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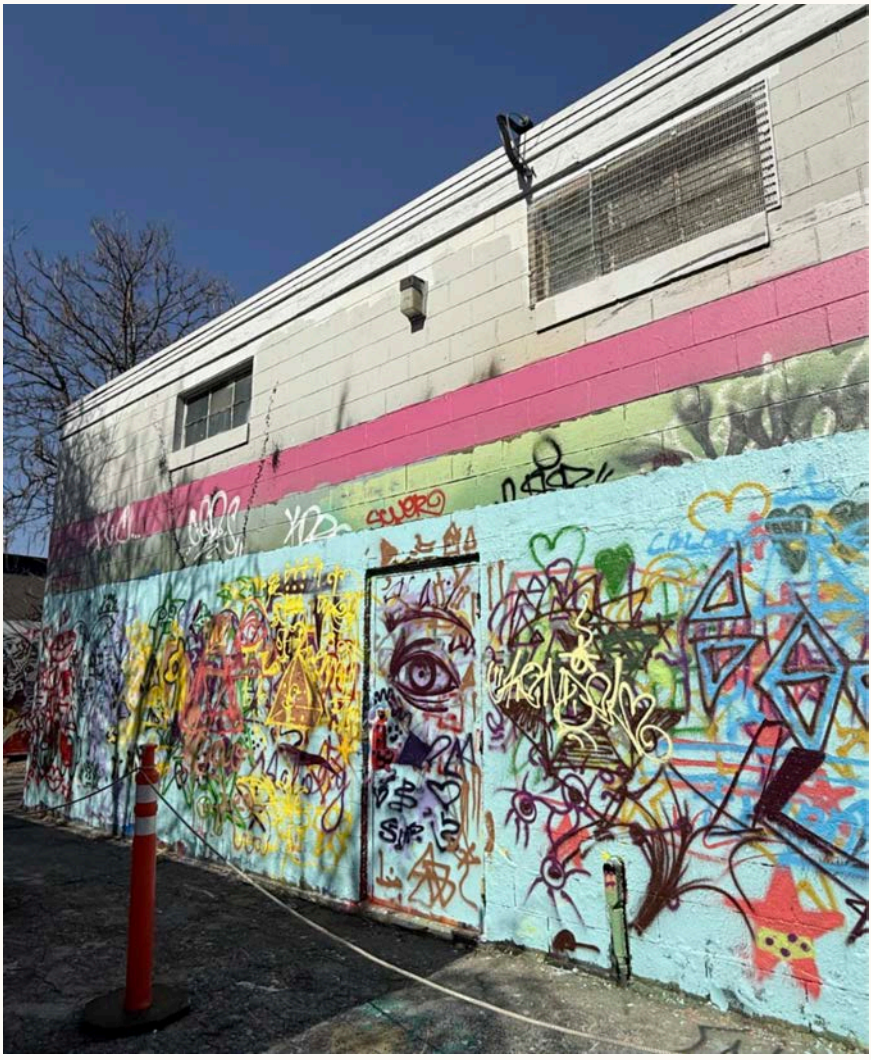
VOLUME 11



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Providence, Rhode Island

Front Cover: *The Spray Paint Initiation* by Riki Doumbia
Back Cover: *The Spray Paint Initiation* by Riki Doumbia

Edited and Designed by Mia Reiland

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FROM THE EDITOR

Mia Reiland

This year's edition of the Urban Journal celebrates the power of art and writing to make sense of urban environments. Our contributers bring their own styles and stories to bear on one subject: the city. They write and create from their positions as observers, residents, students. and critics of urban life. In doing so, they help us see cities as spaces of movement and memory, rather than static places.

Urban Studies at Brown has always asked students to look outward and consider how cities are shaped, who they serve, and what possibilities they hold. But just as importantly, it encourages students to look inward and examine the ways urban environments affect thier own lives: to map the intersections between a city like Providence and the neighborhoods they grew up in. To trace the relationships between local spaces and global systems. The work in this journal takes those relationships to task through essays, art, photography, poetry, and more. Together, these pieces speak to the value of urban studies academically and creatively.

Each contributor engages with urban life through different methods -- some through research, others through observation and imagination. All are grounded in a desire to understand urban life. In curating this journal, I sought to honor the many forms that the study of the city can take. I hope you find, in these pages, new ways of seeing the cities we share.

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"In-Bloom" Shared Housing for Single Mothers

Nini Pharsenadze

The Context of Seoul's Housing Crisis

South Korea faces significant urban housing challenges due to rapid migration to Seoul. The city's population growth has created issues with affordability, accessibility, and community infrastructure. Social housing has emerged as an efficient, cost-effective solution to these problems, providing shared spaces that foster community integration.

In general, social housing offers affordable living in communal areas, and emphasizes efficiency and sustainability. It ensures marginalized groups have access to housing while building strong community ties. Examples like the Marienthal Social Housing Project in Vienna illustrate how shared spaces can improve quality of life through intentional design (Falk and Hagemeister, 2016).

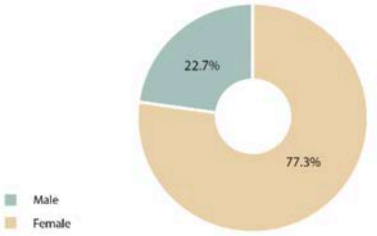
During my semester at Yonsei University, I worked under Professor Lee Jeeseon to develop a project tackling these issues. I chose to focus on housing for single mothers, an often-overlooked demographic in Korea's patriarchal society.

Single Mothers in South Korea

Single mothers make up 77.3% of single-parent households in South Korea (Statistics Korea, 2011). Among these, 75.9% fall under low-income categories (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2019). Cultural stigma and limited support systems further marginalize this group.

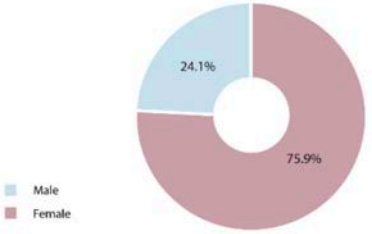
In South Korea, traditional values emphasize family unity led by fathers, sidelining single mothers. This cultural framework leaves these women isolated and unsupported during family events or holidays (Kim, 2018).

Addressing this gap through architectural design became the central focus of "In-Bloom," my attempt to redesign a Seoul apartment building to better suit single mothers.



77.3% of total single parent households in South Korea are headed by single mothers

(Statistics Korea, 2011)



12.9% of all single-parent households in South Korea are classified as low-income, 75.9% of which are headed by single mothers

(Korea Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2015)

Site Analysis

The site is Seosomun Apartment, located in central Seoul at 59 Chungjeong-ro 6-gil, Seodaemun-gu. This elongated, narrow plot (122m by 6.5m) presented unique design challenges. Positioned near a railway and a highway, the area suffers from noise pollution and lacks green spaces.

The site divides a residential zone to the west and a commercial district to the east. The original building's nine entry points lacked horizontal circulation, isolating residents and reducing community interactions.

Seosomun Apartment, photographed by Nini Pharsenadze

Site Plans

Front Facade highlighting entrance and corridors

Some identified issues included poor accessibility, lack of shared spaces, insufficient greenery, and inadequate sunlight.

LACK OF ACCESSIBILITY AROUND AND IN THE BUILDING

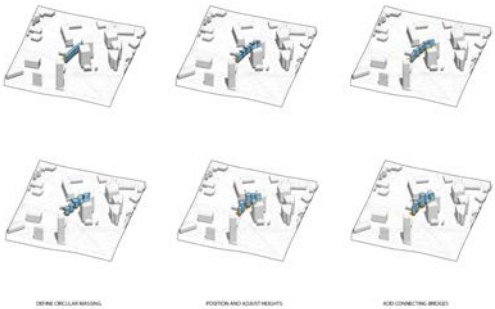
LACK OF COMMUNITY SHARED SPACES

LACK OF GREEN/OUTDOOR SPACES

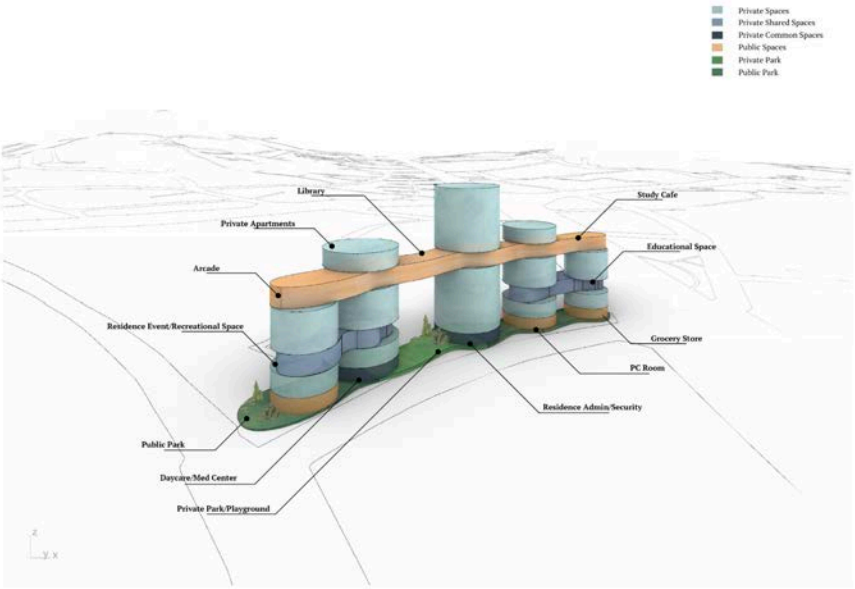
LACK OF SUNLIGHT

Design Approach: Restructuring Massing

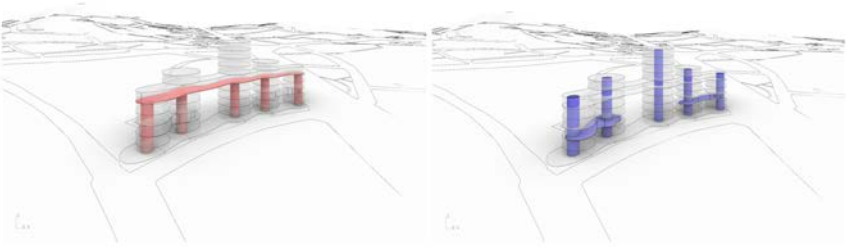
To maximize sunlight and accessibility, I split the building into five circular masses. These were adjusted in height, with lower edges and a higher central core. Horizontal circulation was ensured by adding connecting bars between masses on the ground and mid-levels.



Massing Proposal

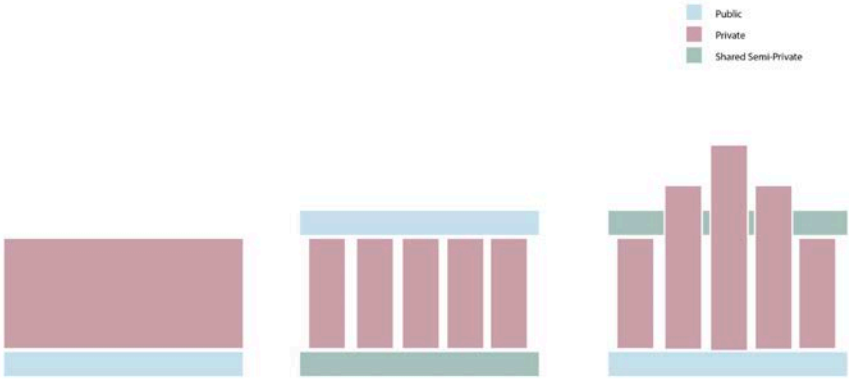


Program Distribution Proposal



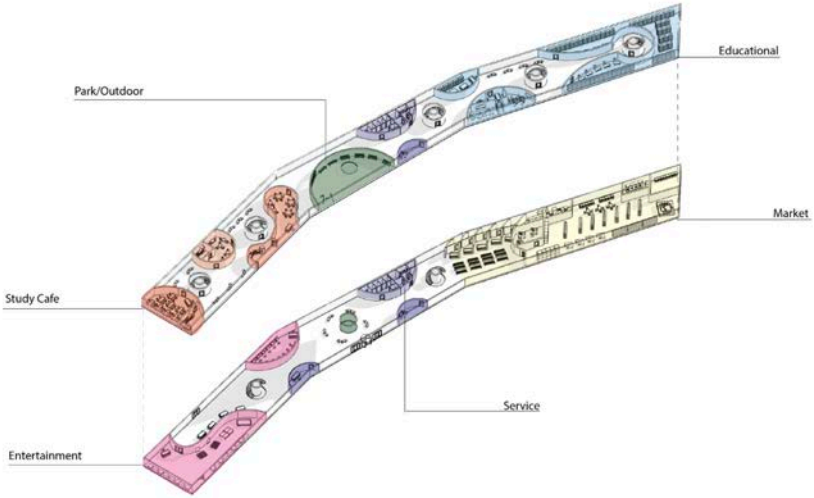
Proposed Public (Red), and Private (Blue) Circulation

Public spaces were initially housed in upper-level bars but later relocated to lower levels for security. Community areas were shifted to upper floors, ensuring safety for residents. This separation allowed single mothers to engage with the neighborhood while preserving

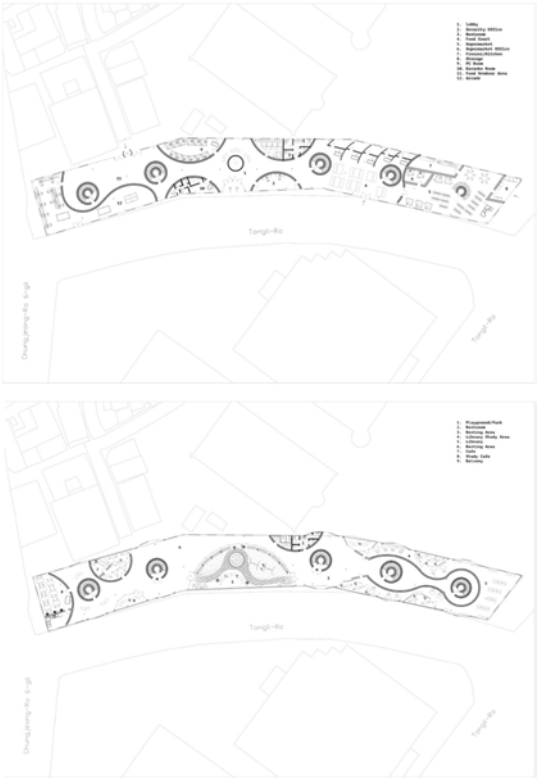


Final Program Proposal

The first two floors house public bars where the selected programs were designed to create community events for single mothers and support their integration into the neighborhood. By including amenities such as a supermarket, study cafes, and arcades, which are popular leisure destinations in Korean communities, the project creates opportunities for residents to engage with the public. At the same time, these families retain access to private spaces to ensure a balanced and secure living environment. The first-floor bar houses "louder" programs, while the second-floor bar houses "quieter" programs and an outdoor park.



The Public Bar Program Distribution Proposal



First and Second Floor Public Bar Floor Plans

Apartments and Green Spaces

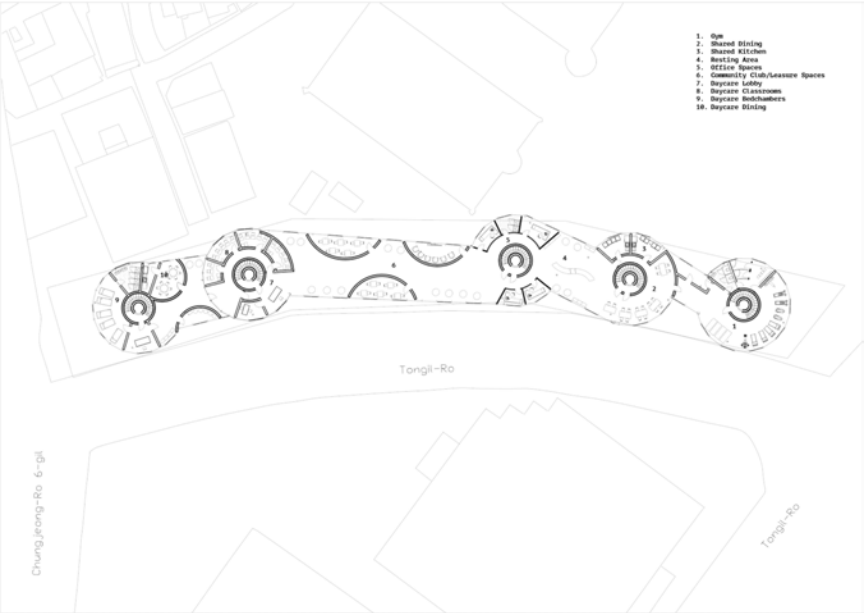
Each circular mass features two apartments per floor, rotated 45 degrees to optimize views. Apartments are designed with consistent service lines for water and utilities, streamlining construction and maintenance. This rotation creates four apartment typologies, each offering a private balcony.

