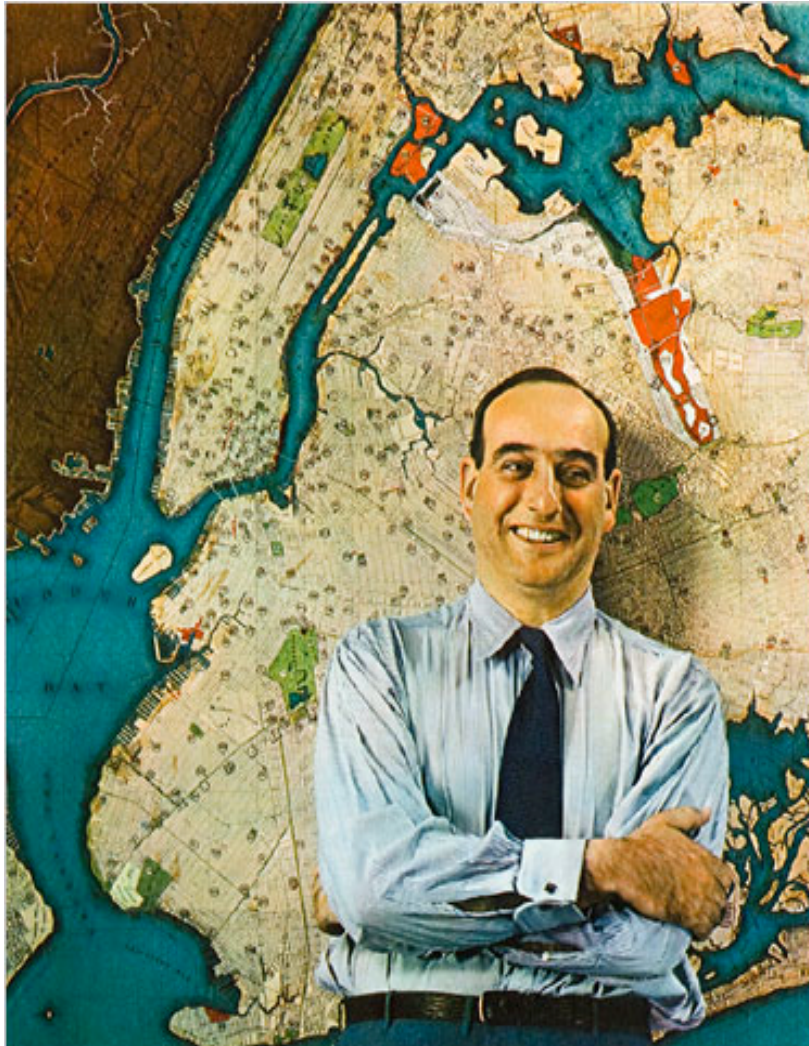


Case Study 3: Robert Moses - The Master Builder



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CE 5212/PA 5232: Transportation Policy, Planning, and Deployment
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9 October 2009

Summary

During Moses' 44 years of power, between 1924 and 1968, he built 658 playgrounds, 36,000 acres of parks, 416 miles of parkways, 13 bridges and miles of expressways. Besides that, he also built housing, tunnels, beaches, zoos, civic centers and exhibition halls for the public. The skyline and shoreline of New York changed significantly. Moses was not only limited to New York City and its suburbs, but had also projects far out from the city. His vision was to provide the city of New York with bridges and a modern road system for higher accessibility and open and spacious recreational areas for a more attractive and livable environment.

Robert Moses will eventually end up building important public works in New York including: Triborough Bridge, Jones Beach Parkway, Van Wyck Expressway, Bronx River Parkway, Sprain Parkway, and others. Unfortunately, in his last years Robert Moses ideas were found controversial along with his methods, and thus he ended up losing his position.

Time line of events

The time line points out some of the most important mileposts in Robert Moses' life. It describes how he got to his power in the 1920s and also how he lost it in the 1960s.

