both Kimberlee Crenshaw (1989) and Patricia Hill-Collins (1990) attempt to locate the simultaneous social and institutional interactions between social identity aspects. "... as well as the impact of systems and processes of oppression and domination". In so doing, Crenshaw and Hill-Collins emphasize that human life or outcome cannot be reduced to singular social or physical characteristics. No, multiple elements are socially constructed and fluid. Therefore, individual and collective experiences cannot be understood by prioritizing a single variable as a helpful characteristic, prioritizing one over the other. Neither can they be conceptualized as additive binary factors Hankivsky, 2012; Shannon et al., 2017).

When exploring the relationship between gender, structural violence, spatial geography, and the lived experiences through the body, the theoretical approach of Intersectionality will position gender in a more historical, political, and social context. Thus, the intersectionality theory will allow this research to go beyond the binary between fe/males. More importantly, it considers the intersecting influences of poverty, geography, age, and indigeneity in the construction of geography and violence that leads to cultural trauma in Columbia, Missouri. The theoretical approach will add a nuance of scale, considering the diversity in political, social, and social influence levels lent to the experiences lived through the environment. They act in complex, overlapping ways yet considered. Therefore, it would be most prudent to discover the possible differences in

the lived experiences from structural forces and how they differed between gender through history and the events in between.

METHODS

The following section has three sections, (1) design, (2) sampling, units of analysis and data, and (3) research instruments. The goal is to create an even and consistent flow when discussing the methodological approach. Section one outlines the reasoning and design of this research. Section two allows the reader to examine the sampling approach and data units used within this research. Finally, section three outlines the two instruments used to collect data from participants.

SECTION I.

DESIGN

Design statement

This research and its concern rest within the interpretive understanding of social action that seeks a causal or inferred explanation of its course and consequences to answer the research questions (Maxwell, 2004). This research will attempt to uncover the socio-institutional organizations, the knowledge that a state, or city, is not individually monolithic, as they do not work independently from national development. No, states/cities require social participation to achieve developmental strategies and outcomes, and therefore, cities regulate social relations (Amsden 1989; Rodrik 1997; Keefer and Knack 1997). This is to say, a state or city and its capacity refer to actors working within traditional institutional structures to coordinate and implement official policies such as urban renewal effectively.

The concept primarily captures how state actors and individuals can formulate policy and overcome collective-action issues, such as opposition, to approve a redevelopment committee that implements social change. These societal changes occur through processes within structural institutions. In historical research, this is called process tracing (Beach & Brun-Pederson, 2016).

Process tracing

Process tracing is an ahistorical research method for tracing causal mechanisms using a detailed, within-case empirical analysis of how a causal process plays out in an actual case (Mahoney, 2012; Beach, 2017). Process tracing is used for case studies to understand the causal dynamics that produced a particular historical case's outcome and shed light on generalizable causal mechanisms linking causes and effects within a population (Mahoney, 2012; Beach, 2017).

The processes studied within this research focus on several historical developments spanning the development of the state of Missouri, its attachment to slavery, and how it has been central to creating both the City of Columbia and racialized geographical segregation. The following chapter will focus on the processes of the U.S. Federal Government policies related to the *Housing Act of 1949* and how the City of Columbia utilized these federal housing assistance programs to justify the urban renewal of *The Douglass school Neighborhood*. Through these processes, how the city implemented the forced evictions and resettlement of the predominately Black/ African + community. One of the defining strengths of single case studies is their ability to rethink theoretical propositions (Rueschemyer, 2003).

Within case & sequential method

As the name aptly suggests, comparative-historical methods offer a mixture of qualitative methods that researchers utilize in optimizing insight into complex social issues by balancing the particular with the general. The ideographic comparative historical analysis attempts to bridge simple generalizable explanations of social processes by implementing the within-case method. Within the case, the research offers us the qualitative nuances of causal narrative or what is known as the ideographic explanation (Lange, 2013; Kiser & Hechter, 1991).

The causal description considers the story that has evolved through time. There are three main areas of interest in this case: the history of those structures and institutions that participated in the casual chain of events. (2) These events were instrumental in cultural and historical trauma. (3) Leading to and the additional trauma of displacement through urban renewal.

Coding: thematic analysis

According to researchers Sandelowski and Barroso (2003), research results are placed on a continuum that indicates data transformation degrees during the analysis process from description to interpretation. The use of descriptive qualitative thematic analysis is suitable for this research as it intends to create multiple levels of understanding through the interpretive process.

The thematic analysis will be treated as an independent qualitative descriptive approach utilized as "a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns or themes within research data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This qualitative strategy aims to capture and categorize large amounts of textual information to determine trends,

sequences, and patterns of words or images within the collection of data sources, such as vignettes.

The goal is twofold. First, seek out processes that include frequency of events, types of relationships, specific structures, and communication (Vaismoradi & Hanelle, 2013; Gbrich, 2007). Second, allow for an interpretative understanding of the narrative material extrapolated from multiple sources, such as life stories, oral histories, and material artifacts. It then reduced this data into units of content using a descriptive prescription. Thematic analysis is suitable for answering the three research questions within this study.

SECTION II.

SAMPLING, UNITS OF ANALYSIS & DATA

Participants and sampling strategy

A purposive sampling strategy was used in this study. This strategy sought out specific persons connected to the historical epoch in which the event occurred and the spatial geography problematized (Campbell et al., 2020). The purpose is to achieve representativeness and heterogeneity within and between the target population to compare different perspectives and provide information that alternative means could not otherwise be collected.

This research sought potential participants by targeting specific organizations and associations representing the target population. The sample population identified included the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), The Sharp End Heritage Committee, Black Entrepreneurs of Columbia, African American

Heritage Trail Committee, The Urban League, the Silver & Gold Women's Group, and local Black/African + community members and churches.

Sample size

Given the time frame in which sampling occurred (2019-2022), there were substantial limitations in participants' access, partly due to cultural-historical trauma and COVID 19. However the total sample size for this dissertation includes twenty interview participants (seven in person and thirteen online) and twenty separate online anonymous qualitative surveys (Schulman & Maul, 2019).

Recruitment

After identifying the purposive strategy participants and organizations, this research utilized a snowball recruitment strategy (Sadler, Lee, Lim, & Fullerton, 2010). The snowball recruitment strategy is a recruitment technique in which research participants are asked to assist researchers in identifying other potential subjects.

Units of analysis

This research utilizes four units of analysis. The first unit of analysis is the individuals and groups of people identified within the purposive sample as Black/African + residents that belong to a geographical space known as the City of Columbia: pre/post-urban renewal (Shaw, 2016). The second unit of analysis stems from archival material, such as documentation, newspapers, land survey maps, personal correspondence, institutional notes, conference proceedings, census data, national, local, housing, and urban renewal policies, and meeting minutes (Parry & Mauthner, 2004). The third and fourth units of analysis stem from online surveys and semi-structured narrative interviews (Jansen, 2010; Muylaert, Gallo, Sarubbi Jr., & Neto, 2014).

Data

There are three levels of data within this research taken from the units of analysis. The first level of data will be taken from primary and secondary sources (Theis, 2002). The primary archival sources and data extrapolated for evidence and interpretation came from such sources as the City of Columbia's Land Clearance Authority, *The Missourian* (local newspaper), Urban Renewal meeting minutes and correspondence, state and local reports, land surveys, plot maps, local meeting minutes between residents and land clearance, housing conventions, pro-slavery conventions, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Library of Congress, The University of Missouri Ellis Library, local non-profit radio media known as *K.B.I.A.* (You don't say series) National Archives, U.S. Constitution, and U.S. Supreme Court rulings. The secondary data used in this dissertation came from former research, such as thesis and dissertation manuscripts concerning prior work regarding slavery, social space, local social issues, and the Black/African + experiences, stemming from the University of Missouri archives.

The second level of data was taken from the random anonymous survey responses and then compared to the third level of data based on the semi-structured narrative interview responses. A subset of statistical data was used as a reference point to confirm or deny the findings of the online surveys. Several sources include CaresEngagement.org (National Data and Reporting Platform for Communities) and Community Health National Assessments (CHNA). COMO.Gov-Health, Clinical Services, and Disease Surveillance. Missouri Foundation for Health, and the Boone County Police Report Card.

SECTION III.

RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Survey instrument

Medical investigators in primary care settings, such as hospitals and psychiatric units, have begun examining associations between childhood abuse and adult health risk behaviors and disease (Gould et al., 1992; Felitti, 1991: Springs, 1992). The findings are not arbitrary as they indicate the causes of suffering from diseases and medical conditions and life longevity correlated to health behaviors and lifestyle factors, or what is known as the "actual causes of death" (McGinnis & Foege, 1993). These studies can infer that abuse, childhood trauma, adult trauma, and experiences contribute to risk factors that negatively affect life course outcomes.

To be sure socio-psychologists have published many peer-reviewed empirical studies regarding the long-term consequences of childhood abuse related to family violence, sexual deviation, and experiences of young adults (Landis, 1956; Wyatt & Peters, 1986; Strauss & Gelles, 1986). Most studies focus on individual abuse, and very few focus on collective community and personal historical trauma related to structural violence.

Most recent contemporary researchers focus on the long-term adverse effects on First Nations peoples in the U.S. (Heart, Chase, Elkins, & Altschul, 2011; Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt, & Chen, 2004). However, none have attempted to bridge the gap between the individual experiences of cultural-historical trauma and how the community suffers a second trauma structurally. Nor has anyone tried to use the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) Assessment on a broader community that could implicate a community-wide assessment tool (Centers for Diseases Control, 2021).

ACEs part I.: internal perceptions and experiences

The Adverse Childhood Experiences, or "ACEs," trauma questionnaire includes ten questions for adults and children, based on three categories: abuse, neglect, and household dysfunction. Five are personal questions associated with physical abuse, verbal abuse, sexual abuse, physical neglect, and emotional neglect (Harris, Sugimoto, Mateo, Gomez, & Altamirano, 2020). The other five are related to other family members and their interpersonal relationships.

Since higher numbers of ACEs (3+) scores often correlate to challenges later in life, including a higher risk of specific health problems with a score greater than (4+), the quiz can also indicate how likely a person is to face these challenges. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Kaiser Permanente, any score above 4 is a higher than average risk for adverse healthcare outcomes.

ACEs part II.: external perceptions and experiences

As the CDC, Kaiser Permanente, and other researchers have pointed out, the ACEs questionnaire does not control for socio-structural issues, bullying, and other forms of trauma external to the immediate community, family, or peer group; until now (Centers for Disease Control, 2021). This research has manipulated the ACEs questionnaire to resolve this issue.

The ten questions are broken down into the same three segments, abuse, neglect, and household dysfunction, and the same two sets of questions in part I. However, one factor has been replaced: the household has become a ‘community’ you do not live in. The five personal questions are still associated with physical abuse, verbal abuse, physical neglect, and emotional neglect (Harris, Sugimoto, Mateo, Gomez, & Altamirano, 2020). However, they are also associated with restrictive social movements

and self-restriction caused by external structural forces. For example, the statements below are taken from the original ACEs questionnaire-

> *Did you feel that you didn't have enough to eat, had to wear dirty clothes, or had no one to protect or take care of you?*
>
> *Did your parents or adults in your home ever hit, punch, beat, or threaten to harm each other?*
>
> *Did a parent or adult in your home ever hit, beat, kick, or physically hurt you in any way?*

This research added community or "in your community" in addition to the parental structures put in place, such as:

> *Did a parent or other adult in the household or in the community you grew up in; often…swear, insult, put you down, or humiliate you? Or act in a way that made you afraid that you might be physically hurt?*

I then took the same questions and asked the opposite, such as:

> *Did a parent or other adult not belonging to or living in the community you grew up in; often…swear, insult, put you down, or humiliate you? Or act in a way that made you afraid that you might be physically hurt?*

Section two includes additional questions that have social and geographical restrictions and terrestrial mobility, such as:

> *Can you move freely outside the community you live in without fear of racial harassment, police harassment, or racial bias?*
>
> *Do you think about how you walk, talk, and dress outside your community?*

Doing so gives a more accurate representation of how socio-structural forces have also potentially caused trauma. This accomplishes two main things. First, by splitting internal and external perceptions and experiences, the hybrid model removes the pathology from the social perception that the community is the center of the trauma. Secondly, it adds the potential culpability onto the external structures that may also co-create social strain and trauma. Once completed, the questionnaire should indicate if

familial and peer groups are more heavily weighted or external socio-structural forces are more heavily weighted, and to what degree.

Intersubjectivity and the protection of participants

For intersubjectivity and the protection of the participants in this research, omitted both the online survey and semi-structured interviews omitted questions and the use of items related to sexual abuse, gender, or racial identifiers. The reasoning is twofold. First, the population sample size is minimal in association with the total population, including all Black/African + residents within the identified area. Therefore, discretion is needed to protect their identity. In their place, pronouns such as They/Them/Their serve to identify each interviewee with an associated number. Finally, omitted both the online survey and semi-structured interviews omitted questions and the use of items related to sexual abuse, gender, or racial identifiers, as they were not included in the original IRB approval; therefore, we must omit them.

Semi-structured interview instrument

Qualitative semi-structured narrative interviews intend to go beneath superficial responses to obtain more genuine and authentic meanings that individuals assign to specific life events and their attitudes, behaviors, and experiences and serve as both a data collection strategy and a research method (McIntosh & Morse, 2015).

The topic guides semi-structured interviews and therefore tends to the critical questions used in the same way in almost every interview. However, the sequence of the questions might change, and the level of investigation for the interviewer. Semi-structured interviewing is extremely useful when the researcher understands what is happening within the sample concerning the research topic. However, semi-structured

interviews and questions should be as open-ended as possible to avoid yes or answers. Further, the questioning procedure should encourage respondents to communicate their beliefs, values, underlying attitudes, and oral histories about a specific lived experience.

The reader may find the semi-structured interview questionnaire guide in with appendix of this document. The questionnaire involves five sections, (1) demographics, (2) health, (3) spatial geography and perception, (4) culture, race, and ethnicity, and (5) post-urban renewal. It would be prudent to keep in mind that the questionnaire serves as a guide only, leaving the interviewee the opportunity to discuss their personal experiences related to each section openly.

Oral histories

Oral history [s] are best understood as a self-conscious, disciplined conversation between two people about some aspect of the past considered historically significant. Although, in this research, the discussion is a semi-structured interview. The interviewer asks questions of another person, the participant identified in the purposive sample. The questions posed within this research create a "frame of reference or historical interest that elicits certain responses" from the participant, deriving from that person's frame of reference, that person's sense of what they think is essential (Shopes, 2002).

For the historical researcher, oral history interviews can be precious sources of new knowledge connecting the past to the present. They can provide innovative ways to interpret perspectives on it. Recorded historical oral interviews can offer information about everyday life and insights into what is sometimes deemed "ordinary people" made unavailable from other sources, such as archival material and census data. Oral histories

of those interviewed also provide participatory agency of those individuals whose lives have been lived within profoundly limiting circumstances.

This is especially important when considering that the individual oral histories of those who have participated become a collective or community history. Thereby making this research a community "oral history project," as it refers to the specificity of the *Douglass School Neighborhood*, bounded within a spatial landscape (Shopes, 2002). In addition, the community itself refers to a shared social identity constructed by the colonial past and, therefore, shares in the collective history of its making.

Ethical considerations

Too often, research remains divorced from the broader context devoted to the interpretation and analysis within the connected tissue of individual, community, and the researcher's own economic, racial, cultural, and socio-political privilege (Stopford, 2020). Therefore, more emphasis should be placed on the social sciences and the subtle intersubjective experiences of those communities and individuals we aim to study in qualitative research.

To avoid what psychiatrist James Gilligan (2018) calls "disciplinary narcissism" and "roaming freely" within the halls of academia and non-academic resources: this research intends to utilize ways that create a process mutually constituted between participants' narratives and their location. This approach is often considered the *intersubjective approach* (Stopford, 2020; Zlatev, Racine, Sinha, & Itkonen, 2008). This approach maintains that participants in research and their subjective lived experiences play a central role in the interpretative analysis (Chancer & Andrews, 2014). Therefore, researchers must take actual stock in how we "self-segregate" into the exclusivity in predominantly white institutions. Often, these same institutions cut themselves off from

the impoverished, especially Black/African + human communities (Malle & Hodges, 2005).

According to Richard Florida (2017), it is a misnomer that the most segregated areas of the U.S. are indeed Black/African +, but rather the White and the wealthy who wall themselves off from other disadvantaged groups (Wilson, 1987). Although often invisible, these walls, like racism, protect the status and privilege and its implications on their own geographical spaces and analysis to fight against the very systems we work and live in, otherwise known as institutional racism. Therefore, the appropriate object of inquiry in this research regarding urban renewal, The *Douglass School Neighborhood*, and the effects of marginality should also consider who conducts the investigation.

Even though the researcher often argues they do not matter, it is not the same thing as the researcher understanding who they are and how they perceive data collection and analysis (Desmond, 2016). As Franz Fanon (1967) states in *Black Skins, White Mask*, touching the "other" across racial lines is simple. I must recognize that I do not matter within the lived experiences of my participants; I must also not forget that my White male privilege is connected in often invisibly sutured ways to the other side. It is not enough to know this but attempt to make repairs materially. Only when these conditions are addressed will research reach interpersonal proximity. This closeness creates a discourse that can "facilitate the emergence of unexpected moments that might make connections" instead of distancing and widening social and racial boundaries (Stopford, 2020).

When done correctly, the intersubjective perspective recognizes that research in and of itself can be colonizing. And although this research is approved by the University

of Missouri's Institutional Review Board (IRB) and states that no intended harm may come to those who participate. I learned and questioned my involvement and this justification early on when my tendency to be the "knower" was confronted.

The first time this occurred, I attempted to speak and recruit participants for this study. As I approached a couple of women, I handed them my brochure and told them about my research and intentions. While one of the women seemed moderately interested, I could visibly see the other women become physically agitated, fearful, and unable to keep eye contact. It was then that I began to see the interconnections of my educational privilege, gender, and race in the post-colonial body. Whether one or all three negatively affected this individual does not matter. Recognizing this, I removed myself from that side and pushed no further. However, this experience did make me more aware of my physical and historical presence.

This moment was central in the development of this research as it reminded me of the necessity to be humble and honest about the privileged bubble in which I reside. In addition, it reminded me that I have much more to learn from the people who live and work in this area, more so than what knowledge I would have to offer. To conclude, I must recognize that my privilege within a space is intimately connected to history and avoid colonizing research space.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Chapter 2 intends to implement the methodological procedure of process tracing to formulate the historical development of the state of Missouri, the inception of the city of Columbia as a case, and how these two colonial projects have helped shape racial segregation in the town (Mahoney, 2015). To achieve this, this research first introduces

the concept of liberal imperialism and how the ideas of the economic free market, property ownership, and colonial expansion laid the foundation for state and city development. Additionally, this chapter will show how these exact mechanisms and ideas of colonial expansion led to migration of the Boone County area of Missouri, and how slavery played a central part in the City of Columbia's survival, economic development, and creation of the city.

Chapter 3 will walk the reader through the era of the postmodern empire and show how the same mechanisms of the free market and property ownership have played a key role nationally and locally in creating and maintaining racialized policies of geographical segregation in the urban core. Through national and local policies, these same institutions were able to blame the victims of racial segregation and their current living conditions to justify sweeping federal and city-wide forced evictions and resettlement.

Chapter 4 will be broken into three sections of analysis and research findings. Section 1 will reintroduce the concepts of structural violence and how they are associated with historical cultural trauma moving into the results from semi-structured interviews. Section 2 shows the online survey results and gives a detailed analysis of the differences within and between gender. Outlining the weaknesses within the study, and finally, section three compares the findings of trauma to statistical data, with corresponding analysis.

Chapter 5 revisits the research questions in the conclusion section, outlining each section and how the research has been used to interpret the results of the findings related to trauma, gender, and the lived experiences of those residing in Columbia, MO. The

second section of chapter 5 will outline five strategies the City of Columbia could take in potentially resolving the trauma experienced by the Black/African + community in addition to addressing the ongoing structural social issues that continue to harm this population.

CHAPTER 2.

DISPOSSESSION & THE BIRTH OF A NEW STATE

Meet the new boss, same as the old boss -The Who, 1971

History has a way of leaving breadcrumbs, tiny particles of the past that eventually settle and stain. The investigator will start to scrape and brush away the layers laid dormant at this place. Much like archival documents, there remain memories that reside in cities like Columbia, Missouri. To understand these memories and their relationship to historical intergenerational trauma, the investigator will examine the linkages between local generational residents connected to formerly enslaved humans, the development of the state and city, and how governmental policies are inscribed upon them.

This chapter intends to implement the methodological procedure of process tracing to formulate the historical development of the state of Missouri, the inception of the city of Columbia as a case, and how these two colonial projects have helped shape racial segregation in the town (Mahoney, 2015). Social scientists and historians often use process tracing when we are interested in "What Xs caused Y in case Z?" (Bennet & Checkel, 2015). The question implies two basic process-tracing tasks. The first task is to identify the possible Xs that might have caused Y in case Z. For example, this chapter will explore the development of the state of Missouri and how the City of Columbia was influenced by the same policies and procedures that aided in its creation and shaped the racialized segregation of Black/African + residents. In doing so, the chapter can make causal inferences traced through history.

Through these historical connections, the reader will begin to see how slavery in Missouri was instrumental in creating not only the state but the foundation of the city. Furthermore, it will outline how racial isolation and historical and cultural trauma were co-created through these colonial processes and allowed to fester over time. Finally, and sadly, the reader will find that attempts by Black/African + residents to heal through self-empowerment were met with structural violence that has forever changed the connected tissues of these people.

Liberal imperialism and the foundation of colony building

To quote Franz Fanon (1963) from *The Wretched of the Earth*, "Whatever gains the colonized make through armed or political struggle, they are not the result of the colonizer's goodwill or goodness of heart, but the fact that he can no longer postpone such concessions."

So it goes; violence would seem a permanent structure within the essence and idea of an empire. Therefore, it would seem inevitable that liberal imperialism was used to "galvanize its white supremacy, pro-capitalism, and universalist "progress" at home and abroad" (Elkins, 2022).

Historically speaking, liberalism regarded property ownership as a benchmark of success. In addition, the free market acted as a mechanism for the betterment of society, science, technology, reason, and method: serving as cornerstones for the progress of a more "civil society"(Elkins, 2022). Historically, the ideology of imperialist expansion, as witnessed in the vast empire under the United States, "was inherent to liberalism's ideology of universalistic notions of progress, the extension of capitalism, and moral claims" (Elkins, 2022).

One must understand that territorial expansion in the areas of political independence from Britain and further colonization within the territory beyond the 13 U.S. Colonies was not the result of altruism but the continued struggles of the colonized peoples themselves. Often, the founders of this [U.S.] country replicated the knowledge they had learned from other imperial atrocities implemented historically by such countries as Britain, Spain, and France. In so doing, the United States continued to push the pro-empire worldview.

Manifest destiny & the production of cultural identity

Certain liberal empires, such as the U.S., justified their expansionism on other territories through ideological interests, almost as if it was destiny. Today, most of us associate the idea of manifest destiny with American colonialism and the belief that much of the U.S. would be a beacon of light for the rest of the world to follow. Shortly after the U.S. emancipated itself from British rule, White Americans convinced themselves that they were destined by a higher power to remanufacture a better world. This belief that Whites were the exception, not the rule, fueled U.S. colonial expansion towards the west and laid the broader foundation on which its cities were built (Weinberg, 2020).

The idea of manifest destiny is an important concept, as it represents more than a culmination of American self-reflection compared to the remainder of the world; it was a culture of identity. Cultural identities are closely associated with the social construction and maintenance of race located at the intersection of the difference (Bonilla-Silva, 2018; Marx, 1998). This question of difference brings to light the conversations of ‘us’ and ‘them,’ belonging or not belonging, in-groups and out-groups that assist in maintaining an ‘us’ concerning the ‘other.’

From this vantage point, ideas about state and local communities, even imagined ones, help us see their boundaries. One of the central concerns in this dissertation is: who ascribes a racialized cultural identity, and for what reason? Have Black/African + Columbians created their own identity, or has it been beyond their control? And based on this identity, have they been allowed to develop their community based on this self-perception? To better understand these concerns, let us look at the history of Missouri, first as a territory of expansion and its creation as an American-recognized state.

The beginnings of colonial expansion - the Spanish, French connection

Before 1845 and the Louisiana purchase (1803), France claimed to own the sovereign titles to an expanse of territory encompassing approximately 827,000 square miles of land west of the Mississippi River (National Archive, access online, 2022). This land included Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Oklahoma; most of the land included Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, and Minnesota (National Archive, access online, 2022). However, Spain only owned the land for less than a year.

In 1802 King Charles IV of Spain signed a directive transferring the territory to France, thus, revoking the 13 colonies of the U.S. access to the ports of New Orleans. Then U.S. President Thomas Jefferson mandated that James Monroe go to Paris, France, and act as the extraordinary minister. At the same time, U.S. President Thomas Jefferson asked the U.S. Congress to fund an expedition (Lewis and Clark Expedition) through this territory, regardless of who owned it, expecting that the U.S. as a colony could either pay for it or take it through succession. President Thomas Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory from Napoleon Bonaparte, known as the Louisiana Purchase, not wanting another war.

Yet, minimal contemporary scholarship asks the question: can any of the supposed countries physically own a land they have never seen or inhabited? Most assume the Spanish and French had a valid title of ownership. However, on what basis can one imagine France or Spain having sovereign title to a territory that had yet to be explored, let alone possessed. More importantly, many First Nations peoples long occupied the land itself. And ironically, they did not believe that one could own nature. So, how can Spain or France exercise authority as *de facto* sovereignty (empirical matter that depends on actual possession, control, and exercise of power on the ground) over Missouri when they were exercising *de jure* sovereignty based on international law (McNeil, 2019). A law that only applies to those who accept it necessitates actual occupation and control. Regardless, Spain, France, and the U.S. all exercised their structural White colonial power and paper to dispossess another human being's land (McNeil, 2019).

From its inception, the birth of Missouri; its settlement, cultivation, and prosperity for predominantly white land ownership. As we shall soon see, the colonial liberalism of empire expansionism will build its foundation once again on the displacement, brutalization, and hunger of other human beings, otherwise known as primitive accumulation (Goldstein, 2017). Primitive accumulation is defined as "the accumulation based upon predation, fraud, and violence" and one that is not based on free exchange (Marx & Engels, 1977). This accumulation by dispossession or taking someone's land without consent led to the forced removal of all First Nations peoples (Harvey, 2003). Further, it led to the forced enslavement of Black/African + human beings through the state’s inception based on the Missouri Compromise. As Missouri was making a bid to

become the first state west of the Mississippi River, the state also argued that it should be allowed to use and practice slavery.

However, Missouri's need to establish itself as a slave state caused a great kerfuffle in the U.S. Congress. The country itself—was already divided into pro-and anti-slavery factions within the original 13 colonies (Forbes, 2007). In the North, many people opposed the institution of slavery, therefore, did not want its expansion. If Missouri were allowed this request, it would upset the balance between enslaved Black/African + people and free states in the Union. Meanwhile, Pro-slavery Southern States argued that new conditions, "like the original 13, should be given the freedom to choose whether to permit slavery or not" (Forbes, 2007).

As both the U.S. Senate and House of representatives argued for and against the allowance of a newly formed slave state, they made a compromise stating" to keep the balance of free and enslaved person states equal" the Missouri Compromise would allow for the formation of the state, only under the provision the "state of Maine" remain a non-slave state. It also prohibited slavery in the remainder of the Louisiana Territory above the 36 degrees30-minutes latitude line (National Archives: original committee report, 1820).

At this point, it should be clear that it was based on two colonial endeavors at the inception of the state of Missouri. First, to remove the historical descendants of the land by dispossession and allow for the dispossession of one body to be relegated to the cultural identity of property, known as slavery. In which they suffered various forms of forced labor, internal and external migration, and indentured servitude. As you shall see,

this historical foundation has not changed. Still, it serves as new material landscapes of territorial conditions reproduced in new ways in present-day Columbia, MO.

MIGRATION & RURAL DEVELOPMENT

(Boone County-1790-1865)

> *This land was your land; now this land is my land. From California to the New York Island…. A twist on Woody Guthrie*

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw a vaste, rural, agricultural nation where the weather and seasons governed work and life. During early colonial expansion, about five and a half million people, including slaves, lived on plantations and farms in the original 13 colonial states, and only 10% resided outside of this area (Census, 1790). Still, this pre-reindustrialized society could be considered poor and under-developed by European standards.

