2 Urban Landscape History:

The Sense of Place and the Politics of Space

Authentic knowledge of space must address the question of its production.

Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*

Layered with the traces of previous generations' struggles to earn a living, raise children, and participate in community life, the vernacular landscape, as John Brinckerhoff Jackson writes, "is the image of our common humanity—hard work, stubborn hope, and mutual forbearance striving to be love."[1] His definition carries cultural geography and architecture straight toward urban social history. At the intersection of these fields lies the history of the cultural landscape, the production of space, human patterns impressed upon the contours of the natural environment. It is the story of how places are planned, designed, built, inhabited, appropriated, celebrated, despoiled, and discarded. Cultural identity, social history, and urban design are here intertwined.

Indigenous residents as well as colonizers, ditchdiggers as well as architects, migrant workers as well as mayors, housewives as well as housing inspectors, are all active shaping the urban landscape. Change over time can be traced in incremental modifications of space as much as in an original city plan or building plan. This chapter sketches a way to frame the social history of urban space, a scholarly terrain where many fields overlap. It combines an approach to aesthetics (based on work dealing with the sense of place from the humanities, architecture, and landscape traditions in geography and environmental psychology) with an approach to politics (based on work on space in the social sciences and economic geography) and suggests how both apply to the history of urban landscapes.

"Place" is one of the trickiest words in the English language, a suitcase so overfilled one can never shut the lid. It carries the resonance of homestead, location, and open space in the city as well as a position in a social hierarchy. The authors of books on architecture, photography, cultural geography, poetry, and travel rely on "sense of place" as an aesthetic concept but often settle for "the personality of a location" as a way of defining it. Place for such authors may engage patterns in the mellow brick of an eighteenth-century building, the sweep of the Great Plains, the bustle of a small harbor full of sailboats, but such images can easily become cliches of tourist

D. Hayden 1997. The Power of Place. MIT Press.

advertising. In the nineteenth century and earlier, place also carried a sense of the right of a person to own a piece of land, or to be a part of a social world, and in this older sense place contains more political history. Phrases like "knowing one's place" or "a woman's place" still imply both spatial and political meanings.

People make attachments to places that are critical to their well-being or distress. An individual's sense of place is both a biological response to the surrounding physical environment and a cultural creation, as geographer Yi-Fu Tuan has argued.[2] From childhood, humans come to know places through engaging all five senses, sight as well as sound, smell, taste, and touch.[3] Extensive research on perception shows the simultaneous engagement of several senses in orientation and wayfinding. Children show an interest in landmarks at three or earlier and by age five or six can read aerial maps with great accuracy and confidence, illustrating the human ability to perceive and remember the landscape.[4]

As social relationships are intertwined with spatial perception, human attachment to places attracts researchers from many fields. Environmental psychologists Setha Low and Irvin Altman define "place attachment" as a psychological process similar to an infant's attachment to parental figures. They also suggest that place attachment can develop social, material, and ideological dimensions, as individuals develop ties to kin and community, own or rent land, and participate in public life as residents of a particular community.[5] (Some earlier sociological studies of the aftermath of urban renewal, those that convey the process of mourning for a lost neighborhood, have utilized attachment theory as well[6] to explain the power of human connections to places that may no longer exist physically.)

Cultural landscape studies, as geographer Carl Sauer developed them, focused on the evolution of places and included the "combination of natural and man-made elements that comprises, at any given time, the essential character of a place."[7] Cultural landscape has much more specific meanings

than place. Yet the earliest cultural landscape methods for studying places, and people's shaping of them and attachments to them, were not adequate to convey their political dimensions. Unlike social history, which developed in the 1960s with an urban bias, cultural geography from the 1940s on leaned to the study of rural, preindustrial landscapes, rather than the complicated urban variety, mapping ethnicity along with vernacular house types or patterns of cultivation, considering ecology but avoiding issues of political contestation.[8]

As the productive landscape is more densely inhabited, the economic and social forces are more complex, change is rapid, layers proliferate, and often abrupt spatial discontinuities result that cultural landscape studies seem unable to address adequately. One can't simply turn to economic geography (or any other kind of quantitative analysis) because there the human experience of place is often lost. Rather, the cultural geographer's model of landscape needs to be better anchored in the urban realm, retaining the biological and cultural insights necessary to convey the sense of place while adding more focused analysis of social and economic conflict. This is the project of many politically sensitive geographers today, including Michael Dear, Jennifer Wolch, David Harvey, Neil Smith, Derek Gregory, and Kay Anderson.[9] At the same time, environmental historians like William Cronon are claiming some of this subject matter, with phrases that sound rather like Sauer: "if environmental history is successful in its project, the story of how different peoples have lived and used the natural world will become one of the most basic and fundamental narratives in all of history, without which no understanding of the past could be complete."[10] Yet for many environmental historians, the deployment of land and natural resources has been the central preoccupation, without much concern for the aesthetic and social aspects of the built environment, although the two are intertwined.

At the heart of Carl Sauer's definition of the cultural landscape was "the essential character of a place." It has often proved easier to study either the natural or the built compo-

nents of a cultural landscape than to wrestle with the combination of the two in the concept of place. In recent decades, as geographers John Agnew and James Duncan have shown, social scientists have frequently avoided "place" as a concept, and thus have sidetracked the sensory, aesthetic, and environmental components of the urbanized world in favor of more quantifiable research with fewer epistemological problems.[11] Some have argued for the importance of an increasingly "placeless world," or a "non-place urban realm," but speaking critically of bad places is more effective than dismissing them as places.[12] The process that transforms places demands analysis. As a field of wildflowers becomes a shopping mall at the edge of a freeway, that paved-over meadow, restructured as freeway lanes, parking lots, and mall, must still be considered a place, if only to register the importance of loss and explain it has been damaged by careless development. Places also suffer from clumsy attempts to market them for commercial purposes: when small towns in Iowa that once seemed to embody everyday life in the Midwest developed "themes" to make them more attractive to tourists, the places became caricatures of themselves.[13]

If place does provide an overload of possible meanings for the researcher, it is place's very same assault on all ways of knowing (sight, sound, smell, touch, and taste) that makes it powerful as a source of memory, as a weave where one strand ties in another. Place needs to be at the heart of urban landscape history, not on the margins, because the aesthetic qualities of the built environment, positive or negative, need to be understood as inseparable from those of the natural environment.[14] Together these two provide the basis for considering the history of the American urban landscape.

The Production of Space

Henri Lefebvre, the French sociologist who began writing about the "production of space" over two decades ago, provides a framework that can be used to relate the sense of place encountered in cultural landscape studies to the political

economy. Lefebvre argues that every society in history has shaped a distinctive social space that meets its intertwined requirements for economic production and social reproduction.[15] In terms of production, Lefebvre would be close to cultural geography in identifying spaces or landscapes shaped for mining, manufacturing, commerce, or real estate speculation. Most original is his analysis of the space of social reproduction, which ranges over different scales, including the space in and around the body (biological reproduction), the space of housing (the reproduction of the labor force), and the public space of the city (the reproduction of social relations). Here he links the physical to the social in decisive ways. (More speculative are his analyses of the role of artists' representations of space, and the role of popular political movements in creating "counter-space" in opposition to existing political structures.) Cultural critic Fredric Jameson, in *Postmodernism*, assessed Lefebvre's importance: he "called for a new kind of spatial imagination capable of confronting the past in a new way and reading its less tangible secrets off the template of its spatial structures—body, cosmos, city. . . ."[16]