Time	Event
1888, Dec 18th	Robert Moses is born in New Haven.
1987	Moses and his family moves to New York.
1905	Robert Moses starts at Yale University.
1909	Moses graduates from Yale and starts at Oxford University.
1913	Moses is accepted into the Municipal Research Bureau training school.
1914	Receives a Ph. D in political science from Columbia University. The Mayor of New York, John P. Mitchel, needs advise in restructuring the city's Civil Service system and Robert Moses is recommended by the Municipal Research Bureau.
1915	Moses marries Mary Louise Sims, a secretary of the Bureau of Municipal Research, whom he has two daughters with: Barbara Olds of Greenwich, Conn., and Jane Collins of Babylon, L.I.
1918	Appointed under governor-to-be Alfred E. Smith as chief of staff of a new commission that has the mission to recommend reorganization of the state government.
1922	Hired by reelected Governor Smith to join his inner circle.

1924	Appointed as president of the Long Island State Park Commission, which is his first major position.
	Moses appoints himself as the chairman of the State Council of Parks.
1927	Appointed as New York Secretary of State, a highly influential post
1928	Loses his position as New York Secretary of State.
1929	Jones Beach State Park, Moses' first major project, is opened.
1933	Appointed as head of the newly established City Parks Department. Moses gets thereby power over the whole park- and parkway system in New York.
	The Triborough Bridge Authority is created and Robert Moses becomes the chairman.
1934	Appointed as commissioner of the Department of Parks.
	Moses candidates, for the Republicans, against Herbert H. Lehman for the position of State Governor. Moses loses with 800.000 votes which is the largest margin in New York State's history.
1936	The Triborough Bridge is opened and introduces tolls.
1940s and 1950s	Moses is active in the City Planning Commission and the City's Housing Commission.
1946	Appointed as City Construction Coordinator, which gives him authority over every public construction project in New York.
	The Triborough Bridge Authority merges with New York City Tunnel Authority and becomes Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority
	Moses plays an important part in the decision of bringing the United Nation headquarters to New York.
1949	The Urban Renewal Plan and the Slum Clearance Committee is established by Moses.
1959-1960	Moses accepts the mission of arranging the 1964-65 New York World's Fair. To accept that position, he has to resign himself from the New York City Park Commission, Slum Clearance Committee and City Planning Commission. The World's Fair is Moses last major project.
1962	Moses is resigned from several major state posts, such as chairman of State Council of Parks and president of Long Island State Park Commission, due to a dispute with Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller.
1965	After World's Fair, Moses loses his position as City Constructor Coordinator.

1966	Moses' wife, Mary Louise Sims, dies. He later marries Mary Grady a staff member of Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority.
1968	Moses loses his last position of power as the head of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority due to a merge into Rockefeller's new Metropolitan Transportation Authority.
1969	Public Works: A Dangerous Trade, an autobiography is published.
1974	The Power Broker is published, a criticizing bibliography written by Robert Caro.
1981, July 29th	Robert Moses dies at an age of 92 due to heart problem.

List of actors

During Robert Moses' 44 years of power, there were six governors and five mayors in command. Every one of them made an impact on Moses, regardless if it was by helping him to power or allowing him to carry it out. There were also many organizations and other people, such as architects and engineers, who played an important part in the game. However, the list of actors points out some of the most influential people and organizations who played an important part in shaping Moses to become the man that he eventually became.

Governors and mayors

- Governor Alfred E. Smith, 1919-1920 and 1923-1928
 - Supported Robert Moses in his early years by first offering him a job within the inner-circle and later appoints him as the president of the Long Island State Park Commission.
- Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1929-1932
- Governor Herbert H. Lehman, 1933-1942
 - Won against Robert Moses in the election of Governor.
- Governor Thomas E. Dewey, 1943-1954
- Governor W. Averell Harriman, 1955-1958
- Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1959-1973
 - Resigned Moses from some of his major posts that took away most of his power.
- Mayor John P. Mitchel, 1914-1917
- Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, 1934-1945
- Mayor William O'Dwyer, 1946-1950
 - Appointed Moses as the City Construction Coordinator and gives the permission to establish the Slum Clearance Committee.
- Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri, 1950-1953
- Mayor Robert F Wagner Jr, 1954-1965
- Mayor John V. Lindsay, 1966-1973

