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PRESERVATION IDENTITY, IDEALS, AND EXPERTISE:

OUTCRIES OUTCASTS AND OUTCOMES IN PRESERVATION'S LIVABILITY DEBATE

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by

SHAWNA ADAMS

A TERMINAL PROJECT

Presented to the Departments of Planning, Public Policy, and Management
and Historic Preservation
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degrees of
Master of Science in Historic Preservation
and Master of Community and Regional Planning

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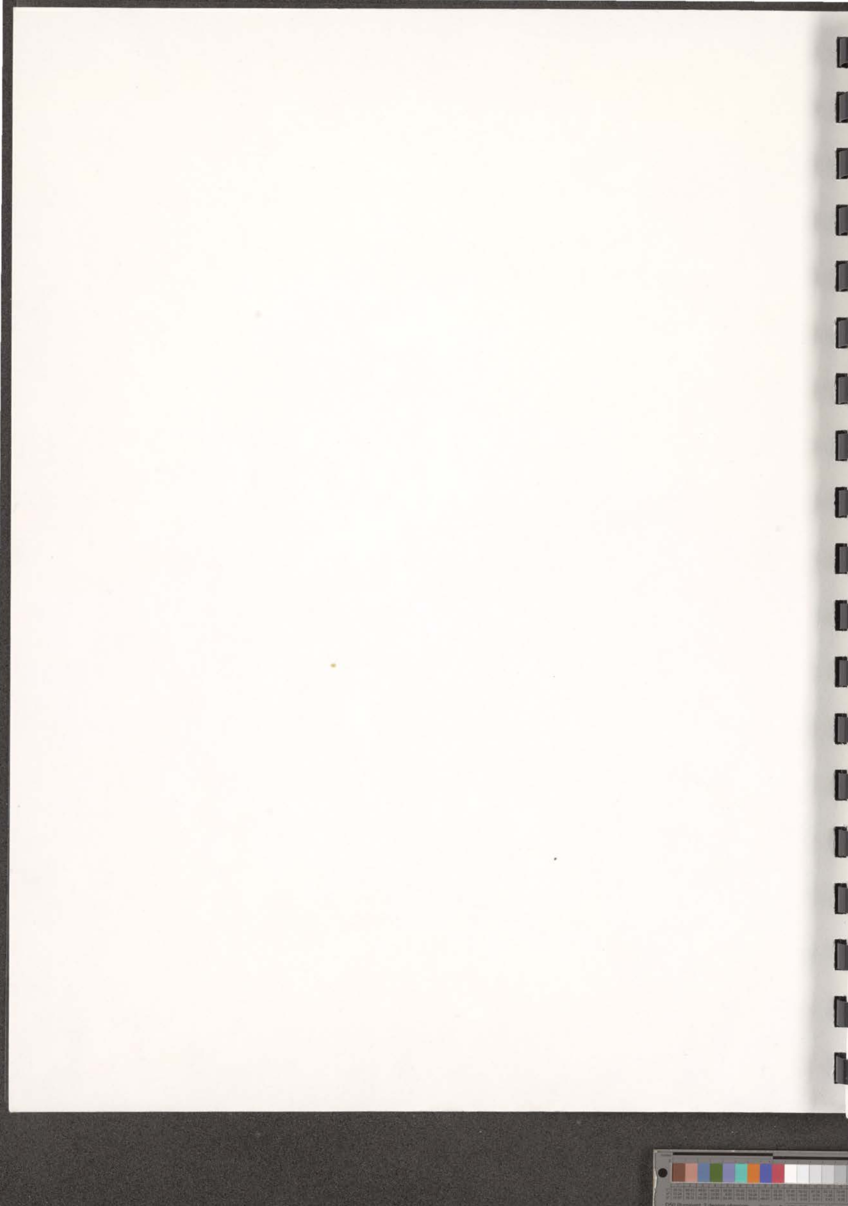

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CHAPTER 1—INTRODUCTION

Do you think I am trying to weave a spell? Perhaps I am; but remember your fairy tales. Spells are used for breaking enchantments as well as to induce them. (C.S. Lewis)

The most important thing, therefore, that we can know about man is what he takes for granted, and the most elemental and important facts about a society are those that are seldom debated and generally regarded as settled. (Louis Wirth, in *Social Geography: A Reader*)

INTRODUCTION

We live in an era dominated by far-reaching migrations of people and capital, unprecedented urbanization, and technological and ecological transformations (Massey et al., 1994). These trends are accompanied by increasing economic disparity, social disenfranchisement, and disruption of social and political systems at local and national levels (Haddow, 2002). In the United States, conventional approaches to governance often prove ineffective in providing for health, welfare, and safety of citizens (Thompson, 2000; Wilson, 1996). And so, public confidence in government falters (Madanipour et al., 2001).

The populace expects that governmental institutions will meet their diverse needs, including concerns with such issues as social justice, personal liberties, and environmental sustainability. This populace comprises individuals who feel politically impotent and marginalized (Madanipour et al., 2001).[1] Their feelings of disenfranchisement reach beyond their mere inability to influence policy decisions. Matters of policy and administration, the purpose and function of government, rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and the meaning of the public interest are all contested terrain in the current

[1] Michael J. Sandel has argued that two issues "lie at the heart of democracy's discontent. One is the fear that, individually and collectively, we are losing control of the forces that govern our lives. The other is the sense that, from family to neighborhood, to nation, the moral fabric of community is unraveling around us.

political climate (Stehr, Anderson, et al., 2000). As these issues are negotiated, the proper role of both government and the governed are being redefined (Madanipour, et al., 2001). If governmental institutions mean to respond effectively to challenges, they must provide public services in new ways.

Placemaking professions dedicated to quality of the built environment, such as architecture, urban planning, and historic preservation, are not immune to issues facing governmental institutions. The president of Partners for Livable Communities, Robert McNulty, maintains, "Anyone who tries to define the challenges confronting American cities today and determine how well communities overcome them will be frustrated by two pervasive elements: rapid change and growing diversity." (Partners for Livable Communities, 2000). His concern echoes more widely in the multidisciplinary discourse which has arisen among urban placemaking professionals in recent decades (Miles, 1996). Urban theorists such as Ali Madanipour, Patsy Healey, and Angela Hull (2001) would maintain that this discourse is driven, at least in part, by the need to substantiate professional legitimacy. They suggest that placemaking professions, if they are to survive, must demonstrate that they are effectively and fairly managing environmental change. In so demonstrating, each profession must balance multiple objectives, while also maintaining a distinct professional identity. Failing to achieve such objectives, they caution, places the professions at risk of marginalization.

Placemaking professionals will need to rely on more than promotional and educational strategies to respond to such challenges effectively. They must question the relevance of professional knowledge and practices in light of contemporary circumstances (Sandercock,

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These two fears—the loss of self-government and the erosion of community—together define the anxiety of our age" (Moe, 1997, p. 248).

1998). Scholars argue that even conventional understandings of concepts, such as "place" and "community," must be expanded if placemaking professions are truly to contend with contemporary issues (Thompson, 2000).

Urbanist Malcolm Miles looks to emerging multidisciplinary discourse as a starting point to expand professional knowledge (Miles, 1996). Miles maintains that this discourse creates an invaluable opportunity for placemaking professionals to think about their professions from different perspectives. These varying perspectives, he proposes, promise to uncover questions about social justice and citizenship, professional identity and legitimacy, and conventional ideas about the built environment.

The concept of "livability" is particularly useful for considering professionals' assumptions and understandings about the built world. Placemaking professionals employ the term "livability" as a qualitative descriptor of the lived environment and its capacity to support residents' health and well-being (Miles,1996). In an advertisement for the 1988 "Remaking Cities Conference," the American Institute of Architects and Royal Institute of British Architects referred to livability as the "new measure of cities" and the "qualitative scale by which cities must compete for emerging opportunities"(Boyer, 1995, p. 87).[2] Because livability is readily appropriated to dispute or substantiate the merits or value of a place, it offers a convenient point of reference to question professional assumptions.

Interest in and reverence for the past increases in times of unsettling rapid change (Lowenthal, 1985; Smith-Shirmer, 1994). This interest extends to features of the built environment that convey a sense of history and stability, and explains the emergence of the historic preservation profession in the latter half of the twentieth century (Madanipour,

Healey et al., 2001). Several scholars have shown that the value which one attributes to the built environment is inseparable from one's associative and aesthetic impressions, including those impressions which impart a sense of stability and history (Wagner, 1998). Since livability is a qualitative measure of the environment, it also measures aesthetic and associative impressions. Livability substantially correlates, then, to the idea of historic character. This is not to say historic character necessarily contributes to livability. The livable place may not be found within an idyllic historic district that no longer meets residents' needs; conversely, the non-livable place may have historic and symbolic significance. Notably, however, historic preservationists[3] do consider the functional, aesthetic, and associative dimensions of the built environment to be a significant contributing factor. In this way, as Malcolm Miles suggests, historic preservation offers a broad foundation upon which assumptions regarding quality of the built environment and livability may be examined from different perspectives.

Environmental change, social diversity, and the future of the profession are common themes in recent historic preservation scholarship and practice. Essays collected in *Preservation of What, For Whom? A Critical Look at Historical Significance* (1998) are recognized as a landmark in the treatment of these issues. The collection is the first publication in a series of conference proceedings focusing on the future of the historic preservation profession. Sponsors of the series aim to spark a highly visible discussion

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[2] Here, the context of this statement consists of a postindustrial global economy, in addition to information networks, instant communications, and fast and efficient transportation systems that have disconnected people and business from places and brought dramatic and rapid change to cities.

[3] By preservationist, I refer to professionals who are either employed in some branch of the field, or who otherwise devote substantial time to related activities, such as members of a historic review board. I recognize that advocates, architectural historians, conservators, and others may also consider themselves to be preservationists, but I use the term more narrowly as a matter of convenience. "If preservationists could recognize the social reform roots of their movement, they would be more apt to see their project as shaping healthier urban and rural environments." (Page & Mason, 2004, p. 14).

about the importance of historic preservation as a matter of public policy. The first publication's title suggests that stakes have been raised, that preservationists must consider the significance of what they seek to preserve with regard to their diverse audience. David Ames, chair of the National Council for Preservation Education, writes in his "Introduction" to the series:

> The field has matured significantly since the late 1960s. Looking ahead, we must ask whether the programs, policies, standards, guidelines, and processes that currently govern historic preservation are still as appropriate and relevant as they should be. We need also to ask how preservationists should respond to the changing demographic patterns of the nation, development patterns, the debate between the common good and individual property rights, the trend toward devolved authority from the federal government and "less government" at all levels. Finally, how can the answers to these questions become incorporated into a field that cuts across academic disciplines, professional practice, and a number of public policies? (Ames, 1998)

The essay collection explores how the preservation community responds to environmental change and multiple publics. The sponsors aim to spark a highly visible discussion of the importance of historic preservation as a matter of public policy and aim to recast the need for preservation in this new context.

This study, in effect, takes its cue from the issues raised in Ames' call to action by exploring the role the historic preservation field in this context and the manner in which the historic preservation community is responding to these issues as they relate to social diversity and growth politics. How we go about these tasks lays the groundwork for the future of the profession and, therefore, merits attention. As keeper of the National Register of Historic Places William Murtagh proclaims, "At its best, preservation engages the past in a conversation over the future" (Murtagh, 1993). Constance Beaumont has expressed similar sentiments:

> Preservationists are really futurists concerned about the quality, continuity, and diversity of our society. Preservation is a broad philosophy that takes a

> stand on such matters as history, stewardship, and most importantly, the impact of change on people and the environment in which they live. (1992)

What stand does historic preservation take on these matters? This study takes the position that preservationists must first have a clear comprehension of the implications of that stand before they can seriously engage in discussion about the questions Ames raises. Are the conventions of historic preservation as "appropriate and relevant" as they should be? Have conventions ever been appropriate for diverse publics? This study not only asks the questions, but also attempts to show that the ideals to which preservationists and planners aspire are deserving of close analysis. Importantly, the placemaking professions must understand how appropriateness and relevancy are determined and consider the extent to which professional conventions are, and have ever been, appropriate and relevant for diverse publics. In asking these questions, I am problematizing professional understandings to better comprehend the political and ethical dimensions of the work that placemaking professionals do.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Historic preservationists and other placemaking professionals act with the intention of influencing the physical environment, or of the way in which people understand and relate to their physical surroundings. They act purposefully to affect particular and desirable outcomes, which have disparate impacts on the built environment and citizens' lives (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995). Within the public sphere, desirable outcomes are often understood in terms of the general public good or interest—or more specifically, in terms of "livability" (Pacione, 2001). The ideal of livability serves as the objective and the justification for placemaking policies and practices in the land use arena.

Historic Preservationists contend their practices are integral to the public good, to community livability. The basis for this contention does not appear to be widely politicized or examined in preservation scholarship. Historic preservationists are left, therefore, to set a new course from a place of impoverishment, since they lack substantial critical writing about their practices and values. Such writing would offer a vocabulary and forum for debate about the proper role of government in livability or even about the meaning of a heterogeneous[4] public interest, representing the multiple publics whom preservationists aspire (and claim) to serve.

THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study aims to establish a framework in which critical interrogation of the preservation profession and its assumptions is both possible and integral to practice. Analysis is subjective, self-reflective, and self-questioning: who are we as professionals, what are our philosophies and ideals, and how do these philosophies both help and harm the publics we serve? The study explores the manner in which the preservation community acts on its concern for a more democratic and culturally inclusive sphere of activity and how it establishes professional relevancy and legitimacy in what I refer to as the "contemporary context." The study also considers which preservation outcomes are desirable and undesirable, which desirable outcomes are deemed relevant, and how desirable outcomes measure against one another in terms of their relative value and significance.

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[4] In *Undoing Place*, Young (1997) indicates heterogeneous public "means that the social groups of society have a differentiated place in that public, with mutual recognition of the specificity of the groups in the public" (1997, p. 340).

To identify key research questions, this study began with a broad-based, cursory review of titles, abstracts, and publications addressing urban planning, historic preservation and, more generally, locality studies. Four questions emerged from the preliminary research to define the subject of inquiry.

1. **What ideologies and understandings shape preservation objectives and policies in the land-use arena?**

This question seeks to understand the epistemological foundations for historic preservation by examining scholarship, policy, and practice. How do preservationists know what they know? What are the theoretical frameworks in which they work? How do those frameworks influence the way preservationists understand and explain the world in which they work?

2. **How do these ideologies and understandings shape placemaking activities and social processes with respect to the politics of power, identity, and exclusion?**

This question explores the multidisciplinary perspectives regarding diverse publics and representations of the spatial, social, and temporal dimensions of placemaking activity. As historic preservationists, we represent our social and physical environment in certain ways, which in turn disproportionately impact the physical and social environment of individuals. This question considers what these representations thus reveal about the extent to which the profession is poised to serve a heterogeneous public. Is the profession prepared to question its responses and strategies toward these varied groups?

3. **In what ways do historic preservation practices potentially undermine or support livability objectives within the context of multiple publics?**

Recent directions in scholarship and practice indicate that historic preservation aims to serve diverse publics. Which historic preservation approaches promise to foster deliberation on collective quality-of-life interests? Which approaches presume a

homogeneous public interest and shelter professional authority from examination? What are the omissions and blind spots that undermine the critical examination of such assumptions?

4. **What strategies are consistent with livability objectives within the land use arena and, in particular, historic preservation practice?**

This question helps identify approaches and strategies that will enable critical examination of the field. In contrast to the third question, which attempts to identify obstacles to the acknowledgment of a heterogeneous public interest, this question attempts to identify approaches that promise to facilitate such acknowledgment both within and outside the profession.

These four research questions define the scope of this study. They have been selected for their rhetorical value, insofar as they establish a foundation for considering the implications of recent directions in preservation from differing vantage points. Each question designs to foreground professional understandings and social implications of the work preservationists do. From this intention, we may appreciate the epistemological framework from which professional identity derives. Moreover, we may then discuss what distinguishes legitimate, or 'good', preservation from illegitimate preservation, and what distinguishes preservation from other disciplines. Further, we may necessarily assess implications of professional identity in light of the profession's effort to respond to social diversity and community changes.

The first question functions as the springboard for the analysis. In addressing this question throughout the study, I examine the historic preservation profession's ideological foundations and conventions, insomuch as they represent and respond to historical and social contexts in which they operate. In turn, these foundations and conventions are

revealed to be knowledge claims (i.e., stances taken by the profession, as opposed to universal virtues or truths). With professional understandings and practices thus framed, knowledge construction becomes relevant to the process of placemaking.

The second question leads us to the heart of our examination and questions implications and limitations of placemaking activity. To establish a framework to consider those political dimensions which may be unaccounted for or negated in professional rhetoric, I will consider and discuss professional representations and responses within an explicit political, historical, and geographic context. Leonie Sandercock (1998a, p. 14) refers to these unaccounted political dimensions as "erasures and exclusions implicit in the process of forging a professional identity." She argues such erasures and omissions are responsible for reinforcing exclusionary practices.

The third and fourth questions challenge preservationists to define success in a manner that accounts for these exclusions. These questions identify conventions that are overlooked, and identify common themes and patterns.

FRAMES OF REFERENCE

Historic Preservation

Passage of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) inaugurates the contemporary historic preservation movement in the United States.[5]

In crafting the Act, the U.S. historic preservation agenda was defined, justified, and codified in law. It was transformed from a private agenda into public policy, bearing on society's general health and welfare. Although the genesis of preservation precedes 1966,

[5] Prior to the NHPA, there was merely an interest in historic preservation—the lead figures were architectural historians or advocates. After the Act, however, the profession became an institution—now a structure or

the NHPA rendered historic preservation a subject for which legitimate practices and philosophies could be declared. In effect, the Act legitimized the burgeoning preservation movement as serving an important public function. The Act continues to be instrumental in shaping the discipline's identity, because historic preservation has, since 1966, become a popular public undertaking for local, state, and federal governments.

Disciplinary understandings of historic preservation and its role in the public sector have broadened since passage of the NHPA. Notably, the historic preservation community has adopted the goal of preserving a "sense of place" and a "historic context" (Lewis, 1985). As a result, both the domain of preservation and the multiplicity of historic resources recognized within the profession have greatly expanded. Strategies employed to protect the physical context of historically significant properties are expanding in kind. Preservation strategies such as scenic easements, overlay districts, and conservation districts exemplify how the domain of preservation has widened to include not just the preservation of individual landmarks, but also the preservation of entire historic districts (Hamer, 1998).

The contemporary historic preservation profession continues to associate with diverse occupations, including archaeology, architectural history and conservation, management of historic home museums, and preservation planning. Fundamentally, all these occupations tend to involve the establishment, interpretation, or implementation of standards used to identify and prioritize aspects of the material environment which merit protection from change. In this sense, historic preservation is a "placemaking profession," much like community planning, architecture, and landscape architecture. These professions all act

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mechanism was in place to distinguish preservationists from other professionals. This is not to say there were not progenitors to the 1966 Historical Preservation Act, such as the Antiquities Act.

intentionally, to influence the physical environment or the manner in which people understand and relate to their material surroundings (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995).

The preservation profession espouses two philosophical precepts. First, the physical environment's character influences individual experience not only in material ways but also in inspirational, educational, and symbolic ways (Zukin, 1995). Second, that character influences the general health, safety, and welfare of society in positive or negative ways.

Currently, historic preservation receives popular acceptance and generally is considered to be of public benefit, not only by the preservation community, but, to a lesser extent, by legislators and other placemaking professions. Even so, an absence of popular support persists toward particular preservation initiatives whose issues concern land, labor, or capital (Zukin, 1995). For this reason, the preservation community, despite widespread success and support, must continually reassert its legitimacy in the public realm (Ames, 1998).

Success begets critics, too. Criticisms range from preservation's part in contributing to gentrification and the economic displacement of low-income residents, to aesthetic professionalism, museification of the landscape, and a feeling of "placelessness" described simply as not relating to the environment in which one lives (Zukin, 1995). More generally, many consider historic preservation a specialized enterprise serving interests of a privileged segment of the broader population (Dubrow, 1998; French, 1979).

However, as Robin Datel (1995) explains, "Preservationists do not see themselves as elitists, but conversely, as people engaged in the democratization of decision-making about places, since without their participation, the opinion of an even smaller group—the property owners involved—would likely carry the day." Little surprise that the preservation community, then, regards the point of view that historic preservation is elitist

as being a more significant issue than elitism itself. For instance, "Goal 1" of the 1996 Oregon State Historic Preservation Plan aims to dispel the "common misperception" that historic preservation serves elite interests. The prescribed remedy consists of promotion, education, and citizen outreach, as opposed to more substantive changes in direction.

Several preservationists have openly acknowledged that the historic preservation movement has privileged elite interests to some extent.[6] Gail Dubrow, for instance, is a preservation advocate concerned with social justice. She acknowledges the preservation movement has been aligned with elite interests in the past. She explains that preservation's history reveals a combining of "elements of naive patriotic fervor and aesthetic preoccupation with a narrow view of what is significant about the built environment and the past" (Dubrow, 1998, p. 57). Dubrow also contends that recent publications, practices, and agendas "bear witness to a growing concern for making preservation a more democratic and culturally inclusive sphere of activity recognizing multiple publics" (Dubrow, 1998, p. 57).

Do recent directions in practice truly respond to the claims of elitism waged against the profession? If the ultimate purpose of setting a new course for preservation is to recast importance of the profession in the context of a heterogeneous public interest, as David Ames and other preservationists suggest, is it realistic to expect that this new course will actually serve the interests of those who question the legitimacy of professional knowledge and practices?

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[6] For example: Crysler, 1996; Dubrow, 1998; Green, 1998; Sandercock, 1998; Stipe & Lee, 1995.

Livability

In recent decades, "livability," along with "sustainability," "empowerment," and "diversity," has become a familiar buzzword proffered in political debates within the public policy realm. While recognizing that these terms are not mutually exclusive, I focus on "livability" in particular, because this concept is employed most generally to describe qualities of the human environment and refers directly to the relationship between human experience, place, and the general public good. In essence, livability describes the ideal community with respect to the physical and social form it should take.

The term "livable" is descriptive of environments capable of supporting residents' health and well-being. Although "livability's" definitions and sense are disputable, the term, according to Alan Jacobs and Donald Appleyard, is in concert with notions of "identity and control; access to opportunity and territory; a 'sense of place' encapsulating beauty, imagination, and joy; open [for] communities and public life"; and self reliance and justice as goals for future human environments (in Miles, 1997, p. 190). Professions such as historic preservation and land use planning follow suit and respond to current trends in their dedication to create and maintain "livable" places.

Livability emerges in the discourse of challenges confronting cities. During a city-wide visioning process in Eugene, Oregon, called "Shaping Eugene's Future," a growth management glossary was published. In the glossary, "community" was defined as "the territory within a geographic boundary. The physical and social characteristics of a place and the human relationships that create and sustain connectedness within this place" (Shaping Eugene's Future, 1996, p. 12). Moreover, "livability" was defined as "a combination of characteristics of a community that together denotes positive qualities associated with living in that community." In the context provided by Jacobs and

Appleyard, these definitions lend insight into physical and social variables believed to impact the quality of community life. The question then is: what are the characteristics that make for positive community?

Here again, use of the term livability is important. Claims about livability are often invoked to address quality-of-life issues facing particular locales. Some communities conceive livability in terms of particular social circumstances, such as workforce preparedness or racial conflict. Other conceptions more narrowly focus on desirable neighborhood design, or access to cultural institutions and amenities such as libraries, parks, and museums. In fact, certain popular urban design ideologies, including Smart Growth initiatives and New Urbanism, have become emblematic of the livability ideal.

While definitions established by the City of Eugene within the context Jacobs and Appleyard describe accurately reflect the parameters and spirit in which the terms are understood here, the reader should take note that, in this study, the terms are employed to signify the vocabulary, ideals, processes, and social currency at work in the economy of placemaking. They are not intended to signify the "stuff" that makes communities livable—i.e., the urban arrangements and amenities, design principles, or implementation measures.

Social-Spatial Theory

In recent decades, substantial scholarship generated across multiple disciplines considers relationships between society and place. Issues of social processes of power and resistance, spatial practices, representation, and identity figure prominently in this research. Throughout this study, I rely heavily on scholarship surrounding these broad themes to draw attention to some social, political, and cultural struggles in which preservationists

participate, and which I believe likely will remain largely unaddressed in preservation discourse. I do not intend to offer a sustained analysis of the many trajectories and debates of this scholarship or to advocate a particular stance. This study does, however, subscribe to certain positions that have gained widespread acceptance and which should be made clear at the outset. In subsequent chapters, three interdependent threads are of particular relevance to the analysis: situated knowledge, cultural hegemony and agency, and place and socio-spatial processes.

Situated Knowledge

Essentially, this study follows the "new paradigm" for urban studies that formed in the 1970s to emphasize "normative theory (of how things ought to be) and is . . . largely concerned with . . . drawing out the ideological and distributional implications of alternative positions but also being critically aware of its own premises" (Haraway, 1997, p. 53).

This new paradigm closely aligns with the climate of social theory associated with postmodern, postcolonial, and feminist perspectives. These theoretical positions reject the positivist emphasis of knowledge, which assumes that knowledge can be discovered through scientific inquiry by an objective researcher. Instead, scholars emphasize that researchers are situated in specific social, geographical, historical locations, and that neither the knower nor the knowledge she recognizes can be value neutral (Harding, in Staeheli & Clarke, 1995, p. 5). As Iris Young argues, theories represented as universal or objective are local, historically rooted, and partial (Young, 1990). The researcher's location or position significantly affects how she experiences, interprets, and represents the world to others. Proponents of this view, therefore, argue that attention must be given to

the manner in which our unique location as individuals or as part of a larger professional community structures our vision (Hanson & Pratt, 1995). According to Sandra Harding, the challenge is to pinpoint the socially situated character of knowledge denied by the conventional view (Harding, 1991). In this study, I argue that this same attention should be given to the manner in which location structures professional understandings and practices. If we, as members of a professional community, seek to answer to multiple publics, then we must scrutinize our own positions and the way they structure our values, methods, and interpretation of material circumstances.[7]

Cultural Hegemony and Agency

The idea of situated knowledge implies a certain politics of location in which different individuals represent the world from different positions. Historic preservationists seek to influence both the character and understandings of the built environment. Human geographer Doreen Massey maintains that "to understand place and how it is changed over time it is necessary to understand the evolving interplay between different social relations in work, in social life outside work, and in political activity in that place" (Massey, 1994, p. 17). It follows that we, as placemaking professionals, must comprehend that interplay if we are to expand our understandings of environmental change and the work we do. We must not only consider the relative differences but also the relative influences those positions afford. Postcolonial cultural theorist Edward Said submits that "ideas, cultures, and histories cannot seriously be understood without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied" (Said, 1978, p. 5). Said explains that in any society certain cultural forms and understandings carry more weight than others. The

[7] This positioning is an essential component of what Code terms "epistemological responsibility" that allows for reflexivity.

ability to influence cultural understandings is a form of social power, often referred to as "cultural hegemony," a term introduced by Marxist cultural theorist Antonio Gramsci (Lefebvre, 1994, p. 10). As the "term is generally understood, 'cultural hegemony' refers to the process by which more powerful forces in society succeed in privileging and socially reproducing their perspectives through cultural processes, like education or media, largely with the consent of those having less influence" (Keith & Pile, 1997, p.2).

Many theorists subscribing to this view of cultural hegemony emphasize that social power is also expressed through the process of resistance. Geographer Steve Pile compares the two processes as follows:

> People are positioned differently in unequal and multiple power relationships, that more and less powerful people are active in the constitution of unfolding relationships of authority, meaning, and identity, that these activities are contingent, ambiguous and awkwardly situated, but that resistance seeks to occupy, deploy and create alternative spatiality from those defined through oppression and exploitation. (Keith & Pile, 1997, p. 2)

Contemporary social theory employs two interdependent terms to describe the way in which social relations unfold: structure and agency (Dear, 2002, p. 2). This theory of structuration holds that knowledgeable actors, referred to as agents, create human landscapes. The term "agency" refers to voluntaristic actions of individuals and groups in influencing outcomes of social process. Human agents operate within a specific social context, referred to as "social structure." Dear and Wolch define structures as "long-term, deep-seated social practices that govern daily life, such as law, state and family, that are often taken for granted and may even be hidden from consciousness. The structure-agency relationship is mediated by a series of institutional arrangements, which both enable and constrain human actions" (Dear & Wolch, 1989, p. 6).

Proponents of structuration theory differ in emphasis on the determinant role of the structure in maintaining relations of social power versus the will, or volunteerism, of the agent in resisting and changing the status quo. We should recognize that both extremes acknowledge a dialectic between structure and agency, albeit conceived in diverse ways, where structures are both constituted by voluntary human actions, and at the same time serve as the medium through which material and social circumstances of agents are constructed (Thrift, 1996).

Theorists such as Pile who are concerned with social resistance tend to de-emphasize structural analysis of power. Such an emphasis, they caution, can lead to the conclusion that no spaces outside power relations exist from which we might possibly resist injuries of injustice and oppression (Keith & Pile, 1997).[8] This concern may explain why many feminist, postcolonial, and subaltern theorists focus on issues of identity and difference which are not readily examined in a rigid structurationist framework.

Socio-Spatial Processes

For several decades, scholars of cultural and urban studies have argued that significance of the built environment cannot be understood without understanding politics of location and social processes. More recent scholarship emphasizes that politics of location and social processes cannot be understood irrespective of the physical environment and spatial relations in which such social processes occur. This assertion is particularly relevant to efforts of historic preservation, given the central role of place in preservation scholarship and practice (Graham, 2000).

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[8] Ironically, Crow (1996) criticizes Pile for doing just that.

Outside placemaking professions, the idea of place and its value has taken a prominent position in the agendas of many disciplines (Crow, 1996). "Place" is both a concrete and abstract term, and definitions of place vary greatly. Place is commonly described in terms of particular bounded "sites" of various scales, such as dwellings, cities, or nations, or as "landscape" images wrought with symbolic and textual content, such as "land" or "property" implying certain rights, or as the "absolute space" in which social and historical processes occur. Social geographer Linda McDowell (1989) explains how the twentieth century's enormous changes have altered the way places function and our sense of place. The result has been a general anxiety over the meaning of place. McDowell notes that these trends have inspired a more sophisticated conceptualization of place and locality as more than geographic territories. Madanipour et al. (2001) note that spatial planners commonly conceive of place and space from a limited dichotomous perspective which fosters exclusion, such as created or natural, local or global, and public or private. She argues the only way to overcome this limited perspective is to examine place and space at the intersection of traditional dichotomies (Madanipour, Healy, et al., 2001, p. 8).

Theorists concerned with positionality and social process tend to refer to place in less familiar terms. Frequently, place is conceived as a "space" of social and spatial practices, or as "subject-positions" in such studies, where the argument proposes that place, like professional knowledge, is conditioned by power relations. McDowell (1999) describes this new view of place, as it is understood in human geography:

> Geographers now argue that places are contested, fluid and uncertain. It is socio-spatial practices that define places and these practices result in overlapping and intersecting places with multiple and changing boundaries, constituted and maintained by social relations of power and exclusion. Places are made through power relations, which construct the rules, which define the boundaries. These boundaries are both social and spatial—they define who belongs to a place and who may be excluded. (p. 2)

Theorists such as Doreen Massey (1994) focus on the way in which ideas about space reinforce exclusive practices. Conceptions of public and private space, work and home, are frequently implicated in such literature. Other theorists focus on built form itself; for example, geographer David Sibley (1995) has demonstrated that subtle rules of inclusion and exclusion are embedded in the built environment. He concludes that some find built forms desirable and others find them oppressive for this reason. When evaluating places, we must ask who belongs and who does not belong and how that division is maintained. According to Sibley, we must consider accounts of the barriers and constraints from those who are excluded if we are to understand how our own assumptions are privileged in the design of spaces and places. Scholars, including Sibley and Massey, illuminate how even the most mundane conflicts over place have much to reveal about the nature of power and resistance.

Critical Inquiry

This study focuses on the reciprocal relationship between the constitution of places and people and the role of historic preservation in that relationship. In this context, I question whether recent directions in practice and scholarship are likely to include interests of a heterogeneous public with respect to livability. The answer to the question, I maintain, is a function of advocates' willingness to confront and detect operations of privilege and exclusion, operations that may be normalized within the profession.