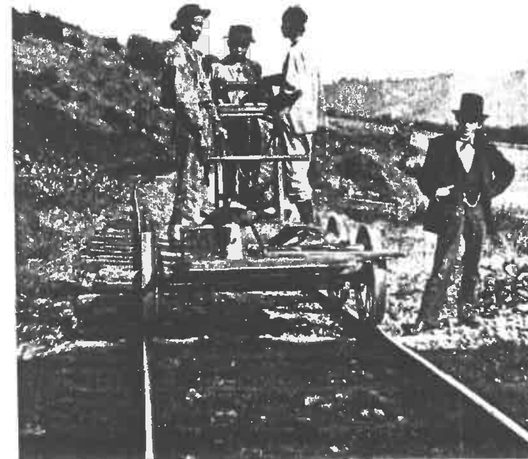
Lefebvre suggests that the production of space is essential to the inner workings of the political economy. A small factory on a stream near a waterfall, with a boarding house and a couple of workers' cottages, announces New England in the earliest stages of textile production; a vast aerospace complex next to a suburban tract of ten thousand identical houses exemplifies defense industries and their work force one hundred and fifty years later. But Lefebvre also sees commonalities between the tract houses, the identical suites in corporate skyscrapers, and the identical shops in malls, suggesting that a quality of late capitalist space is the creation of many identical units—similar but not "placeless" places—by the large commercial real estate market that has become, in itself, a distinguishing feature of the economy. And just as analysts begin to count the environmental costs that this production of endless units of salable space may entail, so the cultural costs in terms of identity, history, and meaning can be weighed.[17]

Lefebvre's approach to the production of space can provide a framework for constructing some specific social histories of urban places. Depending on the kinds of arguments historians want to make (and the resources available in oral histories, social histories, and buildings), research might explore working landscapes, territorial histories of groups in the population, or political histories of building types. The first focuses on economic production as it is tied to social reproduction, the others make social reproduction the major theme.

Working Landscapes

The production of space begins as soon as indigenous residents locate themselves in a particular landscape and begin the search for subsistence. The place may grow into a town, inhabited by new waves of settlers. Many cities begin with farming, mining, fishing, or trading rather than manufacturing. The farm laborers, the miners, the fishermen, or the stall holders in the market, and their families, are the earliest builders of the economic enterprise that eventually becomes a city. Space is shaped for both economic production—barns, or mine shafts, or piers, or a factory—as well as for social reproduction—housing for the workers, managers, and owners, a store, a school, a church. As the town grows, configuring streets and lots formalizes the earliest uses of land and path systems. This leads to infrastructure such as paved roads, bridges, water systems, streetcars, and railroads, all of which have substantial environmental effects.

All of these different kinds of private and public planning activities and public works have a social as well as a technological history.[18] People fight for and against them. People also construct and maintain them (figure 2.1). The ditchdiggers and piledrivers, the streetcar workers and the railroad mechanics, the canal drivers and crane operators represent class, ethnic, and gender history shaping the landscape in ways that have barely been studied. As environmental historian Patricia Nelson Limerick has observed, "Workers, often minority workers, provided the essential labor of envi-



2.1 Workers' landscapes. Chinese American railroad workers on the tracks, next to an Anglo American supervisor, near Lang, California, 1876. (Security Pacific Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.)

ronmental change, and members of minority groups often absorbed a disproportionate share of undesirable environmental impacts . . . yet environmental history and ethnic history have been very separate enterprises."

The history of the railroad in the nineteenth century offers just one of many possible examples. One can understand the railroad in engineering terms, as the history of trains and tracks, or in architectural terms, as stations and freight yards, or in urban planning terms, as the right and the wrong side of the tracks, without fully capturing its social history as the production of space. Limerick notes that twenty-nine Chinese workers died while building Wrights Tunnel for the South Pacific Coast Railroad through the Santa Cruz Mountains in California in 1879, and dozens more were injured. Other historians have commented that the Chinese "contributed" to

California's economic development. Limerick goes farther: the "'price of progress' had registered in the smell of burnt human flesh."[19] She concludes, "In our times the rediscovery of the landscape hinges on just such recognitions as this one." One could add that coming to terms with ethnic history in the landscape requires engaging with such bitter experiences, as well as the indifference and denial surrounding them.

Like the dwelling, which may be typical of the way millions were sheltered, something as basic as a railroad or streetcar system changes the quality of everyday life in the urban landscape, while marking the terrain.[20] For some it provides jobs in design, or construction, or operation, or maintenance; for others, it makes a journey to work through the city possible; for a few, it may bring profits as an investment. John Stilgoe has shown how to study the clustering of different vernacular building types along railroad lines, and the concept of the space of the railway as a "metropolitan corridor."[21] As Limerick shows, there is also an important underlying story to tell about the work force and the social space of the metropolitan corridor, from the people who blasted the tunnels and drove the trains right down to the workers who kept the cars clean and emptied the trash. From the perspective of social history, it is this story about the work force that can turn an abandoned set of railroad tracks or a decaying freight shed into a potential resource for projects concerned with larger public meanings in the urban landscape.

Territorial Histories of Cities Based on Race and Gender

Lefebvre emphasized the importance of space for shaping social reproduction. One of the consistent ways to limit the economic and political rights of groups has been to constrain social reproduction by limiting access to space. For women, the body, the home, and the street have all been arenas of conflict. Examining them as political territories—bounded spaces with some form of enforcement of the boundaries—helps us to analyze the spatial dimensions of "woman's

sphere" at any given time.[22] And just as gender can be mapped as a struggle over social reproduction that occurs at various scales of space, the same is true of race, class, and many other social issues.

As Michael Dear and Jennifer Wolch have written, the interplay between the social and the spatial is constant: "Social life structures territory ... and territory shapes social life."[23] Ghettos and barrios, internment camps and Indian reservations, plantations under slavery and migrant worker camps should also be looked at as political territories, and the customs and laws governing them seen as enforcement of territory.[24] The territories of the gay and lesbian communities can be mapped. So can those of childhood or old age. The spatial dimensions of class can be illuminated by looking at other boundaries and points of access.[25] Since many of these categories interlock, studying how territories defined by gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexual preference, or age affect people's access to the urban cultural landscape can be frustrating.

How can one find evidence about social groups' experiences of these overlapping territories? Frequently observations about urban space are ignored by historians because the comments appear to be spatial description rather than social analysis, but they can form the basis of a territorial history focusing on access to the public spaces of the city. For example, Loren Miller, Jr., an African American lawyer who grew up in a middle-class family in Los Angeles in the 1940s, didn't see a segregated movie house until he went to Kansas in 1948. He could go to the beach any time on the streetcar. But he observed, "As teen-agers, we knew not to drive into Compton, to Inglewood, not to drive into Glendale 'cause you would just be out, with your hands on top of the car, ... LAPD did the same thing. You got too far south on Western, they would stop you." This man also remembered, as a child, having Japanese American neighbors interned, going to visit them in temporary quarters at the Santa Anita race track, and finding that "soldiers with guns wouldn't let me go on the other side of the table, and they wouldn't let me play with my friends."[26] This is one individual account of spatial barriers

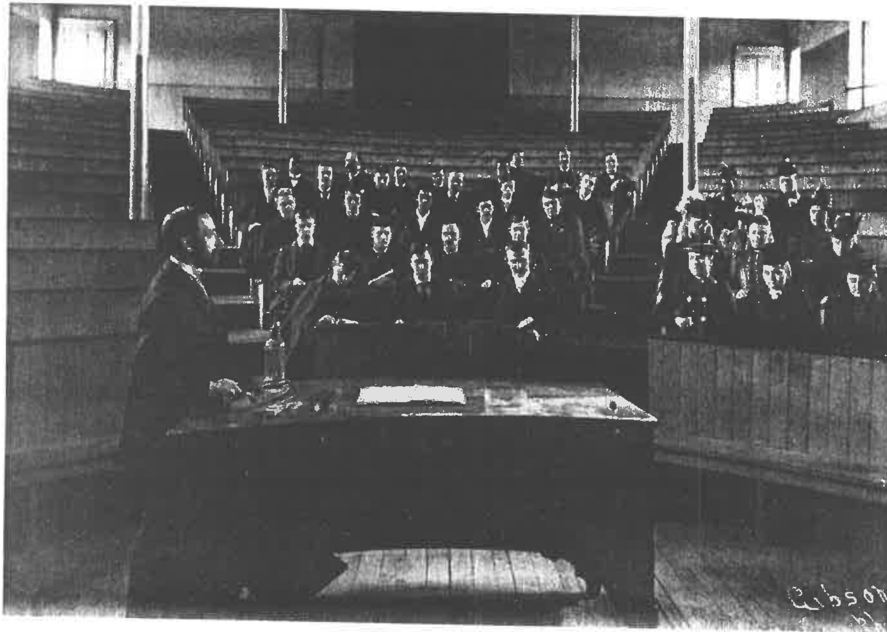
about race. Another writer, Lynnell George, comments on this city in the 1940s, "Off-limits for people of color in Los Angeles ran the gamut . . . not West of Main, not Glendale after dusk, never ever Fontana and its dusty flatlands dotted with burning crosses."[27]

Accounts like these begin to make it possible to map spatial segregation for the larger African American community: not only streets and neighborhoods, but schools, hotels, stores, fire stations, swimming pools, and cemeteries would be some of the places to examine. Photographs often convey territorial history as well, documenting both residential segregation and communities' struggles against territorial exclusion (figures 2.2, 2.3).[28] In images of public space from the 1940s, a small cafe has different entrances for "White" and "Colored" labeled over the doors, while a movie theater has a large arrow painted on the side of the building, pointing "Colored" to an exterior stair leading to a balcony. Documentary photography, newspaper photography, commercial photography, and amateur snapshots all reveal different sides of a city. It can be revealing to consider the gender and ethnic background of the photographer as well as the architectural subject selected for the picture.