Greenhouses occupy the top floors of each circular mass, encouraging shared activities. Residents can sell harvested produce at nearby markets or the building's ground-floor supermarket.

Left to Right, Top to Bottom: Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Ninth Floor Plans

Supporting Single Mothers

Community spaces include daycare centers and activity rooms, creating interaction and mutual support. Public programs, such as study cafes and arcades, integrate residents into the broader community. Private shared spaces, located on higher floors, host events and create safe zones for families.



Eighth Floor Private Bar Floor Plan

Model Study, photographed by Nini Pharsenadze

"In-Bloom" addresses the needs of single mothers by providing affordable housing that creates and encourages a sense of community and belonging. This project ensures residents gain a sense of belonging and integrates marginalized families into the urban fabric. By balancing public and private spaces, it redefines social housing in Seoul, promoting inclusivity and resilience.

Building Renderings and a Study Collage

The Spray Paint Initiation

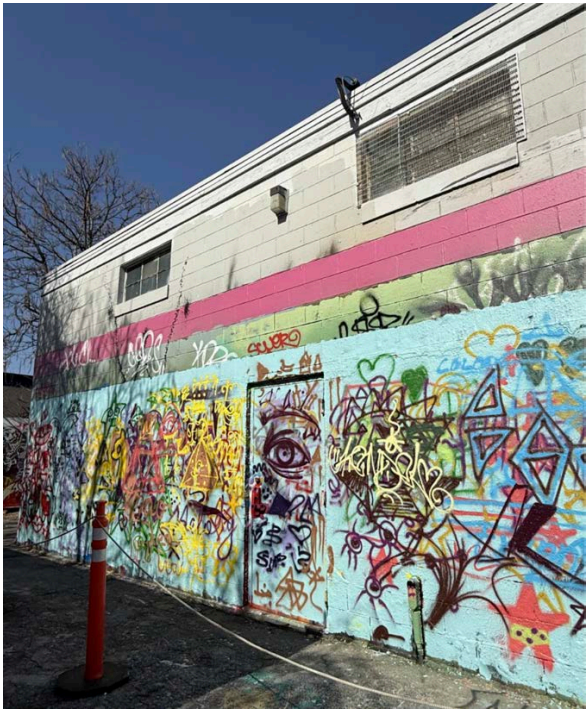
Riki Doumbia

Downtown lost in the colors and subjectivities of art, we found ourselves trying to emulate that which we grew to learn from start to finish of our tutorial.
A tutorial that taught us to press, taught us to breathe, taught us to stand.
As we sprayed our happiness on the wall and let our colors fly into the air to become art, we found spaces between the blanks on the walls for us to make our statements.

And that we did, we left our mark stating:
URBN

Smoke fumes in the air, and fuzzy lines on walls, forming our material reality with each press on the nozzle.
"Inches apart, can to can, holding colors hand in hand." Like something out of a rhyme book.
Heads facing the wall as charged connections, new and old, run down a line of newly inducted artists.
Today, I touch the grooves of purple paint from when spraypaint graced my phone case from an ungracious swipe of the hand. It calls me back to a day where polychromatic plumes flowed into each other and rose into the air.

I realize:
We were never lost in the colors, just surrounded.



Photos by the author

Wind as Nature: An Investigation of Pedestrian-Level Wind in Providence, Rhode Island

Eliana C. Hornbuckle

Wind is an invisible and uncontrollable natural force in urban environments. It fluxes and flows from building to building, street to street, neighborhood to neighborhood. Wind is ever changing as it bends around buildings and gets funneled down streets. As an uncontrollable force, wind is felt differently by people across space and time. Wind is a primary way residents in cities experience nature on a daily basis as they walk and move through the urban environment. Therefore, how wind is experienced, felt and interpreted by urban residents is integral to the study of nature in cities. Emerging literature has explored how wind impacts mood and human behavior as well as building design. However, no studies have accurately measured wind at street level and studied the pedestrian experience of wind at the same time. In this paper, I argue that wind is an element of nature in cities, and that a sociological framework should be applied to understand how people experience wind in an urban environment. A literature review was conducted to understand the research methods that are currently deployed to understand how wind and its impact on people is studied in cities. It was found that there is a lack of precise wind measurements taken at the same time and location as interviews to understand how pedestrians experience wind. I use Providence, Rhode Island as a case study to model how informal street interviews and pedestrian-level wind measurements can be used to further understand how urban pedestrians experience wind.

Wind as Nature

I argue that wind is natural because it occurs without human intervention. By definition, wind is the movement of air from areas of high pressure to low pressure (Pryke, 2023, p. 7). Variation of pressure in the atmosphere is the result of varying amounts of absorbance of the sun's energy on Earth's surface. Air moves between these areas of varying pressure to equalize it which creates wind (Pryke, 2023, p. 12). As such, wind is uncontrollable by humans. As Watson (1984) writes, "of all natural forces, the wind has always been the most difficult to grasp. It touches us, moves us, but we cannot touch back."

Wind acts as a natural force within ecosystems. It spreads seeds, pollen, spores, dust, nutrients and wildfire (Pryke, 2023, pp. 7, 11, 33, 203). By acting as a means of transport, wind acts as a pollinator and contributes to natural regeneration in ecosystems. Wind is also involved in predator and prey interactions by impacting how animals move and sense each other (Pryke, 2023, pp. 188–190). Wind also assists in migration patterns, making it possible for species to fly seasonally from one place to another (Watson, 1984, p. 191). Wind has important effects on the water cycle; it transports precipitation around the Earth and also increases evapotranspiration which impacts the survival of plants (Pryke, 2023, p. 12). These examples illustrate how wind plays a critical role in the vitality of ecosystems.

Although it is uncontrollable, humans have successfully harnessed the power of wind

through wind turbines. Wind turbines convert the kinetic energy of the wind into electrical energy that is transmitted through electrical grids to support societal energy demands. Between 2004 and 2010, wind energy installations increased by 27% per year (Kendrick, 2012, p. 99). Although wind speed is sporadic and unpredictable, wind turbines in the United States currently generate 40 gigawatts of energy annually (Kendrick, 2012, p. 100). Wind turbines are an example of how wind as nature is commodified. Under capitalism, nature has become "the fuel for the development of the urban social system" (Wachsmuth, 2012, p. 518). Here, wind is consumed, converted to energy, and used to drive many urban processes. Other natural forces, including land and water, have been commodified through capitalism (Čapek, 2010, p. 210) Similarly, the commodification of wind as a natural resource fuels capitalism.

Although wind has been commodified through wind turbines, its uncontrollable nature can wreak havoc on urban environments and human health. Wind plays a role in many weather events which can be extremely destructive to urban environments. These include hurricanes, cyclones, tornadoes, and typhoons (Pryke, 2023, p. 99). Specific winds that appear at certain times of the year with certain intensity have been named "ill winds" because they coincide with routine occurrences of disease in Switzerland and northern Africa (Watson, 1984, p. 280). Watson (1984) summarizes the detrimental effects of wind in cities by stating that, despite well-intentioned design, "cities are going to create problems of their own... by brewing up strange and dreadful chemistries" (Watson, 1984, p. 228). This underscores the idea that wind's uncontrollable nature makes it an important factor to consider in urban environments.

Methods of Studying Wind

I conducted a literature review to understand the research methods that are currently being used to analyze wind. I was particularly interested in examining how wind is studied in urban environments. My search terms in my literature review included "wind" in combination with the following terms: "urban," "perception," "mood," "city," "environmental justice," and "pedestrian-level." These search methods returned books, book chapters and articles written by architects, urban planners, engineers, psychologists, sociologists, botanists, environmental scientists and historians. These multi-disciplinary researchers used a variety of qualitative and quantitative methods to measure wind and how it impacts people.

Architects and engineers have approached understanding wind in scientifically rigorous ways. Wind tunnel tests and computational fluid dynamics modeling programs have been used to study how wind moves around buildings at the street level (Xu et al., 2017, p. 61). These methods are accurately able to capture how pedestrians experience wind at street level. Wind is also given great consideration when designing and building tall structures. Wind blows stronger at higher altitudes so buildings need to be designed to withstand higher wind speeds and greater pressure forces (Al, 2022, pp. 49, 68). Similar analyses of wind flows have been conducted by environmental scientists to examine wind and natural ventilation. A study examining wind and urban heat in Las Vegas, Nevada and Miami, Florida found that greater wind speeds at night caused a greater amount of air cooling (Ibsen

et al., 2021, p. 6). Urban planners have argued for these scientific findings about wind to be applied to all aspects of city design, not just buildings. Specifically, Reiter (2010) argued that wind and its effect on microclimate in an urban environment is "one of the most important environmental parameters" to create pleasant and enjoyable urban spaces (Reiter, 2010, p. 857).

Psychologists and epidemiologists have studied the impact of wind on physical and mental health. A 2019 study examined diaries kept by individuals along with corresponding weather data. The study found that temperature, wind and sunlight have an impact on human mood. Specifically, stronger winds corresponded with lower moods (Harley, 2019, p. 15). A similar study was conducted on a larger scale in the United Kingdom by Schultz et al. (2020). A digital app collected pain ratings from participants with chronic pain conditions along with their geographical location. The corresponding weather for that location was analyzed along with the responses. The study found that 20% of participants experienced a "high-pain day" when there was a drop in atmospheric pressure which corresponds with an increase in wind speed (Schultz et al., 2020, p. 555). While both of these studies showed a correlation between higher wind speeds, lower mood and higher pain levels, their analyses relied on large scale weather data from meteorological stations that were miles away from study participants. Consequently, there is a need to collect precise weather data concurrently with human survey responses.

Although current methods of studying wind have been spread across a variety of disciplines, there is a lack of consideration of wind within the field of sociology. As the only sociologist to do so, Whyte (2001) wrote about the impact of wind on enjoyment of public space. Even though he is a sociologist, his approach to studying wind stemmed strongly from design and urban planning principles. His statements were broad and lacked input from individual pedestrians utilizing the spaces that he studied. To make urban outdoor spaces more pleasurable to inhabit, Whyte stated that they should be designed to cut down on wind in winter and support breezes in the summer (Whyte, 2001, p. 45). Tall buildings create drafts at street level, which led public spaces near skyscrapers to be infrequently inhabited because they were too windy. Instead, people were drawn towards "suntraps," which are areas with lots of sun and little wind. These conditions invited people to sit for a while and enjoy the sun (Whyte, 2001, p. 44). With Whyte's work being the only sociological perspective on wind that I could find in the existing literature, sociological frameworks have not been widely used to understand wind as a natural force. There is also a lack of collecting precise measurements of wind at the pedestrian-level combined with directly collecting first-hand experiences of the wind from pedestrians. I set out to apply both qualitative and quantitative research methods to address this literature gap on urban, pedestrian-level wind.

Pedestrian-Level Wind in Providence, Rhode Island

To better understand how urban pedestrians experience wind, I conducted research on this natural force in the urban context of Providence, Rhode Island. As a student at Brown University, I currently live in Providence so it was an accessible case study city for this project. Providence is a coastal city, surrounded by the Seekonk and Providence Rivers which

feed into Narragansett Bay. This is relevant because wind speeds tend to increase when transitioning from above water to above land (Pryke, 2023, p. 129). The closest meteorological station to Providence that captures wind speed and direction is located at T.F. Green International Airport (The Society of Building Science Educators, 2023). This station is many miles from the urban center of Providence; therefore, it cannot be used to provide wind information that is specific enough for my research interests.

To more accurately describe weather in Providence, there are simple anemometers located throughout the urban environment. Most of these measurements are published on a website called Weather Underground (The Weather Channel and The Weather Company, 2024). Wind readings are typically posted from College Hill and Fox Point areas but the lack of consistent data reporting as well as an inability to access historical wind values made this source ineffective for my specific research interest. However, I was able to access data from a wind anemometer that is located on top of 85 Waterman Street and operated by the Institute at Brown for Environment & Society. In 2023, wind speed ranged from 0 to 53 miles per hour (Institute at Brown for Environment and Society, 2024). The maximum recorded speed of 53 miles per hour corresponded with a severe wind and rain storm that occurred on December 18th, 2023 (Institute at Brown for Environment and Society, 2024). This high value is abnormal as wind speeds top out around 25 miles per hour on a typical day in Providence (The Society of Building Science Educators, 2023). This anemometer along with the ones providing data to Weather Underground are located on top of buildings or a few stories above street level. While these readings are accurate for most weather applications, they are not directly representative of what I am studying for this project: wind at street level. There is also currently no information regarding people's perception and experience of wind in the city of Providence. Therefore, there is a need to collect precise data on street level wind concurrently with how it is experienced by pedestrians in Providence.

Methods

To address this gap in knowledge regarding wind at street level and how it is experienced by pedestrians, I collected qualitative and quantitative data from nine locations around Providence. First, qualitative data was collected through street interviews. I was curious to see what impact wind had physically and emotionally on pedestrians as well as the amount of mental capacity designated to the wind in daily decisions. To explore these ponderings, the following five questions were asked in a survey format. The full surveys in English and Spanish can be found in the Appendix (Figure 1, Figure 2).

1. How have you experienced wind today?
2. How has wind made you feel today?
3. In general, does wind make your life more or less pleasant? (Five options provided)
4. What factors of the weather do you consider when preparing for the day? (Six options provided)
5. Is there anything else you would like to share about wind in Providence?

Interviews were conducted throughout the College Hill, Fox Point, Elmwood, and

Lower South Providence neighborhoods as well as downtown Providence (Figure 3). These neighborhoods were selected based on ease of access by public bus (RIPTA) and on foot from my dorm on Brown University's campus. Lower South Providence and Elmwood were intentionally picked based on their proximity to industrial activity along Providence's waterfront. Proximity to polluted sites along with wind direction and speed were considered as key factors in an examination of contaminated sites' effect on disadvantaged communities in Phoenix, Arizona (Sinha et al., 2024). This shows that wind can spread air pollutants that are harmful to human health and suggests that wind may play a role in environmental justice. I took this into consideration when selecting neighborhoods as I thought that proximity to pollutant sources might impact respondents' thoughts about wind.

Sites within these neighborhoods were selected to achieve a variety of uses including recreational, transportation, residential and commercial areas (Figure 4). Specific locations within these use zones were chosen to maximize the number of pedestrians present to increase survey response rate. Most samples were conducted at intersections where I could interact with pedestrians coming from four different directions. Bus stops in Kennedy Plaza were also selected for sampling due to the amount of pedestrians present.

While conducting these interviews, I made an effort to make the survey accessible to all pedestrians. Harrington (2003) highlights the issue of access to participants when conducting ethnographic research. She stresses the importance of being flexible as a researcher to connect and engage with research participants (Harrington, 2003, p. 595). Following Harrington's guidance, survey questions were presented in a digital Google Form survey (accessed by a QR code and link) as well as a paper survey. This ensured that pedestrians could complete the survey even without a cellphone. The questions were also translated into Spanish to ensure that language was not a barrier to access. This translation was critical for access to the survey in Elmwood and Lower South Providence, where 50.6% and 55.8% of residents are Hispanic, respectively (US Census Bureau, 2024a, 2024b).

Survey responses were analyzed using abduction as described by Timmermans and Tavory (2012). Abduction is described as a process of being surprised by the data and allowing new idea and theories to develop organically (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012, p. 169). The idea of "repeated exposure" is also emphasized throughout their discussion of abduction as an analysis method (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012, p. 181). They state that interpretations of data will shift over time and as viewing circumstances change; as such, it is useful to view collected data multiple times. I employed this idea of "repeated exposure"and read through the collected survey responses three times. First, I read the survey data when it was immediately collected while the location and weather of the sample site was fresh in my mind. All survey responses were read at the conclusion of data collection to get a sense of what ideas were emerging from responses. A week later, I conducted an analysis of the survey data question by question. This repeated exposure led me to uncover different layers of meaning to the survey responses on both a site specific basis and as an overview of wind in Providence.