As mentioned earlier, the cultural identity of White Americans assumed it was their density, divined by God, to expand the colonial empire Westward. So, it would make sense to increase their landmass by 827,000 square miles and use this comprehensive land-based system of domesticated agriculture to increase both size and economic strength. Hell, most Americans, during this time, bought into the idea of manifest destiny and viewed the increase of commercial markets and the opportunity to participate in them favorably, regardless of the dispossession of land by first nations people and the enslavement of Black/African + bodies (Bremer, 2014; Hurt, 1992).

Early migration and white settlers in the 'upper south'-1818

Most soon-to-be Missourians welcomed the opportunity to take part in the market economy. They often produced a surplus for sale to improve their family's economic position. Like other Americans, Missourians were commercially minded, even outright

capitalistic. However, most farmers who migrated to the rural area of Missouri, otherwise known as "Little Dixie" or the "upper south," lacked the necessary financial capital to be capitalists. The transition to capitalism had already entrenched itself within our society; therefore, Missouri folk had developed an interest in market participation before their arrival (Switzler, 1882; Hurt, 1992).

Now, suppose you were to make your way towards the upper center of the state where interstates 63 and 70 intersect. You would find the same thing in a town called Columbia, Missouri (county seat of Boone County), the fifth-largest city in the state, and the largest city in Mid-Missouri, with a population of 108,500 (Census, 2010). This area is rich with fertile, unspoiled agricultural land strewn with oak and sycamore trees that line the Missouri River banks. About 15 miles away from Boones Lick was another small settlement, called Smithton (est.1818), and sits about one mile west of what is now the Boone County Courthouse, located in Columbia, MO., named after Thomas A. Smith, an agent of the United States Land Office (Switzler, 1882).

Predominantly white people and their slaves settled near Boone County and Columbia, Missouri, and were said to be ‘restless people’ searching for opportunities disappearing east of the Mississippi River (Switzler, 1882). The land was beginning to price people out, or the hunting game subsided (Hurt, 1992). Some would say these newcomers came in like a "mountain torrent" and had an insatiable appetite for land, akin to a "fever" (Hurt, 1992). Still, others came looking for new chances to make money from land speculation or trading. To be sure, families from the north and south of the U.S. did migrate here. However, research indicates most who did so were from the "upper south," making Missouri a "western state with southern connections" (Bremer, 2014).

Colonial confusion & property rights

Those who arrived in the new state of Missouri were quickly confronted with one fundamental problem: whose land was it again? The Spanish had ruled over the ground via *de jure sovereignty*. Of the 10% of people mentioned earlier, some were granted land before the Louisiana Purchase, including Missouri. Compounding this issue was the Madrid Earthquakes of 1811-1812, which decimated a disproportionaley large amount of land in the state. The federal government's land policy granted people alternate land to recoup losses. As you can imagine, these two issues created much confusion and fraud, and migrants were forced to buy land from speculators based on their word and a handshake (Hurt, 1992). Of course, in due hast, and to avoid further complications, the *General Land Offices* (GLOs) generally sided with White speculators and squatters and settled claims with little dispute (*Ibid,* p. 24).

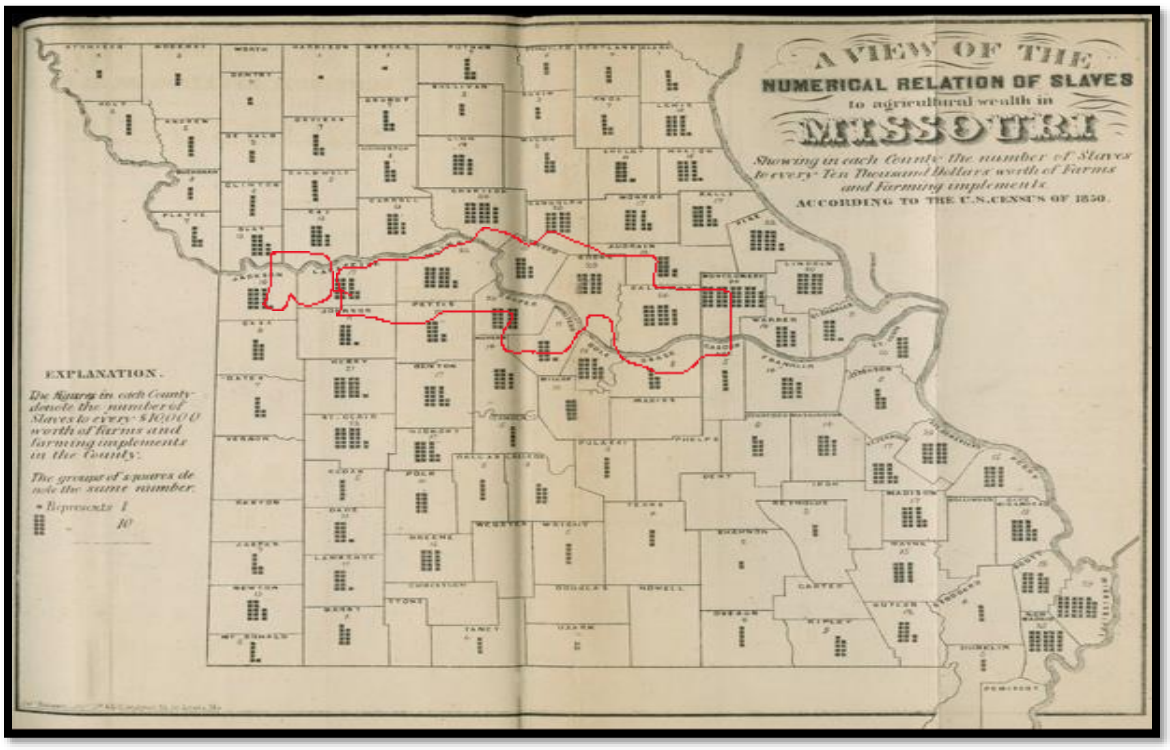
With that said, White migrants moved steadily towards Boone County, MO., to create a better world and community for themselves and family. Like many areas in the U.S. (the early 1800s), Boone County's socioeconomics is directly associated with land-made property and mixed agriculture economies brought forth under racial agricultural capitalism and settler colonialism. Therefore, when one states "migrant," one also has to assume that many who landed in Little Dixie also brought with them human Black/African + enslaved people, at that time, considered legal property.

Dependence on agricultural slavery for economic and territorial expansion 1822-1865

To use the term little dixie or upper south, I want to clarify the historical-cultural connection and perception of spatial place. Lest we ensconce ourselves within the violence of forgetting, this agricultural network located in the upper south is specific to a

geographical area of Missouri known aptly as "The Black Belt" during the antebellum (Feunfhausen, 2013). The site comprises seven of the largest slave-owning counties (1850), including Boone, Callaway, Audrain, Howard, Monroe, Pike, Randolph, and Ralls (Marshall, 1981). To better understand this, please view the numerical relation of enslaved people to agricultural wealth in Missouri. The Map clearly outlines the "number of slaves to every ten thousand dollars worth of farms and farming implements according to the U.S. Census of 1850" (Schulten, 2012).

Figure 1.6: Missouri Slave Density Map



Source: E. Leigh (2012) Missouri Slave Density map, 1850. (Eds.) Mapping the Nation. (1st ed., Chapter 4). University of Chicago Press.

The ties that bind -slavery and agricultural expansion

To better understand the population density of formerly enslaved Black/African + humans within Boone County, MO.: according to the census records of 1850, population

density increased for those enslaved in little dixie between the years of 1830-1840, then slowed after and then drastically dropped at the start of the Civil War. This could be attributed to four things, (1) increased cost of enslaved people during this time, (2) market demands were met in later years, and (3) small agricultural farms in the upper south made "visiting and inter-plantation marriages a necessity to curb mobility and to secure the reproduction of a labor force through children or (4) war demands, such as runaway slaves, and slave participation in the war itself (Berlin, Favreau, & Miller, 1996).

Table 1.5: Black/African + human Slave Expansion in Little Dixie

County	Year	White	Slaves	% Increase in White Population	% Increase in Slave Population
Boone	1830	6,935	1,923	-	-
	1840	10,529	3,008	52	56
	1850	11,300	3,666	7	22
	1860	14,399	5,034	27	37
Callaway	1830	4,692	1,466	-	-
	1840	8,601	3,142	83	114
	1850	9,895	3907	15	24
	1860	12,895	4523	30	16
Clay	1830	4,444	882	-	-
	1840	6,373	2,875	43	226
	1850	7,585	2,742	19	-5
	1860	9,525	3,455	26	26
Cooper	1820	6,493	637	-	-
	1830	5,876	1,021	-10	60
	1840	8,312	2,157	42	111
	1850	9,837	3,091	18	43
	1860	13,528	3,800	38	23

Howard	1820	6,761	1,336	-	-
	1830	8,177	2,646	21	98
	1840	9,381	3,683	15	39
	1850	9,039	4,890	-4	33
	1860	9,986	5,886	10	20
Lafayette	1830	2,481	429	-	-
	1840	4,799	1,990	93	364
	1850	9,005	4,615	88	132
	1860	13,688	6,374	52	38
Saline	1830	2,146	706	-	-
	1840	3,635	1,615	69	129
	1850	6,105	2,719	68	68
	1860	9,800	4,876	61	79

Sources: 1820 U.S. Census, 40; 5th Census of Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the U.S., 1830, 150-151; 6th Census of Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the U.S,1840, 398-405, 414-15; 7th Census of Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the U.S,1850, 654-55; Population of U.S. 1860,286-87; Hurt.D.(1992). Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie. (eds. 218). Columbia. The University of Missouri.

It can be said that Black/African + human slavery was intimately wedded to all aspects of life. These human slaves-built city infrastructures such as sewage lines-built, homes, and institutions, "cleared forested land, split rails, hoed corn, tended tobacco, and broke hemp" (Hurt, 1992). The area of little dixie ranked as the highest producer of tobacco and hemp in Missouri, which enabled a White planter class to establish itself (Hurt: 1992). As the area developed, it necessitated agricultural diversification that would raise large quantities of livestock (hogs, beef cattle), wheat, corn, and mules (*Ibid*, p. xii).

This clearly shows the connection to the upper south and southern cultural process of commercial agricultural Black/African + human slavery. Without the blood, bone, and sinew of those bonded, Boone County slave-owners would have never been able to expand their territory and production of surplus commodities down the Missouri River to

St. Louis and New Orleans. Thus, limitations did not shape Boone County and Columbia, Missouri; it was an opportunity.

Table 2.5 : Comparative White *v.* Black/African + human Population density. Boone Cunty, Missouri (1850-1860).

Boone County	*Year*	*Slaves*	*White Plantation Class*	*% Slave [s]*
	1850	3,666	11,000	25
	1860	*14,000*	*5,034*	*26*

Source: (U.S. Census) Boone County, Mo. (1850, p.274-75), (1860, p. 286-87).

However, more telling is the estimated growth of Missouri as a whole. It is estimated that from 1820-to 1860, Missouri's Black/African + human slave population started at 10,000 and grew to over 114,000 by 1860 (Hurt, 1996). The market in Columbia, Missouri, and the expansion of the White Planter Class would also expand.

Table 3.5: White Planter Class Expansion (Boone County: 1830-1860).

BOONE COUNTY	1830	1840	1850	1860
	5	7	11	28

Source: Manuscript Census Schedules, Slaves, (1830-1860)

Locally, the extended agricultural and Black/African + human slave market participation led to an expansion into Columbia, Missouri, vis-à-vis a mutual network of assistance from White farm women and mercantile capitalism. During antebellum Black/African + human slavery, White farm women operated as economic producers for their families. While husbands were out in fields or farms, women were often tasked with participating in this new market economy (Bremer, 2014).

Not only did farm women cook, clean, and oversee most domestic duties, but they also worked a double workday. This is to say, the "second shift" of work and participation in the economic development was brought forth by processing raw materials such as clothing (cloth), weaving, butter, eggs, cheese, gathering surplus vegetables, poultry, and milk that could be negotiated and sold through a local merchant (Hoschild & Machung, 1989; Bremer, 2014; Noe, 1994). However, it was not only material goods that were traded. Black/African + humans were also frequently "used as a medium of exchange…" that were changed for land or "sold on commission for additional work" (Trexler, 1913). It would be essential to note, White farm women and their Black/African + human slave labor were said to have provided one-third to one-half of a family's food consumption (*Ibid,* p.99).

The increased production into the market economy could not have been possible if it were not for local merchants like James L. Stephens Mercantile in Columbia, Missouri, who coincidentally Stephens college is named after (Williams, 1913). Merchants during this time were invaluable middlemen who helped farmers with access to consumer goods and wholesale economies. This, in turn, acted as a pull factor in driving consumers to the area in need of commodities. It is said that people would travel as much as 25 miles to make purchases from James Stephen's store and bring him other materials to sell or barter (*Ibid.* p. 279).

Agricultural slavery by another name

One cannot deny that between 1820 and 1860, slavery in the *upper south* or *little dixie*, including Columbia, were the lives of Black/African + humans' lives. They predicated on an asymmetrical, socially symbiotic system of the unequal, oppressive, and

exploitative systems of human slavery. Without the access to and application of this practice, the creation and expansion of hemp, tobacco, wheat, cotton, and the building of homes and infrastructures both nationally and locally would not have been possible in creating what is now Columbia, MO. So, if we were to ask the fundamental question posed in the introduction of this dissertation, one that asks: how do we explain the historical role slavery played in the development of racial segregation in the state of Missouri and the City of Columbia? One can only conclude, the county of Boone, and its city could not have been built nor maintained without the blood, bone, and suffering of Black/African + humans.

In 1865, shortly after the confederacies' defeat, the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives ratified the "*13th Amendment* on January 31, 1865; and ratified by the states on December 6, 1865—abolished slavery "within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." (Senate, 2022). Let us not forget that Black/African + people were enslaved for over 250 years, and through this process, the development and enrichment of local citizens and the city were born of the trauma incurred by the people who aided in its development. This is an important point, as the development process indicates an ongoing process of pain and suffering to benefit those in power.

Prior value & price

According to the book (1913) entitled *The Value and The Sale of the Missouri Slave, a pro-slavers value guide*, there is nothing more concerning than the value of this form of property. Moreover, it would be misleading to compare individual and group rates prices because each era was different. For example, leading up to the civil war between 1840-and 1860, prices increased compared to years past. As reflected and supports Delcia's

case (1845), the then President of the University of Missouri James Shannon, when attending the Lexington pro-slavery convention, stated that in years past, the 'average cost of a slave was worth about $600.00, and now …a good field hand… is worth $1200.00. (Trexler, 1913). This can also be seen in the Boone County, Probate, and tax records in the table below.

Table 4.5**:** Comparison of Slave prices Pre/Post-Civil War.

Slaver Owner	Slave Name	Age	Sales Price	Year
William W. Hudson	Beverly	29	1,500.00	1859
	3- men (no names)	No age's	$1,000.00 ea.	1859
George. Gorden	Lou	25	$1,500.00	1860
	Horace	30	$1,500.00	1860
	Charles	34	$1,600.00	1860
	Roger	36	$ 1,500.00	1860
Lawson Calvin				
	Lewis	18	$800.00	1861
	George	12	$600.00	1861
	Lewis	47	$500.00	1861
	Henry	7	$300.00	1861
	Narcissa	16	$600.00	1861
	Mag	40	$275.00	1861

Source: Trexler. H.A. (1913). The Value and Sale of the Missouri Slave (eds 74-75). Kansas City. Missouri Historical Review. M.S. Probate Records, Boone County, Inventories, Appraisements, and sales. Book B, P. 287, (inventory filed, Dec. 1860). M.S. Probate Records, Saline County, Inventories and Appraisements, 1855-1861, vol. I, P. 677. Appraisements of the estate of Elizabeth Huff, July 7, 1861, validates slave property prices.

However, one must also consider that a tax loophole that makes it extremely difficult to establish valuations and numbers of those enslaved in the area was that enslaved Black/African + women and their children were considered a singular unit. Therefore, the count and valuation could include two or more people within that valuation.

Missouri's code noir & the maintenance of white supremacy

Black/African + human slavery and its origins are embedded in violence that incorporates all five systems of bondage, which include (1) forced labor, (2) bonded or debt labor, (3) sex slavery, (4) child slavery, and (5) domestic slavery (Davis & Zilberstein, 2006) Although the scale of Black/African + human slavery may have been smaller numerically in the 'upper south,' the institution was no less demeaning and harmful to Black/African + peoples (Strickland, 1971).

For example, The Missouri Constitution of 1820, based first on Louisiana and then Virginia's *Code Noir [Black Code],* stipulates that enslaved people were personal property (Sharp, 2006).

> *As property, slaves could be bought and sold, traded for other goods, offered as security for a loan, inherited, or given as gifts. Slaves dreaded such transactions. Few events so traumatized the slaves' powerlessness as a sale on the auction block of the movement of a "coffle" of slaves by an itinerant slave trader. Transfers of slaves meant changes of owners and residents and, more critically, separation from friends and family.* (U.S., 1996).

And even though they [Missourians] were to "oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with ‘humanity’, and to abstain from all injuries to them," going so far as to argue Missouri's slavery had an incredibly intimate quality. Where enslavers considered their Black/African + human slaves were part of their extended family. (Berlin, Favreau, & Miller, 1996; Burke, 2010), one that made for a milder version of enslavement.

Columbia, MO., enslavers often made a point to distinguish that the "life of blacks in their town," compared to Blacks in the South, was much different (Hunt, 2011). White Columbia city residents vehemently agree that "down there" slavery was inhumane, whereas, 'up here' slaves were generally well-fed and… clothed; if they were sick, they were cared for (*ibid.*, p.11).

Some Black/African + human slaves expressed fear of being sold further south and even convinced themselves that the argument mentioned above was valid. However, every indication that slave children in Boone County and Columbia were born and bred to be used as commodity exchanges with the southern market (Trexler, 1913). According to the book, *Value and Sale of a Missouri Slave* (ibid, p. 79), "a local negro exchange" not only existed but was quite a thriving trade in Boone County, Columbia, MO. This makes sense, as they still used 'Black Code' [*Code Noir*] restrictions for enslaved people in the city; such rules and regulations included -

> *…separation of slave families by sale or hiring out; maiming or killing of slaves for disobedience; prohibition on religious or social assembly; forbidding slaves to read or write and prohibiting them from hiring their labor. Keeping a gun, selling or delivery of liquor, testifying against European Americans, or defending themselves against attack by European Americans were punished to the full extent of the law, to include but not limited to…branding and loss of ears for first offense…second, and third by "hamstringing"…and death (Jones-Sneed, 1991).*

Regardless of the geographical spatial location of slavery, it rested on the "murders, beatings, mutilations, and humiliation-both petty and great (Berlin, Favreau, & Miller, 1996). Moreover, slave codes were designed to ensure complete control and submission by providing swift punishment and aggression to the resistance of any kind, as can be seen here, taken from *Columbia city ordinances* (1861).

Sec 37. Selling or giving liquor to slavers (misdemeanor).

Sec 38. Trading with Slaves (misdemeanor).

Sec. 44. If any slave or slave shall get drunk within the corporate limits of the town of Columbia, he shall be deemed guilty if a misdemeanor and punished with ten stripes on the bareback, to be well laid on by the Marshall, with becoming judgment, instanter.

Sec. 45. Any slave or slaves who shall be guilty of loitering about or collecting together, either by day or night, to the number of five or more, within the corporate limits of the town of Columbia, except it be evidently for religious worship shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished with no more than fifteen and no less than five stripes each. With a cowhide instanter.

Sec 72. Negro drunk and in possession of spiritous liquor (misdemeanor)

Sec 110. Ordained by the trustees of the inhabitants of the Town of Columbia that the Marshall to arrest, without a warrant, and commit to the county jail or calaboose, all slaves who may be found off the premises of their masters after 9:00 …after March, 10:00 …without a pass.

Sec 111. Marshall shall receive $1.00 together with jailors fees for each slave discharged.

Sec 112. Any slave in possession of any gun, pistol, dirk, bowie knife, or other weapons shall be deemed guilty f a misdemeanor and shall be punished with no less than ten and no more than thirty-nine lashes upon conviction.

Sadly, Columbia City Ordinances (1867), two- years post-civil war, did little to protect former Black/African + human slaves, and used coded language, as seen below, to ensure their power and authority over Black/African + free-wo/man. More importantly, city ordinances were and had been used against the Black/African + community in years leading up to urban renewal–

Sec. 122. Servants and minors violating ordinances who are liable. Specifically, any ordinance passed by the trustees for the Government of the Town of Columbia is violated by a servant, apprentice, hired person, or minor, in cases not otherwise specifically provided for, parent or guardian of the …master or mistress…shall be responsible.

Sec. 124. Depositing excrement under Flat Branch Bridge.

Sec. 154. Failure to pay fine…committed to working on the street.

> *Sec. 155 refusal work on the street.*
>
> *Sec 159. If anyone who may be imprisoned for failure or refusal to pay any fines or costs…such person shall not be discharged from liability, but his property and effects shall be liable to be taken in execution to satisfy such fine and costs.*

Boone County, Missouri Circuit Court (1821-1831) (Berlin, Favreau, & Miller, 1996).

> *Jacob, a slave, property of Reuben Cave charged with larceny. He received 20 lashes on his back at the public whipping post (located across the street from the original courthouse -Columbia).*
>
> *Joseph C. McKay, Joseph Austin, Robert Corlew, and Robert Barber…Nancy is found guilty, Taney, not guilty-she will receive 20 lashes.*
>
> *Billy to receive 15 lashes …Barnett to receive 39 lashes …John. Hughes owner to pay a fine of $8.75. Negros to be held until the fine is paid.*
>
> *Charles, a slave of Daniel P. Wilcox, indicted with Henry and Manuel…he pleads guilty to charges…25 lashes upon his bareback.*
>
> *Nathan a slave belonging to Charles Hardin, pleads guilty to larceny. He was sentenced to 25 lashes.*
>
> *The Jury finds Samuel guilty of murder…the court sentences him to be hanged…between the hours of ten and forenoon and two o'clock. Of the same day.*
>
> *In the case of Amos Barnes and Harrison Jamison v. Benjamin Cave…it appears that Benjamin Cave is insolvent; just before declaring himself as such, he sold a negro slave to Barnes and Jamison. The slave was crippled with frostbite and later died. The death was not from frostbite from disease. The object of the suit…did Cave know of this prior to the sale? The jury finds that Cave was aware but that …the boy (slave) was not of any value at the time of sale to Barnes.*

An act of resistance

This is not to say that there were no acts of resistance about the *Code Noir,* as reflected here, with Delcia Patterson. Delcia Patterson was an enslaved child to Charles Mitchel of Boone County, MO., and describes her sale at 15. Delcia was born into the Mitchell family; as she recounts here, "they were fairly nice to all of their slaves," and she was only whipped once because she accidentally pulled up a flower working in the

yard (Berlin, Favreau, & Miller, 1996). When she was 15, Delcia was brought to the Boone County Courthouse in Columbia, Missouri, to be sold on the auction block (this was the central area of sales and barter) by "old Judge Miller…and I knew him well; he was the wealthiest enslaver in the area and the meanest' (*Ibid*, p. 42).

Most slave owners and slaves were familiar with his cruelty and disliked him. “When he attempted to bid on me,” Delcia stated in public, "Old Judge Miller don't you bid on me, cuz if you do, I will not live on your plantation; I will take a knife and cut my own throat from ear to ear before you would own me" (Berlin, Favreau, & Miller, 1996). Delcia was sold to a Southern Englishman, Thomas B. Steele, for $1500.00.

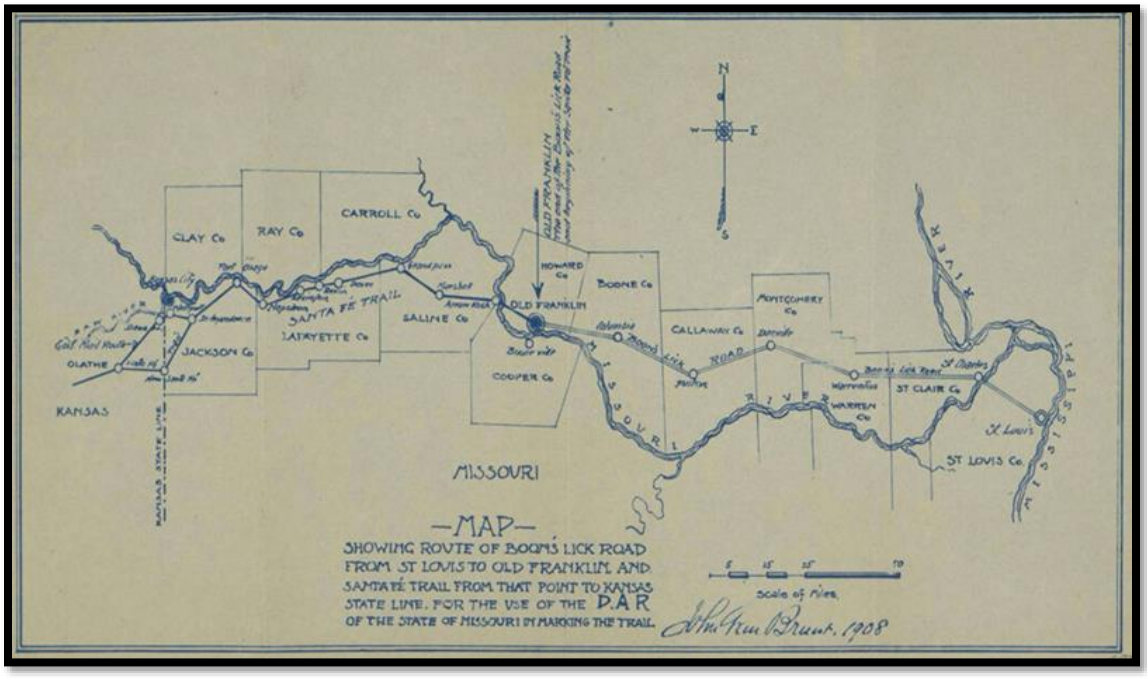
Even so, if an owner of a slave or person working in law enforcement saw fit, an enslaved person could be disciplined by sending them to the local slave breaker, who was said to have been a:

> *…brawny man, and he was mean. He had a place here in town-I guess it was about where Clinkscales garage is now-and. Whenever a slave became too unruly, his master took him into the slave breaker, who didn't often fail to beat the rebellion out of him. The slaver breaker had a pen with a log fence about ten or twelve feet high. He'd put the 'bad nigger' in there and beat him for several days. (Hunt, 2011).*

City development & the white imagination

According to Barbara Ramsey (2021) in her article entitled *Positioning Columbia for a Prosperous Future*, the city "grew with mindfulness to the future about what kind of community its people wanted it to be, and what a fascinatingly violent truth that has become. While agricultural expansion and slavery continued to grow, it was anticipated that Howard County located towards the Kansas City border, would expand into several multiple individual counties that would traverse the Missouri River, now known as little dixie, that straddles the I-70 corridor today (Ramsey, 2021).

Figure 2.6: Howard County (Kansas City Border), Boone's Lick Road from Old Franklin to St. Louis, and Santa Fe Trail.



Source: The State Historical Society of Missouri Map Collection, (Map 850 B838 1908).

Having the foresight to see an opportunity, the Smithton Co., land speculators, decided to purchase land near Old St. Charles Road, also known as the Boone's Lick Trail. However, they "did not buy land along the Missouri River," but five miles south of the Boones lick trail, in what would later become Columbia, Mo. (*ibid.*, p.1). While historical records are lacking in this area, speculators often took carte blanche on land acquisition through the confusion of formerly owned Spanish lands and the Madrid Federal policies fiasco from earlier periods (Hurt, 1992).

The town of Columbia, Missouri, changed its name and location due to floodplain issues in 1818 (Switzler, 1995; Ramsey, 2021; Jindrich, 2002). What was once called Smithton would become Columbia as we know it today. To establish Columbia, Missouri, as the County seat of Boone County located in Central Missouri, also known as

the "upper south" (Stone, 2006). The earliest settlers/developers to the area needed to secure its status through the Missouri Legislature and did so by agreeing to provide "land (50-70 acres; sources vary), cash ($2,000), two wells, and two public squares" (Keenoy & Foley, 2009). The offer was accepted, and in August 1821, Columbia was formally established (Switzler, 1995).

Once Columbia was secured as the county seat, the Smithton Company began donating much of its land. They did not present; they sold to some founding families, such as James L. Stephens mentioned earlier and the Todd Family. The Smithton Company set aside land for a seat of justice. Judge David Todd, a Black/African + human slave owner (20 slaves), held the first circuit court position in Boone County and was the uncle to Mary Todd, former Presidents Abraham Lincoln's wife (Hunt, 2011). The decision to create and control this new judicial position assisted in developing the political system we see today.