A territorial history based on limitations of gender in the public spaces of the city would use similar sources and would put buildings or parts of them off limits, rather than whole neighborhoods.[29] In the twentieth century, spatial segregation includes private men's clubs, university faculty clubs, programs in higher education, and numerous other spaces. The segregation need not be absolute—women might be permitted to attend a class, but sit separately, or they might be allowed to enter a club as men's guests, provided they remained in a special room reserved for ladies, and so on. In the nineteenth century the list would be longer, and forbidden activities might include voting, entering a public saloon, or sitting in the main body of an assembly hall rather than the more restricted balcony. To understand the intersecting segregation of race, class, and gender, the spatial dimensions of traditional "woman's sphere" have to be studied in combination

2.2 Territorial histories. Exclusion of Japanese Americans from a residential neighborhood in Hollywood, California, took the form of signs as well as deed restrictions, 1920s. (Visual Communications.)

2.3 Territorial histories. Segregated tract, with African American observer, Los Angeles County, early 1950s. (Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research; the original source is possibly the California *Eagle*, Charlotta Bass Collection.)

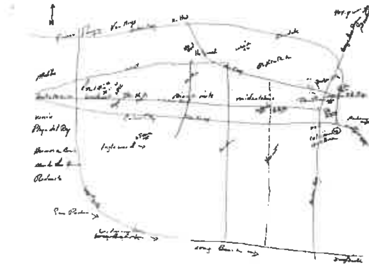


2.4 Territorial histories. Male and female students sitting separately at a lecture on physics, University of Michigan Medical School, late 1880s. (Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.)

with the spatial limits imposed by race or class. Because white women's clubs, charities, and suffrage organizations were often segregated, African American women sometimes formed their own parallel groups, with their own meeting places, to help working women and girls in their own communities.[30] Or, to take another example, one photograph of a class at a state university open to women in the 1890s shows the men and women sitting separately. It is equally important to ask if there appear to be people of color present, segregated by gender and race, sitting at the very back of each group (figure 2.4).

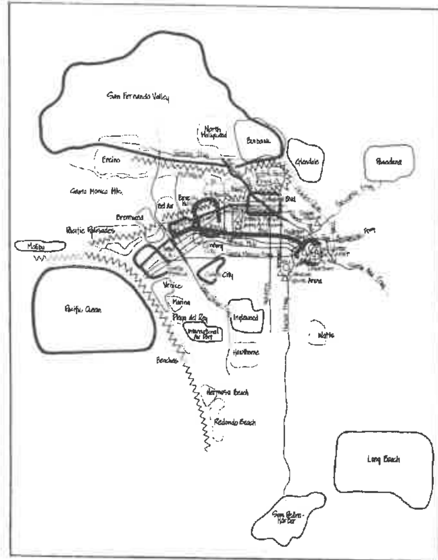
Political divisions of territory split the urban world into many enclaves experienced from many different perspectives. Cognitive mapping is a tool for discovering fuller territorial information about contemporary populations. Urban planner Kevin Lynch studied mental images of the city by asking people to draw maps or give directions.[31] At the time, in 1960, Lynch suggested that such images could be combined into a composite portrait of a city, useful to urban designers, but not all Bostonians see Boston the same way. Subsequent studies, including some of Lynch's own, explored class, gender, age, and ethnicity. Most striking was a study done in Los Angeles that showed graphically the differences between the residents of an affluent white suburb, an inner-city African American neighborhood, and a mixed neighborhood close to downtown that had long been home to new immigrants working in downtown factories and using a few downtown bus lines.[32] The space of the city, as understood by these different groups, varied greatly in size as well as in its memorable features (figures 2.5, 2.6, 2.7). The maps are striking images of inequality of access to the city.

Lynch's work from the 1960s and 1970s suggests not only that the sprawling, spatially segregated city is difficult for citizens to map, but also that architects and planners, as well as specialists in public history, have an important role to play in making the entire city more coherent in the minds of its citizens. Out of Lynch's work comes what Fredric Jameson has called "an aesthetic of cognitive mapping." Acknowledging

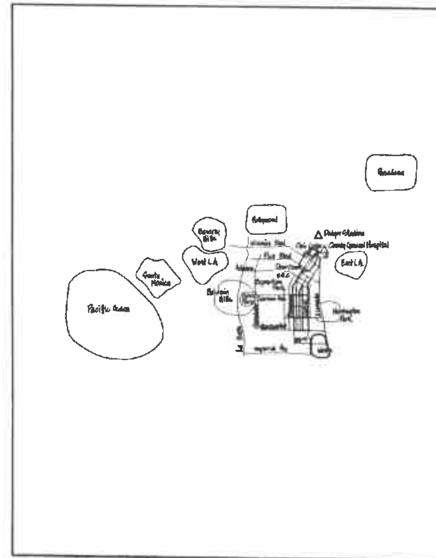


Actual citizen's map: Westwood

Actual citizen's map: Avalon

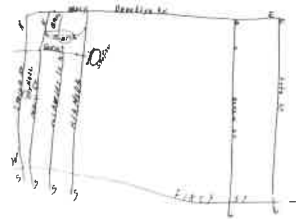


Composite citizen image: Westwood

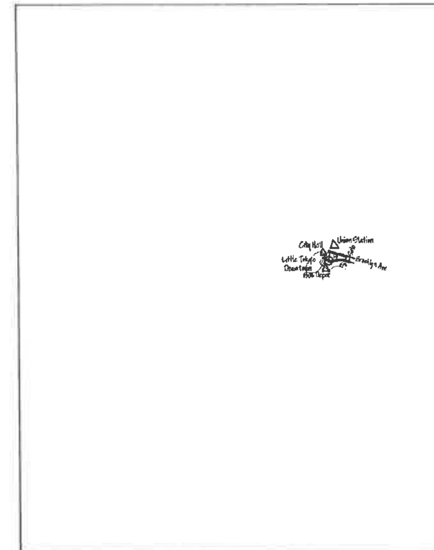


Composite citizen image: Avalon

2.5, 2.6, 2.7 Cognitive maps of Los Angeles as perceived by predominantly Anglo American residents of Westwood, predominantly African American residents of Avalon, and predominantly Latino residents of Boyle Heights. (*The Visual Environment of Los Angeles*, Los Angeles Department of City Planning, April 1971, pp. 9–10.)



Actual citizen's map: Boyle Heights



Composite citizen image: Boyle Heights

some of the political limits of Lynch's work, Jameson applauds the potential of his insights about how to give individuals a heightened sense of place, and suggests that mapping can raise political consciousness.[33] This is a direction some individual artists are exploring, as well as groups like New York's Chinatown History Museum and London's Common Ground (discussed in the next chapter).

