

SAVING EACH OTHER: USING HISTORIC PRESERVATION
AS A TOOL FOR THERAPEUTIC CITY PLANNING

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*À Rachel : je ferais tout à nouveau
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CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----------|
| List of Tables | v |
| Introduction | 1 |
| As Long as They Had Their Neighborhood: The End of Normative Planning | 1 |
| The Rise of Reparative Planning | 4 |
| Literature Review | 8 |
| Methodology | 23 |
| The Urban Renewal Type | 34 |
| Bronzeville | 34 |
| The Legacy of Public Housing | 36 |
| A New Type of Urban Renewal | 38 |
| Therapeutic Interventions for displaced communities | 40 |
| The Claimed Space Type | 46 |
| Pier 45: The Christopher Street Pier | 46 |
| The Queer Mecca at the Piers | 47 |
| Normalizing the Queer Waterfront | 49 |
| Preserving Queer Space for Queer People | 53 |
| The Preservation-led Type | 57 |
| Over-the-Rhine | 57 |
| Demographic Shifts Hit the Neighborhood | 59 |
| Economic Revitalization and Growing Tensions | 60 |
| Can Preservation Revitalize and Commemorate Difficult History? | 65 |
| Analysis | 70 |
| Conclusion | 80 |
| Final Recommendations | 81 |
| Points of Further Research | 84 |
| Bibliography | 87 |
| Index | 91 |

LIST OF TABLES

Table I: Graphic Representation of the Neighborhood Typology

28

INTRODUCTION

AS LONG AS THEY HAD THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD: THE END OF NORMATIVE PLANNING

The Upper West Side of Manhattan was once home to one of the first desegregated upper-middle-income neighborhood in New York. Real estate agent Phillip Payton Jr. specifically leased apartments to African Americans to fight against housing segregation in the 1900s. Black artists and performers, including Billie Holiday, lived in the elegant homes on 98th and 99th Streets. By the time the Housing Act of 1949 was signed into law, the neighborhood had developed into a vibrant and tightknit, though low-income community. “While these people were poor,” observes historian Robert Caro, “that didn’t mean they had a bad life. As long as they had their neighborhood.”¹

The City of New York declared 98th and 99th Streets a slum after the passage of the Housing Act. This designation was based mainly on household income levels of the families living there. All residents were ordered to relocate, and the city gave the land to a private developer to build modern middle-income apartment towers called Manhattantown. Some families refused to leave their buildings even after water and heat services ended. When asked why her family stayed, one community member states, “It was our home. I couldn’t understand why they wanted to tear my home down. It was not a slum.”

¹ Jim Epstein and Nick Gillespie, *The Tragedy of Urban Renewal: The destruction and survival of a New York City neighborhood*, documentary film, Reason TV, Sept. 28, 2011.

The redevelopment of the clearance area proposed replacing 4,212 residences with 2,500 new units.² The former residents could not afford the new apartments in their neighborhood, and considering the small number of units built, city planners never intended to enable the old community to stay. Though the residents were displaced by the grand plans for the city, their identification with the neighborhood never disappeared. “The Old Community” still gathers together every year to celebrate the neighborhood that was taken from them. Some former residents continue to harbor the pain caused by being forced to leave their home. Former resident Jim Torain admits that, “At thirteen, I was looking forward to all these things that my older siblings had experienced, and we had to move. There is a space in my life right now that is missing because of that move.”

Twenty blocks north of the Manhattantown development, the Manhattanville neighborhood is currently facing development pressures from Columbia University’s expansion. The plans are receiving considerable criticism from residents and business owners in the neighborhood who are afraid of losing the place that gives them identity. Certainly, development, expansion, and city plans are necessary to manage change in cities, but what can be learned from the legacy of destructive planning practices of the 20th Century? How can planners be more aware and respectful of the psychological and emotional attachments people have to the places in their lives?

² Carter Horsley, “A History of Park West Village,” *Park West Village Tenant’s Association*, accessed April 20, 2013, <http://www.pwvta.org/PWVpast/PWVpast.htm>.

The history of urban planning in America and Europe is one of generations of trained urban experts pursuing a normative ideal of the utopic city. City planners designed the urban utopia to benefit city residents, and it was their passion and belief in cities that enabled such a grandiose vision. This vision, despite its good intentions, often placed the built environment of the city above the communities of people who lived in it. Other times planners believed that creating good environments would create good lives for residents – their role was to direct environmental determinism to benefit communities. City planning institutions working for the public good demolished neighborhoods, displaced families, and erased stories that were intrinsically connected to space. In today's planning field, many professionals see their forbearers' urban expressway as a scar in the fabric of the city, an element that bisects neighborhoods, impedes connectivity, and destroyed exciting urban places. Many of today's planners recognize the legacy of large-scale urban renewal projects as damaging to the character of urban spaces. They also see the value in planning cities for a diverse collection of people with a diverse collection of needs. The normative city has become passé. Emerging planners understand the need for equity planning, neighborhood development, and participatory tools, but there is a lack of options in planners' toolboxes to bring the new ideas to neighborhoods. The theories have evolved quicker than the new models and modes of implementation. Research must focus on developing methods to execute the emerging ideals of the field.

The next steps in creating more equitable city plans are complicated. In addition to physical scars in the urban landscape resulting from large-scale, top-down plans, there

are emotional scars in the communities affected by old planning tactics. The people who were forcefully evicted from their homes to make room for a new development have trauma associated with urban planning practices. Communities, whose stories were erased, or never told by city designers, have little trust that an institution that has historically ignored them will begin to consider them as stakeholders. Urban planning left a painful legacy in many of the communities practitioners now want to help. Planning in these communities cannot be a simple process of starting over with a new generation of planners who see a non-normative vision for the future. Planners have a responsibility to heal the trauma caused by their profession through apologies, reparation, and compensation. To engage in “therapeutic” planning, planners must address the past to work for the future.

THE RISE OF REPARATIVE PLANNING

Therapeutic, or reparative, planning is city planning that focuses on reestablishing trust and good will with communities historically marginalized by planning in order to better serve them as the city continues to evolve. The way to do reparative planning is debated by scholars, and research focuses on what type of compensation or apology is the most appropriate. The idea of therapeutic planning is not so much about apologizing for apology’s sake as it is about repairing wounds so that planners can continue to work for the public good while engaging a greater diversity of stakeholders.

It is strange to suggest that city planners, experts on the built environment, can act as therapists and help communities work through bad memories associated with

planning institutions. Yet planning professionals and psychological experts alike can tap into experiences in their respective fields to state without hesitation that change is difficult for all people. Even change that is desired or expected can lead to feelings of isolation and distrust. Urban theorist Peter Marris states in his book *Loss and Change* that, “the impulse to preserve the thread of continuity is thus a crucial instinct of survival.” The built environment gives communities a sense of identity. Changes to the physical characteristics of a place or to the interpretation of space inhabited by a specific community can hurt future relations between those communities and city planners if the changes are not mitigated by a repairing force.

Planners today are preoccupied with the idea of healthy communities. Good health is often designed into neighborhoods through public recreation facilities, accessible food markets, and multi-modal street systems. The physical health of a community is vital to its sustainability, but its psychological health is just as important. Planners must explore how stability of cultural landscapes also creates healthy communities and sustainable development. There is also a responsibility for planners to understand how a community’s psychological well-being is connected to physical health. Does spatial stability through historic preservation reduce stressors associated with change?

The preservation of historic buildings and landscapes has been acknowledged as beneficial for the public good and an element in community building for decades. The idea that preservation can repair relationships between communities and the institutions that systematically alter them is rather novel and so far unexplored by researchers of

“therapeutic” planning. Indeed, very little research has been done on the intersection of historic preservation and therapeutic city planning, though a few theorists have alluded to the natural partnership of the two fields. City planner professor Petra Doan stated, for example, “I used to think those preservation types were the worst, but then I realized that they might be the only answer to keeping queer spaces accessible to queer people.”³

This project intends to explore how historic preservation can be used as a tool in reparative city planning. This question breaks down to several sub-questions. First, what is the most meaningful way to do reparative city planning? Is it a process-focused technique or a results-focused technique? How do communities respond to therapeutic processes intended to heal wounds created by spatial injustice and irresponsible planning? What is the purpose of reparative planning and preservation: to enable planners to better develop neighborhoods, to enable communities to work through trauma and build their own neighborhoods, or both?

Secondly, how has preservation already been used as a tool for reconciliation outside the lens of reparative city planning? Do historic sites and museums affect communities’ sense of identity? Are there psychological and physical benefits to preservation interventions already visible in urban areas?

Finally, how can preservationists and planners work together to meet communities’ needs? The two fields are often at odds in local debates, but can the

³ Petra Doan, in discussion with the author, November 2012.

reparative process give them reason to coordinate their efforts? How can preservationists use their expertise to create social change? How can planners look to the past to inform future plans?

There is a great role for preservation to start repairing damage done by city planning and help build a field that is more ready to create the equitable, diverse spaces today's planners desire. The field of historic preservation is broad and touches on many aspects of heritage conservation. The use of preservation in the implementation of emotional and cultural repair of communities is proposed as an additional utility that planners can take advantage of as therapeutic city planning expands. This is a stepping stone to achieving cooperation between the two fields.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The normative city – the singular urban utopia – exists within a framework that places city planners as heroes using their expertise to save the world. Many critiques of traditional planning rising out of feminist, postcolonial, and postmodern schools of thought point to the pedestal holding planning up as unquestionably noble and call it a problem. Leonie Sandercock writes eloquently about this point in her 2003 book, *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities*.⁴

Mongrel Cities is a reflection on the place of city planning within the context of ever diversifying urban areas. “For as long as there have been cities,” Sandercock states, “there have been women and men seeking to define and then perfect the science and art of city-building.... The utopian impulse at the heart of so many experiments in city-buildings has always proved disappointing, if not downright disastrous, in the actual flesh and stone.”⁵ Certainly, much has been written about the failures of planning’s utopic visions. Environmental advocates have mourned the loss of greenfields to suburban development. Preservationists and neighborhood activists point to normative planning models as destructive to the character and identity of places. Today’s common knowledge is that Urban Renewal of the second half of the 20th century destroyed communities and created urban dystopia, the opposite of what planners intended.

⁴ Leonie Sandercock, *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities of the 21st Century* (London: Continuum, 2003).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

Cities and their communities have been hurt by planning practices of the past, but despite her criticism, Sandercock does not give up the utopic ideal. She believes in city planning and in its ability to create “the possibility of working together on matters of common destiny, the possibility of a togetherness in difference.”⁶ Sandercock points out that the apparent differences within cities are growing as global economics and international migration restructure urban demographics. She also pinpoints the politics of multiculturalism, post-colonialism, and social movements as having a profound effect on today’s cities. “Culture politics of difference” are emerging side-by-side with newly energized groups threatened by cultural diversity. According to Sandercock, these threats are multiple: psychological, economic, religious, cultural.⁷ People are afraid of being the “other;” people are afraid of change.

The psychological connection between individuals and their physical space, especially fear of change within the space, has been studied by other researchers. Many rely on the work of sociologist Peter Marris to explore how people attach deep emotions to the tangible and intangible elements of their cities. Marris based his research on experiences in Europe, Africa, and the United States. Early in his career he noted that slum removal projects in Lagos, Nigeria created “radical change in social patterns” in which, “households became isolated from their wider family groups, and obligations to their kin were much more difficult to fulfill.”⁸ The residents of bulldozed slums lost homes and jobs in the name of the utopic city, but the greatest trauma came

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 4.

⁸ Peter Marris, *Family and Social Change in an African City: a Study of Rehousing in Lagos* (London: Routledge, 1961), 132.

from losing social connections. In 1974, his seminal work *Loss and Change* connected bereavement patterns identified by psychologists with communities that experienced Urban Renewal and other forms of slum clearance.⁹ He observes that there is a, “profound conflict between contradictory impulses – to consolidate all that is still valuable and important in the past, and preserve it from loss; and at the same time, to re-establish a meaningful pattern of relationships in which the loss is accepted.”¹⁰ In other words, people who have been affected by normative city planning practices simultaneously suffer from a longing for the irretrievable past and a desire for the utopia promised by city-building experts.

Neither Sandercock in her critique of normative planning nor Marris’s displaced residents give up on the planning profession as a way to make cities more successful. Both continue to trust the ideals of city planning, but they call for a redefining of how planners approach the utopia. Sandercock asks for a better understanding of the needs of diverse communities. Marris’s subjects ask for a better understanding of the healing process that follows change in the physical environment. Perhaps the role of the planner should shift from the modernist vision of the empirical, rational expert described by Sandercock¹¹ to that of urban psychologist.

Michael Gunder and Jean Hillier present this idea in their paper, “Planning as Urban Therapeutic.” The authors seek to challenge the normative role of planning as the vision of what the city should become and instead, “understand how urban issues

⁹ Peter Marris, *Loss and Change* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 31-32.

¹¹ Sandercock, *Mongrel Cities*, 61.

may be identified as metaphorical deficiencies or illnesses, to which planners apply a therapeutic salve in the form of strategic policies.”¹² Here again, Gunder and Hillier are not abandoning the drive to build a utopic society; indeed, they begin the paper with a quote from philosopher and urbanist Thierry Paquot: “Une société sans utopie se trouve déjà sur le chemin de la mort” (A society without utopia is already on its way to death). The authors believe, however, that the utopia must be “critical, inclusive, and dynamic; performative rather than prescriptively normative.”¹³ The therapy offered by planning is a strategy for citizens “to work out for themselves who they are and what are their hopes for the future.”

Gunder and Hillier mention the well-researched theory of planning as a *physical* therapy tool in which planners design cities spaces that “cure” human illnesses like obesity or asthma (or, historically, cholera and typhoid) as well as societal illnesses like crime or lack of social capital. This concept of therapeutic planning is connected to biophilic design explored by E.O. Wilson¹⁴ and therapeutic landscapes which aim to improve public health through urban design¹⁵. Gunder and Hillier also mention Sherry Arnstein’s “Ladder of Citizen Participation” on which therapy falls on the second lowest rung of participation – right above manipulation. “In Arnstein's understanding of

¹² Michael Gunder and Jean Hillier, “Planning as Urban Therapeutic,” *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 39 (2007).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 469.

¹⁴ Carol Easton, *The City as Garden: An Integrated Theory of Therapeutic Planning as a Means to Create Health and Wealth in North American Cities* (Athabasca: Athabasca University, 2012), 3-4.

¹⁵ Wil Gesler, et al. “Therapy by design: evaluating the UK hospital building program,” *Health & Place* 10, no. 2 (June 2004):117–128.

'planning as therapy', participation is deployed to calm citizens and to 'make them feel better'.¹⁶ Their opinions are not seriously taken into account by the planning experts.