According to historical records, one of their priorities for Peter Wright (1821; the city of Columbia's first appointed county surveyor), after designing the grid map of the town, was to create a centralized street that connected Boones Lick trail to the center of the city, now known as Broadway St. (Switzler, 1995; Ramsey, 2021).

Figure 3.6: Visual locations of towns and counties that appeared in 1816-1819 along Boones Lick Trail.

Source: The State Historical Society of Missouri Map Collection, (Map 850 M321 1816-19).

In 1862, three years before the end of chattel slavery in America (Dec.6, 1865; 13th amendment). *The U.S. Congress* passed the *Merrill Act*, also known as the *Land-Grant College Act,* which would provide land grants to states to finance college educational systems specializing in "agriculture and the mechanic arts" (Johnson, 1981). The name Merrill stems from the Act's sponsor, VA., Congressman Justin S. Morrill (1810–98) (ibid). The Act was intended to extend higher education to a developing society. What was significant about the *Land-Grant College Act* was its original language, allowing disenfranchised minority groups such as women and Black/ African + people to attend higher-level educational systems (Andrews, 1918). Coincidently, Congressman Morrill received a letter from activist Frederick Douglass who praised the efforts of Congressmen. (Douglass, 2020).

From its earliest inception, Columbia, MO., settlers and the Smithton Company had already discussed implementing a strategy to develop a State University by setting aside land (Phillips, 1912). The University of Missouri was eventually Founded in Feb.

1839 under the Geyer Act, passed by the Missouri State General Assembly. They made the University of Missouri the first and largest state university west of the Mississippi River (Archives, 2020; Johnson, 1981). The year of its founding, the citizens of Columbia, Missouri, pledged $117,921 in cash and land, along with Smithton Companies' generous donation of ten acres. By doing so, the residents of Columbia beat out five other mid-Missouri counties competing for university rights (Keenoy & Foley, 2009).

The land on which the University now rests would be considered property located just south of Columbia's downtown area, owned by James S. Rollins, also known as the "father of the university (Archives 2020)." Construction of the University of Missouri's first educational building began in 1840, and Academic Hall by the following year. The University of Missouri enrolled 75 White male students during its first year.

This is important for two main reasons. First, it establishes a historical linkage to White male dominance. Secondly, Boone County was like most cities in the U.S., where agriculture was the prerequisite for creating and growing small-scale towns, allowing them to preserve and foster surplus production and create economies of scale. However, unlike other cities that see exponential growth away from non-farming activities, they tend to do so via the combination of transportation routes by road and water. It allows cities to create industrial and technological centers that act as a pull factor for increased labor and land expansion while pushing surplus out of the town.

The city of Columbia grew from knowledge production stemming from three leading universities: Stephens College (1833), the second oldest all-female college in the country (University of Missouri Archives, 2021). The University of Missouri (1839), The Charter of Christian Female College (1851), now Columbia College. From its inception,

the University of Missouri has been the largest employee within the City of Colombia, Mo. The concentration of the three primary universities is a pull factor in accumulating population and expansion. To give you a clear example, a 1966 Dept. of Housing and Urban Development report indicated that non-agricultural labor within the city of Columbia made up 9l % of the total workforce. The most expressive single employment segment was educational services (Dept. of Housing and Urban Dvlp., 1966).

By 1900, Columbia had modernized their infrastructure and expanded the surrounding area near the University with two-story single-family homes with large lot sizes to attract homeowners while increasing tax revenues (Sheals, 2005). Between 1910-and 1920, Columbia extended the state highway system to intersect Hwy 40 and Hwy 63. Between 1920-and 1930, Columbia's population growth expanded with road improvements, a new hospital, hotels, and several public schools: making Columbia a regional crossroads and commercial hub (Tribune, 2001).

Stagnation set in during the great depression but did not hinder the city's foresight in potential growth after WWII. A 1935 Columbia city planning, and development document referenced the issue of housing as one that needs "to keep the negro population separate from the white population (Roth, 2008). For the city to control Black/African + residents of Columbia, the city needed to enact spatial methods of covert control to avoid "scattering" (lack of spatial, racial control over specific areas of the city) (ibid). One resolution was to keep steering Black/ African + residents toward the Douglass High School Neighborhood. In conjunction with building outdoor recreational areas closer to the racially different schools, the city could utilize it as a "better containment method" (Roth, 2008). This would support two of the interviewees who participated in this study

and found that spatial restrictions certainly played a part in looking for and buying a home post-WWII as Black/African + individuals and families.

By WWII, Columbia's population had increased to 31,397 residents. To give you a more accurate idea of what this looked like, between 1900 and 1960, while the Douglass School Neighborhood includes The Sharp End, the city's black population grew by 44 %, while the white population grew by more than 800 % (Roth, 2008). This increase is directly associated with former White military veterans who came to the University of Missouri under the *Readjustment Act* of 1944 (Stone, 2006).

The G.I. Bill offered generous benefits for veterans returning from World War II. In addition to veterans' educational assistance, the bill provided funds for health care, education, on-the-job training, and affordable housing (Stone,2006). Estimates suggest that by the late 1940s, 70% of the University of Missouri's student population was veterans. Because of this new growth, newer single-family homes would need to be built along with street expansions near the University of Missouri.

The opportunities for Black/African + WWII Veterans in Columbia, MO., were severely limited, as most educational opportunities often only prepared them for specific and marginalized limited "black jobs" (Katznelson, 2005). Although, both WWII. Veterans I interviewed had different experiences; they both support this, stating there was a lack of career and employment opportunities within the city of Columbia for Black/African + residents. Their only recourse was a trade school, which allowed them to create careers in the town. It would be essential to note that the military allowed them to learn a trade, not the post-war phenomenon discussed. I mention this as it indicates limitations to community members association to better White paying skilled jobs.

When asked, "can you tell me what your worst memory living in Columbia was" one of my interviewees stated, "it was the loss of my job after coming back from the war because I didn't say Mr." to the son of the proprietor I was working for (Paul, 2022). They stayed about a week when I asked how long they were there. Can you imagine, they stated? First, we go off to war and find out the Nazi prisoners of war had more freedoms than us when we were there, but you come back home, and this is how you are treated. They went on to say that that was the most direct and most hurtful experience. This same interviewee also stated that they didn't think much of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) threatening to march in the street after school integration and treated it as a normalized issue in the area.

Similarly, various on-the-job training programs also served as a restriction. These same *Jim Crow-Black Code laws* were supported by white businesses unwilling to take on Black/ African + trainees. For example, according to a study conducted by the Southern Regional Council in Georgia (1946), black veterans using the GI Bill were only allowed to participate in six of the state's two hundred and forty-six programs. Overall, only one out of twelve such training venues were allowed open to Blacks/African + veterans, and such training that was offered were very limited (Administration, 1950). Making matters worse, most job placement organizations were operated exclusively by Whites.

Creating the black landscape of exclusion

Between 1860-and 1870 brought many changes for Black/African + Missourians. On January 11, 1865, the Missouri state ordinance to abolish slavery was completed, emancipating enslaved Black/African + people, eleven months before *Thirteenth*

Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (National Archives,2021; African American Heritage, 2022). In 1868, the *Fourteenth Amendment* granted Black/African + people U.S. citizenship and equal protection and civil liberties under the law like their White counterparts (*Ibid*, p. 1). In 1870, the *Fifteenth Amendment* gave Black/African + men the right to vote (ibid, p.1).

Yet, for all these constitutional developments, many emancipated Black/African + people simultaneously struggled to find work, homes, access to education, and adequate healthcare. Let us not forget the struggles of these same men "attempting to pass the voting tests, where blacks wanting to vote had to recite speeches such as the *Gettysburg Address* or "the people killed, lynched, and tortured" (Riley, 2020). Columbia — Missouri lynched sixty Black/African + humans between 1877 -and 1950. They were making little dixie, and the state with the second-highest amount of lynching's outside the deep south (McCulley, 2014).

Due to technological advancements and the end of slavery, Black/African + community members needed to work and find a safe home to live in. During reconstruction, the migration of ex-slaves into the City of Columbia Black/African + residents marked a very rapid change. According to a former sociologist at the University of Missouri, William Elwang (1904), the Black/African + community grew by 350% between 1860-1890, while the White population grew by 140% (Elwang, 1904). As reflected in the table below, we see a serious fluctuation in the Black/African + population.

Table 5.5: Black/African + population between 1900-1930.

YEAR	1900	1903	1905	1909	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930

	1,916	1,374	1,299	2,381	2,246	2,364	1,919	2,006	2,301

Sources: Public City Directories of Columbia, Missouri (Ellis Library). Elwang. W. (1904). The Negroes of Columbia, Missouri; a concrete study of the race problem. Columbia. University of Missouri Press. Manuscript: Jindrich. J. (2002). Our Black Children: The evolution of Black Space in Columbia.

The most peculiar of the above statistics concerns the population drop between 1900-and 1905. The first thing that came to mind was the Great Migration. However, this predates migration by a decade (Collins & Wannamaker, 2013). I then researched pandemics, and although the Spanish Flu hit Columbia quite fiercely, this did not occur until 1918 and may account for the drop between 1915-and 1920. I then looked at the state historical archives and found that by 1870, there were fewer blacks in Missouri than before the Civil War (Greene, Kremer, & Holland, 1993).

This may be attributed to the volunteerism of freed Black/African + formerly enslaved peoples. However, additional information reflects that around 1880, the rise in Black Code laws established separate but equal doctrines, making it legal to implement racial segregation in all aspects of life, be it social, spatial, educational, or otherwise. These racially discriminatory laws that oppressed Black/African + people became the social standard and would continue for decades (National Archives, 2022). For example:

> *1865: The Constitution called for separate free public schools for white and Negro children.*
>
> *1865: A Statute provides education for all children if white children are sent to separate schools from black children.*
>
> *1866: A Statute prohibited all marriages between whites and Negroes.*
>
> *1875: The Constitution requires separate public schools for Black children.*
>
> *In 1887, 1889, and 1929, the state legislature created laws to enforce this constitutional mandate.*

1879: A Statute stated that persons with one-eighth or more Negro blood were prohibited from marrying white persons. Penalty: Two years in the penitentiary, or a fine up to $100, or imprisonment in the county jail for three months.

1887: A Statute stated that a school for Negro children to be established in districts where there are more than fifteen children of the required age.

1889: A Statute made it unlawful for any black child to attend any white public school, or for any white child to attend a school for black children.

1911: A St. Louis neighborhood enacted a racially restrictive covenant designed to prevent African Americans and Asian-Americans from living in the area.

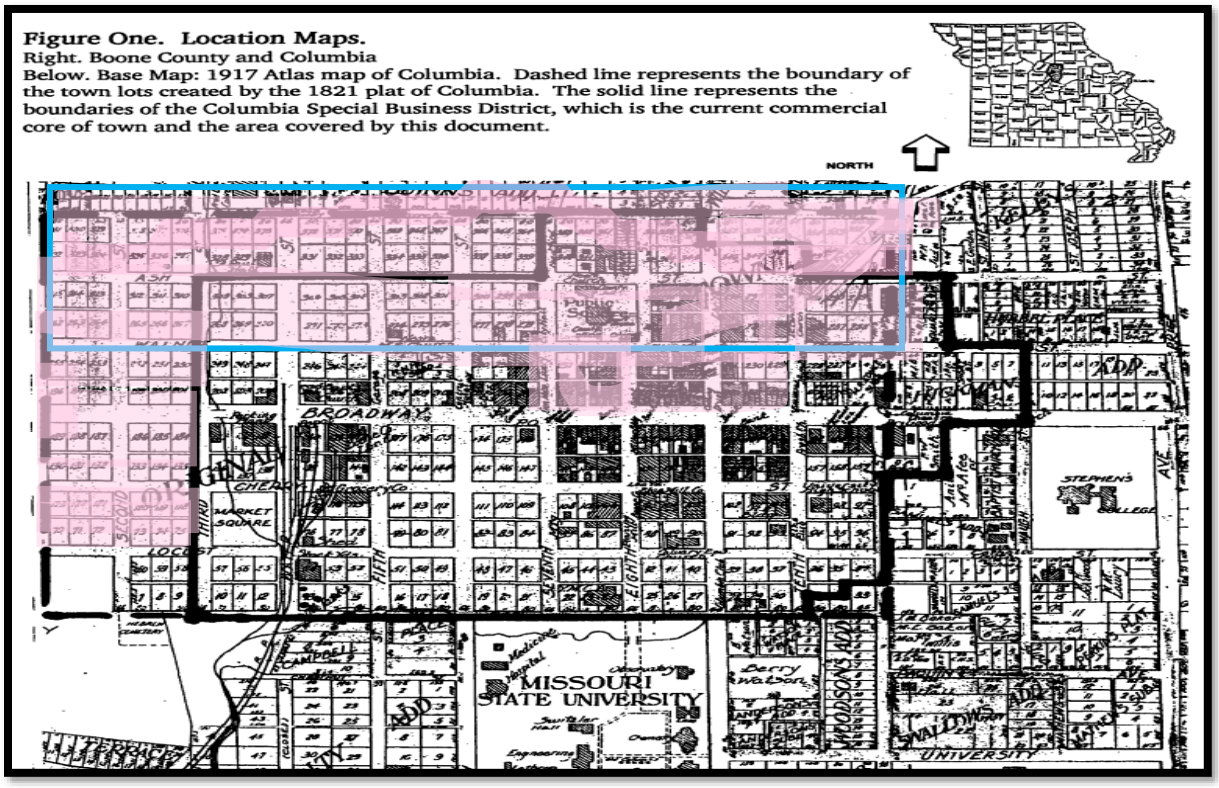
1929: A Statute authorized city boards of education to establish and maintain separate libraries for whites and blacks.

The Missouri State Archives (online-Feb. 2021) indicated a side effect of Black Code laws in smaller communities such as Columbia, MO., pushed Black/African + residents towards residential mobility (the resettlement within a specified geographic area, e.g., metropolitan area or city), to larger cities, such as St. Louis, and Kansas City between the years of 1880-1920 (Tolnay, 2003). This is mainly due to these larger cities having already established Black/African + communities. Communities could provide education and employment and allow them to live in less fear. Jason Jindrich (2002) clearly illustrated this in his master's thesis entitled *Our Black Children: The evolution of Black Space in Columbia, Missouri.*

The era of reconstruction/reformation in Columbia, MO. created a more restrictive spatial location and settlement of Black/African + residents following *Plessy v. Ferguson,* which was a landmark 1896 U.S. Supreme Court decision that upheld the constitutionality of racial segregation under the "separate but equal" doctrine (National Archives, accessed online: 2022).

According to land purchases and historical documentation, Black/African + community members and their "economic and residential activities" were primarily located west of the courthouse and N. Broadway near today's downtown area (Jindrich, 2002). According to Thomas J. Woofter (1928), this makes sense, given that border states created racially defined neighborhood boundaries where a high concentration of Black/African + humans was typically tolerated, only with a specific spatial landscape: as seen below:

Figure 4.6: Spatial Restrictive Area of Columbia, Missouri.

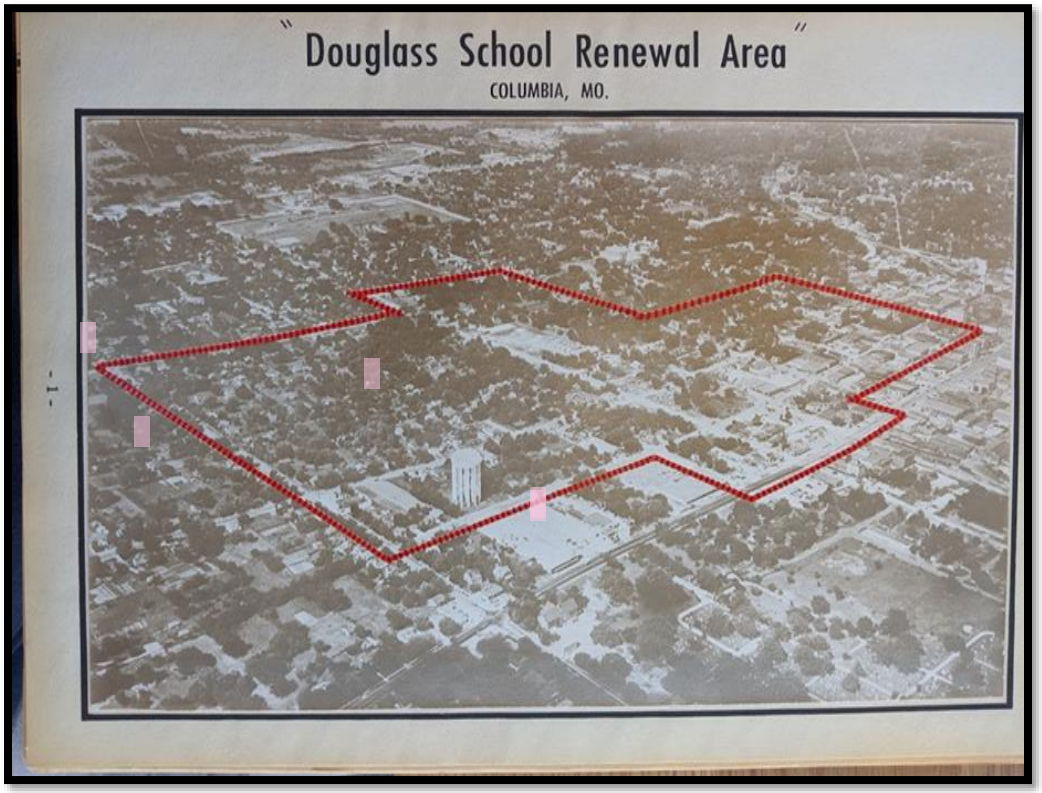


Source: National Registry of Historic Ressources of Downtown Columbia, Boone County MO.: Atlas Map of Downtown Columbia 1817-1821 (Section E. P.3).

If you look at the map above, there are four main areas to review. First, the long dashes indicate the original boundary plot map of Columbia in 1821 and the associated plots. The solid black line represents the boundaries of the *Special Business District* (SBD), which is the city's commercial core today. The pink highlighted areas represent a

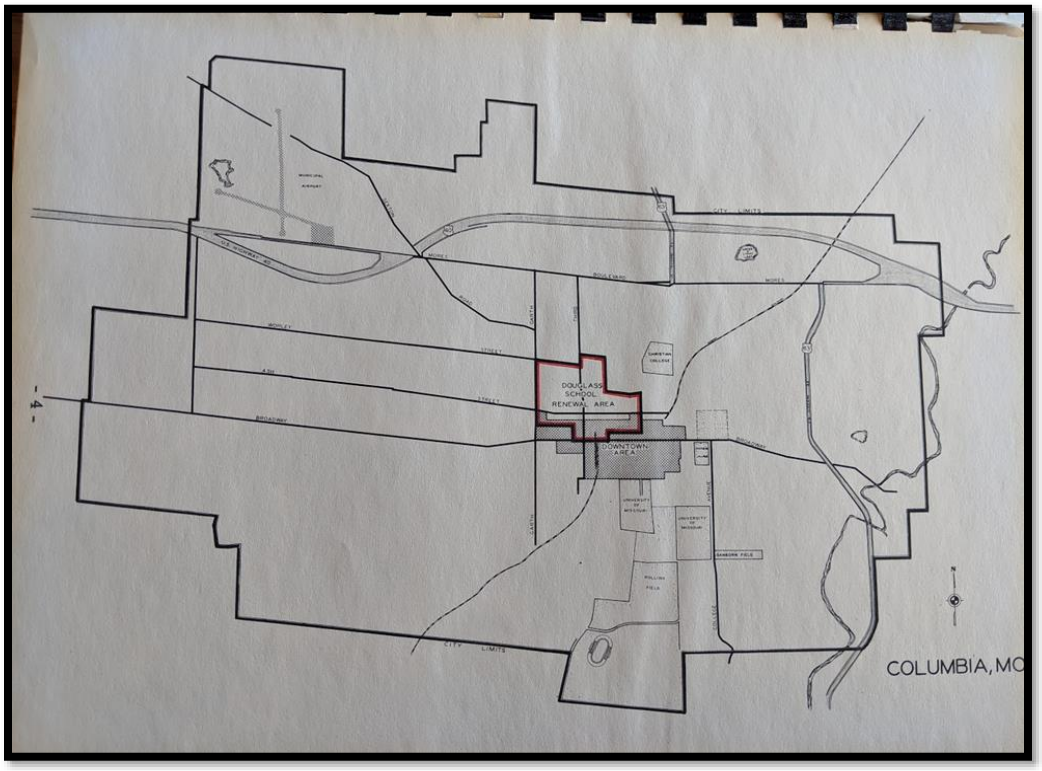
partial indication of where most of the Black/African + residents lived during this period. The blue boxed-in area encompasses a partial outline of the *Douglass School Neighborhood* urban renewal project that moves north, and Northwest of the current design, as seen below in figures 5 & 6.

Figure 5.6: Aerial view of The Douglass School Urban Renewal Survey (1958).



Source: Roy Wennzick & Co. (1958). Consultation report: Market Analysis Reuse Appraisal -Douglass School Area. Columbia, MO.

Figure 6.6: Historical Survey Map from Roy Wenzlick & Co. Consultant Report (1958): *Market Analysis and Appraisal Douglas School Area*. (Indicating spatial proximity location within inner-city CBD).



Source: Roy Wennzick & Co. (1958). Consultation Report: Market Analysis Reuse Appraisal -Douglass School Area. Columbia, MO.

The spatial representation of Columbia Black/African + residents indicates that several central themes indicate border slave states and communities. First, the spatial proximity suggests that the racialized enclave developed near the city center or the SPD, with one goal in mind: "skilled freemen …would serve the city market (Grenz, 1977; Jindrich, 2002). While still located adjacent to the city center and serving the White businesses, the Black/African + community members could create an independent area of homes, schools, churches, and businesses, such as the *Douglass School Neighborhood*, and the *Sharp End Business district.*

Secondly, further North and West of this location freed Back/African + people who did not have access to money or skilled labor. In this case, created shantytown enclaves due to lack of resources, housing shortages, and restrictive deed covenants (Kellogg, 1977). It is similar to St. Louis's (1911) Black Code laws that made it legal to racially restrict geographical landscapes and property under local land covenants designed to prevent Black/African + community members from living in specific locations. Columbia, Missouri, followed suit. For example, as the following excerpt from Columbia's city code of 1920 illustrates:

> *Subject, forever, to the covenants, agreements and restrictions hereinafter set...shall be construed as covenants running with the land and shall bind and be ...the benefit of the present and all future owners of the lots hereby conveyed, and also...48, 49, 50, 51 and 52 in Ingleside Addition to the City of Columbia, and Lots 40.*
>
> *None of said lots shall be sold or rented to anyone other than a member of the white race.*
>
> *This Deed is made upon the express consideration and agreement between the parties that the premises shall never be deeded, leased or mortgaged to a person of the negro race, and any such deed, lease or mortgage shall of itself be forfeit all the right, title and interest in said premises of the grantor in such instrument, and title to said premises shall forthwith and thereupon revert to and vest in the grantor herein...That the above restrictions are for the benefit of the owners of each and every lot in Western Heights and any person owning any one or more lots in said Addition may bring action to enforce the above restrictions or enjoin any other owners or person from violating same...*
>
> *Said tract lying outside and west of the city limits of Columbia, MO and subject to the following restrictions: (1) An easement for public utilities four feet in width is reserved across the rear of each lot.(2) No lot or part of a lot shall ever be sold to a person of African descent.*
>
> *The Douglass School, providing both elementary and high school facilities for negroes, is well located to serve this population. A site farther west on McBain Avenue, held for school purposes, is too near the westerly edge of the area now occupied by negroes, and as previously discussed, there is no reason for this district to expand. The grounds of the Douglass School are inadequate and should be*

> *enlarged to provide not only better school play area, but a general recreation center for negroes….*
>
> *-Excerpts are taken from the University of Missouri, Ellis Libray Archives, 2019*

These deed restrictions or covenants have long-lasting adverse effects on communities of color as they create long-standing systemic inequality displacement through exclusion. In Addition, research indicates that this form of structuralized racism can last centuries, "contributing to stark and persistent racial disparities in wealth, healthcare outcomes, and social mobility (Solomon, Maxwell, & Castro, 2019).

Through the restrictive covenants put in place to segregate Columbia, MO., legally, these shantytowns expose the inherent White land hegemony and White greed (Kellogg, 1977). The insecurities of White land-owning citizens of Columbia, MO., forced free Black/African + people into areas of the city known as the bottomlands. Characteristics of bottomlands are typically located on "urban borders" proximal to railroad tracks, city landfills, and cemeteries. Usually, they have land that slopes steeply and has a low residential appeal that removes any supposed city development. This can be reflected in Columbias, *Flat Branch area, Cemetery Hill,* and *Railroad Row*. As reflected by the Tax Records and land ownerships of Gilbert Akers and John Lang, who owned most of the property in the Sharp End, encapsulating Third, Fourth, Walnut, and Broadway streets and areas of the block east of this area (Jindrich, 2002). These were the only areas where Black/African + residents could buy and sell property, simply because it was land not worth White ownership. Therefore, slavery and race played a central part in creating and maintaining the *Douglass School Neighborhood* leading up to urban renewal in the 1950s.

Yet, despite social and legal exclusion, Black/African + community members created their own highly remarkable and functioning educational, social, religious, and

economic community, known as the *Douglass School Neighborhood*, and the Black/African + financial sector called *The Sharp End.*

As W.E.B. Dubois (1908) would foretell, in his counterargument to Booker T. Washington's (1895) *Atlanta Exposition Speech*, in which Washington states it would be in the interest of Whites to "put down their buckets and invest in Black labor to secure gradual equality." In his argument for reparations, W.E.B. Dubois counters that Black/Africa + economic and political development will be the result of self-help efforts in the community, rather than White investment in any facet of life (Belfour, 2003).

However, even though Black/African + residents secured a small section of the city for themselves. They could move freely and participate in the small market economy; they still were restricted in their ability to vote politically. For example, in 1930, an investigation ensued regarding lower-than-expected voter turnout in Columbia. White Democratic voters in Columbia, Missouri, were both scared to come into "contact with "niggers" or believed that Black/African + voters would vote merely to cancel their vote (Kirtley, 1930).

The pathology of racial poverty and the creation of space

As William Elwang (1904) pointed out, the culture of White Columbia residents' pre-emancipation and post-emancipation still held onto the racial bias that Black/African + peoples were deeply flawed. For this reason, racial coexisting could not be obtained. In large part, Black/African + humans are prone to "elevated disease…vice…idleness or lazinessness… amorality…", hypersexualized appetites, and criminally-mindedness (Elwang, 1904). All of which created a perception of the Black/African + community as a place that should be feared, as it could infect the remaining neighborhoods (Jindrich, 2002). Given the historical attitudes of the majority of White Columbian residents towards

Black/African + community members, it is no small wonder that the city both ignored the conditions they helped create and justified legal racialized segregation in the town.

Yet, deprivation is not a natural social phenomenon, state of mind, or place. No, deprivation and poverty in social and geographical areas are often the results of social and institutional political structures. For example, city records indicate that well into the 1930s, Columbia was dumping refuse into Flat Branch Creek (Thomas, 2013). Conversely, the city gas plant had leaked extensive oil deposits into this area, creating a mass accumulation of human and livestock waste that would pass between homes on what is known as Ash and Park Streets (Larson, 1919).

According to Columbia waste management analysis, only 5% of the Black/African population had access to city sewage than White residents, which accounted for 80% (Larson, 1919). The Former Mayor of Columbia, Darwin Hindman (1995), reflected on this by stating-

> *I was glad to see some of the housing removed…it was just pretty awful,"* Hindman said. *"You had dirt floors, outhouses; I remember there was one there where the outhouse was just over the creeks and that when people did their thing, it went into the stream.* (Roth, 2008).

A Former City Manager Ray Beck (1959-1960), eventually became the Public Works Director during urban renewal and stated, "there were gravel roads and no electricity. I won't describe what came out of some outdoor hydrants" (Ibid). However, one of my interviewees can. According to one of my participants, their cousins lived in the Cemetery Hill area (one of the worst areas in the city), and they [his cousins] had no running water, indoor plumbing, electricity, or sewage. They stated, "they would have to share a hydrant with several other families…and the hydrant was often surrounded by filth (participant indicates fecal matter). This perception supports William Elwang's

(1904) study, *The Columbia Negro*. Elwang suggests that areas of the Black/African + community were highly problematic and overcrowded. According to Elwang, you could see children play near outhouses and draw water from nearby water sources.