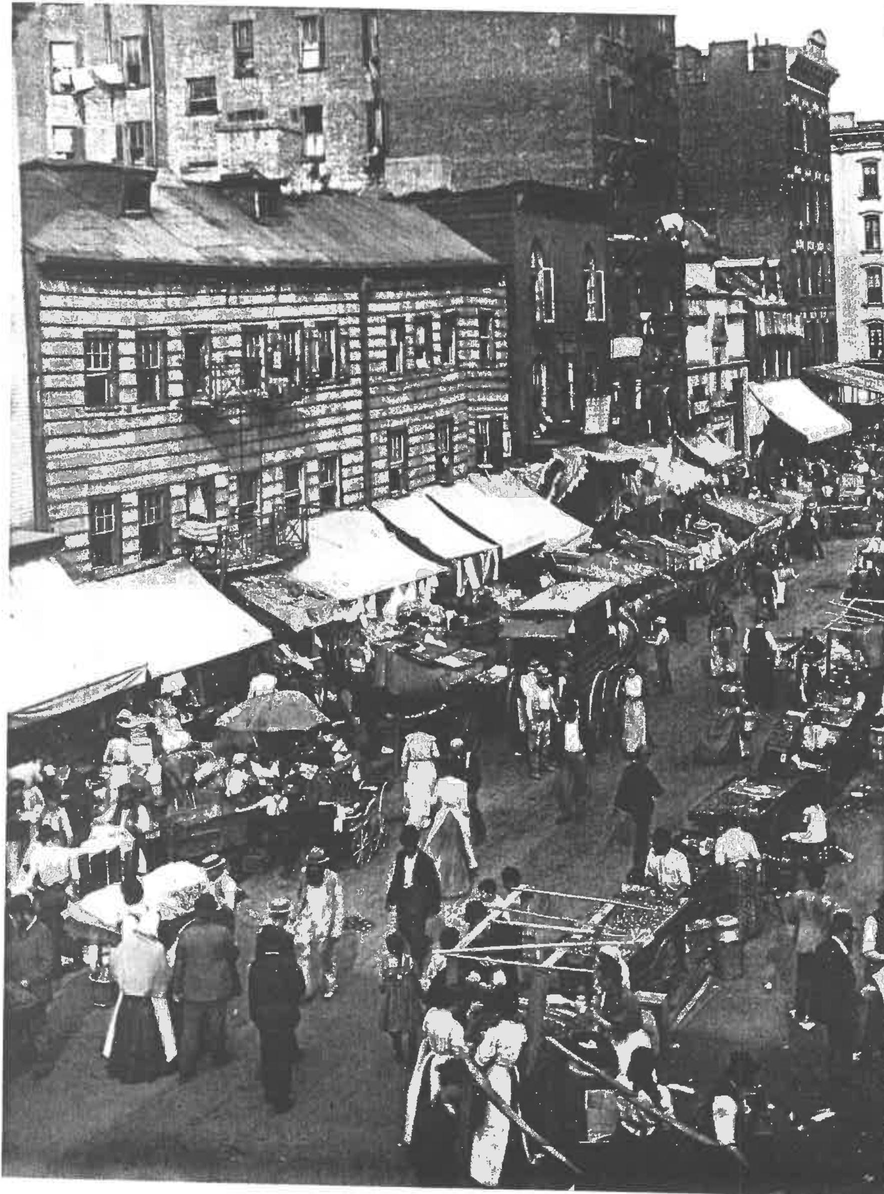
Another way to analyze the production of space historically is to look at power struggles as they appear in the planning, design, construction, use, and demolition of typical buildings, especially dwellings. While architectural history has traditionally been devoted to stylistic analyses of the works of a small group of trained architects, recently more attention has been given to vernacular buildings and urban context.[34] Buildings are rich sources for analyzing the material conditions of urban life.[35] Buildings—tens of millions of them—can be surveyed, identified, and classified according to shape and function, but a larger sense of their political meaning is necessary.[36] Camille Wells, social historian of architecture, puts it this way: "most buildings can be understood in terms of power or authority—as efforts to assume, extend, resist, or accommodate it."[37]

Urban historians, such as Sam Bass Warner, who studied Boston's streetcar suburbs, James Borchert, who looked at Washington's African American alley dwellings, and Elizabeth Blackmar, who looked at the growth of Manhattan's rental housing from colonial times onward, demonstrate how the built world's dimensions illuminate a larger urban economy.[38] These methods have influenced architectural historians interested in the political uses of design. Architectural studies of communitarian settlements and company towns reveal spatial struggles at every turn. In a similar way, Gwendolyn Wright's study of the politics of urban planning and architecture in the cities of French colonies has suggested how power can operate from the top down through the regulation of the built environment.[39]

Like work on the cultural landscape, much scholarship on ordinary (or vernacular) buildings has focused on rural or small town subjects, on agriculture or craft industries. More has been written about farmhouses and barns than urban boardinghouses or saloons, more about rural one-room schools than urban public high schools.[40] (Some scholars would still prefer to define the field this way. For them, the

best vernacular building will always be the purest, the best preserved, or the most elaborate example of its physical type.) A simple, rural building, constructed by local people who may also own and occupy it, can illustrate a process of the production of space that is much less difficult to analyze than urban real estate (figure 2.8), although it may still convey some surprises—such as women doing the construction. Yet greater potential lies in using the methods developed with preindustrial material to look at urban types like the tene-

2.8 Dwellings and social reproduction. Rural vernacular architecture and the building process: house in Chamisal, New Mexico, receiving a new application of adobe by local women, 1940. (Photograph by Russell Lee, Library of Congress.)



2.9 Dwellings and social reproduction. A much less romantic vernacular: urban tenements and market on the Lower East Side of New York, ca. 1900. (Library of Congress.)

ment, the public library, or the office building, to provide broad social interpretations of construction and habitation. Most can be learned from urban building types (figure 2.9) that represent the conditions of thousands or millions of people.[41]

Writing the social history of buildings can begin with material culture theory and method, identifying "mind in matter,"[42] but beyond evaluating an urban building as an artifact it is necessary to probe the complexity of habitation and finance, turning not only to building plans but to all the public records of ownership, taxation, and regulation that may exist. The final results of research for an urban building type can be a complex social history linked to many ordinary buildings.[43] In the city, this social history includes the builder, and also the owner or developer, the zoning and building code writers, the building inspector, and probably a complex series of tenants. The production of space on an urban scale involves them all. The basic arithmetic of how much it cost to buy the land and construct the building is balanced by how much rent was collected from how many tenants over how many years.

In a typical New York tenement at the turn of the century, many people's sordid habitat was one landlord's money machine, generating 25 percent return on investment per year.[44] There were few reasons to diminish profits through maintenance expenses, since legal enforcement of building codes and safety regulations was minimal. What did it mean in terms of the sensory experience of place? The building will be a more evocative source than any written records. One can read about unhealthy living conditions, but standing inside a tenement apartment—perhaps 400 square feet of living space for an entire family, minimal plumbing, only one or two exterior windows—leaves a visitor gasping for air and looking for light. The claustrophobic experiences of immigrants living for decades in crowded, unhealthy space (as part of the

reproduction of the labor force) are conveyed by the building in a way that a text or a chart can never match. Environmental history may come in the form of "black spot" charts of tenement residents dying of lung diseases, photographs of filthy communal privies serving hundreds of people, and sidewalks piled a yard high with uncollected garbage, but the building itself is the very best resource for interpreting the experience. Because a tenement was typical of hundreds of thousands of tenements all over the city, its implications for the historic urban landscape are broad. One building tells the story of thousands of developers and millions of tenants. It represents daily life in New York at the turn of the century better than historic houses of refined architectural quality.[45]

From an Ordinary Dwelling to an Urban Residential Neighborhood

Dwellings are the basic, repeated units in an urban neighborhood. In a nineteenth-century or early twentieth-century American city, dwellings cluster along with related buildings such as public bathhouses, food markets, bakeries, union halls, schools, clubs, nickelodeons, saloons, and settlement houses. All of these begin to form a historic urban working-class neighborhood that can be researched through sources such as fire insurance maps and institutional records of trade unions and settlement houses, as well as information on individual buildings. There are patterns of gender segregation, places such as saloons where no respectable woman could go.[46] And there are patterns of ethnic and racial division, as well as distinctive ethnic building types.

