MAKING SUBURBIA

New Histories of Everyday America

John Archer, Paul J. P. Sandul, *and*
Katherine Solomonson, *Editors*

Afterword by Margaret Crawford

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INTRODUCTION

Making, Performing, Living Suburbia

JOHN ARCHER, PAUL J. P. SANDUL, AND KATHERINE SOLOMONSON

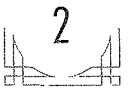
Suburbia is so varied that it is impossible to define it in any one way. It is n gle place. It is not even a singular kind of place. Suburbia is a complex an textured physical and social fabric, multiple terrains of varied and vital plac tices, and identities. Geographically, architecturally, historically, demogra politically, socially, and in many other dimensions suburbia is as heteroger the lives of those who reside there.

Even so, stereotypes of suburbia—often as bland and maladaptive—a These, more often than not, overlook the multiplicity of suburban forms an the lives of suburbia's inhabitants. Entering "suburbia" in a Google image for example, inundates the screen with eerily unpopulated views of post-19 divisions.[1] Those that come up first are mostly aerial views, with curving culs-de-sac, and splashes of turquoise that spread rhythmic patterns ac landscape. Others are set down amid emerald lawns unfurling from hou are (almost, if not quite) all the same. At first glance, it appears this set o could have been specially curated to accompany the song "Little Boxes" by Malvina Reynolds or the opening sequence of the television serie (2005–12), which visually exemplifies the antisuburban anthem that " come out the same." But the images have been, of course, generated for Google algorithm that draws on Web content produced for various purp countless geographically dispersed individuals: scholars, photographers, ists, cultural critics, bloggers, and many others with varying agendas. Th come up in the top tiers of this search have the greatest number of site to them, according to Google's algorithm. Most used, most linked, most and so on: an ongoing, self-reinforcing yet constantly changing process, strating one way innumerable individual actors, human and nonhuman, suburbia—in this case, particular representations of suburbia. Indeed, the

"The Educational and Demographic Consequences of Four Years of School Desegregation in the Pasadena Unified School District" (Pasadena Unified School District, 1975); Stephen Mulherin and Monique N. Hernandez, "Pasadena Unified School District: The Abandonment of a Public Institution," *California Politics and Policy,* June 2006, 93, 99, 107–8; Richard D. Kahlenberg, "One Pasadena: Tapping the Community's Resources to Strengthen the Public Schools" (report to the Pasadena Educational Foundation, May 24, 2006); Laura Mulfinger, "Public versus Private: Factors That Influence Middle and Upper Income Families' School Choice Decisions in the Pasadena Unified School District" (paper for Claremont Graduate University, July 1, 2002).

29. Data drawn from U.S. Census and Pasadena Unified School District statistics.

30. Gans, *Levittowners,* 24–31.



Race, Planning, and Activism on Philadelphia's Main Line

TRECIA POTTINGER

Writing in 1972 as president of the Ardmore Community Development tion, a nonprofit organization composed of community leaders, Nolan asserted, "We are confident and certain that with your help in the cente of Ardmore's birth, we will build sixteen new homes of which you can l and about which historians will one day write."[1] Two years later, in the 1974, a crowd of more than fifty people gathered on a lawn at the inter Ardmore Avenue and West Spring Avenue to break ground on what would the ArdSpring Condominiums, an affordable housing development. A s construction site would declare the project "A Community Effort." The A Condominiums exemplified the ways African American residents of Phil Main Line mobilized to take control over the planning of their suburb in and 1970s.

African American civic leaders and organizations working in Ardm 1960s had clear aspirations for South Ardmore. They envisioned Ardmore with well-maintained residential properties, affordable housing, an interge population, and a decidedly residential character. The realities of Ardm 1960s and 1970s diverged from these ideals as commercial interests comp residential needs, some households struggled to find and maintain afford ing, and younger generations departed. Beginning in the late 1950s, res about reconciling the differences between their aspirations and their realiti individual and collective actions in the areas of zoning, planning, and housing.