Secondly, quantitative measurements of wind were collected at the nine sample locations. An Extech Mini-Vane CFM (cubic feet per meter) Thermo-Anemometer was used to measure wind at street level (Figure 6). This handheld anemometer was useful for this project given its size and ease of transport. The device was used to record minimum, average and maximum wind speed over periods of five minutes at each sampled location. Minimum and maximum velocity measurements were recorded using the air velocity function with an accuracy of ± 0.4 mph. The air flow function was used to calculate average velocity using an area of 0.001 m2 to represent the sensor area on the vane. These measurements were collected while holding the vane of the anemometer approximately five feet above the ground to best represent wind felt by a pedestrian moving at street level. The direction of the wind along with sample date and time were also recorded (Figure 5).

Following the example set by Shostak (2021), I would like to acknowledge my own identities and perspectives that influenced my research on wind in Providence. First, I am a female and conducted the wind samples and interviews alone. I selected locations where I felt comfortable talking with strangers. All samples were conducted during the day to improve safety. Secondly, I am a student at Brown University with a busy schedule. Sample locations were selected for their close proximity to campus and access by public transit and walking in under 30 minutes. Finally, as both an engineering and urban studies student, I was interested in the physical movement of wind from a fluid mechanics perspective as well as how it impacted pedestrians in Providence. My academic interests led to the unique mixed methods approach used in this project to study wind.

Results

Qualitative survey responses and quantitative wind measurements were conducted over a three-week period in April. Data collection was conducted for a total of 8 hours and 16 minutes across all nine sample locations, resulting in an average sample length of 55 minutes. In total, 78 individuals completed my survey on wind: 70 responses were in English and eight were in Spanish. The largest percentage of respondents (37%, 29 responses) were from transportation locations, namely Kennedy Plaza. Commercial sample locations contributed the second largest response rate at 28% (22 responses). Fifteen responses (19%) were collected from residential areas while the remaining 12 responses (16%) were collected from pedestrians in parks.

In general, pedestrians were surprised to be asked about wind. Many respondents commented that it was not something that was on the forefront of their minds, with one stating that "I hadn't really thought about it." Many pedestrians were also initially confused by my questions that asked about the physical and emotional impacts of wind on their daily life. One individual asked me "How do you respond to that?" I found that despite this initial confusion and surprise, pedestrians had meaningful thoughts to share about wind.

Two of the survey questions (Q3, Q4) were designed to allow respondents to select one or more provided options. When asked about what factors of weather that they consider when preparing for the day, temperature (53 selections) and rain (50 selections) were the most common responses. However, wind was also given moderate thought as nearly half of respondents (46%, 36 selections) indicated that they considered wind as a factor when preparing for the day. In response to question 3, respondents felt mixed regarding how wind impacted their lives in a broad sense. People were hesitant to choose an extreme statement, leading most responses to be in the neutral or slight effect region. The two most popular responses were that wind made life "slightly more pleasant" (23%) and "slightly less pleasant" (23%), followed by "no effect" (22%).

However, when asked about the present time ("today", Q1), respondents were more sure in their answers. The most common response (29 respondents, 38%) was "cold" or "chilly." A significant portion (13 respondents, 17%) also commented that the wind felt "good," "pleasant," or "great." This divide in physical experience of the wind was not dependent upon weather factors during the sampling; respondents gave different responses to how they felt wind at the same sample location and time. This reflects the idea that each pedestrian experiences wind uniquely even when exposed to the same weather conditions. This phenomenon was most clearly reflected in sampling conducted in Kennedy Plaza. Within a span of five minutes, four respondents commented that the wind was making them feel "good" or "great" while three others commented that it was "cold" or "chilly."

This duality of the perception of wind was also reflected through responses to two open-ended survey questions (Q2, Q5). Wind was seen by some individuals as a benefit in Providence. One respondent noted that wind "cools things down and scatters leaves and flowers" while another said they "appreciate its cooling value." These comments highlight the importance of wind as a natural force in the ecosystem of Providence. However, other respondents commented on how wind acted as a nuisance or a source of unpleasantness in their lives. Respondents shared how wind made it more difficult to run, work outside and stay dry during rain events. In particular, one participant blamed the wind for the unpleasant conditions outside, saying "...if it wasn't windy, it would be nice."

A major theme that arose from pedestrian's thoughts about wind was the use of comparison across both time and space to describe how they were experiencing wind. Eight respondents (10%) utilized this idea of comparison. Two participants used variation across time to describe how they were experiencing wind. One examined how wind changed over the course of a few hours stating that "in the morning there was little to no wind, but after about 2pm it kicked up." Another compared wind over a longer stretch of time, sharing that the wind today was "much better than Saturday." Five other respondents compared wind to other geographies and cities, namely Atlanta, Boston, New York, California and the Midwest. These comments used the windiness of other cities to contextualize what they were feeling in Providence. For example, one respondent shared that "I travel up to Boston a lot and would say the wind is a lot worse up there. Providence isn't too windy as a major city..." One respondent even provided reasoning for why Providence

seemed to be windier than other places. "Because of where Providence is located (at the top of the bay), we get more wind than other cities like New York (City)."

The strength of wind based on location within the city of Providence was also commented on by respondents. Specifically, downtown was mentioned by three individuals. Two respondents commented that it is more windy in downtown Providence while one other described the buildings downtown as a wind block, making it less windy. The two respondents who thought downtown was windy used the word "wind tunnel" to describe the effect they felt.

Respondents also provided a few notable comments relating to wind and health. One participant commented that wind had impacted their asthma in a beneficial way. "(I feel) a little bit better. I have asthma, its made me feel a little bit better." Another participant described that they "hate wind" for health reasons, but did not elaborate. The most impactful comment came from an unhoused individual staying in Kennedy Plaza. "We don't like wind... it sucks. You ever been out here in January or February? It's not easy." They describe the perception of wind by the homeless community and its negative impact on their well being and quality of life. Surprisingly, no respondent comments mentioned the wind in regard to air pollution and allergies. I thought these factors might be mentioned given sampling was conducted in the spring and Sinha et al. (2024) considered wind speed and direction as a determining factor in exposure of vulnerable communities to air pollution.

Quantitative wind measurements were also collected at the nine sample locations. Average wind speeds over a five minute sample period ranged from 0.7 to 11.3 miles per hour (Figure 7). The minimum wind velocity at all sample locations was 0.0 mph excluding one sample in Lower South Providence where wind never stopped during sampling (minimum velocity of 1.1 mph). This particular location also experienced the largest gust of wind, measuring at 31.2 mph. This high measurement was unique as the maximum velocity values at the other eight sites ranged from 1.8 to 19.7 mph. For brevity, the full quantitative measurements are displayed in the Appendix (Table 1).

Discussion

My qualitative results from conducting street interviews consist of three major findings which are supported by existing literature and the conceptualization of wind as an invisible, natural force. First, survey responses revealed the habit of pedestrians describing wind using comparison across time and space. This is likely due to the invisibility of wind which makes it difficult to understand (Watson, 1984, p. 46). Wind can be measured quantitatively but is difficult to describe. Thus, in an attempt to classify wind, respondents deferred to comparison to explain the uncontrollable force of wind in reference to other experiences they have had with wind. Secondly, three respondents commented on the windiness of downtown Providence. There is strong support in architecture and computational fluid dynamics literature that there is a connection between building height and increased pedestrian wind speed. Tests have found that when building height increased from 200 meters to 400 meters, the speed of pedestrian-level wind roughly dou-

bled (Xu et al., 2017, p. 72). These interactions between the built environment and natural force of wind were identified by qualitative comments from my respondents but align with quantitative wind speed measurements in the literature.

Finally, two respondents commented on the impact of wind on their health. The connection between wind and health problems is strong, especially in regards to asthma. A literature review of the impact of wind on asthma identified two surveys that showed an increase in wind speed led to an increase in emergency department visits for asthma. Similarly, four studies showed a correlation between increased wind speed and increased hospital admission for asthma patients (Bodaghkhani et al., 2019, p. 4). Thunderstorms, which correspond with an increase in wind, have also been shown to increase the occurrence of acute asthma cases (Marks & Bush, 2007, p. 531). In addition to asthma, wind in the form of wind chill also threatens human health. In a study conducted in Toronto, it was found that individuals who experience homelessness are more susceptible to extreme cold weather events due to the amount of time they spend outside. Wind chill was one of the environmental factors considered in this analysis (Zhang et al., 2019, p. 3).

Although I found interesting patterns in the responses to my survey that are supported by existing literature, these findings are limited by the scope of my data collection. I was only able to sample nine locations that resulted in 78 survey responses. All data was collected during the month of April when it was not raining. Future projects could be more comprehensive by collecting wind samples from more locations across Providence, increasing the number of survey responses and sampling over an entire year to capture seasonal variations in wind. An upgrade in anemometer equipment would also make it possible to sample during rainy conditions. Additionally, using multiple anemometers to take wind measurements in different locations across the city at the same time would make it possible to directly compare measurements. This data would be useful in exploring if urban pedestrians in certain neighborhoods experience wind more intensely than others. My wind measurements were not meant to be compared across sample locations; rather, they provided a representation of wind speeds that can occur in Providence.

Although I did my best to make my survey accessible to all pedestrians as Harrington (2003) describes, there were two surprising incidents that I was not prepared for. First, one individual in Kennedy Plaza was unable to read or write. I adapted by reading the survey questions out loud to them and writing their responses word for word. Secondly, one individual who passed by while I was sampling in Elmwood was deaf. They were in a rush and with no knowledge of American Sign Language, I was unable to communicate with them. Providing a financial incentive for filling out the survey would have also been successful in increasing respondent rate, particularly among unhoused populations.

Additionally, Harrington states that ethnographic research relies on the trust between researcher and participant (Harrington, 2003, p. 593). This was challenging for me while conducting street interviews as I had a short amount of time to interact with pedestrians. Although street interviews captured the spontaneity of pedestrian's thoughts on wind, establishing community meetings or focus groups centered on wind would en-

able more trust to be formed in relationships and, potentially, lead to deeper understandings about wind.

Conclusion

Wind is a force of nature that is uncontrollable and invisible. While it occurs without human intervention, wind has been commodified in the form of electricity generation through wind turbines. Wind also is an integral natural actor in supporting the health of ecosystems. Current literature examines wind across a variety of academic disciplines but does not explore how urban pedestrians experience wind emotionally and physically at street level. My research in Providence is an example of how wind as nature can be studied through anemometer measurements and street interviews conducted concurrently to address this gap in the literature. The invisibility of wind makes it difficult to describe so pedestrians resorted to using comparison across space and time to describe wind. Survey respondents commented on both the benefit and nuisance of wind in their daily lives. Increased wind speed due to building height was noted by two respondents while three others noted how wind impacted their health. These findings from my research in Providence are a contribution to the process of environmentalizing urban sociology (Angelo & Greenberg, 2023). Positioning wind as a force of nature in urban environments can be a way forward in the unification of "nature" and "cities" within sociology.

Appendix

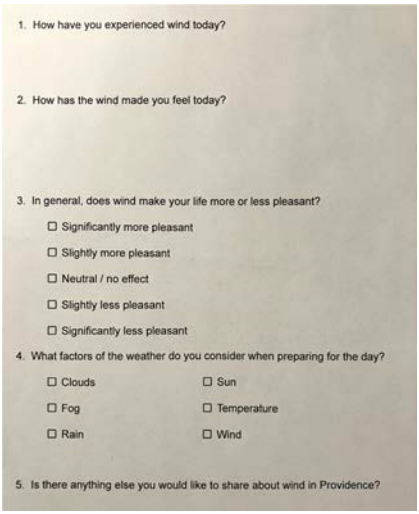
I would like to thank the following individuals for their assistance with this project.

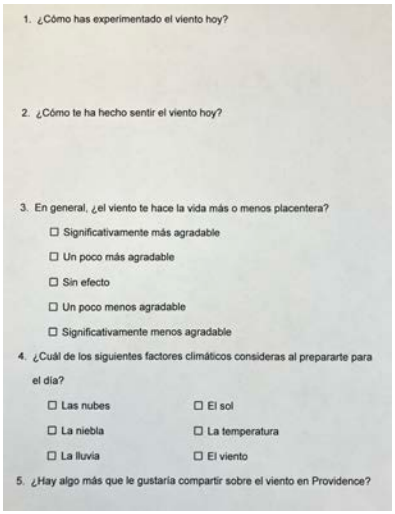
- Prof. Roberto Zenit for loaning me the anemometer.
- Nicholas Vasques, the manager of the Plant Environmental Center at IBES, for formatting and sharing wind data from the 85 Waterman anemometer with me.
- Prof. Scott Frickel for encouragement and feedback throughout the project.
- Dr. Meredith Hastings for sharing about her work with Breathe Providence and chatting about how wind is related to air quality.
- Dr. Erica Walker for sharing about her research on noise generated by wind, which unfortunately was excluded as I narrowed the scope of my project.
- Jordan Roller for her Spanish translation assistance.
- Olivia Miller for the use of their clipboard.
- Emily Cha for her feedback on the first draft of this paper.
- Frank Donnelly for his help in thinking about how to show direction of wind with labels in ArcGIS.

Location	Neighborhood	Use Type	Wind Direction	Min. Velocity	Avg. Velocity	Max Velocity
India Point Park	Fox Point	Recreational	West	0	7.1	10.2
Broad St.	LSP	Commercial	South	1.1	11.3	31.2
Chen Hall	College Hill	Residential	West	0	7.1	10.2
Kennedy Plaza (HIJ)	Downtown	Transportation	West	0	1.8	1.1
Thayer St..	College Hill	Recreational	North	0	1	6
Snow St.	Downtown	Commercial	Northeast	0	0.7	11.3
Sackett St. Park	Elmwood	Recreational	West	0	1.1	12.6
St. Michael Church	LSP	Residential	South	0	1.7	12.2
Kennedy Plaza (BCD)	Downtown	Transportation	West	0	3.4	10.6

T

Table 1: Quantitative wind measurements and weather data collected at each sampling location. Minimum, average and maximum wind velocity measurements were made over five minute samples and are reported in miles per hour (mph). Kennedy Plaza bus stops where sample was taken are noted in parentheses and Lower South Providence is abbreviated to LSP.

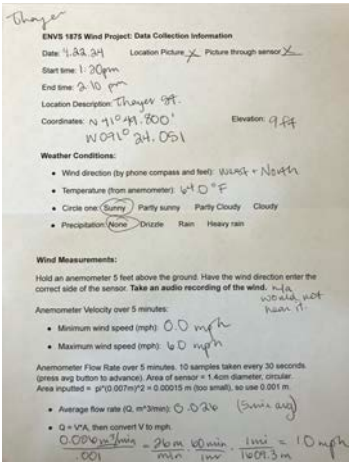




Figures 1 and 2: Survey questions in English and Spanish

Figure 3, left: The nine sample locations in College Hill, Fox Point, Elmwood, Lower South Providence neighborhoods and downtown Providence.

Figure 4, right: Street view of the nine locations where wind data was collected and street surveys were conducted: (1) India Point Park; (2) Sackett St. Park; (3) Saint Michael's Church; 4) Kennedy Plaza Stops H, I and J; (5) Kennedy Plaza Stops B, C and D; (6) Snow St. Downtown; (7) Chen Hall; (8) Broad St. and Early St.; (9) Thayer St. and Cushing St.


Thayer

ENVS 1875 Wind Project: Data Collection Information

Date: 4.22.24 Location Picture X Picture through sensor X

Start time: 1:20pm

End time: 2:10 pm

Location Description: Thayer St.

Coordinates: N 41° 49.800' W 071° 24.051 Elevation: 9 ft

Weather Conditions:

- Wind direction (by phone compass and feet): West + North
- Temperature (from anemometer): 64.0 °F
- Circle one: Sunny Partly sunny Partly Cloudy Cloudy
- Precipitation: None Drizzle Rain Heavy rain

Wind Measurements:

Hold an anemometer 5 feet above the ground. Have the wind direction enter the correct side of the sensor. **Take an audio recording of the wind.** n/a no wind, not near it

Anemometer Velocity over 5 minutes:

- Minimum wind speed (mph): 0.0 mph
- Maximum wind speed (mph): 6.0 mph

Anemometer Flow Rate over 5 minutes. 10 samples taken every 30 seconds. (press avg button to advance). Area of sensor = 1.4cm diameter, circular. Area inputted = $pi*(0.007m)^2 = 0.00015$ m (too small), so use 0.001 m.

