

The film explores the ideas of loneliness and growth and self-discovery. Its title is adapted from “apoptosis,” the programmed cell death that occurs as a normal part of an organism’s growth and development. At first, she said, she was “quite embarrassed” about the film. “I have no idea what I just made,” she thought. “If no one likes it, I’ll bury it forever.”

Eventually she worked up the nerve to

show it to Lingford. “She seemed to like it,” Zhan said, “so I was encouraged”—and in January, the film took the top prize for animated shorts at this year’s Sundance Film Festival. *CineVue* critic Christopher Machell, reviewing its appearance at the Toronto International Film Festival, called it “strange and charming in equal measure...an often beautiful and funny journey through the landscape of self-discovery.”

Currently Zhan is studying at the National Film and Television School in London. It’s likely that the themes she’s been working on will be those she continues to explore. “[‘Hold Me’] started out a much larger film—there was this whole narrative where the bird goes to a bird club and there’s a bird rave,” she said. “I’m writing a feature now, and the bird club is back in there.”

Toward the Negotiated City

In the history of urban renewal, a glimmer of the possibilities of social policy today

by ANN FORSYTH

HOW TO ENSURE that everyone can live a life with opportunity and meaning is an enduring question. It is also a question related in part to where people live. Are homes and neighborhoods vibrant, safe, affordable, and nurturing? Do they support different kinds of people living different kinds of dreams? What are the roles of the private sector, individuals, and experts in building these good communities? What roles do governments have in making places healthy, supporting local initiatives and preferences,

and creating a framework so that everyone contributes toward the common good? At a time when such questions are barely being asked, at least at a national level, an historical perspective is especially valuable.

In *Saving America’s Cities*, Lizabeth Cohen—dean emerita of the Radcliffe Institute and Jones professor of American studies—addresses these larger questions about what people owe each other in society. She uses the life of “top city saver,” “Mr. Urban Renewal,” and “master builder” Ed Logue to tell the story of urban policy in the United States

from the 1950s to the 1980s. Like Winston Groom’s *Forrest Gump* or Virginia Woolf’s *Orlando*, Logue during his working life found himself in the center of a series of major federal and state approaches to revitalizing urban areas. A controversial figure who died in 2000, he was very active in taking advantage of programs and creating new opportunities, using his skills as a negotiator to capture funds from newly approved programs and his capacity as an innovator to launch additional policy and program initiatives in three cities. Focusing

Lizabeth Cohen, *Saving America’s Cities: Ed Logue and the Struggle to Renew Urban America in the Suburban Age* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, \$35)

The redeveloped Government Center, Boston, 1971, and surrounding private buildings; development czar Ed Logue



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most attention on the central cities of medium to larger metropolitan areas, he also dabbled in working at a metropolitan and state level. He had a lifetime commitment to racial equity, particularly notable in his hiring practices.

Cohen's project is, in part, one of rescuing urban renewal from the image of "abject failure" cultivated from both the left and the right. As Cohen argues, her book "aims to present an alternative, more nuanced history of postwar American city building that does not dismiss the federal role in renewing cities and subsidizing housing as pure folly. It claims instead that there is a usable past of successful government involvement in urban redevelopment from which we can benefit today as we grapple with the current challenges of persistent economic and racial inequality, unaffordable housing, and crumbling infrastructure."

In this history those who led urban renewal certainly made mistakes, insensitively displacing people, imposing flawed design theories, and underestimating resistance to racial inclusion. However, they learned from their mistakes and did better the next time. As Cohen argues, "Urban renewal as experienced in 1972 was far different from that in 1952." By 1982, it had become almost unrecognizable.

The first phases of urban renewal generally included a great deal of demolition and rebuilding in single-use zones, along with innovative social programs; in later years there was more revitalization, mixed use, and human-scale design. In the early years, Logue used a pluralist, expert-led model that too often alienated neighborhoods; in later years his approach to democracy was more direct. He faced opposition throughout his work life, however, both from those not wanting to be displaced and those re-

Crossing Lines, Constructing Home

Displacement and Belonging in Contemporary Art



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sisting racial and economic integration.