That preservationists now say they need to attend to multiple publics (and are strategizing ways to do so) acknowledges the possibility that they have not been fair in certain ways. However, if the need to recast the value of historic preservation in the

contemporary context drives this concern, then our motivation may be driven more by professional promotion than by truly inclusionary preservation approaches. To the extent this is correct, it serves as an incentive to invalidate alternative views as irrelevant or contrary to "legitimate" and pressing preservation concerns. This study argues centrally that if we, as members of placemaking professions, are to acknowledge a heterogeneous public domain, then we are obliged to consider favored presumptions and sacred truths upon which we rely. If we are to facilitate livability, then we need to acknowledge multiple publics. If we do not take this stance, certain questions will not be asked and we default to the status quo.

This perspective is consistent with the idea of critical inquiry, or critical theory. The goal of critical theory, as described by Jan Penrose and Peter Jackson, is not to "expose the falseness of the constructs with which we are presented, but rather to expose the falseness of our unquestioning acceptance of these constructs from which their legitimacy derives" (Penrose & Jackson, 1993, p. 3). Explaining how this is accomplished, Iris Young describes critical theory as a "mode of discourse which projects normative possibilities unrealized or felt in a particular social reality" (Young, 1990, p. 5). My goal in this study is not to invalidate professional understandings but rather to interrogate certain tenets which appear to be upheld without question. The underlying assumption is that professional claims made in the absence of such interrogation run greater risk of reaffirming and reifying existing social injustices. According to Nancy Duncan, identifying professional blind spots is an essential component of socially progressive authority. "If social researchers are to situate their knowledge claims in a socially progressive rather than solipsistic or self-authorizing way, consideration of the social, spatial, political and historical situation, and limitations of one's knowledge claims must become an integral

part of the research process." (Duncan, 1996, p. 4). Are preservationists' efforts to embrace multiple publics self-authorizing? Is there a place for social resistance in historic preservation?

Significance of Research Findings and Recommendations to the Field of Historic Preservation

Why are critical perspectives important to the preservation profession? Professional identity, ideals, and expertise constrain and direct action and understanding (Ligget & Perry, 1995). Absent critical perspectives, we are limited in what we can say as preservationists, and generally compromised in our ability to deliberate collective quality-of-life interests as placemaking professionals (Sandercock, 1998a). More than that, we blindly perpetuate prevailing systems of power and exclusion in the name of inclusion and livability. The way we think about place, history, and society is relevant to contemporary challenges facing preservation and livability. Placemaking practices and this way of thinking influence action and have real material effects with political and ethical implications. Professional legitimacy depends on accounting for how foundations of historic preservation both define and foster exclusionary practices.

This study is significant because it provides a vocabulary and platform for preservationists and other placemaking professionals to examine their professions critically. In turn, the professions will be better equipped to plan for collective interests in a livable future. This study shows why ideals to which placemaking professions aspire are deserving of close analysis, and identifies relevant, and prevalent, critical perspectives from a variety of disciplines that are rarely implicated in preservation discourse. Moreover, the study identifies some ways that professional identity, professional ideals, and

professional expertise legitimize everyday preservation practices by thwarting critical examination.

Although recent scholarship in historic preservation values the idea of reassessing the profession so that it attends to "multiple publics," few preservationists have taken this challenge from theory into practice. Through this study, I seek to evaluate the preparedness of placemaking professions, particularly the historic preservation profession, to advance the interest to which the professions are increasingly dedicated. The goal, in other words, is to lay the foundation by which preservationists might critically examine their profession. In laying this foundation, I show that issues of diversity and social justice are important considerations for the preservation profession, as are theories and perspectives from outside the field.

I also illustrate that principles, techniques, and specialized knowledge which constitute the preservation discipline are not value-neutral. Research findings will identify useful preservation approaches that professionals and community residents may undertake in order to be more sensitive to demands of a heterogeneous public interest.

AUDIENCE

This thesis is intended for preservation and other placemaking professionals and others interested in the study or practice of preservation, livability, and people involved in social and environmental change.

METHODOLOGY

This study presents a qualitative meta-analysis as the principal methodological approach. The analysis is grounded in critical inquiry. Examining key concepts from

spatial and social theory, I seek to establish a theoretical framework which can be applied to everyday preservation discourse and practice.

The study employs a symptomatic reading of academic and popular discourse. I inquire what this discourse reveals about professional literacy, legitimacy, and identity. What are the gaps, disjunctures, and erasures in discourse about the field? What scholarship about place and multiple publics is relevant from other disciplines? In asking these questions, I examine how this discourse impacts understandings of everyday historic preservation practice and the built environment. As a means of bridging theory to practice, I consider the opportunities and barriers that land use and historic preservation policies pose for community members in Eugene, Oregon. Specifically, the following methodological approaches frame the inquiry:

- A transdisciplinary literature review identifies key themes relating to the research subject.
- A symptomatic discourse analysis examines the representation of the research subject in disciplinary and interdisciplinary rhetoric.

I collected information through coursework, personal observations, individualized study, and experiences with historic district initiatives while under contract at the City of Eugene Planning Division.

Scope and Limitations

This study takes the position that interests of multiple publics matter to historic preservation. These diverse interests are not just a practical consideration for the profession; preservationists have an ethical obligation to avail ourselves of differing circumstances and needs of individuals and groups comprising the public we aim to serve. The study subscribes to the view that this obligation can only be met if we examine and

modify assumptions, methods, and procedures that have been the profession's mainstay, and which have given rise to injustice and exclusivity. If we question these assumptions, we will be better equipped to plan for our collective interest in a livable future.

Accordingly, this study questions the extent to which the preservation profession is poised to serve a heterogeneous public. I focus on theoretical perspectives not widely addressed in preservation literature. I intend to demonstrate their relevance and provide grounds for further examination and discussion. I favor those perspectives implying that the nexus between professional endeavors and the interests of a heterogeneous public are expansive. I do not present a comprehensive survey of the diversity of preservation scholarship and practices, or present empirical findings. Nor do I prescribe a plan of action.

Personal Motivations

The idea for this study emerged in response to efforts of the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) to clarify public interest in historic preservation. I learned of the SHPO's interest in summer 1998, while reviewing the "Oregon Research Needs List," a web-based list of research projects maintained by the University of Oregon's Student Originated Studies Program. The Oregon SHPO was one of many governmental and nonprofit agencies that contributed to the list.

The Oregon SHPO research project was entitled, "What is the public interest in historic preservation?" Researchers were directed to gather information from stakeholders and advocates to ascertain and articulate that public interest. The research would serve to help implement "Goal 1" of the 1996 Oregon State Historic Preservation Plan, which is to "seek, hear, and integrate the concerns of all Oregonians in planning for the state's historic and prehistoric cultural resources, to support local efforts to preserve them, and to increase

opportunities for participation in the process." The purpose of the goal is to dispel "the common misperception that historic preservation is the concern of an elite interest." The authors of the goal indicate that, because of this misperception, "Oregonians with a genuine heritage interest do not always identify themselves as part of the preservation community."

The SHPO research project also furthers "Goal 2" of the plan, which advocates a clear understanding of, and appreciation for, Oregon's heritage in the executive and legislative branches of the state government. The plan explains that "Goal 2" is important, because, "[A]lthough protecting our heritage is recognized as an important cultural value it has not been given priority status." In addition, the plan maintains that "political support will result from education by inclusion, the distribution of objective information, and the voices of organized preservation constituents."

I was initially attracted to the SHPO project's seeming straightforwardness, parameters, and practical applicability. I also saw the project as an opportunity to relate historic preservation to other scholarship I was reading simultaneously, particularly works concerning issues of multiculturalism, identity, and the meaning of place. Consistent with recent directions in preservation practice and scholarship, I sought to clarify historic preservation's unique contributions to livable communities and to the needs of multiple publics. As I began my research, I soon learned the notion of livability and the public interest were widely debated in scholarship in the social sciences and humanities. The presumption that attending to the public interest was possible, by surveying stakeholders and promoting preservation, seemed only to minimize the public's varying views, which, from my perspective, were growing in significance.

As I researched further, I began to see the SHPO question and goals for the 1996 plan were emblematic of preservation practices in general. First, the question and plan presumes that historic preservation serves the public interest. Second, they distract us from seriously questioning whether professional knowledge and conventions are elitist, by reducing the issue of elitism to a matter of equitable distribution of preservation benefits. Third, they suggest that identifying competing interests and prioritizing them accomplish fair distribution. Lastly, the project assumes the preservation professional's expertise and objectivity are necessary to ensure the legitimacy of preservation objectives and methods. Of preservation scholarship I consulted, the vast majority rested on some or all of these presumptions. In contrast, the vast majority of the research I consulted regarding identity, place, and multiple publics in the social sciences focused on the limitations of such presumptions. My interest in relating the themes in this scholarship to historic preservation solidified at that point. I altered the focus of my project to accommodate that interest.

Clarifying the preservation profession's unique contribution to the public interest ceased being a motivating force in the early part of my research process. At the outset, I sought to provide a laundry list of specific strategies, urban amenities, or social and physical arrangements likely to contribute to livability. I sought to survey stakeholders and offer insight into how genuine heritage interests of Oregonians might be more equitably acknowledged and prioritized. However, I now seek to identify the limitations and implications of such approaches with respect to the goal of serving multiple publics. I no longer wish to offer laundry lists and action plans. In fact, I now see my initial aims as working at cross purposes to my current inquiry; for had those initial aims been carried out, they would have inadvertently privileged and normalized problems and ideals that appear to be upheld without question in much preservation discourse. My current aim,

therefore, is to set a stage in which not only the methods and techniques of preservation may be questioned, but also the problems and ideals that give rise to those methods and techniques.

ORGANIZATION OF STUDY

The following study is divided into four chapters. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 draw on theory from different disciplines to highlight political and theoretical dimensions inherent to professional understandings. In Chapter 2, I focus on professional identity, revealed through accounts of the history of the preservation profession and its role in the land use arena. Chapter 3 focuses on professional ideals, viewed through the lens of livability. Chapter 4 examines professional expertise, expressed in arguments for preservation and conventional measures of historic significance. In each chapter, I identify areas of resistance and opportunities for a more inclusive preservation that strives to further a heterogeneous public interest. The study concludes with Chapter 5, which presents recommendations that can assist land use and preservation professionals to evaluate and reinterpret policy objectives, strategies, and their own success in advancing effective and ethical preservation and planning practices.

[illegible]

[illegible]

presumes that historic preservation serves the public interest. Second, they abstain from

seriously questioning whether professional knowledge and assumptions are elitist, by

reducing the issue of elitism to a matter of [illegible]

Third, they suggest [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] have inadvertently privileged [illegible] and ideals that

appear to be upheld without question in much preservation discourse. My current aim,

CHAPTER 2—PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

INTRODUCTION

Throughout this study, I focus on the social content of historic preservation issues to politicize professional ideology, motivations, and practices.[1] My underlying premise is that the preservation community, to contend seriously with the interests of diverse publics, must endeavor to acknowledge the inherent political nature of professional undertakings. Such undertakings might include the methods and strategies used to preserve an architectural masterpiece or historic town square, assessment techniques used to determine the historic significance and boundaries of a distinctive neighborhood, or even the methods and strategies employed to extend more broadly the benefits of preservation to diverse publics.

In this chapter I question how identity of the preservation profession structures understandings of professional undertakings with regard to serving the interest(s) of a heterogeneous public. By identity, I am referring to the manner in which historic preservation is commonly understood and distinguished as a professional discipline.[2] This includes the ideals, information, techniques, and public sphere considered to be relevant and appropriate to professional endeavors.

Professional identity may reveal itself through descriptions of a situation or context, or, more generally, through knowledge claims. This chapter focuses on descriptions of the

[1] Ideology is a nebulous and loaded concept. I use it here in a manner consistent with Beauregard's position that it is "first and foremost a worldview that integrates cultural dispositions, current material conditions, and aspirations within a historical frame of reference. It can be self-serving, deceive, provide practical advice and make sense of the world" (Beauregard, in *Readings in Urban Theory*, 1996, p. 390).

[2] My aim is not to claim that a singular collective identity exists for the preservation profession. Rather, I focus on perspectives that pervade the preservation discourse and with which I am familiar. I explore how these perspectives about the proper purpose, role, and history of preservation establish terms for successful and unsuccessful preservation practices in light of a heterogeneous public.

historic preservation profession's history and role in the land use arena.[3] I illustrate the framing of professional identity, the articulation of preservation agendas, and representations of the profession's history and role in the land use arena. *I suggest that professional identity assumes a particular nexus between historic preservation and social well-being. In delineating that nexus, professional identity frames and constrains our view of what it means to respond appropriately to the interests of a heterogeneous public in a manner similar to the professional ideals addressed in Chapter 3.* My aim is to discern aspects of professional identity that may structure understandings in a way that is incongruent with the desire to serve the interest(s) of a heterogeneous public.

Blurred Boundaries of Historic Preservation and Land Use Planning in Contemporary Contexts

In the first chapter, I suggest that contemporary challenges associated with globalization are prompting placemaking professionals to reevaluate their professions. Friedmann argues that if placemaking professions are to survive the challenges they face, they must demonstrate that they are responding effectively to multiple publics and must do so in a way that distinguishes their efforts from other professions (Friedmann, in Madanipour, Healy, et al., 2001, p. 4). Other observers contend the process of redefining professional roles is changing the entire landscape of urban decision-making processes (Collins et al., 1993). Increasingly, the interests and roles of historic preservation and other placemaking professions overlap, blurring professional boundaries (Collins et al., 1991;

[3] As Sandercock notes, "Professions (like nations) keep their shape by molding their members' (citizens') understanding of the past, causing them to forget those events that do not accord with a righteous image, while keeping alive those memories that do. . . . For historians, the struggle of particular memories against particular omissions or suppressions also involves power. Stories about the past have power and bestow

Hamer, 1998).[4] Birch and Roby (1984) posit that the growing elision between the professions stems from an evolving understanding of the function of American society and the changing nature of public-sector involvement in urban development politics. In Chapter 1, I note, for instance, that historic preservation has joined urban planning and other placemaking professions in an effort to foster desirable environments, or rather, community livability. In turn, professional activities have increasingly extended beyond traditional focus on individual landmarks to include a diversity of such activities as neighborhood conservation and downtown revitalization.

The similarity between historic preservation and urban planning extends beyond a mutual commitment to quality of life, or livability. Both professions aim to maintain a sense of social and physical equilibrium by mediating the forces of change. In this respect, both professions involve the practice of "planning,"[5] as the term is broadly defined. According to Raphael Fischler, "planning" signifies public intervention in urban processes (Fischler, 1995, p. 53). Patricia Healy offers a similar definition, highlighting the spatial and social character of planning. She defines planning as "managing our coexistence in shared space" (Healey, 1997, p. 3). These definitions imply that both historic preservationists and urban planners practice "planning" to the extent they advocate,

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power. The impulse to tell new stories about the past shows that time itself is a perspective in the construction of histories" (Sandercock, 1998b, p. 1).

[4] Specifically, Collins et al. note that "the lines are becoming increasingly blurred between preservation, neighborhood planning and growth management. As this happens, preservationists and others will be testing the law to see how far local government can go to control the shape and rate of change in our communities in the future" (1991, p. 23).

[5] Lucy also advocates a view of the urban "planning" profession consistent with this definition. Rather than "carving planning up into particular circumscribed professional and intellectual domains," she suggests a more expansive view, which can only occur if planning has a central principle to use as a guide. Lucy advocates a principle based on the premise that "healthy places nurture healthy people and that public policies should aim at sustaining both healthy people and healthy places, not one or the other" (Ligget & Perry, 1995, p.238).

regulate, or otherwise influence the understanding, use, and alteration of the physical environment.

Further, both professions practice "planning" in a similar fashion. For both professions, public planning activities entail private property regulation, administration of public lands, or appropriation of public funds. Preservation and urban planning are subject to the same public policy and legal parameters for legislative and regulatory due process. The two professions commonly focus on similar policy issues, including policies concerned with preserving neighborhood character and the aesthetic qualities of individual buildings (Collins, 1993; Dehart, 1991). To that end, the professions share a commitment to civic design, in which buildings and streetscapes encourage lively public spaces (Collins, 1993).

The urban planning and preservation professions also share an agreement regarding threats to desirable physical environments (i.e., to community livability). Both professions evidence a commitment to combating urban sprawl and attendant ills.[6] James Kunstler defines sprawl as " a degenerate urban form that is too congested to be efficient, too chaotic to be beautiful, and too dispersed to possess the diversity and vitality of a great city" (Moe, 1997, p. x-preface). For Kunstler, sprawl is responsible for sapping economic and social vitality out of traditional communities, for replacing farmland and open spaces with formless, soulless buildings connected only in their dependence on the automobile. Kunstler's view is shared by many urban reformers, who associate sprawl with low-density and unplanned development at the periphery of large cities, and which is characteristically ugly, inefficient, inequitable, environmentally damaging, and linked to society's many

[6] Grant Dehart (1991) agrees, noting "a new climate of political support for growth management in rapid growth areas [has emerged in recent decades] because of auto congestion, overcrowded schools, changing neighborhood character, water shortages, longer commuting distances and loss of farmland and natural resources."

social problems (Bruegmann, 2000, p.159; Richmond, in Beaumont, 1996). Such descriptions, in effect, consider sprawl to be the antithesis of livability.[7]

As managing the pace of development and controlling sprawl have become a central concern for urban planning, historic preservation has received more attention as a growth management strategy (Dehart, 1991). In downtown revitalization efforts, historic preservation is commonly the central strategy (Moe, 1998). Preservationists such as Collins, Waters, and Dotson acknowledge that, in a sense, "historic preservation has become less a separate movement and more a philosophy of urban planning and design" (Collins et al., 1991). *Their contention is important not so much because it questions whether historic preservation has a separate identity, but because it highlights the extent of professional overlap in a shared planning arena.*

THE LIMITS OF PROFESSIONAL OVERLAP/CONFLICTING AGENDAS

Urban planning and preservation professions maintain distinct identities notwithstanding their similarities.[8] These distinct identities are particularly evident in cases where the objectives and strategies of each profession conflict, such as each profession's response to sprawl. Richard Moe identifies two strategies to combat sprawl that can conflict: better land use planning for future growth, and better use and reuse of existing

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[7] As a qualitative descriptor of the lived environment, qualities attributed to livability parallel the negatives of sprawl. Consider the judgments about the lived environment in the Clinton Administration's 1999 "Building Livable Communities" report. "Our goal is to help build livable communities for the twenty-first century—places where young and old can walk, bike, and play together; where historic neighborhoods are preserved, as well as farms, forests, and other green spaces; where parents spend less time in traffic and more time with their children, spouses, and neighbors; where older neighborhoods thrive once again, and all can share in our new prosperity. Places with safe streets, good schools, and public and private places that help foster a spirit of community"(in Williams, 2000, p. 36).

[8] Paul Sprague warns, "Even though goals of preservationists may at times coincide with those of urban planners . . . they are not one and the same; and should we trap ourselves into believing the role of historic preservation is, in the words of Tise, "the rehabilitation of American society," we will find ourselves in big

development of neighborhoods, towns, and downtowns. Moe argues that both strategies "are essential if we are to successfully manage growth . . . and thus contain sprawl before it bankrupts us socially as well as financially" (Moe, 1997, p. x-preface). Because the preservation profession's central concern is conservation or adaptation of existing features of the built environment, preservation strategies can be at odds with those growth management efforts oriented toward new development and redevelopment. For example, several observers have noted that conflicts often arise when urban planners pursue redevelopment and density as an alternative to sprawl (Beaumont, 1996; Bogle, 1999; Listoken, 1997). Collins describes some of the variables involved in such conflicts.

> In the same way that historic preservationists find themselves at odds with neighborhood and housing organizations over the gentrification issue, they find themselves in conflict with urban design enthusiasts when the issue involves using transfer of development rights to allow bigger, taller buildings on certain sites in order to preserve historic buildings on others. (Collins, 1993, p. 21)

Notably, preservationists often attribute the loss or compromise of historic resources to a longstanding lack of awareness about the benefits of historic preservation; the misplaced values and priorities of policy makers, urban planners, and the development community; or the public at large.[9] *This tendency is evident in preservation agendas.*

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trouble...." (Preservation Forum on the Meaningful Assessment of The Built Environment, December, 1979, Vol.1No.2).

[9] As an example, urban geographer Peirce Lewis stated in 1974,"Preservationist effusion mostly reflects a common mood: disappointment at public apathy, anger at the private venality that threatens to destroy historic landmarks, but, also, a tone of optimism. . . . If we all just get together and work hard . . . our efforts will eventually succeed." (1985, p.11)

Historic Preservation Agendas and What They Reveal about Professional Identity

The 1978 National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) annual meeting prompted one of the first national preservation agendas to have widespread notoriety. To expand on discussions initiated in that meeting, the National Trust invited more than 116 leaders from private and public preservation constituencies throughout the United States to create a national preservation agenda tailored for private-sector preservationists. This agenda was presented at the 1979 NTHP meeting, whose proceedings were published in the now-classic *Preservation Toward an Ethic in the 1980s*. This book focused on the following topics: objectives, roles, and organizational structure; standards and practices; preservation avocation and vocation; education; communication; information and terminology; funding; and legislation. For each topic, a problem statement, goal, enabling steps, and implementation process were identified.

A similar agenda appeared in Grant Dehart's Preservation Forum article introducing the upcoming 1991 NTHP meeting, which then commemorated the 25th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act. The article highlights key issues facing the preservation movement for its next 25 years and identifies ten themes, including: Values and Ethics of Land Use and Stewardship; the Preservation of What We Value; Property Rights and the Public Trust; Economics of Preservation; Changing Technology; the Role of Heritage Education; Historic Preservation Planning and Growth Management; and Governance, Goals, and Resources. The issues center on the importance of enhancing preservation as a public value, integrating historic preservation with the concept of

sustainable development, integrating multiculturalism, competing with new development, and joining in growth management efforts.

Dehart also identifies several questions to which the preservation community must respond. How can preservation ideals become inculcated into American public values? How can preservationists demonstrate preservation to be a viable alternative to urban sprawl and essential to sustainability? Will the growing emphasis on multiculturalism promote cultural separation and special interests, or foster national and cultural unity? How can preservationists integrate historic preservation into the mainstream of planning and growth management decisions? How will preservationists increase numbers of preservation supporters without a proportional decrease in numbers of knowledgeable and influential officials who have expertise and interest in preservation? Dehart contends that preservation agendas will revolve around these questions and will define the role of preservationists during the National Historic Preservation Act's next 25 years. Dehart's questions presume that preservation of historic resources, as prioritized by preservation professionals, is necessary to maintain and foster livability.

The common denominator between the 1979 and 1991 NTHP agendas is the desire to use better promotion as a means to increase the support base for historic preservation. One needs only to look at the 1996 Oregon SHPO Preservation Plan to see the implications of this promotional agenda with respect to responding appropriately to the interests of a heterogeneous public. The 1996 Oregon Historic Preservation Plan is strikingly similar to the 1979 NTHP Agenda with respect to organization and content. As noted in Chapter 1, the Plan's first goal encourages public participation to dispel the misconception that historic preservation prioritizes the interests of an elite segment of society. Other goals focus on education, lobbying, and coalition building as a principal means of advancing

Historic Preservation in Oregon. *In short, the overarching problem is the marginalization and impotence of preservation advocates. This problem is attributed to the lingering perception of elitism, and is resolved by better promotion.* Although elitism is not defined specifically in the Oregon SHPO Plan,[10] the Plan's use of the term implies the elitism problem can be overcome by increasing opportunities for preservation allies to hear the good news about preservation and to share in the benefits it presumes to impart.

The Problem with Promotion

This line of reasoning proves problematic, resolving the issue of elitism by marginalizing the goal of serving multiple publics. The assumption that elitism is a "misconception" suggests that elitism is not the central issue to which preservationists should attend, and implies that elitism is not a *legitimate* issue. *If lack of confidence in historic preservation is established as the central problem, it should follow that critical examination of the profession and professional norms would also be regarded as a problem.* In the context of a promotion-oriented agenda, entertaining the possibility that historic preservation may privilege elite interests would be damaging. In this way the line of reasoning also relegates critical examination of the professional agendas (an inherently non-promotional undertaking) as contrary to and outside the domain of legitimate professional practice. Thus, the line of reason undermines the profession's ability to resolve the conflict between the goal of serving multiple publics and dismisses elitism as a public relations matter.

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[10] While the problem of elitism is frequently identified as an issue in preservation literature, particularly with respect to the public perception and the historical tendency in the field to discount vernacular architecture, I have yet to see the term directly defined.

How are multicultural objectives expressed in preservation agendas if elitism itself is dismissed as a concern? Ironically, descriptions of elitism in preservation discourse help answer the question. For instance, Richard Moe (1997) notes:

> [A]ccomplishments of preservationists frequently collide with the public perceptions of what "historic preservation" means. In some places, it still carries the stigma of elitism and indifference to the concerns of the average citizen. In the 1850s, when . . . Ann Pamela Cunningham rallied the nation to save Mount Vernon as a shrine to George Washington, preservation was defined for a century. Preservation became a nationwide effort to restore and refurnish historic houses where Americans could pay homage to the past. That is still what many people think of today when they hear the term "preservation." (p. 239)

We can gather from Moe's assessment that preservation's elitism problem is considered a matter of public perception, not a preservation shortcoming in and of itself. The rationale in use is that historic preservation no longer simply concerns itself with monumental historic landmarks, which honor members of an elite group; preservationists now attend to the broader fabric of the physical environment, which is germane to the average citizen. Thus, the contemporary preservation cause is not considered an elitist enterprise by virtue of that expanded outlook.

The SHPO and National Trust agendas imply that preservationists need to do a better job of informing the "average citizen" and policy makers about historic preservation's benefits in order to enable equal participation and access to such benefits and, in turn, overcome elitism.

Moe refers to an average citizen, but does not indicate who qualifies as such.[11] In light of Moe's description of elitism, another question arises: On what basis can we conclude that prioritizing interests of the average citizen is not elitist? In the absence of clarification,

one can infer that the authors of the agendas and Moe assume the answers are irrelevant to professional identity and multicultural objectives.[12]

Regardless, the agendas portray the perception of elitism as a greater concern than the existence of elitism, and presume historic preservation is necessary to foster livability. Do the promotional agendas imply that it is worse to *be* elitist or to *appear* elitist, or do they assume the profession has overcome its elitist past? In the context of day-to-day preservation matters, where, for advocates, the merits of preserving a particular historic resource or the need for professional expertise is obvious, the value of investigating potential elitism of such presumptions may appear nominal at best; or, as Michael Tomlan would say, such questions are "red herrings" for the serious preservation professional (1998). *However, if the goal is to adapt historic preservation to respond better to interests of a heterogeneous public, then acknowledging and understanding potential elitism of the presumptions is critical because such presumptions reveal standards for measuring success and failure.* Those terms for measuring success and failure also provide a basis for questioning how professional identity may reinforce legitimacy of the profession in an ideological and hegemonic sense—i.e., in a way that naturalizes certain ideals and depoliticizes operations of privilege and power.[13]

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[11] I posit that Moe contrasts the "average citizen" with privileged special interests, and he further implies a distinction between privileged special interest preservation of the past with more fair and objective present-day preservation professionals.

[12] In Chapter 3, I show how professional ideals are premised on the role of so-called neutral professionals in facilitating public interest in historic preservation by responding to subjective interests of "average citizens" by imparting technical expertise. The preservation agendas provide some evidence that professional identity shares both premises, and their shortcomings. As noted in Chapter 3, if we assume a subjective realm and a homogeneous public comprising disembodied universal citizens, then elitism readily relegates to a matter of distributive justice, equal opportunity and majority rules, leaving no grounds upon which the issue of elitism may be seen as more than a problem of perception that rests with the public.

[13] McSwite (1997) notes, "My idea of ideology follows the school of thought that says ideology is not simply a composition of misrepresentations, but a set of assumptions that renders sensible the practices that enable a given social reality to continue to reproduce itself, and that gains the power to do this by virtue of the fact that these assumptions are held unconsciously. To unmask an ideology in this sense is simply to bring any

Preservation Histories and Roles—

What They Reveal about Professional Identity

Preservation agendas, and the manner in which they inhibit critical interrogation, are but one window into professional identity. *The history and roles attributed to preservation also reflect professional identity.* As Sandercock (1998b, p. 1) notes, "Professions (like nations) keep their shape by molding their members' (citizens') understanding of the past, causing them to forget those events that do not accord with a righteous image, while keeping alive those memories that do." Clara Greed (1994) contends that planners also tell stories of triumphant pasts in an effort to justify the distinct contribution of their profession. Greed explains that relating professional histories embodies a means to socialize professionals and impart values and norms that support professional identity by portraying professionals as the natural extension of progress, and inherently valid. With this in mind, she emphasizes the value-laden nature of history; "like statistics," she contends, "man can prove whatever 'he' wants through historical research" (Greed, 1994, p. 72).[14] *This leads one to ask: might accounts of the preservation profession's history and role in the land use arena shape professional identity by reinforcing the same assumptions evidenced in the promotional preservation agendas?*

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such assumptions to the surface and, by making them conscious, to disempower them, thereby making it difficult or impossible to reproduce the status quo."

[14] Norman Tyler (2000) presents a classic architectural/monument/artifact-centered timeline, starting from the philosophies of European architectural philosophers including Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc, to the patriotic efforts of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, onto the 1906 Antiquities Act, and so on. Exceptions are Holleran and Mason (1997, p.11), who argue that "urban planner" was "often just another name for preservationist, particularly in the twentieth century."

In exploring this possibility, I problematize two themes, or tropes,[15] *which I have found to be common in discourse about the field. The first trope I consider is the portrayal of historic preservation as a profession that arose as a force of resistance to urban renewal and the modernist-planning ethic.* As an oppositional force of resistance, the profession is defined, or essentialized, in terms of its distinction from urban planning. *The second trope is the portrayal of historic preservation as a specialty practice of planning.* As a specialty, the discipline is often represented as a necessary but distinct and atomized component of urban planning. These tropes illuminate the context in which professional identity is established, whereby historic preservation and planning are portrayed as two mutually exclusive poles of a "professional duality."[16]

After providing examples of both tropes in descriptions of the profession's history and role in the land use arena, I consider possible implications of the "professional duality" they support. *I intend to demonstrate how one may unwittingly subvert and peripheralize efforts to embrace multiple publics in the process of establishing professional identity rather than to provide conclusive findings demonstrating that such is the case.*[17]

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[15] Craig (1998, p. 62) describes tropes as "ways of telling a story, through a particular format, a scenario or relationship of characters, so that the pattern is repeated in different concrete situations with different contents."

[16] Max and Page (2004, p 10) recognize both views: "History shows that preservation has not simply oppositional movement…but rather a movement often pursued in concert with urban development."

[17] The point is to emphasize that alternative representations exist, not to demonstrate that these three representations are more significant than alternative views—though I certainly hope that those familiar with the field will recognize them. Rather, I mean to emphasize that the examples function as social representations. As Halfacre (1996) describes, social representations are used in two ways. First, they serve to conventionalize the objects, persons, and events encountered. Second, they help us to prescribe and organize our subsequent behavior and responses.

__The Trope of a History of Resistance__

Resistance, Reform, and Triumphant Pasts

Given the diversity of occupations and specialties associated with preservation, accounts of the preservation profession's history are remarkably similar. Histories such as Robert Stipe and Antoinette Lee's *The American Mosaic* (1989) and William Murtagh's *Keeping Time* (1993) have become seminal works in the professional canon.[18] *As in many disciplines,*[19] *themes of resistance and reform figure prominently in presentations of preservation histories' triumphant past.* Preservation historian David Hamer (1998, p. 27) offers the following summary of such texts:

> [T]he story that preservationists tell, more often than not, is a moral one of redemption through the practice of such moral qualities as endurance and adversity and the hard work exemplified in the urban pioneering. In the literature of historic preservation, the moral qualities, the courage, the enterprise, and the commitment, of those who have restored decayed districts and the houses within them, are constantly extolled. The immorality of their foes, those who are seen as having been responsible for the decay and corruption of city life, the absentee landlords, the drug pushers—is constantly emphasized. There is also constant reference to the immensity of the trials that preservationists have heroically endured and overcome—whether urban renewal or hurricanes such as Agnes and Hugo.