The issues with which African Americans grappled and the means th to address these paralleled processes unfolding in urban centers like nea delphia. In cities across the United States, shortages of affordable hou

widespread, urban renewal spawned debates about control over land use in African American neighborhoods, and community-based organizations emerged to advocate for citizens' interests. Similarly, African Americans in Ardmore contended with a scarcity of affordable housing and an increase in commercial activity, and they formed organizations to address these concerns. This case study demonstrates how African Americans in Ardmore enlisted and adapted strategies used in cities to resist displacement and to shape Ardmore proactively into a suburb that addressed their needs.

These residents, like some of the Pagedale residents Jodi Rios examines in her contribution to this volume (chapter 12), acted when they perceived threats to the suburb in which they lived. For African Americans in Ardmore, the threat came from outside their community and stemmed from conflicts with businesses and local government over land use. In Pagedale, however, black residents across class engaged in policing the social behavior of largely working-class black residents, "disciplin[ing] behavior construed as black" and therefore out of place in a suburban setting.

In this chapter, I explore how African Americans in South Ardmore responded politically to white commercial encroachment into their neighborhoods and to the diminishing availability of affordable housing. After offering a brief history of Ardmore, I examine the organizations African American residents formed to address these concerns and two main projects they commissioned in their efforts to meet the needs of black residents.

Ardmore's History

Ardmore is a nonpolitical designation for a village that lies within the municipal boundaries of Lower Merion Township. Ardmore is also part of Philadelphia's Main Line, a collection of railroad suburbs that first emerged in the mid-nineteenth century. Main Line developers propagated the vision of idyllic, countryside houses as antidotes to the urban ills distressing the white elite. Nineteenth-century marketing produced a narrative that foregrounded extravagant wealth, grand estates, and whiteness in the railroad suburb, and this narrative persisted through the twentieth century. This dominant narrative masks the continuous physical and human diversity evident in places like Ardmore.

Since Ardmore's earliest period of significant suburban growth in the late 1870s, three distinct sections have constituted Ardmore: an area of larger residential properties to the north, a section of smaller residential properties to the south, and, finally, a commercial and industrial corridor centered on the railroad that divides North and South Ardmore. These zones define both social and physical differences.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, South Ardmore has been home to a heterogeneous group of working-class residents, a large number of them African

Americans. Many African Americans first came to Ardmore from the S service employment opportunities in the homes and institutions of w Main Line residents.[2] As the Main Line developed and the African Am lation grew, the areas in which African Americans worked broadened.

South Ardmore's diversity extended from its population to its bu ment. Most of the area began as a collection of larger properties tha subdivided over time and at a pace faster than subdivision in other Main Line. From the late 1870s (when subdivision began) through th (when a house stood on nearly every subdivided lot), a patchwork of de emerged in South Ardmore. South Ardmore's proximity to industry an its gridlike streets and narrow lots, and its varied housing types set i popular images of the Main Line. Some houses reflected uniform setba and materials, while the characteristics of houses in other subdivided Housing types included single-family and twin houses as well as row h handful of multiunit dwellings, all of which were home to South Ardm population, including African Americans. Because Ardmore was incon popular images of the Main Line, it drew criticism from planners a reformers who cited such issues as the presence of row houses. Idealiz

Several developments of row houses existed in Ardmore, which housing reformers regarded as unnecessarily suburban Main Line context. Marion Bosworth, *Housing Conditions in Main Line Towns* (investigation made direction of the Committee on Investigation, Main Line Housing Association), circa 1912.

the Main Line persisted into the postwar era, masking existing heterogeneity and working to prevent the incursion of yet greater diversity.

Competing Visions of Ardmore

Across generations, African Americans struggled to find affordable housing in South Ardmore. In the post–World War II era, the expansion of commercial properties into South Ardmore exacerbated concerns about affordable housing. White business and property owners advocated for the conversion of residentially zoned land to commercially zoned land and demolished existing housing to create additional parking spaces.[3] Their aim was to maintain and strengthen Ardmore's longtime status as a commercial hub of the Main Line.

