Beyond Black and White Spatial Imaginaries: A Case Study of the Model Cities Area in St. Louis, Missouri

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by

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

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Building on, and departing from, George Lipsitz' theory of white and Black spatial imaginaries, this article analyzes how race-based spatial imaginaries took form in the urban planning politics of 1960's St. Louis. Specifically, the era of Model Cities funding from 1966-1972 is evaluated as a case study of competing spatial imaginaries for the cities' future involving the majority Black neighborhoods of the near north side and the preexisting white planning establishment. A part of Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society, Model Cities sought to usher in a new framework for citizen planning, putting residents and their local knowledge at the head of the table. Ultimately, this article argues that Lipsitz' theory does not engage with the multifarious socio-spatial politics emanating from Black communities, nor does it account for the appropriative abilities of the white spatial imaginary.

Introduction

The Model Cities program was the federal government's largest, and most ambitious, nationwide investment in urban areas. The legislation, which lasted from 1966 to 1974, delivered $900 million in grants to 150 of the nation's most impoverished urban areas. An integral aspect of Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society, Model Cities set the stage for a dramatic shift in urban agency and empowerment. As cities felt the pressure of growing urban unrest, culminating in the "long hot summer" of 1965, the legislation explicitly attempted to quell tensions by funneling grant aid into cities across the country. Successful grantees were to become "models" for the nation's multi-front fight against racialized urban inequality and the conditions that gave rise to the uprisings (Haar, 1975).

Not only significant for its scale and span of investment, Model Cities was construed as an antidote to a failed vision of top-down urban planning. Instead, Model Cities called for "maximum feasible" citizen participation in the creation of comprehensive city plans (Strange, 1972). In doing so, the Model Cities program codified a preexisting split between local knowledge and professional planners. The split was openly a racial one: top-down urban planning emerged out of de jure segregation and Jim Crow order; and the mass uprisings in Black communities spawned its dissolution under the legislative mandate of Model Cities. Now, the protesting communities were to become the planners.

The program offers a unique opportunity to analyze the differences between professionalized urban planning and resident planning, between the visions and values of the white establishment against those of Black communities with Model Cities backing. While a cadre of historians over the past two decades focused their attention on the successes,

shortcomings, and socio-political dynamics of the program, bringing Model Cities back into the purview of scholars, the program has received less consideration for sociological theory building purposes (Jackson, 2008; Krasovic, 2016; Pritchett, 2008; Self, 2000; Siegel 2019). In an attempt to theorize the racial contours of urban and suburban development across the 20th century, George Lipsitz conceptualized a Black and white spatial imaginary. While Lipsitz goes to lengths in establishing the policies, ideological groundings, and attitudes that make up both spatial imaginaries, there has been no subsequent, explicit, evaluation of this theory through empirical research; a gap which this article will address.

One of the more zealous and controversial grant recipients of Model Cities was St. Louis, Missouri. As the first city to formally submit a Model Cities funding request to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), St. Louis constitutes an apt case study of Lipsitz' theory of Black and white spatial imaginaries. Top-down urban planning, for one, was institutionalized in St. Louis under the nation's first publicly hired urban planner: Harland Bartholomew. It was Bartholomew who forged the idea of comprehensive urban planning and helped consolidate power across American cities to professional planners (Brown, 2005). An early advocate for expansive zoning, slum clearance, and highway development, he used St. Louis as an experimental laboratory for the implementation of "scientific" planning (Heathcott, 2005).

As St. Louis rapidly lost population and capital to the suburbs mid-century, moreover, the Black freedom movement – in its many forms – flourished in the city's central corridor and north side. To understand the Model Cities case study is to understand the shifting political geography of St. Louis across mid-century. By the time of Model Cities, no city had more state and local Black representation than St. Louis. The city may not have been a hotbed for the widespread

riots of the 1960's, but as historians have traced, its location along the nation's dividing line positioned it to embody the bifurcated trajectory of the movement, as it metastasized from the South up through the North (Heathcott, 2005; Jolly, 2002; Lang, 2009). The deep-seated segregation of St. Louis, a national process accelerated at the behest of Bartholomew, resulted in "Black archipelagos": islands of dynamic Black social and political existence, wielding isolation to build representation, civic institutions, and intellectual outposts (Heathcott, 2005). These areas of Black place making in St. Louis were rapidly undergoing transition at the time of Model Cities. In the map below, the Black population of St. Louis is shown to be hemmed into the cities' central corridor – as literally a red pen can be seen marking around the areas the St. Louis Real Estate Board pledged, in 1930, to contain Black home purchasing within – much of it becoming the Model Cities Area three decades later.

Within that central corridor, around 20,000 African Americans lived in the historic Mill Creek Valley neighborhood. When the city slated it for slum clearance in 1954, the near north side of the city became the new hub of Black life in St. Louis, taking in most of the

Figure 1: St. Louis Real Estate Exchange, Missouri Historical Society, 1930. (West-up map orientation)

displaced residents. The character of racial segregation was forever changed: a north-south split was carved into the city along Delmar Boulevard. Whereas the northern part of St. Louis was for

decades the site of ethnic slums housing Eastern European and Jewish immigrants, now it was becoming largely Black, with the remaining non-Black population moving further north – and west when possible (Sandweiss, 2022).

The level of political activation on the part of increasingly segregated Black communities in St. Louis and its history as the locus of professionalized urban planning make it an illustrative location to evaluate the historical viability of Lipsitz' theory of Black and white spatial imaginaries. Model Cities funding in the city of St. Louis amplified an ongoing struggle over competing visions for the future of the city. Black organizations across their political affiliations became entangled in the battles over Model Cities planning power; factions of the white planning and business establishment also understood the program to be an avenue for continuing to advance their own spatial imaginary on the city.

The following section reviews, in greater detail, Lipsitz' theory of white and Black spatial imaginaries as well as the trends in scholarship regarding the Model Cities program. Thereafter, drawing from primary source material, including the city's 1967 Model Cities planning grant application, comprehensive action plans crafted by residents, mayoral correspondences, newspapers, and dissertations, as well as an array of secondary sources, the Model Cities era in St Louis is narratively constructed under what Lipsitz called for: the staging of a confrontation between the Black spatial imaginary and the white spatial imaginary (Lipsitz, 2007, p. 13).

This close examination of Model Cities in St. Louis, however, offers considerable evidence contra Lipsitz' hypothesis that socio-spatial dynamics can be understood through oppositional Black and white spatial imaginaries. Had Lipsitz' theory been substantiated, the author would have expected to encounter a robust, inter-neighborhood exchange of ideas,

resources, and personnel. My findings, however, suggest three major issues in application. First, Lipsitz' white spatial imaginary does not account for its ability to take on multiple fronts, or facades. Second, and subsequently, Lipsitz theory is unable to distinguish the white spatial imaginary as distinct from a preexisting theory of space under capitalism, or capitalist space (Harvey, 2004). And finally, the Black spatial imaginary, by not engaging with the limiting presence of capitalist social relations, fails to account for the multifarious ways in which Black people have responded to racialized oppression, dispossession, and segregation. While there did exist outposts of radical democracy making, much of what emerged under the Model Cities structure evidenced a splintered Black community, divided by class, politics, and neighborhood. The article, then, will conclude with a discussion of potential alterations and future directions for Lipsitz' theory, as well as more broadly interrogating the reflexive use of race as a proxy for attitudes, values, and policy positions.