Preservation as the Antithesis and Solution to Urban Planning

As preservation histories tell, the contemporary preservation profession developed in response to a modernist planning model and particularly to the government-sponsored urban renewal and interstate projects at their height in the 1950s and 1960s. As Sandercock (1998b) describes, "the profession came about as an outgrowth of elite mobilization to challenge the large-scale, modern mode of urban renewal through a diffusion of art and culture in state-financed programs of community and economic

redevelopment." These urban renewal programs represented efforts of federal government and state and local business coalitions to bring about progress through social uplift and economic revitalization of city centers "blighted" by urban decay. These lofty ambitions were thought to result from overcrowded conditions associated with urban life. In the post-war era of urban white-flight and decentralization, urban renewal succeeded in gutting urban vitality and increasing social disparities through massive demolition. Moreover, millions of low-income and minority urban dwellers were displaced and denied meaningful participation, sufficient housing options, opportunities to rebuild social communities, or compensation in the process (Zukin, 1995).

In 1962, Jane Jacobs published *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Jacobs voiced the sentiments of a burgeoning movement that demanded participation in local policy-making. She also maintained that historic buildings, neighborhoods, and residents should be regarded as essential building blocks for vital urban environments rather than impediments to progress. Stewart Brand (1994, p.88) notes that as that movement took hold, "modernist architecture, urban renewal, go-go real estate—all were suddenly treated as the enemies of civilization and beaten back." *For urban supporters, historic preservation gained popularity as a mobilizing force for grassroots movements and a means of establishing community identity.* Sharon Zukin (1995) describes the shift:

> Over time, the belief that old buildings represented the culture of cities spread to residential areas and less significant examples of architectural styles. The diffusion of a preservationist ethos offered legitimacy to the shifts of middle-class residents from one neighborhood to another and the increases in property values associated with gentrification. (p. 122)

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[18] Other books, such as Michael Holleran's *Boston's Changing Times*, are recognized by the Society of Architectural Historians as exemplary histories of the origins of the historic preservation movement.
[19] This tendency is critiqued in public art by Miles (1997), in urban planning by Sandercock (1998) et al., etc.

While urban renewal is not central to every historical account of the preservation profession, it is a prominent theme in professional histories.[20] *Insofar as professional histories represent the preservation profession as a response to urban renewal, they celebrate the profession's emergence as an achievement in itself, legitimizing the inherent validity of the historic preservation cause.*[21] *Further, by focusing on the emergence of historic preservation as a populist response to the state-sponsored modernist urban planning enterprise of urban renewal, the efforts of the preservation and planning professions are readily distinguished and their differences are emphasized along axes favorable to preservation.* When narrowly represented in the context of urban renewal, historic preservation, in effect, appears to be the polar opposite of urban planning. As part of that dichotomy, positive features such as democracy, grassroots mobilization, and value for the intangible meaning for place may be aligned with historic preservation as a counter to the modernist urban planning ethic epitomized by the post-war urban renewal programs.

Preservation's Oppositional Identity and the Histories That Support It

Histories of the profession leading up to the 1950s, as told by preservationists, also support this oppositional identity. Consider the historical trajectory Murtagh provides:

> If the American preservation movement in the nineteenth and early twentieth century can be characterized as a house-museum movement led by volunteers from the general public, certainly the 1920s can be associated with the rise of the outdoor museum and the 1930s and '40s with the development of the concept of historic districts. The decade of the 1950s saw the fruition of the change from a preoccupation with historic house museums to preservation planning, a change . . . fueled by new government programs in transportation

[20] The United States Conference of Mayors published *With Heritage So Rich* in 1965 as an indictment of urban renewal and a plea for governmental protection of historic resources. The book served as a major instrument in the creation of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act to protect national heritage from urban renewal and highways.

[21] In *Preservation: Toward an Ethic in the 1980s*, John Galbraith states unapologetically, "The preservation movement has one great curiosity. There is never any retrospective controversy or regret. Preservationists are the only people in the world who are invariably confirmed in their wisdom after the fact" (1980, p. 57).

> and housing. . . . New government-assisted programs, notably urban renewal and the fledgling interstate highway programs . . . were decimating America's cities. (1993, p. 155)

Historical focus on the evolution of the house-museum movement and national monuments of both architectural and symbolic value emphasizes the "private" nature of what preservationists do, and the centrality of the associative qualities of the historic artifacts to preservation efforts. These are the more subjective qualities of the built environment that are difficult to quantify or attribute a function to. Historic preservation was traditionally an activity of private individuals, unlike the origins of urban planning. Although the Arts and Crafts movement, associated with the City Beautiful and Garden City urban planning movements, reflects some of the values historic preservationists ascribe to the lived environment, little emphasis is placed on these movements in preservation histories. The City Beautiful and Garden City movements are associated with emergence of the urban planning profession before its so-called modernist turn on efficiency, and with an effort to plan and design for the utopian city in professional histories of both professions. Urban planning also associates with the Progressive reform movements, with an emphasis on sanitary reform and efficiency and, ultimately, zoning. *To the extent these movements are recognized in preservation histories, distinct origins are maintained for preservation and planning. Preservation histories appear to distinguish the two professions based on their position in a public/private dichotomy.*

Birch and Roby (1984) discuss unique histories of the professions in the shared context of progressive reform:

> At their inceptions, the planning and preservation movements had very little in common, despite their shared progressive roots. Although both were responses to late nineteenth-century urbanization and industrialization, they differed in thrust, in organizational style, and in their reviews of the relationship between the public and private sectors. While the planners had

> reformist, rationalist origins, the preservationists had patriotic, romantic roots. . . . On the whole, the planning movement—with its amalgam of professionals . . . . —insinuated itself into municipal life rapidly and efficiently. In contrast, the preservation movement had a slower, narrower growth pattern. Motivated by desires to "Americanize" immigrants by showing them historic landmarks or to rescue important monuments from destruction in the wave of new construction that characterized the period, individuals, often women, organized local efforts to preserve significant structures. (p. 195)

Distinctions between the professions are made to appear inherent, as if they extend beyond the situational context. That the history of preservation associates with the private social movement, advanced mainly by women, and the "other" with state-sponsored interests connected to the business community, conveniently presents the position that preservation is a more holistic and inclusive human enterprise. Aligning the professions with a public/private dichotomy supports the association of historic preservation with the qualitative features of place, and urban planning with the modernist emphasis on impersonal quantitative features. In turn, they reinforce the conception of historic preservation as a champion for the symbolic, spiritual, and intangible meaning of place and community will, in contrast to the association of urban planning with depersonalization, mechanization, destruction, and a lack of governmental accountability. *In the process, they normalize oppositions between public and private, masculine and feminine, reason and nature, objective and subjective, mind and matter.*

Merits of the historic preservation profession then may be elevated against a modernist planning ethic that has lost favor and, by extension, modernism in general. Larry Ford summarizes David Lowenthal's position on the relationship between historic preservation and modernism:

> Rival crusades to preserve the past and to get rid of it peaked about the same time. . . . Preservationists saw the new technology of the early 1900s and the rapid expansion of urban industrial life as threats. They believed old landscapes were fragile remnants in need of protection. Modernists . . . saw

> the existing landscape as a constraint. They wanted to start afresh and create new landscapes reflecting the new society. The ideologies of both factions became extreme. Preservation and modernization became opponents. (Ford, 1985, p. 41)

Historic Industrialization, Urbanization, Immigration, and Contemporary Counterparts

Given preservation planning's contemporary desire to advance public interest in livability, it is questionable why the origins of the preservation profession trace back to the upper-class house-museum movement and antiquarianism instead of the broader, progressive reform movements associated with those movements. The progressive reform movement was driven by desire to improve the urban residents' standard of living, with an emphasis on both functional qualities and aesthetic and associational qualities of the built environment. Given that both preservation and planning share such an emphasis, note that the progressive reform movement figures less prominently in preservation histories than does private volunteer action.

In fact, the sharp distinction between the professions emphasized in urban renewal histories break down with a closer examination of turn-of-the-century urban reform efforts. Urban historians such as Fischler (2000) acknowledge similarities of various placemaking disciplines by representing the story of urban renewal in the broader context of urban reform movements that date to the late-19th century. Conventional wisdom contends the planning profession arose as a remedy to perceived evils of the industrial metropolis.[22] *Desires to improve the standard of living and quality of life continued to be the driving force behind planning efforts through the 20th century, leading to establishment of*

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[22] While the urban renewal programs symbolize the failing of the planning profession, many critics malign the urban reform movements—e.g., The City Beautiful Movement, Garden City Movement, Progressive movement—focusing on hygiene, contemporary efforts for urban beautification and natural preservation, and growth management and smart growth on similar grounds. These critics acknowledge that efforts have

placemaking professions such as urban planning and historic preservation. Hamer maintains, "When viewed in retrospect, the history of the relationship between planning and heritage in the 20th century appears to have a certain symmetry" (2000, p. 195).[23]

In 1999, the editors of the Journal of the American Planning Association characterized key trends in planning literature in honor of the profession's centennial, which describe this symmetry. The editors distilled the following history from their review:

> The overarching concern that led to both the late 19th- and the late 20th-century planning ideals and interventions is fundamentally the same: the quality of life in urban areas. Over the century, however, even similar issues have acquired different manifestations and meanings as they unfolded in new contexts. For example, housing concerns changed from overcrowding to under building, while the affordability issue persisted. Toward the end of the 20th century, the planning process and functional problem solving were emphasized over the products and planning for achieving the civic ideals that Frederick Law Olmstead, Jr., espoused. In addition, the methods and means for solving urban problems have evolved over time. (Autumn 1999, p. 436)

Bruegmann (2000) *would argue that popular appreciation for urban life which galvanized the historic preservation profession in the late-20th century and eventually led to a coalition between urban planning and historic preservation is the outgrowth of a change in the way cities and city problems were understood in the public mind and, eventually, by the urban planning profession.* Whereas urban problems previously were seen as resulting from urban overcrowding, lack of hygiene, and haphazard development, they were subsequently attributed to decentralization, unplanned growth and expansion, housing shortages, and automobile-centered development, as urban renewal dispelled the belief that urban and societal problems could be remedied by progressive reform of the

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differed and changed over time, but take issue with the profession's modernist underpinnings and objective-truth claims.

[23] Hamer's and Bruegmann's position is not patently rejected in conventional accounts as long as the dichotomy is maintained.

poor. *In short, Bruegmann contends that "urban sprawl" replaced "urban blight" as the central concern of those committed to urban quality of life.*

This shift in attention from urban blight to urban sprawl was apparent in Jacobs' 1962 *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. As part of her defense of high-density urban environments disparaged as urban blight, Jacobs faulted suburban residential patterns and urban decentralization, and rejected urban blight. The shift took hold as the urban planning profession came to share Jacobs' view of urban pathology. According to Fischler (2000), neighborhood activism of the 1960s and 1970s provided many urban planners a new sense of mission with regard to environmental quality and public services. Increased emphasis was placed on citizen involvement and equity planning. He notes, "The emphasis was now on livability, on qualitative rather than quantitative features of life" (Fischler, 2000, p. 146). Bruegmann notes further that urban planners, historic preservationists, and other placemaking professions have become allies in the effort to combat sprawl.

The shift in emphasis from urban blight to urban sprawl significantly illustrates that both histories and both professions' contemporary orientation overlap in certain regards. *This shift highlights how both professions take root in the modernist era where the "rational" concerns of placemakers are conflated with aesthetic judgments. Ultimately, the shift to urban sprawl reveals that oppositional identity is a means of professional authorization.*

The Trope of Historic Preservation as a Specialty of Urban Planning

Planning Strategies and Measures of Success

Generally speaking, urban planners employ a variety of policy measures to foster livability and combat sprawl. The preservation of historic properties, densification of

central cities, and the provision of public transportation systems and other public services to manage growth and change are all typical urban policy objectives. *Successful planners will be sensitive as they mediate the forces of change to foster community livability by balancing these competing understandings and objectives* (Hillier, 2001).

Success, however, is an elusive goal. It is impossible to identify every interest of every stakeholder, let alone balance those interests in a way that will foster livability to everyone's satisfaction. In fact, critics of urban planning contend that current and past efforts to establish an objective balancing strategy are myopic in certain respects (Freestone, 2000; Sandercock, 1998a; Harvey, 1996). *Critics fault urban planners for representing the built environment in terms of functional systems, such as transportation systems or housing, and failing to give due consideration to those qualities of the built environment that are subjective or transient and not readily quantifiable.*

Notably, preservationists fault urban planners for contributing to disruptive change.[24] Such a view reveals that success and failure for historic preservation and urban planning in achieving desired ends are not always measured by equivalent standards. *Conflicts arise when the professions calculate the costs and benefits of certain approaches differently and favor certain implementation policies over others.* In the event of conflicts, historic preservationists, it should come as no surprise, consistently advocate a policy of historic preservation.

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[24] In *Preservation: Toward an Ethic in the 1980s*, Fitch describes urban planning's role in the preservation battle directly: "You have to be neurotic to be a successful preservationist! Nobody who is 'normal' would donate the kind of time and energy required to stop bulldozers. In these local skirmishes professional architects, professional landscape architects, professional planners and urbanists may not aid preservationists. Instead, they often find themselves battling the professionals because they are advocates of the policies of the local bureaucracies—policies that preservationists often perceive as incorrect" (1979, p. 141).

Historic Preservation Strategies and Measures of Success

Although preservationists also seek to mediate the course of urban change and may employ some of the same strategies as urban planners, they focus on a more specialized piece of the growth management puzzle (Birch & Roby, 1984). Preservationists direct their efforts toward identification and protection of select features of the built environment, particularly those features considered to have aesthetic, historical, or other associational significance. These features, or historic resources, might be embodied in a train station, a farm, or a residential neighborhood.

Sharon Zukin explains that each resource serves as the object of a "strategic and tactical battle through which historic preservationists intervene in the physical disruption of endangered historic sites and, at the same time, intervene in a mode of development that devalues the aesthetic and symbolic character of the built environment in general" (1995, p. 123). *If historic resources serve as the medium through which preservationists battle such a mode of development as Zukin maintains, then it should come as no surprise the preservationist would regard destruction of historic resources as a symptom of the continued dominance of that mode of development and the critical need for historic preservation. Likewise, it would follow the historic resources which are retained symbolize the value of historic preservation in forestalling that mode of development.*[25] Thus, the successful preservationist will mediate forces of change to foster livability by protecting historic resources from harm.

[25] "Led by architects and critics of urban planning, historic preservation focused on landmarks, core buildings in a city's material civilization, as signs of a spirituality obliterated by Modernism. . ." (Zukin, 1991, p. 122)

Measures for Success Compared

Arguments set forth in preservation agendas, professional histories of resistance, and accounts of historic preservation in the land use arena suggest that success and failure of historic preservation and urban planning are a function of whether specific sites are preserved or destroyed. However, it appears the standards do not enable fair comparison of the policy measures favored by each profession. *The standards are clearly preferential to historic preservation strategies to manage growth and change.*

The planner has a broad range of policy choices to negotiate in order to combat sprawl, such as in-fill development or regulations aimed at increasing density in newly developed areas in combination with preservation of existing historic areas. *The outcome of any planning policy will inevitably result in destruction and preservation of different resources, regardless of the urban planner's intentions and influence; hence, the planner's implementation measures will always fall short of preservationist standards based on specific sites.*

In contrast, the policy role of historic preservation is more limited. The job of the preservationist is to identify historic resources and protect them from harm. Protecting from harm does not generally involve establishing policies to ensure new development is denser to reduce pressures on historic areas; that would be the role of the urban planner, or arguably the planning function of the preservation planner.[26] *The successful preservationist will protect historic resources from the harm of societal forces with which urban planning*

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[26] When preservation involves work not the exclusive domain of preservation, preservationists' efforts are often qualified as "preservation planning" or something else altogether. This label often includes public process, so that when preservationists facilitate public meetings where citizens provide input, they are not practicing preservation per se. By extension, issues of distributive justice and fairness are considered matters of planning and administration secondary to "true" preservation. Thus, the issue of elitism, even when reduced to a matter of distributive justice, may be considered a significant issue outside historic preservation's domain.

is associated, but by definition can only fail by impotence and inaction, rather than by contributing to the larger problem and destruction.

Preservation as the Urban Planning Success Story

With the site-specific formula for success, preservation is removed from and opposed to the broad patterns of environmental change that both professions seek to influence. In a site-specific context, historic preservation, by definition, does not involve destruction of historic properties. *As such, loss of historic resources can be attributed to societal forces and the failure of urban planning to intervene comprehensively, but not to historic preservation.*

The site-specific standard not only externalizes failure, it also self-authorizes professional authority. *If loss of historic resources symbolizes success of a destructive mode of development which preservationists seek to resist, as opposed to failure on the part of historic preservation, then need for a stronger historic preservation emphasis in the larger planning profession is continuously reinforced.* In essence, the formula for success validates historic preservation's role with urban planning.

The formula not only validates historic preservation in a general sense, but also legitimizes the professional expertise that historic preservationists, as planning specialists, claim to provide. If historic preservation is a specialty of urban planning, then the preservationist would have the expertise and training to identify historic resources and the extent and method of preservation. Historic preservationists identify which resources merit protection from change and seek to ensure that changes of those features do not happen. *Thus, preservationists may advocate preservation in specific circumstances based on the*

expertise of a rational technician without recognition of underlying political positionality.[27]

In deference to the expertise preservationists provide, urban planners are expected to balance competing land use objectives effectively by ensuring new development is sufficiently dense to eliminate the demand for direct growth to historic areas. *Planners who advocate in-fill development in areas identified by preservationists as having historic resources would then demonstrate disregard for historic preservationists' expertise. Planners would, therefore, be regarded as part of the problem which both professions seek to address, whereas preservationists would not.*

In this way, representations of historic preservation as a specialty of urban planning, like the historical accounts of historic preservation as a populist movement arising in resistance to urban planning, may self-authorize professional authority and undermine efforts to examine historic preservation critically with respect to livability.

Professional conflicts likely occur when competing implementation measures such as in-fill development and preservation are advocated in historic areas (Brush, 1999). But who is to say whether preservation or in-fill development in historic districts is the strategy that will foster or undermine livability in any or all circumstances? *Irrespective of whether urban planners and historic preservationists advocate the same implementation strategy, they rely on rationality and expertise to support their positions.*

Rationality is an issue that receives much attention in urban planning texts as the planning model which dominated professional efforts throughout the twentieth century.

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[27] In the issue papers published by the National Trust staff prior to the 1979 annual meeting, "the fundamental purpose of all preservation programs is to assure the retention of those properties, which are considered by responsible authorities and thoughtful persons, worth keeping as part of the national heritage" (National Trust for Historical Preservation, 1979).

Carl Patton and David Sawicki offer a concise description of the "rational model" that typifies modernist planning efforts. The model requires determination of objectives, definitions of problems to be solved, evaluation of alternative solutions, and implementation of the optimal policy (Fischler, 1995). The problem, according to critics, is that the model assumes an all-knowing, all-seeing, and often rational decision-maker. *By cloaking professional expertise in terms of rationality, the act of identifying the problem and its solution are normalized and depoliticized, and above reproach.* As one urban planner describes the limitation of such an approach in the context of urban renewal:

> [T]he rational model of planning embraces the simplistic view that there is a logical progression through successive stages of "planning"; culminating in implementation. The beguiling logic does not translate into reality. On the contrary, it is highly misleading—and dangerous—to separate policy and implementation matters. In fact, sometimes policy emanates from ideals about implementation rather than the other way round. Thus, a policy of "slum clearance" or redevelopment focuses on the clearly indicated types of actions. The implementation becomes the policy, and the underlying purpose is left in doubt. If the objective is to improve the living conditions of those living in slum areas, there might be better ways of doing this, such as rehabilitation or area improvement through local citizen action. With clearance as a policy, however, there is a danger that different objectives might be served. Demolition might even be detrimental if it reduces the quantity of affordable housing. With hindsight, it is not surprising that this is what happened with urban renewal policy. (Cullingworth, 1997, p. 150)

Debates over in-fill are not unlike the urban renewal conflicts following World War II. Urban planners and policy makers advocated urban renewal as the best solution to urban pathology. While the rational model may be readily apparent in implementation measures such as in-fill development, which aim to resolve urban problems and balance competing objectives, policies of contemporary urban planners are by no means singular. *Urban planning may advocate in-fill development in one setting and historic preservation in another. This flexibility enables implementation in service to policy rather than the reverse.*

Historic preservation, on the other hand, does not involve such variability in approach. Implementation for historic preservation revolves around the significance of historic resources and prioritization of limited resources. *Where preservation is measured in terms of unqualified intervention, assumptions regarding implementation drive policy rather than the reverse, as Cullingworth describes.* If urban renewal advocates may be faulted for presuming a specific implementation measure would solve urban problems, historic preservationists may be faulted on similar grounds, in assuming that historic preservation is the optimal strategy for combating urban sprawl. *Thus, an implementation measure using historic preservation as the panacea to solve urban renewal-related problems might be no less indicative of the modernist-planning ethic than the urban renewal programs themselves.*

The contemporary preservation agendas reveal that historic preservation continues to be represented as fundamentally opposed to and divorced from the forces of change and destruction. The promotional agendas imply that historic preservationists do not fail by causing destruction, they only fail to succeed in preventing planners and others to cause destruction. *Preservationists associate that destruction with the modernist rational planning model. However, preservation's unquestioned allegiance to an implementation measure derives from this same model.* Representing historic preservation as a specialty of urban planning reinforces the rational model by valorizing the expertise of preservationists. This is accomplished by privileging a policy of historic preservation, as chosen by historic preservationists as the means to advance the public good. This representation has implications for the extent to which preservationists are poised to evaluate success, notwithstanding whether we measure such success in terms of a heterogeneous public interest or interests of a privileged elite.

The Historic Preservation/Urban Planning Duality

Professional Duality/Relational Identity

Up to this point, I have problematized two representations, or tropes, found in historic preservation discourse: the representation of the profession first as a force of resistance to urban planning, and second, as a specialty of urban planning. Despite their apparent incongruity, these two representations provide much more insight when considered in concert. Together, the tropes imply that the identity of the historic preservation profession is dependent on its relation to the larger planning profession—whereby historic preservation serves as the keystone of successful planning and the antidote for unsuccessful planning and associated ills.

My point is that historic preservation's identity vests in continued reinforcement of and reference to its relationship with planning, to an uneasy alliance so to speak, in order to maintain the presumption of professional legitimacy. This is what I refer to as a professional duality. This duality significantly reflects the framework which defines the profession's role and obligations to the interests of a heterogeneous public. Both tropes enable denial of subjectivity and political complicity to support preservation as a neutral and rational enterprise that fosters the public interest in livability.

The representations of historic preservation as a force of resistance to, and as a subset of, planning, however, presents a narrow and shallow professional scope simplified in dualistic terms. Consider the following definitions provided in a planning text, which represents historic preservation as a subset of planning.

> If it is the role of the planner concerned with land use patterns to understand them in relationship to the dynamics of the contemporary land market and its interplay with social and cultural values, then it is the task of the historic preservation planner to understand the evolution of those patterns over time

> and to assess the significance of remaining fragments. Historic preservation planning is one of several perspectives on, and public interests in, land. (Ames, in Cullingworth, 1997, p. 113)

The above passage establishes distinct roles for each profession. The associational features of the built environment, whether they are historical, symbolic, or aesthetic in nature, are the independent domain of historic preservation. Likewise, the built environment is conceptualized as objects and features for which associations can be made, interpreted, and preserved. In contrast, urban planning's domain includes the functional qualities and systems of the built environment to be acted on and managed. Thus, the context within which both professions operate divides into separate domains. *Namely, historic preservation is defined in terms of intervention in planning practice, and in terms of interpretation or representation of the associational qualities of the physical environment*. The extent to which historic preservation privileges certain understandings or otherwise reflects or influences material and social realities as a function of urban planning, or, in other words, plays a role in the political economy in placemaking, is relegated as secondary to that role and purpose.

Implications

In Chapter 1, I posit that if the preservation profession shall assess its own legitimacy with respect to interests of a heterogeneous public, the profession must account for the context in which it functions. By extension, I suggest the preservationist must also consider the position of the profession and professional in that context. In both chapters I indicate that ideals of livability and the public interest, the land use arena, and urban planning are notable, if not significant, dimensions of that context. I ask: in what ways does this dualistic professional identity constrain scholarship, practice, and engagement in the

subject of multiple publics by presenting a narrower context? What erasures and exclusions do we reinforce in the process of forging a professional identity? More specifically, how does this dualistic professional identity influence the manner in which the discipline addresses the significance of policy choices and the appropriation, use, and representation of place advocated within the profession?

Malcolm Miles (1996) contends that "the zoning of knowledge in specialist professional and academic disciplines enables a displacement of accountability, so that decisions that determine city form appear remote from those they affect, or inevitable, like a kind of 'urban blight'; but cities are not like potatoes and have been planned by people regarded as experts" (p. 2). Such a zoning of knowledge is reinforced in the identity—i.e., in the ideals, information, techniques, and public sphere—of the historic preservation profession.

Thus far, I have shown on three fronts how a dualistic professional identity self-authorizes professional authority:

1. It essentializes professional identity in terms of its distinction from planning practice, as a "relational identity" and, therefore, vests in the continued maintenance/friction of each profession. In so doing, professional expertise and the authority to intervene in the built environment and balance the influence of the other on behalf of the public is normalized and validated without examination.
2. As defined within this duality, historic preservation may be represented as an all-purpose tool that can be employed as an antidote for bad planning and as the keystone of good planning. Within this context, by definition it is a public good, and professional failings can only be attributed to a lack of promotion and distribution of benefits, a matter of administration and "preservation planning" readily distinguished from the substance of preservation expertise.
3. With the emphasis on promotion and advocacy in the land use arena, professional norms are reinforced and alternative approaches and critical perspectives are readily discounted as contrary to or outside the domain of proper preservation endeavors.

In the above, evidence exists that professional duality may serve to compartmentalize or "zone" knowledge in a way that displaces accountability. In essence, the duality creates

a safe arena for debate without threat of the underlying ideology or hegemony being questioned. Historic preservation distinguishes from urban planning, such that preservation's planning role narrowly conceives in terms of intervening and influencing urban planning processes. As such, professional identity makes irrelevant the need to account for impacts of historic preservation on broader social and spatial patterns they affect. In so doing, preservation separates professional identity, which establishes the terms for the successful preservationist and legitimate practice, from professional legitimacy, which defines ethical, fair, and democratic preservation administration. *The terms of professional legitimacy are, in effect, relegated to matters of administration and implementation divorced from the substance of preservation.*[28]

Apart from cordoning off professional identity from professional legitimacy, the professional duality may displace accountability to the interests of multiple publics, i.e., inhibit critical examination, by zoning knowledge in other respects. Historic preservationists specialize in the preservation of the associational qualities of the material world. Preservationists conceptualize the material world not in terms of social process, but as a collection of objects, buildings, sites and districts possessing aesthetic, historical, and other associational values which must be identified, ranked, interpreted, and sensitively preserved in accordance with professional norms. Preservationists' actions as placemakers are not limited to the associational and aesthetic world. *Preservationists do not merely offer antidotes to societal problems—they play a role in social and spatial relations.* Baer writes:

[28] Preservation is often qualified in discourse as preservation "planning" or some other descriptor. Commonly, preservation professionals working in planning departments, State Historic Preservation Offices, and organizations such as the National Trust speak of the non-preservation work, public administration, and advocacy work that takes up most of their time.

> Whenever historic preservationists act to designate something or are involved in a community battle, they are affecting the future. It is different than if they had not acted. We would agree that we need to carefully look at the consequences of our actions upon the future. Having said that, why are historic preservationists involved in sprawl battles, or trying to set public policy that affects sprawls? In my view, the historic preservation movement is not only involved in documenting the layers of history. I would argue that cities and towns are being hurt by the out-migration of upper- and middle-income people, causing a disinvestment from historic areas in cities and towns. It is also a movement for livable communities. . . . [I]t is a very legitimate position to object both to the fact that an increasing separation and ghettoizing is occurring in America because poor people are generally left behind. (Baer, 1998)

Baer suggests the motivation for intervening in the built environment ties to numerous social desires, which extend beyond associational and aesthetic content. Aesthetic and associational judgments, whether made by qualified professionals or laypersons, both reflect and constitute social and physical conditions. *Historic preservation is cultural policy, which advocates particular interventions in the built environment, often in aesthetic and associational terms, but for socially constructed reasons. Multicultural awareness suggests that the authority, philosophy and objectives, effectiveness, and ramifications of historic preservation all are open to interrogation. Despite this fact, in much scholarship, the preservation subject is narrowly drawn to its relationship with the act and object of preservation, and the context of the act is narrowly considered in relation to the declared intentions of advocates or opponents.*

Such a constrained context shelters much of the domain of historic preservation from acknowledgment and discourse surrounding multiple publics and livability. Historic preservation, if mentioned at all in scholarship about planning practices and public intervention more generally, tends to be narrowly represented as applied history, architectural conservation, nostalgia and imagined communities, or aesthetic preoccupation. I have encountered few examples where historic preservation is listed

alongside urban planning in scholarship related to public administration, professionalism and professional legitimacy, deliberative democracy, public interest, social justice and other issues in which planning is implicated. These issues are simply not regarded as central to the practice of historic preservation. They are, however, regarded as the arena in which historic preservation may set a new, more inclusionary course.

Shortcomings of this context are perhaps most apparent in preservationists' efforts to acknowledge and extend benefits of historic preservation to multiple publics. Miles contends the critique of placemaking professions must extend to such issues as diversity of urban publics, functions and gendering of public space, operations of power, and roles of professionals of the built environment. Preservation scholars who advocate a multicultural awareness, however, seldom acknowledge the relevance of critiques such as Miles'.

Antoinette Lee, Gail Dubrow,[29] Dolores Hayden, and Sharon Zukin are notable exceptions, bringing a host of multicultural considerations to the forefront of preservation discourse. Sandercock goes so far as to say the works of such scholars are indicative of a new multicultural sensibility at work in planning in the 1990s. For example, Hayden has demonstrated ways in which public space can help nurture a sense of cultural belonging while also acknowledging diversity. She writes about the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture public memory, but this power remains untapped for most citizens'

[29] As a planner and planning historian concerned with issues of social justice, Gail Dubrow argues that the tools of historic preservation are essential to any radical planning practice. She notes how two decades of change in the field of U.S. history—which have brought social relations of gender, race, class, ethnicity, and sexuality into the center of historical analysis—have finally begun to transform applied fields of history. Her essay outlines the potential for using historic preservation as an instrument of a democratic and inclusive approach to planning. For too long, she notes, places designated as landmarks reflected the distorted and incomplete picture found in standard historical narratives, erasing the historical experiences, contributions, and sometimes the very existence of women, ethnic communities of color, working people, and lesbians and gay men. . . . Dubrow shows us how historic sites and buildings can raise public awareness of the contributions of diverse groups to our heritage. For Dubrow, the very idea of radical planning practice requires an insurgent planning history—one that acknowledges the erasures and repressions of previous

public memory, especially working people's neighborhoods as well as most ethnic and women's histories. Moving beyond the familiar architectural approach to cultural heritage which favors individual buildings of white Anglo occupiers, Hayden argues for a deeper understanding of the entire urban cultural landscape as an important part of American history, connecting the history of struggle over urban space with the "poetics" of occupying particular places. Dubrow writes that the works of Dolores Hayden on the Power of Place project has earned widespread applause within the preservation, planning, and design professions for demonstrating that multicultural dimensions of urban history are relevant to the art of placemaking. Dubrow's own work emphasizes historic preservation's important role in documenting cultural histories, or "subversive historiography," in the practice of urban planning. As coined by Bell Hooks, the term's emancipatory objective is clear:

> Subversive historiography connects oppositional practices from the past and forms of resistance in the present, thus creating spaces of possibility where the future can be imagined differently—imagined in such a way that we can witness ourselves dreaming, moving forward and beyond the limits of confines of fixed locations. (Hooks, 1994, in Sandercock, 1998a, p. 1)

Preservation scholarship addressing the issue of multiple publics merits attention because it attends more to the benefits of historic preservation in fostering multicultural appreciation than an examination of how the domain and philosophy of historic preservation may define and foster exclusionary practices.[30] *Generally, the presumption of professional validity carries forward in this scholarship, such that the resolution to any*

[historic preservation] planning practice and actively seeks to confront and redress those erasures and silencings" (Sandercock, 1998b, p. 208).