Organizations

- Municipal Research Bureau
 - Moses' first job that essentially lead him to his political contacts.
- Long Island State Park Commission
 - Moses' first major position as president.
- City Parks Department
 - Gave Moses power over every park and parkway in New York.
- The Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority
 - Created by Moses himself and has control over seven toll bridges and two tunnels, a major source of income for Moses.
- City Construction Coordinator
 - Probably Moses' most influential position, giving him authority over all public construction projects in New York.
- Slum Clearance Committee
 - Created by Moses due to the Urban Renewal-program which made him responsible for it in New York.

Others

- The public
 - Very important actors that mostly were ignored.
- Jane Jacobs
 - Opposed against Moses to build more freeways and eventually succeeded.

Profile of Robert Moses

Robert Moses: “New York’s master builder”. Moses was a visionary and is considered by many as the greatest and most influential single builder in the world, ever. During his 44 years of power, between 1924 and 1968, he built 658 playgrounds, 36.000 acres of parks, 416 miles of parkways, 13 bridges and 15 expressways. Besides that, he also built housing, tunnels, beaches, zoos, civic centers and exhibition halls for the public (Caro, 1974). The skyline and shoreline of New York changed drastically. Moses was not only limited to New York City and its suburbs, but had also projects far out from the city (Caro, 1974). His vision was to provide the city of New York with bridges and a modern road system for higher accessibility and open and spacious recreational areas for a more attractive and livable environment. He also built public works with the intention to draw visitors to the city (Ballon, et al., 2007). Even though he fought for his visions, his methods were criticized.

Even though Robert Moses did not have any education or traditional training within city planning, he managed to drag New York out from an era that was reflected by economical problems and population declines (Ballon, et al., 2007). His projects did for example provide hundreds of thousands of unemployed with jobs. Moses came from relatively well off family of German and Jewish heritage and grew up in Manhattan in a luxurious environment. According to Caro (1974), he was brought up to be a man of the people and taught to help the weak and underprivileged. He entered Yale University when he was only 17 years old, two years younger than many of the other new students. According to Goldberger (Goldberger, 1981), he was very clever and motivated and at that time already considered idealistic and introverted. He received a Bachelor of Arts from Yale, Master of Arts from Oxford and a PhD in political science from Columbia University (Ballon, et al., 2007).

His educational interest was within politics and the government which he had great use of during his rise to power. “Robert Moses & the Modern City” argues that Moses knew how to work the system and find state and federal funding for his projects and also how to use legislation to his advantage. He was also benefited from having the right contacts with many government officials on city, state and federal level, especially Governor Alfred E. Smith who introduced Moses to construction and city planning. This was an important milestone in Moses’ way to power. Due to Moses’ expertise within politics and contacts with governmental authorities, he managed to develop own authorities and set up rules and principles that would apply throughout the city. Other skills that Moses possessed was that he was methodical, prepared and had a great memory, and could thereby always be several steps ahead of his opponents. However, he was also an optimist and difficult to satisfy: In everything he saw and even though he had achieved a lot, he wanted to make it better and build even more (Caro, 1974).

During Moses’ prime years, his power was undeniable. In the 1940s and 1950s, he had authority over any other position within the field of construction. No housing, public buildings or roads were built without Moses’ approval: He decided both the location and architecture of the construction. Even other highly positioned authorities had respect for Moses’ power and did certainly not want to get uneasy with him. As for Moses’ political views, his architectural taste was conservative and traditional. He saw city planning as a grand-scale project and not the potential in changing the small neighborhood to make a difference. He believed that a large-scale slum clearance was the only possible way of solving suburbanization. However, a lot of the urban renewal money, which was supposed to go to rebuilding homes for the relocated, was instead used for building unaffordable housing. After the Urban Renewal-project, there were even more slums than before (Caro, 1974).