Architectural historian Dell Upton once observed: "Large urban ethnic groups evidently built little that was distinctive but instead expressed their ethnicity through language, food customs, religion and social organizations."[47] However, ethnicity, as well as race, class, and gender, can be uncovered as a shaping force of American urban places, provided one looks at the production of social space carefully. In Eastern European Jewish neighborhoods, distinctive ethnic building types include synagogues; in Chinese American neighborhoods,

laundries, herb shops, seamen's boardinghouses; in Japanese American neighborhoods, temples, nurseries, and flower markets. (The researcher needs to be able to use sources in Yiddish, Chinese, and Japanese as well as English.)

There are distinctive design traditions for outdoor spaces associated with different ethnic groups—yards or gardens planted in certain ways identify African American or Portuguese or Chinese or Latino or Italian residents.[48] Stoops and porches, and the ways these are used, also speak about ethnicity and gender. Religious shrines do too, and street games for children. A world of shared meanings builds up, couched in the language of small semiprivate and semipublic territories between the dwelling and the street that support certain kinds of typical public behavior. Architect and planner James Rojas has analyzed the ways such spaces are created and used by residents in East Los Angeles, what he calls "the enacted environment."[49] Larger spatial patterns associated with ethnic groups have been studied in certain cities, such as Asian American patterns of building and ownership in the state of Washington, Chinese American gateways and underground passages in Vancouver, Canada, or Latino public plazas in Los Angeles, African American alley dwellings in Washington, or Puerto Rican *casitas* in New York.[50]

The story of the *casita* in New York City is particularly fascinating, as it is a rural dwelling converted into a public place. The *casita* represents a conscious choice by community organizers to construct the rural, preindustrial *bohio* (an eight-by-ten wooden house with a porch and a front yard) from the island as a new kind of community center in devastated tenement districts such as East Harlem, the South Bronx, and the Lower East Side (figure 2.10). Here rural vernacular architecture was chosen to serve a polemical function, emphasizing the importance of the "enacted environment" as a bridge between built and natural worlds. At the *casitas* community organizers host political meetings, musical events, and classes. They often organize community gardening on vacant lots. Painted in coral, turquoise, or lemon yellow, these dwellings recall the colors of the Caribbean and evoke a

2.10 Counter-space, as a challenge to the reproduction of social relations. Dilapidated and abandoned tenements in New York City provide the context for a Puerto Rican *casita*, a rural house type built as a political gathering place in an East Harlem neighborhood that includes a vacant lot used for a community garden, 1989. (Photograph by Martha Cooper.)

memory of the homeland for immigrants who find themselves in Alphabet City or Spanish Harlem.

The *casitas* and their community gardens play against the context of abandoned tenements and litter-strewn lots. The organizers have produced their own public space, setting up a series of oppositions—past/present, inviting/uninviting, private/public. They offer an alternative kind of social reproduction within their space, at the same time that they critique the available space, past and present, for Puerto Rican workers. As they attest the power of one cultural landscape to contradict another, they offer an example of Lefebvre's "counter-space." In this way, they resemble the political murals of East

2.11, 2.12 Urban neighborhoods host many vernacular arts traditions that enable different ethnic groups to claim public space. In Los Angeles, Latino murals enliven the Estrada Courts housing project: the Virgin of Guadalupe and a more militant woman with a machine gun, 1980. (Photographs by Dolores Hayden.)

Los Angeles, which also set up a political dialogue with the surrounding city and its traditions of housing for Latino workers (figures 2.11, 2.12).[51]

Ethnic vernacular arts traditions have often operated in a similar way to instill community pride and signal the presence of a particular community in the city. Japanese Americans have created flower decorations for streets. Anglos have made fruit, flower, and vegetable architecture for festivals. Mexican Americans have developed hand-painted signs for both commercial buildings and trucks. Many communities enjoy more than one medium. A study of Italian Americans in South Philadelphia by Dorothy Noyes shows how Italian immigrants and their descendants made their presence felt through masonry, confectionery, window dressing, and street festival design.[52]

Festivals and parades also help to define cultural identity in spatial terms by staking out routes in the urban cultural landscape. Although their presence is temporary they can be highly effective in claiming the symbolic importance of places. They intermix vernacular arts traditions (in their costumes, floats, music, dance, and performance) with spatial history (sites where they begin, march, and end). African American jazz funerals marching through the streets of New Orleans, Chinese New Year parades, saint's day processions in Irish American or Italian American Catholic communities,[53] and graveyard ceremonies for the Day of the Dead in Mexican American communities are just a few examples of ethnic traditions with long histories. Slightly different from the religious parades, political parades have been representing communities and their causes for a long time, from workers with the tools of their trades to suffragettes, as scholars such as Susan Davis and David Glassberg have shown.[54] In the last forty years, civil rights marches in southern cities, women's marches to "Take Back the Night" or win abortion rights, and Gay and Lesbian Pride parades in major cities have also established their participants in public space, as part of campaigns to achieve greater political representation.[55] Historical changes in parades can reveal larger social transformations, such as when a group is or is not too controversial to march, or when an entire parade is overtaken by commercial interests and every float becomes an advertisement.

An ordinary urban neighborhood will also contain the history of activists who have campaigned against spatial injustices. Whether one uses territorial histories, or cognitive mapping, or some combination of the two methods, it is possible to identify historic urban places that have special significance to certain populations fighting spatial segregation of different kinds. Territorial history will point to a church where major civil rights meetings were held, or a local newspaper that crusaded for fair housing, or the first place in a city where women tried to vote, or the first place where new immigrants were allowed to own land, or the first integrated primary school. There are also sites of assassinations, lynchings, massacres, and riots with political histories that should not be forgotten. The motel where Martin Luther King was shot, the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, is now a national civil rights museum, but every city and town has similar landmarks where territorial struggles have been waged. Finding these buildings and interpreting their history is one additional way to fuse the social and political meanings of space with the history of the urban landscape.

From the Urban Neighborhood to the City and the Region

As one moves from the scale of the neighborhood to that of the city, many works of urban history contribute to the understanding of cultural landscape history. A new American urban social history has begun to be written in the last two decades, a history that takes ethnic diversity as a starting point and recognizes disparate experiences of class and gender as well. For many years, urban history was dominated by a kind of "city biography" that projected a single narrative of how city leaders or "city fathers"—almost always white, upper- and middle-class men—forged the city's spatial and economic structure, making fortunes building downtowns and imposing order on chaotic immigrant populations. This

narrative tradition in urban history bore many similarities to the "conquest" histories of the American West.

In contrast, urban histories of the twenty-first century may begin by noting that in 1984 white males became a minority in the paid labor force in the United States.[56] Urban historians discovered workers in the 1960s and women in the 1970s. In the 1980s, as the history of suburban development became an essential part of urban history, spatial issues gained more attention.[57] In the late 1980s and 1990s, historians have been reconstructing the entire city, exploring the whole as seen from African American, Latino, Chinese American, or Japanese American perspectives. While socially oriented studies of ethnicity and race have a long tradition, the new, ethnic urban histories often emphasize the sharpness of spatial as well as cultural distinctions.[58] Soon the United States may have an urban history that encompasses the whole of the population, and the whole of the city, socially and spatially. Previous histories of American cities already seem dated if they focused only on the prosperous, white parts of cities—Manhattan without Harlem or the Bronx, Boston without Roxbury, the Westside of Los Angeles without East or South Central Los Angeles. As Toni Morrison's *Playing in the Dark* suggests, Anglo American literature has often been constructed using the presence of African Americans to help define "whiteness": "Through significant and underscored omissions, startling contradictions, heavily nuanced conflicts, through the way writers peopled their work with the signs and bodies of this presence—one can see that a real or fabricated Africanist presence was crucial to their sense of Americanness."[59] This could be said of some older urban histories as well.

