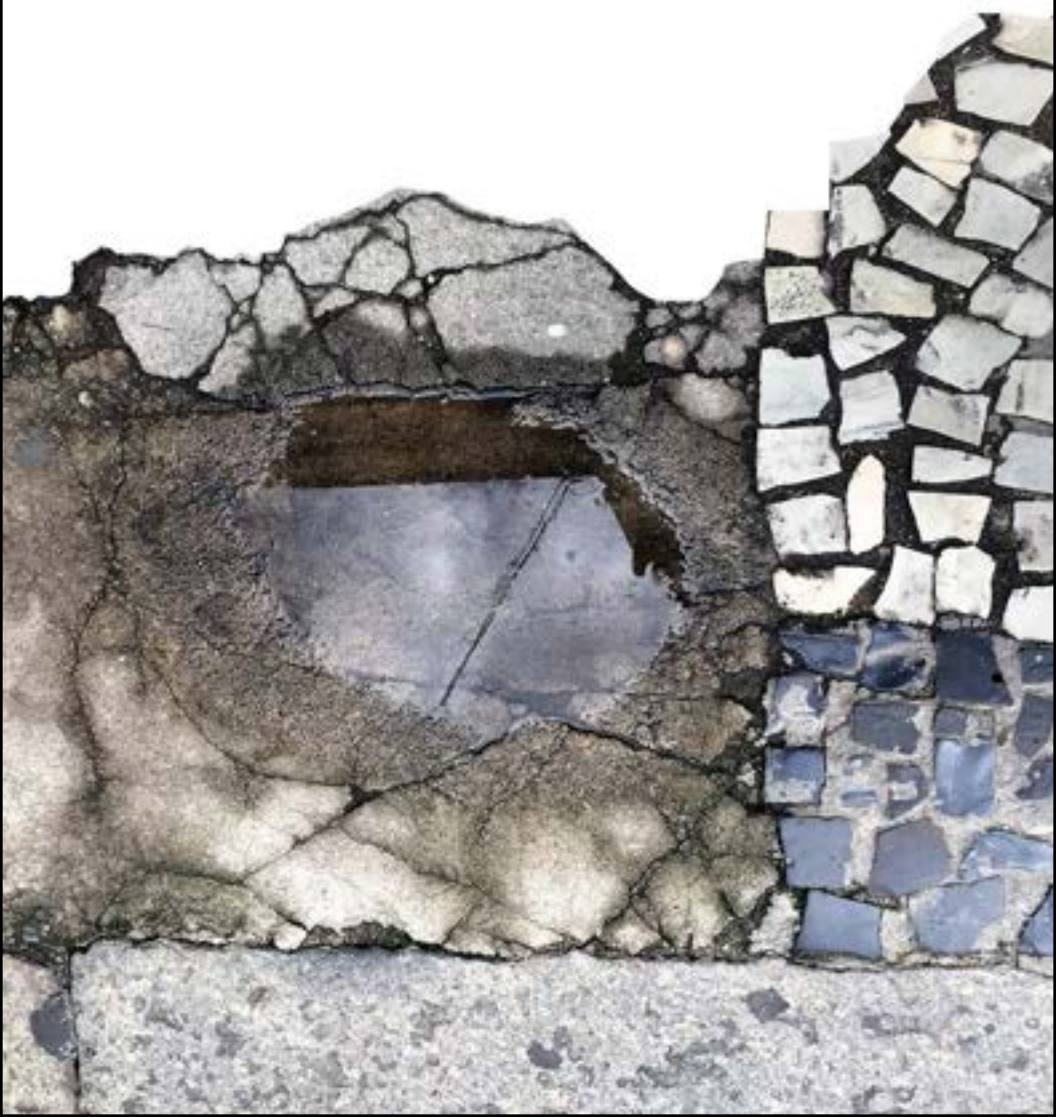


URBAN JOURNAL

VOLUME 4



URBAN JOURNAL
VOLUME 4
MAY 2018



Providence, Rhode Island
Edited and Designed by Lance Gloss.
Cover illustration "Rio Reflects" by Maria Gabriela Carucci
Funded by the Brown University Urban Studies Program
Through the generous support of the Harriet David Goldberg '56 Endowment

FROM THE EDITOR Lance Gloss

The city works its ways unbeknownst
to us as we hold up our lives to the
light let loose from the open-shut doors
and that which trickles down the canyon walls
into the river of the street.

Here, a dozen colleagues
from across College Hill
divulge the impressions
gleaned from accident and intent,
and backlit by desire.

Run with us the gamut
of inquiry required
to speak and be
spoken to
in town.

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THE AMAZON GROWS IN SEATTLE

Sydney Anderson

Seattle has seen rapid growth in the past ten years. A majority of this growth comes from Amazon, the company that recently made Seattle the biggest company town in America. Born to CEO Jeff Bezos in a Seattle garage in the 90s, Amazon has moved up in the real estate game, now occupying a massive urban campus in the heart of Seattle.

Now, Amazon is seeking to continue its expansion, this time outside of Seattle onto a new campus, a project that has come to be known as HQ2. With the promise of economic growth and a big name, American cities have been throwing themselves at Amazon's feet, offering massive tax incentives, free land (including giving Amazon naming rights), and in Fresno, California giving Amazon control over 85 percent of the city's budget, giving the company powers usually reserved for the government. Such high hopes for the Amazon's new development remind us to take a look at Amazon's growth in Seattle from its inception in 1994.

As of June 2016, there were 65 major buildings under construction across downtown Seattle and South Lake Union and in surrounding neighborhoods, a higher number than at any point since tracking began in 2005, with dozens more buildings to begin construction before the end of 2017. More than one third of the office space under construction is for Amazon. Facebook, Expedia, and Google are also expanding in Seattle, adding their own developments into the mix. As of July 2015, Amazon employed about 24,000 people in the Seattle metro area. New real estate acquisitions will allow Amazon to grow to about 50,000 employees by 2025.

Amazon developed its original campus in the South Lake Union neighborhood because "it was essentially a sea of parking lots," which made growth easy. Now Amazon has as much office space in Seattle as the city's next 43 biggest employers combined, and that's only counting the 8.1 million square feet they currently occupy. In terms of purchased property and projects under construction, Amazon is on track to occupy 13 million square feet in Seattle as the city's largest tenant ever. The \$4 billion the company has invested in developing its urban campus has contributed to a massive construction boom that has both awed and angered locals.

Amazon continues to attract thousands of out-of-state hires due to the fact that Washington does not have any income tax and relies heavily on sales taxes to fund public schools and transportation. This means that three of the world's wealthiest people, Jeff Bezos, Paul Allen and Bill Gates pay no income taxes to the state of Washington. Neither do any of Amazon's employees. In July of 2017 the Seattle City Council unanimously voted to pass a "wealth tax," against which Bezos fought aggressively.

There is a general understanding in Seattle that Amazon takes advantage of the tax code and strains the infrastructure without giving back to the system. Seattle has some of the fastest rising home prices and rents in the country and the population is still growing. In 2017, apartment rents were 63 percent higher than they'd been in 2010, and home prices had doubled since 2012. Seattle has the highest concentration of "mega-commuters," people who travel more than 90 minutes each way to work, leaving Seattle with the fourth worst traffic in the country. Metro buses are

The Amazon Grows in Seattle

packed, and drivers often have to leave commuters outside Amazon offices because buses are too full. Seattle officials have even had to add buses in the summer to accommodate Amazon interns, diverting tax revenue to support Amazon.

On the flipside, wages are rising faster than anywhere else in the country and unemployment is near record lows. Retail sales have grown more than 19 percent annually, with a 27.5 percent spike in sales in 2015. Amazon still faces a lot of resistance from Seattleites given that the company generally adopts a laissez-fair attitude and is uninvolved in the community. Rising housing prices, increased traffic due to population and construction, and Amazon's aloof attitude have frustrated locals.

A SHINY NEW ONE

After developing its campus in Seattle's South Lake Union neighborhood, Amazon decided to grow its urban campus into downtown Seattle. This campus would be called Rufus 2.0, named for an employee's dog, who passed away in 2009. In early 2012, Amazon's Acorn Development began the process of purchasing three contiguous blocks of land in downtown Seattle that would be the beginnings of Amazon's expansion.

Amazon originally submitted design plans to the city for this new development in January 2012, upon purchasing the rights to buy the land, which included a request to demolish the existing building as well as take a city-owned alleyway. In December of 2012 Amazon's designs were approved by the Downtown Planning Department and Amazon paid \$207 million for the land. The three blocks came to be known in plans as Block 14, Block 19, and Block 20. Block 19, bordered by 6th and 7th avenues and Lenora and Blanchard streets, would become the heart of Amazon's Rufus 2.0 campus.



COMPLETED AMAZON SPHERES AT THE DAY 1 BUILDING.
PHOTO BY NBBJ DESIGN.

In May of 2013, Amazon went before Seattle's Design Review Board for the first time since submitting its original proposals to apply for a Master Use Permit (MUP) with updated designs. An MUP is

a single land use permit that integrates process, procedures, and review of discretionary land use decisions. The MUP regarding Block 19 was only concerned with design review, which meant that the only departments reviewing the project would be the Design Review Board with final approval conducted by the Downtown Planning Department .

The original designs submitted in 2012 had shown two nondescript office buildings, one a high-rise and the other a mid-rise 5 story building. The new plan presented in May of 2013 was drastically modified. One building would be a 37-story tower (known interchangeably as Amazon Tower II and Day I), and represents Amazon's move to make Rufus 2.0 a high-rise campus, as opposed to South Lake Union's low-rise campus . Tower II would be 521 feet tall, 37 stories, with seven underground levels of parking . There would be a small dog park and open space separating Tower II and the "Biodomes," three interconnected spheres made of steel and glass, set to house over 400 plant species.

Amazon's goal was to provide a "flexible workspace" for its employees in the Biodomes, where employees could take "walking meetings," and with the dome height ranging from 80 to 95 feet, the building would be able to house mature trees and plants, many of which are endangered species. Amazon hired a renowned horticulturist from the Atlanta Botanical Conservatory to curate a collection of plants to fill the domes . The domes would feature waterfalls, a river, and treehouse-like spaces as well as three retail spaces at ground level .

Together, the buildings would create 1.1 million square feet of office space. The plans were apparently inspired by Bezos' own love of plants and large home greenhouse, as well as recent research on the effect of plants on energy in work spaces. The designers came up with the ideas of the domes the night before they were to present design ideas to Bezos, and were influenced by various glass and steel buildings around the world that housed plants, libraries, and planetariums.

WRANGLING THROUGH DESIGN REVIEW

At the outset of the May 2013 meeting, the Design Review Board identified several Downtown Design Guidelines that would be of highest priority for the project. The Seattle Design Review Board's main job is not necessarily to comment on the design of any project itself, but to give guidance on providing for public benefits in private buildings .

Throughout the process of three public meetings, the Board made it clear that they wanted to enhance public access to the space . The fact that something that looked so public would actually be private was the biggest issue for the city. In addition to requiring payment from Amazon for taking a city-owned alleyway on Block 19, the City also required Amazon to provide some sort of public benefit on the property, hence the dog park and open space between the two buildings, but that still wasn't enough. From May of 2013 to the final meeting in October of 2013, the Board emphasized the importance public circulation throughout the spaces in and around Block 19. Some of the tools the Board recommended the designers use were overhead coverage around the domes for pedestrians and landscaping that would encourage public circulation throughout the block as well as the creation of accessible retail spaces.

The Amazon Grows in Seattle

By the final meeting in October 2013, the Design Review Board was pleased with the way in which pedestrian engagement had been incorporated into the design, with the addition of a cycle track, midblock seating, and the overhead coverings at retail entrances and seating spaces . The designers had shaped the domes so that within six feet of entryways pedestrians would be protected from the elements, without having to disrupt the building design by adding canopies. They had also rounded the landscaped corners surrounding the domes and at the entries to the mid-block open space to invite pedestrians to explore the space.

On December 5, 2013 the DPD Director reviewed and accepted the Board's recommendations and the project was approved .

SEALING THE DEAL

By this time, Amazon had been required to pay about \$23.7 million in fees to Seattle to obtain the requested departures and go-ahead on the project. Amazon had made claims in 2015 to the Associated Press that the company donated "tens-of-millions of dollars" to Seattle for affordable housing and transportation. The Amazon spokesperson was likely referring to payments made to the City of Seattle in exchange for development rights and zoning departures.

Just under \$11 million was paid to the City for its affordable housing and childcare funds in exchange for the rights to build an additional 502,703 SF in Tower II . This was allowed as per Seattle incentive zoning for affordable housing rules, which allow commercial and residential developers to achieve additional development capacity when they provide for affordable housing or childcare services or make a cash contribution to the city's affordable housing and childcare funds.

Amazon was also required to pay the city \$5.5 million for public transportation in exchange for taking two city-owned alleyways, one of which was on Block 19 . A portion of this was paid as a cash contribution to the Seattle Department of Transportation for a streetcar that would run along the South Lake Union neighborhood route that is home to Amazon's campus , and another \$2 million paid for the creation of two bike lanes running along Blocks 19 and 2029. With all of the details settled, construction on Block 19 began in early 2014.

THE FUTURE OF AMAZON'S SEATTLE

Community members made their thoughts on the buildings heard at the Design Review Board meetings. Many people labeled them "refreshing," saying the Biodomes were well tailored to the urban landscape, but also provided relief from the "low-rise metal-clad apartments" sprouting up throughout Seattle . Some praised Amazon, pointing out that the tech giant could have had a walled off campus in downtown Seattle, but that instead they've kept open walkways and "parklets" for use by the public . Amazon employees love the buildings and the idea of an urban campus. Other Seattleites feel Amazon is encroaching on Seattle, buying all the land, and not giving back to the community. The Seattle Times posted a short opinion piece calling for nicknames for the Biodomes after a staffer heard a passerby at the domes say "I call it the Death Star." Comments included "Bezos' Balls," referring to Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos, "Gentrification Pods," "Nerd Nodes," and

"I call them the 'it's hard to believe they made structures that are so stupid and painfully ugly' buildings."

It's important to understand the development of Block 19 in the context of Amazon's existence in Seattle. A lot of the frustration in Seattle surrounding the Biodomes has to do with the fact that the domes are private, for use by Amazon employees only, which is seen by many as a reflection of Amazon's already lacking community involvement. This was made worse by Amazon lying about community "donations" that were actually payments required for property development. This specific project may not have faced a lot of obstacles, but as Amazon's first distinct building, the Biodomes fueled a lot of talk in Seattle. The Seattle Times dedicates an entire portion of its business section to covering daily Amazon news, and throughout Rufus 2.0 development, coverage of the construction boom, rising home prices, heinous traffic, and Amazon's lies about community involvement swirled around Seattle. Most articles about Amazon use the Biodomes as the cover photo, even if there is no mention of them in the article.

As we watch the media firestorm over Amazon's HQ2 development, the Biodomes show up over and over again. Amazon's auction for a new campus will likely lead to a development and expansion that will mirror what we've seen in Seattle, but in another city with more tax incentives and potentially even less public benefit. With cities like Fresno offering Amazon civic control, how should cities approach the bidding war and incentivize Amazon to give back to a new community that is giving Amazon almost everything it has to offer? Do cities really want Amazon, or will we see that the high hopes of many mayors and city planners will be met with resistance from city residents? The cities begging for Amazon's development must begin to tackle these questions now before it's too late, and build incentives for a community relationship into their bids, without handing over government power.

In the land of Amazon's nondescript and unmarked buildings, the domes gave Seattleites something to point to when they blamed Amazon for gentrification, increasing traffic and homelessness. Amazon didn't intend for the backlash the domes fueled among Seattleites, but the backlash has driven Amazon to at least begin changing its practices in Seattle, all while giving us a striking addition to the skyline. In 2017, Amazon is finally starting to involve itself in the Seattle community. The company partnered with Mary's Place, a Seattle non-profit that provides housing to the homeless, with Amazon agreeing to permanently house a homeless shelter in a portion of one of its new buildings, rent-free, with utilities fully paid, forever, across the street from Block 19. This project will apparently cost tens of millions of dollars and is the company's biggest philanthropic venture to date. In early 2017, Amazon also announced plans to donate equipment and space to the nonprofit FareStart, a non-profit that trains people who have faced barriers to employment in hospitality-industry skills by employing them in restaurants, cafés, and fast-casual eateries. Hopefully the domes have signaled a change in Amazon's laissez-faire interactions with the city and will promote growth that will benefit all of Seattle, and bring this new attitude to the city Amazon chooses for HQ2.

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SANTIAGO LINES
Austen Sharpe

2018



PALMS AND ROOFLINE IN LAS CONDES.
PHOTO BY AUSTEN SHARPE



GRAN TORRE SANTIAGO
PHOTO BY AUSTEN SHARPE

FROM THE PSFS BUILDING TO THE GALLERY MALL: A CENTURY OF AFFORDABLE SHOPPING ON PHILADELPHIA'S EAST MARKET STREET

Ella Comberg

2018

Philadelphia's iconic limestone and granite City Hall towers at the geographic and social center of the city. To its east, flanking the Delaware River, is the city's historic core, where quaint colonial rowhomes and landmarks like Independence Hall attract international tourists. Between City Hall and Independence Mall sits prime real estate: eight blocks of retail property on Market Street, a main thoroughfare. From the late nineteenth century to today, this strip of downtown Philadelphia has catered not to wealthy residents living in nearby neighborhoods but to the city's sprawling middle class. Populated at the turn of the century by small businesses and, by the 1980s, big-box discount superstores, the eastern part of Market Street was able to retain a low-income clientele regardless of its physical form.

The Gallery at Market East opened along this stretch in 1977. As part of Edmund Bacon's masterplan for the city, the placement of a suburban icon (the mall) in the heart of central Philadelphia was meant to bring shoppers from outside the city into its core. In its early years, the Gallery achieved Bacon's goal, attracting suburbanites with chain department stores like Gimbles and Strawbridge's. But the most consistent shoppers at the Gallery, until its closing in 2017, were black Philadelphians, not from the suburbs but from urban neighborhoods just outside of Center City. The mall responded to the demographic trend of its patrons, housing dozens of black-owned businesses: hair-braiding salons, bookstores, cosmetic stores for people with darker skin. When it closed in 2017, the mall was home to Burlington Coat Factory, Old Navy, Five Below and a handful of other affordable and discount stores, patronized mostly by black Philadelphians.

Occupying two whole city blocks on Market between Ninth and Eleventh Streets, the Gallery might, in a vacuum, be decried as an urban planning disaster. With fire doors—not storefronts—on Market Street, the mall sucked shoppers from the street into a windowless chasm. But recent plans to redevelop the Gallery into the "Fashion District of Philadelphia" have conjured fond memories of the mall. Overwhelming accounts position the Gallery as a beloved, safe place for black residents of North and West Philadelphia to gather. Low- and middle-income black Philadelphians—the city's largest demographic—could easily take the Market-Frankford and Broad Street Subway lines from their outlying neighborhoods directly into a station contiguous with the mall. There, they found affordable outlet stores and meeting places, like a food court, that didn't criminalize their presence in the way that a more upscale shopping center, like the Shops at Liberty Place—which recently banned high school students on weekdays—might.