To give you an idea of how crowded the area was, out of 318 residencies surveyed, Elwang found that each home averaged 4.3 people equaling 1,374 persons. Twenty of those homes housed 78 people; it was not uncommon to have four, five, or even ten people in a room.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Even though the city inscribed a spoiled identity status of Columbia Cities Black/African + people during slavery, it continued well past post-emancipation. Through the lens of those in power (Goffman, 1963), an identity they argue manufactures and produces; slums, blight, and immoral behavior leading to cancerous growth. We know empirically that the "Negro problem" is "not one problem, but rather a plexus of social problems" and less a correlation to a Black/African American "social pathology." Instead, it can be attributed to white 'enforcement of racial discrimination and a provision of unequal opportunity' (Dubois, 2007).

As we can see, the historical legacy and culture of manifest destiny, racialized black codes, restrictive covenants, and the normalization of racial prejudice played an instrumental role in justifying geographically spatialized separation in the city. When you couple this with racial tropes of "the Negro Problem" and White Man’s Burden," social perceptions historically view residents within this community as shiftless, immoral, and prone to vice. Finally, the advent of post-WWII urban expansion and development spurred

on by the University of Missouri's insatiable need for the property to house White veterans make this area ideal for researching the complexities of intergenerational cultural trauma.

A final question

The reader must be left with one resounding question: how? How can a small central city in the middle of America wield so much power and influence over another human's life? What legal standing or moral compass does one have for creating oppressive and exploitive racialized social, and geographical landscapes? Is it a human trait or the mechanisms of capital?

CHAPTER 3.

POSTMODERN EMPIRES & INTERNAL COLONIAL REVITALIZATION

Many U.S. citizens and local community members perceive and attempt to make sense of racialized geographies as landscapes brought on by choice: as if the *Douglass School Neighborhood* in Columbia, MO., were a residential preference (Krysan & Reynolds, 2002). Still, others may believe predominantly Black/African + communities and their racialized segregation can be explained solely by "private practices" or the interests of others, thus, reducing the idea of racialized space as *de facto* segregation. [(Rothstein, 2017). This is to say, racial segregation in Columbia results from an unintended racial imbalance that could have potentially been caused by private decisions (Boddie, 2018).

Yet, this argument is nothing more than an extension of post-civil rights colorblindness. A Colorblindness aimed to render the historical U.S. policies of colonialization and empire-building obsolete. Doing so removes the racialized realities of those living in spatial exclusion, as Alexander Barder (2015) in *Empire Within International Hierarchy and its Imperial Laboratories of Governance* states, rather than emphasizing the dissemination of past colonial experiments back to 'domestic spaces, one such result is the *Douglass School Neighborhood*. However, to fully understand the current history of Columbia, Missouri, in association with the Douglass School Neighborhood, and how it was created, we must first examine and analyze the legal history of institutionalized racism as it pertains to that developmental area and how it has shaped the life courses of those living in the Black/African + community.

This chapter outlines how legal and institutional policies, both nationally and locally, helped create and shape forced racial and geographical segregation in the city. By

doing so, the reader should walk away with a better understanding of one of the key arguments in this dissertation. Structural institutions and forces are the original builders of racialized segregation in Columbia, Missouri. The city, not its Black/African + residents, is to blame for “the city’s worst…cancerous... slum, a breeding place for crime, disease, and other evils” (Columbia, MO. Redevelopment Authority, 1957).

Internal colonization

One must remember that internal colonization emphasizes the ongoing dynamics of colonizing practices that constitute 'domestic space' as persistent and ongoing imperial terrain and sites of racialized 'regimes of truth' (Burton 1998). As Jacqui Alexander (2006) argues in *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*, geospatial colonial relationships are always nested simultaneously in the then and there, here and now and here and there.

We can see this play out with the U.S. Supreme Court (2007) ruling in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1 through* the *colorblindness doctrine*. The doctrine states that racial classifications are "presumptively unconstitutional," regardless of whether such segregation was meant to benefit or harm a historically disadvantaged racial group (Boddie, 2018).

However, and has been established, Columbia, MO., and the Black/African + community and its members were not built on choice nor White flight from Black/African + areas. Nor can local geographical landscapes be reduced to racialized private land covenants. No, the city built the *Douglass School Neighborhood* and surrounding Black/African + communities on the foundation of national, state, and local

empire colonialism, "connected by slave and post-slave practices of domination," as outlined in Chapter II (McKittrick, 2011).

What type of racism?

The deliberate attempts to destroy the *Douglas School Neighborhood* and Black/African + sense of place were brought forth by structural, legal, and governmental policies. These policies make this a case of *de jure* structural racism, as creating the spatial landscape had a purpose and was maintained through enforcement systems on the state and local levels (McKittrick, 2011; Rothstein, 2017, Boddie, 2018; Massey & Denton, 1993). Therefore, these spatial locations cannot be reduced to *de facto* segregation.

Some have personal and private interests in where they may reside and invest in property; still, others may have racial bias and motivation for placing specific people in segregated places. The fact remains that these choices are primarily supported and co-created by historical political ripples extending from explicitly racial federal, state, and local governments that shaped and defined White and Black/African + spaces in this country (Rothstein, 2017).

National policies and the racialized urban landscape

During and post-World War I., the U.S. Govt. established the first programs that addressed the need for civilian housing and defense workers typically located near military bases, shipyards, and munitions plants (Rothstein, 2017). Out of twenty-six states, eighty-three housing programs, and one hundred and seventy thousand people, not one Black/African + family was included (*ibid.*, p. 18). Many of these families assisted in the building of these projects. The result of these racial exclusions pushed Black/African + people to reside in often overcrowded slum areas.

Leading up to America's great depression between 1929-1939, the U.S. agricultural system, through technological advancements, found itself growing towards more modernized cities. Yet this expansion of the U.S. landscape, coupled with a devastating economic downturn, reduced the construction of new homes to a halt and limited house ownership to the few who could weather the financial storm. For those who could keep their home, it was maintaining what they had. In Black/African + spaces, this meant an almost complete stagnation for those in poverty.

Yet, as stated, the City of Columbia, with the aid of *The New Deal programs*, continued to expand, both in population by 69% (1930-1940) and infrastructure, including projects such as street widening and the construction of a 3-million-gallon reservoir that aided its survival (Keenoy & Foley, 2009). This, along with tuition dollars, helped the three primary universities stay open: the University of Missouri being the principal employer. Making matters worse, WWII created further shortages in material and housing production, forcing predominantly White Columbia residents to double up with relatives in multi-family housing. Something Black/African + communities' members were very familiar with, as reflected in housing population density per household in chapter two.

For example, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (1914-1925) of Columbia, MO., indicate the presence of a "single three-story building – probably a dormitory – at the southeast corner of Paquin and Hitt Street (Keenoy & Foley, 2009). According to Columbia's (2009) Historical Locust Study, this brick building was the first of several White multi-family housing units constructed between 1914-1925, and the 1930s show that property lots were subdivided. Historically wooden framed single-family homes

were soon replaced with brick apartments and houses (Keenoy & Foley, 2009). Subdivisions within the area included Matthews, Swallows, Guitar, Hamilton, Perkins, Samuels (2nd and 3rd St.-now providence), Anderson, Woodson, and Watson Place (Library of Congress, Online-2021).

While reconstruction was taking place in Columbia, MO., to accommodate White residents, as mentioned earlier, the *City Planning and Zoning Commission* (April 1935) had another housing issue, the prevention of scattering. Scattering occurs when the city loses institutional and social control of its Black/African + community members. This is an indication to city officials and urban planners that too many Black/African + residents have been scattered around the city and not confined to the perspective areas they wish them to be (Roth, 2008).

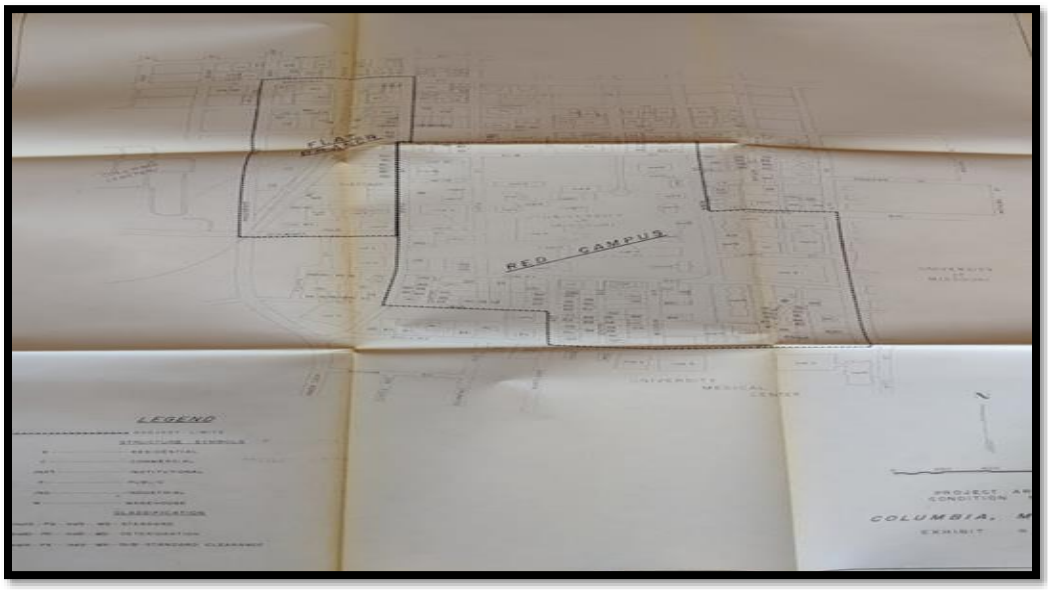
For the city to control Black/ African + residents: Columbia needed to steer Black/ African + individuals and families towards the *Douglass High School Neighborhood* and pull White residents near the concentrated area encircling it. Several alternatives were discussed. Roland L. Wiggins, M.D. of Columbia, MO., brought up one such argument in his correspondence to Columbia, Chief Executive Director of the Housing Authority Dowell Naylor. The letter was sent based on a previous conversation with Naylor, with a "Dr. Creighton, a land redevelopment committee member, and his staff," concerning "scattered sites" (Wiggins, 1958).

In this letter to Naylor, Dr. Wiggins states that the past methods for addressing this issue are "unsatisfactory…and are excuses…rather than results-driven in justifying the use of Columbia's taxpaying citizens" (Wiggins, 1958). Furthermore, "the pathetic slum areas" of the "colored sections" of the city should be a secondary concern. If you

want to make a significant change in isolating and controlling the effects of "scattering," you need to build parking structures near the courthouse that act as a push barrier (*ibid.*, p.2). If need be, Wiggins stated, "we are sure we can count on the University of Missouri to apply pressure," compelling the city to move in this direction since the University and the City have plans for the Red Campus project (Wiggins, 1958).

The Red Campus Project was a project that the University of Missouri was planning to implement to encompass a large section of land West of Broadway Street, slated for student housing, and was considered the third urban renewal plan for the city after the Flat Branch Urban renewal plan in 1970. The Red Campus area is the historical section located in the town, primarily centered around the David R. Francis Quadrangle (University of Missouri Archives: accessed April 15, 2022). The area's name derives from the red bricks that make up most buildings, including Jesse Hall and Switzler Hall. The campus contains eighteen buildings listed on the National Register of Historic Places and would be ideal for surrounding student housing complexes. As seen below:

Figure 7:1. Project Area Condition Map (1970).



Source: State of Missouri Archives. Land Clearance file [R-101, 1970]

The conditions of this plan were based on the University of Missouri allocating 100.000 dollars towards the *Douglass School Urban Renewal Project* (M-R-20) that would subsidize the costs that would be a burden to the city. In return, the University of Missouri would be able to assume a percentage of the houses taken from Black/African + families, which was not illegal under amendment provisions set forth by *Title I. [sect. 112]*, which states a university or Hospital can take ownership of property within the urban renewal area, not to exceed 50% (Housing & Home Finance Agency: Urban Renewal Admin., 1961).

In turn, this would accomplish four things. First, it would provide the University of Missouri with initial and additional housing for White students, which has been and continues to be the university and city's concern all along. Secondly, it would offset the financial burden of the city. Thirdly, it would control scattering, and fourth, the city would promote an additional urban renewal project that would benefit the University of Missouri, and the City of Columbia vis-a-vis, increased tax dollars.

The reader may ask, what happened? Travel behind Broadway Street on Walnut. You will find many parking garages (formerly Black/African + resident homes and businesses) and open parking lots that act as an 'invisible barrier that keeps most Black/African + residents at bay. Such areas include 10th & Cherry St., 6th and Cherry, Hitt Street, Short Street Garage, Turner Ave., all the spaces located behind the Courthouse, and on-street parking along Walnut.

So, it would seem, by the landscape, the *Redevelopment Authority* took the advice of Dr. Wiggins and indeed dismissed the Black/African + residents as an

afterthought. However, let us not be sidetracked. How were local authorities able to implement such strategies? We need first to look nationally.

NATIONALLY

Nationally, *New Deal Programs* for housing and *The Civilian Conservation Corps* (CCC), a volunteer program allowing single men (ages 18-25) to enlist in work to improve America's parks, forests, and public lands, were also designed with racial segregation in mind. While predominantly White men were involved in land-use projects and public housing, Black/African + men worked on entirely different projects, lived in segregated buildings, and were primarily excluded from developments, in large part due to "local resentments" (Rothstein, 2017).

Staying true to the New Deal Policies, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1,933 cre,ated the Public Works Administration (PWA), which aimed at curving the housing shortage and the employment sector with new home construction (Library of Congress, 1943). Even though Harold Ickes, the U.S. Secretary of Interior at the time (former NAACP Chicago President), was able to include Black/African + persons into one-third of the occupancy of the homes built. Harold Ickes also established a *Neighborhood Composition Rule*, which mandated that any previous racial compositions of a neighborhood should stay that composition post-construction (Hunt, 2009). This means that if it were a predominantly white neighborhood, it would remain so, and if it were a predominately Black/African + neighborhood, it too woulmain so.

However, two issues arise out of this system. First, the PWA segregated projects even when there were no "previous cases of segregation" (Rothstein, 2017). Secondly, the primary focus of home building was to expand White housing outside the city center

and further activate overcrowding in the inner city closer to deskilled blue-collar industrial jobs. This was done by dismantling former Black/African + communities and forcing the evictions and resettlement of Black/African + community members into further concentrations of crowded areas.

If it is not apparent, it did nothing to improve the conditions for those in communities of color. Although, Columbia, MO., does not indicate a vast move towards this specific project of the PWA. St. Louis, MO., (1934) proposed raising tenement housing in the DeSoto-Carr area, and shortly after, in 1954, Pruitt Igoe. Both were colossal disasters for both the city of St. Louis and the residents that resided in them. I mention this to illustrate that the method of eviction and resettlement, known as community clearcutting, was not a new form of urban expansion during the 1950s, merely an extension of an already racialized system of oppression and trauma from previous historical events legacies.

THE STATE

Transfer of power & authority

After much struggle on September 1, 1937, then-President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the *U.S. Housing Act* (USHA), better known as the *Wagner-Steagall Act,* into law (Presidential Library & Museum, 2021). The overarching theory was that the USHA would assume the *Department of the Interiors Housing Division's* responsibilities by replacing their direct involvement in construction and loans to seven limited-dividend corporations (Federal Works Agency, 1940). The USHA would be enabled to loan money directly to state and local housing authorities. It was thought that state and local

representatives would better know what their states and communities needed (Federal Works Agency, 1940).

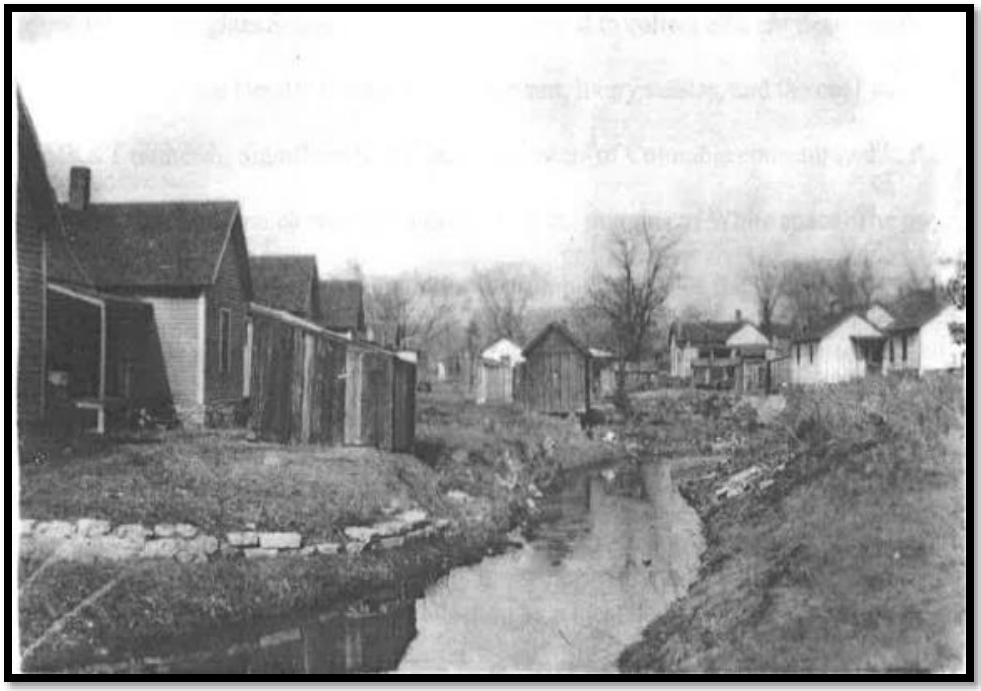
The purpose of the USHA was to provide financial assistance to state and local cities willing to rid themselves of the communities they co-created via historical *de jure* racial segregation. The state and local governments must identify unsafe and unsanitary housing conditions and eradicate them, even though they were the ones that created them. As stated in the introduction, the justification for clear-cutting these areas was based solely on the local authorities' declaration that the sites they identified were blighted, unsafe, and unsanitary. Once accomplished, they could be considered slums, and the city could move towards its end goal: discriminatory forced evictions and resettlement of former Black/African + residents.

This racialized restructuring would not be difficult, as many properties in these areas were in lower flood plains where household and city waste flowed (Elwang, 1904; Larson, 1919; Jindrich, 2020). Even when local sewage lines became available, predominantly White landlords "made almost no efforts to connect them" (Laron 1919, Jindrich,2002). For example, out of the five flushable toilettes in the entire Black/African + community, four functioned, only thirteen "privéis" were tight enough to hold refuse, and the remaining emptied directly in the creek bed, which ran between Black/African + houses (Larson, 1919). Forty-five homes along Walnut St. had access to sewer infrastructures, but only nineteen were connected, as seen below.

Figure 8.1: Ash and Third Street (Tributary Creek-downhill from Broadway)

Source: Housing Survey of Columbia, MO. (Larson, 1919).

Figure 8.2: Flat Branch Creek, including outhouses adjacent to a local water source.



Source: Housing Survey of Columbia, MO. (Larson, 1919).

If you remember, Walnut St. is the street behind Broadway and includes a large portion of today's parking structures. However, where they stand were once houses for

the Black/African + residents of Columbia. If you could walk this street, moving downhill towards what was once was called 3rd St., now Providence, you would have found the housing listed in these above photos.

Supporting survey two: the negro community of Columbia

Another survey supporting Larsons, 1919 survey was done by Audrey Kittle (1938) entitled *The Negro Community of Columbia, Mo.* It also indicated that most of the Black/African + community had minimal essential electricity, heat, and water services, regardless of their location. This is to say, whether it was located within the highly concentrated racialized areas, such as the *Douglass School Neighborhood,* or external to it. This can be corroborated by looking at the *Urban Renewal* surveys conducted before implementation. (C-3877: Land Clearance for Redevelopment Authority, Columbia, Missouri, Papers, the 1860s-1962). If we consider the two decades in between, we begin to see that the city did little, if nothing, to improve the lives and living standards of the Black/African + residents. However, in a 1935 city planning report, the city did indicate that it was becoming an issue, as the space could be used for more effective measures, such as White private ownership and city municipal office space.

This report indicates that decades before the urban renewal of the *Douglass School Neighborhood*, the city both acknowledged that something should be done and for what reason: investment. Not blight was the main objective. No, blight was the legalized sanction brought forth by the national agency that passed down authority to those locally that could implement such a change geographically.

Lack of terrestrial mobility

Another indicator of racialized restrictions can often be seen through the lack of terrestrial mobility in this era. To borrow from the anthropological term, terrestrial: a living organism's propensity to spend its life on the ground (Agren & Andersson, 2012). The other is mobility, as in the act or ability to move or not move. This is to say, locations in the Black/African + communities, due to the lack of infrastructure, were prone to mobility restrictions via road conditions and their physical social environment.

From prior research, as you can see, in 1919, only one road was paved in "railroad row," and the houses surveyed along with the *Douglass School Neighborhood* and encroaching on *Flat Branch Creek* were paved (Larons, 1919). The result of this, given the sloped area of the community, was a continued state of erosion, mire, and runoff, followed by impassable ruts when they dried, as seen below-

Exhibit 8.3: Example of Road Conditions before Urban Renewal: Columbia, MO.

Source: Columbia Housing Authority: Website (Accessed March 24th, 2022).

The lack of open sewage infrastructure, including the absence of a paved roadway system in the Black/African + community, led to invisible walls of spatial containment. If they wanted to maneuver through the city, White residents could territorially move freely into their well-paved neighborhoods in higher elevations. If the need to venture downtown did occur, they could take Broadway St. or Stewart Rd. bridge connecting the city to the University of Missouri. Thus, they, being White students and citizens, could avoid contact with the Black/African + community and navigate around it.

These seemingly invisible walls were and continue to be intentional spaces of urban development and racialized control (Elwang 1904; Harvey, 1996; Lefebvre, 1991; Gordon, 2008; Lewis, 2003; Saunders, 1993). However, what occurs once the city no longer devalues a geographical space and sees spatial investment?

Let the city government blame you for saving you

Typically, once the state or city located the blighted areas they helped create, the national government and the USHA would loan money to local housing authorities. This loan was predicated on the condition that the city clear-cut the designated slummed areas for the provision of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low income and the reduction of unemployment, and the stimulation of business activity.

However, it is essential to note that a compromise within the Wagner-Steagall Act had to be reached to provide low-cost housing. The agreement was that each state and city must emphasize creating jobs in the construction industry to improve the depleted local economy. Remember, public housing was never conceived or implemented to provide long-term permanent housing for the poor. The intended purpose of *The Housing Act of 1937 was:*

> *…to alleviate present and recurring unemployment and to remedy the unsafe and unsanitary housing conditions and the acute shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low income…. (Statutes: Part 1)*

The addition of "the alleviation of unemployment" was placed within the bill's first draft for the expressed purpose that U.S. Congress would accept it. In addition, *The Housing Act of 1937* would also provide the clearing of these slummed areas a provision replacement of "low-rent housing." This housing was to be obtained by "families of low income," defined as "…families…in the lowest income group who cannot afford to pay enough to cause private enterprise…to build an adequate supply of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings…." (*Part 1*). The only directive for income screening of low-income tenants was their incomes. However, if they met the standards of poverty, families that would prospectively live in these homes were typically expected to pay half the rent, with federal, state, and local governments pitching in the rest (USHA, 1937, *Sec. 3(a)*).

THE CITY

Columbia, MO., between the years 1940 and 1954, saw a population density change. This change indicated that Black/African + residents were moving out of *the Douglass School Neighborhood* and *Flat Branch* area "North and Northeast" of the racially segregated areas, "into low-income housing," and remains a predominantly Black/African + community today (Jindrich, 2002; Brooks, 1950).

However, urban expansion pushed White lower socio-economic residents towards the inner city, towards the *Douglass School Neighborhood* like in other historical periods. This expansion had two severe impacts on the racial composition of the town. First, White lower-socio-economic residents rented homes near the city's west end. Poor whites surrounded the *Douglass School* area and further confined it to its racial composition.

Secondly, many of these same lower-income Whites were now competing for the same employment opportunities as Black/African + community members.

According to un/employment records, the only solution for Black/African + community members was to reduce their wage earnings to compete for work. Jason Jindrich (2002), in his master thesis, outlined that skilled Black/African + labor decreased exponentially during this time, and the value of personal property within the *Douglass School* area followed. This trend can be seen in the Black/African + Business district known as the Sharp End.

According to Rufus Logan, editor /owner of the local Black/African + newspaper *The Professional World*, the community saw a decline in black-owned businesses. For example, the once Black/African + owned grocery store located on Broadway St. was eventually sold to a White owner but remained Black/African + managed.

Table 2.1: Median Wage and Salary Income of Whites and Black/African +, per month (1939-1960).

YEAR	WHITE MALE	BLACK/AFRICAN + MALE	WHITE FEMALE	BLACK/AFRICAN + FEMALE
1939	1,112.00	460.00	676.00	246.00
1947	2.357.00	1,279.00	1,269.00	432.00
1957	4,396.00	2,346.00	2,240.00	1,019.00

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau: Unskilled labor (blue-collar) employment.

Typical labor included gender-specific roles during this time, as seen in the table below.

Table3.1: Black/African + Columbia Resident Occupations by Gender (1904)

Males

Barbers (16)
Butchers (2)
Bartenders (3)
Bricklayers (8)
Blacksmiths (4)
Clerks (5)
Coachmen (4)
Carpenters (3)
Cooks (1)
Contractors (3)
Clergymen (4)
Engineers (2)
Farmhands (15)
House servants (13)
Hod-Carriers (general laborers) (211)
Janitors (8)
Millers (2)
Messengers (5)
Merchants (2)
Miners (5)
Musicians (1)
Physicians (1)
Plasterers (3)
Pool Room Proprietor (1)
Painter & Paperers (3)
Porters (4)
Peddler's (1)
Quarrymen (2)
Restauranters (1)
Railroad Employee (3)
Stewards (6)
Soldiers (1)
Scullions (1)
Scavengers (7)
Shoeblacks (2)
Teachers (3)
Teamsters (54)
Tailors (1)
Tinners (1)
Waiters (4)
Wheelwrights (1)

N= 417

Females

Boarding-housekeeper (1)
Cooks (93)
House girls (45)
Hairdressers (3)
Laborer (11)
Laundresses (213)
Nurses (2)
Peddlers (1)
Seamstresses (14)
Scullions (1)
Students (10)
Teachers (7)
Waitresses (5)

N=442

Source: Transcript, Elwang. W.W. (1904). The Negroes of Columbia, Missouri: A Concrete Study of the Race Problem. Forgotten Books. Columbia. (p.21).

Typical of this time, men would work in predominantly blue-collar, deskilled, or unskilled domesticated manual labor. At the same time, women would work in

soft/unskilled or skilled work, typically in businesses and homes. From a theoretical intersectional approach, we see social stratification along three centralized lines, race, socioeconomic status (SES), and gender. Social stratification is the unequal ways society's resources are distributed over time. According to Abercrombie & Urry (1983), in *Capital, Labor, and the Middle-Classes,* social differences become social stratification when people are ranked and ordered along some dimension of inequality. In this case, race and gender within the Black/African + community rank lower in income, social prestige, and gender than their White counterparts.

More importantly, differences between the type of work and the pay scale differ greatly between White and Black/African + residents. Black/African + females are ranked lower than any other group over time based on gender and wages earned in the workplace. Based on these findings, this would indicate that the U.S., up until the 1960s, was still primarily based on both a class and caste-based system. The similarities between class-based and caste-based systems are that both are based on social factors and individual achievement, which allow for social im/mobility or non/movement, depending on one's gender, race, and income.

A social class consists of people with similar status concerning factors like wealth, revenue, and occupation. From this, we can glean that White men and women are clearly at the top of that chart regarding wages earned over time and occupational levels, equating to higher levels of social mobility for White classed Columbia residents and greater inequality for Black/African + residents. Pointing us to a caste-based system, as Black/African + peoples, we initially ascribed an identity that was deemed inferior through the legalized structural race-based caste system called slavery. As David Roediger pointed

out in chapter one of the introduction, racial and class formations penetrate each other at every turn" in the U.S. social order (Roediger, 1991).