The urban therapeutic proposed by Gunder and Hillier breaks away from both of these concepts of therapeutic planning. First, they warn that using planning as a tool for physical therapy maintains a problematic assumption that some urban qualities are "good" or "healthy" and others are not.¹⁷ Second, they propose that therapeutic planning is the opposite of how Arnstein perceived it: instead of a manipulative tool, it is a way for citizens to explore their most subconscious hopes for their space. The authors' idea of planning as therapy aligns more closely with Sandercock's theory that, "the word therapy evokes an essential quality of community organisation and social planning' which enables citizens to speak the unspeakable, to talk of fear, loathing, and hatred as well as of hopes and desires. In so doing, participants may develop processes of transformation, both of themselves and of their built environments 'in ways that reflect cultural diversity and the subjective sense of belonging."¹⁸ This understanding of therapeutic planning refers to therapy in a psychological sense. The role of the planner is to allow "people to work out for themselves who they are and what are their hopes for the future. It does not propose a utopian ideal, but enables people to diminish their suffering and to begin to work out a 'better' future for themselves."¹⁹

¹⁶ Gunder, "Urban Therapeutic," 471.

¹⁷ Gunder and Hillier refer to Robert Sack's book *A Geographical Guide to the Real and the Good* (Routledge: New York, 2003) by mentioning that assumptions of what is a good use of place is highly subjective and depends on the values of the people crafting the strategic plan. For instance, "places of poverty, opium dens", and so on, "can all be thought of as contributing to the diversity and complexity of the world." The "good" is a highly debatable term.

¹⁸ Ibid., 476.

¹⁹ Ibid., 482.

Similarly, Rayman Mohamed asks the question: what if planners were behavioral psychologists?²⁰ Here, too, the author questions the validity of the rational, empirical model of modernist city planning and admits that planning scholars struggle to develop an alternative to “perfect rationality.” In every planning discipline – land use planning, transportation planning, etc. – planners assume that people will respond to strategic developments in a logical, rational way because the field teaches no other model with which to predict outcomes. Other fields, particularly in the social sciences, have long accepted that humans are less than perfectly rational creatures and cannot be depended on to respond to change in a rational way. Mohamed therefore looks to these other disciplines to inform the future of planning methods.

Many human instincts that cannot be explained in terms of rationality and logic affect the way people live in and interact with space. Altruism, fairness, status-seeking, and distributional justice are among the space-altering characteristics that necessitate a psychological explanation instead of a rational, logical justification. Furthermore, confirmation bias in individuals (unwillingness to give up beliefs in the face of evidence to the contrary), which can lead to conflict over proposed city plans that are intended to improve a community, have been linked to underlying psychological behavior such as loss aversion and attachment to the past.

Mohamed asks if behavioral psychology, a field that analyzes non-rational responses in human behavior, can provide guidance to city planners. He finds that, “behavioral psychology provides insights into phenomena such as why citizens do not

²⁰ Rayman Mohamed, “What if Planners Were Behavioral Psychologists?” (Abstract) *ACSP Book of Accepted Abstracts* (2012): 549.

embrace environmental management policies, are suspicious of global warming, avoid public transportation, etc.” Though his hypothesis supports the idea of incorporating psychology and non-rational analysis into planning, he maintains an idea of the “libertarian paternalistic” planner “who encourages choice but is driven by public policy concerns to direct people to make choices that are better for cities.” This conception of the city planner conflicts with both Sandercock’s and Gunder and Hillier’s point that there is no singular utopic city and that the “good” is subjective. Indeed, Mohamed’s libertarian paternalistic planner conforms to standards of normative planning instead of using psychologically-based therapeutic planning as a tool to develop multiple ideas of “utopia.”

Taking a radically different approach to therapeutic planning, Aftab Erfan explored community planning in a Tsulquate reservation on the northern tip of Vancouver Island.²¹ When she arrived in the reservation, she was confronted by a community of people dealing with a deep sense of anger and hopelessness as a result of years of displacement, oppression, and neglect by public institutions. Erfan realized that even the most earnest attempts at participatory community planning would not work because the pain and the antagonism that lived within the “collective psyche of the community” blocked any attempts at collaboration during community planning meetings. The experience made Erfan wonder: “What would it mean to conceive of the planning process as a healing process? Put another way, what is the ‘therapeutic’ role that

²¹ Aftab Erfan, “Experiments in Therapeutic Planning,” (Abstract) *ACSP Book of Accepted Abstracts* (2012): 542

planning can/should play (Sandercock, 2003) without reproducing the 'colonial cultures of planning' (Porter, 2010)."²²

To approach community planning as a healing process, Erfan relied on "Deep Democracy" - a facilitation method rooted in process-oriented psychology and developed in tension-ridden post-apartheid South Africa. Deep Democracy is a practical facilitation approach that is democratic in that "it emphasizes that every voice matters and that decision are wisest when majority and minority voices are both valued. It is "deep" because it goes far beyond the conventional methods of facilitating the exchange of ideas and instead surfaces emotions, values, beliefs, and personalities to inform and enrich the group's process."²³ Erfan used the Deep Democracy approach with the Tsulquate while crafting their community plan. She found that during meetings, "the transformational learning, personal empowerment, and a sense of ongoing healing was palpable."²⁴

There were tangible outcomes from Erfan's planning as a healing process: the community pinpointed raising children as "a topic fraught with internal dilemmas and significant tensions," and Erfan facilitated a series of meetings among parents, grandparents and teenagers on the topic. The initiative to explore the tension about raising children in a traditional culture being pressured to abandon its heritage and adopt new ways of life has resulted in the formation of an ongoing Parents Committee that has become a voice for children and their families within the Tsulquate community.

²² The author is referencing Leonie Sandercock, *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities of the 21st Century* (New York: Continuum, 2003) and Libby Porter, *Unlearning the Colonial Cultures of Planning* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010).

²³ Myrna Lewis, "About Deep Democracy," *Deep Democracy - The Lewis Method* (2013): <http://deep-democracy.net/about-dd/about-dd.php>

²⁴ Erfan, *Therapeutic Planning*.

The community also painted a mural to share the lessons learned during the facilitated meetings with the larger community. The changing culture of child rearing causing tension on the reservation is another example of people reacting irrationally due to a fear of change and desire for the past. It supports that argument that a rational planning model is not sufficient: planners must be able to understand the human pain and joy associated with a place. Erfan used planning as a healing tool that allowed the community to start working towards their utopia.

Lisa Schweitzer focuses her paper on therapeutic, or reparative, planning less on the psychological nature of such an approach and more on the healing effects. Schweitzer asks if planning can be reparative without first providing restitution for past harm caused by planning.²⁵ While restitution can take the form of financial compensation or physical repayments for what was lost, Schweitzer also focuses on the nature of public apologies. She states, "Public apologies take myriad forms, from the politically expedient to the genuinely reparative." It is clear, however, from her analysis of Jacques Derrida's theories on public apologies as public theater and Paul Ricoeur's theories of public memory and forgiveness, that she finds public apologies benefit the ones giving the apology more than those receiving it.

Schweitzer's question is meant to supplement Sandercock's reimagining of planning as a therapeutic, healing dialogue.²⁶ She questions how a community harmed by planning practices can reengage with the discipline that damaged it. How can a community

²⁵ Lisa Schweitzer, "Can Planning be Reparative Without Being Restitutive?" (Abstract) *ACSP Book of Accepted Abstracts* (2012): 515.

²⁶ Leonie Sandercock, "Towards a Planning Imagination for the 21st Century," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 70, no. 2 (2004): 133-141.

truly heal and forgive without being given a physical sign of acknowledged responsibility such as financial compensation? Of course, the governments that encouraged damaging planning methods of the mid-20th century do not have the funds to compensate all the residents of Chavez Ravine, Pruitt Igoe, or Manhattanville. Could an alternate form of compensation be one that supports the preservation of places that give these communities their common identity, one that encourages acknowledging urban history within the space it happened? Could historic preservation be used to compensate a community's loss?

In the *Power of Place*, Dolores Hayden proposes that the history of a physical place is ingrained in the identity of the people who live there.²⁷ “Identity is intimately tied to memory,” she states, and “...urban landscapes are storehouses for these social memories.”²⁸ Some of these memories are held in specific buildings that once served a community – such are the examples of Japanese American heritage explored by Gail Dubrow in *Sento at Sixth and Main*.²⁹ The history of Japanese immigrants and their families is captured in the schools, theatres, shops, and farms they once attended or operated. The trauma of Japanese American deportation during World War II is still felt in the abandoned community centers. The buildings offer tangible history of a marginalized and disassembled group. “In light of the [Japanese American] Diaspora, it is important to celebrate the rare examples where communities have retained access to their tangible heritage.... If the real losses sustained by Americans of Japanese descent

²⁷ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995).

²⁸ Hayden, *Power of Place*, 9.

²⁹ Gail Dubrow, *Sento at Sixth and Main* (Seattle: Seattle Arts Commission, 2002)

cannot be remedied, still the process of remembering includes reassembling many of the scattered, lost and broken pieces to gain a clearer understanding of what happened.”³⁰

The example of Dubrow’s work preserving Japanese American heritage expands to two larger questions. First, who decides what history and what narratives are worthy of being preserved? Secondly, what is due to communities that have been torn apart by government policy?

The first of these questions is heavily theorized about in planning and preservation conversations. The emergence of values-based preservation planning and the interpretation of dark history, for example, signal that practitioners are open-minded to telling narratives that are unglamorous, unorthodox, and unaccepted. Yung-Teen Annie Chiu describes the landmark status of a brothel in Taipei, Taiwan in her essay, “Mapping the Spaces of Desire.”³¹ For Chiu, the cultural landscape of sex and class in Taiwan is a historic part of urban culture that deserves to be remembered. “The preservation project that originated with the movement for advocating the rights of sex workers has been a long journey in questioning the right to one’s culture and the right to one’s place in the city,” she states, “It challenges what is to be preserved collectively as urban memories.”³²

³⁰ Dubrow, *Sento*, 5.

³¹ Yung-Teen Annie Chiu, “Mapping the Spaces of Desire: Brothel as Landmark, Wenminglo in Taipei,” in *Insurgent Public Space*, ed. Jeffery Hou (New York: Routledge, 2010), 204 – 212.

³² Chiu, “Spaces of Desire,” 212.

Whereas the struggle for sex workers' rights has not been as successful in the USA, Julia G. Costello writes about the excavation of a former brothel in Los Angeles.³³ The information gathered from this archaeological site made the history of Los Angeles fuller. Indeed, sex workers make up a group of people who have been harmed by city planning practices. In addition to zoning and land use laws that prohibit sex workers from practicing their occupation in safe spaces, urban design has historically taken away sex workers' ownership of space. Haussmann's widening of Parisian boulevards can be interpreted as a strategy to rid the city of prostitutes by removing the alleys where they worked. In Los Angeles in 1874, all brothels were relegated to the industrial Aliso-Alameda Street intersection, and then razed to make room for warehouses as the Progressive Movement grew.³⁴ Planners today continue to find creative ways to hide or remove "unsavory" elements of urban life from public view. Perhaps preserving and excavating these historic spaces will help designers question a normative idea of what is healthy for cities and lead to a better understanding of the role these spaces play in society.

The question of whose story is worthy of telling applies strongly to the history of queer communities throughout the world. Spaces traditionally used by the LGBT community are often destroyed, ignored, or misinterpreted by planners and preservationists alike. Historian and preservationist Gail Dubrow writes from her own perspective, "Having emerged from a culture of shame to find pride in our identity,

³³ Julia G. Costello, "A Night with Venus, a Mood with Mercury: the Archaeology of Prostitution in Historic Los Angeles," in *Restoring Women's History through Preservation*, ed. Gail Lee Dubrow (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 177 – 196.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 183.

many gay and lesbian preservationists are profoundly troubled by the way our heritage is represented at historic properties: the glaring omissions, deafening silences, misleading euphemisms, and outright lies we repeatedly encounter in relation to our gay heritage and our gay lives.”³⁵

Queer people are searching for physical spaces to own, in which to anchor their identity.³⁶ The desire is not only to see queer spaces interpreted and preserved, but also to simply hear the words “gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered” spoken aloud at historic sites that contain queer stories. Ned Kaufman states in his exploration of diversity in the field of preservation that “gaining public recognition for historic sites helps makes invisible communities visible.... To designate a historic site, then, is not only to preserve but also to confer public recognition on heritage.”³⁷ A visit to Georgia O’Keefe’s home in Santa Fe or the Richardsonian Romanesque Club Baths in Boston that does not interpret the places’ queer history is erasing those stories.³⁸ Historic sites have erased queer narratives for a long time. Writing them back in is healing for queer people looking for spaces of belonging.

In recent years, diverse communities have mobilized to save places that told their stories, and many preservationists are responding by expanding their conception of

³⁵ Gail Dubrow, “Blazing Trails with Pink Triangles and Rainbow Flags,” in *Restoring Women’s History through Preservation*, ed. Gail Lee Dubrow (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003) 281 – 299.

³⁶ Of course, as Gavin Brown points out in his article, “Thinking Beyond Homonormativity: performative exploration of diverse gay economies,” there is not one singular narrative to describe the gay experience. The epistemology of any minority group varies in function of race, class, age, etc. A normative conception of queer space is as dangerous as a normative conception of the larger urban space.

³⁷ Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 104.

³⁸ Both examples offered by Dubrow, “Blazing Trails.”

what is “significant” to heritage.³⁹ The preservation field is adapting values-based planning - the idea that preservation should be “understood as a social process, one that includes the work of many individuals and groups, not just conservation professionals.”⁴⁰ Preservation experts are open to the idea that multiple stakeholders have legitimate claims to a site’s significance based on different community’s experiences.

Theorists like Tamara K. Hareven and Randolph Langenbach have acknowledged for decades that preservation saves the physical remains of a community’s narrative and is vital for the community. “...*Buildings* survive as silent witnesses [to a community’s struggles].... The demolition of dwellings and factory buildings wipes out a significant chapter of the history of a place. Even if it does not erase them from local memory it tends to reduce or eliminate the recall of that memory, rendering less meaningful the communication of that heritage to a new generation. Such destruction deprives people of tangible manifestations of their identity.”⁴¹ In other words, historic patterns of demolishing old buildings to make room for more “suitable,” urban uses (according to a normative view of the city) harm the groups that used the buildings.

In *The Power of Place*, Hayden states that, “...Memory is inevitably going to involve issues of isolation and exploitation, as well as connectedness.... Choosing to engage the difficult memories, and the anger they generate, we can use the past to

³⁹ The National Park Service’s Cultural Resources Diversity Program, which features inventories of African, Asian, and Hispanic historic sites, and the National Trust for Historic Preservation’s *This Place Matters* campaign, which seeks to highlight sites important to local communities, are both examples of large preservation organizations embodying an expanding conception of what heritage is significant.