Logue's major projects roughly parallel fashions in renewal and redevelopment and divide fairly conveniently by decades, and Cohen uses these periods to organize the book. Logue started in New Haven in the mid 1950s, having earlier graduated from Yale and its law school, and having worked as both a labor organizer and Connecticut labor secretary. With Mayor Richard Lee, Logue attracted "more redevelopment funds per capita than any other city received," testing both physical redevelopment and social programs that became part of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. He was then in Boston until the late 1960s as head of the Boston Redevelopment Agency (BRA), arriving after the West End had been demolished but in time to be responsible for the swath of modernist design called Government Center. In this period he retained more historic urban fabric and engaged neighborhood groups. Recruited to New York, where he spent much of the 1970s and 1980s, he first led the innovative statewide Urban Development Corporation (UDC) under Governor Nelson Rockefeller. As the federal government retreated from developing affordable housing, Logue pioneered a new quasi-public

approach, eventually creating housing for 100,000 people. In this period, he also attempted to launch a Fair Share affordable-housing project in the suburbs, suffering a difficult backlash. After the UDC experiment collapsed amid the financial and political turmoil of the mid 1970s, he had a final chapter in the South Bronx, working at a smaller scale and in a more participatory manner, finally really doing what he had long claimed to do, "planning with people."

THE BOOK IS MORE than a biography of Logue. Cohen spends time finishing the stories of the cities where he worked, even after he moved on. Staff colleagues in early projects later became leaders of major initiatives elsewhere, linking the personalities in Logue's life with a larger narrative. For example, the leader of the social-development organization Logue sponsored in New Haven, Community Progress Inc., later became the first president of the Ford Foundation-sponsored Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC). Since 1979,



Redevelopment reactions: The South End community versus the Boston Redevelopment Authority

in the wake of federal pullback, LISC has invested \$20 billion sponsoring more than 400,000 affordable housing units and tens of millions of square feet of community and commercial space. The world of the Boston-Washington corridor in the 1950s to the 1970s was a small one with many interconnections among key players, and these are fully evident in the book.

Cohen's analysis is aided by the location of Logue's projects in university towns. Yale political scientist Robert Dahl used Lee and Logue's New Haven as the focus for his important book, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (1961), and two Yale graduate students, Nelson Polsby and Raymond Wolfinger, conducted parallel work and produced books. Boston and New York also contributed their share of research on urban issues. These studies were not always sympathetic to Logue, but they provided Cohen a rich empirical base from which to work—complemented by assistance from the Logue family, approximately 80 of her own interviews, multiple oral histories and transcribed interviews with Logue and associates, and numerous archives and libraries.

As an urban planner, one of the professions low on the pecking order in urban renewal, I was of course interested in Logue's story. Some of the contemporary debates about his work were conducted in the journal I now edit (then called the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*). As a scholar of new towns, I was interested in Logue's attempts to build them in the 1970s, even though Cohen sees Logue's attempts more positively than I do. Importantly, beyond this planning context, Cohen makes a number of arguments that loom larger than Logue himself or even urban policy, making her history relevant to a wider audience.

Chapter & Verse

Correspondence on not-so-famous lost words

Laurinda Morway writes, "Years ago an author described the phenomenon of hearing or seeing something for the first time and then experiencing it repeatedly as a 'Juno Sparrow' (that being the name that popped up unexpectedly again and again). I can't remember where I read it, and I love the expression. But if I use it I ought to be able to explain where I got it. Can anyone help?"

Charles Cassady seeks a source for "It's not the dark I fear. It's the things moving around in the dark," or "a more popular variation: 'I'm not afraid of the dark. I'm afraid of the things moving around in the dark.' I think the second version has been popularized by the Web phenom of creepypasta. The first version I came across was quoted by infamous filmmaker Ed Wood Jr. in his posthumously published *Hollywood Rat Race*, so it goes back at least

to the 1970s. It is clear Wood derived it from some other source, unknown to me."