It would also seem that the variations between class and caste-based systems within Columbia, MO. support David Roediger's second argument. Roediger's second argument suggests the U.S. successfully weaponized the term "freemen" as a derogatory identity marker to assert White working-class power in politics and work. The author convincingly argues that the term freemen was "intrinsically assumed that Black/African + humans were "anti-citizens" because of their dependent status. Because of this, Black/African + residents have been routinely precluded from exercising their constitutional civil rights by lacking access to property ownership, politics, and gainful employment, leading to reoccurring structural violence. (Jindrich, 2020: Elwang, 1904).

1940's 'then and there, 'here and now, and 'here and there.'

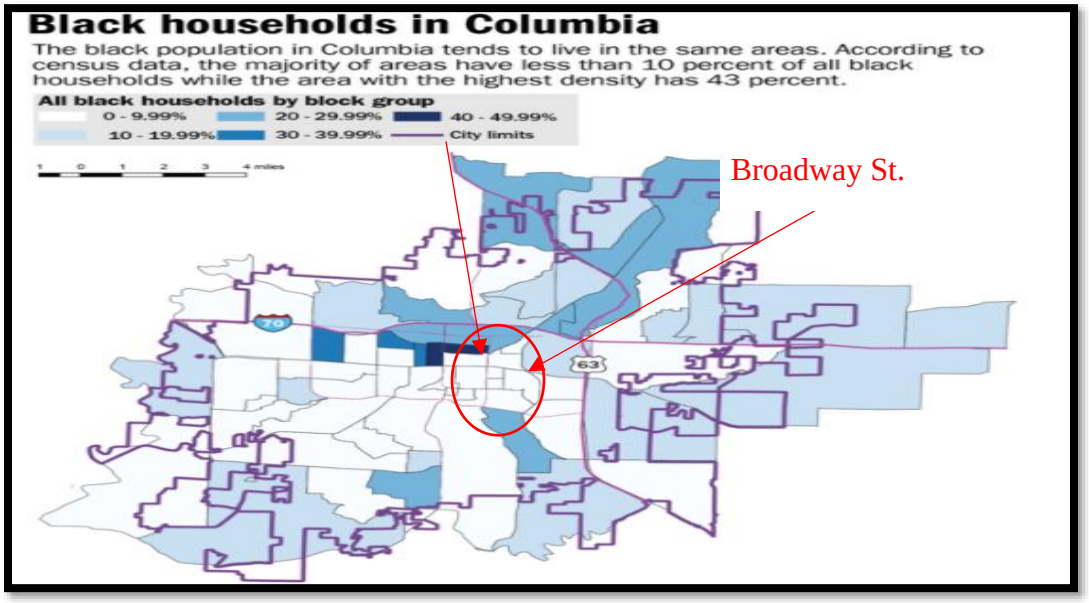
By the late 1940s in the U.S., middle-class White families could invest in private homeownership, while Black/African + residents became dependent on low-cost temporary housing (Rothstein, 2017). The city's growth rate mentioned in Chapter two suggests that the White population grew by 800%. In comparison, the Black/African + community grew by 44% and remained primarily stuck in the same historically segregated area of the city for the last sixty years (Rothstein. 2017).

In a more recent study, conducted by Dr. David Herzog (2015), a data Journalism Professor at the University of Missouri, when using calculations that measured "segregation, poverty, and law enforcement disparities in Missouri cities," Herzog found twenty-two cities that were similar in Missouri and Columbia. The research suggests that

Columbia, MO., ranked average in all categories except racial segregation, where it rated number one.

More recent data from the *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development* (HUD) supports this research and suggests a dire situation. According to HUD's (2017) own census data, housing north of Broadway St. in the *Douglass School Neighborhood*; from Wilkes Boulevard to Fourth Avenue, is forty percent Black/African + and accounts for 10 % of Columbia's 11.1 % of Black/African + population (Census, 2021). If we moved towards Interstate 70, the Black/African + people are much higher than the total population, as seen below.

Figure 9.1: Population Density of Black/African + Community Members (2017).



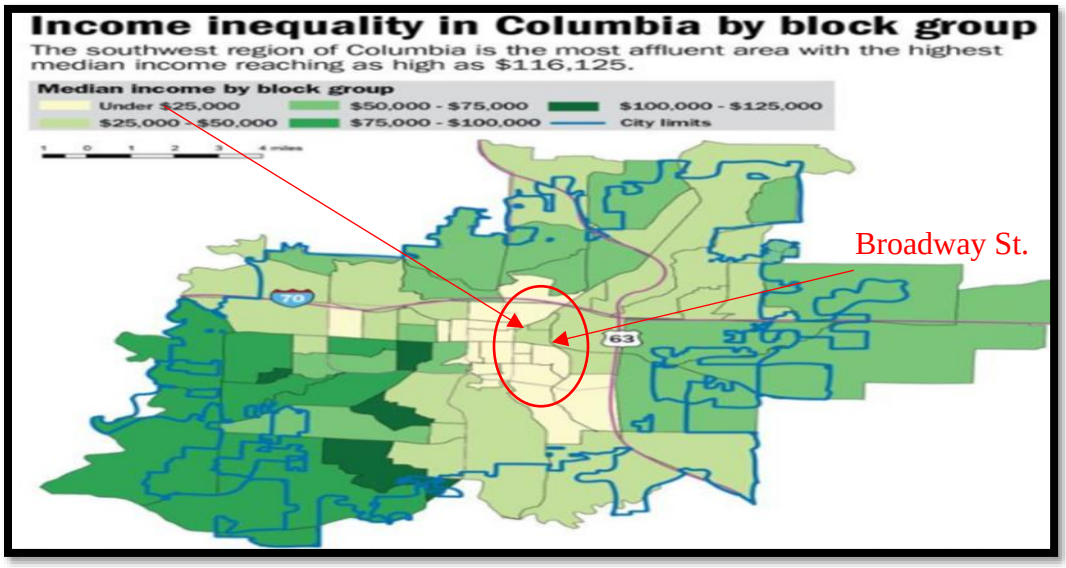
Sources: U.S. Census Bureau (2017). Spinella. S (2018). Columbia's opportunity gap: Columbia remains divided by race and living space for some. Columbia. The Columbia Missourian.

If you look at the map located above, you can see from the *Income Inequality Index*, that the dominant portion of low-income residents also falls within the same geographical landscape. Based on this spatial example, one can conclude that income

inequality and urban segregation follow a pattern, one that is concentrated primarily in fixed racially segregated areas of the city. This would support the main argument put forward in the introduction. This is to say, spatial locations often dictate one's social position. In this case, the evidence put forward supports the examples used in the opening of this dissertation, one that points to negative impacts on a community related to lower-income levels, lack of access to healthcare, lack of employment, access to education, and many other factors closely associated with historical processes.

These two maps illustrate that Columbias, *Urban Renewal*, and *The land Clearance Authority* did little in changing the city's geographical spatial realities of the Black/African + residents. Instead, those in the original CBD who were forcibly evicted, andttled a few blocks north/ northeast of the confined space, just outside the White-owned business area.

Figure 9.2: Income Inequality Index: Black/African + residents (2017).



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau (2017) . Spinella. S (2018). Columbia's opportunity gap: Columbia remains divided by race and living space for some. Columbia. The Columbia Missourian.

1949 and a new-new deal

The *U.S. Housing Authority* was initially nested within the U.S. Department of the Interior (United States Housing Act of 1937, Sec. 3(a)). Still, the U.S. Government reorganized itself, and the USHA merged into the *Federal Works Agency* (FWA) in 1942. In 1942, it was moved again into the National Housing Agency (NHA) and renamed the Federal Public Housing Authority (Federal Works Agency, 1942

In 1948, President Harry S. Truman was elected and faced additional housing shortages. As you now know, both nationally and locally, this has become a much larger issue. While Conservative Republicans deplored any government involvement in private housing, they begrudgingly allowed it in the *Lanham Act* (1940) as a war measure to enable the government to support White military workers' housing. However, post-WWII, Conservative Republicans reflexively wanted to go back to the way things were *Jim Crow* and *Black Coded* racial segregation (Karr, 1992). To sink President Harry S. Trumans' new housing policies, Conservative Republicans couched an amendment prohibiting racial segregation in public housing. The aim was to get Southern Democrats to sink the amendment, and if accomplished, the system of racialized segregation could continue as it had prior.

Richard Rothstein's (2017) The Color of Law noted that "liberals such as Senator Hubert Humphrey and Paul Douglass…had to choose between enacting public housing segregation or getting no housing deal ". As Illinois Senator Douglas stated-

> *I should like to point out to my negro friends…I am ready to appeal to history and time…it is in the best interests of the Negro race that we carry through with the housing program as planned… (31).*

Both the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate rejected the amendments. They passed the *1949 Housing Act,* which permitted some local authorities to continue

business as usual in public housing and urban city design and development. Thus, allowing racial segregation to continue.

Missouri home rule & deepening resentment in Columbia

The keyword above is for 'some' local authorities; as the City of Columbia and its intentions were to continue business as usual, the city ran into two issues. The two central issues impeded the city of Columbia from moving towards a more *carte blanche* (freedom to act and do what one wishes) style of urban redevelopment. The two central issues were the State of Missouri's *Municipal Home Rule* policies and *Title 1.* of the *1949 Housing Act.*

Missouri's Home Rule is said to have originated in 1875 (Gump, 1976). However, Missouri is not the only state to implement such a policy; at least seventeen states leading up to the 1950s in the U.S. established the same system. The *Municipal Home Rule Policy* authorizes counties within the state to adopt a home rule charter. If they have a population density that exceeds 85,000 people.

If the county meets the essential population density and other bylaws, counties, such as Boone, can create a governmental authority that can "span the metropolitan area from city to suburb and unify the area's resources with metropolitan-wide responsibility" (*ibid.,* p. 65). Therefore, blight, pollution, sewage, traffic control, etc., could all be taken care of with one unified solution. The main feature of the policy is its ability to exact authority in all facets of daily life, and infrastructure, without the approval of the Missouri State Legislature, as seen below:

> *Both a political symbol and a legal concept. As a political symbol, it serves as a rallying point for those who support local autonomy without undue interference by the state government. As a legal concept, its basic function is to distribute power between the state and local governments* (Westbrook, 1968).

However, the 1950 Census for Columbia, Missouri, including the county, was less than 50,000, making the city of Columbia unable to exact its creation and distributive power under the *Municipal Home Rule* provision.

Additionally, if Columbia intended to create a land clearance committee, the *Housing Act of 1949, Title 1,* also applied standardized limits on cities that could use municipal government authority without state and residential approval. Therefore, the City of Columbia would need to go through the process of making a public notice and take a vote to pass a land clearance committee. If they could not achieve a majority vote, it could not be developed, and the city could not move forward with its expansion.

In May of 1952, the citizens of Columbia voted it down 2-1 (Land Clearance Association,2020). One can speculate the push for inception may be closely associated with the previous street expansions necessary to accommodate new housing near the University of Missouri and build a new strip mall. According to local authorities, "the Douglass section … has the maximum resale value "potential for public and private interests (Columbia Missourian, 1958).

During this same time, two things were occurring in the city before the approval of the *Land Clearance Committee*. First, The Missouri Highway Dept. (MoDOT) authorized the development of the outer loop system in Columbia (Stadium BLVD.), and the inner loop (3rd St. now Providence rd. connecting Business lop 70) necessitated that the city removes sections of the *Douglass School Neighborhood*, along with College Ave. Secondly, the city and local White renters were already involved in forced evictions of Black/African + residents in this area.

Let's think of this as a beta test in authority. The city was assured that the vote would pass and paid little attention to public sentiment. The Columbia Missourian (1956), a local newspaper, wrote an op-ed piece entitled *Columbia Has Tough Pioneering Job to Do in Finding Homes for Third St. D.P.s.* This article states that it is essential that the city find a way to house "more than 20 families" that will be displaced. The city's rebuttal was that they had "no legal basis for helping the people until an authority [referencing housing authority and Land Clearance] had gone to a vote and been approved. This is true under *The Housing Act (1949) Title I. [Art. 17]* states that a city must have a vote to implement a Land Clearance Dept. (MO. State Archives, File CA-6395). Leaders of the city further argue that the logic of resettlement for low-income Black/ African + residents defeats the purpose of the land clearance for re-development, stating: "it is not so much where low-income temporary housing should go but where future businesses should be" Essentially the city was using the vote as leverage, stating they need not have any responsibility to home people they displace unless they [the city of Columbia] receive a vote of -yes.

Meanwhile, an article from the same paper entitled *Slum Clearance Books No Delay (1956)* it was noted that*:*

> *The family walks the streets looking for a place to live. They found none. When the workmen for the industrial plant literally dismantled the home from around them. The Husband obtained two rooms in a disreputable four-room apartment for themselves and five children. The other two rooms are occupied by two adults and five children. This adds to 14 people in four rooms, with no inside sanitary facilities.*
> *There was no room for the grandmother…and was forced to share another room with another women, one whose habits are thoroughly incompatible with her own, adding to her grief and loss of being separated from her family.*

With the loss of the first vote and approval of the expansion, now a defunct proposition., many predominantly White men in positions of power were becoming frustrated by the delays. For example, as noted by John C. Creighton, a former *Land Clearance Committee* member, Creighton had indicated that there were two central issues pertaining to delays in developing the Land Clearance Committee. During a meeting (file # C3877), Creighton notes that desegregation was the primary tenant preventing them from passing a land clearance committee. More importantly, this meant stopping profits "for investment by white owners" and tax dollars for the city (MO. State Archives, 2020).

Not to be dismayed, in 1956, the City of Columbia held another public referendum to appoint a developmental housing authority. To meet the Govts. Minimum standards, three things needed to occur. First, rename the committee to land clearance or redevelopment. Secondly, the city must prove that *urban blight* or *slums* exist, posing a detrimental public risk (Renewal, 1956). Finally, the city council will need to create a special meeting and receive a majority vote from its citizens to adopt and develop a Land Clearance Committee (The Missourian, 1956).

A Public Referendum was held on May 29, 1956, and passed with a majority vote of 2,928 (yes) v. 2,613 (no). Coincidentally, on the same day, May 29, 1956, they reinstated the MoDOT approval for expansion of the inner and outer loop. However, a little-known news article exposed the hypocrisy of the passed referendum. According to this news article, later published by a local public radio station, Hellen Kreigh (1956) went around to the *Douglas School Neighborhood* residents and recorded the citizens giving statements on the atmosphere during this tumultuous time?

According to these tapes, local tenants' descriptions state their landlords threatened to raise their rents if they did not vote to pass the new referendum (The Missourian, 1956). It would seem, that the culture of trickle-down colonialism and manifest destiny doesn't fall far from the tree historically speaking. As we can see, the same tactics and identities of culture persist throughout this time. However, you may ask yourself, although the White landlords threatened to raise rents if they did not vote to remove their property, why would someone select an option that goes against their livelihood?

The enigma of capital interest

We may glean a reason if we look at one response from Sehon Williams, who suggests, "the slum- lords could sell additional properties that remain outside the urban renewal area back to Black/African + residents forced to resettle into homes they [slum lords] had left neglected (Roth, 2008). Given that 60 % of the low-income residents in this area were renters, and a predominant number of dwellings were White-owned, this is an important factor (Hastings, 1958).

As noted by a White /landlord –

> *Negro property is a fine investment because you don't have any upkeep expenses. All you have to do is pay taxes and insurance, and the taxes are very low on that property. Besides, the niggers pay their rent; they don't get behind like other people do.* (Kettle, 1938)

Suffice it to say, The *Land Clearance for Redevelopment Authority* was born (Columbia Missourian, 1956). Under the guise of city government, city agencies again seek to bring resources and programs to neighborhoods, treating them as settings that can mold social outcomes independent of individuals who live in them (Fullilove, xiii). The

nature of urban renewal policy is a myth propped up under the justification that at-risk neighborhoods form at-risk people.

Blaming the victim

Yet, deprivation is not a natural social phenomenon, state of mind, or place. No, deprivation and poverty in social and geographical areas are often the results of social and institutional political structures. For example, city records indicate that well into the 1930s, Columbia was dumping refuse into Flat Branch Creek (Thomas, 2013). Conversely, the city gas plant had leaked extensive oil deposits into this area, creating a mass accumulation of human and livestock waste that would pass between homes on what is known as Ash and Park Streets (Larson, 1919).

According to Columbia waste management analysis, only 5% of the Black/African population had access to city sewage than White residents, which accounted for 80% (Larson, 1919). This would support other independent studies before this era mentioned in Chapter two. A Former City Manager Ray Beck (1959-1960), who eventually became the Public Works Director during urban renewal, stated, "there were gravel roads and no electricity. I won't describe what came out of some outdoor hydrants." (Ibid).

Sadly, urban renewal does nothing more than victim blame those forced to live in racially segregated fixed geographical spaces such as The *Douglass School Neighborhood*. The passing and inception of the land clearance committee validated the idea that the Douglass School Neighborhood had no social value, as indicated –

> *It has been said recently by supporters of the redevelopment Program that there exists in the heart of 'our' city a cancerous growth and must be removed and replaced by a vibrant living tissue – "A Plan of Action for the Douglas School Urban Renewal Project December 1, 1958 (M-R-20).*

> *The Douglass School Area is a Badly Depreciated, substandard district doing both social and economic damage to Columbia – (Ibid Article 1. Subheading "salient facts')its current condition acts as a drag on the growth and progress of Columbia. The Central Business District is of extreme importance…as its assessed valuation and its tax revenue…is needed…blighting conditions preclude desirable development …and tax revenue deprivation (Ibid.)* .
>
> *poor living conditions constitute a menace to the health and welfare of the entire community…it is well known that slum conditions result in delinquency disease and cannot be confined within its boundaries (ibid).*
>
> *The purpose of the Act, as declared by the legislature is the clearance and redevelopment of blighted and insanitary areas that constitute a menace to public health, public safety, and moral and welfare -Correspondence Law Office of Orr and Sapp [Columbia Mo.] regarding Dalton v. land Clearance.*

Even though the city inscribed a spoiled identity status to both individuals and community through the lens of those in power (Goffman, 1963), an identity they argue manufactures and produces; slums, blight, and immoral behavior leading to cancerous growth. We know factually, that the so-called "Negro-Problem" is "not one problem, but rather a plexus of social problems," and less a correlation to a Black/African + human beings or "social pathology." Instead, it can be attributed to white 'enforcement of racial discrimination and a provision of unequal opportunity' brought on by institutional and structural forces (Dubois, 2007).

Regardless, by 1958 Columbia would institute its first urban renewal plan for federal approval, known as M-R-20: *The Douglas School Urban Renewal Project*. What followed was the forced/removal, dislocation, and resettlement of 517 predominantly low-income Black/African + men, women, children, and grandparents from 126 acres of land and 300 homes. Also, it removed the only Black, Afro/African + business center, known as the Sharp End, which allowed residents the opportunity to shop, interact,

entertain, and move freely within their own space, as seen in the reflections of past residents-

> *it had its code of conduct that people operated by… you would see persons standing or moving to and fro…you'd see a pool hall, people actively going in a restaurant, people in it Barbershop. There was a taxi company, and you would see a liquor store. You would hear music playing. You would hear laughter. (Saidi & Bodine, 2020)*
>
> *You would hear sadness. The whole ball of wax took place for people in this one block. Children under-age was not allowed in this area you could pass through. On the other side, the Northside, but you could not walk on this side of the street…it wasn't until you turn eighteen or nineteen… (Saidi & Bodine, 2020)*
>
> *Walnut Street used to be the place to party, with nightclubs and restaurants. Two of Talton's uncles, Dick and Ellis Tibbs, and an older cousin, Bob Harris, managed and owned businesses on the street, and they wouldn't let 12-year-old Evelyn linger on the strip.* (Boiko & Weyrauch, 2013).
>
> *The area flourished with black-owned businesses: grocery stores, lumber yards, night clubs, and restaurants.* (Boiko & Weyrauch, 2013).
>
> One can see how freeing it could be when removed from White socio-institutional restrictive Black Codes, as reflected here-
>
> *In White Columbia, blacks could not try on clothes in stores downtown, sit in Booche's to eat lunch or enter the front door of the Missouri Theatre.*
>
> *Barbra Horrell said her mother traveled to St. Louis to shop for the family because they couldn't try on shoes or clothes in Columbia stores. Horrell said she was 16 before she went through the front entrance of a movie theater because black and white customers used separate doors.*

The geography of segregation was a part of Evelyn Talton's early education. Evelyne states,

> *My family had talked to us as kids, and we knew where we could go and where we couldn't go-excerpts -Boiko &Weyrauch, 2013*

What will the program cost?

Although the dollar figure was estimated to cost 4,437,953.00 according to the city (1957) “A Plan for Action: Douglass School Urban renewal Project “, the benefits to the attractiveness and safety of the city would be great, and would include:

a. New and improved traffic throughways for better traffic flow.
b. A boost to local economy
c. Sound and orderly growth
d. Improved street lighting
e. Public off-street parking
f. Improved traffic control
g. Expanded school facilities
h. Improved Tax Base
i. Elimination of Blighted areas
j. Space for a civic center
k. New and Improved Sewers and Storm Drainage
l. Improved “Gateway” to the city
m. Expand Municipal facilities

But the social benefits were insurmountable, as it would benefit the “entire community,” according to the city of Columbia.

a. Improving Public Health
b. Eliminating disease
c. Improving Sanitation
d. Improving green space,
e. Improving recreational opportunities
f. Improving and creating a more “wholesome” atmosphere
g. Decreasing Crime & delinquency
h. Improving housing conditions
i. “Make one dollar do the work of three.”
j. Increasing property values
k. Increasing focus on l
l. Improving low-income families
m. Improving educational opportunities

However, the city has never asked, better for whom? As we shall see in the next chapter, the Black/African + residents of Columbia have never stated that some form of renewal or investment in bettering those forced to live in unhealthy conditions was not needed. However, the forced eviction, clear-cutting, and resettlement of the entire

community were done under pretenses for purposes other than creating a better life for those negatively affected.

For argument's sake, even if one were to dismiss the historical nature of geographical dispossession by the White majority of those in power in the city, we must still ask ourselves. Did urban renewal of the *Douglass School Neighborhood* positively affect the "entire community" as once suggested, or did it harm the residents it aimed to save?

CHAPTER REVIEW

For whom? This is a good question, as the reader should be able to see that the creation of the city and its urban "decay" was manufactured by and maintained through historical systems of legal and institutional policies, both nationally and locally. The blame for the issue was placed on the individuals forced to reside in areas of neglect by the city of Columbia, MO.

These same structural institutions and forces are the original builders of racialized segregation in Columbia, Missouri. The city, not the Black/African + residents, is to blame for "the city's worst…cancerous. slum, a breeding place for crime, disease, and other evils" (Columbia, MO. Redevelopment Authority, 1957). Yet, when using such terms as "urban renewal," the city can further exact its power and authority on a community that it has abused inter-generational and lay claim, it [the city] is 'saving' the same people it has openly despised and neglected. The enigma of truth rests here and has for some time.

A letter sent to William S. Slayton, Commissioner of the Urban Renewal Administration in Washington DC, from B.D. Simon (1962) of Columbia, MO. had

stated in the middle of the forced evictions and resettlements of Black/African + "families" an admission of wrongdoing and guilt in causing trauma and lasting issues within the neighborhood, as follows-

> *There are certain hardships that inhere in the very nature of an urban renewal program which cannot be avoided, such as the inconvenience and anxiety of displacement and relocation. Nevertheless, an urban renewal program, wisely and humanely administered, can go far towards minimizing such hardships, and in fact leave the people involved in a far better position than they were previously. On the other hand, there are certain hardships caused in carrying out an urban renewal program like ours which we believe causes people involved a hardship which will leave them in a worse position than they were before.*
> *Of course, these people will be paid all their property is worth. But such people will have great difficulty in obtaining another home. Standard houses are not available at the prices they were paid for their former property. Public housing is not the answer to this problem, for some of the people involved either do not qualify or do not desire public housing. Some of these people will buy public housing and go deeply in debt. They will have a better house, but some of them would prefer to have their old houses and live out their lives debt-free.*

From this point forward, we must remove the conversation away from the top-down historical and structural narrative and give credence and empowerment to the stories of those affected. Only here can we accurately and evenly distribute the truth and come away from this research with a more detailed and honest interpretation and analysis of Columbia's urban renewal plan of the Douglass School neighborhood.

CHAPTER 4

INTERVIEW FINDINGS & INTERPRETATIVE ANALYSIS

PART I.

Some beautiful paths cannot be discovered without getting lost- Erol Ozan

As we have seen, the emergence and continuation of the settler-colonial liberalistic nation-state have been explicit in its policies aimed at manufacturing and reinforcing systems of racialized exploitation and oppression. With hope, this research has contributed to the increased recognition of this history and how it has played a central role in the collective identity and survival of Black/African + community members in Columbia, MO.

Within this chapter, the reader will be shown the impact of these policies on the Black/African + population and its close association with structural violence and historical-cultural trauma, and how it offers an explanation for continuing health inequities and the wellbeing of Black/African + residents in the Columbia, MO. Structurally and politically, this chapter will add the explicit recognition of past violence through the voices and lived experiences of those who have and currently reside in the city. This will be accomplished by walking the reader through the semi-structured interview responses, followed by a two-part online survey in Chapter 5 that corroborates these experiences, compared to statistical data as a third level of analysis, known as triangulation.

The first step is not always the easiest

At the beginning of this investigative journey, it was not without setbacks. After identifying the purposive sample of organizations and participants within the local

community, the intent was to utilize a snowball recruitment strategy. The snowball recruitment strategy is a recruitment technique in which those identified in the proposed population sample are asked to actively assist researchers in participating in the research and to refer those that may be.

This research sought potential participants by targeting specific organizations and associations representing the target population. The hope was to garner interest in the study and its importance. Initially, the main targets of this research included The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), The Sharp End Heritage Committee, Black Entrepreneurs of Columbia, African American Heritage Trail committee members, and local Black/African + churches.

Sadly, only a couple of active participants reffered this research out to others that may possibly be interested in the groups listed above. Although there was interest, it was not from the residents themselves. Based on further investigation, four things emerged to account for this lack of interest. First, there is an ideological and generational separation between the old and new, which caused great consternation, to the point that some left the committees and organizations listed above.

The shift had more to do with community representation and how to implement social change. For example, the older generation wished to continue the coopted relationship between local governance to maintain certain victories within the community and not upset those in power while holding their own. As one participant stated:

> *It is sad…it saddens me that my friend and others on certain committees feel this way…and don't acknowledge the city is using them or they wish not to see… specific folk call a few of these leaders the Mississippi Mafia, or what we used to call--Thoms. (interviewee, 20).*

> *For example, the mural that …well…is no longer at the courthouse…. It wasn't a nasty piece of art, but it did include an accurate history of Columbia…that involved lynching and slavery. I wish they kept it; it's important to remember and educate others on local history. But, both white and black folk wanted it down. [Ibid]*

Secondly, the newer generation sees itself as more proactive in the local community and would like a more accurate representation within each committee, reflecting the people devoid of White participation. As *Interview 1* stated, " I left the group because we could never get anything constructive done that truly represents the community. I'm not saying they aren't contributing, but I am arguing for reparations and acknowledgment of the damage done…." Essentially, *interviewee one* would like to see each committee and association declare a distinct separation between the people and the local governance to accomplish this End.

Thirdly, based on the arguments mentioned above, they [local representative community members within this group] would like to see the city pay reparations for the structural violence on the community and its ongoing inequality. As noted by one interviewee:

> *Our brothers and sisters are dying out here…their life spans are cut short, and we haven't seen any significant change. We still see the same unemployment and lack of jobs, and our people are sick..man. Seriously, have you seen the statistics? Someone has to pay...we cannot sustain this for much longer…(interviewee 1).*

Lastly, as my main informer had eluded, there is an abundance of research fatigue, which posed a potential challenge in this study, as the interest in the *Sharp End*, the Black/African + business district, has seen a resurgence in the last several years. However, this fatigue could partially explain the resistance to participate in this study. To be sure, relative interest in this area of study sociologically does support evidence that suggests fatigue experienced by those individuals and communities of interest is

increasingly becoming a reason to decline or withdraw from qualitative research (Clark, 2008). For example, research fatigue in mental health, homelessness, persons with disabilities, community research, education, and LGBTQIA+ communities indicate a form of fatigue suffered by social groups who have access to this population. (Peterson, 1999; Swartz & Landman, 2006; Moore, 2022; Pickerden, 2002; Quiglers & Pleace, 2003; Iacano, 2006).

After months of emails, flyers, and phone calls to KBIA, the local not-for-profit radio station located on the University of Missouri Campus, initially, I garnered little attention and results. Although I received responses from some organizations and associations, the bulk of the members either did not respond to multiple attempts or refused to participate. More importantly, those who initially seemed interested, once sent the preliminary study and findings, shut down communication.