The priorities of these expanding commercial interests often ran counter to those of African American residents, many of whom perceived the expansion of certain types of businesses and parking as threats to the fabric of their neighborhood and to affordable housing. Residents were concerned about increased traffic, reduced housing supply, and diminished parking for residents. While retail, industry, and housing had always existed in close proximity in Ardmore, the advance of commercial enterprises onto previously residential properties toppled this balance. In response, African Americans articulated an alternative, residentially centered vision of South Ardmore in local politics throughout the 1960s and 1970s, signaling an increased sense of agency to shape the built environment to meet their needs.

Early efforts to maintain the residential character of South Ardmore would focus on zoning. In an effort to limit commercialization and maintain housing stock, African American leaders and organizations spoke against proposals to expand commercial zoning, both before township boards and in the pages of local newspapers. In the late 1960s South Ardmore residents began utilizing the terms *commercial creep* and *creeping commercialism* to draw attention to the cumulative effects of case-by-case land-use changes.[4] Over time, African Americans also adopted more proactive approaches to maintaining residential zoning in Ardmore. In 1969, for instance, the Ardmore Progressive Civic Association, a nonpartisan group of African Americans, offered a proposal for what it called "upzoning"—rezoning parcels of land from a commercial designation to a residential one as part of an effort to preserve the residential nature of South Ardmore and to limit the intrusion of commercial establishments that the association viewed as detrimental to the neighborhood.[5]

The Plan for South Ardmore

Building on earlier efforts to address zoning issues, African Americans eventually presented a holistic vision for Ardmore's future as part of a 1970 master plan.[6] While it addressed a wide range of issues under the title *Plan for Housing and Community*

Improvements in the South Ardmore Community, including zoning, edu
economic development, it made housing needs the top priority. Spurrec
American frustration with a perceived lack of responsiveness from the t
well as frustration with discriminatory housing practices, the plan sign
on the part of African Americans to work collectively and proactively tc
housing and planning needs and to shape Ardmore's built environment i
that accorded with their vision for Ardmore's future. A number of the i
within the plan had been circulating in South Ardmore, and civic leade
nizations had been working to address many of the concerns the plar
However, the *Plan for South Ardmore* crystallized these ideas, along witl
emerged through the planning process, in a comprehensive assessment
plan. While African Americans contracted professional planners with n
expertise to develop the plan, the plan was driven by the desires of Afri
cans. The plan exemplified the ways African Americans thought broadly
ing Ardmore's built environment to meet their needs.

The *Plan for South Ardmore* grew out of an effort by the Main Line b
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to develo
would outline the needs of African American residents living in the so
tions of Bryn Mawr and Haverford. When funding for the project ran shc
known as the Ardmore Coalition continued the project and shifted the pl
sis to Ardmore. The coalition included individuals drawn from the N
lived in Ardmore as well as students and staff from nearby Haverford Coll
the members were individuals such as the Reverend Leonard Jones, long
of Ardmore's oldest black church; Nolan Atkinson, who would become t
can American township commissioner in 1974; and Lewis Hazzard, pres
African American civic association and longtime business owner. The g
ranging goals included expanding affordable housing opportunities anc
housing discrimination, as well as "the funding of a Master Plan for tl
short range development of the Community."[7] To finance the plan's $
the coalition raised funds from local institutions, organizations, and inc

The *Plan for South Ardmore* reflected a broader shift in planning prac
increased citizen participation. The plan's introduction stated this c
explicitly: "The plan for South Ardmore is one of a new breed of plan
where the local citizenry analyzes its own problems and charts its own de
more had been the subject of urban renewal plans in 1964 and 1965.[10]
dent participation in the creation of the *Plan for South Ardmore* served
to what the authors characterized as the top-down, technocratic planni
of the past. The NAACP and later the Ardmore Coalition engaged the
planning practitioners committed to community involvement in planni

were charged with helping African Americans develop a master plan that articulated their needs rather than dictating a plan from a position of professional superiority.

The emerging movement of advocacy planning also informed the *Plan for South Ardmore.* Advocacy planning emphasized the creation of plans centered on particular populations, especially those that had been underserved and had experienced inequality.[11] Early on in the text, the *Plan for South Ardmore* proclaimed, "The plan for the South Ardmore community is a plan by and for the black community."[12] This approach differed radically from past planning efforts in Lower Merion Township.