Lipsitz' Theory of Black and White Spatial Imaginaries

Lipsitz frames the differences of the white and the Black spatial imaginary as being attributed to "Black people hav[ing] different relations to places than whites" (Lipsitz, 2011, p. 57). According to Lipsitz, the white spatial imaginary, enacted by white people, though not exclusively, conceives land as an opportunity for capturing profit by increasing its exchange value in the marketplace. The Black spatial imaginary, on the other hand, sees space through the lens of radical democratic potentialities vis-a-vis inclusive, justice-oriented frameworks. Put another way, the Black spatial imaginary is concerned with increasing the *use value* of space while the white spatial imaginary is centered on expanding its *exchange value*.

For Lipsitz, the white spatial imaginary is based on exclusivity and the "augmentation" of exchange values. This is accomplished, he argues, at the policy level by projects like exclusionary zoning, regressive taxation regimes, and subsidized suburban segregation. Interpersonally, issues like housing discrimination, individualism, and widely held colonial conceptions of freedom, purity, and "homogeneity" makeup its foundation. The white spatial imaginary, for Lipsitz, is a fundamentally anti-democratic engine of development (Lipsitz, 2011, p. 29). Lipsitz toggles between a conception of whiteness and one of suburbia seamlessly, frequently discussing the white spatial imaginary as perpetuated by "suburban dwellers" and "white suburbanites." The backbone of whiteness in the white spatial imaginary, for Lipsitz, is explicitly situated within wealthy suburban whites, developers, and city planners: they form a "racial cartel" that speaks and acts on behalf of all whites. Where Lipsitz' theory of a white spatial imaginary remains somewhat vague, as noted, is in its relationship to capitalism. It is unclear exactly how, or if, the white spatial imaginary is a discrete theory apart from capitalist space and logic that has been theorized in the United States (Harvey 2004: 2010). Clearly, Lipsitz has introduced a racialized face to a theory of capitalist space, but in doing so, has cornered his theory within a particular idea of whiteness and its apparent social, spatial, and linguistic presentation.

Moreover, acting as the foil to this, the Black spatial imaginary "views place as valuable and finite, as a public responsibility for which all must take stewardship"; it, furthermore "privileges the public good over private interests." At its core, the Black spatial imaginary produces a "radical democracy" based on expansive collective power and a priority on use values over exchange values (Lipsitz, 2011, p. 54-57). Class politics appear as a critical feature of Lipsitz articulation of the Black spatial imaginary. Contrary to a general theory laid out by Marx

concerning the determinism of class position on political interests, Lipsitz argues that Black communities have superseded this notion of self-interest, as middle-class African Americans live alongside, and advocate on behalf of, their working class and impoverished neighbors (Lipsitz, 2011, p. 55-56). Lipsitz is careful to avoid a conspicuously essentialist theory, offering exceptions on each end, where particular Black and white people who do not fit into their ascribed spatial imaginaries. Still, what emerges from Lipsitz theory is a bifurcation of a white spatial imaginary existing in "white" places and people, and a Black spatial imaginary existing in "Black" places and people. Given that the line between the white spatial imaginary and capitalist space is at least unclear, and inferentially non-existent, this theorizes the Black spatial imaginary as, necessarily, an anti-capitalist one.

Previous Applications of White and Black Spatial Imaginaries

In the years following Lipsitz (2011) book, bolstered by the racial awakening following the 2014 police killing of Michael Brown, scholars of urban planning became increasingly critical regarding the role of "whiteness," and race more broadly, in space, place, and planning. Poe (2022) used the Black spatial imaginary to understand racialized communal traumas as embedded within space across the South. Goetz et al (2020) theorized a "white spatial advantage," in the lineage of the white spatial imaginary, to redirect attention away from the pathologized targets of planners and unto the unstated whiteness of planners and planning paradigms. Mills (2014) took Lipsitz' theory as the base to build out the concept of a "white temporal imaginary" that coincides with, and further leverages, the logics of the white spatial imaginary.

Remaking the concept from race to sexuality, Knopp and Brown (2021) explained how LGBTQ+ activists disseminated publications such as travel guides to express their community's unique spatial imaginary. Alongside urban studies, education scholars used Lipsitz' white spatial imaginary to critique the grammar policing of non-white students and the differential advocacy ability of their parents (Jenkins, 2021; Nixon, 2021). And, still, others across disciplines analyzed international, anti-colonial, indigenous struggles within the racialized spatial imaginaries theory, respectively (Merrill, 2013; Ravindran, 2019; Titley, 2019; Urson et al, 2022). Finally, a few recent dissertations have sought to build out the Black spatial imaginary and its radical potentials for modern politics (Pedraza, 2019), and read the white spatial imaginary into the redevelopment of a public housing project in Seattle (Woolston, 2020). Scholars have, in some cases, developed the name of the theory, using new terms such as the colonial spatial imaginary, sub/urban spatial imaginary, and the dominant spatial imaginary, but its core underpinnings have remained. That is, the theory of white and Black spatial imaginaries, across its uses, defines people's divergent relationships to the built environment as both diametrically opposed and in general accordance with the group's racial ascription.

In a few cases, however, scholars have made brief forays into questioning Lipsitz. N.B.D. Connolly (2014) and Kahrl (2012) both take Lipsitz to task for neatly packaging the Black community as a coherent, singularly interested group, ignoring the influences inherent to navigating capitalism with varying access to resources. Connolly, in an elongated footnote, called Lipsitz' theory a relic of race essentialism, without much further pointed analysis. Kahrl, moreover, wrote that the theory of a Black spatial imaginary by Lipsitz underestimated the sheer power of the white spatial imaginary to seep into Black freedom struggles. Rios (2020), on the other hand, looks at the suburbs of St. Louis County as a case study to interrogate the production

of white and Black spatial imaginaries. Her work found that Black political leaders "invested mightily into the white spatial imaginary" by "adopting (their) rhetoric" (Rios, 2020, p. 1-2). They do this, she writes, in an attempt to secure "the coveted yet hollow prize of local autonomy." Rios, still, continues Lipsitz' praxis of conflating the white spatial imaginary with capitalist interest's writ large – although the implication is not named as such. The languages and practices adopted by the Black political class of North St. Louis County, Rios says, is one of "producing good citizens, promoting safety, protecting private property, and upholding norms of respectability." In this framework, when Black communities opt into this set, or these sets, of spatial politics they are doing something "white," as opposed to constructing a version of their own Black spatial imaginary, contrary to the ways in which Lipsitz defined it.

This article will draw from, and respond to, the insights of these scholars while expanding on the treatment of Lipsitz theory by empirically introducing capitalist social stratification and neighborhood conflict into the Black spatial imaginary as well as the characteristic of fungibility into the white spatial imaginary.