- Average flow rate (Q, m^3/min): 0.026 (5min avg)
- Q = V*A, then convert V to mph.

$\frac{0.026 m^3/min}{0.001} = \frac{26 m}{min} \cdot \frac{60 min}{1 hr} \cdot \frac{1 mi}{1609.3 m} = 1.0 mph$

Figure 5, left: An example of the quantitative information I collected at each sample site. Information included date, time and length of sample, photos, coordinates, elevation, weather conditions and wind measurements.

Figure 6, right: An EXTECH Mini-Vane CFM Thermo-Anemometer was used for wind measurements. Air flow entered through the extendable vane (upper left) and was converted to a measurement that was displayed on the digital screen (center). The vane of the anemometer was held at approximately five feet above ground to sample pedestrian-level wind (right).

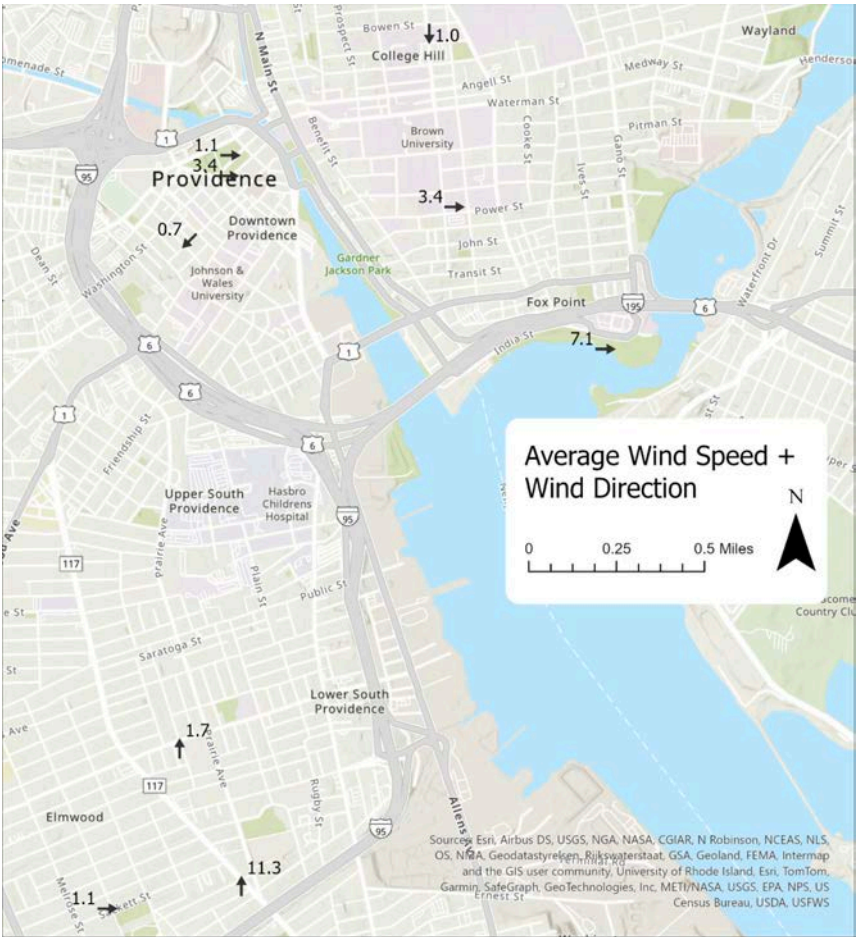


Figure 7: Average wind speed and wind direction recorded at the nine sample locations throughout Providence. Wind speeds are reported in miles per hour (mph).

Brown's Urban Future: Pedestrianizing Brown and Benevolent

Gabriel Sender

Brown University has become Providence's most significant urban developer in the past twenty years. As part of the university's efforts to transition to a flagship research institution, Brown has gone on a tremendous building spree, expanding into the Jewelry District and increasing its footprint across College Hill.[1] All of these moves reveal the tremendous power the University has in shaping the city's future development. While Brown has never had an easy relationship with the city surrounding it, the prominent role it has taken in shaping the future of Providence's built environment has seriously strained this relationship. The scale and form of the University's developments have been poorly received by neighbors, especially in their perceived disregard for the rich architectural heritage of the city.[2]

For many neighbors, it seemed like Brown's development would continue unabated as they slowly swallowed up more of the city. However, the recent actions of the Trump Administration have put the future of Brown's physical development in jeopardy.[3] Without reliable research funding Brown cannot continue to expand the way it has these past twenty years. While this may come as a relief to many concerned city residents, this pause should really be considered a chance to reimagine how Brown develops in Providence.

Richard Sennett, in his 2018 work *Building and Dwelling* advocates for a vision of urban development that is "open" and "modest."[4] Open in the sense that the developments in the city are porous, open to many uses and peoples, rather than the gated community or guarded office tower which permits only one type of use and person. Modest in the sense that developments must be sensitive not just to the needs of their users, but of their entire social and urban context. Developments like these are flexible and reflexive, changing as the city changes around them. Brown should continue to develop in Providence, but it should do so in a way that is modest and open. By doing so it will improve their own resiliency to the shocks facing American universities and improve their relationship with the city around them. No project is better positioned to inaugurate this new vision of Brown's urban future than their plan to pedestrianize Brown and Benevolent Streets.

In 2012, Brown University purchased the rights to four city streets and 250 parking spaces from the City of Providence at a cost of 31.5 million dollars.[5] The agreement seemed to be a victory for both sides at the time. Providence was able to stabilize its finances, and Brown would be able to provide new green spaces in the heart of its dense urban campus. However, while this agreement allowed Providence to address some of its financial troubles, for Brown the streets remain glorified parking lots in the heart of campus more than a decade later. This costly investment has not led to any improvement in student life, and the streets remain frozen in time.

The streets in question are Brown Street between George and Charlesfield, Benevolent Street between Brown and Bannister, and Olive Street between Brown and Thayer. For Brown and Benevolent Streets, the University engaged the landscape architecture firm Rader + Crews to develop plans for pedestrianization.[6] These streets are essential to campus mobility, being located between several large dormitories and the bucolic Main Green. The Rader + Crews plan proposed to close the streets to vehicular traffic, remove all parking spots, and replace the 51,500 square feet of asphalt with new pavers, rain gardens, and benches for congregating.

Ultimately, despite its potential benefits, this plan ended up a victim of circumstance. In one of former Brown President's Ruth J. Simmons' final actions, she purchased these streets and produced plans to develop them. When current President Christina H. Paxson took office, the street pedestrianization was slowly forgotten in favor of institutional priorities to promote research capacities. Today the project remains Brown's biggest unrealized opportunity. This is a low-cost undertaking that promises to benefit the University, and its relationship to the City of Providence.

First, the pedestrianization plan promises to strengthen Brown's sense of community. The University's thriving academic and extracurricular environment is rooted in its uniquely vibrant community, which can only blossom when it has the space to do so. The Main Green is the embodiment of this 'Brown spirit' and an observer on a sunny day would see undergraduates, graduates, alumni, and faculty all socializing in that welcoming space. The conversion of Brown and Benevolent Streets to pedestrian promenades will extend this ethos southward. These streets currently serve as the busiest artery for pedestrians and bicyclists between North and South Campus. However, due to the volume of people using the narrow sidewalks, few linger on these streets. Pedestrianizing them would open them up to the kinds of interpersonal experiences that define Brown and allow Brown's community spirit to grow with its growing student body.

Second, Brown is increasingly impacted by climate change, and its effects are uniquely felt along Brown Street. Over the past three years the Keeney Quadrangle dormitory has flooded during the heavy summer rains which have grown in intensity in the past decade. This dorm is located on the corner of Brown and Benevolent Streets and houses hundreds of Brown freshmen. As a result, these students' introduction to their college experience is a rushed evacuation from their dorms as water pours into their rooms. This is clearly untenable, and the full implementation of the pedestrianization plan would prevent such events from occurring again. The Rader + Crews plan would address excess water flowing through the streets by directing it away from buildings and placing rain gardens to slow water flow. In addition, Brown's overall environment would improve with the introduction of the new plantings and lighter paving materials which will absorb pollution from the air thereby reducing the surrounding air temperature.

Additionally, it is a disservice to the ambience of Brown's campus to allow this project to remain dormant. Brown's eclectic mix of wonderfully ornate and innovative architecture coupled with its vibrant green spaces serve to delight students, faculty, and the larger

Rader + Crews Site Plan

Brown community. The Main and Quiet Greens are central to the feel of campus not simply because they lie in its heart, but because they are beautiful, relaxing, spaces in which to mingle and interact. Brown and Benevolent Streets should be such a space – a modern green adding to the beauty of Brown's campus. No space is better suited for such a transformation, and in its most ideal vision, it can become an extension of the Main Green, and thus an extension of Brown's campus spirit.

A rendering of Brown Street looking north. Courtesy of Rader + Crews

Most importantly, this kind of urban intervention is both open and modest. It is open in the sense that it transforms a street into a site of diverse possibilities for Brown students and Providence as a whole. Without cars occupying the majority of the space, the area becomes usable for gatherings both planned and impromptu. Despite Brown being an urban campus, many of the campus' open spaces are walled off behind wrought-iron gates. While these remain open for anyone to pass through, their presence creates closed spaces where only those who belong to the campus feel able to fully utilize them. These open interventions, such as the plan for Brown and Benevolent, are not gated, and their porosity increases the interplay between the campus and the city.

A car parked on Brown Street when it passed through the Main Green circa 1900. Courtesy of the Brown University Library

It is modest in the sense that it is sensitive to the context and history not just of the University but of the city as a whole. This project does not disrupt the lives and routines of surrounding residents. While it is currently an active street, it receives little private vehicle traffic and mainly functions as a glorified parking lot for the spaces Brown owns. Its closure to private vehicles would not upset the daily routines of residents but it would offer them a new public space to enjoy however they would like to. Further, its scale and visual impact are both minimal, meaning such a project does not reorient people's lives unless they choose to engage with it. As for Brown itself, the university has a long history of street conversions. Before 1900, Brown Street ran straight along the east edge of the Main Green. Much more recently, one of President Simmons' crowning achievements was the construction of The Walk, a green pedestrian path which extends from Simmons Quad to Meeting Street and unites the two halves of campus. Once known as Dumpster Alley, students would negotiate this path which was mostly composed of parking lots, a gas station, and various back alleys to traverse this distance. Beginning in 2003, and led by the Rader + Crews design team, Brown converted these spaces into a unified tree-lined path that revolutionized the feel of campus.

Today this project remains dormant, overshadowed by the many challenges Brown University faces. While it is impossible to say what Brown's future will be, the University has no future without a meaningful relationship with the city around it. This project can help to inaugurate a new chapter in the relationship between Brown and Providence, one marked by mutual support and contextual development.

A rendering of Brown Street looking south. Courtesy of Rader + Crews

Tarnished Silver: Unveiling Gorham's Environmental and Social Legacy Through Art-Activism

Samantha Ho

Introduction

The Gorham Manufacturing Company was once a global giant in silversmithing and sculptural foundry and a leader of Rhode Island industry. Its silver products have been preserved as heirlooms, symbols of luxury, and, more recently, a part of the Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) Museum's collections, which were then commemorated in the museum's 2019 exhibit, *Gorham Silver: Designing Brilliance 1850–1970*. Yet, this exhibit has been heavily criticized by those who argue that Gorham's legacy ought to showcase not only its industrial success but the violence it inflicted on local communities and landscapes.

One prominent example of this includes *Unpolished Legacies*, a counter-exhibit created by local Providence artists, historians, and educators in direct response to *Designing Brilliance*. Since then, the project's organizers, Becci Davis and Holly Ewald, have developed *Unpolished Legacies Online*, transforming the original exhibit, and the histories that contextualize it, into a digital secondary education tool. Through an examination of these contemporary renegotiations of Gorham's history, this paper investigates the narrative function of history, and how art becomes a critical tool for communities to transform public memory.

The Many Histories of Gorham: From Soil to Silver

While the conventional history of Gorham chiefly focuses on its economic successes, its impact extends far beyond the industrial scale. Its factory once stood on the banks of Mashapaug Pond, Providence's largest freshwater pond whose storied past has since been relegated to the fringes of public memory. Although largely hidden from sight, nestled between Dr. Jorge Alvarez High School and a Tesla dealership, Mashapaug's current relative invisibility stands in stark contrast to its historical significance.

Before Mashapaug Pond became home to the Gorham Manufacturing Company, it was, as discussed by Anne Valk, a public history specialist, and Holly Ewald, stewarded by indigenous peoples, including Mashantucket, Pequot, Narragansett, Wampanoag, and Nipmuc.[1] After Providence's founding, Mashapaug Pond then bordered West Elmwood, Providence's first racially integrated neighborhood.[2] However, as the city's economy transitioned in the mid-twentieth century, several predominantly working and lower-middle class neighborhoods were designated as "slum[s]" and redesigned into a commercial and manufacturing district, displacing 3,600 people—including West Elmwood residents—throughout the city by 1960.[3]

Today, the land is still inaccessible to the public or its former local communities due to Gorham's extensive pollution of the landscape. Mashapaug's soil, water, and air have all been severely contaminated by industrial waste disposal; lead and other contaminants used in the manufacturing process leached into the surrounding soil and water, which is

still found in the pond's sediment to this day.[4] Despite ongoing cleanup efforts, Mashapaug remains contaminated, its waters unsafe for human interaction and unlivable for most of its native wildlife.

Several *Unpolished Legacies* artists have lamented the resulting loss of connection and relationship between Mashapaug and the local community, using their works to restore the pond's place in Providence's collective memory. For example, Laura Brown-Lavoie and Kei Soares Cobb's i missed your bodies at play highlights this relationship rupture between the natural landscape and local peoples. Featuring a video of their bodies immersed in the polluted waters, overlaid by a narration of Brown-Lavoie's poem written from the perspective of the pond itself, Cobb states that he and Brown-Lavoie hoped to remind their audience how "Humans used to be really involved with Mashapaug Pond," and although that connection "has been broken because the pond has become so polluted […] the pond is a being, it's a body. It has a relationship to our body. So, that pond misses us as well."[5]

Beyond its destructive environmental or urban impacts, Gorham's social history is also implicated in American exploitation and enslavement. For one, silver manufacturing was a labor-intensive and dangerous process, often with inadequate health regulations despite Gorham's employee welfare policies. Descendants of former Gorham employees recall the poor conditions in which they worked, "coming home feverish and shivering from working near the fires."[6] Furthermore, Gorham's foundry was also involved in the production of slave monuments. Becci Davis investigates this connection in her piece, "From N 34° 55.2685 W 85° 15.6195 To N 41°47'42.9 W 71°25'49.6." Davis traces the Gorham silver that was molded into public art commemorating slaveholders and Confederate military leaders. Similarly interested in the relationship between production and exploitation, fellow contributor and self-described avid environmentalist Fred Quivik juxtaposes the beauty of the silver objects with the harm caused by their manufacturing. Drawing on his work as a historian of remote mining enterprises, Quivik explains how these mining operations "produce[d] a lot of metals for the market and a lot of contaminants locally," highlighting the dichotomy between the fiscal success and local harms of this industry."[7] We're barely aware of the material culture that we're relying on that's part of our day-to-day life," Quivik states, "and by and large, we're not at all aware of the harm that's done hundreds and thousands of miles away to produce those metals."[8]

Given these complex and often contradictory legacies, Gorham's history cannot be encapsulated in a single narrative. Gorham was, all at once, an industrial titan and a dangerous labor environment; a steward of public history and a driver of community displacement; a renowned manufacturer and a reckless pollutant. Thus, it becomes imperative to not privilege one of these faces of its history above the rest, and instead find ways to reckon with the tensions between these different historical lenses as we engage with Gorham in the present.

Gorham in Exhibition: Art, Activism, and a Question of Authority

The RISD Museum exhibit, *Gorham Silver: Designing Brilliance 1850–1970*, was the most comprehensive exhibition of Gorham ever created, staged a mere 100 yards from where the company once stood. In the exhibit's literature, RISD praised Gorham's innovation and craftsmanship. However, *Designing Brilliance* was not meant to solely focus on the company's industrial strength. According to its curator, Elizabeth A. Williams, RISD hoped to use the exhibit "to reach beyond the end product itself—the silver—to also focus on the people who made Gorham what it was within the contexts of social history."[9] Although partially reflected in the audio tours of the exhibit, the lens of "social history" was not physically or visually represented, contributing to some criticisms of the exhibit.