While Ardmore had been the subject of many comprehensive planning efforts, none had focused on the needs of African Americans. The Frederick Law Olmsted firm produced the earliest planning effort in Lower Merion Township, and the Main Line Citizens Association funded this effort privately. The township authored its first comprehensive plan in 1928, and new plans followed in 1937, 1954, and 1962. The plans addressed issues such as roads, street lighting, housing, and infrastructure; however, each of these plans assumed perspectives that were ostensibly race neutral.[13] The *Plan for South Ardmore* addressed many of the topics found in the Lower Merion Township's comprehensive planning documents, but it centered the racial identities of African Americans in South Ardmore. This community-driven plan privileged the concerns and participation of black residents and sought to respond to the unique needs of a long-standing suburban enclave that historically had limited say in shaping the built environment at larger scales.

Residents contributed directly to the planning process, and the planners translated the ideals of citizen participation into their methods. Early on, the planners reached out to residents through meetings and surveys to gather qualitative and quantitative data. A series of eleven block meetings provided residents opportunities to identify planning concerns. The planners hoped that through such meetings they could gain insight into "families in the community, the quality of housing seen from the viewpoint of the residents, [and] their attitudes toward housing the community."[14] Information gathered through a house-to-house survey of five hundred black households complemented these meetings.

Residents also had opportunities to review and make recommendations on a draft of the plan. At a meeting at Zion Baptist Church (one of Ardmore's predominantly African American churches) in the fall of 1969, approximately two hundred interested residents viewed a draft of the plan and raised questions and comments. A review period followed, with copies of the draft plan available for viewing at two black churches, an African American–owned dry cleaning shop, and South Ardmore's Afrocentric library.[15]

The completed seventy-six-page plan highlighted the needs identified by South Ardmore's African American residents and outlined proposals to respond to those

needs. The scope of the plan was holistic, and it addressed a range of is
the broad categories of housing, zoning, community facilities and servic
nomic development. Housing, however, emerged as the leading topic
with residents expressing their concerns about limited housing supply,
and the intrusion of commerce into residential areas.

One of the study's central findings about housing was a strong interr
between housing needs and the ages of residents. The *Plan for South Ardr*
that available housing stock did not match the needs of Ardmore's resid
aged. Lacking alternatives, older residents continued to live in house
larger than they needed. This in turn limited the availability of affordal
for young families, who either lived in dwellings too small for their need
away from Ardmore. The result was a community that lacked balance be
and younger residents.

Contrary to these realities, residents envisioned Ardmore as a pla
home to residents across generations. This included young people wh
remain in the place where they were raised as they began their own hou
seniors who wanted to continue living in Ardmore as they aged. To achi
generational community, the *Plan for South Ardmore* called for the reha
existing housing and the construction of new housing units for low- an
income families and for the elderly; such housing would respond tc
needs of households at different stages of life. Beginning in the late 19
Americans worked to realize their goal of constructing new housing.

Ardmore Community Development Corporation and the ArdSpring Condominium Project

In 1969, African American civic and religious leaders in South Ardm
whom had been involved with creating the *Plan for South Ardmore,* helj
lish an organization called the Ardmore Community Development
(ACDC). In addition to Leonard Jones, Nolan Atkinson, and Lewis
ACDC included people like Cleopatra Nelson, a civically engaged A
dent and Democratic Party committeewoman, and Daniel Jones J
Ardmore resident. The ACDC's purpose was "to combat community
and to secure adequate housing facilities and other related services an
for the community of Ardmore, Pennsylvania."[16] By focusing specific
ing rehabilitation and new construction, the ACDC worked to actuali
outlined in the *Plan for South Ardmore.*

The ACDC was a local example of a national movement that wa
The community development corporation model emerged in the l
part of broader efforts to alleviate poverty in urban and rural areas.

development corporations focused on geographically defined areas and prioritized community control in the development process. Drawing on private and public funds, community development corporations engaged in activities spanning housing development, job training, community services, and economic development; however, most directed their efforts primarily toward housing.[17] The ACDC applied a model utilized more often in urban and rural contexts to a suburban area.