The Model Cities Program and Citizen Participation

For the decade following the passage of Model Cities in 1966, scholars produced a vast body of work, much of it evaluating the program's success, or lack thereof, in fulfilling its legislative mandate for maximum citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969; Benz, 1975; Brody, 1970; Hallman; 1972; James, 1972; Metcalf, 1970; Mogulof, 1969; Strange, 1972; Warren 1973). The findings from these studies generally point to the coercion, pacification, and, at best, limited ability of city governments to engage with residents in good faith. Arnstein (1969), once the chief advisor for the Model Cities Administration, constructed a "ladder of citizen

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participation" to understand how cities who received grants had chosen to interpret their participation mandate. In the lower rungs, Arnstein found cities to use the directive for citizen participation in a "manipulative" or "therapeutic" sense, never allowing residents to hold material power within the planning process. On the higher rungs were "partnership," "delegated power," and, at the top, "citizen control" (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217). Only a select few cities, according to Arnstein, ever reached the top rungs of dominant decision making. Subsequently, Metcalf (1970) theorized the Model Cities program as a neocolonial project dressed up as participatory urban aid for nonwhite people: he theorized Model Cities as a mechanism deployed to displace human capital from Black social movements up into pacified, professionalized, bureaucratic positions.

As mass incarceration grew during the same time period, and studies proliferated to examine it, Model Cities re-entered the purview of scholars interested in the War on Poverty's transition to the War on Drugs (Gordon, 2008; Hinton, 2016; Self, 2000). The attention for Hinton (2016) was the bolstering of the carceral state via Model Cities grants; Model Cities factored little into Gordon's narrative of the times, dismissing it as a failure to launch and "hard to distinguish from older renewal efforts (Gordon, 2008, p. 176). Self (2000) assessed the War on Poverty program as "ineffectual" for the goals of obtaining power in Black communities but acknowledged the limited value it provided as a training ground for residents previously excluded from local politics.

Several historians have turned their attention back to the program more recently to counter totalizing meta-narratives of failure and cooptation. Jackson (2008) authored a case study of Model Cities in New Haven, analyzing what she calls "spaces of resistance" that were created by the program's organizational demands. In her telling, the battleground of Model Cities

had two clear sides: "the men in suits" and the poor residents of the area, fighting to see their vision of the city realized. Historian Sarah Siegel (2018) also fought the program's previous dismissal, arguing that residents' power within the Model Cities planning apparatus in St. Louis could not be dismissed as placation. Supporting this notion, Mark Loehrer (2021) argued that residents of the Jeff-Vander Lou neighborhood of St. Louis, specifically, made material progress within the Model Cities years, achieving many of their stated demands vis-a-vis hyper-localized strategic collaborations.

In 1969, *Social Sciences* published a research note regarding the vast promise of studying Model Cities. "Have new values appeared in the model city area?" the authors wrote in a list of potential inquiries, "What are they? Have new ideologies impinged upon the model city area? In what sense? (Kaplan and Gillespie, 1969). Model Cities cemented the fact that white elites could no longer dictate decisions, in isolation, about how Black communities would be planned, zoned, invested in, and treated. When political scientists James L. Sundquist and David Davis (1969) surveyed Model Cities' grant recipients across eight states, conducting around 700 interviews, they wrote, in conclusion:

> ... the old ways of community decision making are *dead* - programs and services designed by experts and accepted by the power structure can no longer be offered unilaterally to the poor, nor decisions by the 'establishment' imposed upon them. Planning must henceforth be carried on, in the words of the Model Cities guidelines, with as well as for the residents of low-income areas. And so must program execution.

In this revolutionary moment of interracial and interclass planning and discursive development of city space, this paper argues that the Model Cities era in St. Louis demands a reconstruction of Lipsitz' theoretical conception for understanding race and place.

Data and Methods

By bringing the Model Cities Program into the purview of historical sociologists, this paper provides a landscape over which to evaluate Lipsitz' theory of white and Black spatial imaginaries. The evidence presented, moreover, veers away from the traditional metrics used by scholars who do engage with the Model Cities program. Instead of looking at the outcomes in terms of the market based measurables introduced by HUD like structures built, jobs provided, and roads repaired, this article will analyze the discourses catalyzed by the program, the socio-spatial struggle it engendered, and the plans produced within it.

Quadagno and Knapp (1991) argued in favor of a historical sociology that employs a narrative methodology to "adjudicate between competing theories of historical events" (p. 489). In doing so, they write, scholars would produce a body of work that would make the dichotomy between inductive and deductive research somewhat meaningless. Bonnell (1980) showed how historical sociological work contradicted this methodological divide by both testing theory with empirical cases and developing new conceptual synthesis derived from original data. For this article, I performed content analyses on the city of St. Louis' application for a planning grant drafted by the local Model Cities Agency, first year comprehensive action plans written by the residents themselves, and the land use plan submitted by the City Plan Commission. Additionally, I constructed a narrative borne of newspaper articles, biographical accounts, and primary source material such as dissertations and theses, mayoral correspondences, and

intergovernmental communications. Taken together, these documents span a five-year period from 1967 to 1972 and represent material produced by both white establishment planners and the majority Black resident planning coalitions.

The Model Cities program resulted in a bureaucratic avalanche from its grant recipients. Hundreds of plans, large and small, expansive and idiosyncratic, were submitted to HUD from various outposts and interest groups in St. Louis. The decision to limit the total number of official Model Cities planning documents is meant to accomplish the following: first, to avoid data oversaturation by collecting in every nook and cranny of the Model Cities apparatus. And second, to allow for the influence of time, and therefore material transformation, by examining documents from the program's onset to its close, and material output from each outpost of Lipsitz' theory. In order to test the latter, plans produced by agents of both spatial imaginaries were selected as well as one credibly constructed with the input of the white and the Black spatial imaginary.

The city's first planning grant application was written without the input of residents, making it a product of the preexisting white spatial imaginary's vision for the city; the plan contained no single author but was a collaborative effort by the newly minted Model Cities Agency, consisting of several professional bureaucratic and political figures as well as the St. Louis City Plan Commission. The residents' planning documents for their neighborhood, moreover, were created with little outside influence (Siegel, 2019), making it a surrogate of the Black spatial imaginary. And finally, the City Plan Commission document was created, in their words, "<u>with</u> rather than <u>for</u> the area residents" (City Plan Commission, 1972, p. 20, underlining in original). Together, these documents meet the requisite strata for the study of Lipsitz' theory, demonstrated in Table 1.

	1967 Planning Grant	1968 Neighborhood Plans	1972 Land Use Plan
Black Spatial Imaginary		✓	✓
White Spatial Imaginary	✓		✓

Table 1

The use of a case study adds depth and processual insights to a theory constructed at a national, atemporal level. Pacewicz (2020), showed how single case studies can triangulate sociological theory to past sites in search of resolutive or recusant results. Case studies within the historical sociological tradition also offer the advantage of searching for more precise starting points for theory building as opposed to constructing generalizable theories for relational abstraction (Quadagno and Knapp, 1991).