⁴⁰ Erica Avrami, Randall Mason, and Marta de la Torre, *Values and Heritage Conservation* (The Getty Conservation Institute : Los Angeles, 2000), 68.

⁴¹ Tamara K. Hareven and Randolph Langenbach, “Living Places, Work Places, and Historical Identities,” in *Our Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It*, ed. David Lowenthal and Marcus Binney (Ashgate Publishing Limited: Surrey, 1981) .

connect to a more livable future.”⁴² The literature on therapeutic city planning is limited and ideas about how to do therapeutic planning often differ. The literature is clear and consistent on one point, however: communities attach deep emotion to places connected to their history, and destruction of those places causes deep pain in the community. If planners acknowledge the history and preserve those places, they can begin a conversation with the community about past trauma that may ultimately lead to healing. The normative city is no more. Planners create sustainable cities when they build on what is rather than what should be. Many historians, sociologists, and psychologists suggest that historic preservation may be a tool to reach that goal.

⁴² Hayden, *Power of Place*, 246.

METHODOLOGY

The goal of this thesis is to assess the potential usefulness of historic preservation as a tool in reparative city planning. Historic preservation is defined narrowly as the interpretation of historic events or uses that occurred in a place. More broadly, it is the management of change in the historic built environment. There are multiple strategies to achieve historic preservation, including physical conservation of a building or landscape, development regulations that manage change, programming that reflects the heritage of the place, or installation of signs and markers that explain the site's significance. Reparative city planning is defined as a process by which planners re-engage with a community harmed by city planning in the past in a way that heals the community's trauma and rebuilds trust with city planners.

The project started with the hypothesis that historic preservation can be used as a powerful tool to do reparative city planning in neighborhoods. The hypothesis proposed that historic preservation encourages healing experiences within the community, and it reestablishes trust between communities damaged by city planning and the city planners working in the communities. Finally, the hypothesis suggests that promoting historic preservation as a tool for reparative city planning will enable city planners and historic preservationists to engage with each other in new and productive ways.

Urban planning that has been labeled “reparative” or “therapeutic” by the practitioners overseeing the work had not yet attempted to use historic preservation as

a tool. While some practitioners express interest in experimenting with preservation as a tool, the lack of current examples limits the amount of data that can be collected on the topic. Thus, quantitative data was not an appropriate method to test the hypothesis, and there are not enough examples of reparative city planning being accomplished through preservation to adequately compare results of completed projects.

The best data to test the hypothesis at this point in time are the expert opinions and local intelligence from community members who could be positively or negatively affected by this type of intervention. Such data is paramount in sociological research on framed in an anthropological perspective. This ethnographic data is collected in two ways; first, from finding primary sources. Case study neighborhoods provided the most important data for this project. Several interviews about neighborhood conditions and hypothetical scenarios took place with different members of the case study sites' communities. To supplement the community perspectives, secondary sources were used to develop a fuller picture of the history, economy, and demographics of the case study cities.

An inventory of different neighborhoods harmed by city planning in the past was developed. This inventory was based on city planning history texts and scholarly articles - especially critiques of 20th Century urban planning and urban renewal, existing inventories of historic sites that are significant to minority communities, and current

accounts of neighborhoods experiencing gentrification throughout the country.⁴³ Based on this inventory, a typology of neighborhoods formed.

| | Urban Renewal Type | Claimed Space Type | Preservation-led Type |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Relationship to Built Environment | Loss of built environment | Built environment may or may not be in tact | Preservation of built environment |
| Type of Displacement | Forced displacement | “Chosen” displacement | Passive displacement through property values |
| State of Community Narrative | Visible, misinterpreted narrative – only half the story is known | Invisible narrative – the history is not well know | Rewriting of narrative – creating a new history for the community |
| Groups that have tension | Public housing residents and the public sector | Minority groups and majority groups | Low-income and High-income |
| Location of Community | Displaced from neighborhood | Travels to neighborhood | Lives in neighborhood |

Table 1: Graphic representation of the neighborhood typology

There are other types of neighborhoods that do not fit into the three types examined in this thesis. The reservation community, for example, is the type of community studied by Aftab Erfan. This type of community pulls from each of the types detailed in Table 1. They are the products of forced displacement, historic structures may or may not be present, tensions arise between the First Nations people and the public sector, and the marginalized community continues to live in the space. The reservation type was not considered in this project because of time and budget concerns. Though the reservation type is unique, many aspects of the other types serve

⁴³ Examples of these sources are Hayden, *The Power of Place*; Hyra, *The New Urban Renewal*; Atlantic Cities, “Black Gentrifiers”; the National Park Service’s inventories of African, Asian, and Hispanic historic sites, and Bernstein Sycamore, *That’s Revolting*.

as proxy for the trauma of the reservation community. The erasure of history, the loss of community, and growing tensions are issues in reservation communities that are addressed in one or more of the three current types.

The types are broad categories into which many neighborhoods with similar histories can fit. Types were developed to address the idea of preservation as a reparative tool in many different scenarios. One case study city was chosen to represent each type. It was important that the case study cities represented different geographies; the cities were not to be concentrated in the same region. The nature of the typological analysis ensured that the cities would have different histories, though each site needed a shared history of tension between residents and designers. Finally, each city needed to be struggling with a current issue that affected the physical space and the community attached to it.

The first type is the Urban Renewal neighborhood. This is a neighborhood that was the site of an Urban Renewal project during the 1950s or 1960s. Urban Renewal was a public works program funded by the federal government and executed by cities in post-World War II era America. The program's intent was to demolish slums and other land uses that were detrimental to the public good and replace them with modern housing, transportation, and other developments to improve public welfare. The program sought to better the lives of city residents, but due to the demolition of entire city neighborhoods and the use of eminent domain to remove residents, Urban Renewal communities suffered great trauma.

The Urban Renewal neighborhood type is particularly interesting because it can be separated into a pre-Urban Renewal community and a post-Urban Renewal community. The first community negatively affected by city planners' normative urban ideals is the one originally displaced by the Urban Renewal project. This is identified as the pre-Urban Renewal community. When new public housing towers were built on the cleared sites, a new community developed within their walls. The Urban Renewal site gained a different significance to this post-Urban Renewal community. As government maintenance funding for the public housing diminished, the buildings fell apart, became havens for crime, and developed negative associations. By the 1970s and 1980s many were being demolished. For the post-Urban Renewal community that lived in the towers, a part of their history was lost.

The stories of Urban Renewal neighborhoods are similar in each place the program occurred. The first community, pushed out by eminent domain, maintains a connection to the site and a pain from the displacement. The second community, pushed out as a consequence of the lack of government funding, maintains a different connection to the site and the same pain from displacement. In many neighborhoods there is a tension between the two groups.

The site chosen from the neighborhood inventory to represent the Urban Renewal neighborhood type is Bronzeville, Chicago, site of the former Robert Taylor Homes, once the largest public housing complex in the country. The Robert Taylor Homes were completely demolished in 2007. Bronzeville was chosen because of its legacy as an Urban Renewal site and as a neighborhood that is economically gentrifying.

The issue present in Bronzeville is the tension between the new middle-class residents and the neighborhood's legacy of public housing. The specific question applied to the type of Urban Renewal neighborhoods asks how planners can apply provocative preservation in the neighborhood in a way that heals the community's wounds and allows for future development to continue.

The second type is the Claimed Space neighborhood. The Claimed Space neighborhood is a part of the city that has been claimed by a minority group that lacks ownership of space in other areas. The Claimed Space neighborhood is often a safe space for groups of people who have nowhere else to go. Often, the minority group has no legal recognition in the space, but the historic use of the space by group members enables the site to have historic significance for the community. Many times there is not a physical building that defines the Claimed Space neighborhood. The neighborhood functions more as a cultural landscape.

City planners traditionally tried to design a city devoid of the "urban unsavory;" to rid a city of its social ills. This desire sometimes morphed into racist and classist ideas such as running highways through black neighborhoods and locating dangerous industrial sites near the low-income households. As minority groups claim space in the city, there is a tension between the groups and the planners or real estate developers who envision a "higher and better use" for the site. This type demands an analysis of the elements that create spatial palimpsests, seeing what groups of people identify with those spaces, and creating recommendations for how preservationists can acknowledge the existence of multiple stakeholder groups.

The neighborhood chosen to represent the Claimed Space type is Pier 45, or the Christopher Street Pier, in Manhattan, NYC. This site is one of New York City's Hudson River piers that has served as a meeting place for queer youth of color "as long as anyone can remember."⁴⁴ In addition to the pier historically being a site for cruising and sex work, it is a place for socializing, finding community support, and relaxing. Many queer users of the pier state that it is the only place in the city they can be themselves. In recent years, however, the upper-income residents of neighboring Greenwich Village have complained about noise and loitering on the pier. The community board in the area has tried to impose restrictions on use of the pier. The inclusion of the Christopher Street Pier in the recently developed Hudson River Park has also increased tension over who has a right to use the space. The specific question applied to the Claimed Space neighborhood type is how historic preservation can be applied to a cultural landscape to legitimize a minority group's claim to the space while simultaneously respecting the values of all stakeholders. Just as some planners believe that apologizing for past injuries is a major part of reconnecting with marginalized communities, something as simple as officially acknowledging their relationship with the neighborhood may be integral for working with those communities in the future.

The final type is the Preservation-led neighborhoods. In this type, there is already a strong culture of historic preservation present at the site. The building preservation, however, is used as a driver in the neighborhood's economic improvement. This is a commendable model and a powerful argument for the economic power of preservation,

⁴⁴ Benjamin Shepard, "Sylvia and Sylvia's Children: a Battle for Queer Public Space," in *That's Revolting!* (Berkeley: Soft Skull Press, 2008),

but as new people move to the Preservation-led neighborhood, long-time residents will have to move to more affordable neighborhoods. Forced displacement from a person's neighborhood is often traumatic, and it becomes all the more painful when the buildings being preserved tell the new residents' stories better than the old residents' stories. As city planners help manage the development of the gentrifying neighborhood, tensions may arise between old and new residents as well as old residents and planners

The case chosen to represent this type is Over-the-Rhine (OTR), Cincinnati. OTR is a neighborhood very close to downtown Cincinnati that has seen a transformation from one of the most dangerous neighborhoods in the city into one of the trendiest neighborhoods within the past 20 years. The preservation of OTR's historic houses and mixed-up commercial buildings is one of the most important components of the neighborhood's revitalization. In 2003, riots broke out in the streets of OTR in response to police violence towards the black community. Since the riots, OTR has recovered and continued to develop as the hip city neighborhood. Tension between the new residents and the old residents has not changed greatly, though some business owners are still bitter over losing their stores to fires during the riots, and many low-income residents are still afraid of being displaced. The specific questions this type will answer is if historic preservation can be the impetus for new development and tell the story of the community being pushed out at the same time.

As mentioned above, to collect data on these case neighborhoods, interviews with community representatives were carried out. The initial intent was to interview representatives from neighborhood community organizations (to represent the

neighborhoods users.), a business owner (to represent the business community), and a local residents in each case study cite when possible. Unfortunately, it proved difficult to schedule time to interview the community organizations. No representative of any community organization was able to give a full interview about any of the sites. Interviewees were found by researching community development corporations and neighborhood associations in the case study cities, by reaching out to people quoted in academic articles about the sites, and by using contacts based in the case study sites. All interviews were carried out by telephone, videophone, or email correspondence.

Data for Bronzeville, Chicago, was gathered in conversations with Dr. Matthew Anderson, a university lecturer in geography at the University of Montana and former resident of Hyde Park, Bronzeville's adjacent neighborhood. Dr. Anderson's doctoral dissertation focused on the last two decades of development in Bronzeville. Further data was gathered from email conversations with Ms. Katie Olson, a city planner and an employee of World Business Chicago, who works closely with revitalizing neighborhoods in the city.

Data for the Christopher Street Pier was gathered through interviews with Ms. Noreen Doyle, Executive Vice President at Hudson River Park Trust. More data was gather through conversations with by FIERCE, a non-profit organization that works with the people on pier through programming, organized events, and representing them at town hall meetings. FIERCE was unable to provide a full interview, but the organization offered important data in the form of articles and videos produced by the community

members they represent. This data helped build an understanding of how the site users perceive the piers.

Data for OTR in Cincinnati was gathered from Marge Hammelrath, a preservationist and resident of the neighborhood, and Daniel Korman, a business owner in OTR. Both Ms. Hammelrath and Mr. Korman are very active in the economic development of the neighborhood. Ms. Hammelrath was the first homeowner to restore her historic house and encourage historic preservation in OTR. She subsequently founded the Over-the-Rhine Chamber of Commerce and supported the creation of the Cincinnati Center City Development Corporation which focuses on making OTR a more vibrant urban area.

Interviews with representatives in each city followed the same format. Each representative was asked four initial questions:

1. In what way, if any, does the history of the site affect the community that continues to use the site? Is there awareness of its history?
2. Are people who are not affiliated with the community using the site familiar with its history?
3. Does the community feel that it has been attacked in the past or threatened in the present by city planners, developers, and the people they work for? Would the community trust urban designers who said they wanted to engage the community in future changes?

4. If a historic preservation tool could be applied to the site to help protect its current use, (for example: a cultural landscape designation) would the community support it? Would the current users be more interested in working with planners/developers knowing that the preservation tool was protecting them?

Further conversation branched out from these four base questions. Additional research on every site considered also added to the data presented in the project and helped create a fuller image of the historic resources available in each location.

THE URBAN RENEWAL TYPE

BRONZEVILLE

For many Chicagoans, Bronzeville is still synonymous with poverty and public housing. The neighborhood is located in South Side Chicago, nestled in between the city's downtown, the Loop, and Hyde Park, a wealthy area that houses the University of Chicago. Once the site of extreme poverty, for more than a decade now, the neighborhood has been gentrifying.⁴⁵ Today, Bronzeville is experiencing an influx of middle and upper-class, mostly black residents attracted to the location, the architecture, and the history. As community groups preserve and celebrate the legacy of the "Black Metropolis," they fail to identify the city's more recent history as an asset for the community.

The Southside of Chicago, including Bronzeville, was primarily white and industrial until 1919 when the black migration from the southern states to the North exploded.⁴⁶ Southern blacks came to Chicago for wartime manufacturing jobs and to escape the brutal oppression they suffered in the South. Upon arrival in Chicago, however, they were greeted with cramped and insalubrious living conditions, a shortage of jobs, and a white population that imposed deed covenants banning blacks from living outside designated neighborhoods.