Several contributors to *Unpolished Legacie*s emphasize the failure of *Designing Brilliance* to adequately address the social and environmental ramifications of the Gorham Manufacturing Company. The exhibit presented itself as a nostalgic reflection on the company's success, whose "one-of-a-kind showstoppers […] trace a narrative arc not only of great design but also of American ambitions,"[10] yet lacked due representation of the company's harms. The disparities in this rhetoric towards Gorham's history is critiqued in graphic designer and RISD educator Lucinda Hitchcock's piece, "Still Water." Hitchcock contrasts the ostentatious language extracted from *Designing Brilliance's* display—phrases such as "Exceedingly Splendid" and "Putting Silver Before the Public"—with the company's environmental impacts by filming the dissolution of these printed phrases in Mashapaug Pond's waters.[11] Janaya Kizzie, a Brown University archivist and writer, also subverts the museum's institutional voice in "The Filigree on Your Boots," which is written in the style of a museum's didactic panel yet describes the insidious pollution of the natural landscape and the reader's own body due to the remains of the Gorham Manufacturing Company. Additionally, in author and educator Mary-Kim Arnold's "Hints on Managing Servants," she extricates, rearranges, and overlays the language from several texts (including Textron, the corporation that eventually absorbed Gorham, and an 1860 etiquette book discussing labor and power relations) in a representation of the voice of Gorham itself. In doing so, Arnold illustrates the superficiality of a single narrative and the complexity that arises when integrating multiple voices. Taken all together, these works question the authority of a singular institution to present a historical narrative, illustrating the many perspectives they may preclude.

However, *Unpolished Legacies* was not merely a unilateral refutation of Gorham's successes. Other contributors embraced both Gorham's beauty and horrors at once. Jeremy Ferris, local artist and librarian, created a series of ink works entitled "A Guided Meditation on Extracting Wholeness." This eponymous "wholeness," refers to "an effort to hold simultaneously the emotional impact of a commodity and the extraction that inevitably occurs at some level in its production […] both are statements of what has happened, is happening."[12] Through these reflections, Ferris broadens our understanding of how we consider a historical narrative; Gorham's industry success and splendid craftsmanship are no less true than its devastating impacts on Mashapaug Pond and Providence communities.

These contradictory experiences are not necessarily conflictive, but rather necessary to hold a fuller grasp of history. By utilizing art, writing, and craft to elevate these alternative voices, *Unpolished Legacies* is a critical example of how art-activism allows us to explore these multiplicities beyond the dominant voice of a single institution. By engaging with art-activism and community-centered work, audiences are not presented a single narrative but guided to craft their own, moving beyond the constraints of what Kizzie describes as "capital-H History."[13]

Conclusion: Public Memory and Recentering Community

Initiatives like *Unpolished Legacies* center community experience to historical memory. Personal narrative was instrumental to many contributors' approaches, including Erik Gould and Erik Carlson, who collaboratively created the multimedia piece "Silvered: Tracing Gorham" at Mashapaug Pond. When working on "Silvered," they reflected on their previous experience documenting Gorham with the Providence Preservation Society, and approached the same subject through a new, artistic lens that created room for the humanistic dimension. Carlson credits his interest in Gorham's site to his "wondering [about] what it felt like when it was populated, and when it was this significant space in people's lives."[14] Ferris, too, was passionate about "fictional research," or using our knowledge of Gorham to imagine the historical experiences of those connected to the site.[15]

Therein lies the profound value of *Unpolished Legacies's* art-activist approach. Through these material presentations, *Unpolished Legacies's* audience forges new connections to an otherwise immaterial history. While there is value in remembering Gorham through its tangible culture—its buildings, its industry, its products—exhibitions like *Designing Brilliance* demonstrate the pitfalls of this approach, which fixates on the material "fact" of history and consequently allows less room for personal connection or interpretation. Instead, it is through the humanistic approaches of projects like *Unpolished Legacies* that one can access, and continue to wrestle with, the "wholeness" of our histories.

Essex Crossing Development Analysis

Daniela Jayinski

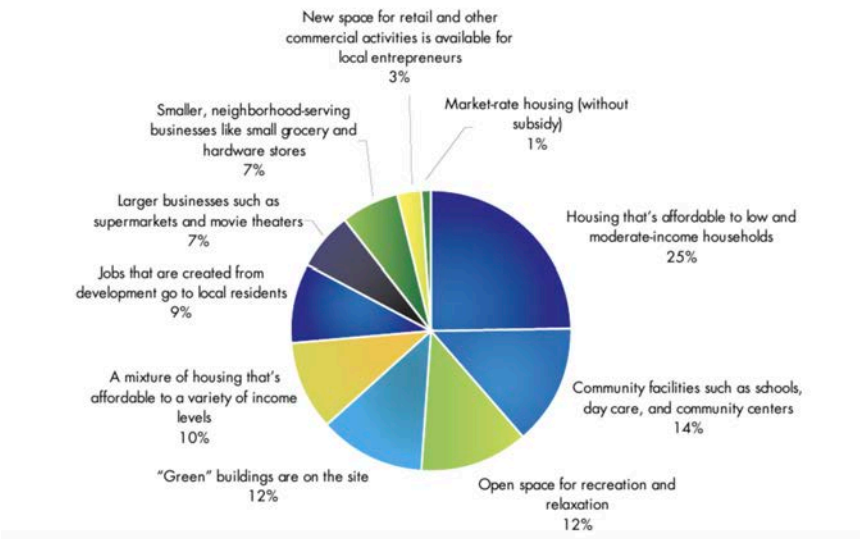
Hudson Yards is a relatively new high-end development project in New York City. The apartments, reserved primarily for the wealthy, are accompanied by a luxury mall, as well as a purely ornamental public art installment, The Vessel. This report will not be on Hudson Yards, often referred to as "an ultra-capitalist Forbidden City" (6), or even "a fantasy city in New York for the UltraRich" (17). Rather, I will be looking into Essex Crossing, a development the New York Times called the "Anti-Hudson Yards" (12). This project, located in the Lower East Side of Manhattan, though not a pointed response, aims to do everything Hudson Yards never even tried to accomplish.

Essex Crossing comprises 9 building sites, with the first breaking ground in 2015 (11). Within the scope of these are housing, both low income and market rate, office space, a food market, a bowling alley, movie theater, and more on the way. According to the New York City Economic Development Corporation, this equates to 561 homes for low and middle income households and seniors, not to mention 15,000 square feet of public open space, and a total of 1.9 million square feet of newly developed residential, commercial, and community space (5). And before there was Essex Crossing, there were parking lots. That's right, almost 6 acres of vacant surface parking in Downtown Manhattan, arguably the most expensive real estate in the country, if not the world, left undeveloped for almost 60 years (2). Not to mention, an empty lot in one of the most diverse and dense neighborhoods in the city, one where the typical household earned $37,000, and there was and is a dire need for affordable housing (14).

Essex Crossing sits on what was once known as the Seward Park Urban Renewal Area, or SPURA. The Lower East Side of Manhattan (LES) has always been a melting pot, but its roots date back to high immigrant populations in the 1800s. During the Great Depression, nearly 225,000 people lived in just 3,000 tenement buildings, in quite shocking conditions. By the 1950s, the population in these neighborhoods was largely Hispanic, with a huge Puerto Rican community. Title I of President Harry Truman's Housing Act of 1949 enabled cities to clear so-called "slums" in the name of urban renewal, and 1955 marked the approval of six slum clearance sites in New York City (10). New York redevelopment chief Robert Moses spearheaded the SPURA initiative, displacing 1,500 families from the area in July of 1959. The rest of the 14 block area was cleared in 1967, with the promise of new housing ringing in the ears of thousands of low-income families of color. The tenements were demolished, and the site remained empty while competing interests warred over the prospects for the land. Plans for redevelopment in 1968 and 1974 failed in early stages and ultimately, the housing never came (10).

SPURA as it was for almost 60 years before Essex Crossing Development, a massive parking lot on the Lower East Side (11).

In late 2008 and early 2009, several nonprofit organizations in the LES, headed by the Good Old Lower East Side community organizing group, formed SPURA Matters, an initiative dedicated to facilitating community conversation around the redevelopment of SPURA. With the Pratt Center for Community Development, they prepared a report detailing the findings from their community engagement process, compiling common ideas and community desires (13). This document was not meant to serve as a comprehensive plan for the land, but to renew the conversation around a decades-old conflict that, because of local controversy, was kept from development of any real kind.



The breakdown of community member's desires for a development on SPURA, from the Pratt Center for Community Development's SPURA MATTERS report.

In 2005, the Seward Park Urban Renewal Area expired. An extremely active group of community members, stakeholders, and housing advocates began to mobilize, holding task force meetings and working on a "recipe" of what they wanted to happen in this crucial part of their neighborhood (1). With the New York City Economic Development Corporation (NYCEDC), they created an RFP, or Request for Proposal, outlining the criteria for any development that was to come, as well as really underlining the need for development in the first place. Mayor Bloomberg, an adamant defender of the direction SPURA was heading -- both verbally and in policy -- was quoted as saying, "Seward Park has long had the potential to bring new jobs, new housing and new retail options to one of New York City's most vibrant neighborhoods" (9). He also sponsored the intuitive through an ULURP, or a Uniform Land Use Review Procedure (16). In New York City, where there is technically no comprehensive plan, an ULURP is how the city changes policy on land (3). This land use review ensured attention was paid to the project, and allowed for rezoning that increased FAR, floor area ratio, and the like (1).

The RFP went out to the development community early in 2013, with SPURA being the second largest undeveloped plot in NYC south of 96th street (9). In September of 2013, the Mayor announced the winners of the bid for the $1.1 billion dollar SPURA project (8). Three developers working in tandem were chosen, L+M Development Partners, BFC Partners and Taconic Investment Partners. The main architects elected were Dattner Architects, SHOP architects, Beyer Blinder Belle Architects, and Handel Architects LLP. I was able to speak with Benjamin Baccash, Senior Vice President at Taconic Partners, about his continued experiences working on Essex Crossing. Baccash joined the firm in March of 2014, and

has been on the project ever since. Although he came on after the bid was awarded, he was able to give me a bit of information on the RFP and proposal formulation process, as well as why he thought Taconic ultimately won out over many eager competitors. Afterall, Taconic, L+M and BFC partners were relatively small companies for such a massive project. It was, as Baccash put it, really a "dog caught the bus" situation. But he said that was where their strengths lay as well, as a tri-venture, each development firm brought different things to the table. Taconic, he said, had great experience in office and retail space, as well as in market rate housing. L+M and BFC partners brought the affordable housing expertise. Beyond that, they had a creative vision, namely creating a revenue generating space in the basement level of three buildings, connected with tunnels, that helped them secure the project.

The cover of the SPURA RFP put out by the NYCEDC, with the sites of development indicated in orange.

Baccash went on to describe the logistics of carrying out such a huge and influential swatch of development. One thing he emphasized a lot throughout our talk was how nothing in this project was typical, and because development on such a massive scale is so rare these days in New York City, it involved lots of flexibility and coordination with the city. The nine building project was to be executed in three phases, mostly to avoid unreasonable neighborhood disruption, and because it was too expensive to complete at once. The first phase involved four buildings, and all of the requirements itemized in the RFP were to be contained in those four buildings. As mentioned above, every criteria in the RFP was informed by the community. There are legal instruments that ensure these criteria are met upon the closing of a property. By beginning the project by satisfying these demands, the developer could build trust in the neighborhood, but Baccash also acknowledged that

economic conditions can easily change, as they have now.

Essex Crossing today, with developed sites outlined in red, from a presentation to the city Baccash shared with me.

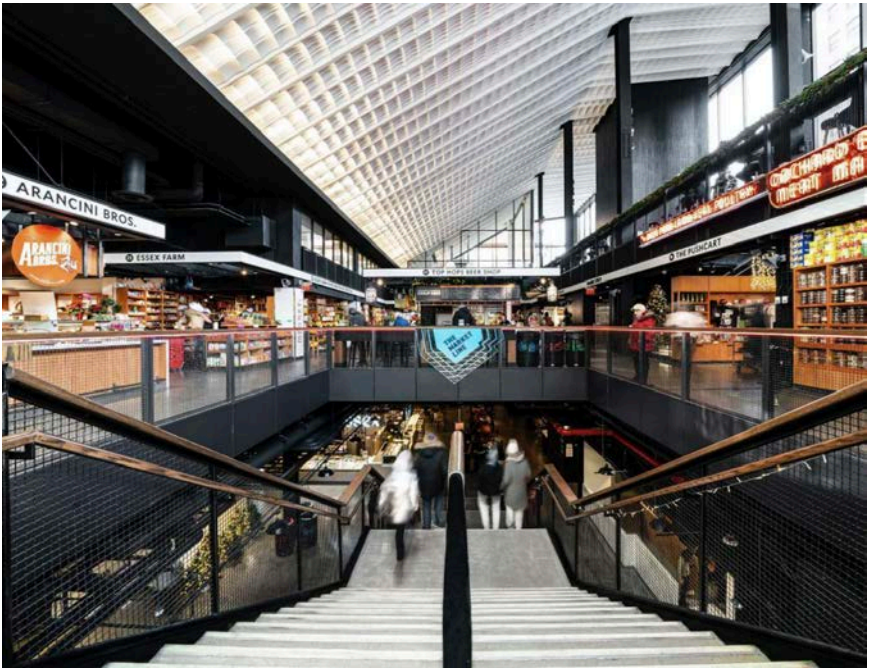
Site 1 of Essex Crossing is 242 Broome Street, a condominium development with 80% market rate housing, the rest at 125% Area Median Income. Baccash gave me a bit of context, in that building, the cheapest 1 bedroom apartment at market rate goes for $1 million, the same apartment at affordable rates is available for $224,000. Also in 242 Broome is the International Center of Photography, satisfying a call for a cultural facility, and a bowling alley in the basement, meeting the family entertainment community requirement. Site 2 is known as the Essex, and has a movie theater, the new Essex Market, and 50% of its units are affordable. Project Eats is an urban farm also on site 2, another RFP requirement that asked for community-centered food systems. Today, seven out of the nine sites are built, with only sites 8 and 9 remaining. Baccash really emphasized that the development process has been community centered throughout, engagement did not end with the RFP. The development team meets monthly with a task force of local stakeholders, and a weekly newsletter is sent to community members to keep them in the loop.

Project Eats, the urban farm on the roof of site 2, Photo: courtesy Linda Goode Bryant/Project EATS

Photos of 242 Broome Street from Essex Crossing

When I asked Baccash about the progress on sites 8 and 9, he didn't have much to report. He mentioned complications around the MTA, since there is a subway stop under the building on site 8. On top of that, the economic climate has totally changed since the project began in 2013. The result has been that the cost to borrow the money for 60-80% of the project has practically doubled. That has put a hopefully temporary pause on development. But the work that has been accomplished is incredible, and according to Baccash, very well received, in part because of that strong community voice present throughout the project.

Before I even realized the interesting urban renewal history and massive scope of this project, I was drawn to looking deeper into Essex Crossing because of something I had visited many times in Site 2, Essex Market, the reincarnation of an 85 year old establishment. In the 1880s, the Lower East Side was a hub for pushcarts and merchants, who would congregate at the crossing of Essex and Hester street. This morphed into an indoor market in the 1940s, and would serve as a staple of the neighborhood and a community gathering space for years to come. In 1995, the NYCEDC stepped in to save the market from closure, encouraging a $1.5 million dollar renovation of the original space. With the development of Essex Crossing, Essex Market moved into their current home, maintaining many of the original vendors while also welcoming new members (4). As far as I can tell, the market is thriving in its swanky new location, welcoming crowds of patrons and hosting community events. The original Essex Street Market building is notably site 9 of the Essex Crossing Development Project, and remains untouched.



Essex Market with a view of the Market Line from the presentation Baccash shared with me

The basement of the market is where things get interesting. The Market Line was meant to be NYC's latest and greatest food hall, and opened in 2019 along with the market upstairs. But, every time I've visited at least, the Market Line was anything but great. The subterranean space was dark and empty, with vacant stalls and half-hearted shows of enthusiasm from sparse resident restaurants. In April of 2024, the Market Line announced its official closure, citing pandemic troubles (15). When I asked Baccash about it, he mentioned similar strife, the inopportune timing with the onset of the pandemic, and a general lack of planning around the project in general. He promised something new and exciting was coming to the basement space, though not yet announced. I was curious about how such interesting retail space was marketed.