Moses was a workaholic, often working 15 hours a day. At one period, Moses obtained twelve positions. Among those, he was the New York City Parks Commissioner, head of the State Parks Council, head of the State Power Commission and chairman of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority (Goldberger, 1981). Even though he had reached his retirement years in 1953, he was still determined to work. However, money was never an issue for Moses. There were many jobs where he did not accept any salary and he did not need to since his projects were cash cows, allowing Moses to spend his life in luxury. He had fulltime staffs, private chauffeur and chefs among others. Caro (Caro, 1974) claims that Robert Moses spend more money on his own projects than what New York spent on their projects. While the city was lacking money to build, Moses was not.

Robert Moses was a man of many personalities: Some said that he was man of charm, wit and imagination while other stated that he was arrogant, intolerant and impatient (Rodgers, 1952). There were many voices and opinions about Moses. Nevertheless, there was no doubt that he was a man of visions and determination who got things done. He loved New York and wanted what was best for it, which according to him was an auto dependent city and recreational spaces. He stated that “Cities are created by and for traffic” and believed that more roads were the solution of congestion. Even though Moses did not know how to drive, fast and accessible roads were so important to him that pedestrians, public transit and also affected residents were overlooked (Ballon, et al., 2007). Moses was against any proposal that would mean investments in transit over of his highways. Due to Moses’ major amount of resources that was put into his highways, mass transit was ousted and New York’s public transport system was significantly deteriorated (Caro, 1974).

Moses was met by a lot of protests and opposition. According to critics, Moses was more interested in enhancing his power, rather than giving the public a better environment. Because of his stubbornness and used to getting his way, he often ignored them. He responded: "I raise my stein to the builder who can remove ghettos without removing people as I hail the chef who can make omelets without breaking eggs." Caro (Caro, 1998) claimed that Moses was difficult to compromise with and his projects often benefited the upper class at the expense of the ones with lower income and immigrants. Moses' reputation and image changed and he was by many considered as heartless, aggressive and power-mad. In 1930s Robert Moses was building the city out of its problems and providing the city with its needs. Twenty years later it was the other way around; creating problems and only serving the wealthy.

New York's evolution under Robert Moses

In 1924, New York was suffering from high congestion. The growing number of vehicles competed against street cars, trains, freight carts, and pedestrian for space. The current street system was underprepared to handle the demands of the present, much less the future.

Robert Moses started his building career in 1924. His first public work project was the Jones Beach State Park on the south shore of Long Island. Furthermore, in order to guarantee access to this recreational facility, he also worked on a network of parkways that will cover the region. The first was the Southern State Parkway (in 1927), followed by the Wantagh State Parkway (in 1929), the Ocean Parkway and the Northern State Parkway (both in 1930). The last of the group was the Meadowbrook State Parkway opened in 1934.



Image 1: Jones Beach Parkway
Source: New York Architecture

Robert Moses saw the construction of parkways as his opportunity to build roads. He was unable to build highways or roads because the State Highway Department and the federal Bureau of Public Roads controlled these projects very tightly and Moses did not have the power at the time. This loophole (parkways to build "roads") was used successfully to deliver one his most popular public works: the Bronx River Parkway (in 1923). This project would allow him to gain public and political support to propel him to more expansion of his planning vision. The original group of individuals that helped Moses in his first projects was Hermann Merkel and Gilmore Clarke. The Bronx River Parkway was Clarke's design (Ballon, et al., 2007).

Another project that helped to further Moses vision was the West Side Improvement. This project required the redesign of Manhattan's west shore. Moses decided to include parkways

with great waterfront along the Hudson River. The original plan for scenic parkways in New York was conceived by Nelson Lewis in 1922, and further developed to include a full network of new highways. This resultant amalgamation of idea resulted in Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs of 1929. This plan contained many of the routes that Moses would eventually build. For example, the West Side Improvement included the Henry Hudson Parkway, the expansion and re-landscaping of the Riverside Park, and the Henry Hudson Memorial Bridge.