⁴⁵ Emily Badger, "How Black Gentrifiers have Affected the Perception of Chicago's Changing Neighborhoods," *the Atlantic Cities Place Matters* (blog), Dec. 31, 2012, <http://www.theatlanticcities.com/neighborhoods/2012/12/how-black-gentrifiers-have-affected-perception-chicagos-changing-neighborhoods/4233/>

⁴⁶ Maren Stange, *Bronzeville* (New York: The New Press, 2003), xv.

By 1930, 233,903 black people lived in the City of Chicago and made up 15% of the city's population.⁴⁷ St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton stated in *Black Metropolis* that, "Bronzeville is the second largest Negro city in the world." The highly concentrated population shared deplorable living standards, however. Seven-room houses were converted into seven "kitchenettes," studio apartments for families with communal kitchen and bathroom facilities. Landlords refused to perform maintenance, rents were high, and sickness was very prevalent in houses without proper insulation.

Despite the squalor, residents of Bronzeville were able to build social capital within the neighborhood. Pierre Bourdieu defined social capital as, "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition."⁴⁸ The presence of social capital is a building block of a healthy community. The churches, local newspaper, movie houses, and Good Shepard Community Center built a tight-knit community. It was within this context that the artists and activists of Bronzeville spearheaded the Chicago Renaissance. Richard Wright, Louis Armstrong, Muddy Waters, and Buddy Guy are celebrated denizens of the neighborhood.⁴⁹ The black population concentrated in Bronzeville were pioneers in recorded music, visual and performing art, literature, and journalism.

Today, community organizations in Bronzeville are hoping to use preservation and nostalgia for the 1930s and 1940s Black Metropolis to attract the middle and upper-

⁴⁷ Ibid., xxxi.

⁴⁸ Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 119.

⁴⁹ Badger, "Black Gentrifiers."

income black people back to the neighborhood. “For a while, local residents were hoping to recast Bronzeville as a historic ‘Blues District,’” Emily Badger reports. New black residents are moving back to the neighborhood and property values have increased substantially, but the perception of Bronzeville as a neighborhood of dangerous public housing projects persists.⁵⁰

THE LEGACY OF PUBLIC HOUSING

The city and federal governments decided to demolish the dilapidated housing that hosted the Chicago Renaissance and the hundreds of thousands of poor migrants in Bronzeville and replace it with public housing towers from the 1930s through the 1960s. Though the towers were much cleaner and more sanitary than the slums previously occupying the space, they simultaneously sequestered and concentrated the black population of Chicago. “Most Bronzeville projects are isolated from the rest of the community. For instance, large highways and railroad tracks segregate public housing from the rest of the community,” while still packing large numbers of poor families into the towers.⁵¹

The Robert Taylor Homes, for example, were built in 1962 and were the largest public housing development in the country at the time. They counted twenty-eight 16-story buildings, almost 4,300 apartments and 27,000 residents.⁵² Many local residents were displaced from the community during the urban renewal process and suffered the

⁵⁰ Matthew Anderson, Skype conversation with author, April 2013.

⁵¹ Derek S. Hays, *The New Urban Renewal* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008).

⁵² *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, s.v. “Robert Taylor Homes,” by Eric Gellman, accessed February 20, 2013, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/2478.html>.

loss of their homes and communities. For the residents who moved into the Robert Taylor Homes, however, the towers provided a modern and healthy environment that they had not known prior to urban renewal.

Quality of life in Bronzeville's public housing declined very quickly. Common understanding of the history of public housing acknowledges that dwindling public funds for maintenance and social services led to the development of the drug trade and gang wars in these neighborhoods. The lack of maintenance led to broken elevators in high-rise buildings, unlit hallways covered in graffiti smelling of urine, and rat and cockroach infestations.⁵³ The Robert Taylor Homes were slated for demolition within 40 years – by 2000 half of the buildings were gone.⁵⁴ Many residents of the Robert Taylor Homes did not support the demolition. Despite the building falling apart around them, “two out of three Taylor residents opposed the demolition.”⁵⁵

There are two narratives associated with the public housing complexes. The first is the most common in today's post-urban renewal hindsight. Urban renewal failed, crime and poverty worsened in public housing complexes, and thousands of people, especially people of color, lost their homes and had to leave the neighborhood. The second narrative is less commonly heard. It is the story of the families that moved into the new public housing and, for the first time, had a private kitchen and bathroom. It is the story of the children who could play on grass outside their home for the first time. It is the story of the civic associations organized within the public housing. Though both

⁵³ Hyra, *Urban Renewal*, 85.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

narratives are integral to the history of Bronzeville and Chicago, they are not explored or interpreted in any way.

The public housing in Bronzeville defined the neighborhood. In many ways, even though the structures have been demolished and the area is gentrifying, public housing still defines Bronzeville. As geographer and native Chicagoan Matthew Anderson observed, “North Side Chicagoans either do not know about the neighborhood or they associate it with danger and public housing.” The neighborhood is changing, however. The demolition of the Robert Taylor Homes and other public housing projects made room for new development. The rebranding of Bronzeville as the “Black Metropolis” of the 1930s and 1940s continues to draw in new residents. “During the 1990s, Bronzeville had large increases in its home values. Between 1990 and 2000, real estate prices in Douglas and Grand Boulevard, the two contiguous districts that make up Bronzeville, rose 67 and 192 percent, respectively.”⁵⁶ There is an effort to completely silence the history of Urban Renewal to build a new image for Bronzeville.

A NEW TYPE OF URBAN RENEWAL

The return of middle-class African Americans reclaiming their roots in Bronzeville after decades of concentrated poverty defining the area is seen as healing the neighborhood.⁵⁷ Historic buildings are being renovated, home values are rising, and new development is arriving. What is healing for the physical and economic aspects of the neighborhood is not helping to heal the trauma felt by people displaced from their

⁵⁶ Ibid., 43.

⁵⁷ Matthew Anderson, Skype conversation with author, April 2013.

homes during the construction of public housing developments and during their demolition.

In *The New Urban Renewal*, Derek Hyra interviews Tre, a man in his late twenties who grew up and lives in Stateway, another Bronzeville public housing development. During his life at Stateway he has been robbed at gun point, witnessed gang turf wars, and watched family members go in and out of jail on drug charges. Tre is involved in non-profits addressing health care, police brutality, and recreation at Stateway. He is as committed to improving the lives of Stateway's residents as he is to Stateway itself: as each building in the Stateway complex is demolished, he moves to another building to stay in the community. Hyra states, "Regardless of the tragedies he has witnessed and experienced, Tre loves Stateway; it is his home."⁵⁸

Psychologists find that the idea of "home" remains a crucial source of wellbeing. People become attached to particular places by experiencing them in ways that weave them tightly into their narratives. "Home" is linked to important parts of their life stories. Such places affirm our identities as humans.⁵⁹ Furthermore, displacements undercut personal bonds and destroy social capital which is paramount for healthy communities. Indeed, the idea of home has psychological health benefits. Simply knowing that the physical home exists gives individuals the same sense of security and stability that they receive from family. In some cases, the sense of a stable place to call home can give the individual more security than people.

⁵⁸ Hyra, *Urban Renewal*, 3.

⁵⁹ Ned Kaufman, "Rethinking Preservation In Light of Social Justice: What Is To Be Done?" (Presentation, University of Pennsylvania School of Design, Philadelphia, PA, April 22, 2013).

The displacements that happened in Bronzeville at the beginning of Urban Renewal, and the end of Urban Renewal, and continuing today leave people with feelings of instability and isolation. The current trend of erasing the history of public housing from Bronzeville's narrative worsens those difficult feelings. Though many people in Chicago want to "move on" and not dwell on the recent past, it is important for planners and preservationists to integrate the narrative of Urban Renewal into the neighborhood as it continues to develop.

THERAPEUTIC INTERVENTIONS FOR DISPLACED COMMUNITIES

The interpretation of the history of Urban Renewal in the neighborhood should be done for three main reasons. First, acknowledging the history of forced displacements, institutionalized racism, police brutality, and stigmatization that accompanied Urban Renewal ideals will be the first step to rebuilding trust with many groups of people who have been hurt by planners condoning Urban Renewal. Acknowledging the errors made and apologizing is the first step to healing.

Second, interpreting the history of the communities that lived in public housing will help those communities reestablish roots and build a sense of self. Both the joyful and the painful should be explored because both are powerful emotions that embed a place with meaning. Developing ties to a place and developing a sense of home aids the creation of social capital. Social capital can improve the economic prosperity of a community; thus, interpreting the community's history can lead to the community's long-term economic health.

Third, it is important that the legacy of Urban Renewal is not forgotten. In America and abroad it is necessary to understand the consequences of large-scale urban projects and identify the trauma that occurs in affected communities. Interpreting the history of Urban Renewal in a physical way has the potential to start conversations between current residents and new residents, planners and citizens, etc. Displaced communities will have a venue to express their grief and anger, and allowing expression of these feelings leads to recovering from them. The present desire to hide Bronzeville's history of public housing can only reinforce tension and anger. Urban Renewal must be something communities learn from, not something simply pushed aside.

A physical interpretation of the history of public housing in Chicago was proposed in 2008. The Chicago Housing Authority, the philanthropic Richard H. Driehaus Foundation, and architect Peter Landon collaborated to propose transforming a vacant Chicago Housing Authority building into the National Public Housing Museum.⁶⁰ The building, the last remaining structure from the Jane Addams Homes, was donated to the new National Public Housing Museum organization in 2008. Since acquisition of the building, the museum's CEO, Keith Mcgee, has fundraised for its five million dollar renovation. The museum should be open to the public in 2014. The building is located in Chicago's Little Italy, once an immigrant destination, today a trendy restaurant district.

⁶⁰ Several *Chicago Tribune* articles document the museum's progress; all are accessible on the *Tribune's* website:

a. Blair Kamin, "National Public Housing Museum Moving Forward," *The Chicago Tribune Cityscapes*, July 18, 2008, <http://featuresblogs.chicagotribune.com/theskyline/2008/07/national-public.html>.

b. Micah Maidenberg, "Open for an Evening," *The Chicago Tribune*, April 22, 2009, http://www.chicagjournal.com/news/04-22-2009/Open_for_an_evening.

c. Igor Studenkov, "National Public Housing Museum construction set to begin in early 2013," *The Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 31, 2012, http://www.chicagjournal.com/news/10-31-2012/National_Public_Housing_Museum_construction_set_to_begin_in_early_2013.

Keith Mcgee states that “The birth of the National Public Housing Museum [came from] the desire for a place that would hold the memories and the stories of [public housing], even as the cities across the nation are embarking upon varying ways to provide safe and affordable housing for its citizens.” Board members for the museum include former public housing residents like Francine Washington who lived in the Stateway Gardens development. According to Washington, “We are going to show the good and the bad. Nothing is perfect. And you cannot show all the good things about public housing – you have to show the good and the bad.”

The museum intends to preserve the collective voices and memories of former public housing residents. “The museum draws on the power of place and memory to illuminate the resilience of poor and working class families of every race and ethnicity to realize the promise of America.” The museum recognizes that the former residents “want their children and grandchildren, and the broad public to know more about their history in the American urban experience.”⁶¹ The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience is a sponsor of the project. This organization is dedicated to “remembering past struggles for justice and addressing their contemporary legacies,” and they specify that a site of conscience interprets history through historic sites and engages in programs that stimulate dialogue on pressing social issues.⁶² It is, therefore, likely that the National Public Housing Museum will also serve as a place to address the legacy of public housing in today’s cities and encourage dialogue about these topics.

⁶¹ “Story of Public Housing,” *National Public Housing Museum*, accessed April 20, 2013, http://www.publichousingmuseum.org/site/epage/47436_663.htm.

⁶² “What is the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience?” About Us, *International Coalition of Sites of Conscience*, accessed April 22, 2013, <http://www.sitesofconscience.org/about-us#section2>.

Response to the museum has been mixed. Many former public housing residents support the project and share the sentiments of Mr. Credell Walls: “Despite the hardships and violence that has been advertised and spread via mouth and media, I miss my community. I’ve always dreamed about bringing my children by and saying to them, ‘This is where your daddy used to live.’”⁶³ Other people think of the project as a barrier to overcoming Chicago’s association with dangerous public housing projects and reinforcing the negative image. People ask why it is important to celebrate public housing when it was so destructive to many communities. Others still propose that the money going into preserving the memory of public housing should instead go to helping people who still need help with housing. They question memorializing a dark history that is still a reality for many people.

Instead of reinforcing the negative association of Chicago and public housing, Matthew Anderson suggests that a museum of public housing would help overcome the myth that the towers were the cause of the problems associated with public housing developments. It would demonstrate that broader social forces that create poverty led to many of the issues.

The proposed Public Housing Museum is not, however, an Urban Renewal Museum. The museum proposes doing the important work of memorializing the stories of people living in subsidized housing, but it does not address the displacement caused by building the projects and the communities that were destroyed to build public

⁶³ “National Public Housing 3-D Laser Scan,” *National Public Housing Museum*, accessed April 20, 2013, <http://www.publichousingmuseum.org/>.

housing. It does not analyze the destructive and normative process of developing an urban renewal site. Finally, the proposed museum is located in Chicago's Little Italy. This neighborhood was the site of extreme poverty, urban renewal projects, and public housing communities, but it lacks the strong association with the legacy of public housing that Bronzeville evokes. One of the benefits of creating a historic site to tell the history of Urban Renewal and public housing is to establish a sense of ownership, a sense of home, for the communities telling their stories. It is more difficult to develop this sense when the historic site is located in a trendy restaurant district.

The location of the future National Public Housing Museum does not pose an issue; in fact, one positive aspect to locating it in a popular destination neighborhood is that more people will be inspired to visit and learn. However, using historic preservation as a tool to heal communities harmed by preservation is more about the process of developing interpretation than the interpretation itself. The healing stems from communities being a part of the planning. Involving Chicagoans displaced by Urban Renewal in conversations about how and where to interpret the history of public housing is important to help those individuals heal from the trauma of being removed from their homes.

As Bronzeville continues to gentrify and develop, fewer and fewer remnants of its past as a hub of public housing Urban Renewal projects will be visible. Many current residents invite this change, but the legacy of Urban Renewal should not be erased. Mixed in with the preservation of the 1920s Black Metropolis, the community should be

engaged in a conversation about creating a historic site to commemorate Bronzeville during the 1940s through 1990s.

Such a site would not have to resemble the museum opening in Little Italy; it would not have to resemble any type of physical intervention in the space. Preserving the stories of displaced communities and public housing residents does not have to be done on the walls of an old building. Because most of the physical sites are demolished and much of the community dispersed, the heritage of Urban Renewal gives preservationists and planners an opportunity to create new systems of conservation. Visitors to a social service office in Bronzeville could be offered memoir writing workshops to develop their stories. Photos of the recent past can be displayed in public places to allow new residents to see how the neighborhood is changing and longtime residents to see that the change is acknowledged.