Many who loved the Gallery lament its redevelopment for coopting one of the last remaining spaces in the American downtown that not only attracted, but indeed catered to, a non-white clientele. Even if the new development will house affordable stores, these chains will likely lack the black-centric qualities that the Gallery celebrated. Indeed, in simply not being the Gallery—branded until 2017 with its original signage, forever a relic of the iteration of 1970s and 80s Philadelphia that produced such Afro-centric groups as MOVE—the Fashion District of Philadelphia seems to threaten the integrity of black downtown public space.



12TH AND MARKET STREETS, C. 1919
PHOTO FROM THE PHILADELPHIA CITY ARCHIVES

The warranted outcry over the contemporary redevelopment of the Gallery poses questions about how cities—especially those with dense downtowns—should allocate their precious central real estate. But the earlier life of the Gallery—the one that Will Smith name drops as a spot for back-to-school shopping in “Parents Just Don’t Understand”—poses a historical question: how were the Gallery and other affordable stores along Market Street east of City Hall able to exist in the first place? And for so long? If numerous American downtowns experienced massive redevelopment in the latter half of the twentieth century, most projects—like those in Downtown Boston and Times Square in Manhattan—reshaped central space for an elite class. Philadelphia’s Market East district likewise fell victim to such downtown change with projects like the Gallery, but the strip largely resisted class upheaval; the Market East of the early 20th century served the same non-elite demographic pre- and post-development.

Perhaps this desirably-located district of Philadelphia, rife with prized nineteenth-century architecture, was able to preserve its affordable retailers for the simple reason that the kinds of companies that have transformed other downtowns—Condé Nast and Morgan Stanley, among others, reshaped Times Square—have not been attracted to Philadelphia. Without high-profile businesses with highly-paid employees to populate a downtown shopping district, the strip had no market for higher-end stores. But a more Philly-centric answer positions the Market East district not in contrast with other cities’ downtowns, but with its more upscale local counterparts. Indeed, Philadelphia has been home to major companies, wealthy residents, and consequently, upscale shopping districts for much of the twentieth-century. These districts have simply tended to pop up elsewhere in the city, leaving Market East notably ungentrified.

Rittenhouse Square, a notoriously wealthy enclave centered around one of the city’s four coordinate green squares, was home to Philadelphia’s Victorian aristocracy until its modernization in the 1910s and 20s: skyscrapers with ground-floor retail space and apartments above replaced the single-family mansions that once lined the square. But the transition from residential to mixed-use

buildings brought little change in demographics; if Rittenhouse Square was home to Philadelphia's wealthiest residents in the mid-nineteenth century, it continues to be so today, only now with taller buildings and upscale shopping along Walnut Street.

In contrast, when modern architecture took root at Twelfth and Market in 1932 with the completion of the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society (PSFS) Building—the first International Style skyscraper in the United States—a companion chic shopping district did not materialize. Where modernism implied wealth in Rittenhouse Square, the new architecture expressly served the non-elite in the Market East district, silently working to preserve the notoriously affordable strip.

2018



THE GALLERY, 1981.

PHOTO FROM TEMPLE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, URBAN ARCHIVES

As the marketing slogan for the PSFS building claimed, there was “nothing more modern” than Philadelphia's newest skyscraper, which towered above otherwise colonial and revivalist buildings. A behemoth of steel and glass on a corner where most buildings were built before the turn of the century, the PSFS Building was notably distinct in 1932 Philadelphia for its subscription to international modernism rather than the prevailing historicism of the era and the area. As architectural historian William Jordy wrote in his 1962 text on the building, “PSFS is rather more innovative than . . . its provincial position suggests.”

Indeed, despite the PSFS's aggressive modernism—sans-serif neon lettering, curtain windows, elevators and escalators—the building remained aware of its “provincial” position, not only in Philadelphia, but also on Twelfth and Market. What have traditionally been read as European formal elements—a consequence of Swiss architect William Lescaze's work on the design—can also be understood as responses to hyper-local norms. Where the ornate Reading Terminal headhouse (catty-corner to the PSFS) curves in an Italian Renaissance style, the PSFS's sleek granite curve quietly mimics its neighbor in an updated fashion. In emulating the corner's existing vernacular architecture, a building that was obviously stylistically out of place subtly respected its urban context.

Perhaps the most notable element of the PSFS Building in relation to the Market East strip is the

cantilevered second floor. In designing the headquarters for the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, the architects made the unusual choice to elevate the building's main banking hall to the second floor, leaving space for retail on the street level. This design allowed the commercial corridor to go almost untouched. Where insertion of a sleek, modern banking hall on the ground floor of the PSFS Building would doubtlessly have disturbed Market Street's existing urban environment, the elevated banking hall retained the longstanding commercial district, using modern architectural advances to engage in a form of ultra-regionalism: respect for not only the city but the street corner.



"CARIBBEAN CONNECTION" KIOSK AT THE GALLERY, 1990,
PHOTO FROM THE TEMPLE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, URBAN ARCHIVES

The Philadelphia Savings Fund chose its location at Twelfth and Market to attract its target depositor: the frugal, working-class Philadelphian. Much like Otto Wagner's 1905 Postal Savings Bank in Vienna, the building's design responded to this clientele. In so doing, the architects employed a modernist style not to terminate but to extend Market East's tenure as a spot for working class Philadelphians to shop, stroll, and deposit their money: during the Great Depression, the PSFS accepted deposits as small as a quarter.

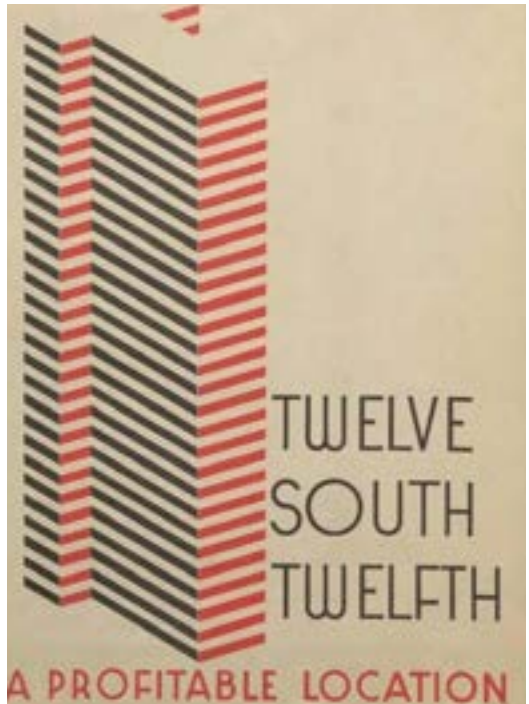
When considered in the context of the PSFS Building—which has stood at the corner of Twelfth and Market for nearly a century—the Gallery's stronghold two block east makes perfect sense. While the PSFS is often noted by scholars for bringing European modernism to the United States, with local context it can also be interpreted as a crucial actor in the twentieth-century life of the Market East corridor. If the PSFS building maintained and perhaps even attracted low-to-moderate-income Philadelphians to the strip during its tenure as a savings bank from the 1930s to the 1990s, the Gallery kept them there until 2017. Indeed, whether spending or depositing money, middle-class Philadelphians could be found in the bustling, central, and architecturally significant Market East district.

Perhaps the most tangible evidence of the PSFS Building's influence is its emerging neighbor to the east. Part of the grand redevelopment of Market Street—which includes revamping the Gallery—



READING TERMINAL HEADHOUSE,
NORTHEAST CORNER OF 12TH AND
MARKET.

PHOTO BY FLICKR [CREATIVE COMMONS]



ORIGINAL PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL
FOR PSFS BUILDING, 1932.
IMAGE BY THE HAGLEY MUSEUM
AND LIBRARY, DIGITAL ARCHIVES



PSFS BUILDING, 2012.

PHOTO BY FLICKR [CREATIVE COMMONS]

the “East Market” building is currently under construction, 86 years after the PSFS, in an uncannily similar style. As developer Dan Killinger explains, “It absolutely takes its inspiration from PSFS, from the curved corners at 12th and Market to the gray color palette to the tall slender profile.”

The mixed-use development will house businesses of varying affordability: an H&M Superstore, MOM’s organic market, an AMC cinema, an Iron Hill brewpub, and a Wawa convenience store, among others. The presence of relatively inexpensive stores, even in the company of upscale retailers, is promising; with a careful eye on the history of the PSFS, one hopes that its legacy will be more than aesthetic. Perhaps in adopting the form of its neighbor, the new East Market development will continue to cater to all Philadelphians, even in the wake of the Gallery’s destruction.

But in reality, the power of the built form only goes so far. If the PSFS Building preserved the life of the Market East strip for affordable shopping, and the Gallery extended this life even longer, so too did the black Philadelphians who, in 1983, asserted their space in the city by demanding that the Gallery include a quota for black-owned businesses. It seems—reflecting in 2018 on that strip of Market between City Hall and Old City—that some combination of individual actors at the Gallery and built forms at the PSFS converged to create accessible public space at the heart of one of America’s biggest cities. With the Gallery gone, the new East Market development—in the same early, modernist form as the PSFS— will test the extent of architecture on its own to create welcoming space.

The future of Market East might begin to answer an even more pressing question about the future of Philadelphia: will it continue to be a city where working class people—especially people of color—have a seat at the table, and indeed, their own affordable downtown retail corridor? Or will it meet the fate of New York or San Francisco, where only the most remote of residential neighborhoods are welcoming and affordable to those outside the elite?

DESIGNING FOR LIFE, IN AND BEYOND GURYONG SIGNE FERGUSON

This capstone project for the architecture program at Brown took Signe Ferguson to Guryong, a shantytown in suburban Seoul, Korea. First, an excerpt from the booklet "Postcards from Guryong" describes how the shantytown community came to be. Conceptual sketches made in Guryong follow, reflective of Ferguson's attempt to exceed the intimacy of a place that can be captured by a photograph. The final pages illustrate a receptacle designed by Ferguson to meet the needs of a precariously-housed population. [From the Editor]

EXPANSION IN SEOUL

Seoul is an extreme contemporary example of rapid and explosive urbanization. Following the Korean war, 1950-1953, a time of immense poverty, President/ Dictator Junghee Park began preparing a development plan in the 1960's to be executed in the 70's and 80's. He began developing the country through a fast economic development plan of high-rise apartments. Construction efforts were monumental and Park in many ways, helped to set the groundwork for the prosperous Korea that can be observed today. Though he was considered unscrupulous for the benefits he received from Japan and his troop agreements with the United States for Vietnam, his claim to the development of Gangnam is unquestionable. He created a vast number of apartment complexes, disregarding the impact that would be made on the environment, culture and humanity of Seoul. The priority was efficiency and speed. Once new apartments, and more importantly, good schools were established, prices rose dramatically.



SEOUL'S JONGNO SAM-GA STATION, 1968.
PHOTO IN PUBLIC DOMAIN.

The trend of education creating more expensive areas can be observed in present Seoul. Seoul, and Gangnam in particular, has continued to expand and redevelop since the 70's. The tides moving people around the city has confronted it with many instances of differing social and economic groups being forced to confront each other, often living in close proximity to each other. The shamed-based culture that exists in Seoul has often kept the upper classes from fully integrating with those of much less privileged backgrounds. Often there are injustices, instances of slums living in close proximity to wealthy neighbors. Economic status seems to be a defining factor in Korea's homogenous population, and a different kind of racism exists – social class segregation. It's not often applied through policy, but moreover by people recognizing their own classes.

Gangnam as it is today is remarkable, considering that only 40 years ago, the affluent Gangnam District was little more than rice paddies. Prior to Park's development and chulgamean, Gangnam was the least developed district in Seoul, making it home to a number of shantytowns. Many of these shantytowns have since been developed – but the largest of them all, Guryong Village, still stands, in 2017.

DEVELOPMENT-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT

Guryong Village was one of many settlements formed in 1986, seemingly overnight. The area totals 286,929 m² (approximately 70 acres), located 20 minutes by walking from Samsung's Tower Palace – a luxury residential complex containing the eleventh-tallest building in South Korea. It was built by day laborers and blue collar workers who would later live in the village. The village sits on privately-owned land. A six-lane freeway separates the it from the wealthy district of Dogok-dong, Gangnam, on Seoul's southern side. It hugs the greenbelt Mountains of Daemo and Guryongsan. There was no clear planning strategy, as the network layout of the informal settlement is disparate, with no clear axes. At its largest, it was estimated that there were anywhere from 3,000-4,000 inhabitants in Guryong, though these numbers have never been confirmed by an official demographic survey of the area, as none have ever been conducted. Original founding residents were primarily impoverished elderly and disabled citizens, living in approximately 2,000 shacks and trailers. Individual houses range anywhere from 16-90 m².

The homes, many of them panjap's, were fabricated out of plywood collected from constructions sites, many of which used plywood for casting concrete. Other materials making up the structures include felt, plastic and vinyl posters, foam, linoleum – any scraps that could be scavenged quickly. No particular style arose for the structures, only necessity and function determined the external and internal shapes and surfaces. As a result of the material choices, many of the homes are not waterproofed or resistant to pests, and are extremely flammable. In addition to the residents creating their own home structures, the Guryong community also established their own infrastructure systems, such as postal service, kindergartens and churches, and utilities including water, gas, and electricity, (separate from the city), all under the leadership of village associations. Vegetable gardens, a prominent characteristic of the neighborhood, are privately owned by the residents.

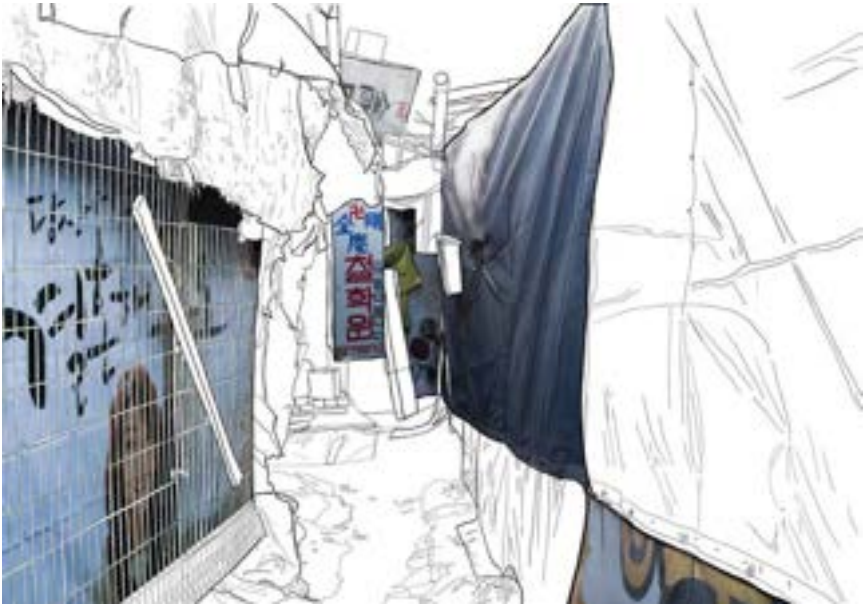
Due in part to the material choices and homemade nature of the village from its outset, as well as the environmental vulnerabilities of the site, conditions have deteriorated consistently since the settlement's existence. Examples of this come in the form of flooding, fires, and cat/rat infestations, amongst others. In 2011, 563 houses were flooded due to heavy rainfall. Throughout 2012 alone, there were 7 large fires reported, destroying 111 houses, with 3 mortalities. Guryong has had 10 large fires since, the most recent fire occurring in 2017, destroying 29 homes in a chain reaction. Shacks made of wood, vinyl and cloth provided easy targets for the fire to spread. City responses of firetrucks and emergency helicopters underscored how out of control this event was, and how long it took to put the fire out. Besides these larger scale fires, there have been 29 instances in the past four months when the local fire department had to assist in putting out smaller scale fires. As the fires wreak havoc on the village, conditions only worsen. Powerlines and water pipes are consistently entangled.

These types of issues are common with bottom-up settlements – those created by the people that are only later accepted by the government and the city. What seems more interesting about Guryong is the anthropological makeup of the village, and the way it has grown and divided to what it is today. After almost all of the original founders of Guryong passed away, a new system of factions and hierarchy surged. Only 10% residents have actually lived there for almost 30 years. It is difficult to break into the community as a newcomer at present. There are 5 major groups in the village, each alienated from the others, limiting the communication of its members. These groups are divided by common benefits, not by location of residence in Guryong. There is one reigning village association that has a voice of authority over these groups. The factions create a volatile and secretive environment within the village. The thin materials like fabric and posters that the buildings are made out of force members of each group to whisper even in their own homes when discussing plans for their own respective groups.

In addition to these groups, there are 'outsider' residents. Outsider residents include missionary volunteers, as well as complex types of individuals deemed "investors". The groups live in what can be described as the past, fighting amongst each other for power, trying to get rid of each other, and using cruel tactics and techniques equivalent to the bullying techniques of a small mafia – sans murder. The panjangs of these groups have a strong hold over their followers. The groups also peacock their power over the outsiders, and those not in the know of the unwritten laws of the village. An example of this is a missionary named Sun Hee, who was intimidated by one group and forced to pay 10x the normal rate for her gas after failing to ask permission to change her gas from one of the panjangs. Though initially she was given excuses for this upcharge, relating to a supposed failure in her system, it was eventually revealed that she was actually paying for breaking the rules of the 'law of the village'.

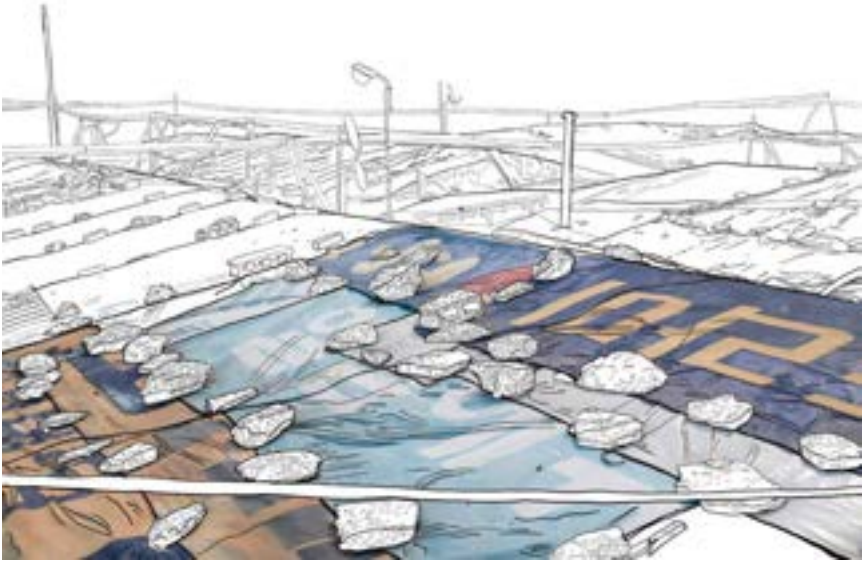


GURYONG HOME.
ARTWORK BY SIGNE FERGUSON.



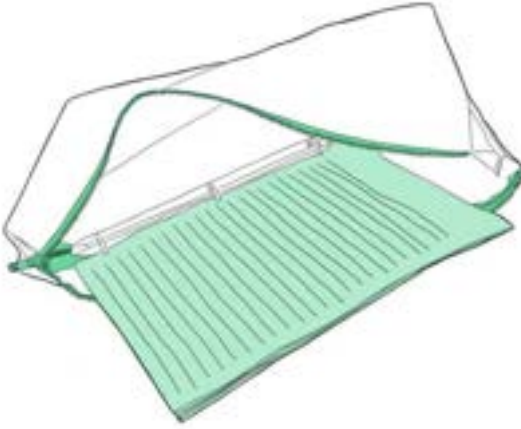
GURYONG PASSAGE.