New texts ask, "Who built America?"[60] Not only is the history of different ethnic communities becoming more fully represented, but historians increasingly place women at the center rather than the periphery of economic and social life in the city. In contrast to the older city biographies that focused on city fathers and their conquest of the economic and physical obstacles to economic growth, women's history has brought a

new emphasis on city mothers, the half of the city consisting of females of all races and classes, nurturing the rest of the population. Following the lead of scholars who worked on women of color a decade ago,[61] historians studying working women of every ethnic group have led the way to the broadest synthetic accounts of urban life, exploring textile mills and canneries, tenements and courtyards, where women struggled for sustenance for themselves, their families, and their communities.[62] Work in the home and paid work are complementary parts of women's urban economic activity, suggesting that urban history, ethnic history, women's history, and labor history are not separate categories. All of these studies of urban working women contain the outline of a larger urban narrative uniting women, children, and men in the struggle for survival, both in the market economy and in the home.

At the same time that social histories of the city are becoming more inclusive and spatial, environmental historians are showing how the old "city biography" tradition failed to convey the dynamic economic and spatial process of building a city, which depended on natural resources extending beyond the city limits. A city has a hinterland of economically dependent places. For Chicago, the cattle ranges of the West and the wheat fields of the Midwest were the environmental resources harnessed by the owners of railroads, slaughterhouses, grain elevators, and meat-packing plants headquartered in the city. For Los Angeles, the growth of the city required aqueducts reaching up through the Owens Valley and out to the Colorado River. An environmental analysis of both the central city and these far-flung places reveals the economic history of a city far better than a narrower look.[63]

Space as a Social Product, Local and Global

"Space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations but it is also producing and produced by social relations." So Henri Lefebvre sums up the complex, contradictory nature of space.[64] As the production

of built space increases in intensity and scale during the later twentieth century, the politics of space becomes more difficult to map. Freeways connect dispersed locations of workplaces and dwellings, typical of contemporary working landscapes. As interstate freeways carry automobiles speeding at 55 miles per hour, it becomes more difficult to analyze the experience they provide in terms of human perception and memory, but easier to track the production of that American automotive space as the world's largest and most grandiose public works project.[65] "At the same time as a regional dispersion of activities is occurring, the global migration of capital leads to manufacturing processes scattered around parts of the world, while housing and factories lie abandoned in older, industrial inner cities in the United States.

In *The City and the Grassroots*, Manuel Castells has noted, "The new space of a world capitalist system, combining the informational and industrial modes of development, is a space of variable geometry, formed by locations hierarchically ordered in a continuously changing network of flows: flows of capital, labor, elements of production, commodities, information, decisions, and signals." He concludes that "the new tendential urban meaning is the spatial and cultural separation of people from their product and from their history." While suggesting that what "tends to disappear is the meaning of places for people," he finds many social movements mobilized against this loss of meaning in places. In a similar vein, David Harvey describes the process of the "destruction, invasion, and restructuring of places on an unprecedented scale," caused by "changing material practices of production, consumption, information flow, and communication coupled with the radical reorganization of space relations and of time horizons within capitalist development."[66]

These changes affect older central cities with particular architectural impact, and the inhabitants of devastated areas need to understand the complex forces that have led to present configurations. Territorial histories based on race and class and gender can be illuminating, as well as the analysis of worker's livelihoods and landscapes. Today suburban malls

and edge cities are proliferating, and many inner-city neighborhoods struggle for economic viability.[67] Both citizens and planners may find that urban landscape history can help to reclaim the identities of deteriorating neighborhoods where generations of working people have spent their lives. As Harvey suggests, paradoxically, "the elaboration of place-bound identities has become more rather than less important in a world of diminishing spatial barriers to exchange, movement and communication."[68] Understanding the history of urban cultural landscapes offers citizens and public officials some basis for making political and spatial choices about the future. It also offers a context for greater social responsibility to practitioners in the design fields.

This chapter has explored some of the ways that social history is embedded in urban landscapes. This subject needs to be grounded in both the aesthetics of experiencing places with all five senses and the politics of experiencing places as contested territory. Much the same can be said for organizations of historians, preservationists, or environmentalists, or of individual artists and designers, who wish to use the social history of places to make more resonant connections to public memory. Places make memories cohere in complex ways. People's experiences of the urban landscape intertwine the sense of place and the politics of space. If people's attachments to places are material, social, and imaginative, then these are necessary dimensions of new projects to extend public history in the urban landscape, as well as new histories of American cultural landscapes and the buildings within them.

17. Kevin Lynch, *What Time Is This Place?* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972).

18. George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 12–13.

2 Urban Landscape History: The Sense of Place and the Politics of Space

1. John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), xii.

2. Yi-Fu Tuan sees both biology and culture forming the human connection to place, in *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 6. He also notes that these terms may be elusive: "Architects talk about the spatial qualities of place; they can equally well talk about the locational (place) qualities of space." Tuan describes place as a pause in the flow of time: "If we see the world as a process, constantly changing, we should not be able to develop any sense of place." He argues that the experience of place engages all five senses in seeing, smelling, feeling, hearing, and tasting the essence of places.

3. Cross-cultural studies reveal heightened sensitivities to certain kinds of places. The Aivilik of northern Canada can describe many kinds of snowy landscapes; the Puluwat Islanders of the Pacific can read minute variations in ocean currents. Yet it would be wrong to say that sense of place is primarily determined this way. Among the Aivilik gender accounts for marked differences. Settlements and trading posts appear on cognitive maps drawn by women, while coastline is the key to those made by men, according to Tuan, *Space and Place*, 79–84.

4. Tuan, *Space and Place*, 30, 79–84.

5. Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low, eds., *Place Attachment* (New York: Plenum Publishing, 1992). Also see Denise L. Lawrence and Setha M. Low, "The Built Environment and Spatial Form," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19 (1990), 453–505, a review essay covering several hundred works.

6. Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans*, 2d ed. (New York: Free Press, 1982); Peter H. Marris, *Family and Social Change in an African City* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1962); Peter H. Marris, *Loss and Change*, 2d ed. (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986).

7. Sauer said: "Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result." See "Landscape," in Robert P. Larkin and Gary L. Peters, eds., *Dictionary of Concepts in Human Geography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983), 139–144. Among the scholars who have helped shape cultural landscape studies are John Brinckerhoff Jackson and Donald Meinig. See Jackson's essays in *Landscapes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (cited above), and *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); and Meinig's edited volume, *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) as well as his *The Shaping of America*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986 and 1993). More recent edited volumes include Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1986) and Michael Conzen, ed., *The Making of the American Landscape* (New York: HarperCollins, 1990), both with extensive bibliographies. Conzen's is the more urban of the two, and the broader in focus. Also see Wayne Franklin and Michael Steiner, eds., *Mapping American Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1992).

   Landscape architect Anne Whiston Spirn, in a forthcoming book, *The Language of Landscape*, will provide a more thorough grounding in aesthetics and environmental science for landscape studies and design. See her articles "From Uluru to Cooper's Place: Patterns in the Cultural Landscape," *Orion* 9 (Spring 1990), 32–39, and "The Poetics of City and Nature: Towards a New Aesthetic for Urban Design," *Landscape Journal* 7 (Fall 1988), 108–127.

8. Two collections of essays on ethnic spatial patterns and vernacular architecture in the American rural landscape exist, but there is nothing comparable focusing on vernacular building in urban ethnic places: Allen G. Noble, ed., *To Build in a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Dell Upton, ed., *America's Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups That Built America* (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1986).

9. See Michael Dear and Jennifer Wolch, eds., *The Power of Geography* (Boston: Hyman Unwin, 1990); Kay Anderson and Fay Gale, eds., *Inventing Places* (New York: John Wiley, 1992); John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan, eds., *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989); James Duncan and David Ley, eds., *Place / Culture / Representation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge, Mass., and Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Reproduction of Space* (Cambridge, Mass., and Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

10. William Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *Journal of American History* 78 (March 1992): 1347–1376.

11. John A. Agnew, "The Devaluation of Place in Social Science," examines the way that ideas about class and community have become more central to social science research than ideas about place, in Agnew and Duncan, eds., *The Power of Place*. Also see David Ley, "Modernism, Post-Modernism, and the Struggle for Place," in the same volume, 44–65.

12. Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), promoted the term "placeless," which is misleading since he really meant bad place. Melvin Webber, an urban planner, used "non-place urban realm" earlier in a way that

was neither positive nor negative but referred to the decline of face-to-face activities and the rise of telephone, television, etc. More recent commentators stress the "information highway" as a non-place.

13. Mira Engler, "Drive-Thru History: Theme Towns in Iowa," *Landscape* 32 (1993), 8–16; Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country* (London: Verso, 1985).

14. But terminology is in flux. Alexander Wilson describes his *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to Exxon Valdez* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992) as "a cultural history of nature in North America," 12.

15. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, tr. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, England, and Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1991).

16. Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 364–365.

17. For a more complex look at these issues, see Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, and David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Cambridge, Mass., and Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), especially Table 3.1.

18. To list just a few examples of works that deal with political contestation: on city plans, Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); and on parks, Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982), and Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The People and the Park* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

19. Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Disorientation and Reorientation: The American Landscape Discovered from the West," *Journal of American History* 79 (December 1992), 1031–1034.

20. Denis Wood's atlas of the Boylan Heights neighborhood of Raleigh, North Carolina, is a wonderful example of the evocation of an entire urban neighborhood, achieved through drawings that record the contours of its landscape and the patterns of its roads, alleys, bridges, sewers and water mains, manhole covers, street trees, street signs, and stop signs. Denis Wood, *Dancing and Singing: A Narrative Atlas of Boylan Heights*, proof copy from the author, 1990, School of Design, North Carolina State University. A basic text that explores some of these materials for teachers undertaking school projects is Gerald Danzer, *Public Places: Exploring Their History* (Nashville, Tenn.: Association for State and Local History, 1987.)

21. John Stilgoe, *Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

22. At the scale of bodily space, in the middle third of the nineteenth century, some middle-class women fought for dress reform and access to birth control, while African American women fought slavery as a system that required them to bear children as a source of new wealth for their owners. At the scale of housing space, by the last third of the century, some middle-class women, who were usually political activists and housewives, were looking for ways to reorganize the home economically as a domestic workplace. In the same period, some African American women, who were employed as domestics, organized a major strike of household workers in Atlanta in 1881. At the scale of urban space, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, middle-class white women's movements for "municipal housekeeping" challenged corrupt government by men; suffrage also brought broad coalitions of women, across lines of class and race, into public space to demand this right. At the same time, while African American women participated in these wider movements, they would have experienced more limited access to space in the city. Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981); Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

23. Dear and Wolch, *The Power of Geography*, 4.

24. For example, Rina Swentzell, "Conflicting Landscape Values," *Places* 7 (Fall 1990), 19–27; Dell Upton, "Black and White Landscapes in Colonial Virginia," in Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America 1600–1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 357–369; Manuel Castells, "Cultural Identity, Sexual Liberation and Urban Structure: The Gay Community in San Francisco," *The City and the Grassroots* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 138–172; George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

25. For example, Allen Scott and Michael Storper, eds., *Production, Work, and Territory: The Geographical Anatomy of Industrial Capitalism* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986); Dear and Wolch, eds., *The Power of Geography*.

26. Interview with Loren Miller, Jr., in Charles Perry, "When We Were Very Young," *Los Angeles Times Magazine* (February 4, 1990), 13–14.

27. Lynell George, *No Crystal Stair: African Americans in the City of Angels* (London and New York: Verso, 1992), 222–223.

28. Such photographs are often surprisingly difficult to locate since only certain archives are willing to preserve them. Lonnie G. Bunch's *Black Angelenos* includes a good selection (Los Angeles: California Afro-American Museum, 1989).

29. For a sociological look at these spatial issues in world perspective, see Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

30. Miller, in Perry, "When We Were Very Young," 13, includes a photograph of an African American women's social club his mother belonged to in Los Angeles in the 1950s.

31. Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960).

32. Peter Orleans discusses this study by Tridib Bannerjee and others in "Urban Experimentation and Urban Sociology," in *Science, Engineering, and the City*, publication 1498 (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1967), 103–117; also see Peter Gould and Rodney White, *Mental Maps* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1986).

33. Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 54. But how this could operate in terms of global capitalism is more difficult to say. Also see Doug Aberley, ed., *Boundaries of Home: Mapping for Local Empowerment* (Gabriola Island, B.C., and Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1993).

34. Thomas Hubka, "In the Vernacular: Classifying American Folk and Popular Architecture," *The Forum* (Society of Architectural Historians) 7 (December 1985), 1.

35. As Michel Foucault has suggested, "Both architecture and urban planning, both designs and ordinary buildings, offer privileged instances for understanding how power operates." Cited in Gwendolyn Wright and Paul Rabinow, "Spatialization of Power: A Discussion of the Work of Michel Foucault," *Skyline* (March 1982), 14.

36. Barbara Wyatt, "The Challenge of Addressing Vernacular Architecture in a State Historic Preservation Survey Program," in Camille Wells, ed., *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture II* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 37–43.

37. Camille Wells, "Old Claims and New Demands" in Wells, *Perspectives*, 9–10. She refers to the potential conflict between vernacular scholarship and interpretation for a museum audience. The study of ordinary buildings and neighborhoods offers a bridge between academics (in the fields of history and history of architecture) and practitioners (in public history and in historic preservation planning), but those in the latter group, such as the museum curators and preservationists, may be under pressure to serve certain audiences and funders, and may be asked to avoid conflict and exploitation as themes of research. This is also frequently a problem for architectural journalists.

38. Sam Bass Warner, Jr., is one urban historian who pioneered the use of evidence based on buildings, in his *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962). Warner's *The Urban Wilderness*, *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Stages of Its Growth*, and *To Dwell Is to Garden* are all classics of urban history that use the built environment well. Other examples include James Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington: Family, Community, Religion and Folklife in the City, 1850–1870* (Champaign, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1980); Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent, 1785–1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

39. Dolores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790–1975* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976); Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Architecture of American Company Towns* (New York and London: Verso, 1994); Wright, *The Politics of Design*.

40. One recent example of a study of community space is Gerald L. Pocius, *A Place to Belong: Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1991). *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture I, II, III, IV* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1982–1989) gives a selection of work by members of the Vernacular Architecture Forum. On the importance of process to vernacular building studies, see Dell Upton, "Vernacular Buildings," in Diane Maddex, ed., *Built in the USA: American Buildings from Airports to Zoos* (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1985), 167–168. He has also made a plea for architectural historians to turn away from studying single buildings by master designers (thus serving as the architectural profession's press agents) in favor of looking at landscape history, in "Architectural History or Landscape History?," *Journal of Architectural Education* 44 (August 1991), 195–199.

41. Daniel Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Abigail Van Slyck, *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries and American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming). Paul Groth's choice of the single-room-occupancy hotel, as a vernacular building type of great importance in analyzing both urban renewal and homelessness, is an example of the new kinds of work possible using these older methods: "'Marketplace' Vernacular Design: The Case of Downtown Rooming Houses," in Wells, ed., *Perspectives*, 179–191; Paul Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). Also see Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), for an overview of 13 housing types.

42. Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," in St. George, ed., *Material Life in America*, 17–34. Also see essays by Thomas J. Schlereth in *Cultural History and Material Culture: Everyday Life, Landscapes, Museums* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1990); and by Dell Upton, "The City as Material Culture," in Anne E. Yentsch and Mary C. Beaudry, eds., *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz* (Boca Raton, Fla.: CRC Press, 1992), 51–74, and "Another City: the Urban Cultural Landscape in the Early Republic," in Catherine Hutchins, ed., *Everyday Life in the Early Republic, 1789–1829* (Winterthur, Del.: Winterthur Museum, forthcoming).

43. One social history research team associated with the New York Lower East Side Tenement Museum is working on a tenement located at 97 Orchard Street on the Lower East Side of New York City. (A fluke in the occupancy laws closed the dwelling units but kept small stores in the building operating, and thus saved it from any modifications for several decades.) Now the researchers are tracking the more than 7,000 immigrants of Irish, German, Italian, Russian, Greek, and Turkish descent who are known to have lived there between 1863 and 1935.

Other housing types might also lead to larger social analyses. For example, on the tract house, see Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984); and Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873–1913* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

44. Anthony Jackson, *A Place Called Home: A History of Low-Cost Housing in Manhattan* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976), 1–29, outlines the issue but does not run the numbers.