In tandem with or separate from the future National Public Housing Museum in Little Italy, a Bronzeville historic site could repair tension in the neighborhood. The public housing era would be acknowledged as a legitimate and important part of Bronzeville's history. Displaced communities would have a venue to tell their stories and develop strong, powerful narratives. City planners and neighborhood residents could use the site as a place for reflection, conversation, and reconciliation.

THE CLAIMED SPACE TYPE

PIER 45: THE CHRISTOPHER STREET PIER

The Christopher Street Pier, or Pier 45, is one of several New York City piers that are now part of the Hudson River Park in Manhattan. The park extends 5 miles from Battery City Park to 59th Street, making it the “second longest waterfront park in the nation and the largest open space project in Manhattan since Central Park was completed. It is currently the one of the most visited urban park in North America.”⁶⁴ Only recently has the west side of Manhattan been designated as public space. From 1820 to 1960, New York City was home to the world’s busiest industrial and passenger port.⁶⁵ The banks of the Hudson River were lined with piers used to unload ships from around the world.

Pier 45 is located on the west side of Manhattan and juts out from west 10th street in Greenwich Village into the Hudson River. The original pier was built in the late 19th century as New York City was becoming an increasingly important port. The Christopher Street Pier was a site of break-bulk and cargo shipping. Large industrial structures were built on the piers for warehousing and distribution purposes. Ann Bittenweiser describes the historic scene in her book, *Manhattan Water-Bound*: “From twenty-third street down for a mile there stretches a deafening region of cobblestones

⁶⁴ “Hudson River Park,” The City Parks Alliance, accessed April 2013, <http://www.cityparksalliance.org/why-urban-parks-matter/frontline-parks/parks/198-hudson-river-park>.

⁶⁵ Peter Hall, *Cities and Civilizations* (Pantheon Books: New York), 747.

and asphalt over which trucks by the thousands go clattering each day. There are long lines of freight cars here and snorting locomotives... along the water side is a solid line of dock-sheds. Their front is one unbroken wall of sheet iron and concrete.”⁶⁶ It remained a thriving industrial site through the first half of the 20th century.

The 1960s saw the dawn of containerized shipping technology. Containerized shipping standardized shipping methods and significantly reduced the costs and time needed for break-bulk and cargo shipping. Containerized shipping also requires more space, so port activities moved from Manhattan to large parcels of undeveloped land in New Jersey. This movement away from the city left the once thriving piers in a state of decay. By the 1970s and 1980s, the piers were nothing but “twisted architectural skeletons and haunting reminders of the once-thriving port.”⁶⁷

THE QUEER MECCA AT THE PIERS

As port operators abandoned the piers, queer men adopted them. The piers became a space of simultaneous anonymity and propinquity. In an era when discrimination against gay people was common and accepted, the out-of-the-way docks provided safety because visitors could remain anonymous while being confident that they had psychological proximity with the others in the space. Law officials ignored the widespread practice of public sex and prostitution, creating an even greater draw for queer people. Over time, a community emerged from the people who continually used

⁶⁶ Ann L. Bittenweiser, *Manhattan Water-Bound: Manhattan's Waterfront from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Syracuse University Press: Syracuse, 1999), 162.

⁶⁷ “New York City's Waterfront in Photographs on View at Museum of the City of New York,” (Art Daily: New York, 2009), http://www.artdaily.com/index.asp?int_sec=2&int_new=32903#.UXS9hLWG3zw.

the piers as a space to perform their sexuality. From the 1970s onward, the piers were considered “a very specific queer space, a mecca of sorts.... Few straight people or tourists crossed west of Hudson Street to go to this Oz-like autonomous zone, where generations of gay men had created a free zone for sexual contact and community.”⁶⁸ Gay men and transgendered women found a haven at the decaying docks.

The piers were also not abandoned by artists who were intrigued by urban ruins and the queer community that found refuge there. “Between 1971 and 1983, the piers below Fourteenth Street were the site of an enormous range of works by artists.... Hardly ‘abandoned’ — a word so often used to describe them — these piers were actually full of all sorts of activities and behaviors in which these artists inserted themselves.”⁶⁹

Artist Darren Jones explains the allure of the piers in his catalogue essay for the Leslie Lohman Museum exhibition *The Piers: Art and Sex along the New York Waterfront*, an exhibition that curated the art created at the piers during the 1970s and 1980s:

Gay men in America have often made the playgrounds of their most emancipated conditions on the geographic fringes of the country. Such physical detachment and protection from heterosexual conformities, with their inherent risks, have resulted in these hallowed places gaining a socio-mythological presence of immense emotional attraction. In their final decades, the piers provided just such a refuge. Those warm and dusty days of the 1970s and early 80s were not an isolated time in the

⁶⁸ Shepard, “Sylvia’s Children,” 123.

⁶⁹ Jonathon Weinberg, “City-Condoned Anarchy,” for *The Piers: Art and Sex along the New York Waterfront*, (Leslie Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art: New York, 2012), http://leslielohman.org/exhibitions/2012/piers/Leslie-Lohman-Museum_The-Piers-Brochure.pdf.

history of New York's artistic and gay life: they were a profound moment in a fascinating urban continuum that extends to the present.⁷⁰

Indeed, the queer community that used the piers continued to grow. During the 1980s and 1990s, a new generation of queer youth of color claimed the waterfront. As the queer and artist communities using the pier grew more vibrant, however, the physical condition of the pier continued to worsen. The city decided to demolish the dangerous structures on the decaying piers in the 1980s. Pier 45, the Christopher Street Pier, was the last to be demolished. The now open-air pier continued to be used as safe open space by gay, lesbian, and transgendered youth of color who flocked to the pier from all over the city. As one community member stated in 2000, "So when I went down there, I wasn't the only one who was like that, and basically it's like a place where you can go and feel comfortable, because there aren't that many places out here that are like that."⁷¹

NORMALIZING THE QUEER WATERFRONT

The creation of the Hudson River Park in 1998 and the increasing involvement of the local Community Board and Christopher Street Patrol threatened to remove the community from the once rejected spaces they claimed on the river. Queer activist Benjamin Shepard describes the rising tensions as part of a broader trend in Mayor Rudy Giuliani's New York: "The struggles over the piers continue to happen within a specific context of crackdowns on public sexual culture in Manhattan.... The crackdown is part

⁷⁰ Darren Jones, "Time and Tide," in *The Piers: Art and Sex along the New York Waterfront* (Leslie Lohman Museum: New York, 2012), http://leslielohman.org/exhibitions/2012/piers/Leslie-Lohman-Museum_The-Piers-Brochure.pdf.

⁷¹ *Queer Space – the Christopher Street Piers*, YouTube Video, 12:48, posted by "MisterAngela", April 9, 2012 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lf4owlXoSGM&feature=youtu.be>.

of a campaign designed to privatize, sanitize, and control public spaces such as the piers throughout New York City.”⁷²

City planning tools were implemented to control the public space including new zoning regulations, quality-of-life statues, and anti-vagrancy laws.⁷³ As street sweeps and policing of queer youth became more aggressive, organizations like FIERCE began organizing for the queer community. FIERCE, founded in 2000, is the acronym for Fabulous Independent Educated Radicals for Community Empowerment. As part of their mission to organize the youth to defend their claim to the piers, FIERCE organized rallies, speak-outs, and attends Community Board meetings to ensure the queer voices are heard.

According to Noreen Doyle, Executive Vice President at the Hudson River Trust, FIERCE was very successful at educating community members on how to advocate for themselves within the structure of Community Board meetings and the NYC political system. The organization has been very respectful of the process.⁷⁴ Because of this willingness to work within the system, the queer community of the Christopher Street Pier has affected the planning process for the Hudson River Park.

The queer community was not initially invited to give park designers input on how to redevelop the Pier 45. Local residents were involved in the process, however, and they called for a pier for passive recreation such as sunbathing and picnicking. According to Ms. Doyle, the neighborhood did not want the open character of the pier

⁷² Shepard, “Sylvia’s Children,” 133.

⁷³ Ibid., 130.

⁷⁴ Noreen Doyle, telephone conversation with author, April 2013.

to change by building ball parks and playgrounds. This desire ended up benefiting the queer community because no conflicting uses would push them away from their claimed space. This point of accord between the queer community and the local residents did not help to soothe the tensions between the groups going forward.

The Hudson River Park describes Pier 45 as an “850-foot-long pier [containing] shade structures, seating areas, wood decking and passive grass lawns. This is a favorite spot for sunbathing in the neighborhood and an event space in the summer.”⁷⁵ Since the redevelopment of the piers, the park is visited and enjoyed by “straight people and tourists” even as it continues to be used by queer youth of color as a public community space.

In the years since the pier’s redevelopment, quality-of-life issues have grown as a problem for the local residents. The Hudson River Park closes at 1:00 AM, at which point the youth using the pier pour onto neighborhood streets. The residents have raised concerns about prostitution, public sex, and drug trafficking as well as more minor issues such as loitering and noise.⁷⁶ Representatives of the queer youth, such as FIERCE, counter that many of the users have nowhere else to go when the park closes; thus, they linger in the neighborhood streets.⁷⁷ As one pier user stated, “Their whole

⁷⁵ “Pier 45,” Hudson River Park, accessed March 2, 2013, <http://www.hudsonriverpark.org/explore-the-park/locations/pier-45>.

⁷⁶ Shepard, “Sylvia’s Children,” 129.

⁷⁷ (*Queer Space*, 2012)

issue is that we are on the street because we are in front of their building. If they kick us off their pier, where are we going to go? On the street!”⁷⁸

Noreen Doyle points out that, because of the issues that arise when the youth occupy neighborhood streets when the park closes, the most important planning issue for the area is the interaction between planned and unplanned space – the transition between the Hudson River Park, the West Side Highway, and the neighborhood streets. Before planners can address this interface, they must build trust with the queer youth to prevent them from feeling that their space is being attacked or that planners are trying to push them out.

Pier users suspect that the police target them unfairly because of their sexuality, race, and age. One community member states, “It’s just basically like a conspiracy how they are starting to crack down on all these places were the youth who happen to be gay and lesbian, transgendered and questioning hang out.”⁷⁹ Another recounts a time she was strip searched by police officers because the name and gender on her ID did not match the police officer’s perception of her gender.⁸⁰ While the queer youth desire less police presence on the piers and longer hours at the Hudson River Park, the local residents are calling for more police patrolling the area and a park closing time of 10:00 PM. They feel unsafe when crowds of rowdy youth fill the street on their way to the pier, and they are looking for ways to control the disorderly behavior.

⁷⁸ *Cop Watch*, Documentary, produced by FIERCE!, 2007, <http://www.fiercencyc.org/index.php?s=123>.

⁷⁹ (*Queer Space*, 2012)

⁸⁰ (*Cop Watch*, 2007)

Preserving Queer Space for Queer People

The Hudson River Park Trust has collaborated with FIERCE to develop programming that would engage the youth on the pier and diversify the pier users.⁸¹ The two organizations have hosted movie nights on the pier, the Trust has organized opera singers and professional dancers to perform for the youth, and FIERCE sponsored a “Global Warming Ball” during which the youth performed for each other. The Ball was very successful, soliciting reactions such as, “It is wonderful to do it here where there is so much history, and it’s where all of us started. To see it at this time is so beautiful and the youth is so happy and so involved. We should all be very, very proud because we are showing this neighborhood who this pier originally belonged to. We made this pier famous,” and, “Just to have this event, after all these years of them trying to change our curfew and always trying to kick us out, it takes a great stand.”⁸²

These reactions show that by spending time on the pier, it is possible for the youth to develop a familiarity with the history of the space and the history of queer people in the city. Furthermore, they are evidence that the youth consider the history of the piers to be part of their identity, part of their own narratives as queer people of color. The Hudson River Park Trust has incorporated some historic preservation into the development of the park. They worked closely with the New York State Historic Preservation Office during the recent redevelopment plan of Pier 57 to interpret the history of the pier as an industrial port. There has been no preservation effort to

⁸¹ Noreen Doyle, telephone conversation with author, April 2013.

⁸² *Global Warming Ball*, Documentary, produced by FIERCE! And J. Bob Alotta, 2009, <http://vimeo.com/13210600#>.

interpret the history of the non-industrial pier uses such as the use by the queer community. This is certainly in part because the queer community's use of the pier is not connected with any part of the built environment that can be preserved. The original decaying pier has been demolished. It is necessary to explore other models of interpretation to repair the wounds of the queer community. Preservationists have begun to develop ways to conserve intangible heritage through festivals celebrating traditional foods and crafts or designation of traditional cultural activities. Emphasizing the historic activity on the pier may be a way to do preservation without the use of the built environment.

Preservationist Ned Kaufman proposes that heritage conservation can be used as a tool to build a group's cultural identity.⁸³ He evokes the theory of narrative therapy, the idea that identity is shaped by the stories we tell about ourselves, and that dysfunctional behavior patterns can be rectified by creating a strong narrative. Marginalized groups, like the youth on the Christopher Street Pier, often have weak social narratives – narratives of subjugation and not belonging. It makes sense that the youth would want their history interpreted. It is a way of saying, "This is our land, we've been here all along, and we are still here." It is using heritage as a tool to support their claims to inclusion.⁸⁴

According to the theory of narrative therapy, interpreting the history of the youth on the pier could also benefit the local residents because enabling the youth to

⁸³ Ned Kaufman, "Rethinking Preservation In Light of Social Justice: What Is To Be Done?" (Presentation, University of Pennsylvania School of Design, Philadelphia, PA, April 22, 2013).

⁸⁴ Ibid.

develop a stronger narrative will curb their destructive behaviors. In this way, historic preservation can help calm tensions between the queer youth and the local residents.

Preserving the intangible history of a place, such as foods, festivals, or dress, can sometimes be more important than preserving the built heritage. There are no historic structures standing on Pier 45, but the community that uses the pier has a rich cultural tradition. To use historic preservation as a tool for reengaging the queer community and rebuilding trust, planners and park managers can help FIERCE or other groups plan events like the “Global Warming Ball” that celebrate queer culture. The collaboration of an organization like FIERCE with city planners allows the community to see that their story is an important part of New York history and the city wants to acknowledge it. It is the acknowledgement of history that has the potential to rebuild trust between planners and the queer community.

Though FIERCE has actively worked with planners, park managers, and community members to give the queer community a voice, many of the pier users still feel targeted and unwanted. If queer youth leaders continue to work in tandem with the Hudson River Trust and other planning organizations to preserve the intangible heritage of queer pier users through balls and other celebratory events, the queer youth may understand that today’s planners do accept their claim to the space and want to start productive conversations about the community’s needs.