Several hundred cities across the United States applied for Model Cities funding beginning in 1966. A number of potential cases were analyzed at the outset and are implicitly retained in the discussion below as a means to situate aspects of the core case, but St. Louis was selected as that core for several reasons. Unlike the case of Kansas City, for example, where residents were generally disorganized at the onset of Model Cities leading to an overpowered mayoral and "staff directed" experience, St. Louis was one of the few "resident directed" grantees, where members of Black civil rights organizations entered the highest realms of the program (Arnstein, 1969; Howard, 1972; Siegel 2019). This historically contingent fact allows for the leveraging of the Black spatial imaginary within the documents produced by residents

during the Model Cities funding years. In a "staff directed" city, documents produced by residents might be considered as coerced or holding unreliable empirical assumptions. Moreover, St. Louis' location along the dividing lines of what traditionally constitutes "North" and "South," as well as being the "gateway to the West" make it a site that captures, in part, the tensions between various regional conceptions of race, space, and governance. This is not to be confused with an argument for cross-regional generalizability, but rather to argue that St. Louis, as a case study, speaks to the attitudes and issues of each region which spill into these intractable locations.

"Desires and Aspirations of Area Residents": The Ecumenical White Spatial Imaginary

The white spatial imaginary reinforces the existence of a more or less discrete white community. It is one which, furthermore, presents itself as uniform, arguing on behalf of historically stable socio-spatial outcomes. Defensive localism, privatization, discriminatory zoning, and targeted disinvestment frame a few of those conceptual pillars of the white spatial imaginary for Lipsitz. This paper argues that, in framing it as such, Lipsitz dismissed the ability of the white spatial imaginary to appropriate the style and rhetoric of the Black spatial imaginary – as Lipsitz conceived it – in order to reproduce itself. This paper also argues that the theory, insofar as it is indistinguishable from American capitalism, or a theory of capitalist space, which has similarly reproduced itself historically through incorporating its resistance and resistors, needs clarification to support its continued use. But first, an ecumenical, and historically contingent, white spatial imaginary is necessary to analyze the case study of the Model Cities program in St. Louis.

By the mid-1950's, St. Louis was facing the possibility of municipal bankruptcy. In subsequent fiscal years across the close of the decade, the city ran multi-million-dollar budget deficits, spurred on not by overspending, but massive revenue losses. Businesses, big and small, were fleeing for the county, as were their predominantly white work forces. Black suburban flight, too, existed, though in proportionally small terms. Tens of thousands of African Americans, around the same time, were escaping the racial terrorism of the south and arriving in St. Louis and other northern outposts. In response to the shifting demographics of the city, new taxes and service cuts were rolled in as the de facto answers to the financial turmoil – only furthering the flight of capital and economically mobile whites to the suburbs. (Gordon, 2008). The problems of the 1950's seamlessly became the problem of the 1960's. Despite the city's attempt to narrativize itself as on a "path to progress," they originally saw the Model Cities legislation as a potential bail out to their perceived socio-demographic, and financial, crisis – not necessarily as an opportunity to disperse planning power to the Black communities of the near north side.

To make this point clear, St. Louis' first two Model Cities applications were rejected in October of 1966 and January of 1967 by HUD: the Department said their plan failed to adequately outline the interests, input, and future role for residents.[1] Appealing to Black urban empowerment, the city begrudgingly learned, would be the key to accessing tens of millions in desperately needed federal dollars. Still, St. Louis establishment planners needed to find a way to articulate what and who they saw as their problem – a growing poor and Black constituency – to also be their source of future promise. Their third application, submitted in April of 1967, expressed this uneasy task.

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[1] "Application to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for a Grant to Plan a Comprehensive City Demonstration Program," 1967, p. 1-2

In its introductory paragraphs, they write, "The present population of St. Louis is characterized by an abnormally high proportion of older persons, Negroes, and unskilled persons. It contains, in short, those population groups which tend to require many services, but which tend to contribute less in tax revenue needed to support these services." The application defined one of predominant methodological goals as providing "maximum citizen participation through the Model Cities Subcity Planning teams…"[2] The following goal, however, was to create a "desirable residential area for 'move-ins'," specifically those who are "economically and socially *self-sufficient* and are *positive contributors* to the city's social and economic life."[3] The former posits the spatial desires of Black residents atop the program while the latter restates the city's decades long, racially charged, goal: replace the growing slums with housing for so-called productive members of society (Heathcott, 2005; Johnson, 2021). The city was about to embark, tellingly, on "a comprehensive attack on the social, economic, and physical problems" of the target area, first by "arresting blight and decay."

In the following section, detailing a strategic approach to resident participation, the tensions between the existing establishment and the mandates of the program continued. The target area was to be divided into five distinct neighborhoods under Model Cities, each with their own "subcity team." Importantly, and inexplicably, these "sub-city" areas were not drawn with any alignment to preexisting political ward boundaries. This decision furthered intra and inter-neighborhood tensions, as some pasts of politically activated wards were siphoned off from Model Cities funding. These sub-city teams, still, would be made up by residents but orchestrated by the input of professional planners contracted by the neighborhood corporations. The city calls this approach a "striking(ly) innovative… unique opportunity and experiment" to

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[2] Ibid. Part 1, p. 5
[3] Ibid.

"demonstrate the effectiveness of target area residents in identifying and planning to remedy the problems of the area."[4] The subcity teams, still, fell under the control of the Model City Central Planning Staff – a group appointed at the mayor's discretion. As the subcity teams reported their neighborhood plans to the Central Staff, they would be delineated "through a system of trade-offs between different demands and suggested allocations of resources." The "desires and aspirations of area residents," through this dynamic process, "would be represented." One of these desires would be an expansion of the public apparatus.

The planners call the public facilities of the Model Cities area "generally old, in need of expansion, rehabilitation or replacement and generally inadequate…" (City of St. Louis, 1967, Part III, Section D, p. 89). To address this, they call for a list of four major areas of expansive investment through Model Cities: 1.) Public Education; 2.) Public Health; 3.) Public Transportation; 4.) Public Recreation Facilities. Each area received over a dozen pages of potential programmatic implementation and planning. In the subsection regarding public recreation, the planners commit to an expansion of "cultural services" as well – offering opportunities "not only to those with proven skills but also those with latent potential":

> The comprehensiveness of the program, varying from the plastic arts to theater, dance, design, music, film and photography with its stress on the interrelationship of the arts will be a factor in encouraging a readiness to develop talent (City of St. Louis, 1967, Part III, Section H, p. 166).

Existing facilities would be rehabilitated for maximal use to these ends as well as the construction of a central cultural hub whereby residents could commence and commune.