Before beginning my research, I thought the Market Line would be indicative of this project on the whole, a failed attempt at bringing new life into an already dense neighborhood, an eerie and off putting intrusion on something beloved. Now, it seems to me this one misstep is not representative of the success that is Essex Crossing Development. From what I can tell, it is a well integrated project widely accepted by an engaged community. There are of course mixed feelings. Some people feel the LES is already too built out, or worry about increased gentrification from the shiny new buildings (7). But, Essex Crossing most certainly serves several needs of the community, and more than that, it marks the end of a fruitless urban renewal project. Years and years of hostility against affordable housing left a visible scar on the face of the city, and successful collaboration, between developers, stakeholders, and the city, seems to have healed it.

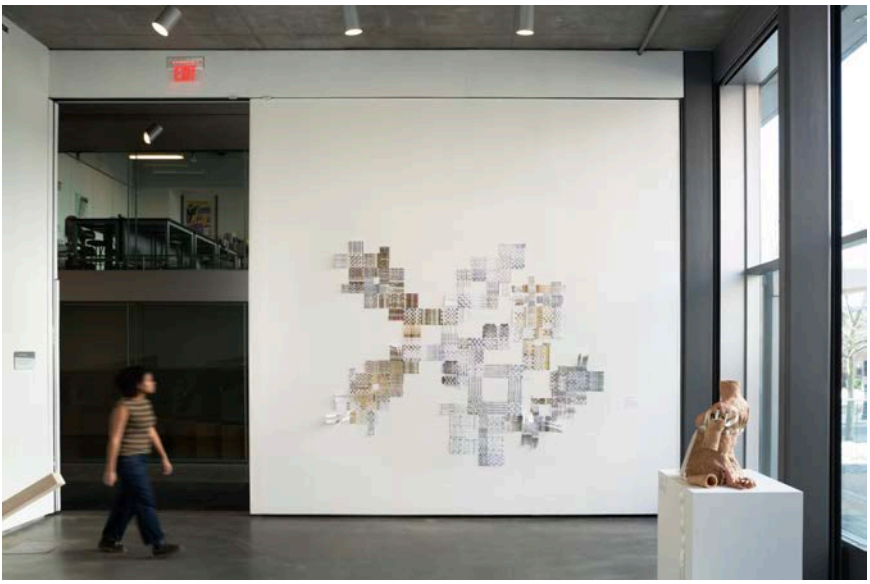
Market House

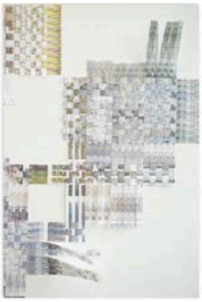
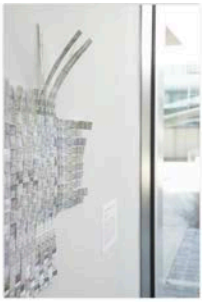
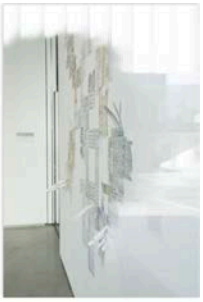
Daniella Pozo

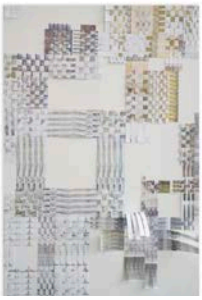
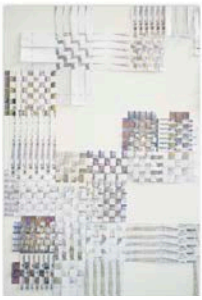
Market House was built in 1775 and stands between North Main Street and the Providence River. Historically, it has been used as a meeting place, commercial market, and city hall. Now, RISD owns the property, using it for "corporate and educational purposes" according to a dedication plaque on the building.

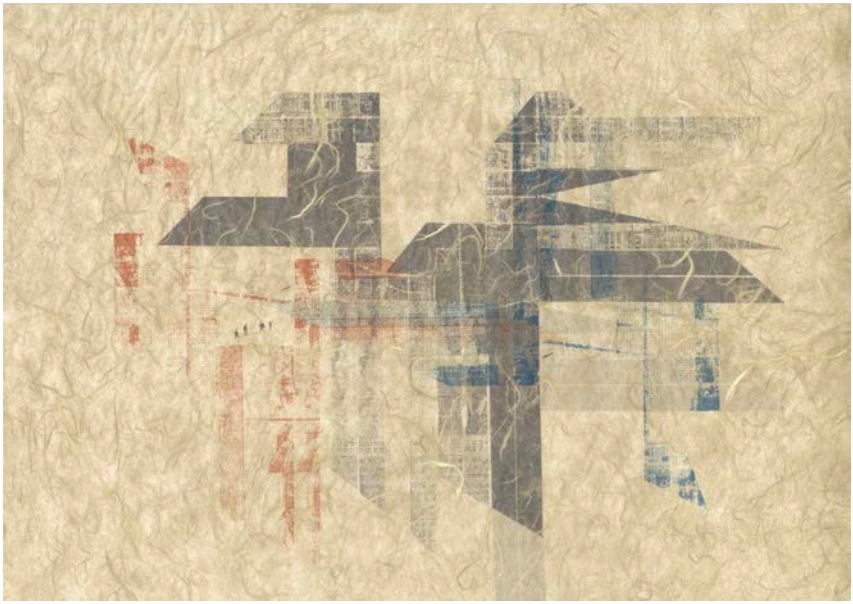
In this project, I made use of images and documents from the RIHS, PPL, Brown Archives, and RISD Archives. Abstraction and weaving became important tools to visually represent the complexity of research. The more time I spent in the archives, the more I began to understand that Market House's connections to the slavery trade are difficult to untangle and contextualize. On the one hand, I had tangible documents detailing a design and fundraising process led by slave owners who also built Brown University. Market House was a major hub of transportation and economic life for Providence and was not unconnected from the broader wealth-creating slavery trade in the US. However, I also could not find primary sources that point to an open air market as had been commonly suggested in my studios and art history classes.

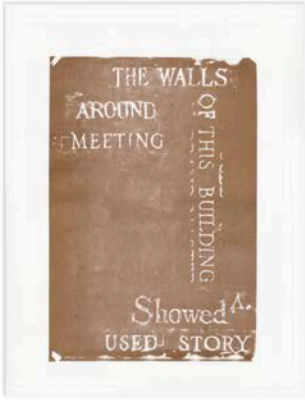
Synthesizing this work into a creative format brought me to deeper questions about the nature of documented and oral history. I wondered, how does Providence (or America, in general) tell the story of its wealth accumulation? How do rumors and gossip influence these discussions? Who determines where in the landscape slavery is remembered? Which sources count as information? How do we, the inheritors of this legacy, live with the remnants?




THE WALLS
AROUND
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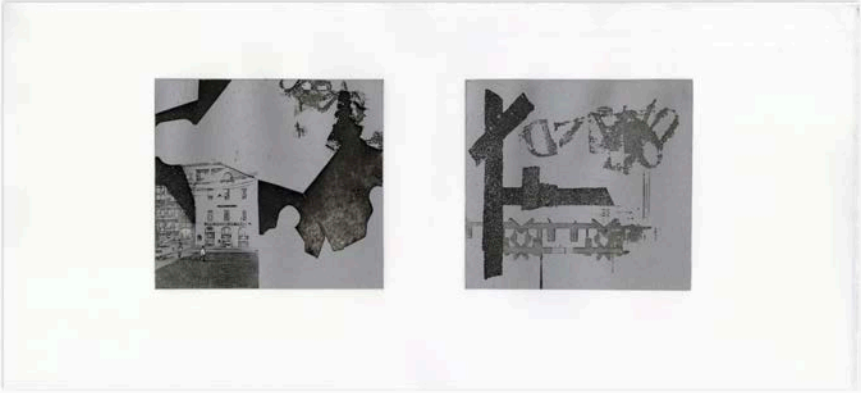
Showed A.
USED STORY



Anatomy of a "5-over-1"

Zoe-Anna Rudolph Larrea

Adapted from "Freight Trains of Mute Boxes: The 5-over-1 as a Product of America's Contemporary Regulatory, Suburban, and Economic Context," Urban Studies Thesis, Spring 2025

These podium buildings have appeared all across the U.S. in recent years and could be considered a contemporary national vernacular in architecture. Many online reactions express dissatisfaction around the design of the buildings, labeling them "Genericana," "Blandmarks," and "Legoist." Others point out that the 5-over-1 represents a much-needed housing solution in the face of America's ongoing housing shortage. But what exactly is a 5-over-1?

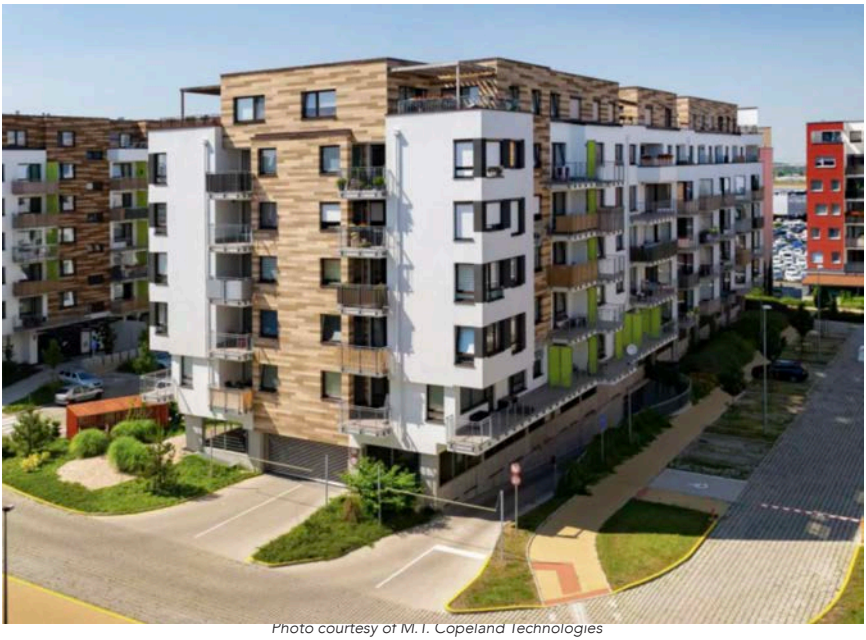


Photo courtesy of M.I. Copeland Technologies

Concrete base:
Typically, the base of the 5-over-1 is concrete or steel. This allows developers to place either a commercial function or a parking garage on the first floor. In mixed-use urban areas, the 5-over-1's base can engage with the street and bring in business. Otherwise, in places with little walkability, the 5-over-1 can accommodate required parking without wasting space on surface parking or requiring an expensive below-ground garage.

Wood-frame upper levels:
The wood-frame upper levels of the 5-over-1 are almost always apartments. Usually, between 4 and 7 stories, the height of the buildings is limited by building code, which labels

anything over 7 stories as a high-rise. Considered a "mid-rise" building type, the 5-over-1 is a denser typology than much previous development outside of urban cores, and often pushes the boundaries of local zoning codes' height allowances. Wood-frame construction is also much cheaper than other materials, likely in part because of America's long history of wood-frame suburban development. Therefore, the 5-over-1 represents a return to dense living from a fundamentally suburban building context.

Massing:
The 5-over-1 is typically a large typology, often spanning multiple parcels or even entire city blocks. The reason for this is simple economics: margins on new construction are low, and developers are incentivized to maximize their profits. Building a single building over multiple small ones will always be cheaper since some costs are fixed. Furthermore, in most places, building code requires 2 egress stairs for any building above 3 stories, meaning that stretching the building lowers the proportion of non-rentable space lost to circulation areas.

Facade material, color, and bump-outs:
Because of the often oversized and boxy massing of 5-over-1s, architects and developers frequently attempt to break up monotonous facades. Varying material and color can give the appearance of separate buildings or add visual interest to facades. Low-relief articulation, or "bump-outs," further defines surfaces without sacrificing rentable space. Sometimes, local zoning will mandate these kinds of variations to address the out-of-character size of contemporary buildings. However, these features often create a chaotic or uncanny look as recognizable architectural elements or materials are pasted together haphazardly. Furthermore, since all weather and waterproofing occur below this "skin," 5-over-1s defy expectations of how architecture has historically responded to its environment, which contributes to buildings looking the same across different locations and climates.

American Neighborliness and American Strangeness: The Alienated Self in American Cities, as Rendered by Stanley Milgram and Nathaniel Hawthorne

Abby Ryan

In urban psychologist Stanley Milgram's 1973 documentary "The City and the Self," New York City is a moral actor, manipulating the sociality of any individual—often for the worse—who interfaces with it. "The City and the Self" dramatizes a series of social science experiments Milgram conducted at the City College of New York, reworking the central concepts of his paper into a palatable, sometimes comedic deliverable for non-academic—and likely non-city-dwelling—audiences. Milgram makes sense of the city's impact on an individual through the translation of "demographic facts" like "heterogeneity"—one of his most oft-referenced terms, which sometimes reads as stand-in for "disconnection"—into "psychological facts" like "noninvolvement" and "vulnerability"[1] that result in a documentary trending towards generalizations and leaning into preconceived notions about city life from what seems like a distinctly anti-urban perspective. The relative timelessness (aside from a couple 70s-esque outfits and the state of camera technology) and placelessness (the scanning shots of buildings and streets could be replaced with many other cityscapes) of Milgram's documentary prompts closer readings of other media dealing with the city-self relationship across American history, such as Nathaniel Hawthorne's "My Kinsman, Major Molineux," published in 1832. Hawthorne provides an uncanny commentary on many of Milgram's twentieth-century claims about urban alienation.

Though they operate under different scholastic and genre conventions more than 100 years apart from one another, Milgram and Hawthorne both contend with the individual's confrontation of city life in America. Comparing "The City and the Self" with "My Kinsman," which centers around a young man's arrival in an eighteenth-century New England city, it is possible to illustrate a multi-century history of urban stigmas in America, often undergirded by Christian language, and a general fear of city life. In their respective analyses of sociality in the city, Milgram and Hawthorne do not envision societies that valorize the individual. Rather, "The City and the Self" and "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" suggest that individualism is fundamentally in conflict with "the city" and that the city adapts the individual into an alienated self who is responsive to the environment around them. Hawthorne seems to inflect "My Kinsman, Major Molineux," however, with a sardonic criticism of the very ideas that Milgram earnestly proposes in "The City and the Self," urging the reader to reconsider moralistic tales of urban alienation. Milgram reanimates and reinvigorates a nineteenth-century fear of losing oneself to urban alienation that Hawthorne satirizes.