In 1971, the ACDC began work on the ArdSpring Condominiums, Ardmore's first affordable housing project. The ACDC mobilized public and private resources to plan and carry out the project and maintained the community involvement that had been a hallmark of the comprehensive planning process. In order to respond effectively to community needs within economic constraints, the ACDC developed a plan for condominiums. The ACDC's willingness to think expansively about the suburban home as something other than a detached, single-family house sometimes brought the project into conflict with long-standing ideas about the types of development that did and did not belong on Philadelphia's storied Main Line.

The ACDC drew on both public and private financing to support the ArdSpring Condominiums project. Under a federal program, the Federal Housing Administration insured the mortgage and subsidized the cost of the project by paying a portion of the interest.[18] Private funding to support the purchase of the land came from sources like a breakfast for area businessmen as well as from less conventional approaches, like bake sales.[19] The different ways the ACDC raised money allowed people of varied income levels to contribute to the project.

The property the ACDC purchased lay at the intersection of Spring Avenue and Ardmore Avenue (one of South Ardmore's busiest roads). The site allowed the ACDC a rare opportunity to construct new housing on one of Ardmore's few vacant parcels of land. The location positioned the condominiums amid a variety of building types and land uses that exemplified the type of physical diversity found in South Ardmore, especially in comparison to wealthier sections of the Main Line. In the areas surrounding the site, one could find a handful of stores and a church as well as detached and twin houses. In spite of the great physical variety already present in Ardmore, nothing like the proposed condominiums existed in the immediate vicinity or in South Ardmore. The ArdSpring Condominiums introduced yet another housing type into this environment and thus represented a difference within a difference.

The ACDC, made up primarily of people who lived or worked in Ardmore, sought the participation of other Ardmore residents both in acquiring the building site and in the condominiums' design process. The ACDC contracted the architectural firm of Ueland and Junker, which had worked on other community-initiated affordable housing developments in the Philadelphia area and also had participated

in the development of the *Plan for South Ardmore.* While Ueland and Junk sented initial plans, these proposals were subjected to community input in t of meetings.[20] From the perspective of the ACDC, community buy-in wa tial to the project's success, and opening its planning process allowed the to build community support. Though the project would house only sixte lies, it clearly had larger significance for African Americans in South A: In the words of the ACDC's 1972 annual report, "A successful conclusior Project will provide additional units of housing where most needed, stimul growth and vitality and improve the quality of life in the entire Township o Merion."[21]

In the early stages of planning the project, the ACDC encountered re from the township concerning the type of housing that it wanted to co Initially, the ACDC intended to build a series of row houses. However, th ship refused to approve these plans because of a township ordinance pro row houses; the township also rejected a request to grant an exception for t ect.[22] The township's prohibition of row houses reflected a long-standin ment that such building types were unbecoming to the suburban context of their strong urban associations. The Main Line had a long history of

Row houses like these in Philadelphia were common in the city, but Lower Merion Township ordinances in place ir 1970s prohibited them. Photograph by the author.

The Centennial Village Condominiums, located in North Ardmore, were among the earliest condominiums in Lower Merion Township. Photograph by the author.

restrictions on building types and land uses, whether by developers or by townships. In addition, the acceleration of housing development in the years following World War II had created a vocal majority citizenry intent on excluding building types (and implicitly populations) they felt did not accord with their vision of the Main Line as a site of spacious, detached, single-family homes.[23]