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[4] Ibid. p. 8

The Model Cities proposal came just a few years following the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Employment, clearly, was at the forefront of the demands espoused by African Americans across the decade. In a list mirroring the format of the aforementioned public amenities, the planners call attention to four major goals of service: "maximize employment" for all area residents, provide unemployment services and youth employment initiatives, and, finally, "to attack the particular problem of job discrimination on the basis of race…" (City of St. Louis, 1967, Section J, p. 189). Thousands of stable jobs were promised, Civil Rights were insured, and plans for service provisions to those who fell through the cracks of the forthcoming employment enterprises filled the following section. It all sounded like the furthest cry from the city's planned shrinkage and slum clearance proposals of the 1940's and 1950's (Benton, 2022; Heathcott, 2008; Tighe and Ganning, 2015).

After several failed attempts, the city had learned how to adapt their own desires and aspirations to the needs of the present political economy within the Model Cities program. By attending to the ideals of the Black spatial imaginary – visions of public good, cultural expression, and expanded use value – the city was able to successfully bring in over $30 million in grants from the federal government. If not for congress cutting the budget down, that number would have easily exceeded $100 million. Alongside resident participants, the proposal also called for the inclusion of "a group of professional planners consisting of social scientists, social workers, an architect, and a real estate economist." The residents would, indeed, be represented, but under the bureaucratic oversight of a professional constituency.

The city's planning grant application evidences the existence of a white spatial imaginary, but, as opposed to Lipsitz' strict framework, it is malleable to the needs of historically shifting political economies. In this case study, it reproduces itself by taking on the language of

the Black spatial imaginary in attempting to encapsulate the interests of Black residents. Clues as to the latent design of the Model Cities proposal in St. Louis abound, beyond its appeals to Black residential empowerment. Following a discussion of indigenous planning, the city writes, "This type of local effort gives people a *feeling* of involvement, effectiveness, and, most importantly, a stake in the future of their neighborhood" (City of St. Louis, 1967, Part III, Section N, p. 223, emphasis is the author's). But ultimately, it is the residents who must "strive towards improving their own community and becoming self-sufficient as individuals." In the following sub-section, the city writes of "The Use of Games": "They allow citizens to understand their areas of priority, and the fact that to get some things, one must often give up others (e.g., a decision to build a hospital may involve dropping a program of housing rehabilitation" (City of St. Louis, 1967, Part III, Section N, p. 227). The name of this game, the city writes, is "Trade-Off," and was actively being used in the Model Cities Target Area at the time. A conception of Model Cities as a game, from the standpoint of establishment planners, allows for the selective curtailing of residents' demands vis-a-vis an adherence to a politics of resource scarcity.

This evidence is instructive in a few ways. Lipsitz' theory of the white spatial imaginary can help us make sense of St. Louis' establishment planners' definition of the problem to which funding was needed to address: a growing influx of poor, Black, unskilled workers into substandard housing. People, in their words, who won't financially contribute to the exchange value of the city's-built environment. But it cannot help us analyze the copious amount of time the planners discuss – in detail – how they will enhance the use value and cultural apparatus of the Model Cities area. From new parks to new public transit systems, to various avenues of artistic expression, the planners clearly articulate a vision of Black communal uplift vis-a-vis Model Cities funding. By contextualizing the city's planning grant as an initial foray into

appropriating the rhetoric of the Black spatial imaginary by agents of the white spatial imaginary, we can later revisit this dynamic process five years later in the City Plan Commission's 1972 application for Model Cities funding in their "Land Use Plan." Black residents of the Model Cities area took the directive of autonomous planning to its furthest logical extent. Already densely organized, the Model Cities program put a collection of civil rights organizations and neighborhood corporations in direct conversation with each other. In a city of fragmented regions, neighborhoods, and politics (Jones, 2000), the result entailed both previously unprecedented cooperation as well as omnipresent friction across groups and communities.

Fragmented Blackness in a Fragmented City: The Multifarious Black Spatial Imaginar(ies)

In late August 1963, the same day the world marched in Washington D.C., Black – and white – St. Louisans marched on Washington Boulevard. The demonstrations would last seven months, demanding the bank hire more Black employees in non-menial positions. One prominent protester was James Peake, a young white man of East St. Louis and a youth coordinator for the local NAACP chapter. Peake's participation in the militant bank demonstrations, organized by the local Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), led to a wave of 20 resignations by high-level directors in the chapter. A generational and strategic split reemerged. The NAACP was outraged that their name was entangled with the illegal direct actions which claimed space in the name of racial justice. "Our public image," the leadership wrote, "has suffered irreparable damage as a result" ("East Side NAACP To Meet", 1963). Peake was fired from his position; "In my opinion," Peake said of his firing, "these leaders are controlled by white politicians and the white

power structure." Peake claimed he was explicitly warned against "stirring up" the white

community because the branch depended on them for fundraising. These disjunctures were not

limited to activist groups, they also crept into neighborhood organizations pivotal to the Model

Cities effort.

Pitched to the people of St. Louis as a package deal, the city attempted to pass

$100,000,000 in bonds in 1966 as they were applying to Model Cities. The language around the

bonds was vague enough to alert the newly formed Yeatman neighborhood group, Jeff-Vander-

Lou (JVL). The city called the bonds an effort to spur "community renewal," but Yeatman, home

to many recently displaced from Mill Creek Valley, recalled a similarly framed bond package

passed in 1955, used to demolish and displace 20,000 African Americans and 3,000 poor whites

in the neighboring Kosciusko area. Working tirelessly to organize resistance to the 1966 bond

issuance, JVL ran into immediate resistance from the Urban League. The Urban League, formed

in 1910, is a Civil Rights group that advocates for Black economic interests and self-reliance,

historically, through channels of civic engagement, pressure campaigns, and legal support as

opposed to militant or direct-action strategies. Their constituency, therefore, has skewed towards

the Black middle and professional classes (Robinson, 2021). The League cut off their two

Yeatman representatives, both alumni of the Washington University Brown School for Social

Work, because they sided with the local group's opposition (Loehrer, 2021). Ultimately, JVL

and their Urban League dissidents won over the support of the local residency, pushing the

Urban League out of the neighborhood, and sending them away with a message: "We don't feel

the Urban League did one thing in this area for the poor. Its programs set up nothing for the poor,

and it didn't involve the poor" (Jacobs, 1967). Historian Clarence Lang (2008) described this

growing fissure between working class organizations and more established, middle-class groups

like the NAACP and the Urban League in St. Louis, as "the war within the war." If the anti-poverty aid of the early 1960's began to make these divisions more public, Model Cities demonstrated Black political stratification across multiple axes.
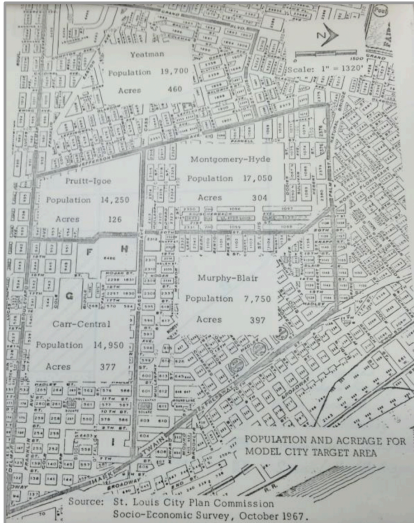