In the mid 1930s, Robert Moses reputation was at all time high mainly because of his parkway projects from Long Island. He had the reputation of a man that got things done. Consequently, in 1933, Moses was put in charge of the state's Emergency Public Work Commission. In this new organization, Moses had access to new federal funding; this allowed him to build a network of new bridges and parkways starting from Manhattan through the Bronx and into suburban Westchester County. This list of new parkways includes: The Saw Mill Parkway (b. 1935), Henry Hudson Memorial Bridge (b. 1936), the West Side Highway (b. 1937), the Henry Hudson Parkway (b. 1938), and the Hutchinson River Parkway (b. 1941). Although, it should be noted that Moses had limited control for the Westchester Parkways, and this control was only for the parts extending into New York. Furthermore, Moses continued his work in Long Island in the form of new parkways such as Interborough Parkway (b. 1934), Grand Central Parkway (b. 1936), Marine Parkway and Bridge (b. 1937), and the Bronx Whitestone Bridge (b. 1939). In the 1940, Robert Moses also built Belt Parkway, Cross Island Parkway, and the Long Island Expressway (Ballon, et al., 2007).

The financing part of these projects required to reach beyond traditional funding sources, and to include toll booths ran by newly-created government agencies. Moses used the revenues from these new toll-collecting agencies to obtain loans, pay for the initial stages of future projects, and secure additional funding for subsequent projects. This financing process started slowly with projects like the Henry Hudson Memorial Bridge, where there was uncertainty about the effectiveness of the toll booths. At the end, the flow of capital to the toll booths helped propel to continue his role as a builder.

The new agencies seemed as "too good to be true" in a period where the Great Depression (started in 1929 and went into the 1930s and 1940s) was one of the main obstacles for public projects. These agencies allowed the projects to be built without draining the public budgets for maintenance. Moreover, the agencies debt didn't count towards the state. In addition, Moses ensured these agencies would be insulated from typical oversight and accountability measures.

The most successful bridge of Moses, by toll revenue, was the Triborough Bridge. After its opening, this bridge became a cash cow to Moses along with other parkways, and consequently allowed him to keep furthering his role as a builder.



Image 2: Robert Moses with model of the Triborough Bridge
Source: New York City Architecture

In 1939, Moses gained additional power. Mayor Fiorello La Guardia put him in charge of the 1939's New York World's Fair. In this fair, the exhibits showed the public a view similar to what was Moses grand plan for New York. The exhibits, especially General Motor's Futurama and Democracy, showed the public a futuristic city held by bridged and parkways with no mass transit.

The suburbanization of New York, as it was predicted by the World Fair, increasingly turned Americans to vehicles for commuting from and to their new suburban homes. These spatially pattern changes unveiled the problems in Moses' parkways. Although, the parkways were working fine with passenger cars, they were problematic for the trucks. The physical limitations of the parkways (narrow roads, low bridges, difficult entrances and exits) coupled with the rules prohibiting commercial traffic were impractical for truck industry. These problems poked holes in Moses previous loophole of using parkways because of "recreational purposes".

After Second World War, Moses did not require park funds for his projects. The funds from his toll-collecting agencies enabled him to change the designs of his highways. These new highways placed less emphasis on aesthetics and were more utilitarian (e.g. wider lanes, broader shoulders). This change of emphasis also turned into a shift of employees. Moses required less architects and more engineers, except only for minor consulting in projects. Another shift was the regulations for his projects. Moses' highways required following federal technical guidelines and he had to work closely with engineers from State Highway Department and the federal Bureau of Public Roads. Furthermore, Moses ceased to incorporate parkway design characteristics after the approval of the Interstate highway funds after 1956 (this new funds came with strict guidelines and a ban on tolls).

Moses projects in the 1950s include: Van Wyck Expressway (1950), Prospect Expressway (1955), and still very few parkways such as Sprain Parkway (1953). These new projects were still funded by his toll capital, and grants from the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944. For the projects after 1956, Moses focused mainly in qualifying projects as the federal portion increased to 90 percent of the construction costs. Robert Moses adapted the new funding system and continued to build his vision of New York, but with a distinct expressway dissimilar from his earlier parkways projects (Robert Moses & the Modern City).