At the same time, as Noreen Doyle points out, Pier 45 was developed as public space for everyone, not just one community. “There seems to be a lack of awareness

that... lots of people need space, too,” Doyle states, after reinforcing queer youth leaders’ commitment to working within the Community Board system to achieve their goals. Conserving the intangible heritage of the queer community on the pier could, as narrative psychology suggests, give the community the stability necessary to share the space without fear.

According to Benjamin Shepard, “Queer space is about creating room for the spectacle of difference as opposed to assimilating sameness.”⁸⁵ Planners and preservationists can reject normative ideas of park design by inserting intangible elements of queer culture into the built environment. By working with the queer community and addressing the physical and psychological needs of the youth (physically, the community needs space to gather, psychologically they need acknowledgement of their belonging in the public space), city designers make room for the differences that build a healthy city.

⁸⁵ Shepard, “Sylvia’s Children,” 139.

THE PRESERVATION-LED TYPE

OVER-THE-RHINE

Over-the-Rhine (OTR) is publicized as the largest, most intact historic district in the country.⁸⁶ The National Historic Register designation for the neighborhood includes 360 acres of Italianate architecture organized in a traditional 19th Century urban grid with three-story, mixed-use commercial/residential properties lining the sidewalks. Indeed, the designation form for the Historic District Designation Report states that, “Over-the-Rhine’s collection of commercial, residential, religious and civic architecture is one of America’s largest and most cohesive surviving examples of an urban, nineteenth century community.”⁸⁷

OTR is adjacent to downtown Cincinnati and has long been a hub for the city’s cultural activities. The neighborhood is home to the Art Academy of Cincinnati, Music Hall, the Ensemble Theatre, and the Pendleton Arts Center. Findlay Market, erected in 1855, is another anchor in the neighborhood. It is the last surviving municipal market house of the nine public markets operating in Cincinnati in the 19th and early 20th century. It still serves as a community market and event planner.

Today it is a trendy neighborhood and regional destination boasting Cincinnati’s best restaurants and boutiques. OTR was not always a popular neighborhood. As late as the 1990s many Cincinnati residents were too afraid to go through it due to high crime

⁸⁶ “OTR Profile,” *Over-the-Rhine Chamber*, accessed March 22, 2013, http://www.otrchamber.com/otr_profile.

⁸⁷ “The Northern Liberties and Over-the-Rhine,” *Findlay Market*, accessed April 22, 2013, <http://www.findlaymarket.org/market-history/>.

rates, homelessness, and poverty.⁸⁸ Additionally, the neighborhood experienced two separate periods of revitalization in the past two decades. The historic preservation of the neighborhood has always played an important role in its revitalization.

The neighborhood was originally settled by German immigrants during the wave of immigration in the mid-19th century. The influx of Germans in the area inspired the city to nickname the Miami & Erie Canal “the Rhine” and the neighborhood, “Over-the-Rhine.” An extensive brewing industry developed in the area; there were 36 individual breweries by 1860.⁸⁹ Between 1860 and 1880, the German residents built the majority of the brick Italianate buildings that form the streetscape. The original names of streets in OTR reflected the German heritage of the people who lived there. Bismark Street and Hamburg Street acknowledged the residents’ heritage.

The percentage of German and German-American residents in Over-the-Rhine peaked in the early 20th century at an estimated 75% of the neighborhood's population of 44,475.⁹⁰ With the rise in anti-German hysteria during World War I, many German families fled to the suburbs to escape persecution in the city. The names of the streets in OTR all changed to celebrate English geographies. Hamburg Street became Stonewall Street and Bismark Street turned into Montreal Street. This movement of ethnic Germans from the city center to suburban locations followed a trend seen throughout the country. Poor Appalachian migrants moved into the buildings left behind by the

⁸⁸ Zane L. Miller and Bruce Tucker, *Changing Plans for America's Inner Cities: Cincinnati's Over-the-Rhine and Twentieth Century Urbanism* (Ohio State University Press: Columbus, 1998).

⁸⁹ “Northern Liberties and Over-the-Rhine.”

⁹⁰ Ibid.

Germans during the 1930s and 1940s to take advantage of the low rent and proximity to factory jobs.

DEMOGRAPHIC SHIFTS HIT THE NEIGHBORHOOD

No massive Urban Renewal projects were planned in OTR, but the neighborhood did feel effects from the program. The construction of Interstate Highway 75 in the predominately African American West End neighborhood caused massive displacement of residents. Many relocated to OTR. Though OTR's net population shrunk to 15,025 people by the 1960s, the African American population doubled. According to Over-the-Rhine Business owner Dan Korman, by 1990 the neighborhood was a mix of lower income Appalachian and Black families, as well as college students and artists.⁹¹ The demographic shift was accompanied by changes in the neighborhood economy. Through the 1960s until the 1990s, OTR was a very low-income neighborhood; by 1990 the neighborhood's median family income was \$4,999.⁹² Drug trafficking and other crime became ubiquitous. Few businesses operated in the community, though the city's cultural institutions remained a draw for people living in other parts of the city.

Long-time Cincinnati resident Marge Hammelrath experienced first-hand the decline of OTR's economy and the fear that developed in residents living elsewhere in the city.⁹³ In the 1980s, she was very interested in the arts, especially the Cincinnati

⁹¹ Dan Korman, e-mail correspondence with author, April, 2013.

⁹² Christopher Maag, "In Cincinnati, Life Breathes Anew in Riot-Scarred Area," *The New York Times*, November 6, 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/25/us/25cincy.html?_r=2&.

⁹³ Marge Hammelrath, telephone conversation with author, April 11, 2013.

symphony which performed at Music Hall in OTR. When she visited the neighborhood to attend the symphony, she saw all the poverty plaguing the neighborhood. As she became more involved with Music Hall, she realized that she wasn't the only one noticing. Music Hall and the other cultural centers had trouble getting people to attend events. Benefactors supported the construction of a parking garage attached to Music Hall so visitors did not need to go through neighborhood. This intervention helped increase attendance, but it made the residents and visitors of OTR even more segregated.

Ms. Hammelrath eventually sent her sons to the performing arts high school in OTR in the mid-1980s. She was simultaneously bothered by the long commute from their house in the suburbs to the inner-city neighborhood and enamored by the historic architecture of the area. Soon after enrolling her children in the school, her family bought house a historic house in OTR. Ms. Hammelrath renovated the building and it became the family's primary residence. Living in the neighborhood, Ms. Hammelrath realized that the central location, traditional urban design, and historic character gave OTR great potential for revitalization. She started advocating for preservation in the neighborhood.

ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION AND GROWING TENSIONS

In 1985, Marge Hammelrath and other OTR activists and business owners formed the Over-the-Rhine Chamber of Commerce. The mission of the OTRCC was to, "promote economic vitality and foster a socially and culturally diverse Over-the-

Rhine Community.”⁹⁴ Ms. Hammelrath admits that at the conception, the group’s name was tongue-in-cheek as very little commerce existed in the neighborhood. The Chamber of Commerce, which also spawned the Over-the-Rhine Foundation 501c3, managed to attract businesses to the neighborhood, redevelop Findley Market through affinity events, and draw small developers to the neighborhood to renovate and rent the historic buildings. The OTRCC worked to make Vine Street, a main thoroughfare in the neighborhood, a two-way street, a change that increased the number of businesses in OTR by 20%.⁹⁵ The OTRCC and the OTR Foundation also drove the designation of OTR on the National and Local Historic Registers.

Preservation served as a tool for economic redevelopment since the beginning of the neighborhood’s revitalization in the 1980s. Ms. Hammelrath observed that people were awed by the buildings; they drew investors to the neighborhood. While preservation held a reparative role for the neighborhood economy, community leaders never intended preservation to repair the growing tension between new and long-time residents. The OTRCC stated in its mission that it wants to foster a “socially and culturally diverse community,” but it acknowledged that “an issue the founders and the current leadership of the OTR Chamber face is maintaining high quality, affordable housing for low-income residents while attracting market-driven, middle- and higher-income housing thus insuring the economic stability of the neighborhood.”⁹⁶

⁹⁴ “Mission & Vision,” *Over-the-Rhine Chamber of Commerce*, accessed April 18, 2013, <http://www.otrchamber.com/about/mission>.

⁹⁵ Marge Hammelrath, telephone conversation with author, April 11, 2013.

⁹⁶ “Over-the-Rhine Chamber History,” *Over-the-Rhine Chamber of Commerce*, accessed April 18, 2013, <http://www.otrchamber.com/about/history>.

Low-income residents of OTR opposed the creation of a local historic district because of fear of displacement. As thousands of new residents were moving into the renovated historic buildings in the neighborhood, hundreds of people, mainly African Americans, were pushed out by rising rental rates. Many people who could afford to stay lamented the increased police presence and rising cost of living. More generally, long-time residents were uncomfortable with the changes occurring in the neighborhood because they lost the feeling of ownership in the space. The directors of the Chamber of Commerce felt that the residents should understand that more eyes on the street meant a safer neighborhood and more business meant greater economic opportunities, but instead they mostly felt a loss of control and a lack of belonging.⁹⁷

On April 7, 2001, a white policeman shot and killed an unarmed black man, Timothy Thomas, during a foot-chase in Over-the-Rhine. The killing occurred less than six months after another black man, Roger Owensby, was killed in police custody. Two days after Thomas's death, violent riots broke out in OTR and lasted four days. The rioters vandalized business, looted stores, and set fire to buildings.⁹⁸ Whole blocks of the neighborhood were filled with burnt-out buildings, and some OTR business owners lost everything they owned.

Though the rioters' specific protest was the prevalence of police brutality against black people, the riots reflect the tension that existed between the people benefiting from the restoration and revitalization of OTR and those suffering from the changes. The anger of the people who felt powerless was expressed by violently exerting their

⁹⁷ Marge Hammelrath, telephone conversation with author, April 11, 2013.

⁹⁸ Maag, "In Cincinnati."

control on their neighborhood. To some extent, the riots were an attack on historic preservation since many historic buildings were set on fire in a manifestation of the community's anger.

The riots set the revitalization of OTR back about ten years.⁹⁹ When the violence subsided, it was clear that the economic development of the neighborhood was at a standstill. New residents stopped renting apartments, restaurants stayed empty, and property values dropped. The City of Cincinnati, observing the issues facing OTR and recognizing its continued development potential, created the Cincinnati Center City Development Corporation (3CDC). 3CDC worked with the OTRCC to create a new period of revitalization in the community.

During OTR's first period of revitalization, activists relied on small developers renovating one house at a time to transform the neighborhood. Post-riots, 3CDC, a large government-sponsored organization, was able to buy whole blocks in OTR and redevelop them. Redevelopment happened on a much larger scale. In the 2005 – 2006 year, 3CDC spent \$28 million on renovations in Over-the-Rhine.¹⁰⁰ The second period of revitalization was even more successful than the first for business owners and the City of Cincinnati, which saw property values increase and vacancy rates decrease. Within a decade the neighborhood recovered its former dismal housing market and business environment. The recovery was so successful that the community of business owners in OTR never talks about the riots. Dan Korman states that, "Very few people

⁹⁹ Marge Hammelrath, telephone conversation with author, April 11, 2013.

¹⁰⁰ Maag, "In Cincinnati."

in the city ever really bring [the riots] up. The people who do bring it up are mostly those who live outside the city.”¹⁰¹

In addition to developing whole blocks in OTR, 3CDC also crafted a “consensus-based master plan” for the neighborhood that relied heavily on the input of various community stakeholders. The Over-the-Rhine plan lays out the ideal proportion of affordable housing to market-rate housing to achieve a balance of income levels. In 50 years planners hope to have 50% affordable housing and 50% market rate.¹⁰² Low-income housing developers have been taking advantage of the historic preservation tax credits so the neighborhood can create space for poor families within the historic district. Because of these efforts to make OTR a more equitable neighborhood, there is an assumption that there is no need to think about the legacy of the riots. As Dan Korman stated, “I’m not even sure that it’s necessary to memorialize this point in time.... The neighborhood and city have moved on from this era.”

Below Liberty Street, OTR’s preservation projects have enabled the renovation of hundreds of buildings and ushered in the gentrification of the neighborhood. Travelling north in OTR, however, it is easy to see how the low-income community has not moved on from the era of the riots. Immediately north of Liberty Street, the street that bisects OTR into two halves, the windows and doors of the majority of buildings are boarded up. Entire blocks of buildings are fitted with pieces of plywood that are painted to resemble windows to hide the damage caused during the riots. Marge Hammelrath assures that the OTRCC will address the problem of boarded up windows

¹⁰¹ Dan Korman, e-mail correspondence with author, April, 2013.

¹⁰² City of Cincinnati City Planning Department, *Over-the-Rhine Comprehensive Plan* (Cincinnati, June 2002).

and doors in the near future, but in the meantime, millions of dollars are funding the preservation and renovation of the buildings south of Liberty Street. Perhaps, as Mr. Korman states, residents below Liberty Street have moved on from the trauma of the riots, but the people who live above Liberty Street are reminded of the violence every day by the physical remnants present.

It is not preservation itself that is causing gentrification, however. Preservation in OTR is employed in successful affordable housing projects as well as in high-end lofts. It is market-driven real estate that creates the type of gentrification that displaces residents. Derek Hyra and Thomas Dutton both look at gentrification as the new Urban Renewal.¹⁰³ Dutton states that, “in essence, public funds now become the resources for private market expansion.” He argues that gentrification in OTR is not guided by the vision of an economically mixed neighborhood, but rather it is guided by an effort to militarize public space, criminalize the homeless, and racially cleanse the neighborhood. He continues, “This is nothing close to economic mix. It smacks more of a domestic imperialist or colonialist venture to dispossess community residents of their land and herd the ‘losers’ onto the contemporary reservation – the prison.” With this perspective it is easy to understand the lingering distrust between new and old residents of OTR.

CAN PRESERVATION REVITALIZE AND COMMEMORATE DIFFICULT HISTORY?

The tension between the new and old residents has not dissipated. With the help of 3CDC and the Over-the-Rhine Comprehensive Plan, the neighborhood is trying

¹⁰³ Thomas A. Dutton, “Colony Over-the-Rhine,” *The Black Scholar*, Vol. 37, No. 3, (Fall 2007), pp. 14-27.

to maintain services for low-income residents while supporting the interests of higher-income residents. Despite this good-will, OTR remains home to two segregated communities, not one united one. Some newer residents in the neighborhood feel that they are providing a service by living in OTR because they are there to, “improve the neighborhood,” and, “serve as a role model to the poor children who have no one to look up to.”¹⁰⁴ These attitudes, though not universal, reinforce the feeling of segregation and lack of belonging in low-income communities. To resolve the conflict and create a more sustainable neighborhood, it is necessary for the two groups to engage in a conversation about the tensions the developed in the recent past.