Figure 2: St. Louis Planning Commission

In St. Louis the Model Cities area was divided into five distinct neighborhoods, shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2: the Pruitt-Igoe towers, Carr Central to the east, Yeatman to the west, and Murphy-Blaire and Montgomery-Hyde to the north. The neighborhoods were incentivized to see themselves as singular entities amidst the Model Cities planning process. After funding was secured by the city of St. Louis in late 1967, each neighborhood was tasked with authoring their own "first-year action plan" to be submitted by July 1968. Though roughly contiguous areas, they went about this process with about as much resulting variance as one could observe in some city-to-city comparisons. Originally an idea conceived to increase the citizen participation lacking in St. Louis' proposal, the sub-city model also invited hyper-localized, intra-neighborhood differences, and competition over limited resources. This occurred, in part, due to the federal government's delayed dispersal of grant money to the neighborhoods. Without a common starting place, neighborhoods with more organizational resources had a head start on securing funds. Following HUD's acceptance of St. Louis' planning grant application in 1967, each of the five sub-city neighborhoods were to be sent $50,000 to carry out their first-year action plan – due on July 31, 1968. "On May 9, 1968," the Montgomery-Hyde action plan stated, "$4200 of the promised $50,000 arrived, and the committees were finally able to hire some consultants and, more importantly, to begin to publish a planning newsletter" (Montgomery -

Hyde, 1968, p. IV; emphasis in original). It was not only cash that was missing but also the

promise of Model Cities staff assistance in planning. Ultimately, "the committee members

realized that they had better not wait for help from Model Cities; what planning was going to get

done, they were going to do on their own" (Montgomery-Hyde, p. 11). Fast approaching their

submission deadline, completing the plan required "feverish activity" through the final day in

July. "Ideas buzzed," the planning team writes, "back and forth like mosquitoes." Thereafter,

once submitted, they "all went out and got smashed."

In sum, the Montgomery-Hyde plan was completed without significant professional

planning input, and it shows within their conception of how the program was supposed to

function. In figure 2, we can observe the qualitative difference between the city's chain of
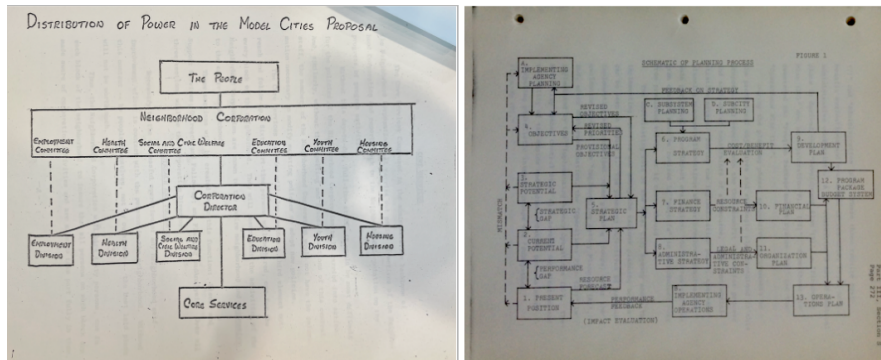
command and Montgomery-Hyde's.

Figure 3: From left, Montgomery-Hype action plan, 1968; St. Louis City Planning Grant, 1967

In Montgomery-Hyde, residents saw themselves as the indisputable head of the program whereas

the city described the power distribution as balancing the inherent "mismatch…between 'top-

down and bottom-up' planning processes" (City of St. Louis, 1967, Part III Section S, p. 275-

276). This view of "the people" atop the programmatic planning process was more or less

constant across all five neighborhood action plans. What was not constant was an agreed upon

definition of just who constituted "the people."

In Pruitt-Igoe, a similar crisis of planning emerged. Pruitt-Igoe's first year action plan was eight pages, including no specifications or line items for any of their planning prerogatives. Having lost about 30-35% of the residents in the high-rises in the five years prior to Model Cities, the area was stretched thin. "Beset by a lack of resources," and "operating with virtually nothing more than a planning grant of $9,200 from the C.D.A," the people of Pruitt-Igoe managed to hold a handful of meetings where residents gave their input to the process. The final product was more of a Model Cities shopping list than an urban planning document.

Contrast this to the plan, bound and backed in book form shown in Figure 3, put forth by Murphy-Blair. They described their publication as the outcome of, "six months of dialogue

Figure 4: The Murphy-Blair Resident's Plan, 1967

between the residents of a Model City and their advocate planners," and 18-months of programmatic progress. The plan included professional graphics and cartoons, chapter dividing pages, and back cover signatures of all resident participants. Different neighborhoods, the applications demonstrated, were able and desired to express different visions for what and where funding should be allocated. This process, despite its outward racial coherence, shared little resemblance to Lipsitz' articulation of the shared Black spatial imaginary.

From Lipsitz vantage point on the Black spatial imaginary, the people are the Black communities that make up St. Louis. Through enforced segregation they form cross-class alliances, share resources, and create spaces of Black radical democracy (Lipsitz, 2011, p. 57). This takes the form of places taking on multiple uses, for instance, from a barber shop to a

political organizing office, from a pool hall to a voting registration station. Scholars have long traced this phenomenon in Black communities, and the Model Cities years of St. Louis, in that respect, was no exception. At the corner of Leffingwell and Sheridan, in Yeatman, Handle Coffeehouse served just that purpose. Historian Mark Loehrer calls Handle, "The space where democracy was experienced" (Loehrer, 2021, p. 13). Conversations between neighbors became organizational goals; Jeff-Vander-Lou Inc, a working-class group committed to neighborhood repair and rehabilitation, was founded through those democratic ideals for neighborhood autonomy. Grace-Hill Settlement House served a similar function in the Murphy-Blair neighborhood: it acted as a church, a small health clinic, a shelter for those in need, and the place where the majority of Model Cities planning for the area took place. These spaces share a deep resonance with Lipsitz theory of creative resistance and communal uplift inherent to the Black spatial imaginary.

Issues, however, arise under further examination of these spaces of expansive use value in Black communities, and the epoch of Model Cities in St. Louis more generally. One such issue is Lipsitz' theoretical disinterest in interracial resistance, electing to highlight the Black spatial imaginary as the byproduct of exclusively Black communities. The work of Handle Coffeehouse and JVL tell a different story, one of interracial struggle: JVL was led by working-class African Americans but would have gone under in 1966 without the financial aid of Thomas DePew, a white man, and a wealthy inventor, dedicated to the Yeatman neighborhood and to the politics of do-it-yourself construction (Loehrer, 2021, p. 128-131). DePew threw his full weight behind JVL, first loaning the group several thousand dollars to begin construction, then by leveraging his reputation, convinced investors and insurance companies to work with JVL's neighborhood rehabilitation project. Moreover, the making of Handle Coffeehouse as a place for

communal gathering and political organizing during Model Cities was the birth child of Yeatman

activist, Macler Shepard and Hubert Schwartzentruber: the former an African American from the

rural south who moved north to St. Louis, and the latter a white Canadian Mennonite who moved

to St. Louis as a missionary. The two shared a lifelong friendship after Macler invited

Schwartzentruber to march with him to City Hall in a community protest against police violence.