ARTWORK BY SIGNE FERGUSON.



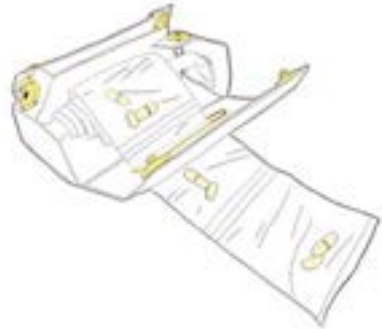
GURYONG TARPS.

ARTWORK BY SIGNE FERGUSON.



LEFT: This flexible binder contains space for document storage, as well as several handouts with important information about residents' rights.

BELOW: Residents can slide their plates and other dishes into this bag, which can be suspended from another receptacle, keeping the plates safe from damage.



ABOVE: This small pill dispenser is easily portable, and can be used to divide pills for each day in advance, for easy access on the go.

KIT FOR GURYONG RESIDENTS [PARTS].
ILLUSTRATIONS AND DESIGN BY SIGNE FERGUSON.



KIT FOR GURYONG RESIDENTS [ASSEMBLED].
PHOTO, DESIGN, AND FABRICATION BY SIGNE FERGUSON.

This kit was designed to aid Guryong residents in their everyday lives, given their continued risk of displacement and the everyday necessity of movement. The tarp material draws inspiration from the existing materiality of the neighborhood. The items include a large bag and several smaller items [see opposite] with specific functions geared toward Guryong residents' needs.



KIT FOR GURYONG RESIDENTS [FROM ABOVE]
PHOTO, DESIGN, AND FABRICATION BY SIGNE FERGUSON.

JOSH
Brett Dunlavey

This artwork draws on Sohei Nishino's Diorama Map project in which he portrays the city not as a cohesive whole, but as an aggregation of snapshots and memories. Likewise in the portrait photograph, we remember friends, family, and acquaintances not as single persons but as collections of details and stories. In patching these together, we arrive only at a jumbled approximation of the individual's essence.

2018



JOSH
ARTWORK BY BRETT DUNLAVEY

ENTANGLED WORLDS OF PARALLEL ENCOUNTERS RISD Advanced Studio: Collect(ive) Rio

2018

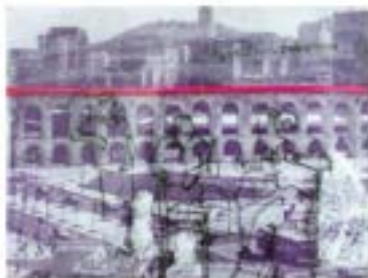
Cities are informed and imagined by many people at a time. A city's physical form is thus expressed in a vortex of changing relations, mirrored in the activities of a collective body interacting. Cities from that point of view are an open stage for complementary and conflicting encounters—an evolving field of changing configurations, expressed in the stories that unfold, both formal and informal.

Our laboratory of exploration was Rio de Janeiro, a metropolis filled with many complementary and contradictory stories, ranging from a unique form of colonial 'occupation' to a socio-political landscape of suppression to most current events, such as the Olympic Summer Games of 2016. Through these manifold stories, we critically observed, decoded, and interpreted these entangled worlds of parallel encounters, to inform our designs.

Of interest was by what means stories manifest themselves, both from a literal and metaphoric point of view. Within this context you we explored how stories form and inform the everyday life of urban citizens.

- Studio Directed by Prof. Petra Kempf and Prof. Pedro Aparicio,
Rhode Island School of Design

OPPOSITE: Artists listed from top left by column. TOP-LEFT: Oleg Mulanov, Yixuan Cai, Violette (Jun-qing) Yang, Gian Villarruel, Sage Dumont. TOP-RIGHT: Marcus Lee, Sage Dumont, Sanjana Shiroor; Diego Fernandez-Morales







COLLECTIVE MOVEMENT
ARTWORK BY SAGE DUMONT

OPPOSITE. Artists listed from top left by column. TOP-LEFT: MArkus Lee, Maria Gabriela Carucci, Paola Martinez, Sanjana Shiroor, Yixuan Cai TOP-RIGHT: Gian Villarrueal, Nicholas Meehan, Louna Bou Ghanem, Soco-Fernandez Garcia, Violette (Junqing) Yang



PALM TREE CITY

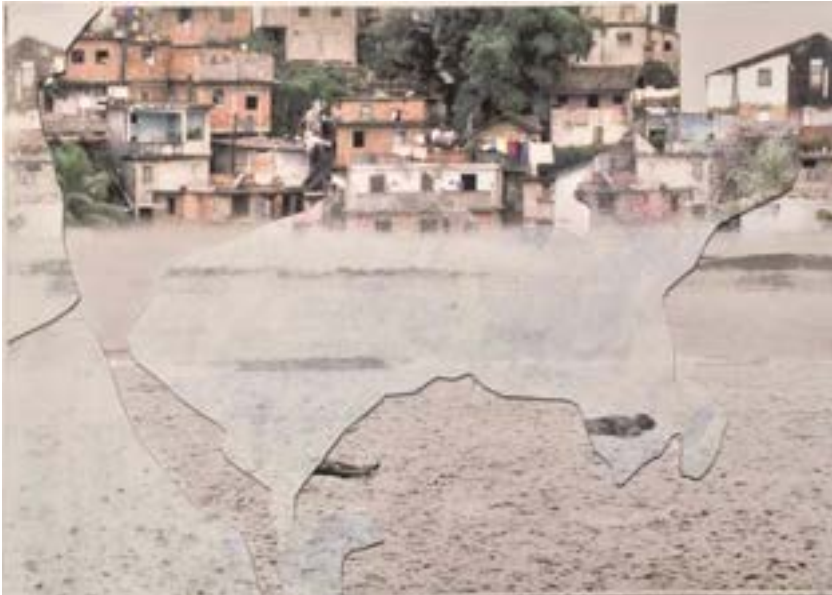
DESIGN, FABRICATION, AND PHOTO BY DIEGO FERNANDEZ-MORALES

DISTILLING HUMIDITY [A CATALOGUE FOR DIRTY WATER]
Maria Gabriela Carucci

This is an archive of poets, diseases,
Mosquitoes and the overlooked topographies of
Water in the urban center.

Humidity is the enabler.

Rio de Janeiro drowns in the unseen.



RIO POSTCARD II.

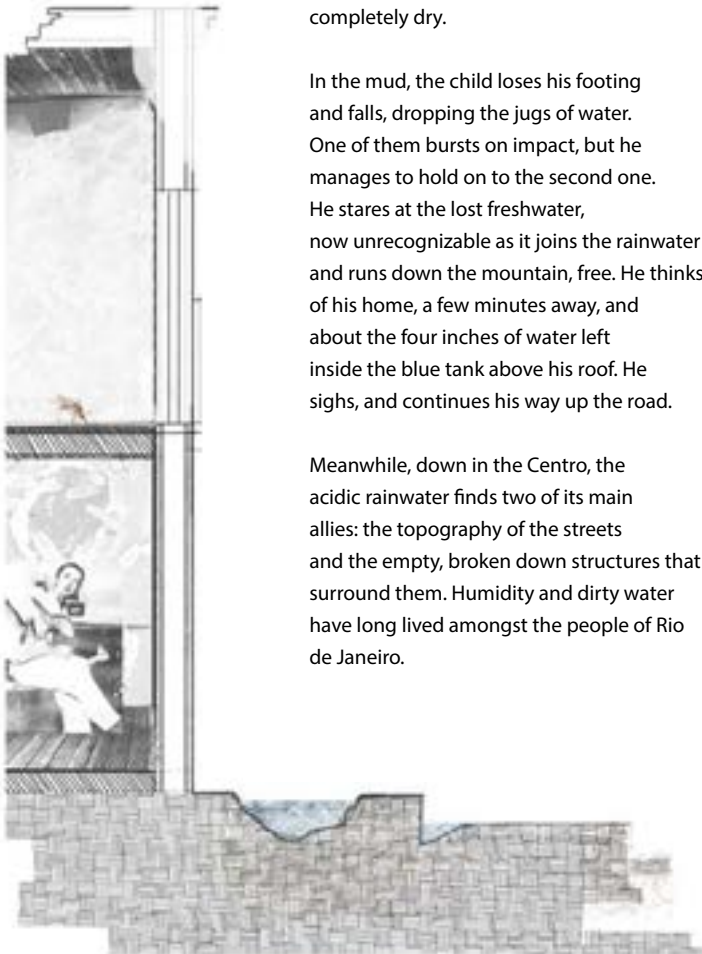
ARTWORK BY MARIA GABRIELLA CARUCCI

It is a rainy morning, and up in the streets of Parque da Cidade a child can be seen running in the streets. He seems to be struggling under the weight of something, and upon a closer look, we can see that two heavy jugs of water are balancing on his shoulders.

Brazil holds 12% of the world's freshwater supply, but due to the water crisis and droughts, a lot of the main rivers from which the water comes are completely dry.

In the mud, the child loses his footing and falls, dropping the jugs of water. One of them bursts on impact, but he manages to hold on to the second one. He stares at the lost freshwater, now unrecognizable as it joins the rainwater and runs down the mountain, free. He thinks of his home, a few minutes away, and about the four inches of water left inside the blue tank above his roof. He sighs, and continues his way up the road.

Meanwhile, down in the Centro, the acidic rainwater finds two of its main allies: the topography of the streets and the empty, broken down structures that surround them. Humidity and dirty water have long lived amongst the people of Rio de Janeiro.



It seems that they are engage in a constant fight, one in which a people's fault lies in its indifference. They don't acknowledge it, but water is retaliating.

Alberto, the shopkeeper of an old, small bookstore in Rua Republica do Libano, blames the three times he's had dengue on a broken pipe down the block. But a look around the shop makes it clear that he doesn't want to admit to the fact that humidity surrounds him.

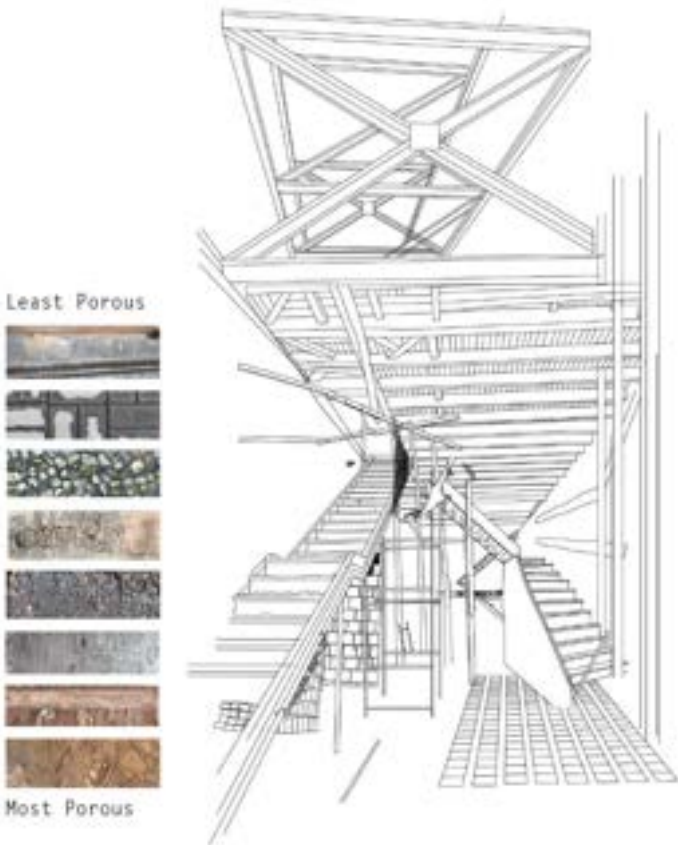
The walls are peeling off, exposing worn out bricks, and the acetic acid produced by the rotting wood is making the steel on the staircase brittle and corroded. Around this building, two empty structures stand like the ghosts, now empty shells decorated by colonial facades that are protected by the Corredor Cultural movement.

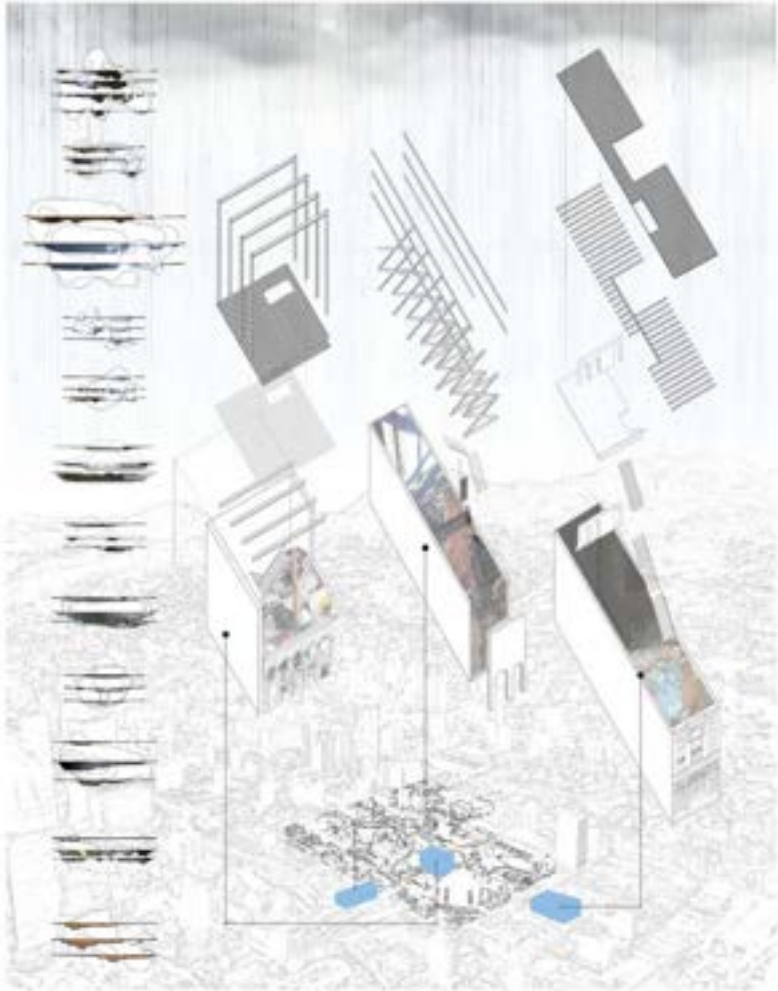


COLLAGES AND SKETCHES ON
HUMIDITY IN RIO.
BY MARIA GABRIELA CARRUCI.

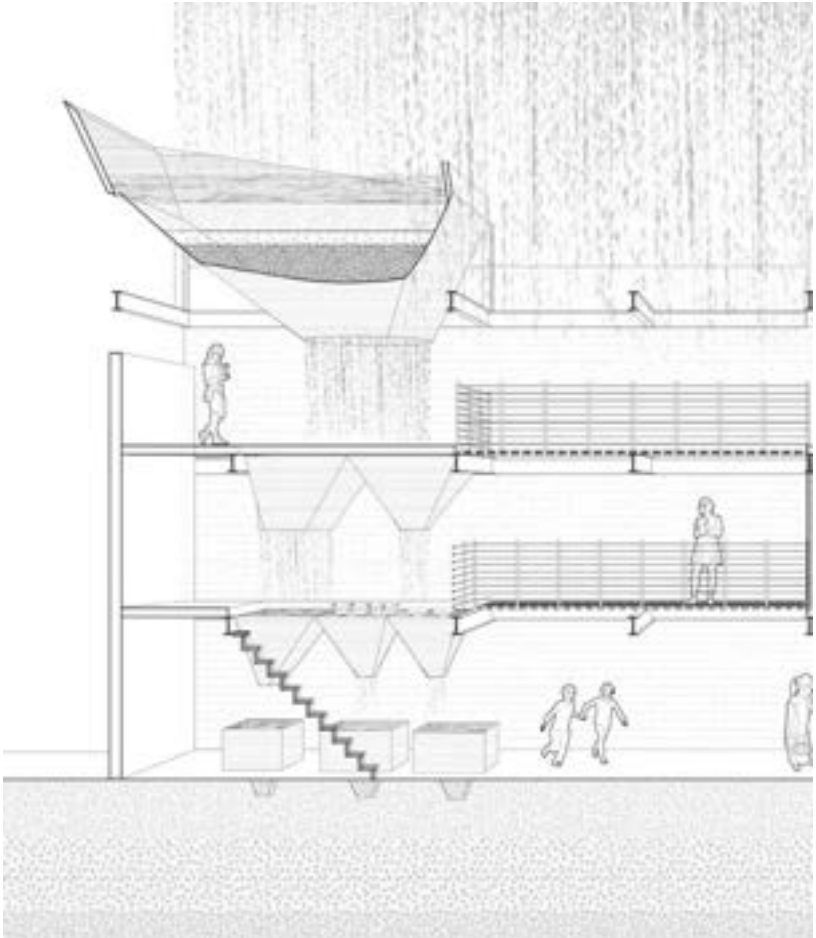
All around the Centro where the sidewalk meets the street has become a permanent residence for mosquito reproduction. The neglect of the urban environment becomes the perfect Petri dish for these cultures to spread, as the humidity trapped in the various materials that make up its fabric foster the creation of micro-climates that only benefit the spread of disease.

HOW CAN WE FIND VALUE IN DECAY, AND TURN IT AROUND TO CREATE SUSTAINABLE MICRO-ENVIRONMENTS THAT RECONCILE THE BROKEN RELATIONSHIP OF OF WATER AND THE URBAN CENTER?





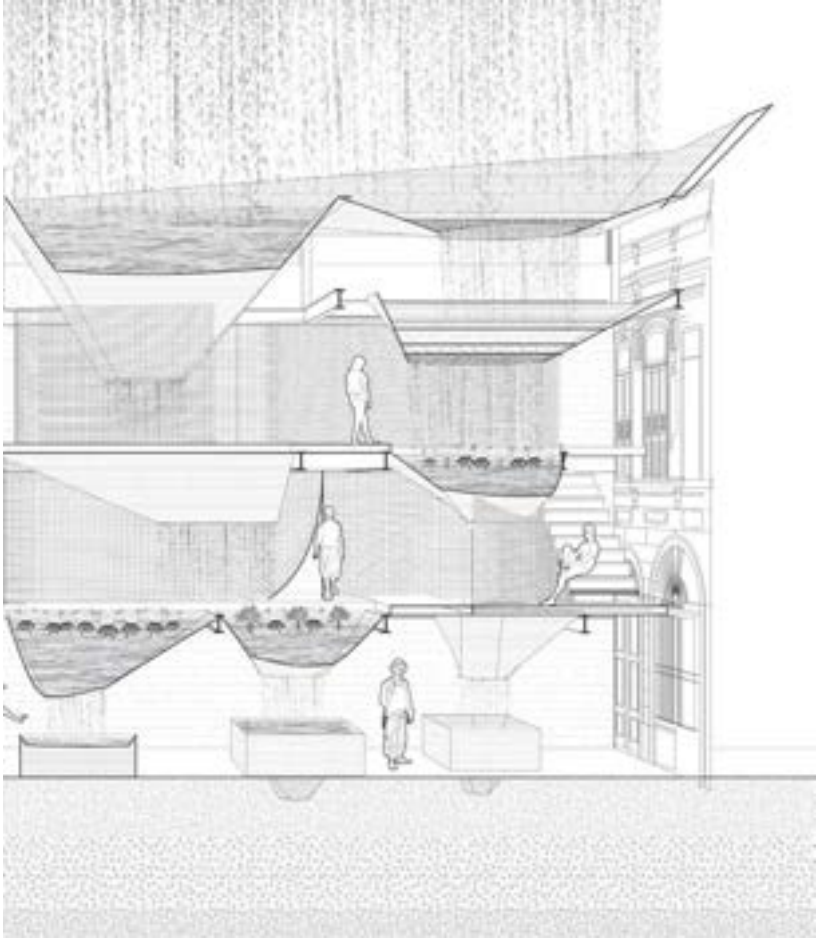
DESIGN ANALYSES FOR DISTILLING HUMIDITY.
BY MARIA GABRIELA CARRUCI.