Some of those who refused to participate did refer specific people in the community who may be interested in speaking with me. This often led to me working with a liaison to ensure they wanted to participate and garner authorization to contact via phone or email, whichever their preference.

COUNTELPRO isn't dead- at least not yet anyway

Finally, what shocked me was the anxiety and paranoia centered around the idea that I was working for COINTELPRO. COINTELPRO is shorthand for the counterintelligence program initially established by the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), short for Counterintelligence Program. The program ran from 1956- to 1971 and moved to coordinated Domestic Intelligence Divisions throughout the U.S (Federal Beuaru or Investigation, 2021).

The FBI initially devised the program to disrupt and neutralize suspected Communists in the 1950s and later expanded its scope to "counteract domestic terrorism and conduct investigations of individuals and organizations who threatened terroristic violence" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2021). Later functions of this program employed illegal and legal covert measures to "neutralize" and destroy organizations that the FBI identified as a threat to national security, such as the Black Liberation Movement (BLM), Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement (PRIM), and the American Indian Movement (AIM) (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2021).

Even though the FBI disbanded the program in its original form in 1971, based on scathing criticism of human rights violations, the public still has not forgotten, and as late as 2007, a letter to the U.S. Congress from the Jericho Movement asking that they reopen hearings on "COINTELPRO: their "legacy and continuing impact," on Black/African + lives, in efforts to expose the FBI and local law enforcement and their crimes against the Black/African + communities (Gibbs & Gillyard, 2007).

Based on my Research, these sentiments of structural and historical cultural violence and trauma against targeted communities are not unfounded. In my preliminary meeting with a potential participant, I expressed their distrust of e, and possible affiliation with a group similar to, if not expressly, working for COINTELPRO. several days after, I was told, I was videoed and audio recorded by a leadership committee member associated with the Sharp End Heritage Committee

Shifts in meaning and unconisouness Change

The above gives the reader a brief glimpse at the negative structural and institutional impact on the Black/African + community and its long-term effects of distrust and trauma. If we reflect on the definition of structural violence, we can quickly connect this interpretation.

Structural violence can be defined as the violence of injustice and inequity that is "embedded in ubiquitous social structures," such as the legal system, and normalized over time (Brady & Burton, 2016). The normalization over time makes social structural institutions stable. Regardless of the dismantling of its subcultural unit, such as COINTELPRO, its continued stability makes little difference. The residue of its violence persists over time and is negatively experienced by marginalized, disenfranchised, oppressed persons, so long as the institutional structure's experiences and memory exist. Because of its stability and persistence over time, the trauma has been passed down intergenerationally, in addition to historical slavery experienced negatively by Black/African + Columbians. It could indicate shortened or at-risk life outcomes for all who share it.

Two things could explain this. First, this supports that trauma persists over time but clearly shows that trauma is not reduced to a psychological or individual phenomenon. Instead, it could infer connections to intergenerational historical trauma associated with the social, political, and structural conditions that impact and assist in developing individuals, families, and communities within specific geographical landscapes. Thus, bringing the shadows of the past into the light of the present. More importantly, it is the first indication that communities and our understanding of cultural-

historical trauma brought forth by structural forces allow us to move past community pathology and point to cultural and historical trauma as a symptom.

Secondly, the intergenerational shift in social change and ideology may indicate there remains a subconscious element occurring in the older generation and an awakening in the new. This is to say, the older generation has normalized the cooptation of structural forces to apply the social change, which persists over time. Historically, this is how things were done. In turn, this becomes a crisis of truth and indicates a trauma embedded in the historical fabric of a generation of Black/African + humans.

Suppose structural violence and the negative impact on a community persists over time. In that case, the only way to achieve resolution for some is to use the tools they have historically used prior. These utilities are often closely associated with working through the political systems and institutions that have aided and manufactured the violence they attempt to rid themselves of. These tools themselves are symptoms of the direct institution that cause the harm but place a burden on the carrier of history. The person who often suffers from trauma historically, often subconsciously, is connected to the trauma but disconnected from the enigmas of truth. This is often considered the "survivors uncertainty" (Caruth, 1995).

Survivors' uncertainty is not the same as amnesia (forgetting); instead, it is the return to events, sometimes against someone's will, nor is it a hallucination (*ibid*, p.6). It is when one intersects with the memory, which attempts to change the system, where the "larger, more profound, less definable crisis of truth…proceeding…trauma" exists (Felman & Laub, 1992). The tendency to change an inherently violent and traumatic system creates the symptom of both trauma and the ways to change the discomfort; the

event and outcome are situated in a perpetual enigma, not dissimilar to that of the predominant narrative of the White authority mentioned in chapter one.

However, the newer generation may indicate a shift in this intergenerational trauma, suggesting they have reached a tipping point in connecting the two: symptom and cure, by taking a more proactive and individually emancipatory approach, one that Black Panthers, AIM, BLM, and others were attempting to do before their cooptation or demise by the U.S. Federal Government. Historically, social structures of resistance, such as the BLM, Black Panthers, and AIM, understood that this separation was necessary for their survival and ability to empower and normalize self-sufficiency. I cannot say for sure, but the new Black/African + generation may be attempting to do the same in the City of Columbia today.

Population sample -

Additional units of analysis and interpretation in this research consist of open-ended semi-structured interviews, oral histories (pre-existing data), and artifacts (maps, ledgers, correspondence, newspapers, meeting minutes, photos, pre-interview trauma/cultural trauma survey instrument).

PART II.

COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS: A VIEW FROM THE BOTTOM

> *We Carry this history within us, the past becoming present in what we think and do, in who we think we are. It informs our senses of our place on earth and our ties with each other* – Lauret Savoy.

Toxic stress, trauma, and the gendered experience

It should be clear, that through slavery, the City of Columbia built itself a sustainable economic foundation that helped establish Columbia as the County Seat of

Boone County and create many educational institutions, which serve as the city's leading employers. Both academic and economic prosperity have historically excluded the Black/African + community. It could be implied that many Black/African + residents have been removed from access to leave the city due to the lack of resources. Therefore, it would be logical that many local community members are intergenerational. This inference was supported, as many of the participants stated their families have been here for no less than two generations and sometimes three.

Even if one were to refute this implication, arguing that most or some Black/African + community members have not resided for multiple generations within the City of Columbia. It is clear that "root shock" has placed a "traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem," as is demonstrated in the Hybrid ACEs survey questionnaire results outlined in the following chapter (Fullilove, 2016). One that indicates and supports Mindy Fullilove's (2016) argument. Wherein Fullilove's thesis states, "the damage caused by root shock occurs on two levels." First, each neighborhood's residents experienced the traumatic stress of losing their community, culture, foundation of support, and individual and collective identity. Second, because of the interconnections among Black/ African + people and slavery in the U.S., most Black/African + communities have experienced ongoing root shock.

Since it increases social disintegration, collective anger, and segregation, both culturally and (Fullilove, 2004: Fullilove, 2011: Massey & Denton,1993). However, the trauma and resulting experiences indicate that gender plays a central and differing role in perception and self-identity. When considering individual and community healthcare

outcomes caused by structural forces, local clinics and hospitals should take this issue seriously.

However, we must also consider that we need to understand that the Black/African + community in Columbia is not just a set of buildings made of brick and mortar, reduced to systems of shelter and property. We must also view the experience from the bottom. Meaning from the narratives and lived experiences of those who have lived and currently reside in the City of Columbia as Black/African + members.

A view from the bottom

The first thing we must ask and understand is: What is Community? At first glance, it would seem logical, as the reader most likely has an imagined idea of what that is. It involves both a perception and a memory sensation, such as the smell of grass in your back yard, the memory of the sun hitting your face in the morning going to school as a child, and your best friend's laughter. To be sure, it is all these things. However, the community can be many different things to other people, as we have seen. We are all somehow interconnected globally, nationally, by state, and by city. All of which can be considered a community. What connects us to our community can be viewed as an "emotional ecosystem that attaches us to the environment" and separates us from other boundaries, called communities or neighborhoods (Fullilove, 2016). So, what is the difference between a community and a neighborhood?

A neighborhood is a spatial determination created by the government and local developers to distinguish population clusters and "natural boundary points, such as street patterns, housing tenures, social networks" (Pierson, 2008). At the same time, a local community is accepted by rural sociologists as a "natural area- that developed as a result

of competition between businesses for land use and between population groups for affordable housing" (Pierson, 2008).

A neighborhood is a subsection of this – “a collection of both people and institutions occupying a spatially defined area influenced by ecological, cultural, and sometimes political forces” (Sampson & Gannon 2002). Therefore, technically not interchangeable, yet both apply to the *Douglass School neighborhood is a* location politically motivated in its development and a community that resides within it.

Both are composed of individuals, and community members caught up in one singular, universal set of identity and consciousness, nested in micro-urban hollows, which we call neighborhoods. Not unlike trees in a forest, this intricate, intimate social ecosystem and its interconnectedness are complex social structures.

What is a root?

According to the Meriam-Webster Dictionary (2022), a root is "the part of a plant which attaches it to the ground or a support, typically underground, conveying…nourishment to the rest of the plant," its branches and fibers. So too are human communities. Humans that reside within communities offer similar systems of rootedness that provide nourishment, survival, connection, and support. Therefore, it stands to reason if you are born (rooted) in a location, one where your father, mother, brother, sister, cousins, and grandparents also grew up: if lost, it will be felt for generations.

If this is so, memories and rituals also become rooted in the place, bonded, and bordered by the streets, structures, parks, schools, and houses that encircle them. And so it goes; many of the participants in this study can recount what it was like before the land

clearance committee decided to remove it, as I asked them one straightforward question: what was it like growing up in Columbia, MO. before Urban Renewal?

> *I remember, as kids, we played a lot outdoors; it wasn't unusual for us kids to run out to the door in the morning and not come back till nightfall (Interviewee 6).*
>
> *If we were out playing, and you get hungry, you can stop by almost any neighbor's house or your friends, and they would feed you (Interviewee 3).*
>
> *I know we didn't have a lot, but we made do…we skipped a lot of birthdays and Christmases …we still celebrated, but we couldn't afford presents. But it was a good childhood, my parents were good people and treated us right (interviewee 7).*
>
> *I have fond memories of growing up in Douglass… one thing you will find interesting say you lose your keys right as a kid right… well, when I was growing up, one thing is, we never locked our door, but if you didn't have a key, and the door was locked, you could go to anyone on the block and ask for theirs…you see, one key opened up almost every door in the neighborhood (Interviewee 2).*
>
> *We took care of each other, say you didn't have something one week, well, you could go to a neighbor, and they might have it, and then one week they might not have something, and we would. it was always like that (Interviewee 1).*
>
> *We always had fun…but you can't forget, back in them days we were close, so if you did something you weren't supposed to or got caught doing something, the neighbor could discipline you, whoop ya… or worse, tell you, parents. I remember skipping school one time, one of the neighbors caught me and brought me right back (Interviewee 11).*
>
> *My friends were my family (Inteviewee 20).*

Additional content from others in the community would support these perceptions as they also noted,

> *it had its code …that people operated by (Interviewee 11)*
>
> *The area was filled with black-owned businesses…there wasn't much you couldn't get in the Sharp End. (Interviewee 9).*
>
> *My childhood memories are so wonderful as far as a living in a community that supported you and was your greatest cheerleader; having our church and having*

> *the camaraderie and being around educated parents and neighbors. (Saidi & Conte, 2020).*
>
> *you come through and start lollygagging, and you know a man or woman will walk up to you and ask you "what are you doing here? You know you're not supposed to be here", so it was an adult entertainment center. That gave you something as a child to look forward to-because you had to obtain that rite of passage... (Saidi & Bodine, 2020).*
>
> *Everybody knew one another, and that was a great comfort as a child, especially during segregation (Interviewee 4).*
>
> *We didn't have much, but we had everything we need. Then again, you don't know what you're missing if you have never had it.*
>
> *There is a comfort in seeing people like yourself. You never have to wonder what they are thinking. I never felt truly comfortable when me or my family left the neighborhood (Interviewee 15).*
>
> *Everyone was supportive and the adults were always there…pushing us to do better…be better…(Interviewee 8).*

Fiction to non-fiction, a move towards clarity

The above vignettes tell a different story viewed from the bottom. They [the city and White residents] complained of the smells, and the unpaved streets and considered the *Douglass Neighborhood* as cancer, filled with immorality, calling it a slum, or referring to it as a ghetto. Even though these terms are used interchangeably by the White majority to place a stigma upon the Black/African + community. Whites in the area were not entirely wrong in that the use of the terms was accurate, but the interpretation and placement of blame were not. What does this mean?

If we look closely at the two definitions, we come away with a clearer picture. A *ghetto* is an area of enforced residence based upon the social classification of a racial, ethnic, or religious affiliation (Fullilove, 2004). It is historically associated with the separation of Catholics and Jews during the 1500 century (*Ibid*, p.26). In more

contemporary times, the allocation of racialized segregated space and housing acted to restrict the social movement and access to "economic means," such as the forced placement in Columbia, Mo. (Rose, 1971). This is telling, as it directly points to the structural, institutionalized mechanisms that act as both a process to manufacture hostile spatial and social relations while simultaneously maintaining a negative identity associated with the community of the *Douglass School Neighborhood.* Yet what they [The white majority] are saying, without understanding the term, is that they [the White majority] openly admit to creating a segregated space and are racist. Yet, somehow, the enigma of the word goes unchallenged. The blame remains fixed on the community and operationalizes over time to restrict further access to fundamental human rights to housing, healthcare, and a living wage.

Most interviewees talked about the Sharp End area; a tiny area that Black/African + residents predominately owned in the *Douglass School area*. This area allowed Black/African + residents to move freely within the community and purchase things openly that they otherwise could not. Several of the interviewees expressed that if you did go into the White area or White stores, you could not go in the store or try on the clothes; the shop person working would try them on, or you would have to purchase your clothing with the risk that you could not return it. One interviewee (13) stated that they knew of a friend that bought a dress from Macy's for a dance, and when they tried to return it, she wasn't allowed. The woman had a White friend who brought it back with no questions. As the story unfolded, it was said, the Black/African + resident sued the store and won. However, I cannot validate that. This can be corroborated by primary and secondary sources, as seen below:

> *They had their places (*referring to White areas*), and we had ours…everything worked out (Interviewee 11).*

> *In White Columbia, blacks could not try on clothes in stores downtown, sit in Booche's to eat lunch, or enter the front door of the Missouri Theatre.*
> *We would travel to St. Louis to shop for the family because they couldn't try on shoes or clothes in Columbia stores.*
> *Sometimes we would go to Jeff (Jefferson City) to buy certain things or get loans (Interviewee 1).*

> *Barbara Horrell said she was 16 before she went through the front entrance of a movie theater because black and white customers used separate doors.*
> *My family had talked to us as kids, and we knew where we could go and where we couldn't go (Boiko &Weyrauch, 2013).*

> *We all knew where we could go and where we couldn't go pretty early*
>
> *(Interviewee 15).*

> *Columbia, Missouri, we were told, not just where we could live, where we could not live, where we could not shop. Where we could not eat, that barrier kept me from being a part of the rest of the community. But we had this cocoon community where we could talk about anything and any issues, and everyone was always on their best behavior. (Boiko &Weyrauch, 2013).*

> *I knew early on as a child where I could go and not go. Whats interesting, is that my mom moved us here from St. Louis when I was around ten years old. Now, everybody thinks that Columbia is a small city, and it is, compared to St. Louis. But what a lot of people don't understand… theres also a division between Black neighborhoods. Everyone thinks its one big community.Thats not accurate, there are communityies in the city, you just don't go to unless you know someone in the area. I get along with just about everybody. But even the politics, and community leaders change in each section (Interviewee 1).*

A slum by another name

A slum, on the other hand, is a marked spatial landscape that indicates poverty that can be physically seen, such as dilapidated housing, unpaved roads, and lack of infrastructure (Fullilove 2024). Even though the space is manufactured and maintained by the city and its governance, its distinction is that it reinforces a negative spatial identity transferred to the living people of tissue who reside in the community. More importantly,

the difference between a ghetto and a slum is that a slum is not a choice that members make to live in. instead, it is a choice made for them. A ghetto does not necessitate economic wealth or disparity, as they can be either. Therefore, the terms are accurate as they expose the racist institutions that perpetuate structuralized violence over time.

Yet, that interpretation is opposed to the perception from below. The close-knit community and statements listed above resounded throughout the interviews and indicated that growing up in the *Douglass School Neighborhood* was not without its problems for all intense and purposes. Still, the community was very well rooted, connected, and always there for each other. This is the true nature of a community or rootedness. The way of life evolves, and the community's struggles offer a resolution, for the community could not persist without them. These resolutions become embedded in the foundation of the community as intergenerational knowledge. Or, as Dr. Martin Luther King would state, in his letter composed in a Birmingham Jail (1963), to his Clergy, "we are tied together in a single garment of destiny, caught in an inescapable network of mutuality" that affirms reality is a social structure made to form an interrelated whole, constituted of human beings dependent on one another.

Community clearcutting- a new beginning-was it necessary?

As we can see from the stories of those Black/African + lives who grew up in the area, and the adults they became, we glean a much clearer picture of the connectedness and rootedness of the community. Despite inherently racialized policies, forced settlement, and racial segregation in the city of Columbia, Black/African + peoples prospered. Given the bottom-up lived experiences, one would have to ask the problem statement: was it necessary? Meaning, was it necessary for the city to institute a land

clearance committee for the use of urban development, which led to the 'revitalization' of the *Douglass School Neighborhood*? The below primary and secondary sources indicate:

> *Well, that's a loaded question. Was it necessary? Yes, it was required. Look at the conditions of the homes. My cousins lived down towards Cemetery Hill, where the worst houses were… they would draw water from the fire hydrant because that was the only water source they had, and the kids would play in that area, but it was also where the water ran, through the city, it was disgusting (Interviewee 2).*
>
> *Yeah, a lot of people got new 'houses' and places to live, but a house isn't home (Interviewee 4).*
>
> *land clearance and integration were necessary, but it got rid of the camaraderie and the village-like atmosphere in the black community. During those days, nobody locked their doors, and everybody raised the kids. If you were down the street throwing rocks… if someone talked to your parents and told them and you denied it, you would get another whipping; that is the way it was…* (Williams, 2006).
>
> *Nobody wants to live in those conditions…we adapted to them because there was no other option. The funny thing is when you don't have much, you don't think about it…like, you don't think about being poor or comparing yourself to your neighbor (Interviewee 9).*
>
> *You could say so. But they [the city] could have handled things differently. I don't think they had to destroy the neighborhood (Interviewee 13).*

Audience Member (community panel discussion and perceptions of urban renewal and city authority)-

> *The White community, whether it's inappropriate usage of policies like urban renewal or whether it's out and out violence, like what happened in Springfield, Missouri, Tulsa Oklahoma, where there is a very violent uprising against the black community in terms of the community… we have deteriorated (Saidi, 2019).*
>
> *…the land clearance Act …was concerned with a greater demand for property. It [land clearance] allows the Gov. To usurp power through property under the guise of the community. The older people who lived through …the elderly, are still afraid that it will happen again. (Saidi, 2019).*

Based on the above vignettes, four central takeaways can be extracted. First, absent from the picture were the voices of the Black/African + residents regarding the decision-making processes of urban renewal. To be sure, there was a vote to create a land

clearance committee in 1956. However, if we take into consideration the balance of that vote between racial lines, we begin to see the first glaring disparity. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the White citizenry between the years 1935-1945 saw an 800% increase, While the Black/African + community saw a marginal increase, and at times a decrease in population.

Secondly, as noted earlier, the disproportionate scale between the population, coupled with intergenerational inherited spatial segregation and poverty, limited the balance of power. This is to say, the White property managers, renters, and city developers were able to threaten the Black/African + community into voting for the proposal, as they were threatened with increases in rent, or forced removal from their homes, which they clearly could not afford to suffer. Sadly, voting the land clearance committee into office served to do the same thing: forced evictions and rising rental costs.

Thirdly, based on the lived experiences and perceptions of urban renewal during this time, as indicated above, suggest that Marc A. Weiss (1984) was correct, in that the "overall impact of urban renewal agencies in many cities…dramatically worsened the conditions of the poor {Black/African + humans], by subsidizing private land developers and city tax revenue. On a national scale, by 1967 in the U.S., an estimated 400,000 predominantly Black/African + residential homes had been clear cut, while only "10, 760 low-rent public housing units had been built" in their place (Weiss, 1984). Although, this research cannot assume all cities adopted the practice and interpretation of rehousing as Columbia did. Wherein the city perceived the clause of rehoming Black/African +

resident ‘families’,’they conveniently left out individuals within the definition. Therefore, who knows how many people were turned to the streets?

Finally, and more importantly, the last vignette encapsulates the long-term trauma that was caused by the land clearance authority when the panel respondent states that many Black/African + residents remain in fear of another social rupture like that of the urban renewal of the *Douglass School Neighborhood.*

You take the good, you take the bad, you take them both, and there you have the facts of life -Gloria Loring.

While the redevelopment of the *Douglass School Neighborhood* may have been necessary. Clearly, the way it was justified through urban renewal via the perceptions of predominantly White citizens, policymakers, and urban development could have been done with more clarity, communication, and empathy. We also know that living and growing up in the *Douglass School Neighborhood* was not without fond memories.

What is your favorite memory of growing up in the Douglass School Neighborhood?

most often, the participants regaled at their experiences in the *Douglass Neighborhood school.* They would make statements such as.

> *My favorite memories were in school. I loved school. I played football and was in the high school band (Interviewee 1).*
>
> *We had dances…and pageants, and we just came together (interviewee 3).*

When asked, was education important to you, your family, and your community? Almost every interviewee said yes, which was a primary goal and focus. Education and church were the principles and foundations of the community.

> *The teachers weren't just teachers; they were part of the community. You would see them out on Sunday…and they always supported us; they wouldn't let us fail (Interviewee 11).*

> *Education was critical to my parents and community (Interviewee 1).*
>
> *Everyone was supportive and believed in the children and the power of education (Interviewee 6).*

The church was central to the community and Douglass Park. Every Sunday, people would go to church, "and after, you would gather in the street or the Douglass Park, and it wasn't uncommon to see your teachers visiting with your parents and the kids playing outside."

> *If you wanted to party during the weekend, you would go down to:*
> *Walnut Street used to be the place to party, with nightclubs and restaurants.*
>
> *As a kid, my sisters and neighbors would sneak down to the candy story. When we would get a little money, down toward downtown referring to* [third street], and up the hill. Towards the courthouse on Walnut (Interviewee 13).
>
> *I remember this one time, I did steal a check from my parents for five dollars, and I spent the entire check at the candy store…that was a lot of candy in those days... I didn't make home before the man at the candy store called my parents; my dad brought me right back down there to apologize and give everything back. Of course, you couldn't do that now. (Interviewee 3).*

Individual perceptions of the best memory

Part of the semi-structured interview process is to get at the critical story that involves urban renewal, from the communal level, as discussed earlier. Wherein, most of the interviewees in this study had fond communal or social memories of the Douglass School Neighborhood and surrounding community. However, I also wanted to understand better, the individual experiences, from a more internalized or introspective approach. Therefore, I ask each interviewee, what is their favorite memory of growing up in the *Douglass School Neighborhood*?

> *My mom's cooking…she owned a restaurant in the Sharp End, so you know she was a good cook. (Interviewee 5)*

Did you have a favorite dish?

If she asked me, I would of course say all the cooking. But really, I loved her baking. I had somewhat of a sweet tooth back then. (Ibid, 5)

The warmth of the sun when went outside as a child. It's funny, but it felt different after we moved. (Interviewee 14)

My mother's laugh, she had one of those laughs that made everyone else smile. (Interviewee 20)

Playing outside with my friends all day on the weekends.

The smell of the house when my mother was baking or cooking (Interviewee 18).

That's a good question. I'm not sure this qualifies as the best memory, but reflecting on my childhood, I always felt safe (Interviewee 11).

My friends… were like family, we spent most of our time together (Interviewee 19).

If there is a good memory, there must be a bad one

Pulled over- guns drawn

The worst memory I have growing up and living in Columbia, MO.? Well, I have many, but one experience stands out the most, and that is when the police pulled me over in front of my house. They said I had run through a stop sign, but that was a lie. I think it's because I am a black man living in a predominantly White neighborhood. Either way, they pulled me over in front of my house as my children were in the yard. Before I could get my window down, they walked up to my car with their guns drawn…for a traffic stop…in front of my house.

They didn't like what I had to say. You see, I'm a former Marine and I also know the leadership at Columbia…I wasn't scared for myself, but for my kids. I asked them what I was being pulled over for, and why they had their guns drawn? They replied I had run a stop sign…I didn't, and I did see them following me. I told them 'I know my rights' and I know the mayor and leadership in the police department. Do you want me to call them, I can call them right now if you would like? How far do you want to take this? In front of my kids! My kids are right there…I live here!

After a few more minutes, they gave me a verbal warning. But it's the point…I don't want my kids having to see these things or experience this type of crap, they shouldn't have to! (Interviewee 1).

Winter paperboy

> *The worst memory I have growing up in Columbia, MO. is when I was a kid selling papers in the sharp end. It was a cold winter, and I must've been about 11-12 years old. I used to sell papers down near the Sharp End. Well, this one day, it started to storm good, it was one of those days where the rain turns to ice. You see, I want the only one out there, as there were a couple of White kids selling papers near there as well. The difference was that they were able to go into a restaurant in the Sharp End because it was owned by a White owner. I tried to enter the restaurant and asked if I could stay in the entryway or in the back, and the owner at the time told me no, and to get away from his business. Can you imagine…I'm in my neighborhood, and I wasn't even able to seek shelter in that restaurant because it was owned by a White man. (Interviewee 7).*

So, what happened, I asked?

> *I was able to stand in the entryway of place downtown, not far from there. But I always remember that day. That was the worst day I can remember.*

Chasing me with my kids in the truck

> *The worst memory I have growing up in Columbia, MO.? The worst day I can remember, other than the other day in Target, was when I had my two kids (girls) in the truck). I don't remember the year, but it was in the 70s sometime. I was driving home, and these White men were following me. I was afraid, and I just wanted to get home or close to my house, when they pulled up and started shouting N*&ER!!, and they did this until I got close to my neighborhood. I was so scared for my girls, and I don't know what or how they dealt with that, but I will never forget that day. (Interviewee 12).*

Always struggling

> *Don't get me wrong. I love my parents, and I know they did the best they could. My dad worked over at the plant at the University of Missouri and did OK. But I can remember we had many Christmases where we didn't have any presents, and barely enough to eat…and I understood that that was the way it was. And you don't notice, really, as a kid, that you are missing out on some things. But there are times when you do, and Christmas is one of those times. It was hard, because you see other kids getting presents, didn't matter if they were expensive or anything, just that they got something, and I couldn't tell them anything when they asked, I was embarrassed. (Interviewee 9).*

I was the only Black girl

> *I know I was lucky; I went to a private school. But I was the only Black girl there, and they didn't treat me bad or anything, but it was lonely (Interviewee 13).*

I don't know if this qualifies

> *The worst memory I have growing up in Columbia, MO. I don't know if this qualifies, but my worst memory of growing up in Columbia, MO. is losing my dad. I didn't know my dad, he died when I was born. Literally the day I was born…he was shot to death. That has always been with me.*

The urban renewal experiences

When asked what it was like during Urban Renewal, most participants were too young to understand what was happening, except a few older participants. According to one participant, the surveyors that were going around the town and speaking to the community members about how excellent the plan was "lied, they lied and took advantage of us." They would later recount that their grandmother was said to have brandished a shotgun when a surveyor attempted to speak with her about selling her house. Her house is still standing.

Another interviewee stated that they had returned from WWII and heard that one of them (the city surveyor for land clearance) was doing something "shady" with his mom's house and some form of a letter that needed a signature. They knew someone in the office the letter had come from, and they went down there and worked things out. The house would need some work and updating but could be rehabilitated, avoiding the urban renewal chopping block. They were able to keep the house. Records indicate that after the Land Clearance Committee and plans for the M-R-20 project were cleared, residents in the community refused to sell their homes or move. Some sought legal advice (*Joint Lawsuit: Boone County National Bank V. City of Columbia)* to sue the city or prevent them from losing homes or property.