45. 97 Orchard Street, the Lower East Side Tenement Museum, has been included in the National Register of Historic Places for its social importance. (The old storefronts in the building, but not the dwelling units, are open to the public as the Lower East Side Tenement Museum. Similarly, the National Trust for Scotland has a tenement apartment in Glasgow, home to a milliner and dressmaker, open to the public. It is one of their most popular attractions.)

46. Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York City, 1789–1860* (New York: Knopf, 1986), explores these issues; also Sarah Deutsch, "Reconceiving the City: Women, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870–1910," *Gender and History* (forthcoming, 1994).

47. Upton, ed., *America's Architectural Roots*, 14.

48. For an excellent study of this kind in a rural context, see Richard Westmacott, "Pattern and Practice in Traditional African-American Gardens in Rural Georgia," *Landscape Journal* 10 (Fall 1991), 87–104, and his *African American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992). A new documentation of the gardens of the homeless in New York is Diana Balmori and Margaret Morton, *Transitory Gardens, Uprooted Lives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). Because many of the homeless they document are African American, there may be some patterns that recall Westmacott's rural gardens. Morton also has an independent project on homeless dwellings, "The Architecture of Despair," forthcoming. Also see Joseph Sciorra, "Yard Shrines and Sidewalk Altars of New York's Italian Americans," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture III*, 185–198.

49. James T. Rojas, "The Enacted Environment of East Los Angeles," *Places* 8 (Spring 1993), 42–53.

50. See Gail Lee Dubrow, "Property Types Associated with Asian/Pacific American Settlement in Washington State," in Gail Lee Dubrow, Gail Nomura, et al., *The Historic Context for the Protection of Asian/Pacific American Resources in Washington State* (Olympia, Washington: Department of Community Development, 1993); Gail Lee Dubrow, "Asian Pacific Imprints on the Western Landscape," in Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, eds., *preserving Cultural Landscapes in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming); David Chuenyan Lai, *Chinatowns: Towns within Cities in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988); *Places*, special issue on Latino spaces, Spring 1993; Kay J. Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875–1980* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991); and Borchert, *Alley Life*.

51. Joseph Sciorra, "'I Feel Like I'm in My Country': Puerto Rican Casitas in New York City," photographs by Martha Cooper, *The Drama Review* 34 (Winter 1990), 156–168.

52. Dorothy Noyes, *Uses of Tradition: Arts of Italian Americans in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Samuel S. Fleisher Art Memorial, 1989).

53. Joseph Sciorra, "Religious Processions in Italian Williamsburg," *The Drama Review* 29 (Fall 1985), 65–81. Also see Geneviève Fabre and Ramón Gutiérrez, eds., forthcoming book on ethnic celebrations in the United States.

54. Susan Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

55. Temma Kaplan, "Making Spectacles of Themselves," an essay drawn from her forthcoming book on women's use of public space as a part of political protest, develops this point.

56. William Serrin, "Shifts in Work Put White Men in the Minority," *New York Times*, July 31, 1984, 1. In 1954, white men made up 62.5 percent of the paid labor force.

57. Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream*; Sam Bass Warner, Jr., "When Suburbs Are the City" (paper delivered at symposium "The Car and the City," UCLA, 1988); Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

58. For example, Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles: The History of a Barrio* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1983). Or, for a historical geographer's perspective, see Kay J. Anderson, "The Idea of Chinatown: The Power of Place and Institutional Practice in the Making of a Racial Category," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77 (December 1987), 580–598. Forthcoming work on "Chocolate Cities" by Robin Kelley will look at African American cities across the country.

"Ethnic" is perhaps the hardest of all words to use consistently. Although "ethnic" in its linguistic roots suggests "the people," it is often used in the United States to suggest an outsider, specifically an outsider to the English white Protestant immigrants of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New England and the eastern seaboard. (Rarely has anyone of that tradition been described as ethnic, and as a result some community groups think the word "ethnic" is a coded way to imply nonwhite or working class and try not to use it.) However, ethnic will be used here to indicate a shared cultural tradition, whether that of an indigenous Native American tribe or of an immigrant group—English, African, Irish, Mexican, German, Japanese, Chinese, or Polish, to name a few possibilities. "Ethnic minority" is a term always defined by time and place that often outlives its accuracy. Sometimes "ethnic minorities" has been used to describe all of the nonwhite groups in a population; in this case, the terms multicultural or multiethnic will be used instead to refer to a diverse population. See Stephan Thernstrom, Ann Orlov, and Oscar Handlin, eds., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), and Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

59. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the American Literary Imagination* (New York: Vintage, 1990), 6.

60. American Social History Project, *Who Built America?*, 2 vols. (New York: Pantheon, 1992).

61. Gloria T. Null, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, but Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1981).

62. For example, Elizabeth Higginbotham, "Laid Bare by the System: Work and Survival for Black and Hispanic Women," in Amy Swerdlow and Hanna Lessinger, eds., *Class, Race and Sex: The Dynamics of Control* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1983); also see Higginbotham's excellent *Selected Bibliography of Social Science Readings on Women of Color in the United States* (Memphis, Tenn.: The Center for Research on Women, Memphis State University, 1989).

63. William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991).

64. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 286.

65. David Brodsly, *LA Freeway: An Appreciative Essay* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Mark Rose, *Interstate: Express Highway Politics 1939–1989*, rev. ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990). Also see Martin Wachs and Margaret Crawford, eds., *The Car and the City: The Automobile, the Built Environment, and Daily Urban Life* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), and Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (New York: Free Press, 1991).

66. Castells, *The City and the Grassroots*, 314; David Harvey, "From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity," UCLA Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning Colloquium, May 13, 1991, 39.

67. There is not space for a complete review. Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), is one good study from the sociology of culture; John M. Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), treats a variety of western places, including Disneyland and Sun City, Arizona. Michael Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York: Noonday Press, 1992), is uneven, but contains a wonderful essay on shopping malls by historian Margaret Crawford. Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), and James Howard Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), are journalists who agree with Sorkin that Americans face the end of meaningful places and public space.

68. Harvey, "From Space to Place," 39.

3 Place Memory and Urban Preservation

1. John Kuo Wei Tchen, "Historical Amnesia and Collective Reclamation: Building Identity with Chinese Laundry Workers in the United States," in *Vers des Sociétés Pluriculturelles: Études Comparatives et Situation en France* (Paris: Éditions de l'Orstom, 1987), 242–250; Michael Wallace, "Visiting the Past: History Museums in the United States," in Benson, Brier, and Rosenzweig, eds., *Presenting the Past*, 160; M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994), 367–476; David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), xvi. For other examples of recent work on this topic, see Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991); John Bodnar, *Remaking America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Michael Frisch, "The Memory of History," in Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rosenzweig, eds., *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Lois Silverman, ed., *A Bibliography on History-Making* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums, 1989); Peter Fowler, *The Past in Contemporary Society* (London: Routledge, 1992); Martha Norkunas, *The Politics of Public Memory: Tourism, History, and Ethnicity in Monterey, California* (Albany: State University of New York, 1993); David Thelen, *Memory and American History* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1990); Melissa Keane, "Asking Questions about the Past," *Mosaic: The Newsletter of the Center on History Making in America*, 1 (Spring/Summer 1992), 9.

2. Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 36. He cites Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de mémoire* (Paris, 1925), and *La mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950). See Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, tr. Francis J. Ditter, Jr., and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper and Row, 1980) . On the importance of social memory, also see Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, xix; Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory* (especially chapters 1 and 4); Edmund Blair Bolles, *Remembering and Forgetting* (New York: Walker and Company, 1988); George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989); Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), 7–24.

3. Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1987), 186–187. See also his chapters on "Body Memory," "Place Memory," and "Commemoration."

4. Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), traces the classical art of memory building. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Viking, 1984), is a fascinating account of a Jesuit missionary transmitting these ideas to the Chinese in 1596.

5. Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 27.

6. For an account of some of these differences, see Michael J. Ettema, "History Museums and the Culture of Materialism," in Jo Blatti, ed., *Past Meets Present:*