Using rainwater harvesting and living plant filters as catalysts for change, the final proposal used as a site one of the Centro's empty shell structures. Even though several (more than ten in total) of these structures were identified, three were analyzed and only one was used as the speculation ground for the final filtration system and community gathering space.

Distilling Humidity

The unoccupied spaces make use of rainwater and takes advantage of a multi-storied structure to distill it in different phases, until it reaches the ground-level storage basins, where it is open for the public to use.



SECTION OF DISTILLING HUMIDITY BUILDING DESIGN.
BY MARIA GABRIELA CARRUCI.

HANOKS OF BUKCHON: A CASE OF DURABLE MONUMENTS

Byung Jin (Richard) Han

2018

Nested between the Gyeongbok Palace and the Changdeok Palace, the Bukchon Village overlooks the soaring skyline of downtown Seoul. Built during the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897), the Bukchon Village largely served as residential quarters for high officials in its inception. Today, Bukchon is designated as a historical precinct that contains continuous units of hanok, Korea's traditional residential architecture, and has become one of the most popular tourist destinations in Seoul.

Visiting the bustling streets of the Bukchon Village today, one is given little clue about the ongoing conflicts surrounding the landscape. Behind the immaculate facades of “byukdohl (brick and mortar) walls, the high-end fashion stores coexistent with street food vendors, and the flood of pamphlets and performers dressed in hanbok,” Korea's traditional attire, lies a sense of uneasiness about the fate of the village. Bukchon has undergone dramatic changes—structural, demographic, and economic—in less than three decades, and the debate concerning the purpose of and approaches to the preservation of Bukchon's hanoks have become increasingly complicated.

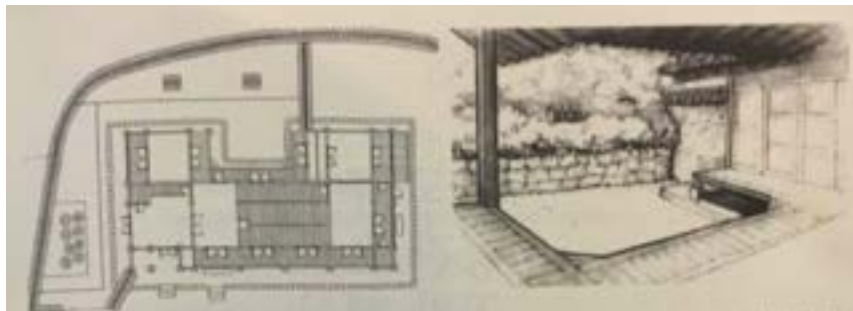
In this article, I will first present a comparative study of the hanoks before 1920 and the hanoks of Bukchon in three phases of preservation. Their differences and the preservation strategies behind these changes will be analyzed using the value system proposed by Alois Riegl. In each comparative study, I will argue that Riegl's framework is helpful but insufficient in classifying hanok as a monument and in uncovering their values. By placing the preservation efforts that transformed the hanoks of Bukchon under Michael Thompson's Rubbish Theory, I will demonstrate that transferring Riegl's values—Historical Value, Use Value, and Intentional Commemorative Value, respectively—and preservation policies driven by these values were unable to elevate hanok from being a Rubbish to a Durable Good. This failure will be attributed to Riegl's binary approach to Memory Values and Present Day Values, which neglects the possibility of a convergence between the two. In doing so, Riegl empowers the viewers but alienates the users of objects from imposing values onto the objects. Finally, I will suggest a new class of monuments called Durable Monuments that encapsulate the duality of Memory Values and Present Day Values in hanok and propose a value—Habitation Value—that may give rise to such a monument.

BRIEF HISTORICAL HISTORY OF HANOKS

The etymology of hanok is rooted in two words—Han and Ok. The two words literally translate to “belonging to the ethnic group of the Korean Peninsula” and “a structure that is built,” respectively. Therefore, hanok is an umbrella term that is used both in vernacular and in academia, covering a myriad of Korea's architectural styles. Nevertheless, the definition of hanok is commonly narrowed down to refer to the residential architecture prevalent during the Joseon dynasty. Often, its key characteristics include prefabricated wood structures, an open-courtyard plan, and underfloor heating.

Due to the shortage of stone and the abundance of wood in the Korean Peninsula, much of hanoks' columns, posts, and other supporting structures were constructed by joining prefabricated wood

and adhering them using mud. An open-courtyard plan was an important element that connected the residents to nature, and ondol, an underfloor heating system that harnessed heat from the kitchen furnace, was critical for surviving Korea's harsh winters. Other recognizable features of hanok include giwa, the black tiles that curve down and outward in a fluid, wave-like gesture, and the sarangche, a guest chamber for travelers and visitors who would chat and impart information in exchange for hospitality.



AN OPEN-COURT YARD PLAN AND AN ACCOMPANYING SKETCH.

IMAGE BY CHUNG BONG-HEE, "HANOKS AND THE HISTORY OF KOREAN HOUSING," 2012.

The location and the environment of a site also played an important role in the construction of hanoks. Pungsu-Jiri refers to the principles that confer "auspicious harmony with nature," and for many generations, Koreans have sought out lands that face south, overlook rivers, and lean against mountains. The most ideal sites were reserved for royal palaces, and Bukchon, which is wedged between two Joseon palaces, is concomitantly positioned at a prestigious site.

RIEGL'S FRAMEWORK AND THOMPSON'S RUBBISH THEORY

In 1903, Alois Riegl published a seminal essay classifying various monuments. His systematic classification of values and monuments will be used to study the differences between hanoks of the Joseon dynasty and their modern counterparts borne out of preservation policies. I will then problematize each of these approaches within the context of Thompson's Rubbish Theory, and I will ultimately challenge Riegl's framework and its shortcomings.

As shown by the diagram above, Riegl draws a distinction between objects belonging to the past and objects belonging to the present. He assigns the former to be "monuments" and further divides them into intentional and unintentional monuments. Intentional monuments refer to those erected to commemorate a particular moment in history. Historical Value of unintentional monuments is also derived from commemorating a particular moment in history, but it is left to the viewers to choose which object to consider as a monument and which memory it subjectively functions to commemorate. Age value expands the range of inclusion by defining monuments to be all objects that display the passage of time.

On the other hand, present day values are applied to objects that are produced in modern time for modern purposes. Riegl distinguishes Art objects as discrete objects that are either consistent with the aesthetic benchmark of an art historical canon or with the modern Kunstwollen, an un-

definable aesthetic compulsion of each moment. Finally, Use Value refers to the practical value of objects, and I will describe these objects as Modern Tools.

For the purposes of the comparative study in this paper, the aforementioned values will be placed in Thompson's broader system of value transfer. As the diagram below illustrates, Thompson proposed that there is a third category of objects that lie between transient objects, ones that become obsolete with time, and durable objects, ones that accumulate value with time. He claimed this category to be "Rubbish" and purported that objects in the realm of Rubbish have no value but are able to move up to become Durable Objects with transfer of values.

2018



PAINTING OF A JOSEON DYNASTY HANOK, THE CUSTOMARY RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE.
IMAGE BY HANOK KOREA ARCHIVE.??

Using the hanoks of Bukchon as a case study, I will examine whether Riegl's proposed values are capable of transforming a Rubbish to a Durable Good; currently, hanok is a Rubbish as its value is in a limbo where its values are neither ever decreasing nor increasing. By definition, Korea's preservation effort is a conscious resistance against transience and oblivion, and it can be understood as an effort to mobilize hanoks from their status as Rubbish to a status as Durable Goods. The following comparative study will demonstrate that imposing Riegl's Historical Value, Use Value, and Intentional Commemorative onto hanoks and addressing them as Unintentional Monuments, Modern Tools, and Intentional Monuments, respectively, are insufficient in achieving this goal.

HANOKS AS UNINTENTIONAL MONUMENTS

During the rapid economic development of Korea in the 1970s, a dramatic increase in urban density lead to higher demands for land and housing in Seoul. In order to keep up with the growth, Hyun-Ock Kim, then the mayor of Seoul, promoted the demolition of horizontal, vernacular structures. Aptly called the "bulldozer," Hyun-Ock Kim encouraged the construction of apartment build-

ings at the expense of existing houses, which included but were not limited to hanoks.

Fearful of a total and irredeemable destruction of traditional houses, however, the government cherry-picked Bukchon to be a vessel of the past and “enacted a series of laws that effectively banned any construction activities in the area.” Grounded on the rhetoric that the regulation was for the “greater good of the society,” the preservation policy largely favored nationalistic agenda while “showing little regard for individual property rights.” This contradiction sparked a backlash from Bukchon’s local residents, who felt alienated from the rest of the country and cheated out of their economic interest.

In light of Riegl’s framework, this policy can be understood as a treatment of hanoks as Unintentional Monuments. Although the Korean government employed broad and perhaps vacuous terms such as “national heritage” and “Korean identity” to justify freezing Bukchon, they were in fact interested in enhancing the the “collective consciousness” that could serve as a unifying fabric for Koreans. The primary motivation for the restrictive enforcement was to “keep, succeed and transmit the legacies of [Korean] ancestors’ way of living,” and by fixing hanoks as remnants of the past, the government hoped to preserve their Historical Value, or their capacity to elicit associated memories. To this end, the hanoks were established as Unintentional Monuments that can potentially tap into and bring out the personal recollections of the past from the viewers who are passing through the neighborhood.



HANOKS ON THE VERGE OF COLLAPSE.
PHOTO COURTESY OF *SEGYE NEWS*.

Unfortunately, this preservation strategy failed on multiple levels and was quickly retracted in 1985. The regulations incited an immediate pushback from Bukchon’s residents who had “immediate economic interest” in its development into fashionable and profitable apartments. Moreover, the weathered wood structures, which were meant to be “replaced with new modular blocks,” crumbled as they, too, were barred from being repaired.

The images above highlight the consequence of precluding structural renewal of hanoks. Because the modules of hanoks were designed to be replaced every few years, hanoks were quickly dilapidated if not refurbished. Some residents complained that their very "lives felt threatened", and the extent of their decay can be observed in the stark contrast between the straight horizontal and vertical columns in the painting by Gim Hongdo in 1801 and the collapsing window frames in the photo of Bukchon's hanok in late 1970s.

In addition to impracticality, preserving hanoks as Unintentional Monuments compromised a critical aspect of their tradition; as mentioned before, hanoks were built by fastening prefabricated modules. These modules were designed to be replaced after several years, and this reconstruction was a collaborative operation that not only ensured the structural integrity of the homes but also added to the residents' communal experience. The following image portrays an ingenious engineering feat that was lost under the preservation of hanoks' Historical Values when they unintentionally abolished a ritual crucial to the maintenance of hanoks.

Considering the economic, structural, and cultural damages incurred to hanoks by Bukchon's preservation policy in the 1970s, it is difficult to imagine hanoks as both Unintentional Monuments and Durable Goods. Under the 1970s preservation strategy, the passage of time degraded both hanoks' physical frame and economic value. If the hanoks are left to be literally washed away by rain, they will not be able to evoke history and help reinforce national identity, let alone accrue additional value as Durable Goods. Instead, the chiasm between communities deepened as the mounting discontent of Bukchon's residents became directed against the government. Having realized the unsustainability of hanoks as Unintentional Monuments, the government promptly revoked its regulations in 1985 and instituted a new preservation strategy that would once again radically reshape Bukchon's hanoks.

HANOKS AS MODERN TOOLS

As a response to the failures of hanoks as Unintentional Monuments, the government repealed its regulations that were meant to preserve hanok's Historical Value. They supplanted their strict preservation code with an antithetical, hands-off approach, permitting free market interests to overtake the fate of Bukchon. This withdrawal, however, was not the first time that the Use Value of hanoks as a real estate property was prioritized and preserved. In 1920, Japan's Colonial government cooperated with real estate companies to reorganize Bukchon, altering the paradigmatic layout of hanoks.

This treatment of hanok as an apparatus for housing, a type of a Modern Tool, yielded considerable change in the layout of hanoks. During the 1920s, Japan's colonial rule dismissed and displaced the powerful families in Bukchon and its surrounding area, and the demographic of tenants shifted to "ordinary citizens" in what one might call anti-gentrification. In this process, many of the large, prosperous hanoks were compartmentalized to Dosi hanok, which were "generally much smaller and more practical to accommodate the changing social and cultural climate."

In particular, the pragmatic approach to hanoks diminished the originally vast and empty open-courtyard plan by removing the space between a house and its walls. As the images illus-

trate, hanok's large main courtyard was reduced a small outdoor foyer and adjacent hanoks were reorganized to share a single wall without personal alleyways in between. This was especially alarming as these vanishing outdoor spaces were the most appreciated elements of hanoks according to their residents.

Given that hanok's outdoor space is its most cherished feature, eliminating it has certainly undermined its value. Without the courtyard space between the walls, hanoks lost their "connection to nature" that had made living in them so meaningful. When this particular characteristic was compromised again in 1985 in the name of private property rights and free market efficiency, one newspaper apprehensively predicted that "hanok preservation area will suffer serious damages in the future," because "The driving force behind residents is not whether Bukchon is pleasant to live...it concerns a realistic desire of gaining profit through real estate, which was impossible under the current preservation laws."

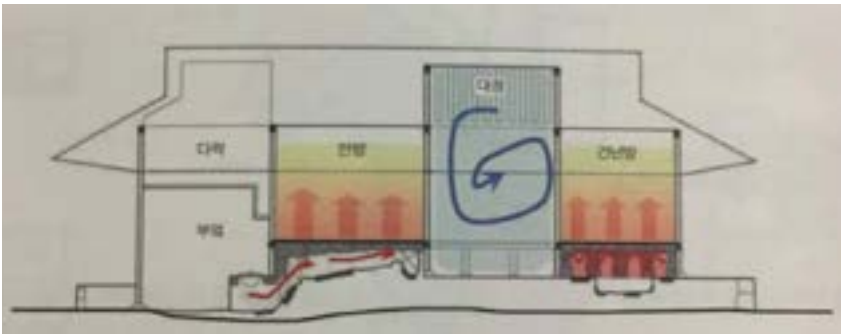


FIGURE 2. A DIAGRAM OF ONDOL, AN UNDERFLOOR HEATING SYSTEM. HEAT GENERATED BY THE KITCHEN FURNACE (LEFT) CONDUCTS HEAT BENEATH THE HOUSE. IMAGE BY CHUNG BONG-HEE, "HANOKS AND THE HISTORY OF KOREAN HOUSING," 2012.

True to this prediction, the hanoks of Bukchon were reduced from "1,518 units to 924 units" by 2000. Not only did treating hanoks as Modern Tools enflame the rate of their destruction, but it also failed to preserve their Use Value as homes: "thorough analysis concludes that the land price of Bukchon has stagnated if not lowered after the repeal of conservation law." Ultimately, attempting to preserve hanoks' contemporary Use Value was a counterproductive strategy that was responsible for their loss of identity as a house with a "connection to nature" and their hasty destruction. It was a shortsighted approach that was economically unprofitable, and regenerating hanoks as Modern Tools gave rise to a pile demolition waste rather than a Durable Good.

HANOKS AS INTENTIONAL MONUMENTS

At the turn of the 21st century, both the Korean citizens and their government came to agree that a different preservation strategy must be applied to Bukchon. In early 2001, the "resident group that had protested the construction ban came forward to propose a government-funded conservation program." This proposal evolved into a government subsidized project that provides financial incentives for residents willing to renovate their homes to meet a set of guidelines designed to maintain the historical ambience of the neighborhood.

Taking this as an opportunity to cultivate and combine hanok's Memory Value as a residential architecture of the past and its potential Use Value as a lucrative and politically uplifting tourist destination, the government devised a set of guidelines that would encourage Bukchon's homeowners to renovate if not completely rebuild their properties. More specifically, they aimed to transform the hanoks of Bukchon to Intentional Monuments that commemorate the the glory of "yangbans," the literati who were the ruling class of Korea during the Joseon Dynasty. In effect, the standards were seeking to return Bukchon's hanoks to "the former glory predating the standing history of Bukchon," creating an illusionary public image that is untarnished by blemishes such as the Japanese Occupation and the Korean War and perhaps more visually impressive to the mass tourists.

2018



THE HOMOGENOUS WALLS OF BUKCHON TODAY.

PHOTO BY ANN MEEJUNG KIM.

In this process of creating a contrived Intentional Monument, perhaps the most significantly sanitized element of hanok is the walls that surround the home. In 2000, the government published specific instructions outlining the tripartite structure of hanok's walls. The guideline limited the height of the wall in order to ensure that the rooftop of hanok is visible to the pedestrians who may be visiting to appreciate Korea's traditional architecture, and it also advised that the walls be visually uniform and continuous with the walls of neighboring hanoks:

Although picturesque and visually enticing, the homogenous and superficial treatment of hanoks is not without complications. For example, the decision to commemorate yanban class and a single, pertinent wall type was realized at the cost of the varieties wall that previously enriched its hanok's design. During the Joseon Dynasty, the walls of hanok served to not only draw and divide boundaries but also record the stories of its builders and residents. As the images below exhibit, the difference in the diversity of walls of hanoks as Joseon houses and as Intentional Monuments is stark, and this loss of tradition is telling of the limitations of compressing and packaging history. space, both hanok's Use Value as a "true, living home" worth visiting and Memory Value as a resi-

dential architecture of the past will fall like dominos, leaving nothing that stands to act as a Durable Good.

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

In spite of earnest efforts to preserve the hanoks of Bukchon, the sustainability, historical integrity, and socioeconomic diversity of Bukchon are still under question. In each of the discussed preservation phases, the Korean government and citizens preserved Values that were identified by Riegl, aiming to elevate hanok from being a Rubbish Good to a Durable Good. The comparative studies in this paper, however, demonstrated that each strategy failed, and this analysis will attribute these failures to Riegl's system of values itself.

In the first phase of preservation, the hanoks of Bukchon were treated to serve as what Riegl would label "Unintentional Monuments." By prohibiting new constructions in Bukchon, the Korean government hoped to counterbalance Seoul's urban development and preserve a space that retained Historical Value, or the capacity to evoke subjective memories of individuals. This plan was quickly foiled as it brought structural hazard and economic disadvantage to Bukchon's residents. Because Riegl's Historical Value is heavily concerned with viewers, or an audience that engages deeply with their own memories but evanescently with the object itself, it does not account for hanok's Use Values as a structurally reliable and economically valuable home for its users. Riegl's emphasis on the viewers of objects rather than their users was translated to the government's decision to freeze hanoks in favor of their sight-seers over their residents, and this negligence caused structural decay and Bukchon residents' collective discontent that thwarted its preservation.