In the next ten years, Moses oversaw the completion of projects including: the Major Deegan Expressway (b. 1961); Cross-Bronx Expressway and Whitestone Expressway (b. 1963); and the Staten Island Expressway (b. 1964). In addition, he continued to oversee the construction of toll bridges like: Throgs Neck Bridge (b. 1961), and the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Moses started suffering setbacks that would eventually knock him out of power. Along with his successful public works, there were also failures. For example, in the 1939 he attempted to build Brooklyn-Battery Bridge, and ran for governor in 1934. These failures along with other showed that Moses did not have absolute political or popular power.

Moses latest proposals were so negative that they translated to high profile defeats. Although, he was still able to handle the resistant, soon enough his ability vanished until he was “persuaded” to leave his positions in the New York City government for a seven year contract in the 1964 World’s Fair. Governor Nelson Rockefeller created in 1968 the Metropolitan Transportation Authority by merging Moses’ Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority. This coupled with the removal of Moses from power meant the end of Robert Moses, the builder of New York.

Map of Robert Moses’ works



Jane Jacobs vs. Robert Moses

The central question that is debated between Jane Jacobs and Robert Moses is what exactly is in the public interest. How much damage to people does no longer make the project worthwhile. Where that line is in public projects is very different for Robert Moses and Jane Jacobs. Robert Moses would argue that the accessibility for many is more important than the homes of fewer people while Jane Jacobs would argue that there is a limit to connectivity that is needed. New York had reached it in the 1960's and more construction was not worth the destruction that would happen in the wake of new freeways that Robert Moses wanted built that would span Manhattan.

Jane Jacobs led a campaign in the 60's to prevent the building of expressways across Manhattan. She argued that New York was built up enough, there was enough access and that any new building would destroy the life on the street that made New York great. Jane Jacobs was this shepherd in the era of community organizing, who was able to help organize the residents that would be affected by the new expressway construction to fight back the building of the road through their neighborhood.

Jane Jacobs and her ideas were successful. Robert Moses was reaching the end of his power when he went up against her and he had become less in favor with the government. Jane Jacobs was able to change public opinion against Robert Moses plans. This was not the first time when people opposed his plans but it was at a time when his power was faltering. It seems like Jane Jacobs won the debate about when destruction went too far. It was after this point that people began to stand up against urban renewal and general slum clearance

Policy

Robert Moses brought to light many planning policy issues in his transportation planning. Because of the great amount of building he did in a city that was very well developed before he started, he needed to do just as much destruction. This fact is often overlooked in his planning history. Practically everything he built meant that something needed to be destroyed first. To do this he needed one of the most powerful tools in the planning arsenal as well as one of the most controversial: eminent domain. Eminent domain is a necessary tool that allows governments to take land at the fair market value if there is a greater good that needs to be served. Often what is debated is; what the greater good is and who does it serve.

Much of the highway system in America was built using eminent domain. It was originally thought it was needed in order to be able to move troupes across the country. Although this has never been needed for national security there have been instances where they were necessary for the safety of cities. During Hurricane Katrina for example when people needed to leave New Orleans rapidly it would have been difficult without the interstate highway system. Moses did this to build many of his expressways and parkways. Moses took land from people and removed thousands from their homes in order to build massive expressways and parkways through New York. The policy of implication of this is great and far reaching. It is with very great caution that eminent domain is used today much because of the negative uses people like Robert Moses did with that kind of power.

Robert Moses also used far reaching funding sources. He spent more money in New York than anyone could ever fathom to spend today. In 1968 dollars he spent 28 billion dollars

which using an inflation calculator would be 165 billion (Caro, 1974). He spent a lot of money from federal funds. Urban renewal was a program from the 1950's where money was given to urban centers to do slum clearance. While most of the cities across the country were organizing how to spend the money from urban renewal Robert Moses was spending as much as he could get his hands on. Robert Moses used more money from urban renewal in New York on slum clearance than all of the rest on the cities used put together (Caro, 1974).