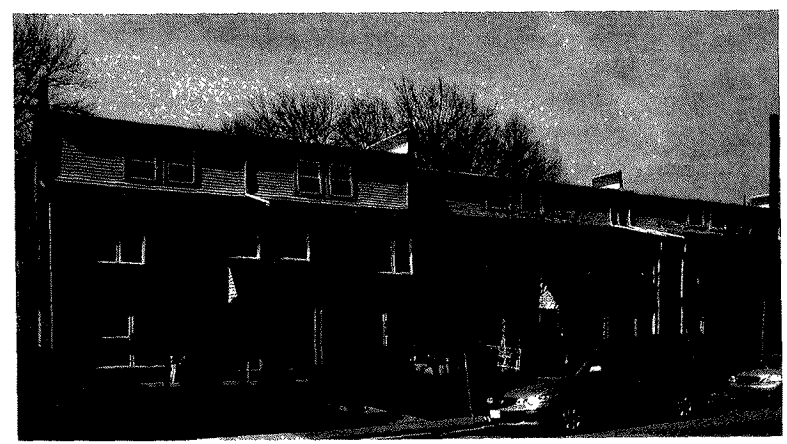
The members of the leadership team working on the project came together to consider how they might respond to this obstacle, and from their discussions the idea emerged to construct the project as condominiums. Condominiums were a new form of homeownership at the time and had been permitted in the township only since 1970. As a new type of homeownership, the condominium did not carry the historical baggage of the row house.[24] In order to obtain the designation of condominiums, the team had to adapt the initial plans in two key ways. First, the entire building had to have a common roof, rather than separate roofs for each unit as was planned previously. Second, while units would be owned individually, the exterior land would be owned collectively by the condominium association.

The Completed Project

The finished project, completed in 1975, consisted of sixteen three Eight adjoining units faced the front, street side of the property and s wall with eight adjoining units that faced the rear of the property. T inclusion of an off-street parking lot also responded to a need outline *for South Ardmore,* as residents felt significant frustration competing wi nesses for parking.[25]

Architect C. Anthony Junker, who had received community input expressed a desire to de-emphasize the project's multiunit status and elements that recalled single-family houses. In Junker's words, he want to suggest "houses rather than apartments."[26] Similarly, a *Main Line* published in the early stages of planning quoted Junker as saying, "We on a very handsome, domestic exterior using the materials we associa vidual homes such as siding and perhaps masonry."[27] The completed p true to this early vision articulated by Junker, and the building's exteri a mix of materials, including brick, aluminum siding, and shingles. T first and second floors were composed of red brick, and the third story minum siding. In the context of South Ardmore, where most houses w built with brick, the use of brick for the majority of the building's provided a visual linkage between the ArdSpring Condominiums and borhood context.

Even before the specific plans for the ArdSpring Condominium motion, the *Plan for South Ardmore* had identified the provision of o



This view of the ArdSpring Condominiums shows the eight units facing West Spring Avenue. Photograph by

The significant setback of the ArdSpring Condominiums gave the property a suburban-style front yard. Photograph by the author.

in new construction as a high priority, noting, "Private outdoor space is for families with children."[28] The condominiums responded to this ca echoed claims made elsewhere about the benefits of post–World War II housing for children.[29] The front and side of the property were set back t from the property line, and the parking lot was positioned on the wester the property, all of which left a significant amount of open, green space s ing the building.

At the scale of individual units, the plans accorded with conventiona of social and private space in the home. The units, each of which had eit or four bedrooms, were generous in size, ranging from 1,100 to 1,300 squ. a time when the average house constructed in the United States was 1,5(feet.[30] The design of the units also responded to housing needs that had bee in the *Plan for South Ardmore,* which called for the addition of housing u more bedrooms to meet the needs of families with children.[31] This was an pressing issue given concerns about the out-migration of young families find housing. The decision to develop the condominiums as three- and four- units helped alleviate a shortage of housing for families with children in S more and also allowed families to accommodate extended family membe

The ArdSpring Condominiums garnered positive responses. The p ceived a special planning award from the Montgomery County Planning sion for "outstanding land development,"[32] and the project also received p area residents and on the editorial pages of the local *Main Line Times.*[33] N twenty-five years later, original homeowners still composed half of all resi more than three-quarters had lived at ArdSpring for more than ten years.

Conclusion

Popular representations of post–World War II suburbs cast residents inhabitants in houses and neighborhoods designed by others. The enc African Americans in South Ardmore during the 1960s and 1970s sugg ways that residents could collectively shape the built environment of th in which they lived to satisfy their needs. In the years since the develc the ArdSpring Condominiums, affordable housing projects in South Ard taken on varied forms, in many ways reflecting the legacies of the *Plan Ardmore* and the ArdSpring Condominiums. Among more recent afford ing options have been two apartment complexes for senior citizens, in allow residents to stay in the area as they age and can no longer maint homes, as well as ten twin homes for first-time home buyers. In all of the churches, civic associations, nonprofits, and federal financing have cor play important roles.