Alternatively, the second phase of preservation reversed this strategy and prioritized hanok's Use Value as a real estate property. Unfortunately, the lack of overlap between the variables that contributed to Use Value and those that contributed to hanok's other Values such as its Historical Value allowed for hanok's Use Value to vanquish its other values. For example, in 1985, the sole economic value that the hanoks of Bukchon held was their square footage, for the apartment boom had begun a trend that drew attention to modern apartments. Therefore, hanok's traditional giwa rooftop that could have contributed to its Memory Value by invoking a folktale about swallows nesting underneath it had little bearing on its financial appraisal. And without a regulation preserving giwa and without a reason against their destruction to make room for apartments, giwa was promptly demolished.

This replacement of hanoks' traditional elements with modern apartments was eventually applied to its entirety. By the end of the 20th century, the only characteristic of hanok that remained intact was the residential purpose of the land on which hanoks once stood, and even this was threatened when commercial buildings began to move in. Such an extreme conversion of hanoks, and the loss of associated nostalgia, appreciation, and cultural identity, was again permitted because of the dichotomous nature of Riegl's Use Value and Memory Value. During the previous phase, the preservation of hanok's Memory Value, or Memory Values pertinent to viewers, stipulated that its Use Value, or Use Value pertinent to users, be compromised. In this phase that followed, the preservation strategies were motivated to promote hanok's Use Value, which did not warrant the preservation of its Memory Value. And as we have seen in the preservation hanoks as Unintentional

Monuments, there was a conflict of interest between the viewers and users of hanok, and the government and the citizens' choice to preserve hanoks as user-oriented facility forfeited its broader, more public values.

In order to resolve this conflict between Memory Value and Use Value, the Korean government redeveloped Bukchon as a tourist destination in 2000. Capitalizing on Bukchon's cultural heritage, the government commercialized hanok's Historical Value and thereby simultaneously boosted hanok's Use Value as a profitable tour site. By 2008, 10 million visitors have visited Bukchon, and the government's economic venture was beyond successful.

Nevertheless, the preservation of hanoks as Intentional Monuments that commemorate a glorious snippet of its past came at a cost. Even though the hanoks retained a Memory Value and a Use Value in this phase, its Memory Value is grounded in a very limited, intentional commemoration of Korea's literati class and indirectly censors its more diverse and complicated past such as the Japanese Occupation. Moreover, this type Memory Value again caters to the public viewers, who may benefit from the didactic dimension of the hanok's Memory Value, but it largely ignores the type of memories that a hanok's residents may want to recall. As the homogenization of hanoks' walls illustrated, individual hanoks became more anonymous in the name of cultural heritage that is tailored to the taste of tourists and the interest of the state. Ironically, the Use Value of hanoks, too, was dedicated to anyone but the residents; the new economic vibrancy distributed its benefits to tour companies, boutique retail stores, and the government image, but the residents of hanoks ended up moving out due to the expensive rent or noise pollution.

Recapitulating and taking a closer look at the three preservation reveal that their common denominator is the lack of attention to the Memory Value for users, or the residents of hanok. In the first phase, Memory Value for viewers was preserved. In the second phase, Use Value for users, and in the third phase, Memory Value for viewers and Use Value for users were preserved. Interestingly, Memory Value for users was not protected or cultivated in any of the approaches. In fact, because Riegl's system of values sequester Memory Value from Use Value, it enables society to only assume the role of a viewer, a modern spectator that observes historical monuments from a distance, with respect to an object's Memory Value.

This revelation suggests that Memory Value for users of monuments may be an important component in erecting a Monument that is also a Durable Good—a Durable Monument. It is not too straining to imagine that the personal sentiments of those who actually tend to the materiality of an object may be important to its sustainability. These memories are not necessarily the reality of the object, but they are certainly real, just as a person's emotional attachment to one's family is a real force unbound by the reality of things.

In the case of hanoks, their residents are the primary keepers of their homes. The age old architecture of hanoks certainly holds Memory Value for the public, its purpose as a domestic space is essential, and its usefulness as a tourist attraction can have a positive impact. But the humane attachment to a place, a smell, or a story carved in a wall may also be just as important, if not more, than these Values. In the Joseon Dynast, each and every hanok had a name, which its builders gave to reflect the principles of the residents, and sometimes the residents even attempted to model

their lives to reflect the its meaning and poetics. Today, the hanoks of Bukchon are a backdrop for a photoshoot, its inside an empty vacation home or another gift shop, one indistinguishable from another.

I end this article on the note that it may be worthwhile to consider a value that accounts for the Memory Value of a monument's users. For future discussions, it may be useful to call this value Habitation Value to reflect the attachments residents feel toward hanoks. To them, their hanok is more than an Unintentional Monument for passersby, a Modern Tool that puts a roof on a head, or an Intentional Monuments used to glorify Korea's global image. Rather, it is a home riddled with memories, adorned with a yard to stroll, a wall to inscribe, and a name to live up to.

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PROVIDENCE SHADOWSCAPES

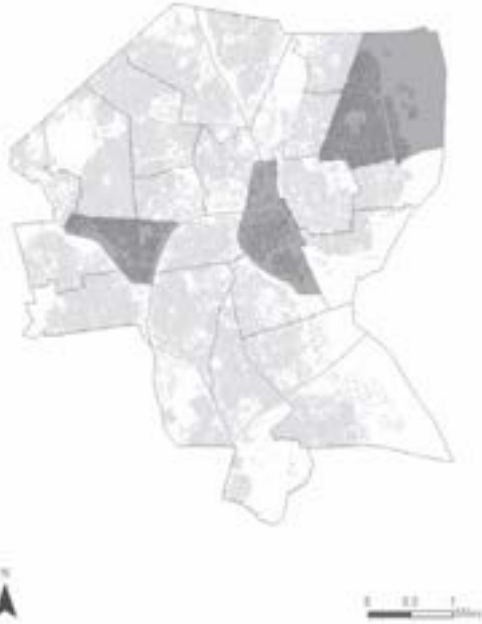
Ryan Miller

2018

Referring to the ways in which illumination defines and animates architectural space, Louis Kahn describes light as “the giver of all presences.” [1] This project presumes that light defines space and the experience of space at the larger scale of the built environment and thereby represents an important component of the navigation and conceptualization of place. By studying the shadows cast throughout Providence across different neighborhoods, times of day, and seasons, this project attempts to examine the changing nature of these visual and haptic thresholds.

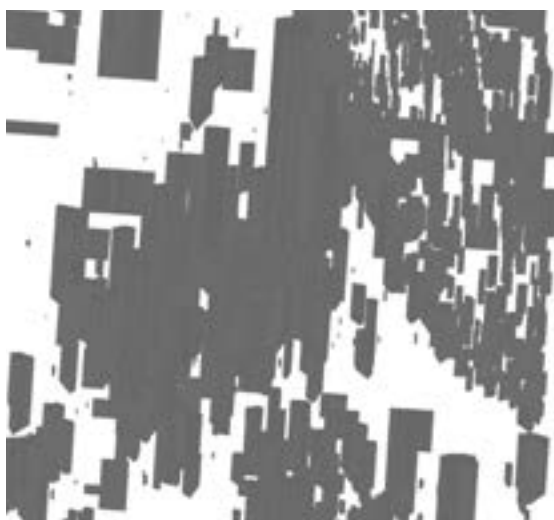
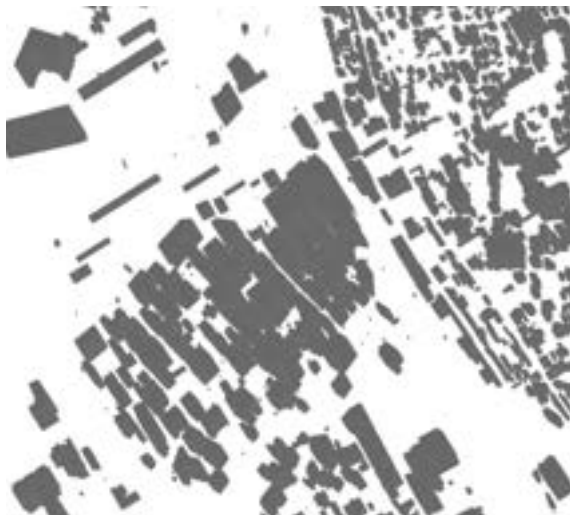
METHOD

Shadows were mapped using a 3D model of all buildings in Providence that was created from a file containing building footprints, elevation heights, and base heights to account for topography. days, times, and neighborhoods were then inputed into the Sun Shadow Tool in ArcScene specified to generate the resulting maps. Downtown, Olneyville, and Blackstone (highlighted on the map to the right) were selected as neighborhoods of study due to their distinct land use and building typologies. Olneyville is bisected by the Woonasquatucket River and contains large industrial mill buildings, Blackstone is primarily residential and features large single family homes, while Downtown, of course, is overwhelmingly commercial and features Providence’s tallest buildings.



STUDY AREAS FOR PROVIDENCE SHADOWMAPS.
MAP BY RYAN MILLER.

[1] Louis Kahn, “Silence and Light,” in *Theories and Manifestoes of Contemporary Architecture*, ed. Charles Jencks and Karl Kropf (West Sussex, UK: Academy Editions, 1997), 236.



DOWNTOWN AND THE BASE OF COLLEGE HILL.

TOP: SHADOWS CAST AT AT NOON ON SUMMER SOLSTICE (JUNE 21).

BOTTOM: SHADOWS CAST AT NOON ON WINTER SOLSTICE (DECEMBER 21).

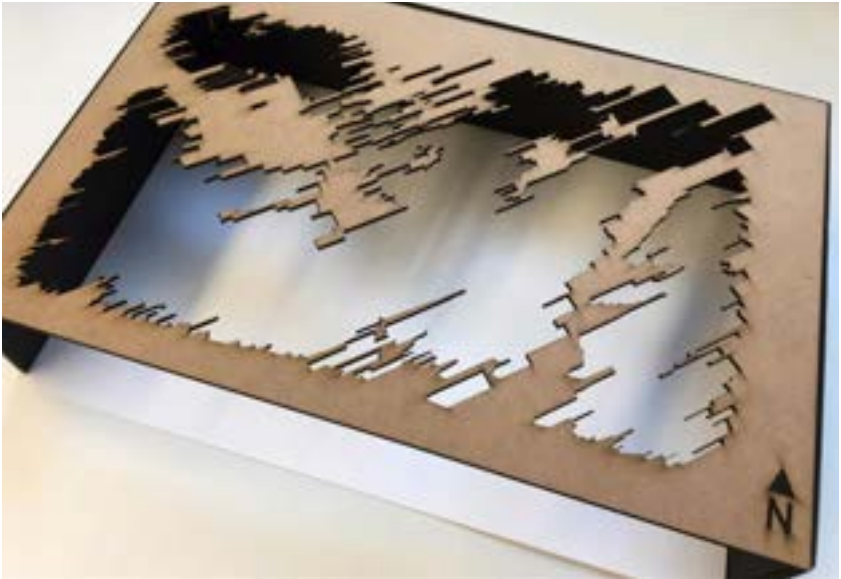
MAPS BY RYAN MILLER.

HAPTIC SHADOWMAPPING OF OLNEYVILLE

Here, the neighborhood shadow map for Olneyville on December 21st one hour before sunset (roughly 3:18) are cut into Masonite. The cutting of the shadows into Masonite allows one to physically trace the boundary between light and shadow, highlighting the way in which we constantly cross these optic and haptic barriers in the built environment throughout the day as they too move around us.

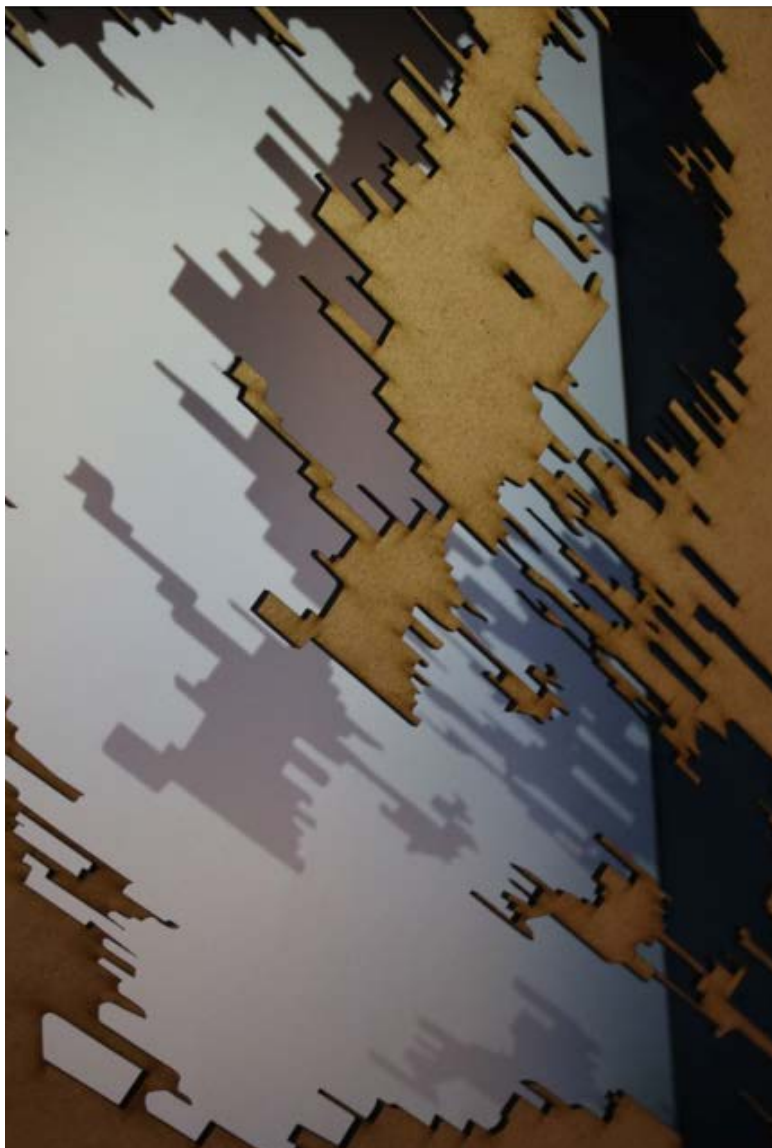
The degree of abstraction that these shadow maps enact upon potentially familiar neighborhood layouts in our mind's eye ask us to reconcile representation and cartography with the ephemeral yet undoubtedly orienting presence of light throughout the city. The measuring of the area of shadows is not meant to take light out of the realm of the senses and embody Pallasmaa's concern that "light has turned into a mere quantitative matter," but rather to lend an empirical approach to something ephemeral so as to give weight to its presence and dynamism as a defining force in the built environment [2].

2018



HAPTIC SHADOW MAP OF OLNEYVILLE. MASONITE.
DESIGN, FABRICATION, AND PHOTO BY RYAN MILLER.

[2] Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses* (West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 47.



HAPTIC SHADOW MAP OF OLNEYVILLE. CLOSE-UP WITH PROJECTED LIGHT.
DESIGN, FABRICATION, AND PHOTO BY RYAN MILLER.

EDGAR DEGAS IN HAUSSMANN'S PARIS: THE DEPICTION OF RECONSTRUCTED URBAN LIFE IN *PLACE DE LA CONCORDE*

Julia Kirschenbaum

Edgar Degas (1834-1917) is widely regarded as one of the preeminent French painters of the 19th century. Though perhaps most well known for his depictions of ballerinas, Degas unmistakably captured the Parisian reality in which he lived in his portraits. Degas took his subjects from modern life in Second Empire Paris, a Paris marked by the bourgeois consumption and transformation of public spaces associated with Georges-Eugène Haussmann's great mid-century urban renovation. Degas's reinterpretation of the traditional elements of portraiture evince the changing social relations of the contemporary urban matrix. This engagement with Haussmann's Paris is perhaps most concisely and pointedly captured in his c. 1876 painting *Place de la Concorde*. In this painting, Edgar Degas visually codifies the defining societal phenomena of late 19th century Paris through his careful treatment of subject matter, composition, and technique.

In many ways, Degas's portraits, especially *Place de la Concorde*, are products of the changes brought to Paris by Haussmann's reimagined urban organization. Commissioned by Napoleon III in order to modernize the overcrowded but still growing city, Haussmann's immense urban plan resulted in the construction of wide avenues, public outdoor spaces, and waste-management infrastructure. The *Place de la Concorde*, in particular, became an important connecting point in Haussmann's traffic system, which incorporated existing streets and urban spaces into the dominant grand *croisée* orthogonal plan. The Place, originally built in the mid-18th century, occupies a significant location within the city. Constructed in the city's eighth *arrondissement* as part of a singular project that spanned the area from the Seine to La Madeleine, the Place de la Concorde creates a "graceful transition between... the manicured palace gardens of the Tuileries [to the east] and the ordered but less cultivated promenade park... of the Champs-Élysées" to the west [1]. To the east beyond the Tuileries sits the Louvre, to which Degas was a frequent visitor.

To the extent that Degas's artistic production corresponds stylistically to the ingenuity of the Impressionist movement, it also came in the wake of Haussmann's reconstruction, a critical sociopolitical juncture in the history of Paris. Thus, just as Howard Saalman suggests that "The *Place [de la Concorde]* cannot and should not be evaluated in isolation from the urban context," Degas's painting of the Place cannot be evaluated without consideration of the historical and social significance of the Place itself [2]. Importantly, Roberta Crisci-Richardson notes that the painting is "set in one of the public spaces of Paris that most carry political and social meanings of relevance to the national identity, through cultural memories and urban symbolism... [related to] the destruction of the monarchy and the rise of a new elite, a new aristocracy" [3]. In addition to the space's symbolic significance, Haussmann's newly-constructed wide avenues of the 19th century linked the Place and other previously isolated public spaces to the larger urban scene, thereby heightening the

[1] Howard Saalman, *Hausmann: Paris Transformed, Planning and Cities* (New York: George Braziller, 1971), 43.

[2] Saalman, *Hausmann: Paris*, 42.

[3] Roberta Crisci-Richardson, *Mapping Degas: Real Spaces, Symbolic Spaces and Invented Spaces in the Life and Work of Edgar Degas (1834-1917)* (Newcastle upon Tyne, United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 172.

importance of the plazas themselves. Consequently, following the reconstruction, these plazas emerged as one of the stages “on which the urban drama [of modern Paris] was played.” The *Place de la Concorde*, in particular, exemplified the Paris of Degas’s time, making it an important setting for one of his most socially evocative paintings.