[30] Greig Crysler, who looks to just this issue in his analysis of the JAH, is a notable exception (Crysler, 1996).

issue, including elitism, is more historic preservation. The following illustrates how the solution to elitism is subjected/subverted to the presumption of validity:

> There can be no doubt that historic preservation is largely heritage interpretation as seen from the preservationist's point of view. Thus preservationists, biased by their own ideological, spiritual, and political frameworks, determine the preservation, and hence interpretation of the past for the future. . . . Multiculturalism can only work if everyone at least tolerates, and at best appreciates, and welcomes differentness in one's neighbors. Historic preservation efforts can document this differentness and can be used as an education tool to help others understand one's own cultural background. (Spenneman, 1993, p. 23)

This passage narrowly defines elitism in pluralist terms, and therefore assumes a model of distributive justice within a homogeneous public.[31] Further, both preservationist failings and successes are defined within a pluralist framework. Namely, by documenting the many views of the past, preservationists play a vital role in carrying out democratic principles, and can contribute to livability. Additionally, as preservationists are merely facilitators of distributive justice, no grounds exist upon which preservation in itself—i.e., the documenting of individual histories—may be regarded as fundamentally flawed or elitist; preservationists err only by omission, not commission. Use of the word *bias* as opposed to *position* reveals the pluralistic terms. As everyone has biases, ensuring everyone has equal representation is only fair. Preservationists fail if they don't recognize others' histories in addition to their own; and, if they do, they succeed. Outside of interpreting the past they do not contribute to existing social realities. That pluralist framework depends on a particularistic preservation object—in this case historical narratives. If the act and object of preservation were not utterly reduced such that the problem of elitism could be defined and solved according to the principles of distributive justice, the presumption of a homogeneous public would be difficult to support.

The professional duality is also maintained in scholarship that presents more critical perspectives of historic preservation and urban planning. For instance, Sandercock writes:

> [P]lanning seeks to exert some control over society's spatial arrangements. But spaces are also places and places have histories. And people are usually attached to places precisely because of these histories. One very powerful critique of planning practice that has emerged from citizens in recent decades is the argument that planners are ignorant about, or show little respect for, local histories and local attachments. And historic preservation planning itself has come under attack for choosing only certain histories as worth preserving. (1998b)

Consistent with popular representations, Sandercock essentializes each profession within the framework of its oppositional role. Historic preservation is defined by its acknowledgment of the symbolic, associational, and aesthetic character of places—i.e., the realm of the subjective, psychological, particular, local, and ideographic. Planning, on the other hand, is defined by its acknowledgment of the objective, rational, universal, functional, systematic, and material reality of places. (Only planning is defined by its exclusion of the symbolic.) *These definitions reinforce contentious dichotomies and constrain acknowledgment of the manner in which each profession influences the appropriation, use, and representations of place and the significance of policy choices accordingly* (as will be demonstrated in Chapter 4).[32] In associating preservation with the subjective features, needs for professional standards and expertise unique to preservation as well as distributive justice (to bring order to chaos) are emphasized.

Because preservation is generally associated with subjective representation and unique character of places, the significance of policy choices is seen in that context. Planning, on

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[31] See Chapter 3 for further elaboration.

[32] Also consider that these professional alignments are conceptually loaded with respect to space and time. Doreen Massey's assessment is widely quoted: "There is a whole set of dualisms whose terms are commonly aligned with time and space. With time are aligned History, Progress, Civilization, Science, Politics and Reason, portentous things with gravitas and capital letters. With space, on the other hand, are aligned the

the other hand, is associated with the universal character of place, subsuming the relevance of use, appropriation, and representation to technical rationality. Thus, it is implied that professional understandings and philosophies are unrelated to the historical context in which each profession intervenes in the appropriation, use, and representation of space. *Therefore, exclusionary practices, for both professions, may be attributed to an absence of what historic preservation has to offer rather than the substance of professional identity. Thus, the issue of multiple publics is depoliticized, professional identity is sheltered, and the pluralist distributive-justice model reinforced.*

The following passage by Gail Dubrow illustrates how the professional dualism co-opts professional reflexivity such that acknowledgment of multiple publics must support the presumption of professional validity in discourse:

> Two decades of change in the field of U.S. history, which have brought social relations of gender, race, class, ethnicity and sexuality into the center of historical analysis, finally have begun to transform applied fields of history, including historic preservation. The time has come to reexamine the potential for using historic preservation as an instrument of democratic and inclusive approach to planning.[33]

Dubrow's statement illustrates how maintenance of an oppositional identity can work to co-opt reflexive interrogation of the field for the purposes of professional promotion. *The multicultural challenge facing historic preservation is reduced to a matter of prioritizing historic preservation as an antidote to multicultural failure of planning, and*

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other poles of these concepts: stasis, 'simple' reproduction, nostalgia, emotion, aesthetics, the body" (Massey, 1994, p. 257).

[33] Dubrow offers further examples that planners have a responsibility not only to enforce regulatory controls but also to determine whether protections they confer are equitably distributed. They have a special ethical and political responsibility to advocate for preservation of cultural resources when systematic inequalities have weakened the power of particular groups to defend their own??? tangible heritage. She suggests that a multicultural and inclusionary approach to historical preservation in planning has a vital place in the planner's tool kit.

the formula for serving a heterogeneous public interest is reduced to a function of successful promotion unimpeded by reflexive critique.

Historic preservationists recognize that identity is shaped in history and by the understandings of history. The same can be said for professional identity. This process is particularly relevant to the field of historic preservation because the profession places a high value on history and identity and is defined by that value. As previously noted, planning has been criticized for its failure to acknowledge the significance of history and that preservation has been criticized for its failure to acknowledge certain histories. I propose that a dualistic professional identity promotes an increased role of historic preservation in planning practice and a greater and expanded historic preservation practice. *That is, acknowledgment of a greater variety of the histories of diverse social groups is the key strategy to make practice more inclusionary and to acknowledge multiple publics.*

This tendency reveals how the profession defines social justice, hegemony, and its role within the social context. Namely, acknowledgment of multiple publics within the discipline appears to be regarded as a simple function of the distribution of the benefits of historic preservation, whether representative or emancipatory, among diverse constituencies. As defined, preservation is reinforced as an indisputable public good.

A distributive approach aligns acknowledgment of multiple publics with professional promotion.[34] But what are the mechanisms that have allowed certain histories to be privileged and promoted within the discipline? The distributive approach discounts the

[34] As Beck notes, "Analysis of changes at the local level is usually informed by an understanding of the liberal tradition in the practice of American politics. For the analyst, politics is conceptualized as interests straining against one another and government brokering the demands of one group against another. Officials operate according to the ideas inherent in liberal democratic thought, confining their understanding of representation within the paradigm of conflicting interests. Thus change can only be discussed in terms of groups and interests. The liberal framework of government at this level inhibits discussion of issues that

possibility that past and present omissions are derivative of professional identity, which privileges particular understandings of history, place, and identity and essentializes the profession and reduces the preservation subject to its interpretive and representative role. *Most significantly, the distributive approach fails to acknowledge that understanding of history and identity are interdependent with understandings of place and community, and that the practice of preservation may be constitutive of and constituted by experiences of each.* Hence, the possibility that promoting public history in preservation serves to conceal exclusive practices within historic preservation is very real and relevant to a field which seeks to embrace social diversity.

The possibility that public history may be employed to reveal exclusive practices is also very real and relevant. Subversive Historiography serves just such a purpose. Although subversive historiography is increasingly recognized in both planning and preservation scholarship for potential to reveal biases embedded and privileged in profession planning practice, it has not been similarly recognized for such purposes in the preservation profession (Sandercock, 1998; Dubrow& Zukin, 1995).

Sandercock provides the most comprehensive re-representation of planning history, and in so doing identifies several ways in which history has power and bestows power within the planning profession. Each of these is equally relevant to the historic preservation profession. In constructing histories of itself, a profession molds its members' understanding of past struggles and triumphs, and creates a professional identity that centers on such understandings. Professional identity is further shaped by the circumstances in which certain histories are used to legitimize practice. History is also

cannot be conceptualized as interests and treated by balancing the demands of one group against another" (1995, p. 120). See Chapter 3 for further discussion.

recognized as having power with respect to place; professional understanding of particular histories shape policy choices and how one understands and experiences places. These are equally relevant to historic preservation and are explored throughout the thesis.

Sandercock also specifies the mechanisms that legitimize such power and that normalize exclusionary practices in planning history. Mainstream planning professions, she asserts, have typically seen their subject as the profession, and their object as describing (and celebrating) its emergence.

> There have been two significant consequences of this approach. One is the absence of diversity in these texts. The other is the absence of any critical/theoretical perspectives. . . . At the most fundamental level—ontological and epistemological—there has been a failure to address two basic questions. What is the object of planning history? And who are its subjects? The boundaries of planning history are not a given. These boundaries shift in relation to the definition of planning (as in both ideas and practices) and in relation to the historian's purpose. If we define planning as bounded by the profession, and its objective as city-building, we generate one set of histories. If we define planning as community-building, we generate another. If we define planning as the regulation of the physicality, sociality, and spatiality of the city, then we produce planning histories that try to make sense of those regulatory practices over time and space. But in emphasizing planning as a regulatory or disciplinary practice, we may miss its transformative possibilities, which in turn may be connected to histories of resistance to specific planning practices and regulatory regimes. The writing of histories is . . . always a representation, a textual reconstruction of the past rather than a direct reflection of it. (Sandercock, 1998b)

Sandercock's statement is pertinent in several respects. Authors who seek to redefine historic preservation within the context of multiple publics by-and-large do so within confines of an oppositional identity. This identity is maintained by accounts of preservation scholarship describing the profession's history and role that differ little in process to the description of planning discourse offered by Sandercock.

The dualistic identity of historic preservation imparts a formula for success that assumes the value of historic preservation practices to be an ontological given. In other

words, the profession's philosophy and practices presume to be valid, notwithstanding whether historic preservationists actually succeed in resisting disruptive forces of change, or whether they prioritize privileged interests. *In effect, to be legitimate, any historic preservation effort to serve heterogeneous publics must draw on knowledge, ideals, and methods that self-authorize professional legitimacy if such an effort wants to be recognized as part of the domain of historic preservation. As such, the presumptions also delimit the value of critical inquiry and leave little room or purpose to question how preservation practices may serve elitist interests.* To achieve, or rather heighten, success in this context, assessing the degree to which historic preservation practices foster or inhibit livable communities is unnecessary and irrelevant, that is unless such efforts demonstrably garner support for preservation. By extension, examining how those practices may privilege exclusive interests and undermine efforts to plan for diverse publics is also regarded as unnecessary.

CONCLUSION

Noteworthy about professional representations is the manner in which preservation issues are framed to delineate the context upon which preservation may or may not be critiqued. Contextualizing historic preservation within the land use arena, as I do in this study, makes possible viewing historic preservation as something other than a laudable antidote to bad planning. Absent such constraints, what becomes relevant are the possibilities for increasing acknowledgment of multiple publics within the preservation profession and criticism's important role in those considerations. Recontextualizing historic preservation in terms of multiple publics highlights erasures and omissions typical of discourses generated within and about the field. *These omissions and erasures reveal*

efforts to recast the value of historic preservation in the context of multiple publics as reifications of existing social structures, and as a barrier to acknowledging multiple publics.

Although historic preservation was established as a populist movement waging war against a modernist planning regime, this image may not adequately get to the heart of issues at play between contemporary historic preservation and growth management practices. In 1966, both the preservation field and the National Historic Preservation Act were easily justified as a response to loss of historic properties through federally backed urban renewal, highway construction, and civic works. Today, as much if not greater destruction of the landscape occurs, but often by private initiative, which is more diffuse and apparently less threatening to the public. Further, both planning and historic preservation and the professional context in which they operate have been completely redefined. The planning profession has been transformed and has been infused with participatory planning and historic preservation. Historic preservation has incorporated many land use planning principles and shares some of the same modernist foundations. Historic preservation operates in the land use arena, which, by force of constitutional law, still defines the built environment as land, and holds sacred ownership and the right-to-exclude. *Thus, the professional identity of preservation is vested in the legitimacy of land use planning.*

The preservation/planning duality upholds a professional identity that presumes a homogeneous public and normalizes professional authority. *To the extent this identity essentializes the preservation domain in terms of the associational qualities of the built environment and its role in the interpretation and representation of those qualities, acknowledgment of multiple publics within the field are constrained such that exclusive*

practices are denied and discourse is impoverished. As thus defined, it is questionable whether the preservation community is poised to take on the challenge of building livable communities alongside planning within heterogeneous public domains.

CHAPTER 3—
PRESERVATION IDEALS: THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN LIVABILITY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter centers on the political nature of professional ideals. Such ideals convey the value accorded to placemaking professions and inspire and validate professional undertakings (Knox, 1995). Professional ideals, when taken as guiding tenets, are undertakings in their own right, meriting attention as an expression of political agency, raising a host of questions concerning the normative foundations of professional ideology. The purpose of this chapter is to bring into focus political and normative issues associated with those professional ideals that inform the preservation community's efforts to embrace multiple publics. These issues are explored within the context of livability and the urban land use policy arena.

I argue that preservationists should question the extent to which the ideals and public benefits advocated by the profession are premised on false dichotomies and assumptions of a homogeneous public, a rational and neutral public decision-making process, and universality.

Land Use Politics: Power and Meaning of Place

Public deliberations regarding quality of the lived environment and quality of life provide insight into the political economy of placemaking. Such deliberations often come into play in the realm of land use policy.[1] Land use policy decisions involve a dynamic struggle of agency by individuals representing various publics and placemaking

[1] I mean to define the land use policy arena in a broad sense, referring to the public forum in which land use practices are deliberated both within and outside of the context of private property regulation. I emphasize private property because land ownership is a significant variable in the legitimacy of the representation, appropriation, and use of space, and as Bartholomew notes (*JAPA Journal*, 1999, p. 365), land use policy deliberations tend to be documented.

professions, all of whom are vying for interventions and protections that affect the character and use of the physical environment in order to secure personal and social well-being.

Schendelen and Ottes identify a primary motivation for land use intervention, noting, "the built environment determines the framework within which people shape their lives, be it in relation to the home, the neighborhood, the infrastructure required to get to work or shopping, or to make use of social, cultural, and recreational facilities" (Schendelen & Ottes, 1999, p. 217). *Thus, decisions about the use and appropriation of physical space are debated because they shape the physical and social environment in ways which directly and disproportionately impact individual circumstances.* Those impacts might include access and control of property, housing affordability, separation between work and home, travel distance, security, and the availability and form of public amenities (Schendelen & Ottes, 1999).

Land use policy decisions also impact individual circumstances through less direct means. They shape the way the physical and social environment and individual experiences are expressed in the arena of public opinion, policy choices, and legislative and judicial doctrine (Hillier, 1998, p. 78). More to the point, struggles within the land use policy arena are not limited to competition over the appropriation, use, and patrolling of territorial space; they also involve how and by whom the meaning of that space is defined (Massey, 1994). People invest places with social and cultural meanings that support a sense of identity and security (Hayden, 1995).[2] Differing interpretations of historic

[2] As McDowell states, "urban space…is constructed through sets of myths and representations which are given meaning by everyday spatial practices…Spaces have different meanings for different groups, and each space may, over the course of a day, a week or longer, be occupied by a series of different social groups

significance, property rights, and aesthetics are all expressions of claims over the meaning of places and potential futures (Crow, 1996; Massey, 1994; Pile, 1997). Spatial meanings are dynamic. They are based on inherited meanings and present circumstances. Considering a particular meaning in isolation can be misleading because it elevates the significance of certain histories in certain circumstances over others (Rotenberg, 1993). These meanings reflect one's physical, social, economic, material, cultural-ideological, and psychological circumstances. In turn, they influence one's well-being, behavior, and expectations (Massey, 1991; Rose, 1995). Also, they are mobilized in battles over the material futures of places (Massey, 1994) to legitimize land use choices, such as under what conditions new development should occur, or newcomers are embraced (Massey, 1994). In the political arena, privileged meanings of place combine with privileged meanings of fair and just land use deliberation to naturalize the social and physical outcomes and the contours of power they set in motion (Pile, 1997).

Peter Jackson uses the term "cultural politics" to describe the domain in which competing meanings of place and relations of privilege and subordination are negotiated (Knox, 1995, p. 224). The term acknowledges that the cultural is always political and that our experiences of material and social worlds are mediated by power and culture (Knox, 1995; Mitchell, 2000, p. 11; Shurmer-Smith, 2002, p. 229). This means that the playing field for the livability debate is an uneven one. Massey makes this point clear, noting that "battles over the meaning and identity of places are waged in the context of unequal forces" (Massey, 1991, p. 278). In her view, environmental change and the meaning of place occur in a world that is unevenly developed, socially, materially, and geographically.

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whose practices imbue the same spaces with different meanings at different times. The street and the park, for example, in the day and in the evening, or the holiday resort in and out of season, are different spaces in practice, in the everyday experiences of those who live in and use them" (1999, p. 168).

Plotkin makes similar observations, maintaining that land use decisions define and support claims to space in ways that both reflect and distribute power over land and people (Plotkin, 1987). He asserts, "Spacemaking is an altogether human process, a fundamental means of organizing people, power, and places" (Plotkin, 1987, p. 43). The position of scholars such as Massey and Plotkin support the conclusion that *claims about the meaning of place, history, and possible futures are inherently political and integral to the perpetuation of and resistance to hegemonic systems of oppression and privilege*.

If the validity ascribed to particular ideals, policies, and decisions indicates the contours of social power at work in the decision-making processes as critical theorists suggest, then a number of questions surface about the political implications of the ideals by which professional undertakings are measured. Who has the power to deem a place historic, derelict, private property, or public domain, and who benefits? How is that power negotiated? How do preservationists and professional ideology fit into the power equation? What does the public interest in preservation mean in such a context, particularly in relation to the goal of embracing multiple publics? This study is not so much concerned with the answer to these questions as it is with identifying the extent to which the historic preservation profession and the larger planning profession are poised to acknowledge the relevance of such questions to the goal of serving the interests of multiple publics.

Environmental quality and quality of life are the ideals that drive professional agendas centering on the promotion, management, and regulation of placemaking activities (Healy, 2001, p. 265). Professional placemaking practices clearly affect the condition and conception of the natural and built environment and people's lives. Historic preservationists and allied professions act with the intention of influencing the physical environment, or the manner in which people understand and relate to their physical

surroundings, to advance an array of consequences deemed desirable (Healy, 2001). The actions and representations of placemaking professions shape the material environment and people's lives in ways that reflect professional ideals, philosophies, and stereotypes as well as relations of power (Hillier, 1998, p. 79; Zukin, 1991).[3] Likewise, historic preservation is a medium through which the physical landscape is transformed, particular meanings and policies are legitimized, and secure futures are assured (Harvey, 1996; Hillier, 2001; Sandercock, 1998a).

Framing the Analysis: Livability

Local governments and placemaking professionals who seek to influence the character of the lived environment commonly conceive their efforts in terms of community livability. Livability is an ideal that signifies both the means to attain, and the social and physical manifestation of, the "good life." In other words, *livability is an ideal that represents quality of life and sustained environmental quality and, I maintain, captures what is meant by "the public interest in preservation."*

The City of Eugene, Oregon, defines livability as a characteristic "representing the positive qualities of living in a community."[4] This definition recognizes livability as an ideal that involves value judgments and the interdependency of people and place. The Partners for Livability emphasizes the intangible nature of that value judgment within such a context:

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[3] Knox provides the following summary. "Members of the design professions have direct responsibility for the production of many aspects of the built environment, from individual buildings and detailed landscaping to land-use regulations and strategic plans for urban development. In all of these tasks, they must work within the parameters set by clients, politicians, legal codes, and so on; but to all of these tasks they also bring a distinctive professional ideology and the opportunity to translate social and cultural values into material form: Their products, their social roles as cultural producers and the organization of consumption in which they intervene create shifting landscapes in the most material sense. As both objects of desire and structural forms, their work bridges space and time. It also directly mediates economic power by both conforming to and structuring norms of market-driven investment, production, and consumption (Knox, 1995, p. 135).

[4] Shaping Eugene's Future Growth Management Glossary,should this be in italics? City of Eugene, 1996.

> Livability cannot be measured in indices, benchmarks, or in the number of golf courses per 100,000 people. Partners believes livability stems from the arduous teamwork required to improve a system; that livable communities can augment economic development and benefit all segments of the resident populations; and that regions—led by vibrant central cities—create livability through participatory planning. Livability encompasses attention to both places and the people who live and work in them. Livability is mobilizing change; livability is action for the good. (McNulty in *Partners for Livable Cities,* 2000, p. 11)

Livability is substantially connected to the social and material environment, an ideal community. Michael Pacione contrasts livability with quantitative measures of urban environmental quality, noting that "urban livability is a relative term whose precise meaning depends on the place, time and purpose of the assessment and on the value system of the individual assessor". This view contends that quality is not an attribute inherent in the environment but is a behavior-related function of the interaction of environmental characteristics and individual or social characteristics (Pacione, 2001, p. 380).

Pacione maintains that public debate over livability often takes place within an urban political framework and, in that context, attaining livability depends on the satisfaction of a wide range of social, economic, and physical factors. He contrasts this contemporary ideal of livability to more traditional definitions of urban quality. "Whereas the Greeks thought that the good city was one in which all the free men could participate in face-to-face government, in modern times criteria for livability have more usually emphasized economic factors such as job opportunity, good, housing schools, and shipping facilities, efficient transport systems, and sound urban finance." (Pacione, 2001, p. 398). He notes that several writers have sought to leaven this economic viewpoint by consideration of social or human concerns.

Other scholars, such as Knox (1995), would suggest that the democratic and place-based definitions of urban quality that Pacione contrasts do not necessarily represent

different ideals, but rather different ways of viewing the same ideal, for both views bespeak an overarching public interest and stem from related political traditions.[5] When placemaking professionals seek urban quality, or livability, to advance the public interest, certain rules of fairness and rights are always implied (i.e., private property rights, due process, citizen involvement, and so on). *Determinations about environmental quality and quality of life involve normative judgments which are contingent upon conceptions of needs and rights*. Knox describes this relationship, "The way these rights are articulated and upheld in particular locales determines, among other things,[6] the nature of access to economic and political power and to social and cultural legitimacy. It follows that the view of justice defined by citizenship, legal codes and the roles claimed by (or given to) urban governments have a great deal to do with the unfolding of the socio-spatial dialectic"[7] (Knox, 1995, p. 74). Implicit is the assumption that the general health, safety, and welfare of society may also be impacted by virtue of that "socio-spatial" relationship. In extending this relationship between justice and cultural norms to the mutual constitution of society and the environment, Knox highlights two features inherent to the ideal of livability:

1. An ideal social arrangement—a notion that fairness, civil rights, and social justice are the building blocks of a livable environment.
2. An ideal material arrangement—a notion that physical, mental, and social well-being are interdependent with the physical and associative character of the environment.

The socio-spatial dialectic, the idea that the character of the physical environment influences individual experience, not only in material ways, but also in inspirational,

[5] Moreover, other authors relate the change to shifts in democratic political thought, both republican and liberal, as expressed by the New Deal policies, rise in the welfare state, urban populist movements like historic preservation, and civil rights legislation—suggesting both political and material views are interdependent and considered relevant.

[6] Knox's statement is more specific; he refers to the three sets of common rights outlined by Jurgen Habermas (p. 74).

[7] See Chapter 1 for a description of "socio-spatial dialectic."

educational, and symbolic ways, is the cornerstone of the historic preservation profession. Historic preservation professionals seek to intervene in that relationship to advance an overarching public interest. This implies a notion of fairness and societal well-being. Because the ideal of livability holds central these same precepts, it provides a representational framework that is particularly well-suited for rendering visible and open to scrutiny the political nature of preservation endeavors and the socio-spatial dialectic. Namely, the concept provides a broad platform to examine differing perspectives regarding the meaning of the built environment as they intersect with understandings of the public interest to which historic preservation and other urban professions are dedicated. *In essence, the concept of livability represents an ideological guidepost, revealing what is at the core of professional principles.*[8]

Social Aspect of Livability: Public Interest

To the extent that desired social and material attributes of the "livable" environment are arranged and secured socially through rules of conduct and fairness,[9] or behavioral norms and mores, they reflect what I refer to as the social side of the livability equation, which I would argue defines the "public interest" that preservation is purported to advance. The concept of "public interest" is an organizing principle for the rules of conduct, rights,

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[8] Historic preservation is distinguished by its focus on material arrangement in time. The question in this Chapter is how professional ideals inform favored social and physical arrangements.

[9] One of the broadest and most detailed discussions of livability and agency is presented by Thomas Evans. As part of his discussion he discusses the potential for 'alternative' agency, for which he builds a case throughout the text. He questions whether the civil society can be an agent of such an alternative construction of livability. "If the quest for livability is the primary goal, civil society loses its political coherence. The concept lumps together plutocrats and the poor. When social justice and distributional questions are at stake—as they are in the political struggles surrounding the quest for livelihood—denominating 'civil society' as the relevant political actor glosses over the conflicting interests that separate private elites" (Evans, 2002, p. 4).

obligations, and entitlements thought necessary to assure a just and positive living environment, i.e., the social side of livability.

Traditional Models of Democracy

Arguably, "liberalism" and "republicanism" are the two main political traditions[10] that have shaped conventional understandings of the public interest and associated concepts such as citizenship, community, governance, and rule of law[11] in the western world (Carey, 2001; Abowitz, 2003).[12] Liberalism has had a greater influence on the U.S. political and legal framework (Abowitz, 2003). However, the republican tradition is most associated with the public interest or "public good" due to an emphasis on citizen participation and communal well-being (Garber, 1995).

The Civic Republican View: The civic republican tradition emphasizes self-rule, citizenship, and civic virtue through participatory and deliberative democracy. Citizens are expected to be virtuous, i.e., to be active in politics, and to place a higher value on the interest of the community than on individual preference and autonomy. Individual interests are considered partisan and private, and therefore are expected to remain outside the public realm of civic deliberation. As Martin and Vincent (1999) note, "In traditional understandings of civic republicanism, the public good is understood as something existing independently of, and indeed gaining priority over, individual wishes." From this perspective, government is responsible for promoting the interest of society as a whole

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[10] These terms are not divided along the lines of the political left and right or the Republican and Democratic parties, nor are they as distinct as presented. Instead, I use terms to refer to two general, and overlapping, democratic philosophies.
[11] I don't mean to negate that Americans have not to varying degrees been influenced by all kinds of political and moral philosophies—Marxism, communism, fascism, feminism, etc.—but liberalism and republicanism are the dominant approaches to governance and rule of law.
[12] Bellah (1996) provides a more detailed account of the history of both traditions as they relate to the 'public good' in *Habits of the Heart*. He identifies six distinct visions of the public good that have arisen in the U.S. in an attempt to balance the increasing tension between individualism and the common good.

rather than the interests of particular segments of society. With an emphasis on civic duty and community interests, republicanism tends to align with communitarian notions of the "ideal community" and populist design movements that aim to create an ideal community, such as the new urbanism and neo-traditionalism.

The Liberal View: Unlike republicanism, liberalism emphasizes individual autonomy and personal preferences above collective deliberation about "the good life" (Scott et al., 1998).[13] The liberal ideal of the public good is strictly achieved as a matter of enabling and securing the greatest good for the greatest number (Hillier, 1998). Susan Beck explains how this is carried out, "In the liberal state, rational individuals pursue their own preferences and wants, and the state protects individuals by providing an orderly society in which each person is allowed autonomy and thus liberty" (Beck, 1995, p. 122). Individual citizens empower the state to protect and maximize individual autonomy and liberties as a means of securing the public good (Hillier, 1998). Government authority is derived from consent of the governed who enter into a "social contract," agreeing to give up part of their freedom to a government in return for protection of autonomy and liberties (Rawls, 1992). Citizens elect those most qualified to carry out governmental functions on their behalf. Public debate and administration is to be rational and neutral. As Sunstein notes, "It is not the role of government to evaluate privately held beliefs about the good life as they are irreducibly 'subjective'" (Sunstein, 1993, p. 197). Checks and balances are in place in the form of government structure and procedures, and individual rights to protect citizens from government interference. Thus, with individual rights and representative democracy at the

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[13] As Scott, Cowdell, and Diamond note, "The liberal view of citizenship stresses individual rights within a framework of the rule of law. The best form of government in liberal eyes has therefore been one in which individual rights are safeguarded by constitutional limits on government power."

forefront, liberalism turns its focus away from civic duty and participation to the legal and administrative functions of government and? status of citizens and government.

Underlying Assumptions

The traditional political models of democracy and citizenship derive from an inter-related series of false dichotomies: liberal versus republican viewpoints, the separation of public and private sectors, and the distinction between objective and subjective. These divisions result in further flawed assumptions: an ideal community that forms a homogeneous public, in which individuals equally share a universal good or truth. Thus, the models are far from being mutually exclusive political camps; both are embedded in western political and cultural institutions and continue to shape popular conceptions of the public interest, and each find their way into the rhetoric of the political left and right.

In the United States and other western democracies, both the liberal and republican views have been widely criticized for fostering oppression. Criticisms often center on the exclusive definition of citizenship supported by the two political traditions (Baker, 1999). In the United States, the historic view of citizenship was limited to white male property owners. Supporters and critics alike also acknowledge that the social construction of citizenship continued to be mediated through institutionalized prejudices and entrenched cultural practices after formal recognition of men of color, and women as citizens (Knox, 1995, p. 75). Mainstream accounts now follow the lead of feminists and other critical theorists in faulting both traditions for "presupposing a gendered view of the public," which is made up of "individuals with visible and valued male traits like fraternalism and rational objectivity, and saturated with militarist norms of honor and camaraderie" (Baker, 1999, p. 25; Young, 1990, p. 8). Further, in both views those activities, values and ways of

thinking which are traditionally associated with women were regarded as largely irrelevant to the construction of citizenship, and continue to be regarded as falling outside of the realm of citizenship (Baker, 1999, p. 8). *Thus, even where liberal and republican perspectives of citizenship have been reworked to remedy overt historic exclusions*, via the abolition of slavery and the women's suffrage and civil rights movements, for example, *the question remains as to whether and to what extent their foundations are inherently biased or contradictory, and therefore flawed.*

The Homogeneous Public

Critics of traditional democracy frequently question how the "public" is defined in the liberal and republican models of democracy. Iris Young (1990) is among those who contend that the definitions of public assumed by the republican and liberal models share a logic which denies difference and diversity.[14] She explains her position on the matter:

> Liberal individualism denies difference by positing the self as a solid, self-sufficient unity, not defined by anything or anyone other than itself ... Proponents of community, on the other hand, deny difference by positing fusion rather than separation as the social ideal. They conceive the social subject as a relation of unity or mutuality composed by identification and symmetry among individuals within a totality. Communitarianism represents an urge to see persons in unity with one another in a shared whole. (Young, 1990, p. 229)

She faults both models for denying difference by assuming an exclusive homogeneous public; the liberal model assumes a homogeneous public by representing the citizen as an abstract disembodied individual among equals and the republican model by collapsing individual citizens into a universalistic notion of community. In both cases, the problem is that the conception of the public purges the "identity of the citizen of gender and race or

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[14] Difference in this context is defined by Vincent and Martin as different ways of seeing, which derive "from social positionings and subjectivities based (although not exclusively) on social class, gender and/or ethnicity" (Vincent & Martin, 1999, p. 5/???137).

ethnic origin in order that it might be considered universal" and also implies a univocal masculinist view of public purposes and values which exclude and silence the voices of the difference (Stivers, 1999, p. 64).[15] *Thus, the public and the interest of that public are constructed from a false claim to universalism in both traditions*. The irony, according to Baker, is that by "transforming the male subject into a paradigm of humankind, the republican ideal of self-rule and the liberal ideal of the citizen as impartial and universal are both undermined" (Baker, 1999, p. 8).