Robert Moses gained great power but it was not without the policies put in place that he would have been able to execute his visions with such success. Today one would hope that policies are made with more thorough thought to prevent someone like Robert Moses from executing such grand planning that destroyed the homes of so many people.

Cost benefits analysis of Robert Moses

It cannot be argued that Robert Moses did not know how to accomplish things. He grew to so much power in his time in New York that his word was god. He could get anything done at any cost. His power stretched far beyond his original parks to transit, housing and most if the development in New York City and greater New York. It has been debated over time whether or not Robert Moses accomplishments are worth the failures he had in his life time. This debate is ongoing and there are very compelling arguments on both sides. But it brings to light the larger question about whether or not there can be a person with as much power and be able to execute it with compassion and without doing damage. Planning is designed to effect change in communities and someone with the ability to plan without others impute can be a dangerous proposition.

Many people feel as though if it were up to them they would be able to plan the perfect city without consequence. As in our government, planning happens in a public setting with built in checks and balances for a reason. Robert Moses like many people began planning in an idealistic way and in many actions he kept those ideals. Robert Moses built many parks for children, built park land, and changed the accessibility of New York, but he did none of these things without a cost. Robert Moses became so powerful that he did not doubt any ideas he had. Things he did were amazing feats of engineering and ambition, but at what cost?

Robert Moses transportation feats undoubtedly changed the landscape of New York and increased accessibility for the automobile but at what cost? Robert Moses' power led him to operate without anyone to be accountable for leading to rash decisions made to show his strength and to ignore those who got in his way. Robert Moses' works forces the question to be asked if that much power in any ones hands can be a good thing. Robert Moses took little consideration for people in his way; the best example of this is his building of the Cross-Bronx expressway. To build this he had to take out 54 high story apartment buildings which were going to dislocate thousands of families (Caro, 1998). He could have built a parallel freeway a few block away that only would have taken 7 small tenements out dislocating only a few families but that was not the way Robert Moses operated. When Robert Moses set his teach in something he did not waver from it. Some of Moses' ideas that were executed were from many years before he had the power with which to do them. Would someone who was a little more empathetic do a better job?

Could someone who was perfect and selfless plan a perfect city? Doubtful, is there such a person, no. The best Robert Moses started as the idealist person that many people are when they are young, after his many years in civil service he became rich with power and was blinded by his ability to do just as he pleased without anyone saying no.

Anyone who has gone through a public planning process agrees that it can be very long and drawn out. People in the thralls of a planning process would probably like their to be one person who can just green light their plan but no one could agree on the one person. This is why it is too dangerous to leave such powerful decisions in one person's hand. On long days it seems like it would be easier if one person made all the decisions but that much power could as Robert Moses did inflict a lot of damage on the city. There could be some kind of intermediary form of power between the bureaucratic mess that exist now and the extreme ruler that Robert Moses was but it has not been implemented as of yet. So in the options of the two extremes it is better to ere on the side of doing as little damage as possible.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that Robert Moses was a man who, through his list, stubbornness and strong will, managed to obtain major power and authority within the construction field in New York. He changed and reshaped a city that no single man had done before. His parks and playgrounds provided open and recreational spaces for the people and his roads increased accessibility within and to the city. However, by bringing his visions into reality, Moses used highly criticized methods, which brought him many opponents. His lack of empathy and respect for the public caused him to destroy hundreds of thousands of New Yorker's homes, relocating most of them in slums with worse conditions than they had before.

There is no doubt that Robert Moses got thing done and often by his will. Under the command of Moses, projects were built intensively, probably more efficient than any city has been built before during that short period of time, which has made him an icon in the world of planning. Many people argue that New York would not be the city it is today if it was not for Moses. However, we will never know whether New York would turn out to be a better or worse place without the power of Moses.

Discussion questions

- Is power centralization key to an effective city planning? Should Robert Moses be repeated?
- Did the outcomes justify the means?
- Where would New York be without Robert Moses?
- Is there a median between the Robert Moses and planning process of today?
- What other examples of power models are there rather than checks and balance?

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