One way that historic preservation can be used as a tool for reparative planning in OTR, and not just a tool for economic development, is by preserving one of the buildings affected by the 2001 riots as a memorial or historic site intended to encourage dialogue about the tensions affecting the community. Similar to the proposed Public Housing Museum in Bronzeville, Chicago, this historic site would fit into the vision of organizations like the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (to recall, the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience support the interpretation of historic sites “specifically dedicated to remembering past struggles for justice and addressing their contemporary legacies.”¹⁰⁵). Preserving a building in its burnt-out state would be using preservation as a social tool intended to remember and reflect on the difficult history of Over-the-Rhine’s contentious race and class relations.

¹⁰⁴ Marge Hammelrath, telephone conversation with author, April 11, 2013.

¹⁰⁵ “What is the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience?” About Us, *International Coalition of Sites of Conscience*, accessed April 22, 2013, <http://www.sitesofconscience.org/about-us#section2>.

This preservation intervention would be especially useful as gentrification follows its current pattern and spreads north. Certainly all residents benefit from many aspects of the neighborhood's economic development: the streets become safer, the homes gain value, and commerce is more accessible. The use of historic preservation is specifically proven to increase property values and encourage mixed-income development. Nevertheless, the changes that occur create a sense of loss, grief, or trauma, especially when the narrative of the original occupants is erased. The original residents lose their ownership of the space to the new residents.

A historic site in OTR would ensure that the story stays visible in the history of the neighborhood. In fact, the historic site would be similar to the historical plaques that detail how the neighborhood changed during World War I's German hysteria. In both cases communities with privilege and power tried to erase the narrative of a minority group. In 1917, the German street names were changed. In 2013, the African American claim to space is disregarded. The German Street names were not reinstated after the war, but the historic marker guarantees that the history is not lost. Likewise, a historic site commemorating the riots would not stop the neighborhood's development, but it would ensure that the narrative is acknowledged.

Business owners in OTR are not in favor of a historic site commemorating the riots or the difficult race relations in the neighborhood. Marge Hammelrath asks, "Is it neat to remember something so painful?" For her, it would not be. She saw people lose everything they invested. She perceives memorializing the violence as an act to "make the low-income people feel good," and she does not think it is worth the bad feelings

the people who lost their investments would feel. Ms. Hammelrath's reaction to the suggestion of memorializing the riots disproves Mr. Korman's statement that the neighborhood had moved on from thinking about the riots. For Ms. Hammelrath, at least, the memory still elicits a strong negative response.

Mr. Korman states that he does not think it is necessary to memorialize the riots with a building project, but he would be interested in the development of a tenement museum "to celebrate the most prolific building type in the neighborhood." In this building-centric vision of preservation, the human aspect is subtracted. Based on these two business owners' reactions, the OTR community might not yet be ready to engage in reparative city planning to address the wounds still affecting the communities. This inference only takes into account one perspective of the psychological state of OTR's residents. The research was designed to include the perspective of those would presumably be more enthusiastic about discussing and commemorating the riots and other tensions in the past, but no representative from this group was successfully contacted for this project.

In a neighborhood defined by its historic architecture and in which the built environment has been the root of economic development, it is controversial and counterintuitive to suggest that historic preservation could be used to memorialize an ugly, difficult, and very human time. If planners and preservationists use historic preservation as a tool to heal the wounds left by the riots and the tensions that ignited them, they must understand that preservation is not just the competed renovation.

Preservation interventions must include meaningful interaction with the people whose stories are being told in order to be effective healing tools.

Ned Kaufman proposes that the role of preservation in the post-Occupy era is to create a more inclusive society.¹⁰⁶ This take on preservation could be very helpful in OTR. The point of doing reparative city planning in a neighborhood like Over-the-Rhine is to rebuild trust and connect the two communities sharing the same historic space. Merely preserving the historic buildings is not sufficient to building a sustainable community. It is necessary to reach out to diverse populations and integrate multiple narratives, even painful ones, into the conservation of the built environment. If the reparative planning and preservation is done successfully, the new residents and the original residents of OTR will collaborate more easily neighborhood development because both groups will recognize their different stories written into the same landscape.

¹⁰⁶ Ned Kaufman, "Rethinking Preservation."

ANALYSIS

The three urban types represented by the case studies present similarities and distinctions that inform how preservation can be used as a tool for therapeutic city planning. They also bring to light the strengths and weaknesses of therapeutic city planning as a planning approach. To reiterate, the types identified were the Urban Renewal neighborhood, the Claimed Space neighborhood, and the preservation-led neighborhood. The analysis will compare the types and reflect on how the role of preservation changes depending on the realities of each community.

The types are, of course, similar because they each represent a community that has been harmed by particular city planning measures in the past. The narrative of these communities adds to the history of the neighborhoods and creates a spatial palimpsest – a space where multiple stories are written on top of each other, obscuring each one while never fully erasing what came before. The palimpsest structure gives depth and complexity to community narratives. It can also, as witnessed in this thesis, cause conflict when a layer of the palimpsest becomes more difficult to read in the landscape. Part of the goal of using preservation to do reparative city planning is to point out layers of the neighborhood palimpsest that sink below new inscriptions and, when appropriate, re-write effaced inscriptions.

The nature of a palimpsest dictates that previous layers never truly disappear, but they do become more difficult to interpret. The three types are also similar in that each one had a community afraid of erasure in this way – erasure caused by new stories making their history illegible in the landscape. In Bronzeville and Over-the-Rhine, this

erasure was perhaps the most overt. In both cases the new communities made a point of not talking about the neighborhood's past (or, in Bronzeville's case, the recent past) and trying to make previous layers invisible.

Current development trends in Chicago celebrate Bronzeville in the 1920s while trying to dissociate the neighborhood with the public housing era. By telling stories about the Black Metropolis that existed in Bronzeville before Urban Renewal to encourage upper-income people to move back to the neighborhood, the story of the community that lived in the neighborhood for half a century is forgotten. This tactic may be necessary because the neighborhood is so closely linked with poverty and crime in the mind of Chicagoans. To some extent, planners and preservationists focusing on Bronzeville's past before Urban Renewal and future after public housing demolitions is an attempt to balance the writing on the palimpsest. They are trying to uncover other layers of Bronzeville's history that most city residents do not see. Perhaps preserving the stories of public housing in the landscape of Bronzeville is unnecessary at this point because it is already so present in the city's conscience. At the same time, memories fade. Preservation interests compel the recording and interpretation for future generations, and therapeutic interests compel the trauma to be addressed immediately to avoid long term animosity toward planning efforts.

In Over-the-Rhine, the planners and activists involved in neighborhood development incorporate affordable housing and services for low-income residents into their long-range plans. At the same time, new residents state plainly that they do not talk about the riots that occurred in 2001. A similar pattern exists in OTR and

Bronzeville: there is an emphasis on historic preservation of a feted past and a desire to write over a difficult past. Unlike Bronzeville, however, residents of Cincinnati do now consider Over-the-Rhine to be a hip, artistic neighborhood of boutiques and restaurants. This perception of the neighborhood has largely superseded the association of OTR with crime and poverty that existed two decades ago. In the case of OTR and other neighborhoods where historic preservation of the built environment is drawing in new, upper-income residents, the fear of erasure is justified. When new residents state that, “the white people are here to improve the neighborhood,”¹⁰⁷ it is reasonable for long-time residents to assume their history will be blotted out.

On the Christopher Street Pier, the youth are worried that the local residents and the community board are trying to push them out and erase the queer presence, including queer histories, from the neighborhood. In fact, community members have been willing to work with queer organizers to find compromises for the residents and the pier users. Certainly, there is a fear that the space claimed by the queer youth will become less “theirs” if the police presence increases and the curfew is limited (that is to say as more rules are imposed on the community and it becomes less autonomous), but no stakeholder is proposing that the pier’s history as a queer community space be downplayed, ignored, or even challenged. The issues being raised by residents are about the youth behavior, not the queer presence. The problem boils down to a need for mutual respect of the pier space and the neighborhood space from both the residents and the youth.

¹⁰⁷ Marge Hammelrath, telephone conversation with author, April 11, 2013.

Whereas the people in Urban Renewal neighborhoods and the neighborhoods with preservation-led development fight for their stories to be told, the people in the Claimed Space neighborhoods fight for their right to gather in the space. Ironically, using preservation for therapeutic planning may be most feasible in the Claimed Space neighborhoods because there is no conflict about the neighborhood's history, only conflict about the neighborhood's future. The different communities are interested in working together; thus, they are likely open to a therapeutic planning process.

This scenario of successful therapeutic planning in a Claimed Space neighborhood is not unique to Pier 45, but it is also not universal. There are many sites of claimed space being limited and controlled by a different community and at true risk of erasure. A vacant lot claimed as a site for urban farming is an example of this. Though the space is claimed as agricultural land and nurtured by a community, the owners will sell the land as soon as possible with no concern for the site's legacy as a community anchor. Nevertheless, the Claimed Space neighborhood is at the least risk for erasure.

Another similarity that appears in all three case studies is the importance of intangible history as a component of preservation for reparative planning. Again, while this this was a common thread through all the types, there was a distinction between the Urban Renewal and Preservation-led neighborhoods on one side and the Claimed Space neighborhoods on the other.

The Claimed Space type is distinct because the built components of the space, the pier buildings in the case of the Christopher Street Pier, are not as important to the narrative as the geography and the traditions of the community using the space. The

piers are significant primarily because the queer community has historically gathered in that place on the fringes of the city, in a neighborhood steeped in queer history. More broadly applied to all Claimed Spaces, the community chose the space. Unlike Urban Renewal neighborhoods in which the community was given the space by the government or Preservation-led neighborhoods in which housing values dictated who lived there, the Claimed Space neighborhood was specifically carved out by a group that sought a space to belong. A second significance is that once the community claimed the space, it became a safe environment to perform their cultural heritage. The buildings that house the communities are certainly important, but preservation of the community's food, dance, dress, etc. gives people a sense of identity and belonging.

In the Urban Renewal neighborhoods, the public housing towers have mostly been demolished. It does not appear that there is any tangible history to save. This is problematic because the modern buildings are so tightly associated with the negative aspects Urban Renewal in the minds of many. On the other hand, not being able to preserve the towers allows for a broader discussion about why Urban Renewal failed without the distraction of the demonized architecture. Preserving, among other things, the stories, the photos, and the community of the public housing residents, tells a fuller story of Urban Renewal than the buildings could achieve. Interpreting their absence may be more provocative than interpreting their presence.

In the Preservation-led neighborhoods, the tangible heritage is already a priority. When a minority community demands inclusion in the neighborhood narrative, the most powerful intervention is to incorporate their intangible heritage into the buildings and

landscapes that are already being preserved. This tactic demonstrates how different histories weave together in the same space.

The biggest similarity of the types is the role preservation could play when employed as a tool for reparative city planning. In each case study, preservation could help to build the communities' identities. More importantly, perhaps, preservation can start a conversation about difficult issues present in the neighborhood and give a presence to the narratives of damage and repair. The ability of preservation to start the dialogue is a similarity of the three types, but there are different levels of projected success in the ability to do so. Different levels of economic development and different community claims to space alter how a neighborhood reacts to therapeutic planning. There must be an analysis of how a type reacts to reparative processes and why it responds in that way.

The community at the Christopher Street Pier could foreseeably do therapeutic planning to improve the relationship between residents and the queer community: the queer community is organized and attends community meetings, the city acknowledges the queer heritage of the piers¹⁰⁸, and the space claimed by the queer youth is distinct from the residents' space, though the spaces overlap. In Over-the-Rhine, the original residents are not organized (there are city-wide organizations that represent low-income communities, but no organization specifically addressing the needs of OTR's low-income community.), the city's priorities in the neighborhood are about attracting new residents, and many people who moved to OTR at the time of the riots feel anger

¹⁰⁸ This acknowledgement is manifested in the renaming of the Christopher Street and Hudson Street intersection in Greenwich Village as Sylvia Rivera Way after the transgender activist and Christopher Street pier user.

toward the rioters. Therapeutic planning would be helpful to heal the neighborhood's trauma, but unlikely to be embraced by the community. Furthermore, because preservation has been used as a tool for economic development, which led to gentrification in OTR, the low-income community may feel uncomfortable with preservation being used as a tool to tell their story.

The readiness of a neighborhood to engage in therapeutic conversations is not aligned with the typological distinctions; it is specific to each neighborhood's priorities and values. The Urban Renewal community in Bronzeville may not be ready to start a reparative planning and preservation process because the trauma of displacement is too fresh and the redevelopment energy is still strong. Another Urban Renewal neighborhood, New York City's Manhattantown, described in the introduction, would be more susceptible to reparative planning techniques. The displaced community maintained their social network and the residents of the new apartments are interested in the history of the neighborhood. The two communities experienced the same process of Urban Renewal and displacement, but the current realities of the sites change how they would respond to reparative planning efforts, especially reparative planning efforts that involve preservation or interpretation of difficult histories.

This is not to say that reparative planning and preservation should not or cannot be done in neighborhoods that are wary of the technique. Indeed, reparative planning and preservation could be the most useful in neighborhoods actively harboring anger and fear like Over-the-Rhine and Bronzeville. It may be the most useful, but least feasible depending on community conditions.

One great distinction among all the types is where the marginalized or wounded community resides. In the Preservation-led neighborhoods, the marginalized community often lives in the neighborhood experiencing gentrification and renovation. They fear displacement and are angered by the changes to their community they cannot control. In Urban Renewal neighborhoods, the wounded community often lives outside the neighborhood where the trauma occurred. They have either been displaced by demolition of a “slum” to make room for an Urban Renewal project or displaced by the demolition of the Urban Renewal project to make room for new development (both cases are true in the case study of Bronzeville.). These people are wounded by the loss of their community and they are dispersed to new areas. The displacement often causes social ties to break and makes the community difficult to organize. In Claimed Space neighborhoods, the community may or may not live near the contested space, but they gather in it creating an interesting model of space that is occupied by not owned. The wounds inflicted on communities in Claimed Space neighborhoods are normally societal issues for which the space serves as a refuge.

The question of where the wounded community lives and how intact it remains is an important for proponents of reparative planning and preservation. The practical reason of engaging in therapeutic planning is to rebuild trust with communities harmed by planning in the past. Renewed goodwill between planners and communities will help planners create healthy, sustainable neighborhoods through the participation of people living in them. If the wounded community no longer lives in or uses the space planners are designing, what purpose does therapeutic planning serve?

An argument can be made that there is more reason to atone for past planning mistakes than smoothing the way for future neighborhood developments. Using reparative planning and preservation with any ulterior motive seems counterintuitive to the goal of healing communities. An understanding of city planning and preservation as public goods would dictate that therapeutic planning should be done regardless of outcomes. It should be done because it creates healthy communities. The question of where the wounded community lives should only come into play when deciding how to address community members, not whether to address them.