Public Versus Private

Critics argue that the conception of a homogeneous public excludes and silences the voices of difference by extension.[16] Knox expresses this point candidly in an introductory geography textbook, noting, "sexism and racism…found their way into conceptions of citizenship and from there into the relationship between the public sphere and private life and to the very heart of the socio-spatial dialectic through which contemporary cities have been forged" (Knox, 1995, p. 75). Feminists of various persuasions have been at the forefront of scholarship which problematizes the gendered distinction between the public and private realms assumed in the liberal and republican traditions to which Knox refers. The problem is relevant to relations of gender to race, class, disability, or any other measure of difference. As Baker asserts, "There is a clear connection between the debate on equality and difference and the ideological construction of the two separate spheres of society: the public, political spheres of equal citizens; and the private, non-political realms

[15] According to Homi Bhaba (1992), "Masculinism as a position of social authority is not simply about the power invested in the recognizable "persons" of men. It is about the subsumption or sublation of social antagonism; it is about the repression of social division; it is about the power to authorize an "impersonal" holistic or universal discourse on the representation of the social…"

[16] "Each resists awarding primacy to social diversity, physical and material security, healthy environments, and androgynous spatial design in whose absence neither feminist ideals nor viable cities can flourish" (Garber, 1999, p. 28).

in which difference, including gender differences, may be realized and expressed" (Baker, 1995, p. 17).

The distinction between public and private is far from neutral in intent or effect. Some argue that the distinction between the public and private is a profoundly problematic construction which carries forward the historic exclusions upon which it has been built (Young, 1998). The line of division assumes a balance between public and private spheres. Historically, the private sphere represents the home and refuge from whence white, propertied men ventured out into the democratic arena. By nature or custom, women, the propertyless, and nonwhite men were denied access to this public realm of legitimate public discourse. *Thus, to be public implies access to both realms and autonomy in the private realm*. Pateman maintains that the same "masculine capacities that enable them [husbands], but not their wives, to be heads of families are the same capacities that enable them, but not their wives, to take their place in civil life" (Pateman, 1998, p. 246). Schneekloth and Shibley (1995) contend that the line between public and private is one of the most critical considerations of placemaking discourse. The divide legitimizes ideological beliefs in the public policy realm: "the political act of siting the location of the boundary between public and private spheres has a profound public-policy significance: 'private' being effectively invoked if the state espouses nonintervention; 'public' to the contrary" (Baker, 1999, p. 13).

In defining the line between public and private as having to do with the extent to which political considerations may encroach on private enterprise, the liberal perspective renders issues like child care or neighborhood aesthetics as less deserving of policy consideration; or, as in the case of domestic oppression, both perspectives arguably define domestic

oppression as lying outside the proper realm of justice (Baker, 1999, p. 13).[17] Further, the distinction between the public and private domain renders the domestic realm private and naturalizes the sexual division of labor in which women typically assume responsibility for unpaid work; hence feminists argue that removing the private realm from public redress depoliticizes women's subjugation (Stivers, 1999).[18] Similarly, nontraditional perspectives regarding such things as sexual orientation, advocated by groups traditionally excluded from political life, are considered partisan and therefore not properly public matters (Landes, 1998)[19].

Feminist scholars often raise the concern that both traditions conceive of public and private within a reductionistic universalistic/particularistic dichotomy.[20] Seyla Benhabib (1998), for instance, argues that each view associates the public realm with universalism, albeit expressing the association in different terms. Republicans elevate the public realm, which is reserved for communal concerns and public deliberation through established

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[17] "Private concerns can become public-policy issues, but unless the public-private distinction is radically reexamined, they become public in a way that reinforces the construction of a public-private dichotomy. An example can be found in the public hygiene legislation of the nineteenth century. As with any modern liberation movement, the contemporary women's movement is making what were hitherto considered 'private' matters of the good life into 'public' issues of justice by thematicizing the asymmetrical power relations on which the sexual division of labour between the genders has rested. In this process,the line between the private and the public…issues of justice and…the good life, is being renegotiated" (Benhabib, 1998, p. 87).

[18] Subaltern theorists in general critique the public-private divide. As Iris Marion Young notes, the distinction "expresses a will for homogeneity that necessitates the exclusion of many persons and groups, particularly women and racialized groups culturally identified with the body, wildness, and irrationality" (Young, 1998, p. 440).

[19] Pateman argues that both models are patriarchal: "For liberals, public freedom for individual men rests on private subordination of women as class???, whereas communitarian politics delves into the private sphere to ensure more equal political participation only insofar as men's inequalities are concerned" (Pateman, 1998).

[20] While the public/private dichotomy is frequently the focus of feminist scholarship, it is raised as an issue outside the feminist tradition, particularly as a variation of the universal/particular dichotomy, the global/local dichotomy appearing in social geography, postmodern, and postcolonial scholarship. Said's *Orientalism* is a classical example. This dichotomy is also expressed in space and place through the global/local dichotomy at various scales. "Political association at the local level is presumed to be more generative of…meaningful participation than at a larger scale. Proponents can draw from whatever perspective suits them without accounting for contradictions by shifting scale. This is one reason Iris Marion Young believes cities have been able to cultivate the worst characteristics of communitarianism and liberalism" (Garber, 1995, p. 31).

democratic processes, and reserve the private realm for partisan concerns to remain outside public view (Benhabib, 1998). In contrast, liberals elevate self-interest, freedom, and autonomy in the private realm and reserve public life for objective and rational management of such needs. From the liberal perspective, public deliberation is an administrative issue, and is limited to a discussion of the means rather than ends (Benhabib, 1998).[21]

Ian Barns (1995) explains the problem at issue, "Both the procedural universalism of liberalism and the thicker citizenship of civic republicans tacitly (and, from a feminist viewpoint, illegitimately) universalise a masculinist particularity" (p. 130). In other words, *for both models, the public realm is associated with a masculine notion of rationality and order,*[22] *and the private realm with subjectivity, nature, and desire*. Women and others typically contrasted and balanced against the masculine norm of reason and order are relegated to the private realm as secondary. For this reason, many feminist critics maintain that both the liberal and republican conceptions of the public sphere, in much the same way as citizenship, assume a masculinist perspective which fails to account for the particularity and differences of various social groups (Barns, 1995).

Objective Versus Subjective

Other critics focus on *how* the traditional models of justice employ a public/private dichotomy to justify policy choices. Namely, the republican and liberal models are faulted

[21] "However this liberal partition is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain. The administrative systems of state bureaucracies and the culture of consumer capitalism increasingly pervade and undermine the supposedly autonomous private spaces of family and community life. Conversely public life in liberal democratic societies is increasingly troubled by intense conflicts over life politics: conflicts over gender, lifestyle, ethnicity, religion and community identity. They are disputes which blur the public-private division, and they cannot be easily expressed in terms of the liberal discourses of 'rights' and non-discriminatory due process" (Barns, 1995, p. 130).

[22] This is also true of the republican view. "A substantive 'common good' and shared moral values assume a homogeneous reason and rationality. Such a stance fails to centre, indeed to acknowledge, the plurality of perspectives that postmodern analyses foreground" (Vincent & Martin, 1999 p. 4).

for assuming objective neutrality (Beck, 1995, p. 128). The assumption of neutrality ascribed to policy agendas, decisions, and professional expertise depends on a universal notion of society characteristic of Enlightenment thought (Benhabib, 1998). Neutrality implies objectivity and reason as well as a fair and orderly society of citizens. These positions stand in opposition, and when associated with a good society, stand above the subjectivity, disorder, and the untamed natural realm traditionally associated with women, nature, and anarchy.

Similarly, the liberal view assumes the ability of representatives of state interests to exercise reason and neutrality. The role of government in this view is to promote the public interest by maximizing the potential for private enterprise through the use of management and technical rationality. "From this view democracy is about procedures rather than goals, rights rather than the good, means rather than metaphysics" (Barns, 1995, p. 112). As in the case of the public-private dichotomy, the nature-reason dichotomy is faulted for dismissing certain voices as irrelevant and elevating others as uncontested truth.

Hillier (1998) maintains that the utilitarian emphasis of liberalism promotes a pretense of neutrality that can be extended to professionals and professional expertise. As Barns states, "Utilitarian theory is just as subjective as any other, however. All human systems are shaped by the biases and ideologies of the humans developing such systems" (Barns, 1995, p. 110). The utilitarian view demands a process "which determines the best method to maximize the 'good,' with the 'good' being chosen by elected representatives. Such a formula supports the definition of planning as an objective, technical enterprise" (Hillier, 1998, p. 80). Hillier further critiques the utilitarian emphasis on "the greatest good" because it provides a "neat philosophical justification for overriding the interests or rights of entities such as nature and of some individuals, even to the extent of inflicting suffering

on them (e.g., of noise, pollution, loss of view, etc.) in the public interest" (Hillier, 1998, p. 80).

According to Vincent and Martin, the republican notion of the "'common good' and shared moral values assumes a homogeneous reason and rationality" (Vincent & Martin, 1999, p. 4). As previously noted, this position fails to acknowledge the diverse perspectives that "postmodern analyses foreground" (Vincent & Martin, 1999, p. 4). The republican tradition is also faulted for sheltering preestablished norms and processes as universal truth. Namely, the democratic norms and democratic processes the republican model considers necessary to facilitate agreement and maintain community are presumed to be neutral and, as a result, are not usually open for discussion or contestation (Young, 1991). Garber maintains, "like liberals, communitarians treat the city instrumentally, although they vaunt the communal life and may include cities in that scheme" (Garber, 1995, p. 28).

Garber maintains that both models of citizenship treat cities as a means to valued ends which are abstract as well as predetermined.[23] In elevating self-determination or the self-rule of the civic whole as ends, she argues that each "resists awarding primacy to social diversity, physical and material security, healthy environments, and 'androgynous' spatial design, in whose absence neither feminist ideals nor viable cities can flourish" (Garber, 1995, p. 28).[24] Similarly, Sandercock argues that the traditional view of the public interest based on objectivity and a homogeneous public is bankrupt. She notes:

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[23] In Garber's words, "for liberals, the end is the self-determination of individuals, whose interests are formed outside of politics; for communitarians, the end is self-government of the civic whole, whose good is formed via participatory politics" (Garber, 1995, p. 28).

[24] Ultimately Garber concludes that "at the intersection of feminism and cities...it is necessary that such conditions be treated as vital, concrete prerequisites of democracy—not abstractions—and that they be carried out via processes sensitive to political and social contexts—not predetermined rules" (Garber, 1995, p. 28).

> The historic notion of the public interest comes from a frame of reference in liberal political theory in which disinterested experts working within the institutions of the modern nation-state objectively and rationally analyse a problem and arrive at a solution that is in the public interest. It is assumed the ability of a certain chosen, well-educated group to stand outside social processes can decide what is best for everyone else. Economic and social development theories have been based on this unitary notion, which itself is linked to the assumptions underpinning the modern nation-state and modern nation-building, the myth of unity and sameness, of homogeneity. Class, gender, and race-based critiques have left this particular historic notion of the public interest in tatters, as have the lived realities of late twentieth-century existence. (Sandercock, 1998a, p. 197)

This is not to say that all critics maintain the traditions are unresponsive to the risk of oppression. In fact, both traditions have developed as a counter to social oppression (Scott et al., 1998). However, the issue of social oppression is typically discussed in terms of majoritarian politics and a homogeneous public. The liberal focus on inalienable rights and personal autonomy limits the power of the majority over the few to counter oppression (this creates further tension between freedom from/freedom to) (Scott et al., 1998).[25] The republican resolves the issue of majority oppression by emphasizing civic virtue and equal participation (Scott et al., 1998). As this study has indicated, both models have their shortcomings and have been adapted in response to contemporary challenges. Thus the republican tradition has confronted its limitations by paving the way for concentrating on methods to allow for greater public input. Liberalism, on the other hand, has confronted its limitations by expanding protected rights, through such measures as expanding civil rights and market competition through privatization and deregulation. *But in both cases the remedy reinforces underlying assumptions.*

[25] According to Scott et al., Republicans "deal with the problem of majoritarian politics by drawing citizens out of their private, self-interested concerns and putting them in the habit of attending to the common good." However, there is no guarantee that citizens can or will carry such a public good, particularly if the processes and norms are set in place which privilege favored views and dismiss others as suggested by critics. "The recourse for democrats who fear the intolerance that can result from majority rule is a theory of rights. As embodied in the first ten amendments, such a theory protects individuals by attributing them inalienable rights" (Scott et al, 1998).

When republican and liberal approaches prove ineffective, critics tend not to take issue with underlying assumptions but the relative emphasis afforded to each, as if the two views occupy disparate poles of the political continuum. As Martin and Vincent observe, "in recent years, communitarian critics of liberalism have sought to revive the spirit of civic republicanism, seeing locally active communities with a strong sense of shared moral values as able to combat social anomie" (Martin & Vincent, 1999, p. 3). Similarly, Barns contends, "a major communitarian theme is that the life world of consumer capitalism is deeply corrosive of the integrity of communities and thus of the necessary conditions for the development of the virtuous person" (Barns, 1995, p. 111).

By focusing criticism on the individual rather than communal orientation, such arguments reinforce the idea that the two traditions are mutually exclusive and oppositional. But as Mouffe posits, "our choice is not only one between an aggregate of individuals without public concern and a premodern community organised around a simple substantive idea of the common good" (Mouffe, in Martin & Vincent, 1999). Iris Marion Young also contends the two traditions are often misrepresented as opposites, with one centering on the interests and freedom of the individual and the other on collective interests of the community (Young, 1990, p. 229). *However, the dichotomy is a false one as both traditions rest on principles and procedures which seek to balance individual interests and community interests*. The liberal model sacrifices individual interests for the common good as part of a social contract, whereas the republican model sacrifices individual interests in its emphasis on civic virtue and communal well-being. Moreover, the republican model tempers communal interests by establishing deliberative procedures which advantage some over others in the public sphere and reserves the private sphere for individual interests. Likewise, the liberal model tempers majoritarian interests with its emphasis on private

rights and liberties. Representing political debates as an outgrowth of the tension between the interests of the community as a whole and the protection of individual freedom makes the problem of exclusion a balancing act, framing the issue of the public good in terms of the relative value of equal protection of rights and competition versus the relative value of civic virtue and equal opportunity for public participation, rather than the biases critics contend are inherent to both (Young, 1990).

LAND USE POLICY: PRIVATE PROPERTY

Private Property for the Public Good

In *Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society*, Michael Burayidi (2000) posits that understanding the relationship between public policy and its expression within the land use arena is a key determinant of the health and welfare of American society as a whole. Above, it is suggested that traditional political philosophies, and related concepts of citizenship and the public and private realms, are expressed in public policy in terms of what issues are and are not considered to warrant governmental intervention and protection. In the land use arena, policy choices regarding the extent and nature of intervention are beholden to established legislative and judicial doctrines, all of which hinge on the status of landed property as it has come to be recognized in the liberal and republican philosophies.

Property ownership is a central feature of the traditional liberal conception of citizenship in the United States; only white males were entitled to property, and only property owners were considered to be citizens (Dickenson, 1997).[26] The traditional liberal

[26] Feminist theorists and others maintain that private property rights and citizenship retain their exclusionary roots in spite of the fact that property ownership is no longer limited. Dickenson notes that recent feminist

tradition holds that property owners are virtuous, industrious, and rational, and property ownership is an ideal method of preserving political autonomy and an orderly society (Barns, 1995). Moreover, traditional liberalism holds that private property ownership is a superior means of protecting abuses of the commons, which government is ill-equipped to prevent. Further, liberalism assumes that "private property owners have every incentive in the world to maintain and sustain the ecological conditions of productivity that furnish them with a living and that, left to their own devices, they will more likely pass the land to their offspring in an improved rather than deteriorated condition. However, in the postindustrial global economy, a greater living is often reaped through speculation, where property owners are better able to externalize the cost of exploitation than assumed by the liberal tradition" (Lindsay, 1995).

But primarily, property's function is to maintain "independence, dignity and pluralism in society by creating zones within which the majority has to yield to the owner [even where] the owner may do what all or most of his neighbors decry" (Lindsay, 1995). "Liberals have often seen ownership and control over property as a natural right, and as the touchstone for a general respect for individual life and liberty. There was, therefore, in the 17th and 18th centuries a gap between liberals' recognition of men's right to be equal under the law (to have civil rights) and the fact that only men of property had political rights" (Australian Commonwealth, 1999). Moreover, "individual property ownership was the basis of the market economy with which liberalism has been closely linked"

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works, most notably works by Pateman, contend that the individual in liberalism is implicitly male. Moreover, "the property-holding individual can only be conceived as a male person. This defect cannot be remedied by consciously including women, because the underlying dynamic of contract oppresses women. Liberalism does not merely ignore women's situation: it actively requires their oppression." See Pateman, 1989, the *Sexual Contract*, or Dickenson, 1997, for a more sustained analysis.

(Australian Commonwealth, 1999). In other words, private property rights were intended to protect individuals from majority oppression in a liberal democracy.

The individualist view suggests an absolute view of property rights, generally recognized in American law to include:

> …the right of acquisition, the right of dominion, the right of possession, the right of use and enjoyment, the right of exclusion, and the right of disposition. There are frequent statements in the law that these rights may be exercised to the exclusion of all others freely, without restriction, and without control or diminution save only by the laws of the land. (Landes, 1998)

Constitutional provisions are in place to protect individual interests in private property from state interference. For instance, the Fifth Amendment takings clause provides that citizens shall not lose their estates for public use without just compensation. With increased constitutional protections of property following the Civil War, private property came to be regarded as a principal institution for maintaining individual rights (Elazar, 2001).

Land use disputes are often represented as a clash of liberal and republican values over protecting property rights (Lindsay, 1995). While the liberal camp contends property rights must preserve liberty, privacy, and personal autonomy, the republican camp contends that property rights must be limited to support equality and deep social ties (Lindsay, 1995). Not only does this position create a false opposition between the two traditions, it also diminishes the importance traditional republicans placed on private property as a means of strengthening social ties (Australian Commonwealth, 1999).

> Advocates of republicanism associated property ownership with citizenship. There are several reasons for this linkage. In earlier times, property made it possible to acquire a broad education and to have the leisure to study and take part in politics. Democratic Athens rejected property qualifications for citizenship, but in the views of many critics, it was the role of the uneducated poor with no time to take part in politics unless they were paid to do so which undermined Athenian democracy.

> Republicans like Rousseau also believed that property ownership provides the individual with economic resources for individual independence. Those who depend upon the will of others for their livelihood are not their own masters and cannot, in this view, be truly self-governing and equal citizens."[27] Property was seen in utilitarian terms as providing a degree of economic equality enabling citizens to focus on the public good rather than individual or class interests. Civic republicans see a degree of economic equality [or at least the absence of glaring inequalities of wealth and poverty] as an important condition for genuine equality of citizenship and for enabling citizens to focus on the public good rather than on class interests. (Australian Commonwealth, 1999)

In essence, property rights ensure independent, virtuous citizens for civic republicans.

But as Williams (1991) points out:

> [R]epublican attitudes toward property rights contained a tension: on the one hand, the state should not tinker with them, so as to allow real independence; but on the other, the distribution of property needed to be universal, so that some citizens would not dominate others. If free exchange did not produce universal ownership of property, the state had to decide whether to redistribute. In the case of the right to {bear} arms, the state had made that decision: it required universal membership in the militia. But in the case of property, republicans sought to avoid the conclusion that the state had a proper role in universalizing property. Instead, they hoped that the market, accompanied by geographical expansion, would take care of the matter by producing relative equality. (Williams 1991)

Williams' statement suggests that the republican view defers to the liberal view with respect to private property rights by relying on the market economy to secure the public good. *In sum, the historical role of property rights in both traditions does not support the conclusion that land use disputes are a clash of liberal and republican ideals, with liberals advocating greater property rights protection and civic republicans advocating state intervention.*

[27] Further, "but in the French Revolution those without property did claim the right to be full citizens. See the range of rights claimed in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789) which was the preamble to the draft constitution of France"(Australian Commonwealth, 1999).

Contradictory Rights—"Freedom from vs. freedom to": Sidney Plotkin (1987) asserts that land use debates are not simply matters which can be reduced to the public health and welfare versus private autonomy, nor can they be reduced to a conflict between pro-growth and anti-growth advocates. Rather, he maintains "the substantive issues of land use spin around the axis of property, imprisoned in a closing circle of contradictory rights, as is the law itself" (Plotkin, 1987, p. 67).

Property rights imply a private *freedom to* use and develop property as one sees fit, as well as protection from invasion (i.e., just compensation, due process, equal protection). But if one looks to the law of the land, individual property rights and the public-private divide they presuppose are less absolute. The contradictions and limits of property rights derive from English common law, where property owners are guaranteed *freedom from* nuisance, or the unreasonable interference by one party with another's enjoyment of his or her land, and from trespass, the act of entering or remaining upon the land in possession of another without authority to do so from the occupant. Thus private property rights did not include acts on the property that would significantly hinder the use of other property owners. "Property the courts have held does not carry entitlements 'to injure or endanger the public.'[28] Indeed, uses in opposition to the public interest are not property at all" (Rypkema, 1999).

Such common law solutions reveal a tension between the liberties and protections associated with property rights, what Plotkin refers to as the contradictory rights of expansion and exclusion. Essentially, land use conflicts stem from "expanding capitalism banging up against exclusionary property rights" (Plotkin, 1987, p. 9). "Insomuch as

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[28] As established in *Hadacheck v. Sebastian.*

landed property requires social controls for both its protection and its development, any workable controls must also defeat significant rights" (Plotkin, 1987, p. 9).

Foglesong (1986) refers to a comparable "property contradiction": the contradiction between the social character of the land and its private ownership and control, which creates public upheaval. The private sector naturally resists government intrusion into its affairs, and yet at the same time needs government to socialize the control of land. For Foglesong, this property contradiction is related to a second contradiction: that between capitalism and democracy. Each interest has a separate agenda for land, with the role of planning to maintain the balance between the two. But as is the case with nuisance law, the goal of the greater good to the community often means the promise of smoother proprietary relations.

As the limitations of common law in resolving these tensions became apparent in the 19th and 20th centuries, government was expected to rise to the occasion (Smardon & Karp, 1993). At the turn of the 20th century, the traditional concept of unrestricted use of one's land came under severe challenge due to the poor conditions developing in many cities and a reaction to immigration. Serious health and safety problems began to arise, as well as class- and race-based prejudice, which gave rise to planning and zoning (Sandercock, 1998). Government increasingly relied on police powers to maintain orderly land development. Plotkin explains:

> The police powers consist of government's authority to protect the health, lives, morals, and properties of the population. They are prominent among the powers reserved by the states by the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution. As a result, municipal land use controls may be enacted when enabled by state legislation. Police regulations are held by the courts to tests based on their reasonableness and their relation of the general interest of the community as a whole, though as property law amply illustrates, the general interest is frequently identified with the needs of an ideal community of proprietors. Because the declared objective of

> nuisance and zoning laws, for example, is the protection of essential public interests, it is argued by the courts that owners must expect to suffer regulation without 'just compensation.' Police regulations are thus seen as a legal category separate and distinct from the Fifth Amendment takings clause of the U.S. Constitution, which provides that citizens shall not lose their estates for public use without just compensation. Property, the courts have held, does not carry entitlements to injure or endanger the public. Indeed uses in opposition to the public interest are not property at all. (Plotkin, 1989, p. 68)

Although police power and property rights are considered distinct legal categories, the distinction is highly circumstantial. A regulation will be held unconstitutional if it places undue burden on the property owner or diminishes the utilitarian value of a property; it is regarded as an illegal taking without just compensation. *Thus, in legislative and legal doctrine, the expectation of government to protect contradictory property rights of exclusion and expansion exists in tension with limitations placed on government with respect to the "taking" of private land use rights for public purposes without just compensation or fair due process.* The legitimacy of public policy comes down to meeting the legal tests.

Community Rights—Land Use Policy: According to Plotkin (1989), "The police powers share a crucial intersection between the economic mode of production and political system of protection. They are the basis of community rights to control change. A glimmer of their strength is reflected in the authority to regulate land use." Moreover, Plotkin explains, police powers "are held by the courts to tests based on their reasonableness as well as their relation to the general interest of the community as a whole, though as property law amply illustrates, the general interest is frequently identified with the needs of an ideal community of proprietors" (Plotkin, 1989, p. 67). Thus, "Land use law serves to define legitimate interests of land use as those of proprietorship, and contemporary issues of land politics have intensified demands on the law to keep the contending interests

battling around historic fault lines of private interests in exclusion and expansion"(Plotkin, 1989, p. 68). In other words, the concept of private property limits land use debates to a balance between community and individual rights and interests.

This opens up land use policy to a number of critiques. As has been noted, feminists such as Pateman (1989) and Dickinson (1997) maintain that the emphasis on private property supports a sharply defined public-private divide and privileges elite interest, as property ownership is not universal. Others such as Hillier (1998) and Lindsay (1995) target the narrow conception of land and interests in property-based land use policy. Lindsay (1995) contends that the emphasis on private interests in the utilitarian value of land supports a reductionist view of land as a commodity. Furthermore, the utilitarian theory assumes that selfishness is the primary motivating force behind human interaction over resources. Implicit in the view is the notion that property rules are an objective system of organizing people, when in fact property rules cannot be objective since humans develop societal rules within their cultural context. According to Lindsay, "the practical consequences of such a view include the false presumption that humans begin as solitary beings, somehow separate from their society" (Lindsay, 1995). Lindsay cites Margaret Jane Redin, who maintains personal rights in property as reference to "an individual being bound up with an external 'thing.'" Redin criticizes the objectivism inherent in the libertarian focus on autonomy as the interest served by rights and liberties, noting that "the abstract rationality reflected in the notions of autonomy and control of one's external environment fails to convey this sense of connection with the external world" (Redin, in Lindsay, 1995).

The utilitarian theory fosters the perception that land is nothing but a resource for exploitation. Property rights are seen as promoting "the efficient use of resources.

'Efficiency' is maximizing welfare: total gains exceed total losses. In determining conflicts over the use of property, courts frequently require damages to be paid rather than issue an injunction that would prohibit or make unprofitable economic activity" (Lindsay, 1995). The other side of the coin is that conflicts over less quantifiable and utilitarian values are ruled out of court. "Land is not simply a good; it is a source of life, but the ecological value of land is left out of the traditional land use equation. A perspective so one-dimensional as to recognize only the exchange value of a source of life ignores the interrelatedness of land and other natural resources and of users and non-users" (Lindsay, 1995).

Plotkin argues that the limits, needs, and rights of property are the organizing themes of battles for land use control: "In America social change is accomplished or resisted largely through the legal machinery of private property" (Plotkin, 1987). He argues that private property is much more a means of social control than it is a system of protection for landowners, and that private property is a critical factor in deciding national policy, second only to the state. The laws protecting landowners allow them excessive control over the marketplace. Furthermore, he argues that the continuation of private property will ensure that land use issues will be decided based on the competing priorities of real estate and capital, while the more relevant, and unspoken, opposition between owners and nonowners goes unaddressed. Finally he asserts that the "question of social power is kept out of the land debates by the acceptance of property as the preferred means of organizing the spatial and social relations of power" (Plotkin, 1987, p. 60).

Plotkin (1987) also asserts that property ownership becomes an unspoken requirement for active participation in land use, and by extension it informally excludes the propertyless from the debate. He articulates the difficult position of the propertyless in a

society that prioritizes private property rights and the false distinction between public and private directives, saying, "Occupation and use of space are physical conditions of human existence, but the needs to satisfy these minimum daily requirements carry no guarantees where space is divided into private parcels. The propertyless are expected to find their way through a social maze bounded by private walls. And even where public claims are identified and pursued, as in recent efforts to assert environmental and low-income housing interests, the structure of law and society forces public advocates to show why property rights must be restrained" (Plotkin, 1987, p. 59).

Framing livability debate in terms of property rights reinforces the ideal of a homogeneous public interest and fails to recognize preservation's role in the political economy of placemaking.

HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Representations of the Public Interest

The actions of placemaking professions, such as historic preservationists or any other profession for that matter, reflect philosophies, myths, stereotypes, and knowledge accepted by the professional community (Harvey, 1996; Sandercock, 1998a). Critics contend that the conventional view of a homogeneous public interest is ill-suited as a guiding philosophy for placemaking professions (Sandercock, 1998a).

Such criticism is nascent in the preservation community. In what ways do conceptions of the public interest undergird professional knowledge and practices esteemed within the preservation community? Although the concept of the public interest occasionally appears as a discussion point in preservation discourse, it is not commonly defined with great

clarity, or debated or otherwise problematized; by all appearances historic preservation practices tend to be regarded as a public good in their own right.[29]

A case in point is the Oregon State Historic Preservation research project that served as the catalyst for this study. The project description directed prospective researchers to identify the public interest in preservation by considering the preferences of various individuals and organizations with "genuine" preservation interests. The plan narrowly conceives the issue of the public interest as a matter of degree and equal opportunity and participation, as defined by the traditional liberal and republican perspectives; if adequate opportunity was given to different advocates to participate in identifying the broad range of preservation values with adequate professional guidance in distinguishing and prioritizing those values, then the public interest would be met. The plan reduces the public interest to a procedural issue, not a matter of how professional ideology and procedures may hinder or further the public interest, or of what that public interest would represent. The formula for articulating public interest presupposed historic preservation to be a public value and implies that the meaning of the public interest itself, or the process by which it should be determined, is clearly not at issue.

The absence of the public interest as a subject of inquiry in preservation discourse is noteworthy and revealing. It suggests that fundamental assumptions regarding rules of conduct and fairness are held above question by the preservation profession and are nonnegotiable. It would seem that, in effect, such rules are by default considered

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[29] As an example, the organizing theme for the Oregon SHPO research project described in Chapter 1 is the public interest, yet it is evident from the project description that the definition is predetermined and is beyond question (made diplomatic). The emphasis on education and advocacy throughout the State Historic Preservation Plan provide further evidence that it is assumed that historic preservation, with proper professional guidance, is by definition of public benefit.

immaterial to whether preservation succeeds or fails in serving diverse publics; of course, the rules must be patently neutral if the public value of preservation is a given.[30]

That default position is problematic. As Beck argues, "neutrality is a pretense, because any given 'version of reality' reflects a certain perspective and gives official sanction to that view" (Beck, 1995, p. 127). Conventional understandings of fairness and justice, including the very idea of a common public interest, are contested and are frequently central to public debate surrounding public policy issues of all sorts. If the preservation community is to equitably respond to the interests of diverse publics, then it is unreasonable to rely on the pretense that the procedures and standards that it presumes to be good, fair, and just are universal truths above question, to which all must subscribe. Although the debates are varied, critics tend to converge on the claim that the conventional conception of the public interest denies difference and is exclusionary by design. However, so long as the debate over the public interest that extends beyond the liberal and republican traditions is regarded as an insubstantial policy issue, the perspectives of the subaltern are discounted and excluded by design.

Legislation such as the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act and its subsequent amendments is premised on the notion that historic preservation, prima facie, is of general public concern and promotes the public welfare. In this respect, the public value of historic preservation is considered a public, as opposed to a private, benefit (public administration of that benefit is a different matter). To assess the significance or the overarching public value or "public interest" of such benefits, it is necessary to consider the context in, and the standards by, which they are measured.

[30] Scholarship in other disciplines, particularly those providing voices to the subaltern, that promises to open such questions is likewise considered immaterial, and contrary to preservation.

Hidden "Benefits" of Preservation

Amidst a general consensus that historic preservation benefits the public, the profession is galvanized by a concern that historic preservation objectives are not given appropriate priority status amongst policy makers and citizens. The concern is well founded. The public benefits presumed by historic preservation objectives tend to be trumped by concerns about the overarching "public interest" when private interests of labor, capital, and particularly real property are at stake (Bogle, 2000; Hamer, 2000; Zukin, 1995). The U.S. Constitution and related case law provide an exacting (albeit not fixed) formula of how to measure the "public interest" of preservation in such circumstances. To a large extent, private property protection is at the top of that measuring stick.