On one level, *Place de la Concorde* can be read as a snapshot of one family’s modern Parisian life. It depicts Vicomte Ludovic-Napoléon Lepic—a longtime friend of Degas’s—his two daughters (Janine on the left and Eylau on the right) and their dog strolling through the Place. These subjects are placed right of center. Lepic, with one hand behind his back, leans forward at a slight angle. On the left side of the canvas, Degas creates a peripheral effect through the positioning and cropping of a passerby. This walking man likely represents Ludovic Halévy, another member of Degas’s intellectual and artistic circle in Paris. In the depth of the background, Degas depicts the *Place de la Concorde* itself, with the Tuileries Garden in the distance behind the stone wall. The work’s largely monochrome color palette is punctuated by the accents of Lepic’s chest decoration—likely the red ribbon of the Légion d’Honneur—and Halévy’s multicolored necktie. Importantly, the Vicomte’s top hat eclipses the sightline to the Strasbourg statue inside the plaza; this artistic obstruction alludes to the way in which the statue was covered with wreaths and flags to commemorate the lives lost in the Prussians’ Siege of Strasbourg of 1870, approximately six years before Degas’s painting of *Place de la Concorde*.



PAINTING BY EDGAR DEGAS, “PLACE DE LA CONCORDE” (VICOMTE LEPIC AND HIS DAUGHTERS CROSSING THE PLACE DE LA CONCORDE), C. 1876. 78 BY 118 CM.

IMAGE COURTESY OF (HERMITAGE MUSEUM, SAINT PETERSBURG.

One of the painting’s most striking elements is its “daringly decentered composition” [4]. In *Place de la Concorde*, “the Vicomte, his two daughters and their greyhound are all centrifugally deployed, the fragmentation and disjunctiveness of the composition made even more evident by

the presence of an onlooker [Halévy] in the left hand margin" [5]. Each figure occupies the scene in an individual manner, a separateness within the group portrait that is highlighted by the different directions in which each subject is looking. Moreover, all four subjects are shown only in part, suggesting visually the sort of social fragmentation that the subjects were experiencing in Paris at the time. The spatial unification of Haussmann's reconstruction begot economic and class separation, causing tremendous disruption to city life for many people. While Haussmann's urban plan did unify the city into a centralized whole, it also displaced longstanding neighborhoods and communities, effectively creating a city of strangers. The decentralization of the human subjects also serves to emphasize the overwhelming nature of the Parisian matrix, for Paris—the national capital and the seat of Impressionist art—embodied the concept of "centralization itself, and had to be treated as such" through its position in the painting [6].

Perhaps most importantly, the decentralization of the subject matter creates a focus on the space between the figures. This negative space is so integral to the painting that it becomes the focal point of the work as well as the source of its title. The off-center composition allows the Place, the large expanse of golden-hued pavement that would otherwise be considered background, to occupy the painting's center. In this way, the Place de la Concorde, and by extension, the new urban reality that it exemplifies in its spatial order, becomes Degas's subject. Degas portrays the way in which Haussmann's plaza, in its unsettling emptiness, creates a space for the dandy bourgeois to hide or overlook the class divides reinforced by the spatial segregation of the urban renovation. In this way, the Place's centrality within the composition resonates with Degas's subtle artistic socio-political commentary.

The recognition of *Place de la Concorde* as a portrait is important because, as Shearer West explains, "It was in the period of [this painting] that portraiture became firmly associated with the self-conscious bourgeoisie" [7]. In other words, as a portraitist, Degas came to focus on the artists in his social circle—in line with the depiction of the top-hatted Vicome in *Place de la Concorde*. As a result, Degas's portrait, which nevertheless contains few of the vestiges of traditional portraiture, can be viewed as an analysis of personal relations in Second Empire Paris. While the issues of "friendship, fraternity, and self-fashioning... were relevant to artists in the Paris of the second half of the nineteenth century," social circles within the city were simultaneously becoming increasingly defined and fractured by socioeconomic class [8]. In Paris, the "community of money' prevailed... rather than the tight network of interpersonal relations that characterized much of rural life" [8]. Haussmann's reconstruction emphasized this classism, for the grand public spaces he created allowed a new conception of community based on displayed wealth to develop.

[4] Linda Nochlin, "A House is not a Home: Degas and the Subversion of the Family," in *Dealing with Degas: Representations of Women and the Politics of Vision*, ed. Richard Kendall and Griselda Pollock (New York: Universe, 1991), 48.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] David Harvey, *Paris: Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 134.

[7] Shearer West, *Portraiture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 84.

[8] Harvey, *Paris: Capital of Modernity*. 236.

[9] Eugenia Parry, "Edgar Degas's Photographic Theater," in *Edgar Degas, Photographer*, comp. Malcolm Daniel (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 56.

[10] Marni Young, *Realism in the Age of Impressionism: Painting and the Politics of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 179.

Beyond class division, the personal and familial detachment that pervaded late-19th century Paris is also evident in Degas's painting. Given the angles at which the subjects in the painting are standing, their orientations would lead them in different directions if they were to continue walking. In this way, the orientations and sightlines of Vicomte Lepic and his family provide for the conceptualization of the painting "as an image of rupture and alienation in the age of capitalism." It inscribes "in visual terms the fragmentation and haphazardness of experience characteristic of the great modern city" [9]. In *Place de la Concorde*, the viewer observes the increasingly unsystematic and estranged social scene within the context of the increasingly structurally organized city. This social estrangement manifests itself in the apparent family dynamics: Eugenia Parry argues that the scene depicts "the girls' youthful dependence on a father of dubious nobility, whose patent dandyism only thinly disguise[s] irritation and horror at single parenthood" [9]. The family unit is shown to be detached, underscored by the absence of the girls' mother. In addition, there is an apparent alienation between Vicomte Lepic and Halévy. The isolation between these two men—who likely knew each other due to their common status as bourgeois artist-intellectuals—is highlighted by the vast middle ground of the empty plaza that separates them. Though both in the scene, the bond between Lepic and Halévy appears splintered, as the men do not seem in line to acknowledge one another in passing. Thus, Degas simultaneously depicts the fragmentation of the family unit and of urban friendship.

The technique employed in *Place de la Concorde* more broadly places the painting within the contexts of modern life. Though this particular piece is an oil painting, Degas's use of lines and outlines (adopted from his own well-developed drawing technique) allows for the "illusion of movement" to parallel the "pulse-beat of life" in the city. More specifically, Degas's lines imply the motion of walking, an activity that became integral to cultural practice in post-Haussmann Paris through the rise of *flâneurs*—city strollers—of which Lepic was one. Beyond the motion of the human subjects, however, Degas also captures the movement of time in contemporary Paris. In *Place de la Concorde*, "Degas showed the permanent among the transitory," and the emphatic sense of temporality that marked post-renovation social interaction [10]. He showed the ephemeral in a changing, constantly in-motion city. This ability to capture the fleeting, whether it be at the ballet, outside a café, or in the *Place de la Concorde*, is undoubtedly one of the reasons for the historical significance of his work.

Though *Place de la Concorde* is only one painting within Edgar Degas's extensive and diverse body of work, it singly reveals a great deal about the milieu in which he lived. Through this painting, Degas evokes a specific era of urban and socioeconomic transformation, in which the uneasiness of change is not idealized but rather confronted. While immediately intriguing, this work remains puzzling to the viewer absent a more profound understanding of context. Thus, Degas summons a need to delve deeper, using his power as an artist to evoke in the viewer the same unsettled feeling that the subjects themselves are experiencing. In this way, the interactions involving the viewer, the painting, and the social commentary contained within the painting combine to make *Place de la Concorde* a compelling and enduring work of art.

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PARKING IN PROVIDENCE: HOW THE JEWELRY DISTRICT CAN OFFER A NEW SOLUTION TO AN OLD PROBLEM

Katherine Talerico

From College Hill, Providence looks as if it might be a real city — seen from the right angle, it has a skyline that could fill the frame of a postcard (though just barely). But an aerial photo of Providence reveals the city's true composition — a swell of parking lots, not only along the outer borders lining the city's highways, but also eating into the edge of downtown and daring to leave property vacant in what should be the city's most valuable lots.

"The reason why there's so many surface parking lots here is because there's nothing to put above them," said Chris Marsella, president of the Marsella Development Corporation.

Already, the Jewelry District has faced the same problem. A 2008 study found that 40 percent of developed land in the District had already been taken over by surface level parking lots.

Surface lots require little initial investment — smother a parcel in asphalt all for a few thousand dollars and with Providence monthly parking rates upward of \$200, an owner makes her money back in no time. Compare that to the cost of a parking garage, like the new one going up on state-owned property adjacent to the Garrahy Judicial Complex that would cost the state \$43 million up front, and on top of that, will force the state to take a loss for the first seven years on the garage's operation. Though the Rhode Island Convention Center Authority is prepared to issue \$45 million in bonds to fund the garage, the state has yet to approve designs. And when did talk around the garage first start? 1988.

That's right — 1988 and still no new garage.

Those involved in planning the Jewelry District believe that solving the parking issue is essential to the neighborhood's future development. Several developers with proposals for the I-195 parcels have forced the state to guarantee parking as part of their agreement to buy the land. Wexford Science & Technology is one of those companies. CV Properties is another. Both play key roles in bringing the Jewelry District into the new millennia as the "Knowledge District," a concept state and local politicians have been developing since at least 2008. So that's it — no parking lot, no fancy new innovation center. The private firms hold immense leverage over the state, and the state, ceding, is shelling out the cash through immense subsidies and its own publicly funded garage.

THE DEMAND FOR PARKING

New medical school. Great! But, where will they park? A fancy innovation center that has the backing of Brown University and the Cambridge Innovation Center? Sounds like a dream of Governor Gina Raimondo's (which it is) — but where will the scientists park? And of course we want to put lots of new apartments down in the District to foster a community of residents who will bring energy to the neighborhood after 5 p.m. — but where can they keep their car at night?

"The first question out of every single prospective tenant's mouth is, "So where do I park?" says Colin Kane, former director of the I-195 commission.

"It's a priority," echoed Jan Brodie, former executive director of the I-195 commission and development consultant. "It's more of a priority than number of square feet... people are happy to take smaller if they can get their parking lot."

In Providence, those looking for parking can find it, several developers said. But parking in the Jewelry District is a different story — at least from the perspective of developers.

"People have no place to park," said Lee Mogavero, owner of jeweler Vero Industries who formerly owned parking lots along Elm Street in the Jewelry District. "In Providence, you can find parking anywhere and everywhere, but in the Jewelry District, there is none."

Pedestrians walking around the Jewelry District might notice nothing but parking lots stretching from Eddy Street to the Superman Building. Though Providence's streets were once overrun with pedestrians and even streetcars, the automobile spelled death for cities. One word: suburbanization. Providence couldn't — and apparently still can't — keep up with the parking demand from car-driving city-dwellers and suburbanites alike. But how is it possible that, with all these chunks of asphalt taking up so much space, developers still demand more parking? Are they just lying undeveloped in an effort to leverage the state to provide more tax incentives?

It's a conversation that seems all too reminiscent of one happening back in 1998 (though back then the discussion centered on DownCity's development.) The question still remains: how much parking does a city like Providence really need?

"There's a myth of parking being a problem in Providence," Marsella said. "There's so much parking in Providence it's not even funny. The issue is: there's not free parking."

In the Jewelry District, "everything is private parking or metered parking," Mogavero said. "And there is none of that available anymore."

Kane said he expects that the proposed developers of the I-195 land cannot bear the cost of parking themselves. "Nothing will get built unless there's a parking solution," he said.

FROM DENSE DOWNTOWN TO SUBURBANIZED CITY

For all that the two cities are compared, parking plays a key role in Providence that it does not in Boston. Rhode Islanders rely much more upon their cars, a tendency that has been ingrained into them by state planning itself. Across the country during the 1950s, highways completely reshaped cities. Providence's contribution to that was the original I-195, which cut through the industrial and residential Jewelry District.

"We tore down buildings to build the highway, which was supposed to improve mobility and decrease congestion, but what that did was encourage more cars to use the roads, and those cars

needed parking,” said Bob Azar, deputy director of the City Plan Commission. As private companies tried to meet the parking demand of their suburban workers, they began to tear down even more buildings beyond those the highway had raised.

To accommodate all these cars, city zoning laws began to require that all new developments provide a certain amount of off-street parking on private land, Azar said. But in 2014, as public transportation improved and city planners became aware of the low urban density caused by surface parking, the city eliminated the need for off-street parking in new developments entirely, from what had already been a minimal requirement.

“The more parking you provide and the cheaper the parking is, then the more you erode your urban form, the more you incentivize people to drive,” Azar said. The result is cities that become less and less dense — to a point that they can gradually become suburban. This very fate is what city planners work to avoid.

Still, as current demand in the Jewelry District goes, the developers need more parking. And if the city doesn’t want private developers knocking down more buildings for their parking lots, they may be forced to construct a healthy parking environment themselves.

A HIGH COST

Parking structures, by centralizing parking to a vertical building, can help a city to maintain its urban density and walkability. But garages are expensive, and though demand for them exists, private markets will never construct one, several developers said. Thus, surface parking continues as is.

“In some places, as a developer, you can make more money by knocking a building down and paving the lot than you can by leasing out the building,” Azar said.

Some places — like Providence. “Land is cheap,” Brodie said. “The cost to build is not supported by the rent level that can be achieved.”

If the \$43 million Garrahy Garage wasn’t convincing enough as an example of pricey garages, the 2008 planning study of the Jewelry District relays the same message in generalized terms. The study’s market evaluations found that the financial benefits to be gained from a parking garage — no matter for office, retail, or housing use — come up so far below the cost of building that, at least in mid-sized cities like Providence, the public sector is usually required to shell out the cash. That, or it must find some way to decrease the cost for developers to the point where the city can, at least somewhat half-heartedly, convince them they might turn a profit (though they likely won’t, and if they do, it won’t be for many years after.)

Or so that’s what Kane says. He supports the construction of the Garrahy Garage, and believes that sustainable parking solutions need to be publicly funded, just like other forms of public infrastructure such as bus, highway or subway systems. The state, he points out, has already publicly funded one downtown garage — the Convention Center Garage — and awarded significant subsidies to the 4,500 car parking garage adjacent to the Providence Place Mall that was constructed by a private developer.

Whether built by the state or a private developer, parking structures are costly. Several developers offered different going rates per space in a parking structure between \$20,000 and \$35,000, plus the cost of any additional specifications required to meet city zoning laws. Take the two parking garages already in the Jewelry District as examples. The privately owned Downing Corp constructed a \$9.2 million, 920-car garage next to the renovated Coro Building. Unlike for the Coro Building's renovation, the city did not hand out any tax credits for the garage's construction, as it was newly built rather than developed in an existing structure. Until recently, the only other garage in the Jewelry District was built by private owners James and Marilyn Winoker of Belvoir Associates to provide 410 spaces for their own businesses at a cost of over \$2 million dollars at the time, or \$4.18 million today. In 2017, CV Properties opened up their own 744-spot parking garage as part of its South Street Landing Project, which in total costs \$220 million. (But factor in the \$22 million in federal credits, the \$27 million in state credits and the tax limitations in place until 2029, and private investment looks closer to \$170 million.)

So how much are all of these parking properties making, exactly? For the South Street Landing Garage, the state will pay \$360,000 each year for spaces, which bumps up to \$470,000 in the lease's seventh year. That's at least \$2 million over the first six years, but still not enough to cover the cost of the original structure.

Parking lots profit only when they take in enough transient demand — short term parkers beyond those who park just during the day, said Aram Garabedian, president of Bliss Properties, which owns several surface and structure parking lots in Providence. Transient demand increases in the presence of commercial areas and restaurants — and only with that additional income can parking garages, and even surface parking lots, take in enough revenue to cover the costs of building, property taxes, and management and maintenance fees. In a Rhode Island climate, and with parking exposed to the elements, those maintenance costs can add up, Garabedian said.

BUILDING THE STREETScape

Even if the government did step in with funding, the Jewelry District is limited in its ability to build more parking structures simply as a result of the small size of the I-195 parcels. Most could only fit a 123' by 146' split-level structure. As the 2012 study of the I-195 corridor shows, the smallest parking garage with an efficient layout measures 123' by 272'. That's actually a good fit for an I-195 parcel, but these dimensions would require that at least one side of the facade be exposed. That's a problem for a neighborhood trying to build up a visually aesthetic streetscape.

In designing the city, planners envision a space that encourages walking and activity. "We want there to be an unbroken street wall of buildings adjacent to the sidewalk," Azar said.

Parking lots interrupt that urban fabric. Already, city zoning ordinances prohibit building principal-use surface parking lots, although developers are permitted to build surface lots adjacent to their own properties, Azar added.

Parking lots must also be landscaped — for smaller lots that means adding landscaping between the sidewalks and lot itself, and for larger ones, the city requires interior landscaping with trees.

This shading can help to prevent heat islands, which may develop around parking lots and raise the temperature of the surrounding area.

Parking lots must also prevent stormwater — which can contaminate local water — from running off the lot. The law affects all of Rhode Island, Azar said. Developers might landscape their properties with plants native to wetlands that can retain stormwater rather than allowing it to run into sewer systems, where it needs to be treated, he added.

For parking garages, builders must “de-emphasize the cars,” Azar said. Along important streets, called A streets, any parking ramps must be hidden from view. Along those streets, developers must also reserve the first 20 feet of depth to some sort of “active use,” such as retail, he added.

The proposed Garrahy Garage lies along two A streets — Clifford and Richmond, of which only the Richmond side will be developed for retail, said James McCarvill, executive director of the Rhode Island Convention Center authority, the garage’s builder. Currently, he said, Clifford Street lacks significant enough of development to support additional retail space. The RICCA will secure a variance to accommodate parking there.

THINKING AHEAD

The Garrahy Garage itself, and any possible new developments spurred from its creation, offer the possibility to change not only the landscape of parking in the Jewelry District, but also the neighborhood’s urban and economic landscape. Though in the short term, parking supply might increase and affect rates in the Jewelry District, McCarvill said he believes that demand for parking in the area will increase again shortly.

“The hope is ... you cluster up this parking, and you get some aggressive development going in the neighborhood and those surface lots,” McCarvill said.

Though retail space will not take up the Clifford Street side of the garage, its architects — Walker Consulting — will still build the ceilings at a height that allows for the space to be redeveloped as retail in the future. “It will be a while before that conversion may occur, if it ever does,” said Arthur F. Stadig, vice president of Walker Consulting. “In general, the district will need more parking than can be supplied for this garage.”

But those in the business of constructing garages must now look to the future possibility of fewer cars on the roads, given the advent of ride-sharing applications like Uber and improving technology around self-driving cars.

“The need for parking will decrease dramatically in 10 years,” Marsella said. He predicts that drivers won’t need such large spaces if cars can park themselves more tightly next to one another.

Kane said that he believes that the intensity will abate over time as temporary car sharing services become more popular. Brodie echoed his statements, arguing that developers will need to build properties with less parking and more room for drop off zones for passengers commuting via Uber and Lyft. Already, she is working to incorporate some of those ideas into a new transit-oriented

development in Pawtucket, where many residents commute to Boston daily.

Azar said that improvements in public transportation might also lower the burden on parking. The city is working to develop a bike-share program in addition to adding more high-frequency buses. Additionally, Azar predicts that with student housing and residents going up in the Jewelry District, many people won't require cars and will walk to work.

He also pointed out an app developed at students at Brown like Spotter, which allows those with empty parking spaces to rent them out for a dollar an hour.

"Maybe if we use the parking spots we have more efficiently, maybe we won't need more of them," Azar said.

But for at least the next 10 years, no developer sees parking demand decreasing. The surface parking lots will remain until development increases and bolsters property values. When that happens, Azar hopes to see the surface parking lots go.

"As far as I'm concerned, any parking lot in downtown is a development site," he said.