Lipsitz' approach, instead, entices us to consider segregation as a completed project. Although

Yeatman, by 1966, was 99% African American, two of the neighborhood's essential places and

organizations were catalyzed by relationships between Black and white St. Louisans.

The second issue that permeates the historical record is that the experience of poverty and

racialized dispossession results in a multifarious vision for change. Capitalist social relations

seep into neighborhood organizing goals. Despite the Model Cities program promoting a place

for bottom-up planning, the metrics by which such planning is evaluated are distinctly oriented

to capitalist logics of development and value capture. Given this field of engagement, while a

large percentage of Model Cities area residents responded with an orientation in alignment with

Lipsitz' Black spatial imaginary, a great many others responded with value systems akin to the

theory of a white spatial imaginary: defensive localism, entrepreneurial aspirations, and

privatization. The boundary between Pruitt-Igoe and Carr Central, for instance, was redrawn at

the demand of the people in the latter area. A study on the ground at the time by Jeffrey

Buchanan (1970) found that the people of Carr Central "demonstrated a distinct lack of

appreciation for the problems of Pruitt-Igoe and felt their troubles related more to a physically

deteriorated neighborhood than to the inadequacies of high-rise public housing." Furthermore,

residents of each, thereafter, "increased (their) inward tendencies" (Buchanan, 1970, p. 112).

While Pruitt-Igoe struggled to contain their increasing issue of crime, Carr-Central residents

wanted to focus their capital allotments on housing rehabilitation – refusing to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars for neighborhood watchmen, new peep-holes, locks, increased fencing, street-workers, and policemen (Christman, 1968).

With the neighbors now artificially separated, Pruitt-Igoe ran into more issues of fragmented local control. The intra-neighborhood fight over control of grant dollars reached a boiling point in 1969 as two separate groups claimed authority. HUD halted all grants to the area in response; the dispute was between NAACP leader Eugene Porter, who was appointed by the mayor to the Pruitt-Igoe Neighborhood Corporation, and Elmer Hammond, chairman of the Pruitt-Igoe Neighborhood Advisory Committee, an elected position. Porter was seen by many as representing the professional class interests of the Black bureaucracy, whereas Hammond had his roots in the working-class votes of tenants. Tensions between grassroots factions and establishment command framed the year-long fight between residents.

Similar disputes took place in Carr-Central and Yeatman. In Yeatman, JVL rejected the housing rehabilitation plans made by the Yeatman District Community Corporation, claiming that their own plans represented the true will of the lower-class "hardcore unemployed" people of the neighborhood ("Conflicting Plans for Yeatman Project", 1968). The two groups had previously decided to cooperate on the neighborhood's Model Cities plan. In the former, the Carr-Central Corporation butted heads with the Desoto-Carr Urban Renewal Committee. Helen Floyd, an African American resident of the area, headed the Committee which proposed the demolition of 75% of the neighborhood's structures and the construction of an expressway. "As long as you hold that seat, baby," Veapplise Mack of Carr-Central told Floyd at a meeting, "you're not going to represent us… when you don't come to our meetings" ("DeSoto-Carr Plan

Rejected", 1969). Similarly, Floyd was seen as the old vanguard of Black interests, not the emergent, recently empowered, one of the working-class.

What this evidence in the neighborhood's action plans and in the historical record points us towards is a multifarious Black spatial imaginary; not the singular vision depicted by Lipsitz born of creative resistance to a common racialized oppression, dispossession, and segregation. What we find is that the people did in fact come together through Model Cities' call for resident participation, but they also segregated themselves, distinguished their splintered interests, and frequently disagreed over which group or plan represented "the people." Furthermore, a great many Black St. Louisans also found their interests in climbing the bureaucratic ladders constructed under Model Cities and the War on Poverty more broadly. People with degrees and professional backgrounds quickly infiltrated the Model Cities' form through its central planning staff, neighborhood corporations, and renewal commissions. Part of Model Cities' stagnation in St. Louis during the late 1960's was not only its decreased funding but the inability of projects to be collectively agreed upon by the various neighborhoods and the divergent interests of middle-class residents and their working-class companions.

"Planning with rather than for": Funneling the Desires and Aspirations of Residents

The city's planning grant was submitted in 1967, and its initial failures indicate a tense origin for the agents of the white spatial imaginary to successfully appropriate the rhetoric of the Black spatial imaginary. But, by 1972, this process of appropriation had become further institutionalized within these same agents: namely, the City Plan Commission. Unlike the first plans submitted for funding, the Commission's 1972 "Land Use Plan" demonstrates this process

of appropriation under ever more progressive, collaborative terms; the white spatial imaginary is not only contextually fluid, but it is able to remake itself in the image of its opposition. In Lipsitz' conception, the white and Black spatial imaginary are plainly oppositional: they may interact antagonistically, but they are fundamentally insoluble.

An ecumenical white spatial imaginary does so by maintaining the core rhetoric of collaboration with the Black spatial imaginary while marginalizing the elements it finds incongruent. The City Plan Commission, in this case study, represents the core of the white spatial imaginary: it is the Commission which approves zoning ordinances, constructs city plans, and guides the development, redevelopment, or selective divestment of neighborhoods. In St. Louis, where political power is widely, and somewhat chaotically, dispersed, the mayor's office, aside from making their required appointments, all but abandoned Model Cities decision making to the City Plan Commission, the Model Cities Agency, and the neighborhood corporations themselves. Moreover, the city's Board of Aldermen were required to approve the plans coming of out of Model Cities, but these were merely rubber stamp votes in most cases with minimal articulated dissent, as the mayor would follow suit. Mayor Cervantes had long believed he had a political capital to gain from distancing himself from strong stances regarding the emergent Black politics of Model Cities and the larger Civil Rights era, focusing instead on issues like downtown redevelopment with the elites of St. Louis' Civic Progress (Lang, 2008).

From the onset of Model Cities, the Commission spoke out against granting too much material power to residents to plan their neighborhoods. In a number of correspondences with Mayor Alfonso Cervantes, the city's first Hispanic mayor, though considered an arm of the white elite, the Commission claimed they were "not included" in planning processes and that the resident's plans are incongruent with their own Comprehensive City Plan ordinance. "Changes

will be required," they wrote to the Mayor and Model Cities director in 1968 to bring the resident plans into alignment with their own "greater City system of land uses" (City Plan Commission correspondence, 1968). A few days later, they wrote again that the resident's plans "would create a number of very serious problems in regard to the overall future development of the city" (Building Commissioner, 1968). "It is apparent," they continued, "that none of the proposals of the individual sub-cities have coordinated with each other" to abide by "the overall Master Plan developed by the City Plan Commission." Soon after the onset of the Model Cities program, the Commission realized that their appropriation of the Black spatial imaginary in 1967 was taken by residents to be a genuine transfer of planning power. In order to persist amidst the Model Cities climate of citizen participation, the Commission created a Land Use Plan in 1972 authored, in their words, "with rather than for" the area's residents.