Preservationists have two explanations for the lack of prioritization of historic preservation objectives in the regulations, and these are of note. On the one hand, preservationists maintain that their cause is not sufficiently prioritized as a public health, welfare, and safety concern meriting police power intervention. On the other hand, they maintain that preservation is, as a laudable public benefit, worthy of public and private investment. The latter concern most often arises in arenas where police power authority and property rights intersect.

These explanations suggest that preservationists embrace the same measuring stick but argue their position on it. First, many preservationists contend that historic preservation values, unlike zoning regulations, are not generalizable, objective, and are not readily measured by the predetermined clear and objective standards which are the legal

prerequisite to justify regulation, as John Costonis (1981) makes clear.[31] Despite the ethical content and the imposition of the public interest, placemaking decisions tend to be described and justified on technical, legal, economic, and political rather than ethical terms (Hillier, 1998). The scope of the public interest recognized by preservationists, however, extends beyond the terms in which it is often described in preservation discourse.

Related is the contention that the public benefit of historic preservation is not fully understood by the general public and policy makers. These explanations may also explain why many preservationists consistently emphasize that the majority of preservation activities in the United States have historically and continue to take place in the private sector outside of regulatory review.[32]

The portrayals of the challenges facing preservation suggest that the profession must seek appropriate tools to move the proverbial mule of the general public and policy makers. This, together with a general dissatisfaction with government, takings case law, and the growing Wise Use movement, supports the conclusion that the proverbial carrot—and not the stick—is the best tool for the problem at hand.[33] Proponents of the carrot approach generally do not mean to imply historic preservation benefits are not of general public benefit, nor aren't legitimate public health, welfare, and safety concerns. Their focus is on advocacy and promotion of the benefits historic preservation is believed to advance. Thus, many preservationists advocate public education, public-private partnerships, and

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[31] Even so, many jurisdictions have codified the National Register evaluation criteria and Secretary of the Interior Standards for Rehabilitation. It also explains specific terms upon which historic preservation is defended and justified.

[32] These include Tomlan (1998), Murtagh (1993), Brand (1994), the Manifesto on Local Preservation, and many others. Hamer (1998) is a noteworthy exception.

[33] this whole footnote needs to be rewritten!!!If further explanation is needed-the carrot focus reduces tension between republican and liberal goals-allows preservationists to deal with subjective stuff-also means that it can assert false legitimacy from being defined as private- by not needing to account for socio-structural implications of actions. How? By playing repub and liberal ideals off of one another AND by not accounting for shortcomings/inherent biases of each.

incentive-based policy as a means to garner support, legitimacy and to foster preservation rather than risking alienation through regulation or challenging the prevailing public-private duality.

Preservation of What, For Whom? (Tomlan, 1998) provides an excellent example of this advocacy formula at work in the effort to embrace multiple publics. The collection of articles examines the treatment of historic integrity within the discipline as it relates to professionalism, multiple publics making up society at large, and the historic preservation profession and professional legitimacy. The collection is widely held as setting a new standard for discourse within the field. In his introduction, Michael Tomlan heralds the collection as definitive evidence of the scholarly rigor of the field. Given this context, Tomlan's concluding remarks are even more significant. In the same breath, he credits the authors for bringing many critical issues to the foreground of preservation scholarship, but he discounts many of these issues as "red herrings" for the preservation cause. He implies that academic acknowledgment is necessary to demonstrate intellectual credibility, but that a sustained discussion on such matters would be an academic digression from core concerns. So even in the most serious and organized attempts to embrace multiple publics and change, promoting the status quo is offered as the objective measure of success. This reveals that professional legitimacy is maintained by displacement and deflection and not considered relevant to professional identity. Thus, the possibility that Tomlan's "carrot" approach isthe real red herring merits attention.

Regulatory 'Stick-Based' Preservation—The Bigger Story

The stick approach provides critical perspective to the public interest in historic preservation. If indeed private property is the organizing theme in land use control as

Plotkin and others have suggested, then the stick approach brings to the forefront ethical issues that are readily dismissed as red herrings in the context of public-private partnerships. The regulatory arena provides a simple and guided approach within the context of multiple publics. Takings claims alone reveal the contours of how particular notions of public-private dichotomy are embedded in claims about what makes a fair and equitable society. It allows for the possibility that that public-private divide is the generative framework discussed by Fraser. Plotkin makes a case that the public-private dichotomy is such a generative framework.

The questions of this thesis are asked within the context of the regulatory and land use arenas in a physical context that blurs the boundaries between public and private life and political domain of placemaking in residential areas. This context is addressed concretely in the case study in Chapter 5. Neighborhoods and neighborhood architecture defy the public-private dichotomy at work in the professional practice in several respects. First, the influence of the public-private frame over placemaking activities within neighborhoods may be readily assessed with respect to property rights. Second, the contradictions of this dichotomy are also very visible in the residential context. For instance, architecture is widely recognized to have a distinctly public side, unlike certain aspects of the family and household autonomy. Third, neighborhoods consist not only of property owners, but also of renters, residents, homeless persons, and persons outside the neighborhood. This enables further analysis of the contradictions of defining the public interest and structuring participation around property rights.

What harm can come of such a focus within the preservation community? While the carrot approach is likely a more pragmatic method of promoting the preservation cause, both the method and objective divert attention from the underlying logic that is privileged

and contested. If embracing multiple publics is the goal, the carrot-based strategies advocated by Tomlan preempt many of the most insightful questions about the role of historic preservation in placemaking, particularly the public-private dichotomy at the core of conceptions of the public interest and historic preservation strategies. An interesting formula for legitimacy results in which the public-private dichotomy is concretized instead of problematized, and critical inquiry is maligned and circumvented instead of integrated. With political and public support being regarded as the pivotal issue, it stands to reason that many of the ethical dilemmas brought to light from critical examination of the professional practices would be considered contrary to historic preservation's efforts to respond to the contemporary context. In terms of professional knowledge and practices, maintenance of the status quo becomes a powerful objective and measure of success when the domain of preservation is considered only in the advocacy context.

Importantly, in prescribing particular representations and treatments of the material features of places, historic preservation takes a stand on the use of landed property, justifying the circumstances of governmental intervention. Property is no less the organizing theme in incentive-based strategies that do not involve regulation. The NHPA was enacted to promote and regulate the use of publicly held property for the purposes of historic preservation, but stops short of regulating the use of private property when federal funds are not involved. The scope of the Act conforms and supports the public-private divide maintained in the land use arena. It supports an ideal community of proprietors in two ways. First, it privileges the private over the public. Second, by extension of the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation into matters of regulation, it defines the intersection of historic preservation and the public health, welfare and safety in a way that privileges the ideal community of proprietors over all others. Thus, the public-

private divide is argued to be a significant feature of historic preservation in general. It is equally significant that the lines of that divide are not fixed along property rights.

Architectural historian Gwendolyn Wright (1981) provides a detailed account of how diverse constituents throughout America's history, including preservationists, have asserted that private architecture has a distinctly public side and that domestic environments can reinforce certain character traits, promote family stability, and assure a good society. The status of homeownership and the single-family detached dwelling in the United States is the most recognizable example.

Examining the public interest in historic preservation within the regulatory land use arena enables acknowledgement of fairness issues, which are occluded by separate public and private domains in which property interests are held sacred. Three points are considered: 1) The significance of public ideals that are based on an unquestioned public-private dichotomy that holds sacred private entitlements, especially private property entitlements; 2) the carrot strategy rests entirely on the presumption that historic preservation is by definition a public benefit, or a collection of private benefits within that framework; and 3) this emphasis shifts the focus away from the substantive character of the field to advocacy and promotion, legitimized as education. This has a significant bearing on the desirability of embracing multiple publics and professional reflexivity, and renders questions about the legitimacy of the profession irrelevant.

Given that historic preservation, professional norms, and fairness are matters of public import, they too are open to public debate that extends beyond the parameters set by the public-private dichotomy. Considering historic preservation within the regulatory contexts demands acknowledgment of the significance of that divide in shaping and privileging particular understandings of the public interest. Presuming historic preservation to be a

universal public benefit obfuscates this relationship, thereby marginalizing the relevance of the public interest to which historic preservation is dedicated. This has the effect of normalizing the privilege afforded to individual property interests by presuming historic preservation to be an uncontested public benefit. This is one of many reasons that historic preservation is considered within the context of regulation in this thesis.

CONCLUSION

The modernist principles of republicanism and liberalism, that of a homogeneous public, a unified vision of a good city, and the capacity of legal doctrine and a disinterested elite to formulate and implement that vision, pervade the ideology of placemaking professions. But these principles have suffered attacks across the ideological spectrum (Fainstein, 1999) in part because they suggest the methodologies and processes of placemaking professions are inherently undemocratic, utilitarian, partisan, or just generally ineffective in addressing the challenges of postmodern conditions.[34]

The rhetoric that accompanied the rise of urban populism and the contemporary preservation movement against urban renewal and traditional planning contributed to the challenge against the normative foundations of land use policy, but many of the arguments rest on the very foundation upon which they are opposed. Expansive literature representing many disciplines and political orientations has been produced in recent years, which, with varying success, aims to confront the hegemonic, utilitarian, objective, and universalistic

[34] "The debate over the public interest is taking place in a contemporary context where the utopian aspirations of modernism are clouded by a post-modern cynicism. In the face of this perception of crisis…an agenda for urban renewal is pressing, and entails a re-visioning of how and by whom the form of a city is determined…This includes interrogating even seemingly progressive or liberal ideas such as the liveable city… its underlying agenda perhaps being the same stability that characterizes the rational city, and its content containing a possible contradiction between a desire for a more democratic society and a resort to nostalgic notions of urban history, as if a model of conviviality once existed; but it also arises from ecological concerns and a reaction against the dehumanizing effect of consumerism" (Miles, 1997, p. 17).

positions supported by conventional models of justice, governance, and community. As Fainstein points out, many contemporary critics of traditional urban planning, such as those discussed above, harbor a similar ideal of a "revitalized, cosmopolitan, just and democratic city" and most neglect to disclose or even justify their value criteria beyond declaring certain truths to be self-evident. In this chapter, my intent has been to outline some of the common omissions and commissions, as they relate to livability, identified in such literature rather than to outline some of the proposed solutions.[35] In the next chapter I will look at how such omissions and commissions are carried forth in the physical side of the livability equations, that is, the significance ascribed to professional expertise and the material environment.

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[35] It is not my intent to summarize or advocate any one perspective or representation of such omissions and commissions; and I do not believe I have sufficiently detailed such perspective or representations to draw conclusions or make comparisons, as many critical clarifications have been left out by necessity.

CHAPTER 4—PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE

INTRODUCTION

This is the last of three chapters to highlight a particular aspect of historic preservation ideology and its relevance to the preservation profession's efforts to serve a heterogeneous public interest. To recap, Chapter 2 examined professional identity and considered how its construction might promote cultural hegemony by depoliticizing professional undertakings. Chapter 3 explored how professional ideals and the primacy they are afforded similarly denies political agency. In this chapter, I shift attention to professional expertise. In keeping with the theme of the preceding chapters, I question how prevailing conceptions of preservation expertise may reinforce the presumption that professional undertakings are universally beneficial or neutral, to the detriment of the preservation community's efforts to embrace multiple publics. Specifically, I examine how professional expertise shelters its assumptions. I focus on how a narrow conception of expertise, in concert with professional identity and ideals, is manifest in and reinforced by professional knowledge about the physical environment and its history.

The first part of the chapter considers arguments commonly used to support preservation and what those arguments reveal about the general orientation of professional knowledge. I show how that orientation links to particular ways of conceptualizing space and time, which, in turn, support the hegemonic authority characteristic of western ideals, including the presumption of a homogeneous public. I conclude by considering how prevailing concepts of space and time are reinforced, if not required, by the various components of the federal preservation program, particularly those features of the Secretary of the Interior's "Standards and Guidelines for Preservation" that reinforce Eurocentric interpretations of the built environment.

Professional Expertise

By "professional expertise," I refer to the full range of technical knowledge, principles, and methods upon which "properly" trained and seasoned preservation professionals rely to foster livability when undertaking preservation activities. This is much more than the collection of tools one might associate with a preservation professional. This includes what and how preservation is studied and defined, and knowledge categories and hierarchies in which it is framed.

What one regards as professional expertise necessarily hinges on the scope and role attributed to the profession in question. Put in a preservation context, a preservation professional may be a great cook and may put her cooking skills to use in advancing the preservation cause, but her culinary prowess is only regarded as 'professional expertise' to the extent that it represents 'real preservation' work.

So exactly what are the preservation activities that require professional expertise? To answer this question, I must distinguish those activities recognized as real preservation work from those regarded as supportive activities. As a starting point, I will revisit how that distinction is made in the context of professional identity.

In Chapter 2, I suggest that the identity of the historic preservation profession is often defined by the unique role and scope with which the profession is associated, as opposed to the broader role and scope of the profession as a placemaking activity recognized in this study.[1] Within the confines of that narrowly defined scope and role, preservation activities primarily comprise the identification, assessment, and conservation of historic resources.[2] In fact, the federal preservation program defines preservation in just this way.[3] As is the

[1] Specifically, I suggest that the profession and its practices are frequently represented in contrast to and as a subset of the land use planning profession. I propose that such a representation promotes a reductivist scope and role for the profession entirely focused on what is "uniquely" preservation.

[2] Similarly, the issue paper, *Preserving Our Heritage*, the second in the Art, Culture and the National Agenda series by the Center for Arts and Culture, identifies four modes of preservation: fixing, maintaining, copying, educating.

[3] Preservation holds dual meanings. It is seen as a professional discipline embodying the preservation movement and preservation practice, and, correspondingly, it is a specific activity that can be distinguished

case with professional identity, the sociopolitical implications of preservation practice are regarded as falling outside the professional domain. Likewise, activities commonly undertaken by preservationists that do not reflect this specialist role, such as advocacy, promotion, or public involvement, are portrayed as corollary activities falling outside the exclusive domain of historic preservation.[4]

As noted in the preceding chapters, the need to identify the unique identity and universal value of the historic preservation profession in order to establish legitimacy is a driving force behind many preservation agendas, and is particularly transparent in strategies emphasizing public input, education, advocacy, partnerships, and diversity. In this chapter I suggest that the same force defines the scope and substance of preservation expertise.

Planning theorist John Friedmann identifies a similar need to forge a unique identity and specialization of expertise within the larger planning profession. He questions the value of planning as a field of study if the professional community is not able to identify the domain of its unique competence and body of knowledge that no other profession can

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from the practice of restoration or reconstruction. The Secretary of the Interior defines preservation "as the act or process of applying measures to sustain the existing form, integrity, and material of a building or structure, and the existing form and vegetative cover of a site. It may include initial stabilization work, where necessary, as well as ongoing maintenance of the historic building materials" (NPS website). William Murtagh, the first Keeper of the Register of Historic Places, characterizes preservation as "a concern for the rate of consumption of buildings, a popular understanding" (Murtagh, 1993). Excluded from this definition is recognition of preservation as a process in which buildings and structures are deemed worthy of preservation efforts in relation to other buildings, physical features, and social relationships. It is the negotiation of these issues that illuminates the values that underlie practice and their relationship with social process and livability, according to Graham Hewison, who defines preservation "as the maintenance of an object, building or landscape in a condition defined by its historic context and in such a way that it can be studied with a view to revealing its original meaning" (Graham, 2000, p. 17).

[4] The Secretary of the Interior recognizes "preservation planning," a preservation activity which involves public involvement. But in light of the professions and associated qualifications recognized to practice preservation planning, it is clear that public involvement is secondary (NPS website). I make a distinction between professional expertise and preservation expertise as a rhetorical strategy to explore the implication of conventional representations of practice and expertise. Professional expertise reflects the broader role the profession plays in the political economy of placemaking activity. Preservation expertise reflects the narrowly defined scope and role commonly attributed to the historic preservation profession. I show that narrow scope of preservation expertise to correspond with an equally narrow view of the physical side of the livability equation, calling into question core understandings of the nature of place and history promoted by the profession. I do not mean to exclude primary preservation activities carried out by or associated with other professions (i.e., curatorship/book restoration/archeological preservation, and so on).

claim as their own (Madanipour et al., 2001, p. 4). He concludes that planners should develop a unique competence that is "grounding in knowledge about the socio-spatial processes that, in interaction with each other, produce the urban habitat" (ibid.).[5] In his conclusion he draws a direct link between the role of the professional as political agent and its concern with political agency, and with the socio-spatial process that makes up the built environment. In light of the placemaking focus that the historic preservation profession has in common with the larger planning profession, this chapter follows Friedmann's lead, with the intent of elaborating the relevance of socio-spatial representations to the goal of advancing a heterogeneous public interest.

This chapter's consideration of socio-spatial processes is as pertinent to a narrowly defined professional domain of historic preservation as it is to the broader domain of placemaking activity. In either case, preservation expertise revolves around elaborating the relevance of socio-spatial processes—i.e., a relationship between people and place. My objective is not so much to highlight the profession's unique identity and expertise, but rather to draw attention to the socio-spatial knowledge the profession emphasizes in its effort to address the interests of heterogeneous publics.

The What and Why—
Preservation Motives, Arguments, and Values

Preservation arguments illuminate the orientation of professional knowledge and subject and object of attention. Various preservation and legal scholars have characterized

[5] The irony of looking to 'spatial thinking' as a solution to the unique identity dilemma, as suggested by Friedmann, is that the unique role of historic preservation or planning becomes less clear and less important when considered in the context of socio-spatial processes—for each profession is similarly engaged in placemaking activity—a practice which in itself centers on the relationship between place, society, and change over time. Moreover, holding on to a narrow view of expertise specific to a unique professional domain and body of knowledge shifts attention to technique and object, serving only to confuse the extent of professional engagement in the socio-spatial processes and otherwise limit understanding of the relational nature of place, time, and society. It is precisely for this reason that the unique expertise ascribed to preservation warrants discussion for what it reveals about the profession's role and recognition of the political economy of placemaking and spatial practices, as opposed to assumed promotional value.

preservation motives and arguments. Rose, for instance, identifies three general types of preservation arguments which have proven successful in the public policy and regulatory arena: preservation for inspiration, preservation for architectural merit, and preservation for community (Rose, 1993). Preservation for inspiration closely links with the U.S. preservation movement's origins, where preservationists advocated preservation's civic educational value—i.e., to provide tangible reminders of the past linking individuals to a national community. This rationale assumes the visual environment expresses symbolic values that reinforce national ideology and identity and in turn foster a moral and harmonious society. According to Rose, subsequent preservation efforts focused on architectural and aesthetic merit as their bases, and further notes that not until preservation sought to preserve structures based on architectural merit was preservation recognized as a legitimate police-power activity to protect the general public health, welfare, and safety. In case law, the success of the architectural merit argument is limited to the legitimacy of aesthetic regulation. Since the passage of the NHPA, historic preservation has been rationalized as a community value. The 'preservation for community' argument emphasizes democratic process and procedure and the benefits of physical surroundings in supporting city and neighborhood communities.

Robert Stipe dedicates an entire book to the question, "Why preserve?" (Stipe, 2003). In his prologue Stipe outlines seven reasons to preserve. First, we seek to preserve historic resources that link us to our past. Second, historic and architectural heritage has become a part of us. It structures our daily lives, and contributes to our understanding of our relationship with the environment. Stipe continues,

> Third, we save our physical heritage to maintain difference, individuality, and personal identity…Because we live in an age of ever more frightening communication and other technological abilities, as well as in an era of increasing cultural homogeneity…. Fourth, we preserve historic sites and structures because of their relation to past events, eras, movements, and people that we feel are important to honor and understand...an outgrowth of our respect for the past, which created our today…. Fifth, we seek to preserve the architecture and landscapes of the past simply because of their intrinsic

> value as art and our artistic heritage.... Sixth, we seek to preserve our past because we believe in the right of our cities and the countryside to be beautiful.... Seventh, and most important of all, we seek to preserve because we have discovered—all too belatedly—that preservation can serve important human and social purposes in our society. Ancestor worship and aesthetic motivations are no longer enough. Our traditional concern with great people and great architects will not serve the larger society in any full measure. (Stipe, 2003, prologue)[6]

Peirce Lewis identifies five categories of preservation arguments that cross-cut those of Stipe and Rose: heritage, aesthetics, environmental proxemics, economics, and the environment (Lewis, 1985). Although dated, Lewis's general categories correspond more directly with the benefits commonly attributed to preservation and better illustrate the spatial, temporal, and social frame of reference recognized by the profession.

Heritage

Typically, heritage arguments for preservation are based on the historical, social, and psychological attributes associated with a feature of the built environment. These attributes are frequently inspirational, expressed in the language of identity, nationalism, memory, progress, community, morality, and scientific knowledge. Even where the potential value is thought of as relating to the ability to derive "scientific" information regarding history or prehistory from a historic resource in question, the underlying rationale boils down to the critical social value of preserving select material features as inspiration and knowledge about historic events and circumstances.

[6] He goes on to say, "The problem now is to acknowledge that historic preservation is but one aspect of a much larger problem, basically an environmental one, of enhancing, or perhaps providing for the first time, a better quality of life for people. Especially…for the growing numbers of our population who must confront…rapidly deteriorating urban environment…We must turn our preservation energies to a broader, more constructive and inclusive social purpose. We must move beyond the problem of saving architectural artifacts and…think about how we can conserve urban neighborhoods, rural landscapes, and natural resources for human purposes. This is particularly urgent at a time when some special interest and ethnic groups, in an effort to discover their own heritage, have begun to isolate themselves even more, rejecting the notion of a common heritage for all Americans and placing a new emphasis on social and ethnic differences. Success in preservation…requires that we give as much…attention to such problems as housing, schools, garbage collection, employment, and racial conflict as we have traditionally given to architecture and history. The importance of our nostalgic, patriotic and intellectual drives…are no longer a sufficient motivation for what we preservationists are about."

Heritage arguments are often premised on the assumption that any healthy individual and society needs to be grounded, and to be grounded it must understand where it comes from and how it relates to the rest of the world. As Peirce Lewis describes it, "We must…have a sense of our history. But we cannot have that sense of history unless we have reminders—tangible incessant reminders—of the kind of environment in which our forefathers worked and played and lived out their lives"(Lewis, 1985, p. 8).

The problem, Lewis asserts, is that heritage arguments evoke a series of difficult methodological dilemmas for assessment and treatment of historic properties, which weaken their case. The preservationist must grapple with the issue of authenticity; they must ask what is authentic history, an authentic artifact? How do we decide which among all the historic landscapes are plausible to preserve, and what period do we decide to preserve? "Is it really plausible," Lewis asks, "to freeze a human landscape which, by its very definition, resulted from dynamic, changing events? ...How can history be made to 'live' if we preserve it like a fly in amber?"(Lewis, 1985, p. 9).

Lewis obliquely implies that the methodological challenges associated involve interpretation and representation, with the technical skill of a professional:

> If we justify historic preservation based on grounds of cultural memory, it is obviously necessary that preservation be truthful and by that I mean whole truth. Sturbridge people are showing us...that it takes enormous professional and technical skill to know the truth about early New England villages, much less to recreate them. But suppose we do find ways to get and pay for the help we need. A horrendous problem still remains. Surely a truthful historic landscape must be of a scale that is large enough to be credible, large enough to be seen as a whole. How big will these plausible historic districts be? ...Can the whole truth be seen at all inside a picket fence, or behind glass in a museum? Can we tell the truth out of context? We must then ask how that truth is [*sic*] shaped by representation. (Lewis, 1985, p. 10)

The quandaries posed by environmental change and human intervention for the interpretation and representation of heritage continue to be identified as a key concern of preservation theory in seminal preservation texts. This is evident in the importance attributed to the rise of antiquarianism in the 18th century, the centrality of hallmark

figures such as Morris, Ruskin, and Viollet-le-duc, and the views they present. These views regarding the appropriate degree and methods of intervention shape the course of change for material artifacts, as well as the import attributed to terminology, distinguishing preservation, restoration, and reconstruction (Page & Mason, 2004).[7]

Antique Texture/Aesthetic Character/Architectural Merit

The above arguments look to aesthetic, including visual and stylistic, reasons to justify preservation (which is not to say that other arguments are not equally rooted in aesthetics). They claim that an historic resource derives intrinsic merit from its visual or stylistic qualities. The most explicit aesthetic arguments center on visual beauty. Walter Muir Whitehill presents this argument in the most simple and direct of terms:

> If most preservationists were honest, they would admit that they seek to preserve ancient buildings and sites because these add to the variety and beauty of a life that is daily more mechanized and stereotyped. Yet too often conscience enters in and makes them feel that they must scrabble about and discover some high purpose that will justify their preoccupation. (Walter Muir Whitehill in *With Heritage So Rich, 1966)*

Whitehill implies that both the preservationists' notion of beauty and the act of preservation ought to be presumed valid from the outset, irrespective of the underlying objectives and impact on the cultural landscape. Presumably, such a rationale inspired Lewis to caution "the argument of antique texture…is an argument which we use at the peril of being called precious, or snobbish, or elitist, and being abandoned by the very people that might be our allies" (Lewis, 1985, p. 10).

John Costonis presents an unmatched analysis regarding aesthetics and historic preservation.[8] Costonis is less concerned with the fact that preservationists seek a higher

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[7] Page and Mason (2004, p. 50) observe that the American preservation movement centralizes a tension between the philosophy of John Ruskin and William Morris, and Viollet-le-duc, or between the protection of historic sites exactly as they are found without interference versus restoration to former glory. This tension leads preservationists to ask are we perceiving the resource out of context? What can we do to preserve its authenticity, and to discover and present its significance? Although the questions remain unresolved, they represent the core of a fundamental philosophical dilemma, as seen in the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and the National Park Service's Preservation Bulletins, and establish how to distinguish features should remain from those that shouldn't.

purpose to justify their preoccupation than with the fact that they abandon their aesthetic motivations in the process (Costonis, 1982). With respect to aesthetic policy, he contends, "its purposes are seldom accurately or candidly portrayed, let alone understood, by its most vehement champions. Its diversion to dubious or flatly deplorable social ends undermines the credit that it may merit when soundly conceived and executed"(Costonis, 1982, p. 356).

Costonis maintains that visual beauty arguments are neither legally compelling nor effective because beauty is in the eye of the beholder rather than an ontological given. Disagreements over aesthetic merit are surrogates for environmental change itself. Thus, even if the aesthetic response is recognized as a social construct, and not as an ontological given, the argument must link public welfare to the "intersubjective patterns of communal response" and stability to be legally compelling. This means that within the legal confines of the public interest, individual experiences and qualities associated with environmental features are considered secondary to the desire to forestall threats to those environmental features that anchor and reinforce cultural stability and group identity. Costonis further contends that the stability motive for aesthetic regulation raises a host of irresolvable legal dilemmas. He explains:

> Visual beauty reasoning has served as a superb avoidance device thanks to its premise that standards of beauty are ontologically based and hence exist "out there," ready to be plucked by aesthetic experts and transformed into legal ukases by policy-makers. Although unverifiable by legal means, this premise has mesmerized these institutions because it dovetails neatly with their attraction to standards that have the semblance of objectivity, impartiality, and predictability. Stability reasoning, on the other hand, candidly acknowledges that aesthetic response is a social construct, not an ontological given. How individuals or groups respond to an environmental feature depends on how they construe its message, a process profoundly shaped by conventions of culture and time. If there is a case for aesthetic regulation, therefore, it must be fashioned from intersubjective patterns of communal aesthetic response. The argument must establish that protecting the stability of these patterns is a proper concern of the police power's 'general welfare.' It must provide reasonable assurance as well that overriding social and legal values are not sacrificed at the altar of stability. (Costonis, 1982, p. 358)

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[8] See John Costonis, *Michigan Law Review*, Vol. 80:355, January 1982; *Icons And Aliens: Law, Aesthetics, And Environmental Change* (1989); and *Space Adrift: Landmark Preservation And The Marketplace* (1974).

Costonis argues that resolutions to the dilemmas of aesthetic regulation will not be forthcoming, absent a coherent framework that hinges on how environmental features are selected for preservation and how new development perceived as threats will be regulated (ibid.).[9] In other words, the dilemmas of aesthetic regulation, and aesthetic arguments for that matter, derive from subjectivity and, therefore, must be resolved by time-honored principles of liberal democracy.

Healthy, Livable, and Vibrant Environments

Lewis's three remaining arguments for preservation can be grouped under one descriptive heading. These arguments address specific benefits of preservation, but arguably rely on heritage or aesthetic rationale. As Lewis suggests, these are secondary arguments for those who aren't swayed by heritage and antique texture, and in those cases where the "hoi polloi" are not expected to understand or appreciate the arguments most convincing to the professional community.

This category includes arguments for preservation based on economic and environmental protection, and what Lewis refers to as 'successful proxemics.' The arguments based on successful proxemics are less straightforward than those based on economic and environmental protection and, therefore, warrant explanation. The term 'successful proxemics' is dated and not widely recognized. However, the argument underlying the term is increasingly recognized, and can be considered a variation of the stability argument for aesthetics and the historic health and sanitation argument for planning. Crediting the work of behavioral geographers and psychologists, and such thinkers as Jane Jacobs, Herbert Gans, Edward Hall, and Ada Louise Huxtable, Lewis explains that successful proxemics arguments recognize that social health depends on the quality and arrangement of the proxemical environment. Moreover, they offer a remedy to

the social ills caused by rapid environmental change and homogenous, sterile environments that typify the late 20th-century landscape, the plastic homogeneity of contemporary life. Lewis explains:

> We all know the argument well: that our modern urbanized world is increasingly homogenous, increasingly bland, and increasingly built at an inhuman scale. Environments of the past, goes the argument, were necessarily more diverse, partly because more people were directly involved in planning and building things, partly because there was no mass distribution of Better Homes and Gardens blueprints to tell Everyman and Everywoman how to plan their historic yards and kitchens, partly because it was hard and expensive to get from one place to another, and local environments therefore *had* to be diverse, because they had to serve a wide variety of purposes. Part of the reason for diversity was that zoning had not yet been invented. (Lewis, 1985, p. 24)

The problem Lewis attributes to arguments for environmental diversity is that you cannot complain if your variety comes in unexpected forms. Moreover, Lewis faults economic and environmental arguments because they require measuring the immeasurable, fail to account for the true benefits of preservation, or otherwise fail to reflect the profession's unique identity. In effect, the shortcoming Lewis identifies is derivative of subjectivity and inauthentic preservation motivations.

PROFESSIONAL DILEMMAS: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FRAMING

Disunity and Professional Legitimacy

The dilemmas of preservation arguments support the position that, with careful consideration of the historic artifact and evidence of interest, and public input if necessary, the preservation professional is uniquely equipped to evaluate the period of significance, aesthetic and architectural features, the presence of historic integrity, and to differentiate which features merit protection from those that don't, and determine the degree and manner in which change or restoration is appropriate.

[9] Costonis outlines how each view of aesthetics influences the manner in which these questions are addressed. However, he inadvertently shows that in different ways each view embeds the notion of a

The shortcomings Lewis and Costonis associate with preservation arguments pertain to the methodological and procedural dilemmas for the preservation professional. Both Lewis and Costonis fault arguments for failing to account for subjectivity. Only Costonis directly suggests that the dilemmas of preservation arguments, to be legally compelling, must be resolved by accepted democratic processes. Lewis suggests that successful preservation depends on two things: the preservationist's divining the truth about a resource, and proper presentation. Conveniently, professionals remove the epistemological status of the facts and the expert's role from the equation, presumably because they regard them as irrelevant to professional legitimacy and expertise. Moreover, since the expert is primarily judged on how faithfully the truth is uncovered and presented, a task with inherent difficulties outside expert control, the professional's validity is necessarily measured by conformity with accepted professional norms and standards. In turn, conformity enables the professional to navigate the difficult waters evident in preservation arguments through a self-authorizing course.

At the same time Lewis validates expertise, he questions its effectiveness in the public sphere. His thesis is that each class of argument implies a different type of preservation and vision of the future,[10] and he maintains that because these arguments and visions are diverse and contradictory, preservationists should think of themselves as part of a field comprising many groups under one banner. He asserts, "At best preservationists find

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homogeneous public interest while veiling the presumption of administrative legitimacy.