Milgram's own self-making as an authority on "the individual's experience of the demographic circumstances of urban life" varies between his journalistic writing and his dramatized documentary. Milgram's 1970 article, titled "The Experience of Living in Cities," bridges the disciplines of urban studies and psychology in an attempt to understand the individual's emotional or behavioral response to empirical concepts like density and

diversity. The tone of the article is measured, and it reports the results of his "experiments" that are inspired by abstract concepts—or problems, as he frames them—like "anonymity" and "isolation."[2] Central to his analysis of the "link" between the individual and the city is the concept of "overload," a term he borrows from the language of systems analysis to express the phenomenon of the individual's "adaptation" to the frenzied stimuli of their urban environment, framing the individual's change in behavior as programmatic and largely uncontrolled:

> This term [overload], drawn from systems analysis, refers to a system's inability to process inputs from the environment because there are too many inputs for the system to cope with, or because successive inputs come so fast that input A cannot be processed when input B is presented. When overload is present, adaptations occur. The system must set priorities and make choices. A may be processed first while B is kept in abeyance, or one input may be sacrificed altogether. City life, as we experience it, constitutes a continuous set of encounters with overload, and of resultant adaptations. Overload characteristically deforms daily life on several levels, impinging on role performance, the evolution of social norms, cognitive functioning, and the use of facilities.[3]

With this language of systems analysis[4]—reminiscent of the cybernetic language emerging just before Milgram's research career during the middle of the twentieth century[5]—Milgram positions the individual as vulnerable to the urban environment rather than in control of their responses, a theory that evokes the bodily language of sensibility.[6] Milgram emphasizes that "city life" itself forces the individual to adapt, and rather than a value-neutral word like "shapes" or "alters," Milgram emphasizes city life's capacity to deform the individual's life. From the outset of the article, Milgram positions the entity of the city and "city life" as oppositional to the individual, as though the individual is in an unnatural or dangerous environment as opposed to simply being immersed in society with other individuals. Milgram also suggests that an individual's integration into urban society sunders their bonds between urban and non-urban life. Milgram's position is reminiscent of the Romantic literary contemporaries that Hawthorne often critiqued. "The city is a situation to which individuals respond adaptively," he argues, a force with which the individual must reckon.[7] Adaptations are not positive—they are attempts, even struggles, at regaining stability amidst urban life, which, as suggested by Milgram's language, attacks the individual. The threat of "overload" posed by the urban environment, acting against the individual, is central to Milgram's analysis of the city and the self. Milgram also notes the city's power, rather than the power of individuals, in determining social norms, notably "norms of noninvolvement," which evolve, in Milgram's view, autonomously "in response to frequent discrete experiences of overload." Like the concept of overload, norms of noninvolvement are the result of forced adaptation to the environment that the city creates, and the individuals in the city, in his model, are at the will of the non-human city entity:

> The cities develop new norms of noninvolvement. These are so well defined and so deeply a part of city life that they constitute the norms people are reluctant to violate [...] These norms develop because everyone realizes that, in situations of high population density, people cannot implicate themselves in each others' affairs, for to do so would create conditions of continual distraction which would frustrate purposeful action.[8]

In Milgram's report, the city is personified while de-personalizing the individuals within it. The supposed force behind the adaptation individuals undergo might be considered its "influence," in Hawthorne's terms, wholly corrosive of individualism. Milgram does not think highly of the individuals who occupy the city, who, in what Milgram seems to characterize as attempts to secure their own sense of individuality, ignore their fellow neighbors; they are rendered antisocial by the norms developed by the city to avoid the "continual distraction" that would result from engaging with other individuals around them. Milgram does not view the self's urban condition favorably.

After establishing the relationship between the individual and the city as one that is oppositional and controlled by the city itself, Milgram discusses the interactions among individuals as they are influenced by the situation of the city. Milgram describes the interactions between individuals in his experiments as self-motivated to safeguard against their own urban vulnerability rather than communal—or, like those of a town, neighborly. The adaptation to distinguish between a friend/neighbor—or, in a more pointedly religious reference, Samaritan[9]—and a stranger is important, he argues, for protecting oneself against "vulnerability" broadly, as though the individuals in the city are constantly in danger like animals in the hunt: "The ultimate adaptation to an overloaded social environment is to totally disregard the needs, interests, and demands of those whom one does not define as relevant to the satisfaction of personal needs, and to develop highly efficient perceptual means of determining whether an individual falls into the category of friend or stranger."[10] In language evocative of Darwinism, Milgram suggests that the "adaptation" to ignore others is one acquired by confronting one's position in the situation of the city, implying that he believes individuals are inherently caring and that the city is the catalyst for this exclusionary, self-protective behavior. He cites the 1964 murder of Catherine Genovese as an example of the "deficiencies in social responsibility" that the city fosters. He does not fully absolve the thirty-eight bystanders, none of whom helped or called for help until she had already died, of their complicity but does attribute their lack of urgency to the city's promotion of self-protectiveness and dulling of one's impulse to help.[11] Though subtle, Milgram's differentiation between "friend" and "stranger" and the link between characterizing occupants of cities as strangers and those of towns as neighbors contributes to his negative depiction of city life as dangerous, frenzied, and isolating.

Considering the negativity he ascribes to "the city," it might be surprising to learn that Milgram himself is a New Yorker, and in the documentary adaptation of his 1970 journal article, "The City and the Self," he goes to more exaggerated and often comical extremes in characterizing the city as an agent of moral corruption. The opening eight minutes consists of close-up shots framing disinterested people glancing away from the camera while they

ride a train. The first couple minutes of dialogue is a compilation of multiple men talking on the side of a busy street, expressing their frustrations with city life:

> "I don't - - I just got to leave man, it makes me uptight, you know, like it's not where it's at. Too many people, you know. It's crazy between crime and everything…"
> "Personally I think the people here are very unfriendly really…"
> "New York, perhaps, is the most tiring physical city that I've ever experienced, because nothing ever stops…"
> "What I think about the city is that there's no - - there's no people together…"
> "People don't care, you know. In the big cities, you don't care."[12]

These interviewees concisely express the major concepts that inspired the experiments in the 1970 article: isolation, anonymity, boundaries, and trust, to name a few. None of the people interviewed are named, but one recurring character is an older man wearing a sign that reads "Love thy neighbor as thyself."[13] His presence is ironic given the general anti-sociability depicted in most of the dramatized experiments and the frustrations the interviewees express. In an experiment inspired by the problem of "trust," which he describes in the article and then dramatizes in the documentary, people ask city residents to borrow their phone to make a call, and Milgram directly references the notion of "Love thy neighbor" in his complaint about the state of the urban moral landscape: a woman yells, "My phone is out of order" before Milgram cuts to the man wearing the sign, who says: "The Bible teaches us to love thy neighbor as thyself," prompting Milgram to voiceover: "The most important question in city life is the degree of moral and social involvement that people have with each other. Love thy neighbor as thyself. All of us believe in this, but is belief enough? Love thy neighbor, but when? Here, now, is she my neighbor? We have been told that a man's actions flow from his character. If he is a good man, he will help, but social science shows us it is not so simple."[14] Milgram directly invokes Christianity, conflating long standing religious ideals about selfhood and sociality with secular manifestations of these ideals in urban environments.

The collective belief in being neighborly also points to an embrace of the urban self ove the possessive individual. Rather than the alienation of the country, where an individual in early America would strive for material ownership, perhaps one's possession comes from the abundance of their social relations. Milgram still suggests, however, that the city is a polity of strangers rather than neighbors—that this nostalgic ideal of "neighborliness" is untenable in an urban environment, recycling fears of the urban with which Hawthorne also contended. The distrust of one's neighbor—"Here now, is she my neighbor?"—and fear of hypocrisy evoke nineteenth-century discussions of the confidence man and women's "transparent" sensibility.[15] The focus on one's character stems from a Protestant work ethic that has shaped relations among urban individuals since the founding of the United States, according to cultural historian Karen Halttunen: "The confidence man acted upon the waxen character of his youthful victim through a mysterious force called influence. [...] As a force for good, influence was spoken of as a moral gravitation, a personal electricity, a cosmic vibration. But as a force for evil, influence was compared to a poison, a

disease, a source of contamination and corruption."[16] As Halttunen emphasizes, one iteration of the confidence man was the "urban associate,"[17] and due to an increase in crime as industrialization shaped urban landscapes in the United States, fear of urban environments for the lack of transparency that accompanied denser populations and fewer strong social ties led to a demonization of the city. Milgram's documentary participates in this same demonization of city life; the vagueness as it pertains to the documentary's time and place communicates the timelessness of this trope.[18]

It is difficult to identify Milgram's audience for the documentary, but perhaps he is addressing viewers—much like the readers of nineteenth-century advice columnists whom Hawthorne contest—who are skeptical of urbanity and who already harbor preconceptions of "dense" and "diverse" locales like New York as morally corrupting.[19] If this is the case, he does not make many attempts to change their understanding. Some of the dramatized experiments resemble situational comedy sketches—a departure from the academic description of the experiments in the journal article. In one scene, Milgram stands on a street corner with a poster board of a middle-aged man's face and, on a smaller sign, instructs people to guess the man's identity to win ten dollars. People shout out answers ranging from "Two-faced politician," "a revolutionary figure," and "communist"—perhaps one indication of the political climate that is otherwise absent from the overall documentary—to "everyday slob" and "I think I saw him on television the other night" and "he looks high, whoever he his."[20] This man represents the concept of "anonymity" for Milgram, who narrates a variety of similarly loose "man on the street"-style experiments. Milgram's negative cast on "anonymity" evokes nineteenth-century anti-urban nostalgia for the supposed ideal of early American"face to face" village relations during an industrializing society, a trope with which Hawthorne was familiar.

Following this "experiment," Milgram transitions to interviewing people at a bar. He begins with a young woman sitting alone: "I like to come to this place so that I can meet friendly, interesting people. I find that on the whole outside, the New York city people tend to keep, you know, reserve to themselves, and they don't um… seem natural or act friendly. Whereas, in a place like this, where it's cozy and you have interesting music, you can actually meet interesting people."[21] The camera pans out to show the woman sitting, like many others, alone at a table, staring beyond the camera. The bar interviews not only appear comedic but somewhat patronizing, as though Milgram is above the everyday struggles to overcome the city's isolating influence and connect with other individuals given his position in control of the camera. Milgram presents himself to the audience not as an academic but as a tour guide of sorts, a flaneur[22] who is part of the masses and also has the self-selecting privilege that his subjects, at the mercy of the predatory city's influence, do not have of removing himself and simply observing, rather than being observed. He does not have to adapt like everyone else to the frenzied pace of city life as an observer, packaging this experience of being removed for the viewer. It is possible that only certain people felt comfortable responding to Milgram and his crew's interviews on the street, but most of the individuals featured are white men, a demographic that dwarfs the "heterogeneity" on which he focuses much of his article and the documentary. When he references the murder of Catherine Genovese, he does so without naming her and speaks with a

caustic tone: A store clerk says, "Basically, people are very, very good. I've seen it many times where somebody is hurt or somebody is lying sick, there's always somebody that will stop and help 'em." Milgram splices this clip with generic street-view panoramic shots, undercutting the clerk's opinion of his neighbors, and narrates:

> We have a high opinion of ourselves…Listen, there was a case in New York. A woman came home from a night job. She was stabbed repeatedly and over an extended period of time. 38 people were witness to this incident, not one of them went to her aid or even called the police. Okay, we can afford to be selective. Sure, we don't have enough time for people. We can live with the fact that city people are strangers to one another. But the failure to answer this woman's cries, can we live with this? Is this what the city has made of us?[23]

Milgram both condemns the bystanders who ignored Genovese and, as he emphasizes more clearly through his language in the article, also sympathizes with these individuals, whom the city has influenced to reject "this woman's" cries. Milgram does not entirely absolve them of their complicity, but he seems to pity the plight of the individual and emphasize the importance of finding social outlets despite the city's tendency to isolate. Though the city exerts a corrupting influence on individuals, Milgram seems to believe that people are inherently morally good.

The documentary defies an academic genre partly because of its moralizing final minutes. Milgram narrates for most of the final few minutes, and after informing the viewer of the devastating lack of care concerning Catherine Genovese's murder—a moment that could be considered the climax of the film and the prime example of what Milgram claims is the city's ability to detrimentally isolate individuals from one another, enforce "norms of noninvolvement," and strip people of their virtue—Milgram changes his tone:

> Have we been too harsh in the way we have shown the city? Isn't it true that individual acts of kindness are still part of daily life? [...] the delight of finding a waterfall in midtown? [...] And we know, if there were great calamity, a flood, a fire, a storm, the barriers would crumble, we would talk to each other. But the problem for those of us who live in the city is this: how can we come closer without the fire, without the flood, without the storm?[24]

Milgram acknowledges how his documentary spins the more empirical (yet still vague) data from his 1970 article into anti-urban cautionary tales, tales on par with other anti-urban moralizing during the mid-twentieth century.[25] He also notes the dichotomy between rural nature and urban environments' limited natural beauty. It is difficult to ignore the religious imagery that the flood metaphor evokes; Milgram suggests, if subtly, that perhaps society is too corrupt and must undergo radical changes in urban sociality to move forward. Milgram does suggest in his portrayals of the isolated city dweller that individualism—at least the nineteenth-century ideal he seems to glorify—cannot take hold in urban environments since individuals are always responding to their surroundings and cannot remain isolated amidst the density and institutional interconnectedness of the urban environment. He does

not offer resolutions towards more harmonious city life, and he leaves the viewer uncertain of how to preserve the social self in the midst of the cityscape. This unresolved relationship between the city and the self is not unique to the time in which Milgram is filming, and it is likely that the reason he makes very little reference to any historical landmarks or political timestamps is to communicate the longevity of this American problem.

Because of the documentary's timeless, placeless generalizations about the city and the self, there are resonances between Milgram's and Hawthorne's presentations of the confrontation between individuals and urban environments. Hawthorne, however, seems to parody the nineteenth-century sentimental "fear of the city" that Milgram in the twentieth-century bolsters with his "harsh" rendering of the city's "overload."[26] Additionally, "My Kinsman" responds to the Romantic ideal of the alienated individual, suggesting that no person should be isolated from society and that no person can resist the influence of society (represented by the urban polity of the unnamed city). "My Kinsman" offers an allegory about the transition from childhood innocence to adulthood, centered around the "handsome country youth," Robin, who is seeking a patron, his kinsman, in an unnamed New England city (which has many features of pre-Revolutionary Boston) where he has arrived by ferry from afar. Halttunen discusses this common symbolism in American narratives, particularly Ben Franklin as "the image of the American youth standing hopefully on the urban threshold had captured the spirit of the American Dream."[27]

Max Autrey frames Robin's journey as not just one about the transition from youth to adulthood or, as other common interpretations detail, the origin story of American independence from the "patron" of England, but as one about nineteenth-century reckonings with industrialization reshaping the agrarian economy: "By means of Robin's journey and the ensuring traumatic experiences and frustrations, America is viewed as changing from an agrarian to an urban nation. [...] The vegetable world of his youth, of his days of childish innocence, must give way to the mineral world of experience; therefore, having left his rural home, he must eventually abandon his old visions and his oak sapling as he assumes residency in the city of man."[28] When viewed through Autrey's framework, Hawthorne's parody of the "fear of the city"narrative is clear. Whereas others (including Milgram) believe that the sins of the city compromise the character of young men, Hawthorne seems to believe that people are not inherently good or of strong character. Much like Milgram pays attention to the "waterfall in midtown" being a small stroke of natural beauty amidst the urban landscape, the positive associations with nature and rural life that symbolize Robin's youth and innocence are oppositional to the "crooked and narrow streets" and "the obvious smell of tar" that mark the unfamiliarity and inhospitableness of the city.[29] Robin is aware of his surroundings but has no direction as a young man without a patron and, in a nod to Hawthorne's humor, the narrator ironically calls Robin "shrewd" throughout the story to mock his naivete in the urban landscape.[30]

Robin is the confidence man's ideal target. He finds himself amongst caricatures of the Protestant-coded vices—abundance in the "travelled youths," sloth in the "gay and gallant figures," lust in the "slender-waisted in the scarlet petticoat"[31] —and depersonalized individuals ("imitators of the European fine gentlemen of the period") that sentimental

advice columnists and authors warn Robin-type figures against in the city. Encounters with these city-folk "make poor Robin ashamed of his quiet and natural gait," and when no one answers Robin's requests for information about his kinsman's whereabouts—much like those who refused to help those looking for a telephone in "The City and the Self"— he finds himself gravitating towards "the steepled building,"[32] a reference to religion as a guide and sense of community that unites individuals and connects him to a sense of self that the city "deformed," to borrow Milgram's language: "What he disliked about religion is now a fond memory for him…nostalgic for community, seeing it as grounding thing: He heard the old thanksgivings for daily mercies, the old supplications for their continuance to which he had so often listened in weariness, but which were now among his dear remembrances." Though it is not clear whether Hawthorne endorses this identification with organized religion, as the solace he finds reminiscing about childhood religious services in his isolated state, "nostalgic for community,"[33] is only fleeting. Nonetheless, the discussion of religious ideals as inextricably linked to not only perceptions of the city but perceptions of the self create a throughline between Hawthorne writing in the nineteenth century about the eighteenth century and Milgram bridging the secular and the religious in his documentary. Religion in both pieces of media is both a marker of identity for the individual and provides a sense of sociality, if only fleeting.