Notes

1. Nolan Atkinson to Ardmore Community Development Corporation supporters, 1972, Ardmore History (1) to 1980, 43, Lower Merion Historical Society, Bala Cynwyd, Pa.

2. See, for instance, Marvin Porch, "The Philadelphia Main Line Negro: A Social, Economic, and Educational Survey" (doctoral dissertation, Temple University, 1938).

3. See, for instance, "Residents Protest Proposal to Rezone Ardmore Block," *Evening Bulletin,* June 19, 1958, Ardmore—Penna—Zoning, *Evening Bulletin* Collection, Temple University Urban Archives, Philadelphia; Jim Myrtetus, "Ardmore Civic Group Attacks Move to Tear Down Homes for Parking," *Evening Bulletin,* March 29, 1970, Ardmore—Penna—Housing and Apartments, *Evening Bulletin* Collection, Temple University Urban Archives, Philadelphia.

4. Jim Myrtetus, "Atkinson Campaigns to Hold Line in Commercial Creep," *Evening Bulletin,* October 26, 1969, Ardmore—Penna—Elections and Politics, *Evening Bulletin* Collection, Temple University Urban Archives, Philadelphia; Michelle Osborn, "'Creeping Commercialism' Fought in South Ardmore," *Evening Bulletin,* May 5, 1970, Ardmore—Penna—Housing and Apartments, *Evening Bulletin* Collection, Temple University Urban Archives, Philadelphia.

5. James Myrtetus, "L. Merion to Study Plea for Ardmore Upzoning," *Evening Bulletin,* September 19, 1969. The Ardmore Progressive Civic Association presented another petition for upzoning in 1973. Ardmore—Penna—Ardmore Progressive Civic Association, *Evening Bulletin* Collection, Temple University Urban Archives, Philadelphia.

6. Ardmore Coalition, *Plan for Housing and Community Improvements in the South Ardmore Community* (Ardmore, Pa.: Ardmore Coalition, 1970); hereafter cited as *Plan for South Ardmore.*

7. Ibid., 2.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., 4.

10. While the urban renewal plans themselves are no longer available, an article published in 1962 provides a broader context for urban renewal in Pennsylvania suburbs. See Nick S. Fisfis and Harold Greenberg, "Suburban Renewal in Pennsylvania," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 111, no. 1 (November 1962): 61–110.

11. For a discussion of advocacy planning, see Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31, no. 4 (1965): 331–37.

12. Ardmore Coalition, *Plan for South Ardmore,* 4.

13. Frederick Law Olmsted and Arthur Coleman Comey, "Advance Draft: Main Line District City Planning Report to the Main Line Citizens' Association," December 31, 1919, Lower Merion Historical Society, Bala Cynwyd, Pa.; Lower Merion Township, *A Plan for Lower Merion Township* (Ardmore, Pa.: Lower Merion Township, 1937); Lower Merion Township, *A Plan for the Growth of Lower Merion Township* (Ardmore, Pa.: Lower Merion Township, 1954); Lower Merion Township, *General Comprehensive Plan* (Ardmore, Pa.: Lower Merion Township, 1962).

14. Ardmore Coalition, *Plan for South Ardmore,* 5.

15. Ibid., 6.

16. Ardmore Community Development Corporation, Annual Report, 1971, Ardmore History (1) to 1980, 42A, Lower Merion Historical Society, Bala Cynwyd, Pa.

17. On the growth of community development corporations, see, for instance, Robert Halpern, *Rebuilding the Inner City: A History of Neighborhood Initiatives to Address Poverty in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Patricia Watkins Murphy and James V. Cunningham, "Community Development Corporations and the Emergenc
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Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 2003), 38–52; and Kimberly Johnson, "Community Development
tions, Participation, and Accountability: The Harlem Urban Development Corporati
Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation," *Annals of the American Academy of P
Social Science* 594 (July 2004): 109–24.

18. Ardmore Community Development Corporation, Annual Report, 1971.

19. Ardmore Community Development Corporation, Annual Report, 1972, History (1) to 1980, 43, Lower Merion Historical Society, Bala Cynwyd, Pa.; Joan
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