Under resolution # 86 (1959) of the Land Clearance Committee, the project proposed for the *Douglass School* is under the approved governmental guidelines. These

guidelines state that if residents "refused to negotiate within the limits of payment for real estate as established by the local authority, and state they cannot or will not agree," they can be forcibly removed through eminent domain actions. Eminent domain is the legalized right of the city under the authority of an established land clearance committee or land redevelopment committee to acquire property by force rather than by voluntary exchange. When a committee sees fit and seeks to develop the property, the committee must first "attempt to negotiate a voluntary sale" regardless of whether you own the property (Munch, 1975).

Once the ‘highest’ low price is offered and rejected, the committee can condemn the property and obtain a forced sale at a price determined in a court of law, empowered by Section 99.460 R.S.MO.,1949 [Chapter 523]. In the U.S., eminent domain is only constrained by constitutional provisions at the federal and state levels, which require that private property only be taken for "public use" (Munch, 1975).

The public-use clause justifies the removal of homes, their residents, structures, and other property that occupy areas in the urban development project considered a detriment to the community and residents abroad. Once accomplished, as were many of the homes in the area. The property can then be made "available for purchase by private redevelopers…or public enterprise" by way of legal evictions [(1) residential areas-(R.) R-311] (p.8).

According to city records, nearly one-half of the properties were taken in such a manner, including Black/African + businesses. Although Section [3] of the city's "Final Project Report (Part I. Application for Loan Grants, 1958) explicitly states" no

discrimination against or segregation of any person or group of persons on account of race."

Out of an estimated 563 families who were removed, 399 were displaced, 382 were "non-White" (Black/African +), 267 were tenants in rentals, and 115 of those were Black/African + homes and businesses. The White causality rate – was estimated at ten tenants and seven owners. You do the math. The clearcutting of the *Douglass School Neighborhood* was a racially motivated affair.

Another fascinating thing to remember is that under the Housing Act and Urban Renewal provisions, the city must find housing for the displaced "Families" and relocate businesses under [R-341. Relocation Plan] (Land Clearance For Redevelopment Authority of Columbia, 1958). However, the city saw a loophole and only allotted 'Families' and 'Businesses' the provisions for relocation, which left an estimated 76 Black/African + individuals without provisions, as they were designated as 'individuals' and did not constitute a family. Therefore, no assistance would be provided (Coorespondance, 1963). The law "does not require relocation assistance for individuals…as it does not fall under the definition of family " (Correspondence, 1963).

> *My mother lost her business and her home and never recovered (Interviewee 1).*
>
> *Urban renewal made it difficult for black residents to gain economic stability (Interviewee 17).*
>
> *I was working for a local business in the sharp End, and we had all got together and figured we would buy some land outside the area. You know to rebuild…kind of like a strip mall. We got approved by a bank to acquire property, but as soon as the land clearance found out…that loan and agreement went away (interviewee 2).*
>
> *Let me tell you what it was like, most people couldn't get loans for their homes or businesses locally, I know one guy had to go out of state to get a loan from*

> *someone else to start their business, that's. What it was like those days-you know what I'm saying…that's the way t was (Interviewee 20)*

> *land clearance and integration were necessary, but they got rid of the black community's camaraderie and village-like atmosphere (interviewee 6).*

> *there was hostility there… a lot of those people were independent and once, hey lost their businesses…now they've got to scramble to try to, you know, maintain, and it was pretty difficult back then. I don't know… when you consider that your major employment was the University of Missouri, Columbia and Stephens College… well wages were awfully low, so you know, it's like a baseball player from today, making millions and tomorrow their broke. That was the impact that it had.* (Saidi & Bodine, 2020)

> *You know most of the African Americans in this community owned their properties and what did that do? Urban renewal made renters out of the community-people that owned property-that what we still haven't overcome yet. (Saidi & Bodine, 2020)*

Referring to the Douglass School Neighborhood and Sharp End Black Business District

> *people like mine, who had their barbecue places … and shoeshine shop… all these places were part of the community… after urban renewal they were lost and never replaced.* (Williams, 2006)

Larry Monroe states-

There was a change. A lot of properties were gone, and when you look economically, many blacks were not able to do anything. (Saidi & Bodine, 2020).

Audience member-

There is a long history of African Americans despite incredible odds against them have been financially successful there has been a hostile reaction from the community. (Saidi, 2019).

With regards to the housing authority, its use of the land, and the bank's relationships with the Douglass Neighborhood, post-urban renewal: Sehon Williams states-

> *less than 20% of the area was used-the irony being property was supposed to be available to the people to purchase back, but many people said when they went to the bank the bank would say …they did not have a credit rating to be able to get the loan.* (Williams, 2006).

How was the integration of the schools after Urban Renewal?

> *Well, it went pretty well. You see, a lot of us athletes were already getting along, and it didn't seem that bad to me* (interviewee 2)

> *It went well for the students, but not the Black teachers (Interviewee 6).*

> *I remember the KKK wanted to march down Broadway in protest and come into our area. Well, the Chief of Police at the time wasn't going to allow that (interviewee 6).*

My interviewee said they would have been foolish to come into the neighborhood because most of us owned weapons, and it would not have turned out well.

> *My experience was a little different; I went to a private school after that. But I was the only Black student. That was lonely. (Interviewee 4)*

Some had a different experience. Such as accounts from Muriel Browder, who remembers integration differently.

> *Douglas was an all-black school, and at the End of that 1959-1960 school year, students had to go to other schools. So, as I said, I was a kindergarten and first grade at the all-black school. Now I'm a little black girl in a whole new educational environment and it was frightening, if it was scary, there were people who didn't look like me. Which I was accustomed to having a teacher who looked like me and a secretary as a principal, so all of those changes were difficult, and it was not a lot of fun. we are the ones as a race who always had to make the changes (Saidi & Conte, 2020).*

> *.... obviously, because the color of our skin was lesser… (Interviewee 18)*

When Muriel reflects on her experience and what she hoped for her children, Muriel states,

> *by the time I had children of my own- no one was going to be judged by the color of their skin -we would all become color blind. (Saidi & Conte, 2020)*
> *I remember just a few years ago with my children were in high school thinking … they lied to me, they're going through the same feelings and thoughts that I had…(Saidi & Conte, 2020)*

The above responses would support the ACEs hybrid model in the next chapter. One indicates that Black/African + females took the brunt and continue to do so in the community, with respect to how they self-perceive in public places, not of their own. But also, in their feelings of anxiety about going out in the broader community.

Memory & Tombstones in the city

I was able to ask one interviewee what they thought of The African American Heritage Trail in the city. Their response was sobering. They stated that they looked forward to the trail and its markers going up in the town because it was essential to acknowledge what occurred and keep those memories alive. At the same time, the interviewee indicated to me, that they (the markers) act, in some way, like a gravestone that marks what once was. They then stated, "it saddens me every time I walk to the post office because I remember the homes and the people who lived there."

Are they going to bring slavery back?

Interviewee (12) is a third-generation resident of the city, and once we had concluded our interview questions, we began to talk more generally about life, politics, and family. As the topic moved toward the past U.S. President, Donald J. Trump, and how life had changed in the last several years, the interviewee turned to me and asked," do you think they will bring back slavery"?

Shocked, I had to take a minute to think about this. In my own internalized conversational mind, being a sociologist, my first reflex was to tell them that slavery never went away. I could have gone into a conversation recalling Michelle Alexander's (2010) book entitled *The New Jim Crow* and other sources.

However, the time it took in thinking about my answer was a death knell, as they panicked and assumed I did think it was coming back. The panic in their eyes was enough, as you could see genuine fear. I responded and assured them that, no, it is not, and will, not be back. Truth has been stranger than fiction between the pandemic and the previous Presidency in the last several years.

As I stated this, they responded with a gesture. This gesture was a mother holding a baby as it is being breastfed, and the interviewee asked me, “why do they think they can have us take care of their babies and still treat us this way? What gives them the right? “

CHAPTER REVIEW

As the above vignettes illustrate, there is a sense that a trauma has occurred, or what Mindy Fullilove calls "root shock." Root shock has happened on the individual level and community level. The participant interview responses indicate a profound emotional upheaval that has permanently altered the world's working model that had existed individually and collectively pre-urban renewal. It is apparent urban renewal has further undermined social trust and has increased individual and collective anxiety. Moreover, forced resettlement has destabilized relationships, altered social, emotional, and financial resources, and abruptly changed their lives.

CHAPTER 5.

ACEs HYBRID SURVEY

The preliminary demographic results of the ACEs hybrid online survey are pretty unremarkable. However, not planned, the split consists of 50% male-identified and 50% female-identified. The variation within a group does not tell us much of anything. However, the variation in trauma and types of trauma are telling when comparing the differences between gender. It is essential to note that as the reader reaches the interviews, one cannot assume they are the same participants within the online survey.

The survey occurred within the online environment via Qualtrics. It was sent to all associations and individuals identified as part of the population of the potential participants and associations. Therefore the results are random anonymous participants that may or may not have participated in the other section; both have drawbacks and strengths. It would be good to compare the interviews conducted directly to the survey as a strength; this would add nuance to the findings that cannot be interpreted concerning the potentially incurred trauma. However, it also gives freedom for the random participant to be more honest and not succumb to the interviewee self-monitoring their answers.

ACEs hybrid survey part I. results

Disclaimer: All therapeutic determinations, assessments, and care options have been removed from the below table and list, as this dissertation is not seeking to serve as a medical diagnostic tool for immediate treatment, nor is the researcher qualified to make such determinations. In addition, the results only consider the categories resulting in a 4+ between genders in each field of the questionnaire.

Table 4.1: Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) and Toxic Stress Risk Assessment Algorithm-Adults.

	Low Risk	**Intermediate Risk**	**High Risk**	**Elevated High Risk**	
Score [s]	Score = 0	Score = 1-3	Score = 1-3	Score = 4+	
Assess for Associated health conditions	Without associated health conditions	Without associated health conditions	With associated health conditions	With or without health conditions	
Part I. Results				Men	= 4
				Women	= 6
Part II. Results				Men	= 7
				Women	= 6

Sources: Aces Aware: Screen, Treat, Heal: ACEs Aware Family Resilience Network, Office of the California Surgeon General (Access online: 04/06/2021).

The algorithm used above is the same algorithm used as a diagnostic questionnaire for ACEs Aware, Screen, Treat, Heal, ACEs Aware Family Resilience Network, and recognized by the California Surgeon Generals' office, Center for Disease Control, and Kaiser Permanente, as the principal toxic stress and trauma evaluation tool along with other healthcare outcomes.

The scores can be examined as follows: If the ACEs score = 0, the participants are at *low risk* for toxic stress or trauma (omitted). If the ACE score = 1-3, the participants are at *intermediate risk* of toxic stress or trauma (Omitted). If the ACEs score = 4+, the participant is at *High Risk* or *Elevated High Risk* for toxic stress physiology. In both cases, the lived experiences of both areas are related to their toxic stress and trauma responses.

Part I of the ACEs toxic stress and trauma questionnaire indicates that 40% of the Black/African + men and 60% of the Black/African + women are at risk of adverse healthcare outcomes stemming from early childhood development and that these same stressors can carry on into adulthood, if not treated. According to the Center for Disease Control, these adverse outcomes can result in mental health issues, disorders, cognitive delays, and socialization issues. In addition, anxiety, substance abuse/ addiction, teen pregnancies, elevated sexually transmitted infections (STIs), sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), violence and victimization, cancer, diabetes, and other forms negatively affect one's morbidity and mortality.

Gender difference [s]: part I-female

What is telling are the areas where each gender experiences the most stress and trauma. For Black/African + women, it was immediately apparent that women suffer the most from mental and verbal abuse, as reflected in question one. The question asks if a parent or adult in the household or community you grew up in, often or very often… swore at you, insulted you, put you down, humiliated you, or acted in a way that made you afraid that you might be physically hurt. The result was 10-10. However, because of how the question is asked, one cannot conclude if it was family-related or immediate community, nor can one generalize that all Black/African + Women have had the same experiences given the sample size.However, given even the small sample size would indicate that furthr research in ths area is much needed.

In question two, 50% stated that they were often pushed, grabbed, slapped, or had something thrown at them and possibly hit so hard that they had marks or were injured. Additionally, Black/African + women experienced 70% parental divorce, 60% percent of

which also lived in families with substance and alcohol abuse, and 80% have known someone who has gone to prison.

Gender difference [s]: part I-male

Part I of the ACEs toxic stress and trauma questionnaire indicates that Black/African + males are at greater risk in two areas. According to the survey results, 50% of Black/African + males experienced one or more: being pushed, grabbed, slapped, using threatening or hurtful language, or having something thrown at them from persons living in their community. Sometimes, or very often, have been kicked, bitten, hit with a fist, hit with something hard, repeatedly over at least a few minutes, or threatened with a gun or knife. From this vantage point, the difference in violence illustrates that the physical, not the mental, and verbal are typical of the Black/African + male. Secondly, similar to Black/African + females within the community, Black/African + males knew someone who had been incarcerated by 70 % versus 80% of the Black/African + females. These combined findings indicate that the Black/African + community in Columbia, Mo., does suffer more toxic stress and trauma on a scale that surpasses the ACEs 4+ quotient for at-risk populations and should be taken seriously when assessing community health within the area.

Survey part II -gender difference [s]- female

Females scored a six out of ten on the socio-structural model developed for this research, looking at external community factors. Of the six, none scored below a five, and one scored an eight. As with the first model, Black/African + females often experienced being sworn out by families, individuals, or community members outside of their

community. In addition, they were insulted, put down, humiliated, and made to be afraid they might be physically hurt.

Eighty percent of Black/African + females felt and perceived that the families, individuals, or community members in the general public did NOT love or care for them or think they were necessary. In addition, Black/African + females perceived the community members outside their community did not look out for their family members, feel a sense of belonging, or support their community.

Of the self-identified females, 60 % feared or felt anxious about going out during the day or night in their community after the urban development of *The Douglass neighborhood* or the current community they now reside in. Of Black/African + females, 70% felt socially and individually self-conscious about how they walked, talked, and dressed outside their community. Finally, 70% of Black/African + females do not feel they can move freely outside their community without fear of racial harassment, police harassment, or other forms of racial bias.

Survey part II -gender difference [s]- male

Black/African + self-identified males scored a seven out of ten on the socio-structural model developed for this research, looking at external community factors. None scored below a four, and none scored as high as an eight, as with the female section. However, Black/African + men scored high in three particular areas. First, 70 % of Black/African + men often or very often had been pushed, grabbed, slapped, suffered threatening or hurtful language, and had things thrown at them. In addition, Black/African + men sometimes experienced physical altercations and threats, such as kicking, biting, hitting with a fist, or being hit with something hard and threatened with a

gun or knife at least a few times. Finally, 70 % of Black/African + males do not feel they can move freely outside their community without fear of racial harassment, police harassment, or other forms of racial bias.

With that said, we can see that toxic stress and trauma exist in both spheres. However, they are not weighted the same. While both genders experience toxic stress and trauma from the internal familial and close community ties, they suffer an even more severe strain when looking at the community's structural external forces. Of the questions, two are related to terrestrial mobility; one pointed to racial bias and harassment. Question nine is about self-perception when moving in a predominantly White urban setting. Question ten addresses racialized structural forces that negatively impact how Black/African+ men and women move throughout the city.

Given the current state of affairs regarding the community ACEs toxic stress and a trauma survey questionnaire, the findings on truam and structualized violence, at least, hint that that extensive trauma and strain exists within the Black/African + community. Again, one cannot generalize an entire population based on such a small sample size of results. But, when compared to statistical healthcare outcomes across the greater population, does highlight that these areas should be taken seriously when looking at outcomes stemming from early childhood development. These same stressors can carry on into adulthood and be passed on intergenerationally if not treated.

The CDC argues that these categorical outcomes can negatively result in mental health issues and disorders, cognitive delays, socialization issues, and anxiety. Additionally, substance abuse/ addiction, teen pregnancies, elevated sexually transmitted infections (STIs), sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), violence and victimization,

cancer, diabetes, and other forms negatively affect morbidity and mortality. If held, we would then see these same connections statistically.

Weaknesses within the current study

There are many weaknesses within the current study. As the reader may have noticed, there are several variables missing from the comparative data regarding additional racial and gender identity experineces. Since this research focused on Black/African + residents, the data is limiting when atempting to explain variations within and between such racial groups as White, Hispanic, First Nation, and alternative gender identities. In addition, there are no clear identity markers for those who identify as other in either the racial categories or gender that would add more nuance and stronger comparative research. With that in mind, it would be recommended that if or when a healthcare assessemtn be developed and impleneted, that these categories be included in future ressarch. Secondly, based on the represwentative sample size, N=20, suggests that a greater breadth and width of surveys wold be needed to make a more clearly defined outcome of at risk persons with and external to the Black/African + community. Therefore, the results are not conlcusive, per-se, but does provide evidence of structural issues that negatively impact the citzenry of Columbia, MO.

Testing longitudinal statistical corelations between survey and data

To test the coorelation, this research used statistical data from W.W. Elwangs's 1904 thesis. This research then gathered data from more recent statistics (2019) to see if there was any historical and longitudinal variation. Below, you will find two comparative historical -structural groupings that reflect the state of affairs regarding access to health, mental health, health-related outcomes, and other race-related differences in Columbia,

Missouri. It should not be a shock that the ACEs survey reflects quite literally, in some cases, the generational and intergenerational disparities over time.

However, the reader must not forget that access to healthcare during the early 1900s in Columbia, MO., for Black/African + men and women was disparaging. More importantly, statistics were challenging to come by when examining racial comparisons. However, both are telling when comparing the lived experiences of those who grew up in Columbia, MO.

Take, for example, infant mortality rates. They are striking when looking at the differences between White mothers and Black/African + mothers for 2019. However, leading up to the 1930s-194s in Columbia, MO. Due to racial restrictions, Black/African + children were born in the home, not in the local hospital. Three of the oldest participants in this study can corroborate this, as they were born in the family home.

Of course, at least one local Black/African + physician and two Black/African + nurses lived in the community and were tasked with providing these services, such as childbirths (Elwang, 1904). Sadly, the statistic given in the table below only reflects the self-reported statistic of infant mortality and does not disclose that " dozens of unborn children" were disposed of every year, either by "mothers directly or by the aid of …medical" assistance (Elwang, 1904). Therefore, this will be one enigma we will never completely understand.

Table 5.1: Comparative -Historical-Structural Statistics

Columbia Missouri, Statistics

Total Population (2019) Census -	*White*	*Black/African + Humans*	*Total Population (1904) Census-*	*White*	*Black/African + Humans*

123,195	77.1	10.9	5,651	3,735	1,916
Total Children Living Poverty by Race	-	35.13 %	-	-	100%
Missing Highschool Ed. (25+)	4.82	9.08	Enrolled-(1900)	6,241	1,224
High school graduation by Race	90.8	81.9			
College Graduate Rate (Collegetuition.edu, 2020)	Male 68.04 Female 78.64	Male 43.41 Female 66.58	-	-	-
Income Per-Capita	32,620.00	17.313.00			
Unemployment	7.4%	16%			50%
Population Without Medical Insurance (18-65)	12%	17%			
SNAP Benefits	5.72	31.98			
Births (15-19)	14.3	56.9			34
Infant Mortality (March of Dimes (2018)-Elwang (1904)	5.24	15. 3			24+
Low Birth Wt.	6.30	14.10			
Adults without primary care	19.18	24.98			
Home Ownership	65.56%	23. 7%			6.8%
Divorce				55	56
Crime Statistics Boone County					
Incarceration Rate	147 or 0.23%	98 or 1.1%			
Minor Violations	486	389		233	213

Health Disparities				
Asthma	13.3	19.5		1
Breast Cancer (Per 100,000)	140	97.2		
Colon Rectal	36.8	48.8		
Lung Cancer	55.5	78.7		
Prostrate	93.8	132.8		
Cancer Mortality Rate	144	213. 55	66.7	48.0
Heart Disease	68.83	108.69	137.4 (per1,000)	221.1 (Per-1,000)
Mortality Heart Disease	140.47	220.46		
Homicide	4.16	47.22		
Mortality Pre-Mature Death	442.13	798.47		48 (14 children) (Per, 1,000)
Mortality by Stroke	38.99	56.57		
Mortality Unintentional	34.21	45.11	53.5	66.7
Obesity	35.63	34.73		
Poor Dental Health	20.05	21.17		
Chlamydia	299.8	1895.8		
Gonorrhea	113.8	1028.9		
HIV	107	545		
Experienced physical domestic violence (ncavd.org, 2019)	Women 30.05 Men 26.6	41.2 Men 36.3		
Tuberculosis			173.5	485.4
Diarrheal			129.5	214.0
Mental Health	16.06	6.9		

Nervous Systems		213.7	308.0
Typhoid		32.4	67.5
Urinary Organs and disease		99.8	157.3

The remaining statistics were taken from CaresEngagement.org (2020): A National Data and Reporting Platform for Communities. Community Health National Assessment (CHNA). COMO.Gov-Health, Clinical Services, and Disease Surveillance. Elwang. W.W. (1904). The Negroes of Columbia, Missouri: A Concrete Study of the Race Problem. Missouri Foundation for Health. Boone County Police Report Card (2021)

Structural Violence and Intersectionality

According to Johan Galtung (1969), structural violence resides within and between institutional and social structures. Examples would be poverty, racism, gender inequity, and lack of access to healthcare, employment, and housing have prevented Black/African + people in Columbia, MO. from meeting their basic needs. Moreover, structural violence is "the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is" (Galtung, 1969).

Therefore, violence can be construed as any harm caused to individuals and is positioned as ".... the avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs" (Galtung, 1969). After reviewing the first half of the analysis, one can only conclude that there are indeed varying degrees of difference in the experiences of Black/African + men and women. While both genders are at elevated risk of adverse healthcare outcomes, it is evident structural forces are at work in manufacturing and maintaining these unfortunate risks and effects through time.

We can draw upon intersectional analyses in feminist geographies and how they work within structural policies and space brought forth by power, authority, and patriarchal influences. This research has shown that the manufactured social systems of racial and gender construction, colonialism, and slavery have played a central part in

forcing bodies into circumstances that are not their own, historically, spatially, and bodily.

Although the above results do not directly connect slavery and urban renewal specifically, it would not be illogical to infer that through structural and historical forces, brought forth in chapters 2-3, clearly articulate that the embodiment of the country, state, city, and their successes, hinged on the system of slavery and colonial practices; we are off to a good start.

Now, suppose we can further concede that these same structural forces were instrumental in forcing racialized geographical segregation of the City of Columbia. Furthermore, these institutional practices, not a choice, were to blame for the devastatingly poor and violent living conditions of Black/African + residents. In that case, we must also conclude when considering structural violence specific to geographical landscapes. This research corroborates that spatial land locations are important, as spatial locations determine who lives in particular parts of the city and are closely associated with life-course outcomes.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Based on the information thus far, it would not be a stretch to infer that the cause of these specific forms of trauma and varying forms of gendered experiences placed powerful restrictions on the ability to overcome or remove oneself from the city. The lack of access to a safe living environment, adequate healthcare, work/career, educational attainment, disproportionate gendered income, house ownership, and other factors, coupled with external and internal forces of verbal and physical violence, only leaves room for one outcome: historical, cultural trauma.

Cultural-historical trauma

Preliminarily speaking, we have begun to see how historical-cultural trauma as a theoretical construct/concept is at play here. This research points to the socio-psychological consequences of historically based, intergenerational cultural misery through the ACEs survey and statistical comparisons. (Davidson & Milligan, 2004; Stamm & Stamm, 2004; Alexander, Eyerman, Gieson, Smelser, & Sztompka, 2004; Eyerman, 2001).

Cultural trauma has occurred individually and collectively and has left an indelible mark upon the Black/African + people's consciousness. When we consider both complex trauma and the second of the binary, the dose-response relationship: the psychological, emotional, and physical effects of a social behavior manifested from institutional and structural forces, both the White authority and Black/African + peoples are constantly navigating the strain between reality, history, power, control and survivor uncertainty.

The trauma in question within this research postulates a historical linkage between slavery in Columbia, Missouri, and the collective memory that grounds the identity-formation of a group of people within a geographical landscape known as the *Douglass School Neighborhood*, including *The Sharp End* (Eyerman, 2001; Alexander et al., 2001).

As indicated, trauma has a distinct and different impact on each individual, race, and gender, which works through the cultural production and process. Cultural trauma negotiates through various forms within one's representation and is "linked to the reformation of collective identity and the reworking of collective memory. Therefore, the

next logical step is to interpret the oral narratives of those who experienced life intergenerationally in Columbia, Missouri, and how they have processed community clearcutting resulting in root shock.

CHAPTER 6.

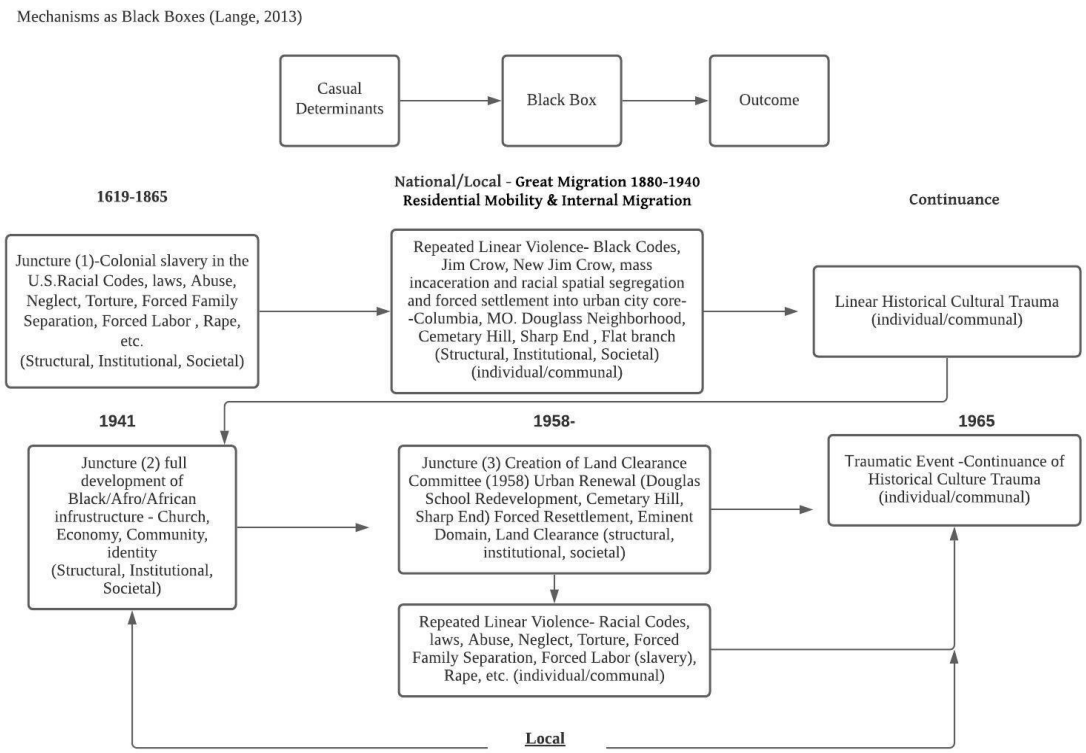
CONCLUSION

At the center of this research is the confrontation with a particular structural temporal social phenomenon- cultural-historical trauma. The socio-psychological consequences of historically based, intergenerational cultural misery, pain, and torture, are rooted in the system of colonialism, genocide, and chattel-slavery in Missouri and the City of Columbia (Davidson & Milligan, 2004; Stamm & Stamm, 2004; Alexander, Eyerman, Gieson, Smelser, & Sztompka, 2004; Eyerman, 2001). The past historical events that have led to the development of Boone County and the City of Columbia have negatively impacted generations of Black/African + humans. Moreover, the City of Columbia has repeatedly inscribed the awful intrusive thoughts and images (self-perception, loss, trauma, lack of social and terrestrial mobility, topocide) passed down intergenerationally within a relatively fixed geographical landscape.

This singular possession of the past, known as slavery, as we have seen, extends beyond the manufactured pathologies of White supremacy placed upon a specific racial group. It has become an extension of the justification to rule over and, by proxy, affixed itself to the survivors of its complicity in structuralized violence. No longer can slavery remain a singular historical event. It has played an insistent part in reenacting past experiences and does not simply serve as a testimony to one event but many. However, within it, a paradox unfolds. In this paradox, the person who often suffers from cultural-historical trauma, often subconsciously, is connected to the trauma but disconnected from the enigmas of truth, called “survivors’ uncertainty” (Carruth, 1995).