CONCLUSION

Parking in Providence represents a Catch 22 — simultaneously, developers demand that more parking be created to serve their tenants, but they also frown upon the ways that parking can negatively impact a city's density goals and dissuade urban development. If Providence is to solve the parking situation, their resolution must come at the city's expense, as the private market will only fund the construction of more surface parking lots. To prevent the Jewelry District from becoming a pseudo-suburb, investments like the Garrahy Garage will be necessary until the city has enough demand in the area for the private market to decide that its surface parking lots best serve other purposes. That, or attitudes around parking will need to change, and people will need to become more reliant on public transportation, walking, or paying more for their parking. But until then, parking remains a central problem around which the Jewelry District must plan.

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CITIES? Lance Gloss

The influence of the city does not stop where the spires of downtown give way to the suburban spread. Nor does the metropolis totally dissipate where the suburbs surrender to woodlots and farmland. This is not an architectural case, but an appraisal of connectivity. As urban theorist Saskia Sassen has been suggesting for thirty years, cities are possible—indeed they take on their identities—by relating to their outsides.

To be centers, cities have produced peripheries, shaping spaces and behavior outside of their dense cores, as well as the ideas people hold about those places. Agriculture, a land-use so often identified with the rural, is by another token the most influential of urban inventions. The first permanent settlements demanded that commodity-based agro-economies replace hunter-gatherer food systems. Urban growth spurred the development of our 'conventional' agriculture in the 19th and 20th centuries. Pervasive urbanization now and the pursuant strain on resources. Today, as rural-to-urban migration intensifies, urbanists concerned with handling urban problems are wont to forget that all city-comers have had their departure points: that they are town- and village-leavers. Our traditional notions of urban, rural, and wilderness must now be reconsidered with such realities in view, if we are to succeed as urbanists in pursuit of a more sustainable society.

The imperative has been renewed in this era of pervasive human influence on the planet. In this new geologic era, identified by Paul Crutzen and Eugene Stoermer as the Anthropocene, the changes wrought by humans on soils, ozone, wetlands, fisheries, and air quality—plus the tenfold increase in urbanization from 1900-2000—have redefined natural systems globally. This realization of human effects on the environment has brought us crashing back to the great limiting factor that last century's modernists tried and failed to transcend: human dependence on natural systems. No matter what we do, all of a city's ingredients—from the plinth of the public library to the contents of our cellular phones—have their origins in natural processes, and are made possible by human acts situated far from the metropolitan centers where decision-making powers (and consumption) are concentrated.

The path to a future of sustainable cities lies in relinquishing the strict conceptual demarcations between urban and rural space. The sharpest urbanists have already started to toss these old distinctions into the bin. "Spaces that lie well beyond the traditional city cores and suburban peripheries," write urbanists Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid, "have become integral parts of the worldwide urban fabric." Architect Lars Lerup describes a spectrum, in which "artifice, previously seen as a form of polluted nature, now joins the natural as simply a quality having magnitude and direction." Such thinkers are driving at the same point: we are done brushing interdependence under the rug.

Fortunately, we have more effective tools than ever before to help us collaborate across large and diverse landscapes. Some technical changes have transformed our prospects. So-called big data (so far ever bigger) has opened up a new field of inquiry on the circular economy. Such an approach brings governments, companies, and researchers together to close the gaps in resource cycles. Remote sensing has changed every field with a stake in land-use, by enabling real time

access to overhead views of data. The same geographic information systems have revolutions how human beings navigate the world, as our cell-phones guide us through streets and subway tunnels. New, more participatory platforms for civic engagement are on the rise, from micro-finance and tenure security programs to participatory public health research.

The old lines are softening. Urban planning has recently added landscape urbanism to its list of regional approaches—an effort to set the built and the natural into the same topology. Architect James Corner propounds field operations in urban development, nestling the structures and the dwelling taking place inside them into the hydrology and ecology of the site. In cities and states that once hardened their edges to water, planners now discuss the recovery of wetlands and the development of a green infrastructure. The NYC government has purchased 155,000 acres almost a hundred miles upstream from Manhattan to protect the Catskill/Delaware watershed that supplies the city.

Meanwhile, the environmental conservation movement reaches over the aisle. They discuss working lands and large landscape conservation, with orchestrating payments for ecosystems by corporations to the people living on the land. Environmental networks are thickening their ties, building political capacity and protecting land and water on site. Environmental justice—a paradigm centered on how environmental risk intersects with race, class, and gender—now outpaces and even influences the old vanguard of wilderness protectors, and has re-centered environmentalism on distributive justice. Such concepts as the ecological footprint, or the area of land needed to support an individual's life, have entered the popular vocabulary. More than ever, practitioners and everyday people who shape the city, the farm, and the woods are working together on large system challenges.

By integrating a more expansive concept of the (urbanized) landscape into our practice, we grow our capacity to consciously influence these exterior networks in any given local intervention. We are not going to transform a food system that lost a third of earth's arable land in the last forty years, or the food system that leaves more than one in ten US households food insecure, unless we recognize them as the same system. Only by looking across the whole landscape will we begin to curtail the external costs of myopic practice.

The next generation of successful urbanists will bring the reality of the global urban fabric to bear at the core of their solutions. The cities that will win out in the global competition for market dominance are those who successfully transform their habits of consumption with their resource-bases in mind. We will come to think in terms of watersheds, the newly-minted foodsheds, and landscapes of interwoven consequences. Cities will have to enable the denizens of high-density areas to live, move, eat, and work in ways that support good practice in the whole system. Cities will have to find concrete ways to enable rural and urban people as stewards of their places, with valuable knowledges about the capacities of the land, and with roles to play in the economies and ecologies of the future. In this future, it is the selfless city—the city willing to relinquish its egotism—that will find solutions respectful of land and people alike.

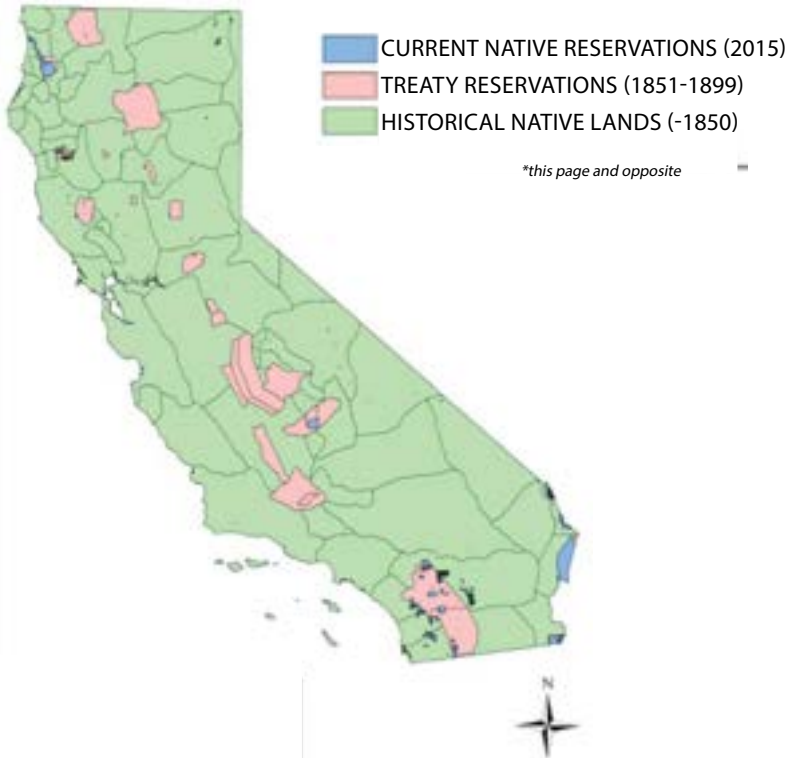
MAPPING NATIVE LANDS IN CALIFORNIA

Jesse Barber

BACKGROUND

The first Native American treaty in California was signed in 1851, the beginning of the Gold Rush. These agreements were Quasi-legal land agreements that guaranteed that a certain section of land be “reserved” for the native community involved in the agreement. In ex-change, the remainder of the group’s land was ceded to the United States. When I say Quasi-legal, I mean the decision to enter into the agreement was distorted for Native Californians in several ways: (1) These agreements occurred in the face of unprecedented mass killings and the genocide of native Californians; (2) agreements often did not confront the differing understandings of land ownership; (3) communication was often dubious considering the parties often did not share a language. The U.S. congress routinely violated these treaties despite the overwhelming gains that the agreements gave the United States.

2018



NATIVE LAND FROM PRE-CONTACT TO TREATY AGREEMENTS TO CONTEMPORARY RESERVATIONS.

MAP BY JESSE BARBER

Mapping Native Lands in California



**the maps on this page combine to equal the map opposite.*

**NATIVE LAND-HOLDINGS IN CALIFORNIA PRIOR TO 1850 (158,259 SQ MI).
MAP BY JESSE BARBER**



**NATIVE RESERVATIONS EST. BY TREATIES 1851-1899 (14,199 SQ MI).
MAP BY JESSE BARBER**



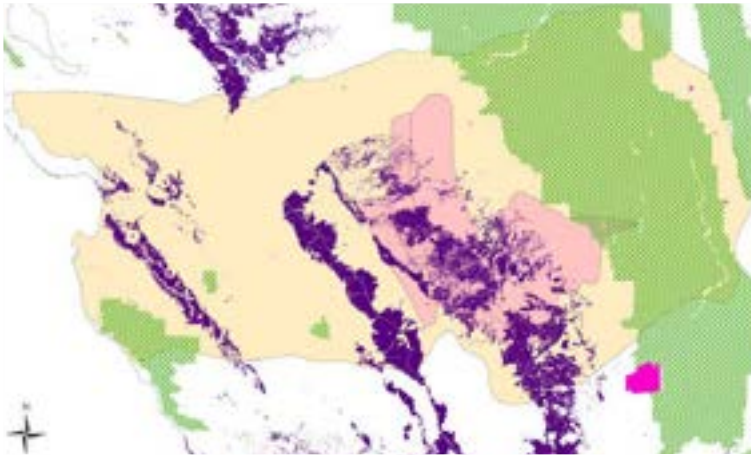
**RECOGNIZED NATIVE LANDS IN CALIFORNIA, PRESENT DAY (1,480 SQ MI).
MAP BY JESSE BARBER**

FINDINGS

2018

The treaty process systematically placed native lands further away from highways, railroads, water sources, and major ports (all being developed at the time). This reflects the strategic marginalization of native lands away from emerging infrastructures. However the treaty process also assigned native land close to prime farmland and nationally protected land (reflecting other resources such as timber, etc.) This expresses the agency that Native communities wielded during this process. Their "choices" show a strategic knowledge of natural resources. In the 20th century, native lands were systematically placed further away from highways and prime farmland – making native land more remote and less economically productive. It also moved it closer to nationally protected land and slightly less distal to the railroad network. This could be analyzed as beneficial or not with the emergence of national parks and mass transportation. The distance to water sources and ports became non-significant. This demonstrates a diminishing importance of these features with the widespread use of running water and mass transportation.

The treaty reservation mapped below contains a large portion of the prime farmland in the California Central Valley – one of the most productive agricultural lands in the entire country. The treaty was never honored and no native land remains on the land that is about twice the size of Rhode Island. The land ceded contains a large portion of Sequoia National Park, part of Yosemite National Park, and the Monterey Bay.



LAND IMPLICATIONS OF MAY 30, 1851 TREATY IN CALIFORNIA CENTRAL VALLEY.

MAP BY JESSE BARBER

- CURRENT NATIVE RESERVATIONS (2015)
 - TREATY RESERVATIONS (1851-1899)
 - HISTORICAL NATIVE LANDS (~1850)
 - NATIONALLY-PROTECTED ENVIRONMENTAL AREA
 - PRIME FARMLAND
- *this page and opposite*



LAND IMPLICATIONS OF AUGUST 15, 1851 TREATY IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA.

MAP BY JESSE BARBER

The treaty land depicted above contains a confluence of rivers in Northern California. In 1938, the Shasta Dam was built, making the largest reservoir in California. The large portion of land guaranteed in a treaty was never honored and the flooding resulting from the Shasta Dam now covers a large portion of historical residences and sacred sites of the Winnemem Wintu tribe. Very few native people remain in the area.

CONCLUSIONS

While treaties in the 19th centuries were used to marginalize native land and their access to emerging infrastructures, native communities managed to carve out resource-rich land despite extreme barriers. During the 20th century, native land has been further marginalized into smaller, more remote, and less productive land, in many ways eroding the valuable land that they managed to secure in treaties.

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FRESH KILLS: TRASH AND TRANSFORMATION Madeline Forbes

"Glove, pollen, rat, cap, stick. As I encountered these items, they shimmied back and forth between debris and thing - between, on the one hand, stuff to ignore, except insofar as it betokened human activity (the workman's efforts, the litterer's toss, the rat-poisoner's success), and, on the other hand, stuff that commanded attention in its own right, as existents in excess of their association with human meanings, habits, or projects."- Jane Bennett

Six months after officially closing, Fresh Kills Landfill in Staten Island temporarily reopened on September 13th 2001 to provide the site for the FBI and New York City Police Department to sort through human remains and material debris from the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center. At the site, damaged police cars, commodities such as souvenirs from the World Trade Center, and personal belongings mingled with old newspapers, outdated telephones, food and other discarded items that were continuously transported to the landfill, since its opening in 1948. Without context, the material remains from 9/11 and the landfill trash are indistinguishable - both constitute things that have been disconnected from their original use, economic value, and particular environment, and in their transformed state have been grouped in a single place (while in use it would be strange to equate a car with an embroidered badge, at the landfill they are made similar).

However, the circumstances in which they were brought to the landfill, and their life after this moment diverge. While the 9/11 material remains were sorted into categories, to be used as evidence in the investigation and displayed as artifacts at the 9/11 Memorial Museum Recovery exhibition, the trash remained in place. The perception of these entities as on the one hand in motion and on the other hand inert reflects Jane Bennett's observation of a storm drain, which demonstrates both the current perception of trash as matter that has no value, and the potential for it to be otherwise - matter that is vibrant (4).

Understanding the way in which the 9/11 remains and landfill trash maintain separation despite their material similarity as "matter out of place" requires an examination of the perception of trash as invisible that motivated the creation of Fresh Kills during the 20th century; the four mounds of trash that accumulated over fifty years are material evidence of the fallout from the practices of industrial production, consumption and value judgments based on 'use' that capitalist modernity engendered at this time (which vary based on social class) (Douglas, 36). Their location on the West Shore of Staten Island speaks to New York City Parks Commissioner Robert Moses' logic of spatial organization, his aggressive urban development schemes, and the particular typology of the landfill that placed Fresh Kills as geographically and mentally peripheral to the public image of New York City.

In contrast, the site's newfound visibility through the current plans to transform it into a public park must be considered. Through the proposal of a "lifescape" the New York City Parks Alliance aims to restore ecologies of the tidal marshlands, provide educational and recreational opportunities for the surrounding community and act as a model for attending to animal, plant and microbial systems. In what ways might the memory of the landfill, and trash itself resonate in the public park?

To organize this process, I will differentiate between the notion of trash as singular (a landfill) and trash as plural (an accumulation of diverse matter). These definitions are necessary for considering how the presentation of trash might affect relations to non-human bodies, and in what instances trash might be considered an agent.

Since the agential capacity of trash will be questioned throughout, before addressing Fresh Kills, Jane Bennett's concept of "vital materiality" and its political stakes should be elaborated. In focusing on the materiality of both human non-human bodies (such as plants, micro-organisms, and trash) as opposed to the cultural, political and imagined identities imposed on them (significantly economic value), Bennett conceives of things as "quasi agents or forces with trajectories, propensities, or tendencies of their own" (viii); they individually have capacities to affect and be affected by other bodies. In this way, humans are partly able to change things and their environments, but



FRESH KILLS LANDFILL, C. 1990.

IMAGE BY STEPHEN FERRY/GETTY IMAGES.

they are also met with some resistance from other matter. Bennett presents this agency of matter as a "static buzz of nonidentity", a concept taken from Theodor Adorno that conveys the inadequacy of the representations of things - the sense of something larger at play (14). However, this resistance to representation is not immediately visible. It requires a particular mode of looking, which Bennett describes as "[bearing] witness" and later as "the right mood or landscape of affect" (xii); this implies not only a practiced act, but also the way in which matter is framed. Bennett argues that the political significance in dissolving the distinction between "dull matter" and "vibrant life" is a shift towards more sustainable modes of production and consumption (ix).

TRASH AS SINGULAR (THE LANDFILL)

Ignoring its contents momentarily, we might focus on the circumstances in which Fresh Kills came about and how Robert Moses' urban spatial logic informs the perception of trash. The opening of Fresh Kills Landfill was motivated by several factors. Prior to the plan for Fresh Kills, that Robert

Moses, New York City Sanitation Commissioner William Carey and Staten Island Borough President Cornelius Hall envisioned, the landfill was tidal marshland, meadows and woodland. During this time the West Shore of Staten Island was the least populated area of Staten Island, with Travis as its only residential neighborhood. Ted Steinberg argues that the tidal salt marshes of Fresh Kills were uniquely suited to accommodate a landfill, both ecologically speaking (given their vast scale in comparison with other nearby wetlands), and the perception of them as “worthless” (according to Hall) and as “unimproved and unused” (according to Robert Moses). The latter of which I will speak about later.

2018

The plan for the landfill coincided with Robert Moses' urban development and infrastructure plans - public housing projects, bridges and highways that proliferated, as a result of nation-wide funding for public works from the New Deal federal government (Caro, 1974). Moses and Hall envisioned the landfill as central to the growth of Staten Island, and the development of the West Shore's industrial base to accommodate greater production and subsequently profit (Steinberg, 245). Industrial sites of oil refining and construction, as well large-scale storage for construction equipment were already present on the West Shore. So, the Fresh Kills Landfill project that included the construction of a highway (West Shore Expressway), parkland and an airport occurred amongst these developments. Moses recognized the necessity for a landfill in enabling the large-scale development of Staten Island, given the minimal funding of New York's incinerator program and the increasing amount of waste generated precisely through “the unnatural needs of high-density urbanism” (Steinberg, 245). However, the landfill also was able to elicit profit through the new taxable real estate that the landfill provided (Times article cited by Steinberg, 245). In this way, the landfill was valuable for the city both as a process (of disposing waste), and simply as a stable entity of land. At the peak of its operation, the landfill was open six days a week, serving the entirety of New York, and receiving half of its trash on barges that were delivered daily. The height allowance for the Fresh Kills landfill was continually revised, in order to accommodate more matter, eventually reaching 2,315 acres. During this time, New York inhabitants made little contact with the landfill, aside from the Sanitation Department employees. The Staten Island Ferry that ‘exhibited’ the borough to residents and tourists did not pass Fresh Kills. So, without representation it was largely unknown.

As a spatial strategy of capitalist modernity, the landfill resists representation and thus attention to its contents. In Ben Campkin and Rosie Cox's *Dirt*, Campkin argues that the particular spatial typologies of waste are linked to the economic and political realities of production and consumption from which they emerge, stating that “spaces of abjection’ in the late modern city might differ in form and materiality from the urban spaces of the industrial or Fordist metropolis” (65). The creation of Fresh Kills Landfill coincided with capitalist modernity that valued technical innovation, newness and continuous progress. As suggested above, the landfill as a singular object might be considered another form of “industry”, given that it benefitted the city economically and socially. However, in order to conceive of it this way, its contents must be ignored; the remains of buildings and infrastructure (as well as matter that is no longer desired) are evidence of the inevitable outdatedness, loss of use, and delusion of the linear plot line that is connected to capitalist modernity.