In the Land Use Plan's introduction, the Commission makes three distinct references to abiding by the resident's own wishes: these references include the phrases "collaboration with residents," "planning… with rather than for area residents," and calling the plan a "mutually developed" product. Ultimately, the Land Use Plan was summarized under five main planning objectives, representing the goals of the plans submitted by residents.

1.) "Encourage the location of commerce and industry in Model City"

2.) "Increase Model City entrepreneurship"

3.) "Expand Public Facilities"

4.) "Centralize industrial activity"

5.) "Increase employment in Model City"

The Commission evolved from resisting the premise of resident power they expressed at the onset of Model Cities and, by 1972, grew to incorporate and mold resident demands into the

Commission's own appeal for funding through the program. This shift in attitudes towards residents, itself, indicates the fluidity of the white spatial imaginary to take on the seemingly autonomous plans of Black residents. Each of the Commission's planning objectives is attached to a larger plan of action. As opposed to representing themselves as the explicit agents of a white spatial imaginary, they articulated themselves as little more than the medium through which the residents expressed their own sovereign demands. In doing so, the Commission was able to procure grant funding while maintaining, and reinforcing, the premise of their preexisting Comprehensive City Plan.

Part of their success, however, is linked to the multifarious nature of the Black spatial imaginary. The Commission did not seek to appropriate the most radical, anti-establishment wing of the Black residents living in the Model Cities area; instead, it targeted the many pro-market, entrepreneurial, business-oriented voices within the Black spatial imaginary. Therefore, it could be credibly stated that their plan for the Model Cities area was, in fact, a product of "planning with rather than for" the Model Cities area residents.

Conclusion

George Lipsitz hypothesized that white and Black people share different relationships to space. That being said, Black communities approach space as finite and essential towards realizing a more communal and democratic society; whites, oppositionally, understand space to be little more than a necessary mechanism of capital accumulation through the augmentation of its exchange values. Through the case study of St. Louis' tenure under Model Cities, this article found Lipsitz theory to be insufficient in its historical applicability. In an attempt to build on it, I find that the white spatial imaginary must be reconceived as ecumenical and historically

contingent in order to account for the ways in which it appropriated the language of the Black spatial imaginary in its applications for Model Cities funding. Furthermore, the Black spatial imaginary must be seen as intrinsically multifarious as opposed to cohesive, singular, and static across time and space. In order to analyze the Black spatial imaginary emanating out of St. Louis under Model Cities, an interrogation of capitalist social relations is critical. The Black communities of St. Louis' Model Cities area were deeply concerned with the entrepreneurial and business ecosystem of the land they lived on. Resident authored plans, contrary to the Black spatial imaginary, demonstrated a synthesized interest in both the use value of space as well as its exchange value.

What is at stake regarding Lipsitz' theory of the Black spatial imaginary is the misrepresentation of a century's worth of heroic Black creative resistance as Black political reality. And, moreover, the revival of an anachronistic, and enticing, idea that racial segregation in the U.S. is ahistorical and absolute. Even work which has attempted to understand this time period of St. Louis in painstaking detail has fallen into the trap of painting Black resistance to white supremacy with a single coherent and anti-capitalist brush (Siegel, 2021). Other work, meanwhile, has deeply engaged the project of disaggregating the class interests of Black communities, both in St. Louis and elsewhere (Connolly, 2014; Lang, 2008; Pattillo, 2007). Lang (2008), in particular, demonstrated the situational strength of cross-racial class alliances that took place between both the working classes and the elites in St. Louis amidst the Black freedom movement. Stuart Hall warned, in 1981, against the tendency to believe that shared oppression inevitably results in revolutionary or anti-capitalist thinking. To the contrary, he argued, the oppressors' ideals and practices often penetrate the resistance movement itself.

What this article posits, ultimately, is that the Black spatial imaginary and the white spatial imaginary are not so much diametrically oppositional frameworks as they are dialectically inter-related ones. They influence, inform, and shape the other concurrently, and members of each ascribed racial group are seen so thoroughly represented within each that we must at some point question the use of "Black" and "white" as descriptors to these ways of understanding space. That is a question that future research might grapple with while this article will simply suggest that in so far as the white and Black spatial imaginaries do exist, they must be reimagined as ecumenical and multifarious, respectively.

While Lipsitz' work on white and Black spatial imaginaries has, indeed, attracted a lasting following, its influence can also be seen in the growing fields of Black Geographies and whiteness studies, both of which seek to "read race" into place. The assumption that ascribed racial identity predicts one's relationship to place is so often implied, or explicitly repeated, as to have become common sense within urban sociology. This theoretical zeitgeist, highlighted by Lipsitz here, fails to interrogate how capitalist social relations have defined the struggle of Black communities to gain autonomy and power within it. Despite HUD allocating just over $5 million to St. Louis' first year of allocations, the neighborhoods proposed a total of $15 million in requests, each area blowing through their slated budget. Carr-Central requested a five-year allocation for housing alone of $65 million. When former NAACP leader and director of Model Cities in St. Louis fielded the first-year plans, she immediately conceded the need to attract capital from private resources, calling federal funding a "kernel" for the plans that must now rely on private industry "for the bulk" of funding needed ("Model Cities Plans Rest on Hope", 1968). Far from incongruent with capitalism, much of the Black freedom movement was seen, rather, as an opportunity by private market actors.

Black communities in Lipsitz' theory, are – on the other hand – presented as resistant to the force of capitalism, acting only in united opposition. In Rios' (2020) reification of Lipsitz' theory, moreover, when Black political leaders in North St. Louis County took on exploitative, divisive, or oppressive roles within Black communities they are theorized as enacting the white spatial imaginary. This view, while potentially consolatory, robs Black people of their own political autonomy, ironically, perpetuating the paternalism it purports to fight. This article, hopefully, has begun the process of thinking through a new, or reviving an old, means by which these processes can be understood. The Black spatial imaginary, if it were understood as multifarious, would not struggle to analyze the historic popularity of Black capitalism as a means to achieving Black freedom. It would, rather, be seen as one Black spatial imaginary that exists alongside other storied histories of Black socialism and communism, anti-capitalist visions of Pan-Africanism, and all Black struggles against the forces of capitalist social relations.

Future research, rather than opt for purified narratives of Black resistance to white supremacy, or simplified conceptions of what, exactly, constitutes whiteness, could continue to interrogate the inevitable contradictions within attempts to conscribe value systems to racial identities. Moreover, the theory of white and Black spatial imaginaries does little to help us analyze an increasingly diverse set of populations and politics within the nation's cities, suburbs, and rural areas. Is "Black" a stand-in for all non-white people? Does each discrete racial category contain within it a separate, historically definable spatial imaginary? As we expand the scope of questioning, the need for a potentially non-racialized conception of various spatial imaginaries seems to open up: what future theories could fill this aperture?

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