[10] Lewis rightly suggests that preservation arguments "are not merely debating tricks to win a forensic point; they carry with them a vision of the future." However, the implication that these different visions are both motivating and dividing historic preservationists is unfounded. In fact, Lewis himself illustrates how the arguments preservationists use do not necessarily reflect their motivation. He does this by describing the limitations of each class of argument and how their use to legitimize historic preservation often works against the preservation advocate, leaving them in a weak position to advocate on behalf of their cause. What Lewis fails to recognize is that he has demonstrated that the preservationist may be inclined to use any argument that serves the situation best. While it is likely that one's preservation priorities and the argument selected may relate to one's vision of the future, it does not follow that it is that vision which is the motivating factor nor that it is dividing the historic preservation community. Lewis does show that such a thing as a preservation cause exists, irrespective of any particular rationale. In so doing, he provides a context, which reveals historic preservation as policy driven by thoughts about implementation rather than the reverse. The example demonstrates how the failure to recognize that fact frames historic preservation as ineffective

themselves going in several directions. At worst they find themselves engaged in a civil war, the bloodiest kind of war. Small wonder they are ineffective"(Lewis, 1985, p. 7).

Overcoming Disunity by Democratizing Preservation

Lewis points to a common view expressed in discourse: the success of the preservation movement not only depends upon its successful advocacy through education, and collaboration with allied interests, but also that advocacy efforts will be impotent in the absence of a united front. The solution to overcoming disunity, according to Lewis, is arriving at a good and clear vision of why preservationists seek to preserve old buildings based on a philosophical and democratic frame of reference.[11] This is not to say the preservation profession has not taken steps toward unity, as Stipe explains:

> At the onset of the national preservation program, the field was divided into at least two distinct camps—the archaeologists were on one side and the architectural historians and historians were on the other. While the orientation of the archaeologists was cultural, the orientation of the architectural historians and historians was traditional history and history of aesthetics. One group was trained in the social sciences (and some would say sciences) and the other in the humanities. While the archaeologists looked at all aspects of the 'cultural picture'—economic base, diet, food ways, architecture and seasonal migration patterns (to name a few)—those working in the historic sites program were generally concerned with only two issues: is this structure aesthetically beautiful and/or does it have already demonstrated historic value? ...The coming together of these different approaches has proved fruitful, and new perceptions of historic preservation are emerging. (Stipe, 1987, preface)

Stipe reports that the coming together of these two perspectives has led the subject matter of preservation to become "thoroughly democratized," and as a result topics such as vernacular architecture and industrial and commercial archaeology are common and popular topics. Similarly, Torma distinguishes the associational values from discovery values of significant artifacts and how their coming together has enriched recognition of both (Torma in Cullingworth, 1997). The implied recipe for preservation success is expert

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because of a lack of a singular vision of the future. That correlates with the ideal vision of community and democracy discussed in Chapter 2.

agreement regarding both aesthetic and heritage values, this being achieved through a democratic process, education, and cooperation from antagonists. This interpretation presumes much about the intent of the authors; however, the logic appears more directly in other venues, most notably the Oregon SHPO Plan discussed in Chapter 1.

Recognition of an increasing variety of preservation objects, like a broader recognition of the preservation subject, also reflects the democratization of the historic preservation profession. Fitch comments that a characteristic aspect of historic preservation is its domain. This is broadening in two ways:

> The scale of the artifact being considered as requiring preservation is being pushed upward to include very large ones (e.g., the entire island of Nantucket) as well as very small ones (e.g., historic rooms or fragments thereof installed in art museums) ...The domain is being enlarged by a radical increase in the type of artifacts being considered worthy of preservation. Thus in addition to the monumental high-style architecture—traditionally the concern of the preservationist—whole new categories of structures are now being recognized as equally meritorious: vernacular, folklorist, and industrial structures.... In a parallel fashion, the time scale of historicity is being extended to include pre-Columbian settlements at one end and Art Deco skyscrapers at the other. (Fitch in Cullingworth, 1997, p. 122)

In effect, the above passage implies that the domain of preservation, with its mounting emphasis on multiple histories and aesthetic values, has grown to accommodate recognition of diverse historic resources, such as vernacular architecture. In turn, the growth has enabled the profession to resolve tensions between its aesthetic and historic orientation, and forge a more unified professional community and a more inclusive and democratic practice. In the end, all that is left for the preservation professional is to facilitate recognition of diverse resources and to apply technical expertise in uncovering and representing historical truths about such resources.

[11] there's no text here…

The Shifting Ground of Professional Legitimacy

The conclusion that the profession is democratized due to the recognition of a greater variety of resources implies that elitism has been, or can be, eliminated without the need to modify or question the hierarchies and values responsible for valuing privileged resources to the exclusion of others. For instance, a newfound recognition of vernacular architecture need not diminish the privileged status of classic high style architecture. To the contrary, the conclusion that a broader preservation domain equates with the elimination of elitism not only reinforces traditional hierarchies, but also implies they are above question and are outside the realm of expertise.[12]

In other words, an object-based conception of expertise insulates preservation by providing an avenue to admit historical relativity and lay claim to multicultural ideals, *without* questioning the professional knowledge that underpins expertise. How so? By shifting the role of the professional to that of an educator and facilitator of democratic process. The sticking point for preservationists has shifted from reconciling differing strategies in response to methodological dilemmas to balancing subjective value judgments.

When conventions of professional expertise become contentious, attention can be diverted from the substance of heritage expertise to administration by reframing conflicts in terms of traditional democratic ideals. Recognizing a greater variety of historic resources and histories, crossing traditional disciplinary boundaries, can be seen as a mechanism to represent this shift as a more inclusive and less elitist approach. Thus, instead of resting authority on the ability to divine historic significance, the preservation expert needs only to demonstrate commitment to multiple histories and a balanced representation. Demonstrating a commitment to western notions of fairness, stability, and

[12] Recognizing different categories of significance may even reinforce established hierarchies, e.g., a pristine high style house may be just as valued as a pristine vernacular—but the high style house is still likely regarded as a more significant 'house.'

democratic process does this. Essentially, the question of legitimacy is foreclosed by transferring its claim to legitimacy from the objective claims of the expert to administration based on principles of democracy. With administration, transcending the specialized area of expertise to which the preservationist lays claim, both the presumption of administrative legitimacy and the substance of preservation is preserved.

Inclusion and Its Shortcomings

Historic preservationists are increasingly recognizing that a positivist representation of history and evaluation of historic significance has made for an elitist discipline (Green, 1998; Stipe & Lee, 1986).Consistently, preservationists seek to encourage participation from diverse constituents and to recognize diverse histories as the remedy for elitism.

This remedy fails to engage critics that claim professional elitism is perpetuated by the terms of exclusion. As Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose contend, "such liberalism is intrinsic to attempts to incorporate and thus benignly dominate other historical voices" (Rose, 1993). With regard to architectural history and preservation, Crysler cautions, "Despite the increasing degree of social and cultural differentiation in both the public audience and the academy, including differences of ethnicity, class, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, or race, specialized languages or the limitations of objects of enquiry can be deployed as a political tactic to maintain cultural hegemony."[13] Blunt and Rose describe this issue from a feminist perspective:

> Women and gender relations should not only become visible in historical study, they should remake the very categories through which the past is discursively constituted. Rather than merely add a gendered subject, the construction of subjectivity itself should become a central point of inquiry.

[13] Blunt and Rose note, "When the editor states that his purpose in attempting to engage in the margins as well as the center is an objective exchange of information and methods, it is clear that the margins are receiving an invitation from the center on terms specified by the center." These terms to which they refer reveal the conditional nature of the inclusionary approach of embracing diversity. Blunt and Rose go on to say, "At first women's history sought to challenge traditional masculinist objective history by making women visible, by writing women into history. That history however was in most other respects informed by traditional thus masculinist categories and historical periods and reflected masculinist values. In this way it furthered rather than challenged structural inequalities....a more complex and shifting notion of both space and subject positionality undermines claims to mimetic representation from a feminist perspective."

> Lest *herstory* may be marked by essentialist, positive accounts intended to add women's experience—and is informed by traditional masculinity categories and historical periods reflecting in masculinist values." (Blunt & Rose, 1994, p. 8)

Graham suggests that the movement toward inclusive heritage practices has co-opted minority perspectives without altering the central structure. "In a polyglot society," he comments, "it is not difficult to highlight the black American who died for the national cause in the Boston massacre of 1770, the Civil War battles or later conflicts" (Graham, 2000, p. 104). His point is that it is not difficult to accommodate diverse interests if the central structure is held above question.

In reference to the central structure of architectural history, Crysler maintains that confronting elitism requires nothing less than a reconceptualization of traditional categories of analysis, in order to specify the relations of power constructed by knowledge as part of larger political processes and systems. He adds, "claims of exteriority and objectivity need to be set aside in order to understand the connections between historical configuration of the social forms and the way they work subjectively" (Crysler, 1996). The structure and terms that Crysler questions include not only the periodizations, themes, and objects themselves, but also forms of disciplinary specialization—"for these have the potential to further or resist hegemonic forms of knowledge." In sum, if the terms for inclusion of the marginalized are predetermined by the professional core, inclusion runs the risk of serving hegemonic ends by sheltering preservation from scrutiny and meaningful change.

This is not to say that inclusionary efforts should be dismissed or that they entirely shelter professional knowledge from scrutiny. As preservation has widened its scope and laid claim to multicultural benefits, scholarship has increasingly problematized professionalism and conventional heritage arguments, presenting them in a more complex light and raising more sophisticated questions leveraged against a narrowly positivist account of history (Green, 1998). What is important is that professional subjective claims

of exteriority and objectivity, and traditional categories of analysis, be central to deliberation and efforts surrounding inclusion of multiple publics.

Preservation arguments help demonstrate the narrow focus of expertise and the methodological quandaries that arise, and how together, the presumption of administrative legitimacy and traditional democratic ideals provides a basis to externalize dilemmas and shelter professional knowledge from serious scrutiny. If it is the terms of inclusion that perpetuate elitism, as some critics claim, then political agency and professional knowledge become central questions. Professional undertakings or practice, in the form of aesthetic and historic associations attributed to a resource, are expressions of agency. Henri Lefebvre reminds us that agency works through spatial and temporal modes of representation. "Spatial, building and architectural practices are representations, as also are the material, physical and spatial forms that result. Human action, behavior, protests, celebrations and contestations are likewise representational practices making manifest the attitudes, values and priorities which inform them" (Shields, 1996, p. 54).

The challenges facing preservation reveal that denial of political agency not only arises from a narrowly defined professional scope, but also from the substance of professional knowledge regarding history, aesthetics, and space. Moreover, it follows that pluralistic resolutions to elitism downplay the political agency of the professional, and the significance of the spatial and temporal representations at work—and the role of the professional in their construction. Representations of time and space, the very substance of professional expertise, are also implicated, calling into question the philosophical underpinning upon which heritage and aesthetic expertise are based.

PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE—TRADITIONAL CATEGORIES OF ANALYSIS

Aesthetics, Art and the Built Environment

The arguments of preservation reflect a traditional Eurocentric interpretation of the arts and built environment that has been increasingly critiqued across and within many

disciplines and academic circles since the 1970s. As Mugerauer describes it, that tradition derives meaning from interpretation of an object based on its "origin or creations, its forms, materials, and content, and its ethical and intellectual impulse back to social, natural, and perhaps sacred reality." Mugerauer describes these reductions in metaphoric terms, noting that what is made and interpreted is "both a mirror and a lamp because it reflects the reality from which it derives and creatively illuminates that reality"(Mugerauer, 1995).[14] He explains,

> Once scholars know what they are analyzing, the fundamental interpretive move is to discern ....the ways in which the work mirrors the dimensions that produced it. Hence the built environment can be seen either as the fairly anonymous product of cultural forces and practices in effect at the time or as the result of the deliberate and creative effort of a particular creator...along this same line of representational relation, we can also use an artifact to look back into its origins. Here the works become repositories for meaning waiting for the right interpretation to unclick what they have to reveal about times, places, and conditions of their births and their subsequent histories. (Mugerauer, 1995)

In either case, the interpreters have the task and opportunity to travel the road of representation and explicitly demonstrate how a work and its containing reality are related. This is what Crysler calls a pilgrimage narrative in which "the historian/narrator becomes a guide who directs perception towards particular objects and events, at the same time demanding blindness to other conditions—perhaps social, economic or political—in order to maintain discursive continuity" (Crysler, 1996).

[14] The lamp and mirror metaphors are widespread, and widely adapted to suit differing disciplinary subjects. Crysler makes a similar point—referring to a metaphor of synecdoche and metanomy—for architectural history. Mugerauer refers to such figures as Hume, Burke, Kant, and Hegel as examples, each with different emphases. For Hegel, "Architecture…manifests the paths of the unity of spiritual meaning and material forms in such a way that the epochal changes of what we build provide the means for us to become conscious of the historical unfolding and progress of the universe.…In reality, the chronology and diffusion of architectural styles is the product of complex relationships between economic and social conditions, population pressures, the cost and availability of construction materials, and changes in technical options and the supply of design" (Knox, 1995, p. 109). These factors don't necessarily neatly correspond with each other or the typology and periodization with which architectural styles are associated and attributed.

Krampen maintains that two kinds of conceptual reductions characterize traditional interpretations: the reduction of signs to objects and objects to signs (Krampen, 1991).[15] These object-oriented perspectives can be directly linked to the heritage and aesthetic arguments for preservation. Traditional aesthetic formalism holds that beauty stems from an object's sensory or visual features. Costonis explains,

> The search for aesthetic standards reduces to an attempt to determine which sets of characteristics can be correlated systematically with positive or negative aesthetic responses. It necessarily assumes the physiological or sensory predisposition of human beings to experience visual qualities in a relatively uniform manner, the object existence and discoverability of the qualities that produce visual pleasure or offense, and the capacity of legislators and administrators to render these qualities in a legal form that is faithful to the qualities themselves and to the legal values of clarity, impartiality, and predictability. Implicit in these assumptions is the portrayal of human beings as passive participants in the aesthetic process. (Costonis, 1982, p. 397)

The visual beauty argument depends on objectification, such that the source of aesthetic experience is attributed to the object-isolated context. Thus, preservation policy is left to focus either on preservation of the "beautiful" and therefore worthy object, or on prohibition of the ugly and unworthy one (Costonis, 1982). Although aesthetic formalism has fallen out of favor in philosophical debate and lacks legal muster, its presumption of validity remains effectual, though often veiled, in older laws and the theories of many disciplines (Lothian, 1999).

History

The critique of traditional aesthetic interpretation of the built environment extends to traditional history. Greig Crysler describes the interplay between traditional environmental interpretation and traditional history, suggesting that, in history, "the narrative is treated as

[15] The reduction of places to objects of inquiry—like pilgrimage narratives—has implications. Notably, it focuses attention on the question of meaning itself, as opposed to the process of its perception, again making the narrator invisible. In the first case meaning is derived from the symbolic status of objects to the exclusion of the material status of objects and the environment at hand and one's involvement with it. In the second

a neutral container of historical fact naturally suited to representing historic events directly. The creation of a clearly demarcated past is essential to establishing it as a real object of scientific research, which appears to exist outside consciousness, observed and interpreted, rather than constructed by the historian. The text substitutes representation of the past for an elucidation of present institutional operations that manufacture the historian's text, putting an appearance of the real past in the place of present practice that produces it. The effacement or disappearance of the historian's presence is necessary for history to appear as though it is a mirror of the past—as a mimesis of the historical event" (Crysler, 1996).

With the disappearance of the narrator and elevation of the narrative as truth; the 'expert' is transformed—from an interpreter into an investigator, archaeologist, and/or curator on a pilgrimage to divine truth. The historian/narrator directs perception toward particular objects and events while at the same time demanding of the reader a blindness to other conditions (e.g., social, economic, or political) in order to maintain discursive continuity (Crysler, 1996).[16]

Traditional history is often referred to as reconstructionism. The reconstructionist approach to history conforms to the established consensus or 'commonsense' empiricist tradition handed down from the nineteenth century (Green, 1998). According to Munslow, advocates of this "modernist craftsman approach to historical study" maintain that "the Western tradition of history-writing is built on the correspondence theory of empiricism firmly rooted in the belief that truthful meaning can be directly inferred from the primary sources" (Munslow, 1997, p. 20).

Reconstructionist History: Reconstructionism, therefore, rests on the assumption that the more carefully one recovers the facts, as experienced craftsmen and women, the more

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case (object to signs) meaning is derived from the function of the object to the exclusion of the historical and humanistic aspects of the problem.

[16] "We read for a content that is modeled on reality at the expense of awareness of the signifying system on which the work is constructed" (Crysler, 1996).

likely their history is to be accurate. And so, legitimate history-writing is accomplished by objective and extensive research of primary sources to reconstruct historical truth past, without ideological contamination. This means that the reconstructionist approach allows no room for models of explanation on the evidence of the past which are derived from social theory, particularly the sort of explanations offered by structuralism, poststructuralism, critical cultural studies, or literary theory (Munslow, 1997). As Munslow proclaims, "Hard-core reconstructionist history is history properly, and proper history has no social theory or philosophical axes to grind" (Munslow, 1997, p. 22).

Constructionist History: The shortcomings attributed to traditional history have led to other approaches to historical knowledge, most notably constructionism and deconstructionism. Both constructionist and deconstructionist historians would argue that "when historians attempt to reconstruct the past by studying its evidence…the historian cannot be as isolated from the reconstruction process as conservative reconstructionists would have us believe" (Munslow, 1997). In contrast to reconstructionism, constructionism requires that historians "propose rather than discover relationships between events in the past" (Munslow, 1997). The question usually asked of all varieties of constructionism is how can such history approximate what actually happened in the past when, in effect, all they do is generate explanations grounded in contemporary cultural practices, and hence are ideologically tainted?

Constructionist history, as a result, is characterized today by its often great complexity and sophistication, but also by its clear rejection of 'event history,' which accounts only for an isolated monument or isolated single and unrepeatable events (Munslow, 1997). "The complexities of the past still continue to be studied by constructionists employing ever more elaborate models of social and cultural institutions, which try to take into account ecological changes, gender redefinitions, class relations, race, and colonization.

All require more tools of analysis than simple inductive inference alone provides" (Munslow, 1997, p. 16).

Deconstructionist History: Deconstructionist history provides an alternative to the traditional object-centered approaches to history offered by reconstructionism and constructionism. Deconstructionists reject the reconstructionist and constructionist reliance on sources to explain events. Rather than emphasizing empiricism or social scientific theorizing, deconstructionists focus on form and content, or sources and interpretations, and the inevitable relativism of historical accounts (Munslow, 1997).

Deconstructionist history regards the past as a complex discourse, and not a transparent mode of communication, which can carry understanding or generate truthful meaning. It evolved as part of the larger challenge to modernist empiricisim, which assumes that understanding derives from facts held by a discrete individual subject designated variously as Man, humanity, the author, or the evidence (ibid.). That challenge calls into question whether it is "possible to write history when not only are we looking at it through our constructed categories of analysis—race, class, gender—but the narrative medium of exchange itself confounds the realist and empiricist dependence upon…an adequate level of correspondence between representations of the past, and the real past" (Munslow, 1997, p. 9).

Deconstructionism is frequently faulted for its wholesale denial of truth and meaning. However, proponents reject that deconstruction denies truth or claims there is no truth (Yates, 1990). Timothy Yates explains, "it is the link between truth and presence/ontology that is disputed. A possible plurality of truth descriptions does not imply a liberal pluralist vision of the equal validity of all positions…Truth…is real and material, but is institutional and social, historical rather than ontological or transcendental. It is a construct, a function of a system"(Yates, 1990, p. 274).

Shortcomings aside, deconstruction provides a means to consider the political implications of the work preservationists do by identifying a signifying chain of historical

representations, allowing for new interpretations and significations, and examination of meanings that have been obscured by underlying premises (ibid.). In other words, deconstruction is valued because it undermines "claims to truth and coherence by reinforcing the rhetorical strategies and presumptions that falsely lend such claims coherence and objectivity" (Crysler, 1996). In this sense, deconstructive approaches to interpretation of the material environment offer valuable perspective regarding professional expertise and knowledge.

Objects of Study and the Master Subject

Blunt and Rose maintain that the object-oriented perspective of traditional aesthetics and history draw upon the protocols of realism to create a transparent space ripe for hegemonic claims of mimetic representation. By creating a sense of detachment and spectatorship, traditional approaches transform the professional into a disengaged observer, rather than an actor in the represented reality. This detachment creates an illusion of transparency, which assumes that the world can be observed, as with unmediated access to the truth (Blunt & Rose, 1994). In turn, this sense of transparency "gives rise to mimetic representation—reducing space to a mirror of reality—through mimetic representation the observer extracts significant matter—that, which corresponds with the subject's ideal conception and to elevate it, set it above the trivial matter of everyday life" (Donovan, 1993, p. 54).

"The claim of the master subject to be an autonomous subject who observes social conflicts from a privileged and unconflicted place can be converted from fantasy to reality only by denying the relational character of subjectivity and relegating other viewpoints—different subjectivities—to invisible subordinate or competing positions" (Blunt & Rose, 1994, p. 5). As Shields describes it, "the approach substitutes the actor's point of view of the significance of the background practices for an objective grid of the positivist social

sciences" (Shields,1991, p. 26).[17] This view favors homogeneity, toward a denial of difference and "othering" that depends on and produces a space where meaning is transparent and immediately accessible—revealing the essential nature of the subject—lending itself to universalist and essentialist claims (Blunt & Rose, 1994).

Positivism, Space, and Time

The shortcomings lead theorists to conclude that such approaches to interpretation and representation of the built environment require a reconceptualization of space and time associated with an object-centered approach. They criticize interpretations of the built environment for their reliance on homogeneous constructions of space and time that are firmly grounded in positivist space and time—which are opposed to one another.

Homogeneous time is uniform and calendrical, the time of evolutionary theory, which is the same anywhere and everywhere (Tilley, 1990). This conception of time corresponds with an oppositional view of space, which is inert, singular, fixed—a transparent container filled with material objects in which time marches on in a linear progression (Massey, 1994). The positivist concept of space and time supports the object-centered approach to environmental interpretation. It allows for an object to be firmly held within a coherent boundary of space and time, with a clear beginning and ending that support the particular assigned meaning irrespective of the process of its perception. The object is frozen and dislocated from the joint constitution of time and space through interrelations of phenomena. It is effectively rendered aspatial, atemporal, and apolitical. If space is regarded as absolute with an existence independent of matter, it provides a structure void of context in which to "pigeonhole or to individuate phenomena" (Tilley, 1990).

Abstract space presents itself as fragmented, homogeneous, and hierarchical. This positive pretext is visible in conventional representations in the way they "serve to reduce

[17] Donovan as in text? (1993, p. 53) agrees, "Western aesthetic theory, especially since Kant, has focused on the art object as a self-referential telos...divorced from the "real" world, apolitical, governed by aesthetic laws. The artist takes a piece of reality and reworks it according to these rules, thus imprinting upon it his or her own design and setting it above the everyday."

places and spaces first to context-less assemblages of objects and then to a grid of meaning. This excludes background cultural processes by which that grid is produced by socio-cultural activities" (Shields, 1991). According to Shields, both the object of intention and the holistic place it occupies is destroyed by reduction and fragmentation. He elaborates:

> While demonstrating something of the mechanics of perception and delineation, the most common meanings associated with a particular place or landscape, this does not help one in understanding the manner in which the range of images reflects, and is evidence for, an all-pervasive logic of social spatializations by which places, views and scenes are linked to feelings, ideas and political and cultural ideologies. (Shields, 1991)

Alternative Conceptions

Critics of the conventional positivist representation of space and time, from a variety of disciplines, advocate a more relative and interdependent conception of space and time as social construct, that is constituted through social relations and practices, with social practices being a spatial construction of the social. From this view, space is not simply a stage for social relations over time, but is active in the construction of such relations that are as active and transformative as time. Drawing on Foucault, Tilley explains, time, space, and social interactions are indivisible:

> Any periodization of history is contentious because if removed from social practice it remains an arbitrary slice. To do so supports the tendency to treat history as past time, as a backdrop to the present. The way to carve up the past is not in terms of time-slices but in relation to events, and connections between these events. There can be no one periodization applying to all events and no one time corresponding to these events, as if the present were almost an autonomous creation. (Tilley, 1990, p. 312)

The problem is that the traditional view of space and time assumes that power and agency are irrelevant. The alternative views allow for and, indeed, require acknowledgment of positionality. Treating space as a social product prompts fresh consideration of how space and places are a product of the social-spatial dialectic. Massey argues this point directly, noting, "one of the most powerful ways in which social space

can be conceptualized is as constituted out of social relations, social interactions, and for that reason, always and everywhere an expression and a medium of power" (Massey, 1994). This view recognizes the reflexive and mutual impact of space on society, and society on space, where social relations are constituted through space, constrained by space, and mediated by space.

Moreover, by the contextualizing and situating of social relations, this view exposes the universal claims characteristic of positivism by demystifying representations of space as natural and transparent so that it is understood as a product with particular localized meanings. In turn, it allows for a re-politicization of geographical concepts like space, place, the local, and so on.

Places are commonly described in terms particular to bounded sites of various scales, such as dwellings, cities, or nations, or as landscape images wrought with symbolic and textual content, as "land" or "property" implying certain rights. However, scholars concerned with positionality and critical awareness, such as new urbanist studies, frequently favor characterizations of place that are more fluid, relational, and polyvalent. As McDowell describes it, places are living histories of the past and current social and cultural relations (McDowell, 1997, p. 4). She notes the recognition that places constructed through social relationships have led to a more dynamic conceptualization of place. Instead of the tendency to define a place in terms of spatial boundaries, it is now recognized that places are "contested, fluid and uncertain." It is socio-spatial practices that define places, and these practices result in overlapping and intersecting areas with multiple and changing boundaries, constituted and maintained by social relations of power and exclusion.

PLACES AND POLITICS, POWER AND EXCLUSION

Steve Pile and Michael Keith refer to how places are constituted by social relations of power and exclusion in the above passage. They also explain the process by which this is accomplished. "Authority produces space through…cutting it up, differentiating between

parcels of space, the use and abuse of borders and markers, the production of scales (from the body, the region and the nation, to the globe), the control of movement within and across different kinds of boundaries, and so on" (Pile & Keith, 1997, p. 3). As Massey explains,

> All attempts to institute horizons, to establish boundaries, to secure the identity of places, can be seen to be attempts to stabilize the meaning of particular envelopes of space-time. They are attempts to come to grips with the unutterable mobility and contingency of space-time. Moreover, however common, and however understandable they may be, it is important to recognize them as such. For such attempts at the stabilization of meaning are constantly the site of social contest, battles over the power to label space-time, to impose the meaning to be attributed to a space, for however long or short a span of time." (Massey, 1995, p. 5)[18]

Boundaries and Exclusion

Boundaries also justify and naturalize social exclusion and power. Sibley explains, "places are made through power relations that construct the rules which define the boundaries. These boundaries are both social and spatial—they define who belongs to a place and who may be excluded, as well as the location or site of the experience" (Sibley, 1995). Places are defined, altered, and sustained in part by the impact of unequal power relations.

Creating a new, more inclusive sense of place requires not just an analysis of place, but also the unpacking of power relationships and spatial practices across several spaces and over time. Seen in this way, place becomes a network of several different threads—spacial, temporal, sociological, and political—all of which interlace and overlap to create a more multifaceted, fluid sense of place. It is at the nodes in these networks that places are constituted.

[18] She adds, "and there are two levels at which such contests may be joined…over the label/identity/boundary to be assigned…the insistence on pointing out…challenging the nature of the debate itself."

Physical and Social

Sibley contends that "spaces, which are homogeneous or uniform, from which nonconforming groups or activities have been expelled or have been kept out through the maintenance of strong boundaries, can be called pure by the dominant culture, and the purification of space is a process by which power is exercised over space and social groups" (Sibley, 1995, p.73). The role such purified spaces play in the construction of the 'other' is to make difference more visible than it would be in an area of mixed land use and social diversity. Heterogeneous suburbanites, for example, will exclude those they feel threaten the homogeneity they have cultivated and been conditioned to value.

It is not only argued that purified, homogenized spaces facilitate the designation of outsiders, it is also argued that such purified spaces reinforce the idea of a homogeneous public. Zukin, for example, maintains that the "ideal of community, unity and harmony is reinforced through visual coherence and stability. Social benefits derived from visual coherence promise to make social diversity less threatening and public space more secure" (Zukin, 1996, p. 58). From this perspective, the standard liberal democratic approaches advocated by preservationists like Costonis, such as visual preference surveys which identify a community aesthetic, fail to address the possibility that a democratic approach threatens to marginalize minority members of that community.

Temporal and Spatial

The boundaries that support exclusion and the concept of a homogeneous public are also created through systems of classification and attribution. Crysler identifies an example of this in the Eurocentric taxonomies and categorizations, which classify and locate the traditional Architectural History in the U.S. He says,

> The Eurocentric eras, ancient-medieval and modern, are divided into a sequence that begins with ancient Greece and culminates in 20th-century modernism. This armature of neoclassical periodization has been continually rebuilt in ways which expand some periods and diminish others depending on who is mobilizing (the shift in emphasis) and for what purposes. Europe is mainly represented through buildings dating from the 16th to 18th century and

> the United States is mainly represented through a select set of buildings from the 19th and 20th centuries. This division has the effect of dividing the medieval from the modern along the geographical line of the nation-state, situating American architecture at the end of a morphological chain, at the uniquely American conclusion to the development of civilization. (Crysler, 1996, p. 216)

In this model, history has a narrative progression and every geographical area has its cultural apex. Every style is tied to and represents a temporal era in a geographical one. Greece is seen as ancient, Europe as medieval, and so on. Moreover, the historic value of a particular place is dependent upon where it fits in the narrative of progress. This paradigm effectively excludes vernacular architecture from 'high art' because it is tangential to the assumed narrative of progress in Western art.

Crysler's account of architectural history has a strong relationship to Graham's concept of a historical U.S. national heritage edifice that distinguishes itself from other nations. He uses this concept to illustrate the interdependent symbolism between history, the physical environment, and citizenship in U.S. identity. As Graham describes it, the heritage edifice holds that "the pioneering of democratic values [was] forged in the independent frontier experience and successfully wrested from the grasp of a tyrannical imperial British parent" (Graham, 2000, p. 102). He asserts that in building a nation ideologically distinct from Europe, the United States created a unified cultural myth of origins, which was predicated on European notions of cultural politics, nature, and society. Furthermore, any other cultural origins are overshadowed by the insistence, in policy and record, on a unified ideology. Crysler cites the sociological theory of Fredrick Jackson Turner as an example of the institution of such a national myth. Turner's "frontier hypothesis is emblematic of this view. Turner suggested that the taming of the wilderness was the significant fact in the American identity…He developed his theme that this expansion westwards with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating the American chapter." He continues,

> Because westward movement decreased industrial dependence on Britain, it provided the context for governmental legislations, and it provided the basis of much organized missionary activity…. acted as a safety valve, as each frontier did furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape. By calling forth traits of rugged individualism, the frontier helped promote democracy. After the revolution against British rule, the conquest of the wilderness provided an important symbol of national identity and social cohesion. The frontier was the dividing line between civilization and barbarism, a line which marked the balance of power between the forces of the republic on the one hand and untamed nature and savage Indians on the other. (Crysler, 1996, p. 217)

Similarly, the development of agriculture has been linked ideologically to the creation of the American Dream. Urban experience has become iconic of, in one paradigm, progress and, in another paradigm, regress in U.S. civil society: progress in the sense that the city offered individual opportunity and 'culture' and so contrasted with uncivilized nature, and regress in the sense that the city stands for a social wilderness of chaos, fear, and immorality in contrast to the idyllic simplicity of the farm family.

In these examples a geographical area, such as the western frontier or the American city, becomes iconic of a moment in the grand narrative of American progress. The location is associated ideologically with a historical era that, because it defines the place, excludes all other narratives or associations. For example, our image of the turn-of-the-century family farm may include red wooden barns but does not include the camps of migrant workers that have always been a part of the American farm. The ideological and temporal boundaries that define the traditional family farm exclude the migrant workers' narrative of rural American life. Many theorists recognize the potential problems of linking geography to a unified national myth.