"a bum in boots" (July-August). John Gordon identified the poem in question as "Sketch from Loss of Memory," by Sonya Dorman, published in *Saturday Review* in 1968 and later included in *Sounds and Silences: Poetry for Now*, compiled by Richard Peck (1970, page 93) and *Currents: Concerns and Composition* (1971, page 438), edited by Thomas E. Sanders. Gordon writes: "The passages remembered by Mr. Kennelly are: 'The neighbor's boy/shines his motorcycle in the evenings.' 'A bum in boots,' they call him./' and '...a smell of burnt grease/as sweet as horse sweat.'"

Send inquiries and answers to Chapter and Verse, Harvard Magazine, 7 Ware Street, Cambridge 02138, or via email to chapterandverse@harvardmag.com.

One insight is that improving communities with multiple disadvantages is no small task—and the goalposts are always shifting, as Cohen’s detailed narrative makes vividly clear. Reformers like Logue certainly learned from experience and shifted their approach. But the world around them changed constantly, so even a program or policy successful in one period was not viable in another. Places had changed physically and socially compared to earlier rounds of renewal, residents had different expectations, businesses assumed different roles, and the federal government changed strategies and generally scaled back its financial and policy commitments. With less federal attention, state and local governments, and an increasing number of nonprofit agencies, stepped in. But they brought different interests and experiences to urban renewal. This is why improving urban areas is so difficult—and why urban planners have moved to em-

phasize developing *processes* for improving communities.

Another large question is the role of experts in defining problems, proposing solutions, and working toward justice. Cohen proposes that “as Logue learned from hard experience over his career, the fate of cities cannot be left solely to top-down redevelopers or government bureaucrats or market forces or citizens’ groups. Rather, the goal should be a negotiated cityscape built on compromise.” One part of this negotiation is about good design. Logue began his career attracted to stripped-back modern design, but over time came to embrace rehabilitation and designs that, more than early modernist experiments, signaled a sense of home to their prospective residents. Cohen richly describes the various places and projects Logue worked in and on; as I read I found myself gravitating to my computer where I could find images, zoom in to maps, and search recent aerial

photography of the communities today.

Cohen’s overriding interest lies in the possibilities for social reform. The programs she examines and people associated with them defy easy categorization. There were liberals and conservatives for urban renewal and against it, depending on the context. Logue himself embodied contradictions: he was an often difficult person and a committed social reformer, a design modernist and a pragmatist, a strongly principled person willing to push the boundaries of programs for the greater good. Today, when inequality is on the rise, *Saving America’s Cities* warns against easy solutions while offering hope that people can improve the places where we live—and with that, people’s lives. ▽

Ann Forsyth, Stanton professor of urban planning and director of the Graduate School of Design’s master in urban planning program, is editor of the Journal of the American Planning Association.

ALUMNI

A New Way of Being in the World

Elizabeth Marshall Thomas’s “laser beam” insights into the lives of animals and humans

by MARINA N. BOLOTNIKOVA

SITTING IN HER KITCHEN in Peterborough, New Hampshire, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas ’54 is talking about animal consciousness when her two dogs, chihuahua Chapek and pug mix Kafka, begin madly snarling at each other. “What are you doing, and *why!*!” she demands. She appears to believe the dogs really understand her, and judg-

Elizabeth Thomas at home with her own small dogs, Chapek and Kafka, and her son’s large dog, Clover, whom she watches when he is away.



ing by their sudden hush, they might.

Thomas would know: she has spent half a century chasing stories about life on earth, and has written 14 books, from anthropol-

ogy texts to novels to studies of cats, deer, and canines. *The Hidden Life of Dogs* (1993)—for which she traveled to the Canadian Arctic to research wolf packs—became

an unexpected *New York Times* bestseller. As she explains in her memoir *Dreaming of Lions* (2016), “While wandering down the road of life, it helps to look for something more meaningful than oneself. Some find it in religion...I find it by keeping my eyes open.”

Virtually every book she has written—including two memoirs and

JIM HARRISON