To better exemplify the historical process mentioned above, this research refers to Mathew Lange's (2013) 'black box' of causal mechanisms within the method of process tracing. Lange's black box helps explain a causal relation or sequence of historical events linked to one another (Lange, 2013; Hedstrom, 2008; Mahoney, 2001). For this research, the black box has two distinct levels. The first explains the historical junctures of slavery leading to residential resettlement and racial and spatial segregation stemming from the system of slavery. The second wave illustrates the historical events leading to the racialized segregation developed from wave one, leading to urban renewal in Columbia, MO.

Figure 1. Mechanism of potentially inferred causal processes linking the *Douglass School Neighborhood* and outcomes to structural violence leading to historical- cultural trauma.



As argued in Chapter 1, this research used the ideographic comparative historical analysis. This method allowed this research to bridge simple generalizable explanations of social processes by implementing the within-case strategy. Within the case, the study offers us the qualitative nuances of causal narratives or what is known as the ideographic explanation (Lange, 2013). The causal description takes into account the story that has evolved through time. In this case, there are three main areas of interest. First is the history of those structures and institutions that participated in the casual chain of events. (2) The events instrumental in cultural and historical trauma. (3) Historical events lead to the additional displacement trauma through urban renewal.

A less definable crisis

As we have seen, uncertainty can be a return to an event, such as the clearcutting of the *Douglass School Neighborhood.* Still, at that moment, it also intersects with the memory, which attempts to change the system, where the "larger, more profound, less definable crisis of truth…proceeding…trauma" exists (Felman & Laub, 1992). We have seen this by the downplaying of one interviewee's recollection of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The interviewee dismisses the event as a casual and normalized violent and traumatic system. A system that both creates the symptom of trauma and the ways to change the discomfort.

As the interviewees and secondary analysis suggest, this same sentiment can be seen throughout time. For example, participants agree that redevelopment needed to occur. However, at this juncture, they must also concede at this intersection. They are also forced to face the trauma of racialized resettlement and isolation through racialized segregation post-emancipation.

Cultural-historical trauma

So, the first question asked in this dissertation: How do we explain the historical role slavery played in the development of racial segregation in the state of Missouri and the City of Columbia's trajectory resulting in urban renewal in the late 1950s? The answer should be straightforward: trauma and cultural-historical trauma have occurred from two analysis levels. From colonial slavery and its implication in developing and maintaining racialized geographical segregation in Columbia, MO. Secondly, from what Mindy Fullilove calls "root shock."

According to the theory and concept of root shock, trauma has developed at the individual and community levels. The participant interview responses indicate a profound emotional upheaval that has permanently altered the world's working model that had existed individually and collectively pre-urban renewal. It is apparent urban renewal has further undermined social trust and has increased individual and collective anxiety.

Intersectionality and structural violence

Moreover, forced resettlement has destabilized relationships, altered social, emotional, and financial resources, and abruptly changed their lives; the second level of analysis indicates specific gendered experiences have also occurred. Leading me to the question associated with the varying experiences between gender. Analysis from the interviews did not indicate a strong negative correlation to urban renewal, per-se. The ACEs hybrid survey did show a strong and distinct difference between male and female experience, perception, type of fear, anxiety, and self-identity. Black/African + females were subjected to more internal mental and verbal abuse; they also historically suffered in almost all categories. This is to say; the Black/African + females were consistently at the

bottom level of each stratum. From the lowest income opportunities, types of labor and career, and specific physical areas such as childbirth and mortality, add additional trauma.

Although Black/African +females scored higher than males in Part, I of the ACEs Hybrid model, the internal community and familial factors played a role in potential adverse healthcare outcomes. They also scored the same for external structural effects. Interestingly, Black/African + males scored moderately low than females in Part I, at a level 4, which is still high on the ACEs scale. The external structural forces rated a seven, placing them at even higher risk for the negative life course and healthcare outcomes. However, historically, they have also been shown to have higher incomes and more flexibility within the job market.

However, one cannot ignore the intersectional differences across and between racial categories, as White males and females have had an advantage in income, employment, homeownership, education, and healthcare. And as we can see, they have benefitted greatly, as reflected in the lack of adverse morbidity, mortality, and favorable healthcare outcomes at lower risks in specific categories.

What were the costs, and who benefitted?

What were the costs, and did the destruction of the *Douglass School Neighborhood* create better opportunities for Black/African + lives in Columbia, Missouri? Let's look at the laundry list of benefits that justified urban renewal.

For the predominant White Community, they enjoy-

- ✓ New and improved traffic throughways for better traffic flow.
- ✓ A boost to the local economy
- ✓ Sound and orderly growth of the city
- ✓ Improved street lighting
- ✓ Public off-street parking

- ✓ Improved traffic control
- ✓ Expanded school facilities
- ✓ Improved Tax Base
- ✓ Elimination of Blighted areas
- ✓ Space for a civic center
- ✓ New and Improved Sewers and Storm Drainage
- ✓ Improved "Gateway" to the city
- ✓ Expand Municipal facilities

For the predominant Black/African + community, they enjoy-

- ✓ Continued poor public health.
- ✓ Persistent disease and elevated risks to life course outcomes and health.
- ✓ Moderate improvement in sanitation and infrastructure.
- ✓ Moderate but still racially isolated green space.
- ✓ Same or decreased access to recreational opportunities.
- ✓ Similar if not worse social atmosphere.
- ✓ Increase in crime & delinquency.
- ✓ Improved temporary low-income housing conditions for some-not all.
- ✓ "Make one dollar do the work of three." For Black/African members, yes, because of systemic unemployment, low wages, and other institutionalized racism.
- ✓ Decreased property values and ownership
- ✓ Some improvement for certain low-income families, but still higher than average poverty.
- ✓ Improved but not equal.

Spatial representation

According to several interviewees in Columbia, Missouri, communities have become more racially mixed in certain areas. However, as several have pointed out, the racial divide persists. As one interviewee stated, "they have lived across the street for five years, and the husband still refuses to talk to me or wave hello" (4). Because of this, familial connections, comfort, and camaraderie also suffer; as one interviewee stated, " I can't just go over and talk to my childhood friend or see them regularly" (4). Moreover, the representation of lost space. Meaning those spaces that were removed and turned into parking lots and predominant White businesses have had an enduring negative effect on those who bear witness to the vacancy of one's memories. The importance of the physical

environment and sense of place is closely associated with human well-being and cannot be overstated. A business can give someone a "sense of control" and "security" to individuals and groups as they conjure happy, friendly, and welcoming memories (Windsor & McVey, 2005).

When these same places become violent and structures are destroyed and removed, such as the *Douglass School Neighborhood,* a tremendous sense of loss remains. Such as the statement one interviewee gave, stating that some of the African American trail markers are like gravestones that mark what once was. Research indicates that the sense of place means something different between White and Black/African + space.

For example, when research attempts to discern the differences in how Black/African + communities view a spatial sense of place, Whites are often found to be non-existent or, at least, seriously impaired when attempting to relate to the living environment associated with real experience and memory (Windsor & McVey, 2005; Feldman, 1991). This is to say; Whites can be described as having a 'sense of space' rather than a 'sense of s place' (Sopher, 1979). Or, as Douglass J. Porteous (1990) states in *Topocide: The destruction of the place,* at the heart of the matter, White colonizers are arrant "modernizers, creators of placeless death -scapes, and destroyers of wilderness in the pursuit of profit."

At the beginning of this dissertation, it was argued that landscapes and geographies are socially created, as is race. "Race," as you know, is a socio-structural concept involving a human-invented classification system based on power over and under. This structure was invented to define physical differences between people, but

often, as seen throughout this paper, it is a utility for oppression and violence. Therefore, it is a "power construct" used to maintain control over those who already have it (Kendi, 2019).

Based on the evidence, we can see root shock has occurred post-urban renewal and the displacement of predominantly Black/ African + peoples within the City of Columbia. Secondly, it does seem clear that city planners were not addressing the structural inequities created by slavery, which led to further social isolation and restriction post-emancipation. Instead, urban renewal made opportunities to hide these social inequities within specific spatial geographies that could no longer affect actual and potential central business district growth.

The city did manage to gaslight most of the town into believing the *Douglass School Neighborhood* was primarily due to the deficiencies associated with a racially segregated space based on racially motivated pathologies. However, we know this not to be true. As we have encountered, the City of Columbia was not a savior of the people but a cleverer deceiver of truth.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

STEP 1

COMMUNITY HEALTH POLICY

Admit/Address

Publicly acknowledge that urban renewal policy within this geographic setting and the structures governing and implementing them were harmful to the community. Not just the Black/ African + community, but of greater society.

Second, the trauma incurred must also be acknowledged and implemented within the mandated *Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act* (2010). By conducting a more exhaustive community-wide assessment, the city can begin to identify historical and event-based trauma intergenerationally and implement other institutional programs that aid those in high-risk categories. As mentioned, a weakness of this research is its inability to capture inclusivity across and within the greater public that represents a more accurate sense of those at risk.

From the bottom

This is to say, the community health assessments that utilize the hybrid ACEs model would need to include all races, gender identities, and socioeconomic statuses to provide two additional levels of analysis. First, it would allow for a better comparative understanding within and between gender identities and racial categories. This would enable healthcare clinics to target specific areas that would need addressing immediately. Therefore, building a scale of need. Currently, at least one European model working with the World Health Organization (WHO) considers these same categories to improve the quality of life for their citizens through a community health assessment model (Rowe, McClelland, & Billingham, 2001).

From the top

Secondly, the surveys from the social-structural section of the hybrid ACEs model would allow policy officials, city planners, officials, and the police department to work collaboratively with local community healthcare officials to mitigate the harmful social structures that negatively impact specific groups within the community. With the ability

to identify particular areas of harm, theoretically, the top-down systems of power could directly engage the latent functions of their institutional governance.

Collaborative action research for community and social change

Of course, it would be suggested that each bottom-up and top-down system use a longitudinal action research model to gauge its effectiveness over time. Action research involves a localized process of examining the results quarterly, or yearly. The evidence involved in this type of research is both relevant and practical and can inform theory (Wilson, 2019). Action research is different from other forms of research as it is less concerned with the universality of findings, emphasizing the relevance of the results to the researcher and the local collaborators. Thus, action research allows collaborators to remain in the middle of the research process in longitudinal ways to improve the specific situation for community members and institutions.

For example, as the hybrid ACEs surveys and areas of improvement are worked upon and evaluated, they may be removed, or minimized, being replaced by others in the study that needs addressing or revised to address additional areas not yet discussed. The action research model offers both reflexivity and regular evaluations of the systems involved. This is markedly different from traditional research that aims to change specific strategies. For example, the table below illustrates the difference between typical research and action research.

Table 6-1: Differences in typical research and action research in community engagement

	Action Research	**Traditional Research**
Purpose	Work collaboratively towards a common goal and make decisions. The focus is on improving the	Draw conclusions. The focus is on advancing knowledge

	community and social institutions—limited generalizability.	in the field. Insights may be generalized to other settings.
Context	Action research in Practice: Research questions derive from practice. Theory plays a secondary role and is reflexive.	Theory: Hypotheses/research questions derive from more general theoretical propositions.
Data Analysis	Primary: Focus on the pragmatic, what can be changed. Secondary, do not fixate on statistical significance.	Rigor in statistical analysis.
Sampling	Persons in collaboration	Individual random or representative sample.

Source: Adapted from McMillan, J. H. & Wergin. J. F. (1998). Understanding and Evaluating Educational Research. London. Pearson.

The City of Columbia Action Research model should meet the following qualifications:

- A non-traditional and community-based form of the community-based process of evaluation.
- Carried out by collaborators from the top-down and bottom-up, that incorporates invested individuals and collectives, not external researchers, or evaluators.
- Emphasis on improving immediate and ongoing needs to address at-risk groups, but also social and environmental factors that affect the nature and success of those living in the community.
- A formative, not summative- ongoing process of evaluation, recommendation, practice, reflection, and reevaluation.
- Change-orientation, undertaking, admitting, and addressing issues with the assumption that change is needed in a given context.

A healing strategy

If done correctly, the community health assessment could target those affected and implement a stopgap on the intergenerational risks associated with this population of at-risk persons. This can be done by implementing a healing strategy. As mentioned prior, the First Nations peoples have spent considerable time and energy attempting to heal the wounds of colonial cultural genocide.

Many Black/African + community members have scored continuously high in Parts I and Part II of the ACEs survey scores. This indicates internal and external structural forces that can negatively impact the life course of those in the community within and between genders. This has been supported by the elevated morbidity and mortality rates, lower life expectancy, and high accidental death rates of those in the Black/African + community.

Most trauma and grief research "focuses on marital bereavement rather than the extensive premature and traumatic losses" people face (Sanders 1989; Heart, Chase, Elkins, & Altschul, 2011). I propose the City of Columbia utilize the hybrid ACEs model to identify those at risk within the community health assessment. The City of Columbia could then implement Maria Yellow Horse Brave Hearts model entitled the *historical trauma response* (HTR), conceptualized as a constellation of features associated with a reaction to massive group trauma. (Heart, Chase, Elkins, & Altschul, 2011).

This would include both individual and collective trauma. Brave-Heart states, "one of the central issues is the unresolved grief, a component of this response is the profoundly unsettled bereavement resulting from devastating cumulative losses, compounded by the prohibition and interruption, "in this case, cultural and spatial identity. According to research, this would or could potentially address issues of anger and depression, both of which are closely associated with comorbid substance abuse and addiction. It could manifest positively outward into the immediate community (Whitebeck, Adams, Hoyt, & Chen, 2004).

STEP 2

RESPECT THE COMMON LIFEWAY AS YOU WOULD AN INDIVIDUAL

Borrowing from Fullilove (2016) and other theorists: there must be a way to address the human interactions among the residents and the spatial access that allow people to "survive and thrive." This would mean creating an understanding of development in ways that consider the inclusive function of the city. It does *not* mean the purest functional design approach enables people to walk in a straight line. No, this means addressing the spatial restrictions inherently racialized historically within the city—these spaces of normalized racial regulation work in two distinct ways. First, it reinforces the ideas of misrepresentation but also supports the internalized self-hate they co-create.

One example would be the issue of Driving While Black (DWB). According to Columbia traffic stop data (2019), Attorney General Eric Schmitt indicates that Black/African + drivers face a racial disparity of 4.5 to 1 when considering traffic stops in City by local law enforcement (General, 2019; Avery, Hermsen, & Towne, 2020). More importantly, 70 % of policing goes towards low-income areas (Sheldon, 2010). Again, this is reminiscent of the idea that spatial geographies of social disinvestment are devalued. In turn, these spatial places produce criminal behavior or bad people. They are linking the normalization of racial inequality and misrepresentation to outdated modes of enforcement.

STEP 3

TREASURE THE BUILDINGS HISTORY HAS GIVEN US

The city needs to honor and cherish the buildings embedded within the city's historical representation. The city of Columbia should consider both positive and negative social events. The city can address the overrepresentation of one racial type

while simultaneously hiding the contributions of people who have been instrumental in co-creating it. There have been headways made in this area, such as the African American Heritage Trail and The Sharp End Heritage Committee. However, many city buildings hold a representation of events not yet unearthed or spoken of outwardly. For example, the recognition that Slaves had been bought and sold outside the city courthouse. By confronting these racialized places, the city can then begin to destabilize its creation of current fiction.

STEP 4

STOP THE CYCLE OF DISINVESTMENT

We often use the Broken Windows theory to explain and justify both behavior and urban development as one tied directly to areas that look like they are in decay (Kelling, Coles, & Wilson, 1996). Community social disinvestment occurs on two levels. First, it occurs within the community that resides there. It may not be a lack of interest in repairing or caring for the neighborhood as it lacks representation and investment in the community itself, which is the second part. Instead of looking at an area devalued, place value back into it.

Yet, here is the crux. How do you reinvest in a community without penalizing it through structural policy gentrification via taxation? If tax extensions or waivers can revitalize predominately white gentrifying neighborhoods, it would be logical to allow the same assistance measures to those who need it the most. Using projected estimates of property values and implementing another tiered structure that allocates money to educational facilities based on projections gives the local Black/African + children a fighting chance to compete in all spheres of the social processes within the community.

STEP 5

REPERATIONS

Why reparations? The reparations redress system engages and confronts the injustices caused by slavery and the systemic structural racist institutions. The idea and use of reparations are not novel in the United States. First Nations have received billions of dollars for various benefits and programs due to forced evictions and exile from their cultural and geographical landscapes. If interested, the U.S. Department of Justice has a website entitled *Significant Indian Cases* that involves many damning charges and resolutions concerning these structural, historical policies.

Likewise, in 1987-88, then-President Ronald Reagan passed the *Civil Liberties Act* (H.R.442) to compensate around 100,000 Japanese Americans incarcerated in internment camps during World War II (Congress.gov: accessed, May 5th, 2022). Additionally, the U.S. used the *Marshall Plan* to ensure that Jews received reparations for the atrocities of the Holocaust.

Black/African + peoples are the only group that has not garnered reparations for structural governmental sanctioned racial discrimination (Ogletree, 2003). At the same time, slavery afforded some white families in Boone County and the City of Columbia the ability to accrue legacies of wealth. Wealth was obtained, mind you, through a constitutionally sanctioned system that supported free human labor, where the use of beatings and lynching's were typical for the smallest of infractions. Not to mention the long-term historical intergenerational trauma incurred.

Therefore, the case for reparations is securely grounded on moral, economic, and social footing. Borrowing from the California Reparations Taskforce, implemented in

2019. It would be argued that implementing a City Taskforce and continued research regarding the history of slavery in Columbia, MO., persist. It is crucial for the city and its members to truly understand its legacy of the *Black Code & Jim Crow laws* and their continuing impact on the health, educational, and economic life of Black/African + peoples.

Reparations could take the form of tax subsidies, material homes, direct cash payments, educational subsidies or a scholarship fund, low-interest loans, and other measures. This would be one step closer to addressing the issue and help individuals and family's level the playing field for Black/African + people within the community and City of Columbia. People have been excluded historically and socio-structurally from economic opportunities, access to healthcare, and permanent safe housing.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A.

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

SEMI-STRUCTURESD INTERVIEW QUESTIONAIRE

Demographics

Participant # _____ Pseudonym: _____

Date: _____

1. How do you identify yourself by race/ethnicity (Biracial, African American, Black, Afro/American, Colored, Mixed, etc.)?

2. How do you identify yourself by gender?

3. What is your current Age?

4. Relationship status (Married, Single, Widowed, Divorced (how many times), Dating?

5. How may siblings did you have growing up?

    a. Where were you in the family structure (last child, middle child, first child, etc.)?

    b. aside from typical sibling rivalry, were you close with them

5. How far did you get with your education?

    a. Was Education important to you, your parents, and community?

b. Can you describe what it was like going to school prior to integration. I.E., a sense of belonging, kinship ties, community and events, teachers, or mentors, etc.

6. Employment status (currently working, full-time, part-time, retired)?

7. How would describe your financial status (poverty, low-mid-high income)?

a. How would you describe it growing up?

b. can you describe to me your children [s] financial status? (if applicable)

c. Can you describe for me the type of education your children received?

8. How would you describe your work?

a. is it something you enjoy/ed?

b. If unemployed, when was your last date of work?

9. Can you describe the type of work your mother and father had/did?

a. Can you describe your parent [s]? What were they like? What is your favorite memory of them?

b. Do you remember what type of work your grandparents had/did?

c. Can you tell me about them? What were they like? Can you remember any stories they told you about growing up in their era?

Health

10. Can you tell me, was your family relatively healthy growing up?

a. If no. Can you describe to me the health issues your family faced?

Spatial Geography/Perceptions

11. Is your family originally from Columbia, Mo.?

a. If no. Where does your family come from?

b. Did you grow up in Columbia?

- were you born in your home or hospital?

c. Can you describe to me what your experience was like growing up in Columbia?

d. can you describe for me the home you lived in (Physical characteristics, I.E., type of home (structure) electricity, plumbing, etc.

e. Did you and your family feel safe in your community (Douglass Neighborhood)

f. Were you able to move freely within your community-day or night?

g. Did you feel comfortable outside your community-move freely day or night?

h. What was is your favorite memory?

i. Can you tell me, if you are comfortable, what is your worse memory growing up?

12. When we think about your past and Columbia's history, do you think it impacts the way you think and feel? This is to say, do you sometimes find that you are anxious, stressed, upset/mad, or other when looking both at history and growing up?

13. What kinds of worries did they have growing up -Did you have?

a. were these worries and experiences different do you think between you mother and father/sisters and brothers.

-How did your family deal or cope with these?

1. Consumerism
2. Alcohol and drugs
3. Prayer or religious spiritual activities
4. Mental health counseling
5. Entertainment (dancing, music, art)
6. Friends and family for support
7. Other

Culture/Race/Ethnicity

14. Did cultural and traditional ties help?

a. What are some cultural values and traditions that you have?

15. What beliefs do you most/least agree with, regarding the following your family, community, and culture, and why?

16. Which family beliefs impact you the most personally?

17. What stories/beliefs are shared across generations in your family about race?

18. What did your family teach you about being "Black in America?"

19. What did you learn about being Black from teachers, friends, society,

and so on?

a. About race and living and working in Columbia, MO.?

b. Do you remember if at any time you had to "act white" while growing up. For example, when you could go into a white area, did you have to act or speak differently?

c. What did your family teach you about being “Black in America?”

d. What did you learn about being Black from teachers, friends, society,

and so on?

20. What value did/does each of your family members place on facial features? (For example, some individuals place a higher value and consider a person “beautiful” if they have light colored skin, as opposed to darker-colored skin, or place more value on skin tone as opposed to eye color and facial features.)

Thank you …

Post Urban Renewal

1. How did you experience the Douglass School Urban Renewal project?
    1. Can you tell me how your parents, and community experienced urban renewal, from your perception?
2. Do you think that the Douglass School urban renewal project changed any of the above examples in any way? (Refer to sense of self and community, social interactions, church, school, community, etc.)
3. As far as growing up in Columbia as a child, let say, after urban renewal, thinking back, did people like to drink alcohol in the community, social gatherings, celebrations, weekends, etc. did it change after urban renewal, if so? How.

    -I.E., Did Urban renewal affect how former community members communicated or gathered?

4. Can you tell me how the community you moved to was different from the Douglass school neighborhood?
    1. Did other things stay the same?
5. After Urban Renewal, did your ability to move freely in the community change or stay the same?
6. After Urban renewal, did you feel safer inside and outside your community?
7. After Urban renewal, did you have greater access to better education, healthcare, and local government representation?
8. Do you think urban renewal has made it more difficult for other generations to increase their social status? or Decrease their social status?

    Examples might include better jobs, loans, homeownership, community involvement.

9. Do you feel represented in the community? Meaning, do you think that the landscape, the city, its landmarks, and history convey or represent the truth about the Douglass School urban renewal project.
    a. Do you feel it has helped or hindered the recovery of this event?

Appendix B.

ACEs HYBRID SURVEY

(TWO-PARTS)

PART I.

INTERNAL PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES

1. Did a parent or other adult in the HOUSEHOLD or the COMMUNITY YOU GREW UP in, often or very often… swear at you, insult you, put you down, humiliate you? or act in a way that made you afraid that you might be physically hurt?

	Men	Women
Yes	20	100
No	80	-

2. Did a parent or other adult in the HOUSEHOLD or the COMMUNITY YOU GREW UP in; often or very often… push, grab, slap, or throw something at you? or ever hit you so hard that you had marks or were injured?

	Men	Women
Yes	20	50
No	80	50

3. Have you ever feared or felt anxious about going out at any time during the day or night in the HOUSEHOLD or the COMMUNITY YOU GREW UP in, before the urban development of the Douglass School Area?

	Men	Women
Yes	40	20
No	60	80

4. Did you often or very often feel that … No one in your family or THE COMMUNITY YOU Lived in loved or cared for you or thought you were important or special? or Your family did not look out for each other, feel close to each other, or support each other?

	Men	Women
Yes	10	20
No	90	80

5. IN THE HOME OR COMMUNITY YOU GREW UP in; did you often or very often feel that … you didn't have enough to eat, had to wear dirty clothes, and had no one to protect you? or Your parents were too drunk or high to take care of you or take you to the doctor if you needed it?

	Men	Women
Yes	10	10
No	90	90

6. Were your parents ever separated or divorced?

	Men	Women
Yes	30	70
No	70	30

7. Were or did any members of THE COMMUNITY YOU LIVED IN GROWING UP: often or very often pushed, grabbed, slapped, use threatening or hurtful language, or had something thrown at them from persons living in your community? or sometimes, often, or very often kicked, bitten, hit with a fist, or hit with something hard? or ever repeatedly hit over at least a few minutes or threatened with a gun or knife?

	Men	Women
Yes	50	30
No	50	70

8. Did you live with anyone who was a problem drinker or alcoholic or used street drugs?

	Men	Women
Yes	30	60
No	70	40

9. Did a household member, close friend, or community member go to prison?

	Men	Women
Yes	70	80
No	30	20

10. Was a household member depressed or mentally ill, or did a household member attempt suicide?

	Men	Women
Yes	40	40
No	60	60

PART II.

EXTERNAL PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES

1. Did a parent or other adult NOT BELONGING OR LIVING IN THE COMMUNITY YOU GREW UP in often or very often… Swear at you, insult you, put you down, humiliate you? or Act in a way that made you afraid that you might be physically hurt?

	Men	Women
Yes	20	50
No	80	50

2. Did a parent or other adult NOT BELONGING OR LIVING IN THE COMMUNITY YOU GREW UP in often or very often… push, grab, slap, or throw something at you? or ever hit you so hard that you had marks or were injured?

	Men	Women
Yes	40	20
No	60	80

3. Did you often or very often feel that … families, individuals or community members LIVING OUTSIDE YOUR COMMUNITY NOT love or care for you or thought you were important or special? Or members outside your community didn't look out for your family members, feel close to each other as a unified community, or support your community or family?

	Men	Women
Yes	40	80
No	60	20

4. Did you often or very often feel that … MEMBERS LIVING OUTSIDE YOUR COMMUNITY didn't have enough to eat, had to wear dirty clothes, and had no one to protect them? or that their [not your community member] were too drunk or high to take care of their family or take their family members to the doctor if you needed it?

	Men	Women
Yes	30	10
No	70	90

5. Did you perceive other members outside your community having parents that were separated or divorced?

	Men	Women
Yes	50	50
No	50	50

6. Were or did any members of the COMMUNITY OUTSIDE OF WHERE YOU GREW UP often or very often push you, grab you, slap you, use threatening or hurtful language, had thrown anything at you or persons in the community you lived in ? or sometimes, often, or very often kicked, bitten, hit with a fist, or hit with something hard? or ever repeatedly hit you or someone in your community over at least a few minutes or threatened with a gun or knife?

	Men	Women
Yes	70	30
No	30	70

7. Have you ever feared or felt anxious about going out at any time during the day or night in THE COMMUNITY YOU LIVED IN AFTER the URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOUGLASS SCHOOL AREA? Or the current community you live in?

	Men	Women
Yes	30	60
No	70	40

8. Did you know anyone NOT LIVING IN THE COMMUNITY YOU GREW UP IN who was a problem drinker or alcoholic or who used street drugs?

	Men	Women
Yes	60	60
No	40	40

9. Do you have to think about how you walk, talk, and dress outside your community?

	Men	Women
Yes	40	70
No	60	30

10. Can you move freely outside the community you live in without fear of racial harassment, police harassment, or other forms of racial bias?

	Men	Women
Yes	30	30
No	70	70

VITA

Robbie Paul grew up in Central Minnesota. Before attending college, he worked in the Private sector for 20 years. During that time, Robbie built his career in local, national, and international recruiting, emphasizing Engineering and Healthcare. He moved into the Travel Nurse industry, where he consulted, created, implemented, and operated several successful departments before moving into private consulting. While working as a consultant, Robbie also worked as a Marketing Director for two small family medical practices in Louisiana.

At the age of 40, he entered the academic sector. He earned a Bachelor of Science degree in applied sociology with a minor in Psychology from St. Cloud State University in 2014. He was admitted into the Master of Educational program in Social Responsibility at St. Cloud State University, where he completed his master's degree in 2016. Finally, after being accepted into the Ph.D. program at the University of Missouri in the fall of 2016. While working through the program and earning a terminal master's degree in Sociology in 2019, he also instructed College level classes in sociology, peace studies, criminology, and social psychology. Finally, earning Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Missouri in June 2022.

While attending college, Robbie earned several scholarships, including the H.P. Lohman Scholarship, Achievement Award in Sociology, Herbert Goodrich Scholarship, Deaton's Scholars, Empower Missouri, Irma Mathes Sociology Scholarship, and the Laura Bassi Scholarship. In addition, a 10K internal research grant.