Outside of the academic experiments with therapeutic city planning, actual applications of the therapeutic planning process must have practical results in order to get funded by the governments and organizations that do physical planning. Though neighborhoods that deal with great tension and trauma will benefit the most from being involved in a long process of reparative city planning, it is wise to first try the techniques on neighborhoods that would be more open to addressing and soothing tensions and, perhaps, be able to engage in a shorter term process. Reparative planning and preservation in a Claimed Space such as the Christopher Street Pier, for example, could generate fast results because the communities are already working with each other and the queer youth community is already engaged in documenting its experience in the space. If reparative planning using historic preservation is successful at improving the tensions and helping planners better serve the communities in a space such as the Christopher Street Pier, other applications could follow.

Historic preservation not only serves a therapeutic function of acknowledging and inscribing a community's narrative in the landscape, it also serves a practical purpose in the argument for adoption of reparative city planning. Historic preservation is often a very physical intervention. It serves as a measurable result of conversations held with community members. When analyzing the effects of therapeutic planning, proponents can point to preservation interventions that tell a fuller story of the community, bring diverse community members together in dialogue, and heal the trauma of change.

Preservation also calms the community's fear of change by providing a piece of the past to hold onto as the neighborhood evolves. Residents are more comfortable with planners' new designs when parts of their heritage are actively being conserved. Different neighborhoods necessitate different types of interventions, and each community will respond to therapeutic planning in its own way. With the correct approach and understanding of how to interact with a community's trauma, reparative city planning can become an important way for planners to approach difficult sites. Historic preservation is one of the most important tools to use in the reparative process. It creates a space for dialogue that heals the trauma because it allows communities to confront past injustice, violence, and cultural conflict in an honest, patient way. Preservation makes room for initial rejection, subsequent consideration, and eventual acceptance. It is a way to enable a community to say, "This is what we were, and it is a part of who we will become."

CONCLUSION

Reparative or therapeutic city planning is a burgeoning field that is gaining interest in some academic circles. It pulls from the psychology of grief, theories of loss and change, explorations of the power of place, and experience with Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, among other studies of how people become attached to community and place. There is little research on how to do reparative planning and what the outcomes should look like. There are even fewer examples of reparative city planning being applied in real communities and no examples of historic preservation being done specifically as a tool for reparative planning (though there are examples of preservation having a healing effect on communities.). It is difficult to analyze the potential effects of therapeutic planning on communities, but it is necessary to explore as a new generation of planners attempts to develop mechanisms for the design of non-normative cities.

The hypothesis proposed by this thesis was that historic preservation can be used as a tool for reparative city planning. To examine this statement, ethnographic data were gathered in three case study neighborhoods: Bronzeville, Chicago; Greenwich Village, New York City; and Over-the-Rhine, Cincinnati. The neighborhoods corresponded to types that reoccurred in the literature about loss and change, the power of place, and preserving minority spaces. An analysis of the data gathered from the study of different types of communities with diverse experiences of conflict allows the hypothesis to be accepted but acknowledges that using historic preservation as a tool for reparative city planning is not a straightforward solution to decades of conflict

and cannot be standardized. Therapeutic planning must respond to the unique dynamics of each neighborhood. This fits into the new paradigm of planning: if planners move away from building normative, they must also move away from normative methods of implementation.

FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations based on the information gathered during this project start with building a better relationship between city planners and historic preservationists. The work of the two fields is highly interconnected. Just as city planners are thinking of new ways to interact with and design for communities, there is a movement in the preservation field to use preservation for a social good beyond preserving the built environment. Planners and preservationists are both interested in how their fields intersect with environmental justice, affordable housing, place-making, and sustainability. It is time the two fields realize how they intersect with each other. Ideally, design firms, consulting firms, and advocacy non-profits will develop that combine the expertise of planners and preservationists. These organizations would encourage a holistic way of understanding how communities interact with the built environment.

Specific recommendations for the case studies examined in this thesis begin with addressing the Christopher Street Pier first. As mentioned earlier, this site seems the most receptive to therapeutic planning based on its current cultural landscape. The queer community harmed by planning is already organizing itself, fighting injustices, and interacting with the planners and residents of the neighborhood in a constructive way. The queer community also acknowledges that it has a historic claim to the space that

they do not want to give up. The community seems open to working with planners to address the fear of change and displacement through preservation and therapeutic planning. Starting with a neighborhood that is receptive to reparative planning and preservation will help develop a model to inspire other neighborhoods.

As mentioned in the Christopher Street case study, preserving the intangible heritage of the queer community is the most feasible intervention on the piers because there are no historic buildings. The case study proposed making the popular ballroom contest organized in 2009 an annual city or park sponsored event. Ballroom, or vogue, is a type of dance that is deeply rooted in the community of queer people of color. Some youth have stated that police patrolling the pier have made them stop voguing in the past. Organizing official ballroom events would give the youth space on the pier to dance and let them know that the city encourages them to celebrate their culture.

Another possibility is to engage youth in sharing their experiences on the pier, asking them what the space represents for them, then taking the words and incorporating them into a design element of the pier. This proposal weaves together the intangible heritage of the community – their individual narratives – and the physical space that they use. It would be healing for the community to see their own words inscribed in benches, bricks, or fences on the pier. It is a physical sign that their stories are a part of the space.

Similar recommendations apply to Bronzeville. It is more important for the community's stories and experiences to be written into the landscape than for the actual buildings to be preserved. It is highly recommended that preservation in

Bronzeville be closely tied to social services. When people in Chicago began exploring the possibility of creating a public housing museum, many low-income people on Bronzeville asked for money to go to building shelter for displaced people instead of museums for their pictures. Interventions in Urban Renewal sites demonstrate that preservation and social services can happen at the same time and can, in fact, complement each other. The idea of a memoir writing workshop while waiting at the social service office is an example of the potential synergy.

In a neighborhood with preservation-led development, like Over-the-Rhine, it will be interesting to see what is most healing for the community being displaced: historic preservation of a physical building that interprets the culture of the community being pushed out or preservation of the intangible heritage. Is historic preservation a constant negative for communities who only see it as a vehicle for gentrification?

Ethnological research has exhibited that people develop deep ties to their physical environment for over half a century. The demolition of factories, slum clearance, and other major changes to the built environment are proven to traumatize people the same way loss of a loved one might. Preserving the built environment, what remains of the built environment, or even the way communities interact with their space, is key to building healthy neighborhoods. The most important recommendation for doing therapeutic planning with any community, however, is to communicate transparently and frequently with the community being served. No intervention will be healing if the community feels they did not have control over the decision. It is paramount that the community is a part of the process.

POINTS OF FURTHER RESEARCH

More interviews with a more diverse group of neighborhood representatives would have made this thesis a fuller exploration of the usefulness of therapeutic city planning. The fact that the majority of neighborhood experts were upper-income and white does not make the data gathered from them less reliable, but it does limit the accuracy of conclusions to one perspective. With more time, a more diverse sample of neighborhood representatives could inform the research questions and lead to more valuable recommendations.

Also given more time, an increased number of case studies would make a stronger argument for the usefulness of preservation in therapeutic planning and therapeutic planning in neighborhoods. Though the neighborhoods do fall into categories, as mentioned above, even neighborhoods within categories differ greatly. Gathering additional data from other neighborhoods would help strengthen the argument for reparative planning and preservation as a tool that works in many circumstances. More data would also help planners develop more creative ways to do preservation as a social service.

The greatest way for the study to be improved is to actually play out a scenario in which preservation is used to repair community trauma in a real neighborhood. The data gathered in this thesis were projections about how neighborhoods would react to reparative efforts. The study would be significantly more meaningful if it were commenting on actual reactions to projects occurring on the ground. The next step in the project of using historic preservation as a tool in reparative city planning is to

actually do preservation in a community looking for healing. Once the theory is tested in the field, planners will be able to answer other questions related to the development of sites after the reparative process.

It will be interesting to explore whether or not inscribing a certain group's narrative into a physical space affects future development or use of the space by another different group? If queer youth of color stop using the Christopher Street pier after their words were incorporated into the pier design, will other groups avoid the pier because it is not considered their space?

Another question that research can address once reparative planning and preservation is applied in on the ground is whether this model of planning strengthens ties with the site for future members of the marginalized group, or does it only serve to heal current users? How long do the effects of therapeutic planning last in a space?

Reparative city planning and preservation is a method that is emerging right as the two fields are taking critical looks at their work and analyzing how they can better serve the actual needs of communities and not rely on normative conceptions of what made successful neighborhoods. Historic preservation provides a framework for planners to look at communities' values and heritage as integral parts of community development. This thesis is a call to make inclusion and more honest retrospection a priority in the design fields. Planners and preservationists should build inclusion with each other and collaborate within their respective fields. Reparative city planning should focus on including multiple narratives in to community design. Finally, marginalized

communities that have long been hurt by planning should at last be included in the process to plan their spaces.

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INDEX

A

Affordable housing · 39, 59, 61, 62, 68, 78
Anderson, Matthew · ii, 29, 33, 35, 36, 41
Anti-German hysteria · 56
Arnstein, Sherry · 11

B

Behavioral psychology · 13
Belonging · 12, 20, 52, 54, 60, 63, 71
Benjamin Shepard · 27, 47, 53
Bereavement · 9
Black Metropolis · 32, 33, 35, 42, 68
Boston · 19
Bronzeville · iii, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 64, 67, 68, 73, 74, 77, 79, 85
Bronzeville, Chicago · 26, 29, 64, 77
Brothel · 17, 18
Buttenweiser, Ann · 44

C

Chavez Ravine · 16
Chicago Housing Authority · 39
Chicago Renaissance · 33, 34
Chiu, Yung-Teen Annie · 17, 18, 83
Christopher Street Patrol · 47
Christopher Street Pier · iii, 27, 30, 44, 47, 48, 52, 69, 70, 72, 75, 78

Cincinnati · 28, 30, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 68, 77, 83, 85
Cincinnati Center City Development Corporation · 30, 61, 63
City planning · 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 18, 21, 22, 23, 65, 66, 67, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 81, 82
Claimed Space neighborhood · 26, 28, 67, 70, 71
Costello, Julia G. · 18

D

Deep Democracy · 14, 85
Derrida, Jacques · 16
Displacement · iii, 2, 3, 10, 25, 34, 36, 37, 38, 42, 73, 79, 80
Doan, Petra · 5, 6
Doyle, Noreen · ii, 30, 48, 49, 50, 53
Drake, St. Clair · 32
Dubrow, Gail · 17, 19
Dutton, Thomas · 62

E

Erfan, Aftab · 14, 15, 27, 84
Emily Badger · 32, 33

F

FIERCE · 30, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 83, 84
Findlay Market · 55

G

Gentrification · 23, 62, 64, 72, 73, 80
Giuliani, Rudy · 47
Global Warming Ball · 50, 51, 52, 83
Greenwich Village · 27, 44, 72, 77
Gunder, Michael · 10, 11, 13, 84

H

Hammelrath, Marge · ii, 30, 57, 58, 59,
60, 62, 63, 65, 69
Hayden, Dolores · 16, 21
Hareven, Tamara K. · 20
Hillier, Jean · 10, 11, 13, 84
Historic preservation · 5, 6, 7, 16, 21,
22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 42, 51, 52, 56, 60,
61, 63, 64, 66, 68, 75, 77, 80, 81
Horace Cayton · 32
Housing Act of 1949 · 1
Hudson River Park · 28, 30, 44, 47, 48,
49, 50, 51
Hudson River Park Trust · 30, 50, 51
Hyra, Derek · 36, 62

I

Intangible heritage · 51, 53, 71, 79, 80
Interstate Highway 75 · 57

J

Jones, Darren · 46

K

Kaufman, Ned · 19, 37, 52, 66
Korman, Daniel · ii, 30, 57, 61, 62

L

Lagos, Nigeria · 9
Langenbach, Randolph · 20, 84
Leslie Lohman Museum · 46, 84, 86
LGBT · 19
Los Angeles · 18, 83

M

Manhattan · 1, 27, 44, 45, 47, 83
Manhattantown · 1, 2, 73
Manhattanville · 2, 16
Marris, Peter · 4, 9
Mcgee, Keith · 39
Memory · 21
Mohamed, Rayman · 12
Music Hall, Cincinnati · 55, 57, 58

N

National Public Housing Museum · 39,
40, 43, 85, 86
New York City · 1, 27, 44, 45, 46, 47,
51, 52, 57, 73, 77, 83, 84, 85, 86
Normative city planning · 2, 3, 4, 8, 10,
11, 13, 18, 21, 25, 41, 53, 77, 78, 82

O

O'Keefe, Georgia · 19
Olson, Katie · ii, 30
Over-the-Rhine Chamber of Commerce
· 30, 58, 59, 61, 62
Over-the-Rhine Foundation · 58
Over-the-Rhine, Cincinnati · 28, 29, 30,
55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64,
65, 66, 68, 69, 72
Owensby, Roger · 60

P

Palimpsest · 67, 68
Paquot, Thierry · 11
Payton Jr., Phillip · 1
Pier 45 · iii, 27, 44, 47, 48, 49, 52, 53, 70
Preservation-led neighborhood · 28, 70, 71, 73
Prostitution · 45, 49
Pruitt Igoe · 16
Public housing · 25, 26, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 68, 71, 79
Public Housing Museum · 39, 40, 41, 64

Q

Queer · iii, 6, 19, 27, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 69, 70, 72, 75, 78, 79, 82, 84, 85
Queer youth of color · 27, 46, 49, 82

R

Reparative planning · 4, 6, 22, 63, 66, 67, 70, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 81, 82, See therapeutic planning
Reparative planning · 22
Richard H. Driehaus Foundation · 39
Ricouer, Paul · 16
Riots · 29, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 72
Robert Taylor Homes · 26, 34, 35

S

Safe spaces · 18
Sandercock, Leonie · 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 85
Schweitzer, Lisa · ii, 15, 16, 85

Slum · 1, 9, 74, 80
Social narratives · 52
Stateway, Chicago · 36, 39

T

The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience · 40, 67
Therapeutic planning · ii, 4, 11, 12, 14, 21, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82
Therapy · 11, 52
Thomas, Timothy · 60
Trauma · 3, 6, 9, 17, 21, 22, 25, 36, 38, 42, 62, 64, 68, 72, 73, 75, 76, 81
Tsulquate · 14, 15

U

Upper West Side · 1
Urban Renewal · iii, 1, 3, 8, 10, 23, 25, 26, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 57, 62, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 80, 84
Urban Renewal neighborhood · 73
Urban therapeutic · 11
Utopia · 3, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15

V

Voguing · 79

W

Wilson, E.O. · 11
World Business Chicago · 30

Z

Zoning · 18, 47