Steel supports were idolized as materials that would emblemize progress, and technical innovation in New York. However, this perception of steel (and other modern materials) was contingent

on a permanent state of 'newness' that was not materially possible; at the landfill the steel supports, disassembled to make way for newer materials, show signs of ageing, rust, and consequently urban planners' uncertainty of how to handle this inevitable temporal process. These challenges to political and economic mythologies are only strengthened in Fresh Kills Landfill's proximity to the Staten Island Mall, and sites of industrial production and storage and the West Shore Expressway, the very emblems of modernity.

The invisibility of the landfill is also linked to the type of encounter its scale and formation creates. As in the case of steel, the waste at Fresh Kills Landfill acts as a mirror to contradictory perceptions of matter. This is also seen in the urban classifications of trash: the 'sewer'. In "The Cinematic Sewer" David Pike describes how sewers' fluid, visceral and dangerous methods (in terms of health) for draining cities to prevent flooding was a necessary, yet conflicting counterpart to the "controlled, ordered, quotidian and banal" spaces of modern infrastructure, primarily in the 19th century (139). However, significantly, Pike points out that individuals are attracted to the paradoxical nature of the sewer, and that it has been represented often in films and cultural imagery (which reinforces its allure). While both the landfill and sewer demonstrate a continuation of daily practices, the sewer expresses those of commuting to work, interior domestic spaces and small-scale storage in cellars, or basements. The echo of familiar, interior spaces in the sewer typology creates a sense of security while encountering repulsive or repressed matter. The novelty is strengthened by the knowledge (from lived experience and films) that going underground is a temporary act; sewers provide an opportunity for transgression in a fairly controlled way. In terms of the matter that one encounters in the sewer, the intimacy and attentiveness associated with the scale of interior spaces, and individual interactions encourages a mode of interacting with matter that similarly is more sensorial and discriminating. In this way, the contents (waste or trash) are given individuality. For these reasons, in the sewer trash becomes matter to be fetishized.

In comparison to the scale of the sewer, and the nuanced sense of its contents, the landfill's large scale and the ambiguity of its matter prevents an individualized encounter; firstly, this might be connected to Robert Moses' intent for the individual to engage with the image of modernity in New York as a whole. The landfill's size corresponds to Robert Moses' larger-than-human scale designs in the built environment and their continual expansion. The 'individual' is addressed solely through the mythologies of capitalist modernity - as the focus for the advertisement of products, new conceptions of the family (amongst other packaged lifestyles) and emphasis on traveling by car. However, as Caro criticizes Robert Moses' disregard for human scale in his projects, the difference in scale, and focus on progress and growth prevents individuals from engaging with them (35); not only is there no reference for individualized practices within the built environment, but also the imagery is unfamiliar in its continual transformation. It is unable to be scrutinized as an object (and consequently attended to individually). Consequently, the built environment might be conceived more accurately as separate from individual life, only serving the mythologized individual as opposed to a real one.

Robert Moses encouraged the invisibility of the landfill because it challenged the mythologies of capitalist modernity that motivated the built environment's development. However, even when the landfill is acknowledged, the impersonal expanse of waste and its persistent growth renders matter untenable; the conditions of the landfill are not conducive to individual engagement, or

focused attention. Mary Douglas' definition of trash perfectly captures the problem of representing trash, given its "shifting categories of disorder, ambiguity, anomaly and impurity" that do not adhere to socially given classifications of things (Campkin, 65). The perception that the landfill and individual life occur autonomously is significant in influencing one's attention to and accountability in processes of waste and consumption. Robert Moses' designs do not encourage a perception that matter can affect and be affected by other bodies (Bennett, viii); they do not consider the agency of matter.

The differing natures of the landfill and sewer's 'distance' from the city influences the perception of trash. Pike alludes to the paradox of the sewer's conceptual distance and spatial proximity to centers of cities. The sewer is conceptually distanced from the image of a modern city - an active process of 'othering', that because of its physical centrality poses a continual threat (this is consistent in the sewer's preventative purpose against floods). Conversely, the landfill was spatially distanced, placed on the geographical periphery. Unlike the sewer's conceptual distance, which persistently threatens to collapse, the spatial distance of the landfill does not 'contest'. This relates to the passive purpose of the landfill - the accumulation of matter that takes place does not require attention.



GARBAGE SCOWS BRING SOLID WASTE TO PLANT #2 AT FRESH KILLS LANDFILL, 1973. IMAGE BY WIKIPEDIA [PUBLIC DOMAIN]

Considering the question of trash's agency, the sewer and the landfill demonstrate different "[moods] or [landscapes] of affect" for framing trash (Bennett, xii). In Robert Moses-era Fresh Kills, trash's lack of agency results from its absence from the public imaginary (its invisibility). As a means of re-framing landfills, Jane Bennett describes the metabolic processes that occur amongst them, the "lively streams of chemicals and volatile winds of methane", as well as microbial decomposition (vii). However, Campkin's discussion of the presence of trash in the contemporary urban imaginary, varying from mere visibility in "degraded" areas and homelessness, to deliberate usage of trash's aesthetics in architecture and signage, particularly in gentrifying areas, its presence in the public imaginary is not enough to give it agency (Campkin, 79). Here Bennett's conception of mat-

ter's agency, as defined by its resistance to representation, is important. The sewer's oscillation between concealed, distant matter, and the perception of approaching it through brief experiences of underground spaces demonstrates this type of agential resistance. That Pike describes sewers as "spatial metaphors" is significant in that it speaks to their implication of something, which cannot be reached; "the static buzz of nonidentity" (139). Landfills on the other hand, are not concealed at all, either wholly invisible or wholly visible - in this way, it seems that nothing is withheld - there is no resistance. As we will see in the instance of Fresh Kills' reuse as a park, while the landfill's agency was not acknowledged in its lifetime, it has the capacity to affect other bodies as a singular object. However, there are instances in which trash at Fresh Kills is acknowledged for its diverse plurality, and each item's "impossible singularity" in Bennett's words - and these must first be addressed (4).

TRASH AS PLURAL (DIVERSE MATTER)

Now, we can return to the moment in which Fresh Kills re-opened to accommodate the material remains from 9/11. Michael Thompson's Rubbish Theory illustrates the way in which trash (or his term 'rubbish') transforms in state, according to broadly defined channels of status and power. While he approaches objects in terms of value it is useful to consider how the decision to give value can be similar to giving attention to something, thus linking it to Jane Bennett's project of vital materiality. Grounding this comparison, Joshua Reno states in the introduction of Thompson's Rubbish Theory that the transitions in objects' value depends on "things 'out there' for us to push around (and be pushed around by): materiality", as well as the transformative potential for "the despised objects... the rubbish heaps of society" (10). Thompson proposes a system in which objects with socially imposed transient value (that depreciates over time, with finite expected lifespans) become rubbish (objects of zero value), which can then gain durable value (that appreciates over time, unexpected lifespans) (10). Largely, the material remains from 9/11 and the trash in the landfill began as items of 'transient value' given that they were commodities, whose lifespan was defined by their use. In *The Social Life of Things* Arjun Appadurai characterizes the type of exchange that is encouraged on the level of these objects is to be with minimal social, cultural, and political costs - in the public imaginary, but not viewed for their "impossible singularity" - a generalized attention (9).

While it is certain that the landfill matter transformed from transient value to rubbish, the 9/11 remains' state as rubbish needs explanation. The 9/11 remains were transformed almost immediately to objects of durable value - as evidence within the FBI investigation, or as artifacts in the Recovery exhibition. However, Thompson argues that without the rubbish category "no transfers would be possible" (5). The remains became rubbish insofar as in the attacks on the World Trade Center they momentarily lost their original use as commodities, and their new function was not yet determined, in this way embodying the "valueless and timeless limbo" of rubbish (Reno, 10). Most simply, the 9/11 remains became durable because of the imperative of commemoration and recognition of the victims on both an individual and national scale; the US government, as the source that enabled the transfer, has enough power that they could determine what should be preserved, and become emblematic of loss. In this case, individual families who called for the remains to be sorted agree with the conservative system of valuing matter (Hartocollis, *New York Times*). An example of such an object is the Bell Atlantic Mobile cell phone in the 9/11 Memorial Museum collection that belonged to Michael T. Quilty and was "bent and broken and consists of six separate pieces" (9/11 Memorial & Museum).

In connecting the cell phone (an object of transient value) to an individual, so that it holds sentiments of loss, and giving it a unique accession number in the museum, it becomes a durable object; it is valued for its materiality, the meaning of its "broken" pieces, and not its ability to be used. This mode of looking holds precedent in art contexts. In this way, even if the official intent was of commemoration, the materiality, and "thing-power" of the remains is received, giving the remains agency through their "impossible singularity" – the descriptions of individual marks, owners, and past lives. The presence of a commodity in the context of an art museum, such as the Bell Atlantic Mobile cell phone provides evidence for the object's ability to transform – that its identity as an 'art-object' is solely one moment in an object's biography. Appadurai and Kopytoff describe this as the "commodity phase" or "stage", denoting a processual and more expansive view of objects as they interact with cultural and economic systems (17). This perception of an object as having a "life" aligns with Bennett's aim to dissolve the distinction between "dull matter" and "vibrant life".

So, while the remains are considered lively through the social imposition of durable value, through this process they can be understood as in motion, as things that affect and can affect other bodies, matter with agency. In this way, Bennett's view might be too rigid in its separation of social systems of value from the concept of vital materiality.

The perception of matter as vibrant is also determined by the modes in which the two accumulations of matter at the landfill became rubbish. The transfer from transient value to rubbish (zero value) implies that the object came to the end of its "finite lifespan" that Thompson proposes. The trash that accumulated during the landfill's use were objects deemed useless or undesirable, due to capitalist modernity's emphasis on single-use, and newness, as mentioned above. In this way, they no longer performed their function, and certainly reached their "end". The 9/11 remains on the other hand were arrested in use; they became rubbish, not at the end of their finite lifespan, but somewhere within it – while the Bell Atlantic cell phone has since been replaced by newer phones, it was not yet out of date, and it was still in use on September 11th 2001. The perception that the remains ended prematurely is obviously consistent with the perception of the victims who died in 9/11, so the appearance of the objects not only communicate that they still could have been used (their implied lifespan), but they are emblematic of the individuals' potential lives. Here, the broken phone does not easily suggest a continued life, but it is evident in other remains such as intact house keys, or a wallet containing credit cards and a Metro card. The vitality of the 9/11 remains emerges from the part, which cannot be represented - the inaccessible, yet imaginable presence of the objects, and individuals' futures. This echoes the distinction between the landfill and sewer, as that which is seemingly entirely there, and continually reproducing 'finished-ness', and that, which is resistant to representation.

William Rathje's archaeological research of trash, The Garbage Project that began in 1973, unusually acknowledged the Fresh Kills Landfill as a collection of diverse matter (similarly to the material remains from 9/11). Rathje understood that the landfill could serve as an unmediated physical record of New York precisely because of the conclusiveness that its large-scale provided, and the lack of 'curation' of its contents (12). In this way, the matter is given agency as it is understood for its potential to reveal information about New Yorkers', and by extension Americans', habits and modes of consumption - past practices that Rathje asserts may still apply to the present (11).

For example, the trash speaks to the individualism, class stratification and unsustainable use of natural resources that Robert Moses' practices promoted, in his decision to focus on creating highways for cars as opposed to public transport (Caro, 1974). In this case, one can find agency in the landfill's invisibility discussed in the previous section. In attending to the information The Garbage Project elucidates, it might encourage 'alternate practices' of consumption that are more sustainable, which Jane Bennett attributes as the goal of vibrant materiality. Arguably, the information's restructuring of past practices, and the individuals in the 20th century attached to the trash creates the presence of something larger to tend towards. However, in order for the garbage to be useful as information, it must remain static, or preserved in "sealing devices", in order to be an accurate archive (6). The anaerobic bacteria that enables the trash to biodegrade is halted, so trash is pre



RUBBISH COLLECTED FROM 9/11 SITE, HOUSED AT THE 9/11 MEMORIAL & MUSEUM. IMAGE BY 9/11 MEMORIAL MUSEUM.

vented from affecting bodies as trash. This distinction is somewhat murky given that the trash transforms in its use, but it is also frozen in its materiality; the trash becomes a means for the information that is valued, but trash is still perceived as "inert" (vii). The 9/11 remains valued as information and artifacts in an exhibition are not proxies to the implication of vitality, but communicate it directly through their materiality.

Additionally, the limitations presented here might be understood as a result of the careful control of the amounts of objects that can have durable value - Thompson argues that they cannot become "so ubiquitous as to no longer be able to denote the crucial conjunction of status and power" (7). While the information can become durable, if the items were all given durable value, preserved individually as "artifacts", the systems of status and power that determine what has value would

no longer be defined and reified. This is also reflected in the timespan of objects, considered as an amount - the singularity of 9/11 attack elicited direct attention, while the trash in the landfill accumulated over a long time, which due to the recurring nature and banality of the event of trash collection it is too expansive to consider significant. That said, 9/11 is unique as a moment in relation to maintaining limits of the amount of durables; it seems that given the scale of loss and fear, any number of remains would be considered durable - it would be unethical to determine hierarchies of value between the remains.

This sort of 'leak' is seen in one complex moment in the landfill's temporary reopening - New York City's Chief Medical Examiner Dr. Charles S. Hirsch announced that some human remains (and material remains) became integrated into the landfill's contents, and could not be separated during the recovery process (Hartocollis, New York Times). The mental separation and differentiation of value that was largely possible during the forensic process is denied here. Given the inability to distinguish the remains from the landfill, the site as a whole unintentionally receives the affect and value of commemoration and loss, and becomes durable; in its transformation the matter is perceived as an agent.

FRESH KILLS PARK (TRASH IN THE PAST TENSE)

Thompson's model for value in Rubbish Theory appears again in the most recent plans to transform Fresh Kills Landfill into a public park. Initially, the landfill was a repository for matter of transient value. At the landfill, the matter was reduced to zero value. As noted in the 'Trash as Singular' section, the landfill's was valuable at the systems level of New York urban planning, but in considering its particularities as an object, it also was judged as having zero value. The proposed uses of the land in its transformation into a public park (that will open in 2030) are numerous; primarily, it will facilitate sustainable engagement and cultivation with ecological systems, cultural and educational activities, artworks and a changed perception of Staten Island. The plan's investment in the land, and emphasis on an indefinite timescale, makes the park a site of durable value.

Given that the landfill and its matter was interpreted as 'finished' and thus ignored, its new-found value and attention towards it, as in the case of the 9/11 remains, signals an event with enough power to cause its transformation. In the Fresh Kills Master Plan the New York City Mayor Bloomberg, the Staten Island Borough President Molinaro, the Department of Sanitation, City Planning amongst other in positions of power, all recognize the urgent need for a change of relations towards the land (Fresh Kills Master Plan Draft, 2). They condemn the stigmatization that the landfill caused and thus rejection of Staten Island in the city's imaginary, emphasizing a shift away from "degradation and decomposition" of the industrial landscape to "new forms of interaction among people, nature, technology and the passage of time." (Fresh Kills Master Plan Draft, 2). Their statements support the shift in practices that underpin Jane Bennett's project of vital materiality (ix). While for Bennett this shift is brought about in recognizing the agency of matter, the park's master plan largely condemns the landfill, so it seems that the perceptions of trash have not changed, and it is not acknowledged as agential.

Unsurprisingly, in order for the park to function, the landfill must be covered with a "landfill cap" of soil, geo-textiles, and a geo-membrane that prevents methane gas from escaping and to stabilize

the waste (Fresh Kills Park Alliance). This means that the landfill continues to be invisible, despite physical proximity. However, to decide that trash does not have agency in the public park because of its invisibility is to consider the notion of matter's agency too narrowly.

If throughout the 20th century, Fresh Kills Landfill has been framed as invisible and distant, and the individual elements of trash as useless, then these might be understood as defining characteristics of the matter. Therefore the continued absence of trash in the park might be interpreted as agential – that it is trash's resistance to visibility that brings about alternate practices. Firstly, this is seen in the landfill's protection of the land from aggressive development and potentially gentrification (a fate to which Staten Island is the sole exception in New York). The master plan notes this paradox, that, "the landfill operations during the past 50 years have afforded a unique opportunity for the preservation of this huge land reserve from development sprawl and fragmentation." (8) Here, it is precisely the landfill's scale and invisibility that renders it an agent.

Secondly, there are moments in which trash's absence is overtly communicated at the park. The landfill cap preserves the shape of the four mounds of trash, thus creating a material memory of its existence. Also, the plan proposes to reuse barges - which delivered trash daily to the landfill throughout its operation – as "floating gardens" that will be docked at the park's water edge. The barge, evidence of the landfill's operation is able to be transformed into a relic (of durable value), while the trash cannot. However, implicit in viewing the barge is the conscious absence of the smaller amount of trash that it carried; the ceremonial attention given to barges and the intimate encounter that the scale of the barge enables, draws attention to matter that is absent (as seen with the sewer); the barge provides an interaction with trash that could not occur in the landfill's lifetime.



AERIAL PHOTO OF FRESHKILLS PARK IN 2017.
IMAGE COURTESY OF THE FRESHKILLS PARK ALLIANCE.

The above examples demonstrate that not only is trash characterized by its absence at Fresh Kills Park, but also in its quality of memorial. In the 'Trash as Plural' section, the attention to the diverse materiality of the 9/11 remains, through commemoration and exhibition, provided a more expan-

sive understanding of matter's capacity to transform in use and value. While this view gives agency to matter, it does so within the realm of socially imposed acts (mourning) and the accompanied systems of value. One might understand the relationship between the park and the absent landfill as an act of mourning, and through this act, one might recognize the landfill's agency. However, the 9/11 remains were mourned in a particular way – they were visible, curated, and made 'permanent' in an exhibition.

To understand the type of mourning that occurs at Fresh Kills Park, we can look to the concept of the "anti-memorial" in Performance Philosophy, which refers to temporal, embodied and unrepresented modes of memorialization; performance theorist Nicholas Birns elaborates on the concept, describing conditions in which memorialization is not packaged, but must be enacted individually: "the banality of the present is resistant to the sentimentalities of elegy" (205). The "banality" describes the unmythologized nature of the trash at Fresh Kills Landfill, which allowed it to accumulate without intervention; the resistance to "sentimentalities" speaks to the 'truthful' account that the landfill matter gave of consumption practices in New York. So if the memorialization is not explicitly referenced in the park's function, it resides in one's bodily engagement with it. Laura Cull describes the mode of gaining knowledge in performance philosophy as an "embodied encounter with the resistant materiality of performance thinking" (25).

At Fresh Kills Park, Cull's statement is communicated literally in the "resistant materiality" of trash, in the shape of the park, its absence at the barge and the site's persistence as a whole. Since the landfill is considered in the past, engaging with its "resistant materiality" resembles both memorialization, and a mode of gaining knowledge. In this way, there is room for trash's agency to arise from a shift in perception of trash, and the associated consumption practices (trash in transformation) and through the act of mourning that is socially imposed on the matter (trash as static). Trash's agency is constituted both materially and mythologically.

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