"My Kinsman"'s climactic moment marks Robin's fateful "adaptation" to "overload" in the city. When a riot nears, he is jolted away from the church and is approached by an incarnation of the Devil: "'The double-faced fellow has his eye upon me,' muttered Robin, with an indefinite but an uncomfortable idea that he was himself to bear a part in the pageantry."[34] Robin expresses discomfort at the thought he will get swept up into the mob, an exemplary parody of the "fear of the city" tropes that Hawthorne contests. Milgram would likely contest how much choice Robin had in his moment of adaptation, but when he recognizes that the mob is rioting against his kinsman, his only form of connection in the city, Robin is finally "shrewd" enough to give into the pressures of his urban surroundings:

> Then Robin seemed to hear the voices of the barbers, of the guests of the inn, and of all who had made sport of him that night. The contagion was spreading among the multitude, when all at once, it seized upon Robin, and he sent forth a shout of laughter that echoed through the street,--every man shook his sides, every man emptied his lungs, but Robin's shout was the loudest there.[35]

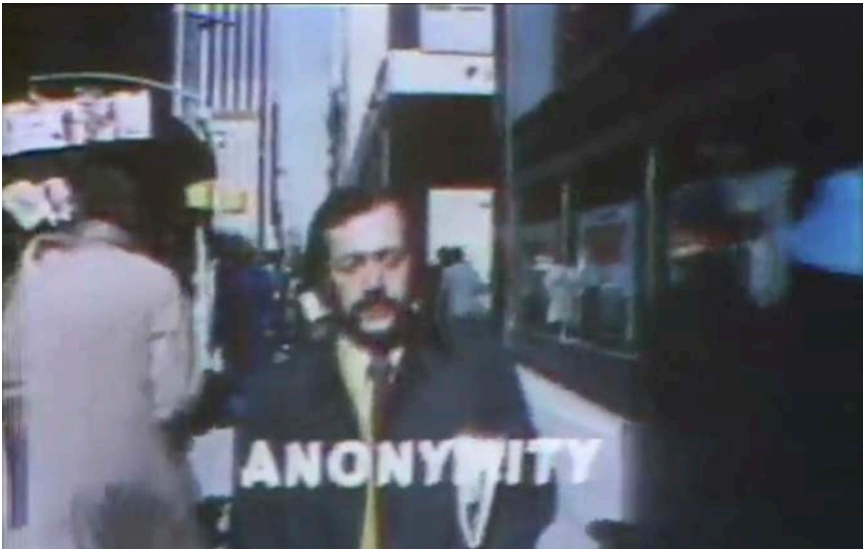
When he recognizes that he must abandon his loyalty and forfeit his innocent, hopeful self in search of a guide throughout adulthood, he comes into his own maturity and burgeoning individuality at the expense of his relationship with his kinsman, his family. He trades one form of sociality for a more advantageous form of sociality in this moment of need, an adaptation to overload that is perhaps more subconscious than self-directed. Though C. Wright Mills contextualizes this behavior in a twentieth-century white-collar-social class environment, his commentary on the individual's social response for the sake of security is relevant:

> For security's sake, he must strain to attach himself somewhere, but no communities or organizations seem to be thoroughly his. This isolated position makes him excellent material for synthetic molding [...] As a metropolitan dweller, he is especially open to the focused onslaught of all the manufactured loyalties and distractions that are contrived and urgently pressed upon those who live in worlds they never made.[36]

At his most isolated, Robin adapts to the environment around him and secures himself as a member of the urban crowd, acquiring neighbors out of the mass of strangers, even if he loses his innocence in the process. Hawthorne does not seem to advocate for this behavior, as he leaves the value of Robin's community unresolved, with Robin left to find out the extent of his "shrewdness," or his perceptiveness of those around him.[37]

In adapting to his environment, Robin acknowledges his position in urban society and the standards he needs to follow to escape the peril of isolated individualism. Robin dramatizes the failure of isolated individual; Hawthorne seems to dissent against the Jacksonian individualism of his time that disregarded the father as a "repository of virtue" and instead espoused "the sanctification of hierarchy and mass under conditions of Civil War and industrializing capitalism."[38] Hawthorne seems skeptical of this shift towards hierarchy again, as the hierarchy toppled when kinsman Molineux was tarred and feathered by the mob. Hawthorne does not deny the violence of revolution and the draw of it, nor does he endorse a view of individuals having inherently good character like Milgram. Hawthorne parodies the trope of the corrupting city that Milgram fuels with "The City and the Self;" it is possible he thinks that all individuals are inherently corrupt no matter their relation to the urban environment. Like Milgram, however, he does suggest that people are inherently social selves. It is evident that Hawthorne, like Milgram, recognizes the impossibility of the isolated individual's survival in urban environments and demonstrates that individuals will respond to their environments, particularly amidst the "overload" of urban stimuli.

These cross-historical connections illuminate the timelessness of the city/self confrontation narratives with which Hawthorne and Milgram engage. While his research is grounded in empirical psychology statistics, Milgram moralizes in his documentary; he suggests based on his presentation of the results of the dramatized experiments that the city itself is a bad actor, negatively influencing the character of the individuals who engage with it. Hawthorne, however, remains more ambivalent about the status of the city and the individuals' innate moral character being "good" or "bad." The two narratives are also connected by the throughline of Christian religious ideals, which still shape secular values, fracture politics, and contribute to the cultural association between urbanity and vice and the rural with innocence. Milgram and Hawthorne comment—both sincerely and ironically—on an intimate notion of "the neighbor" drawn from village life and a supposed independence-dependence binary central to early American coverture. If there is something inherently American about these urban alienated selves, perhaps that American quality is a struggle to preserve an idyllic, spectral neighborliness amidst increasingly divisive and massifying capitalist systems.

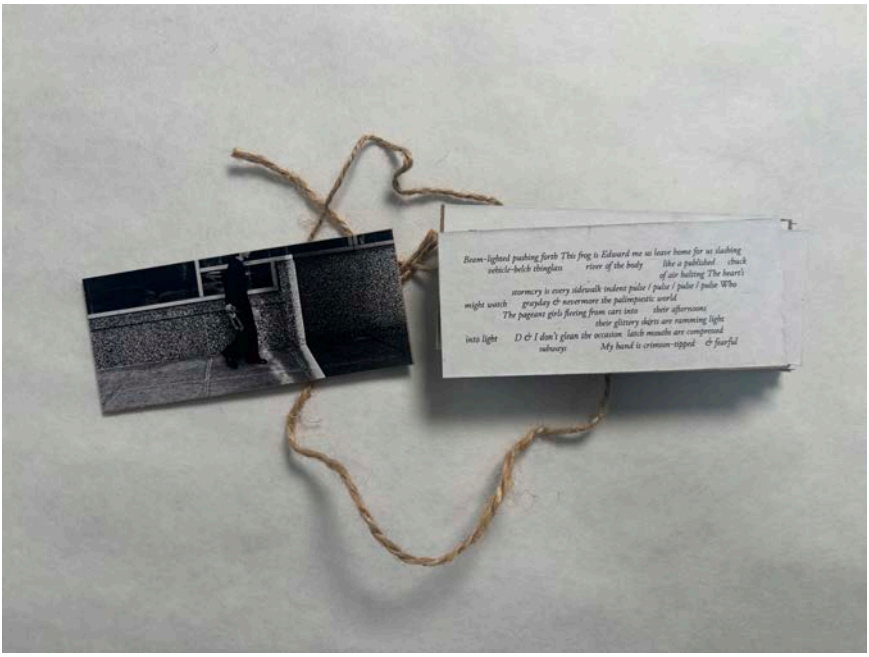


Sourced from Milgram, Stanley. The City and the Self. (1973; Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street), access provided by Brown University Library.

Untitled (A Providence Poetics)

Sarkis Antonyan

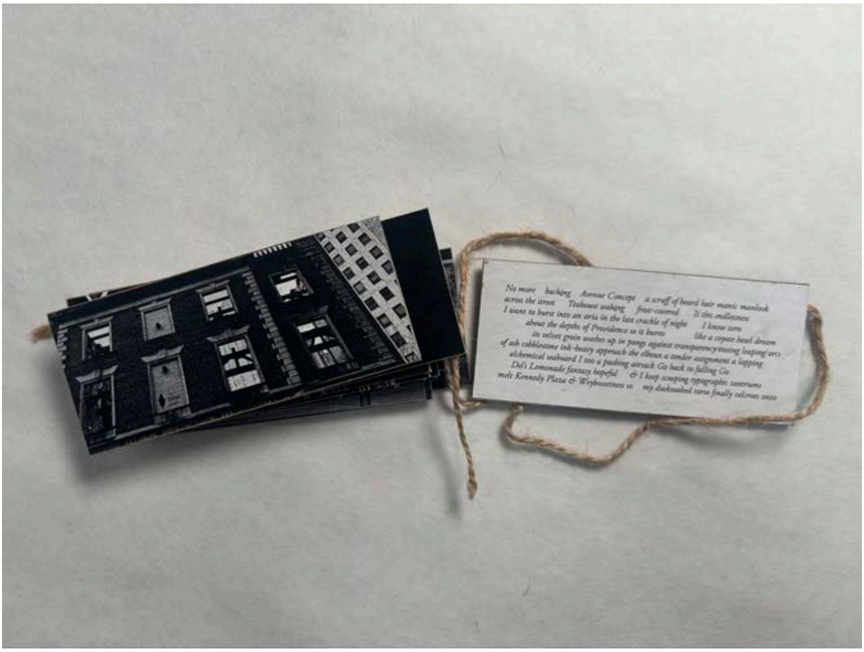
Digital Print, Chipboard, Twine




crt hl kl ks prose please somebody me to Ripea a mother hunching into us
a lovesong, shhhhhhh cum it last forever these lopsided years we
signed up for
are gambles spun, thorny throats we slingshot
so awfully fast Hold my hand a metal
railing pricking piercings into the plush concrete its riverbed arcs
saliva of us lost on Empire St curling in the toes
my loony eye drones your loony eye
Let's hold hands to breathe


Salt crunch under toe The brick facade
is a simple swatch of hair left graceless
over the pillow Park $5 first hour I look so back
past my shoulders the winter makes a glass crumb of me.


Ambulance a billion echoes. Starched
& acid this Omni forum. Hypertrophied hysterical
helix my icetongue. And the Sun allowing me to dangle in its ray
like a traffic signal pried off bashed
into the stonebody, coughing out photons.


No more backing Avenue Concept a scruff of beard hair manic manlook
across the street Teahouse waking frost-covered Is this endlessness
I want to burst into an aria in the last crackle of night I know zero
about the depths of Providence so it burns like a coyote howl dream
its velvet grain washes up in pangs against transparency-tossing leaping arcs
of ash cobblestone ink-heavy approach the elbows a tender assignment a lapping
alchemical seaboard I too a pushing airsack Go back to falling Go
Del's Lemonade fantasy hopeful & I keep scooping typographic tantrums

Where the Duck Faces the Decorated Shed: The Lindemann and the Granoff

Kylee Hong

View from the walk. Photo by the author, 2025.

Going between Brown University's North and South Campus, there is one reliable route where the pedestrian experience is centered—not the typical relegation to the sidewalk alongside a roadway. Known as The Walk, this north-south corridor connects the historic main campus with the former Pembroke College campus, unifying the university through a sequence of landscaped open spaces. Originally envisioned as part of Brown's Strategic Framework for Physical Planning, The Walk transformed former parking lots and service alleys into a vibrant public spine for academic and creative life. Here, pedestrians often have the right of way—cars stop for them, not the other way around. Lining this corridor is a cluster of Brown's arts venues, and at one key moment, the Lindemann and the Granoff buildings face each other—and face you. In a campus defined largely by brick-clad Georgian and Collegiate Gothic forms, this pair of contemporary arts buildings stands out. Although they occupy opposite sides of the design dichotomy—the Granoff as a "duck" and the Lindemann as a "decorated shed"—both are designed to cultivate and showcase artistic innovation through distinct architectural strategies.

While studying the highly commercialized architecture and signage of the Las Vegas Strip in the late 60s, Architects Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown developed the distinction between "ducks" and "decorated sheds." Inspired by a duck-shaped building that sold ducks and duck eggs, "ducks" are buildings where the architectural language of form, space, and structure embody and amount to an overall symbolic form—where the form communicates what is happening inside. On the other hand, more similar to big-box stores, the "decorated shed" houses a system of space that directly services the program within a generic structure where ornament is applied independently. Both signal to the function of the building—just either through surface treatments or its overall sculptural

quality.

Designed by REX, The Lindemann Performing Arts Center, which completed construction in 2023, houses a flexible performance hall and smaller performance + rehearsal spaces. From the street, it appears as a massive block with a facade of fluted, scalloped aluminum that is only interrupted by a one-story tall transparent clerestory slice that hovers above our heads. The magic of the building is housed within these shed walls—a radical, multi-functional space that can transform between Experimental Media, Recital, End Stage, and Flat Floor configurations.[1] There is no doubt that the program is center-stage. The building's opaqueness provides few clues as to the activities going on in the interior. Even the band of clerestory windows acts almost like a billboard above you, only offering a distant, flattened glimpse of the activity within. In fact, even the structural columns that you can glimpse are surfaced with bright screens whose advertisements can be changed for each event. While the architects set this glazing at stage level so that the arts may "spill out into the campus," in practice, most of the time the curtains are down and the corridor with the most traffic does not privilege pedestrians with a direct view since it is far above eye level.[2] But rather, its most striking draw of the eye along the corridor is when bold lettering is applied onto the amphitheater seating whose steps lead up into the building—announcing the current performance or show. For certain installations, further ornament is applied through projection. Thus, Lindemann depends on applied ornament and graphic symbolism to announce its programming.

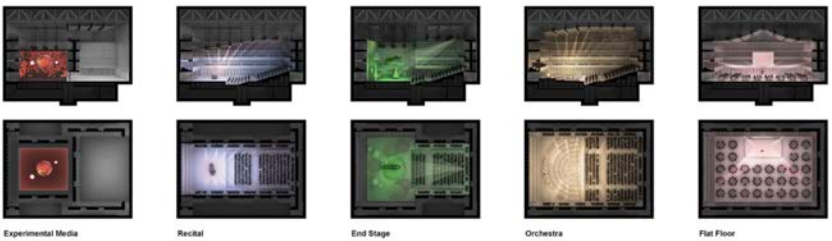


Diagram of the Lindemann Performing Arts Center Configurations by REX

Installation view, Carrie Mae Weems: Varying Shades of Brown, The Lindemann Performing Arts Center

Directly across the corridor, the Perry and Marty Granoff Center for the Creative Arts designed by Diller Scofidio + Renfro and constructed in 2011 houses a mixed arts space for exhibitions, studios, and performances. Its most striking feature is the misalignment of stacked floor slabs that provide directional visual connections to the floor above and below through its full height interior glass cleave wall. The alignment of structural elements with the goal of stimulating creative collaboration across disciplines results in a compelling example of where architectural gesture embodies program mission and strategy. From the fully glass facade alongside the pedestrian corridor, passersby can directly witness the activation of the space through its many disciplines of art practice that are supported in the space. The sloped seating of the interior recital hall extends seamlessly into an outdoor terraced amphitheater, with only a glass wall dividing the two—reinforcing a formal and spatial continuity between inside and out. On the ground level, the Cohen Gallery sacrifices the entire span of one of its four walls to be floor to ceiling windows displaying its contents to those on the outside. Granoff's sculptural form—shaped by its cleaved volume and interlaced floor plates—reflects a vision of interrupting traditional boundaries between the arts, sciences, and humanities at Brown and beyond.

Perry and Marty Granoff Center for the Creative Arts

In both cases, the buildings announce their use as a visual and performing arts space, however, the strategies they employ diverge into the "duck" and "decorated shed." Despite their clear distance from the Las Vegas landscape that inspired this classification, these two contemporary and innovative architectures still connect to the ideas of Brown and Venturi. Form follows function. Or, facade follows function? In this pair of buildings, they diverge in form and facade because their fundamental functions are different. The Lindemann's defining feature is its highly flexible interior, designed to accommodate a range of precisely orchestrated events. To support this adaptability, the building takes the form of a generic shell—a "decorated shed"—with changeable signage that announces each new activation. In contrast, the Granoff is more consistently porous to students and community members for more daily and informal artistic practice. Thus, its consistent messaging as a space for interdisciplinary collaboration allows its gestural volume to fully form. Both buildings not only embody different architectural philosophies, but also shape who feels welcome, how frequently, and under what conditions. Ultimately, the Lindemann and the Granoff embody distinct yet complementary visions of creative practice—one as a mutable container for curated experiences, the other as a transparent vessel for ongoing artistic dialogue—each shaping how the Brown community encounters and engages with the arts.

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