Citing Paul Gilroy, Graham contends that, since the Enlightenment, nationality and culture have been fatally linked in western intellectual thought and traditional modes of spatial and temporal representation (Gilroy in Graham, 2000, p. 56). Graham argues that,

> This imagining of an internal national homogeneity—one which draws inevitably upon a particular representation of heritage and a mythology of the past for its coherence and legitimacy—has conditioned western conceptions of

> political space for more than two centuries. Modern national identity became an object bounded in time and space, with clear beginnings and endings and its own territory, and through imperialism evoked an attitude of superiority towards the rest of the world. (Graham, 2000, p 56)

Graham continues to explain that,

> Nationalist discourses are sited within a sense of limitless change and advance, which in turn demanded the creation of modernistic progressive linear heritage narratives that sought to subsume the diversity and heterogeneity of the everyday world. These were combined with the assumptions of long-term continuities of culture, place and allegiance and constructed to lead directly to the contemporary nexus of power, providing the precedents and traditions that underpin the legitimacy of that authority. (Graham, 2000, p. 56)

The seemingly oppositional priorities that Lewis describes as dividing the preservation community (scholarly as opposed to popular, national vs. local significance, 'high' vs. vernacular art, etc.) are actually, by their very nature, indicative of the 'grand narrative' model of architectural history that Graham describes. Although such differences delineate practices within the preservation profession as well as within the several other disciplines that are concerned with the built environment, and even though these differences may have irreconcilable modes of representation, divergent objects of analysis, and varying levels of institutional power, they play a part in reinforcing various elements of this national identity inasmuch as they all claim the same origins from which to narrate. That origin is the myth of a homogeneous American history and, by extension, a unified progressive architectural history. Although the historic preservation profession has broadened its scope, architectural history remains a core requirement for professional competency. In so doing, the object of preservation is neatly classified and located based on the objective measurement of morphological change and development within Eurocentric taxonomies and categorizations.

Representations of Expertise

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation

Preservation expertise finds its expression in the form of professional standards, guidelines, protocols, as well as preservation arguments, and is at the center of preservation discourse and theory. Whereas preservation arguments reveal a general orientation of professional knowledge toward traditional object-oriented environmental and historical interpretation, the federal preservation program offers a clear definition of preservation activity and further delineates the proper object and subject of attention. The standards are illustrative of the representation of the socio-spatial-temporal relations that preservation expertise assumes.

The Secretary of the Interior published comprehensive federal Standards and guidelines for the practice of historic preservation in 1983 in response to the National Historic Preservation Act and related legislation. These Standards and guidelines are intended to provide the best guidance for historic preservation in federal undertakings and are broadly applied by federal agencies, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, State Historic Preservation Offices, Certified Local Governments, as well as by local governments and private preservation organizations. They have exceeded their intended service for federal undertakings to become the gold standard for the American preservation profession. Their centrality to the U.S. preservation profession is made clear by Antoinette Lee, who, as a counter to the allegation that "preservation in America has no book, no established philosophy, no guiding principles," asserts, "But we do have a book, one created essentially by the federal program. Its first chapter contains the National Register criteria, which has come to define for almost all practical purposes…what is worth saving" (Stipe & Lee, 1988, p. 4).[19] The National Register of Historic Places is the national inventory of

[19] Antoinette Lee is among those who believe that the American preservation movement is expanding its horizons while acknowledging the movement's penchant for reactionary opportunism and inattention to philosophy.

historic places and archive documenting those historic resources that qualify as being worth saving according to the criteria.

The preservation "big book" to which Lee refers has many chapters, which in addition to outlining criteria for significance, sets forth minimum professional qualifications, measures of historic integrity, and standards for rehabilitation—all of which have served to delineate the proper object and subject of historic preservation and role of the professional. The Secretary of Interior's guidelines and Standards have been widely adopted not only as required for Federal purposes in maintaining the National Register of Historic Places, which is the national inventory of historic places and repository for documentation of qualifying historic resources, but also for State and local inventories as well. Given their broad application and acceptance, the federal Standards and guidelines for historic preservation provide a convenient starting place for examining the object and subject of historic preservation expertise in more detail—and the temporal and spatial context by which they are defined. Below I describe the criteria and highlight some of those standards and guidelines that are most relevant to the issues raised in this study.

The National Register Criteria for Evaluation

The significance and range of resources qualifying for the National Register is largely determined by the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, which is used to evaluate the historical, architectural, archaeological, engineering, and cultural value of a historic resource. To qualify for listing, resources must be shown to merit significance under one of the four criteria; under "Criterion A" for their association with historic themes or events; under "Criterion B" for association with significant persons; under criterion "C" for significant architecture, design, or craftsmanship; and under Criterion "D" for research and information potential. "After identifying the relevant historic context(s) with which the property is associated, the four Criteria are applied to the property." (*National Register Bulletin 15*, 1997, p. 11). Historic properties eligible for listing on the National Register

are classified as districts, sites, buildings, structures, or objects. Eligible historic properties must be associated with an 'important' historic context and must possess sufficient integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to convey its historic significance to qualify for inclusion in the National Register. Historic contexts are

> those patterns, themes, or trends in history by which a specific occurrence, property, or site is understood and its meaning (and ultimately its significance) within prehistory or history is made clear. State and local preservation entities develop historic context statements that outline historic themes considered to be significant to be important in American history, based on scholarly research. Examples include Agriculture, Architecture, Art, Commerce, Social History, and Ethnic Heritage. (NHP Website)

The historic context is used as the basis for judging a resource's significance under the each of the four criterion.

National Register Bulletin 15 outlines how to properly apply the National Register criteria for evaluation purposes. The technical bulletin establishes eligibility guidelines with examples of resources that would or would not be eligible for listing under each criterion. The bulletin provides guidance in determining the appropriate classification for a resource. For instance, a historic district is defined as a "type of property that possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects united historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development. It derives its importance from being a unified entity, even though it is often composed of a variety of resources." Moreover, "A district must be a definable geographic area that can be distinguished from surrounding properties by changes such as density, scale, type, age, style of sites, buildings, structures, and objects or documented differences in patterns of historic development or associates" (NPS Website).

The bulletin also clarifies and gives further details about the terms used in the criteria. With respect to the use of the term "events" in Criterion A, it is noted that "Properties may have significance under Criterion A if they are associated with events, or series of events,

significant to the cultural traditions of a community" and that such event(s) are of two types: "a specific event marking an important moment in American prehistory or history and a pattern of events or a historic trend that made a significant contribution to the development of a community, a State, or the nation." The bulletin requires that under Criterion C, eligible properties must "embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represent the work of a master; possess high artistic value; represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction (in the case of districts the components may lack distinction)." Further, specific examples of properties associated with design and construction are offered, such as "a house or commercial building representing a significant style of architecture; a designed park or garden associated with a particular landscape design philosophy; bridge or dam representing technological advances."

The bulletin provides specific examples of appropriate and inappropriate rationale under the criteria for inclusion of a property on the National Register. For instance, it is noted that an urban neighborhood representing the traditional home or beliefs and practices of a particular cultural group would qualify for listing under Criterion A. With respect to Criterion B, the bulletin clarifies that eligibility is generally restricted to those properties that illustrate, as opposed to commemorate, a person's significant achievements, and whose contributions to history can be identified and documented. Further, properties associated with persons who are still living are usually not eligible for inclusion in the National Register, as "sufficient time must have elapsed to assess both the person's field of endeavor and his/her contributions to that field." As well,

> A residential district in which a large number of influential persons lived is not eligible under Criterion B if the accomplishments of a specific individual(s) cannot be documented. If the significance of the district rests in the cumulative importance of prominent residents, however, then the district might still be eligible under Criterion A. Eligibility in this case would be based on the broad pattern of community development through which the neighborhood evolved into the primary residential area for this class of citizens. (NHP Website)

To be eligible under Criterion C, "A property can be significant not only for the way it was originally constructed or crafted, but also for the way it was adapted at a later period, or for the way it illustrates changing tastes, attitudes, and uses over a period of time. A district is eligible under this guideline if it illustrates the evolution of historic character of place of a particular span of time."

Professional Qualification Standards

The Secretary of the Interior also sets forth "Professional Qualification Standards" in the "Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation," which are intended to be a tool to help recognize the minimum education and experience generally necessary for performing professionally credible historic preservation work. The Secretary of the Interior's website clarifies that the Standards should not be interpreted as exclusionary.

> The protection and preservation of this nation's significant historic and cultural properties depends upon the participation of all our citizens. However, certain decisions affecting these properties need to be made by individuals meeting nationally recognized credentials in order to secure the credibility of historic preservation within the larger public arena at the federal, state, and local levels, as well as in the private sector. They are not requirements for practicing historic preservation in all situations, but are often mandated or adopted as the standard for federal, state, or local government regulations or procedures, or by private organization personnel rules. (NPS Website)

The professional standards describe minimum levels of academic accomplishment, training, and experience for a variety of professional disciplines routinely practicing in historic preservation. The proposed standards generally require a graduate degree and experience focused on the historic/prehistoric places or material culture of the United States and its Territories. The Standards are in the process of being updated, in response to an amendment to the NHPA by Congress, calling for the revision of the professional qualifications standards and the establishment of standards for additional disciplines. The original 1983 Standards did not include many disciplines that had become important in the practice of historic preservation, and did not otherwise provide sufficient guidance for their

interpretation and application. The proposed draft standards are renamed "The Secretary of the Interior's Historic Preservation Professional Qualification Standards." "This change reflects the fact that the Standards are designed to apply to each discipline as it is practiced in historic preservation; e.g., in the identification, evaluation, documentation, registration, and treatment of historic properties." The following is a list of the disciplines represented in the draft standards, with an indication of how they differ from the original list:

- Archaeology is retained from the original list, but divided as: Prehistoric Archaeology; Historical Archaeology
- Architectural History is retained
- Architecture is retained
- Historic Architecture is not retained in the draft list
- History is retained
- The following disciplines are added:
    - Conservation
    - Cultural Anthropology
    - Curation
    - Folklore
    - Historic Preservation
    - Land Use/Community Planning
    - Landscape Architecture
    - Traditional Cultural Property Expertise

The proposed revisions, to the professional qualification standards and other revisions, reflect a willingness to revise the Secretary of Interior's guidelines for preservation in response to the contemporary demands of preservation. As Stipe and Lee (1996) note, "The addition of ethnic and social factors to an evaluation process that has hitherto emphasized a more narrowly defined architectural tradition presents conceptual as well as practical problems." (p. 78). However, the National Register criteria for evaluation serve as a constant in that they are considered broad enough to take into account such considerations, and have remained unchanged without serious question. As Pickens notes,

> The National Register is still a list of properties, generally fifty years old or older, and includes districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American History, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture. The National Register criteria are extremely flexible, but they do have limits. They specifically require properties to possess integrity sufficient to illustrate significance. Properties should have integrity and significance, both reasonable requirements. So let's review. Something must be a property, a tangible cultural resource, for which justifiable boundaries can be established.

> The National Register is not a list of concepts, theories, trends, beliefs, practices, patterns, or events. It is a list of basically intact, tangible resources, which have in some way been touched by man and reflect, represent, and illustrate those intangible cultural resources that define our collective American heritage....The nature and characteristics of a property's integrity are dictated by the areas within which it is considered significant, which of those concepts, theories, etc. it reflects. (Pickens, 1998, p. 7)

The professional Standards of the federal preservation program are not without its detractors. For instance, Frits Pannekoek from Canada considers the U.S. federal professional qualification standards for preservationists in the U.S. as symptomatic of what he calls a "Preservation Priesthood" of preservation professionals that serves to alienate people from their heritage. Pannekoek fears the U.S. example of professional certification will change the relationship of the professional to the community in Canada where professionals only assist and advise, but do not direct in the determination of significance. Notwithstanding the premise of a homogeneous public or the objectivity of a preservation administrator in his own position, Pannekoek suggests that professional qualifications standards reinforce Euro-American cultural values in evaluating significance, lead to the commodification of heritage, and guarantee a continuing emphasis on physical rather than spiritual remains.

The question of whether professional qualification standards promote elitism is especially relevant in light of the shortcomings attributed to traditional interpretation of the built environment evidenced in preservation arguments. Crysler suggests that confronting elitism requires acknowledgment of the relations of power constructed by knowledge and reconceptualization of the traditional categories of analysis employed by specialized disciplines. "Claims of objectivity and exteriority need to be set aside in order to understand the connections between the historical configuration of social forms and the way they work subjectively." For architectural history and related disciplines, Crysler implicates periodizations, themes, objects, as well as disciplinary specialization as categories of analysis with the potential to further or resist hegemonic forms of knowledge.

Key Issues: Federal Preservation and Professional Expertise

The federal program, with its traditional categories of analysis, provides a platform for such claims of exteriority and objectivity by subscribing to traditional object-centered interpretations of the built environment, which are informed by a homogeneous conception of time and space. The standards and guidelines for preservation reinforce, if not require, an object-centered focus that stands in the way of recognition of the political dimensions of preservation activity.

The object-centered approach is evident in defining preservation professionals as identifiers, evaluators, and conservators of historic properties, which are by definition physical features with coherent boundaries. The framework for evaluation supports strong temporal and spatial boundaries. This is particularly evident in the need to identify a singular significant context that ensures that recognized social, spatial, and temporal relations are fixed. This sense of space and time is homogeneous. The fact that a property is significant for its association with important persons, who are not living, is telling.

The framework created by the federal program ultimately serves to legitimize preservation expertise based on a presumption of professional rationality and objectivity. The claims that the National Register criteria are broad enough to accommodate diverse perspectives are questionable. The growing recognition of a greater variety of historic resources and histories that have previously been excluded quite possibly diverts attention from their placement in an existing hierarchy and classification system, which is arguably exclusionary by design. A broader design of heritage, which corresponds with the definition of space, time, and society as mutually constitutive, provides a useful starting point for questioning the subjectivity of the preservationist, the political currency of the federal program. Graham offers such a definition. He defines heritage as a knowledge, cultural product, and political resource, and, "that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social" (Graham, 2000, p. 2). In his view, the concept of heritage relates to the way in which the

"past" is used for social, political, or economic purposes, and the worth of a heritage resource is less dependent on its intrinsic merit than in the contemporary values and meanings with which it is associated (Graham, 2000).

Conclusion

Outside the discipline of historic preservation, a great deal of attention has been given to the limitations of conventional wisdom regarding historic, aesthetic, and spatial knowledge with respect to embracing multiple publics. New ways of understanding history, aesthetics, and space have emerged in kind, which potentially threaten historic preservation expertise, and which appear to have little formal recognition in the field of preservation. Perhaps historic preservation is untouched by much of this discourse because it threatens professional norms, or perhaps the relevance of such discourse to the dilemmas faced by preservationists is not readily apparent without a willingness to set norms aside. Placemaking professions have found contemporary theory largely inaccessible due to inconsistent interpretive methodologies, diffusion patterns, and strong linguistic emphases (Murgerauer, 1995). However, Carl Gutierrez-Jones (2001) identifies other barriers:

> Interdisciplinary work is usually celebrated only as long as one's own discipline is not significantly encroached upon; the risk becomes greater if the interdisciplinary work at hand actively resists disciplinary norms. Disciplines have, of course, developed in such a way as to validate certain field-defining questions at the expense of others. In a setting in which concerns about white supremacy and racism have usurped crucial examinations of race, it is to be expected that race studies scholars would benefit by experimenting with unconventional tools…Disciplinary logics are comfortable to those trained in them in part because these logics add a sense of certainty to the work of the practitioners. Interdisciplinary work at its best leads practitioners out of this comfort zone and into speculation. In turn this speculation can invite a critique of assumptions that are considered foundational for specific fields. In my experience, if interdisciplinary work does not partake of this speculation, it is usually because a certain disciplinary logic is ruling the day, and because the engagement of other fields is largely a matter of scholarly pastiche. (p. 16)

"past" is used for social, political, or economic purposes, and the worth of a heritage landscape is largely dependent on its interpretation within the contemporary values and understandings in which it is received (Graham, 2000).

CONCLUSION

Outside the discipline of historic preservation, a great deal of attention has been given to the limitations of conventional wisdom regarding historic, aesthetic, and spatial knowledge with respect to embracing multiple publics. New ways of understanding history, aesthetics, and space have emerged in kind, which potentially threaten historic preservation expertise, and which appear to have little formal recognition in the field of preservation. Perhaps historic preservation is untouched by much of this discourse because it threatens professional norms, or perhaps the relevance of such discourse to the dilemmas faced by preservationists is not readily apparent without a willingness to set norms aside. Preservation practitioners have found contemporary theory largely inaccessible due to its intensive methodologies, difficult patterns, and strong linguistic emphases (Jones, 1999). However, Carl Grimes-Jones (2001) identifies other barriers:

> Interdisciplinary work is usually celebrated only as long as one's own discipline is not significantly encroached upon, the risk becomes greater if the interdisciplinary work at hand actively seeks to challenge norms. Disciplines have, of course, developed in such a way as to validate certain field-defining constructs at the expense of others; this is the setting in which concerns about white supremacy and racism have informed critical examinations of race. It is to be expected that most academic scholars would benefit by experimenting with interdisciplinary work. [illegible] are comfortable to those trained in them in part because the [illegible] adds a sense of certainty to the work of the practitioner. Interdisciplinary work, at its best, leads to [illegible] that [illegible] and into speculations. In turn this speculation can invite a critique of assumptions that are considered foundational to specific fields. In my experience, if interdisciplinary work does not partake of this speculation, it is usually because a certain disciplinary logic is ruling the day, and because the endorsement of other fields is largely a matter of scholarly posturing. (p. 15)

CHAPTER 5—CONCLUSION

> *...any sense of danger conjured up by intellectual engagement without the possibility of political solutions must be confronted and understood, rather than altering one's theoretical stance to make it more 'practically' productive.* (*Vikki Bell, 1999, p. 4*)

INTRODUCTION

This study has questioned the preparedness of preservation and other placemaking professions to contribute to the heterogeneous public interests in livability. The preceding chapters provide a framework for interrogating the preservation profession and its underlying assumptions. The chapters address the profession's role in the broader political economy of placemaking, with specific attention to how professional identity, ideals, and expertise may serve to privilege favored representations of space and its relation to time and society. The central argument is that placemaking professions are obliged to question favored presumptions and sacred unexamined truths, and to gain a better understanding of the exclusionary effects of their practices and ideology if they intend to serve the interests in livability of a heterogeneous public. *The key finding is that professional identity, ideals, and expertise present a barrier to such interrogation and ultimately to the goal of responding to the heterogeneous public interests to which the profession is dedicated, and that, therefore, self-reflexive examination is necessary.*

This chapter highlights some key barriers identified in the preceding chapters, identifies some omissions, erasures, and blind spots in preservation discourse, and provides general direction on how to fill these gaps. As indicated in Chapter 1, I raise four questions to guide the analysis:

1. What ideologies and understandings shape preservation objectives and policies in the land use arena?

2. How do these ideologies and understandings shape placemaking activities and social processes with respect to the politics of power, identity, and exclusion?
3. In what ways do historic preservation practices potentially undermine or support livability objectives within the context of multiple publics?
4. What strategies are consistent with livability objectives within the land use arena and, in particular, historic preservation practice?

These questions define the scope of the analysis; the point of this study is not to provide answers to these questions, beyond those necessary to substantiate the relevance of these questions to preservation endeavors. They are intentionally circular, designed to chart a path that outlines the basis for both the method and findings. I offer these questions to historic preservation and other placemaking disciplines to guide their further critical inquiry.

The questions presume that certain ideological precepts and knowledge claims underlie preservation practice, that preservation practice entails placemaking activity that relates to the ideal of livability and to a heterogeneous public interest, and that placemaking practices may advance or undermine that interest. These presumptions have been the focus of the preceding chapters in support of the central argument that *critical inquiry matters because preservation undertakings, as reflected in professional identity, ideals, and expertise, are political acts with the potential to further hegemonic ends. Also, the preservation community will be ill-equipped to act on its concern for a more democratic and culturally inclusive sphere of activity without an understanding of how preservation undertakings may serve hegemonic interests, thereby undermining their efforts.*

This study is significant because it provides a vocabulary and platform for preservation and other placemaking professions to critically examine themselves. It shows why the ideals to which placemaking professions aspire deserve close analysis and identifies

relevant, and prevalent, critical perspectives from a variety of disciplines that are rarely included in preservation discourse. Moreover, it identifies some of the ways that professional identity, professional ideals, and professional expertise legitimize everyday preservation practices by thwarting critical examination.

This chapter concludes with a summary of key themes and barriers to critical inquiry with recommendations for further study. The intended audience is placemaking professionals and others who are interested in the study or practice of preservation or are involved in social and environmental change.

KEY THEMES IN DISCIPLINARY RHETORIC

Preservationists have long advocated that historic preservation practice and principles are vital to the public good and public health, and to the welfare and safety of society. As it seeks to shape and align itself with evolving ideas of the public good framed by concepts of livability and sustainability, the preservation profession has responded to criticism of its ideals and practices as elitist by seeking to democratize its approach in many ways (Dubrow, 1998). *Literature within the field suggests that efforts to democratize are largely promotional and additive.* That is, the focus is on broadening outreach and education, providing opportunities for increased participation from a variety of stakeholder groups, and recognizing a greater diversity of histories and historic resources that have heretofore been unrecognized.

While a more democratic approach may be in order, it is imprudent to presume that current additive efforts advance a multicultural ethic in historic preservation absent a critical examination of the claims of elitism raised against the profession and of the understandings that shape our vision. As Miles (1997, p. 1) posits, disciplines that aim to

shape urban futures such as public art, design, and planning (which includes historic preservation), act in the public realm, and therefore their "critique necessarily extend[s] to a series of overlapping issues, such as the diversity of urban publics and cultures, the functions of gendering of public space, the operations of power, and the roles of professionals of the built environment in relation to residents." The issues Miles raises are not only relevant to historic preservation and allied professions; they have come to represent the central focus of critical discourse, transcending individual disciplines, due to increasing recognition of feminist, postcolonial, Marxist, and postmodern theory.

Although the preservation profession claims its practices are an integral piece of community livability, the case remains speculative at best when presented in the absence of substantive criticism and intent to explore the breadth and depth of critical issues upon which its legitimacy rests. *Recognition of the interests of a heterogeneous public requires that the authority, philosophy, objectives, effectiveness, and ramifications of historic preservation are all open to interrogation.* Historic preservation is cultural policy that advocates particular interventions in the built environment to shelter material properties from change with very social, aesthetic, and associational motivations and ramifications. *Preservation undertakings are both reflective and constitutive of social and physical conditions. Despite this fact, in most scholarship, the preservation subject is narrowly drawn to its relationship with the technical act of preservation divorced from socio-spatial relations and, in turn, it is specific to the declared intentions of advocates or opponents.*

Barriers to Critical Inquiry

What is noteworthy about disciplinary rhetoric is the manner in which preservation issues are framed to delineate the context upon which preservation may or may not be

critiqued. If one does not presume either that 1) preservation advances the public good and livability interests if it aims to reach multiple publics and preserve material objects that can be associated with groups with different histories, or that 2) the relationship between preservation and livability is limited to the aesthetic and associational value of an object with clear spatial and temporal boundaries, and if one instead presumes that preservation signifies only the act to preserve a specific material piece of the built environment, how, then, might one approach examining possible relationships between historic preservation and livability? *In this case, identifying possibilities foreclosed by disciplinary rhetoric serve as building blocks for bridging preservation and critiques about society and culture.*

In Chapter 2, I question how the identity of the preservation profession sets the bar for measuring success with respect to serving the interests of heterogeneous publics. I argue that professional identity is a barrier to critical interrogation of preservation agendas because it imparts a formula for success that presumes the value of historic preservation as an ontological given. This is accomplished, in part, by representing the profession in relation to the larger planning profession, whether that be in historical opposition to planning or as a distinct and atomized specialist subdiscipline with the exclusive domain as guardian of the associational qualities of the material environment. The preservation profession's oppositional identity enables promotion of preservation as an all-purpose tool that can be employed in any context as either an antidote to bad planning or keystone of good planning. *The emphasis on promotional and educational strategies to assert professional legitimacy in the land use arena reinforces professional norms and relegates critical examination of preservation agendas as contrary to and outside the domain of legitimate professional practice.*

Chapter 3 centers on the political and normative issues associated with those professional ideals that inform the preservation community's efforts to embrace multiple publics. *The primary barrier to critical interrogation of professional undertakings is that the professional ideal of livability and the public interest is premised on a conception of a homogeneous public that is constructed from a false claim to universalism and impartiality.* That claim depends on a clear public and private divide, with the public representing the realm of equal citizens, and the private, the realm in which difference may be expressed. In turn, this divide reinforces various reductionistic dualities that support exclusion. Namely, the public arena is associated with a masculine notion of rationality and order, and the private, with subjectivity, nature, and desire.

Women and others typically contrasted and balanced against the masculine norm of reason and order are relegated to the private sphere as secondary. This allows the private to be invoked in support of nonintervention and the public to the contrary. *The bottom line is that the conception of a homogeneous public establishes terms of fairness, obligation, and responsibility; provides a vehicle for claiming neutrality, denying agency and difference, and promoting hegemonic ends; and effectively facilitates a displacement of accountability for preservation undertaking and especially critical interrogation of the field.*

In Chapter 4, I question how professional expertise, i.e., the technical knowledge, skills, and methods that make up the preservationist toolkit, reinforces the presumption that preservation undertakings are beneficial or value neutral. Chapter 4 shows how *the presumption of professional legitimacy is linked to a homogeneous conception of space and time that corresponds with that of a homogeneous public, which inscribes a notion*

of the private and public, and associated dualities materially and historically. Moreover, the Chapter shows how these conceptions influence professional guidelines and standards, and how they pose a barrier to acknowledgment of the dynamic interplay of temporal, spatial, and social processes around which the profession centers.

In sum, Chapters 2, 3, and 4 identify three ways in which *professional discourse* obstructs interrogation of historic preservation:

1. It centers on preservation as an implementation strategy, with all the pitfalls of instrumentalism, and with the acknowledged underlying rationale being whatever has most effectively legitimized the method.
2. It presents historic preservation issues and controversies in a constrained rhetorical context, which tends to be foundationally celebratory and/or reactionary.
3. Perhaps most significantly, it narrowly and variably defines the preservation subject and related issues to support such a context insomuch as it subscribes to a homogeneous conception of society, time, and space.[1]

The overarching barrier to critical interrogation of preservation is the lack of discourse within the field acknowledging the foundations of preservation. It is no secret that the preservation discipline is impoverished compared with other disciplines in terms of scholarship beyond preservation techniques and architectural history. The preservation community recognizes the need for research, education, and training to institute preservation philosophy; and more to the point, recognizes a need to examine those underlying philosophies that influence the incorporation of emerging interest areas with special requirements of their own, such as intangible heritage, ethnic tradition, and the more recent aspects of domestic history.

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[1] Note, this does not negate the fact that preservation has expanded its scope in terms of significance and scale in recent decades.

NEW LITERACIES FOR PRESERVATION AND OTHER PLACEMAKING PROFESSIONS

More often than not, the need to better understand the philosophies that underlie practice is tied to the goal of professional promotion; that connection underscores the futility of relying on professional discourse. As Iain Borden et al. point out, "The master will not provide the rope to place around his own neck" (Borden et al., 1998, p. 138).

Shortcomings aside, planning scholarship may provide the most useful and direct path to initiate critical examination of the preservation profession (Borden, 1998, p. 138). Leonie Sandercock has addressed many of the issues and barriers identified in this study in the context of the larger planning profession. As a critical theorist within the planning field, she contends that planning for heterogeneous publics in a way that nurtures the full diversity of different social groups will require a new kind of multicultural literacy—one of a group of five literacies she identifies as necessary for overcoming the ideological construction of the autonomy, authority, and expertise of the planner (Sandercock, 1998a). The other four are technical, analytical, ecological, and design literacies. *Sandercock's five literacies are as relevant to other placemaking professions besides planning, including preservation.* Following is a summary of each of these literacies tailored to preservation practice (Sandercock, 1998a, p. 224-230).

Technical Literacy

Technical literacy means proficiency with tools of the trade. These tools are the skills, methods, and knowledge one expects to acquire in preservation programs. They also include the skill set and practices recognized by the Secretary of the Interior for professional practice. Among these skills are the ability to prepare historic structure reports

and National Register nominations, a basic understanding of architectural styles and periods, historic paint analysis, archival resources, and a sound knowledge of preservation legislation and case law. Sandercock emphasizes that technical literacy implies more than familiarity with a range of skills and methods; technical skills come with certain assumptions that are informed by certain values and serve ideological ends. Those assumptions are integral to defining the problems that technical skills are intended to solve. Problem identification requires an entirely different literacy, which is lacking in an educational or professional environment, that focuses only on technical skills.

Analytical Literacy

Analytical literacy means an ability to think critically about socio-spatial processes with an understanding of their historical, cultural, and institutional contexts. Analytical literacy requires familiarity with a wide range of theories that provide an understanding of the practical effects of professional undertakings, of professional agency. Of note are theories of knowledge, power, and transformation as well as theories of organization and communication, which one would expect in courses on urban political economy, human geography, and in cultural studies.

The critical theory that fosters analytical literacy does not figure prominently in preservation curricula. Outside urban studies programs, which have become the domain of planning theory, planning programs exhibit the same void. The belief that theory can be separated from practice, and that theory has no practical relevance, is partially to blame for the marginalization of theory in professional programs. Sandercock cautions that the professional culture will need to cultivate an understanding of theory as integral to everyday life and practice.

Multicultural Literacy

Multicultural literacy requires new ways of knowing and being and acting, which are collaborative, value difference and cultural diversity, and are based on an understanding of the ways in which historic preservation undertakings privilege or marginalize various individuals and groups. Multicultural literacy brings with it the need to replace traditional understandings of space, place, and time, and how they inform professional identity, ideals, and expertise. It requires familiarity with the histories and current conflicts that involve struggles of space and territory, planning policies, indigenous planning practices, and issues of belonging, identity, and acceptance of difference. This means not rethinking homogeneous time and space, which enables preservationists to avoid asking how preservation interests may be a means to hegemonic ends. Moreover, multicultural literacy must inform the technical aspects and knowledge if it is to advance the interests of heterogeneous publics.

Ecological Literacy

For Sandercock, ecological literacy implies an understanding of the political ecology of sustainable development. According to American environmental educator David Orr, ecologically literate people are engaged, informed, and competent, with local knowledge and a sense of place, a connection to their physical and social surroundings, and are active and competent civic participants. Citing the work of other sustainability advocates such as Wendy Sarkissian and Keith Pezzoli, Sandercock suggests that ecological literacy necessitates teamwork, first-hand knowledge of the natural world, environmental ethics, grounding in community, and exposure to alternative ways of being, learning, and teaching. The focal point of coursework might include social justice and equity,

empowerment and community-building, sustainable production and reproduction, and a thorough grounding in natural systems.

Design Literacy

Sandercock identifies design literacy as an essential competency for planners, primarily due to the gradual retreat of design consideration in planning programs over the last few decades. While historic preservation has not experienced a retreat from design in the same way, it has suffered from its allegiance to planning in this regard, not to mention the fact that its narrowly defined scope and role constrain the manner in which design considerations are addressed.

Design literacy implies competency in the language of environmental representation, whether that be in the form of a map, a conceptual drawing, or a blueprint. But most significantly, design literacy implies an ability to read the built environment; that is, to understand what physical elements and patterns make it work or don't work and for whom. It provides a means to connect the political with one's experience of place. As Sandercock notes, it involves connecting the historical struggles over space with the poetics of occupying particular places.

It is design literacy that informs our understanding of the tangible and intangible connections between the built environment and individual and social well-being—the social and psychological aspects of design as well as the instrumental. Connections in this sense include the simple and widely recognized transformative effect of the addition of trees to a street as well as the complex, such as the working of patriarchy through design, and the intangible value of continuity and memory in the landscape. According to Sandercock, this can only be done by designing with acknowledgement of cultural

difference, as well as designing with nature, and requires collaboration among placemaking professions.

Recommendations and Resources for Building Literacy

While Sandercock identifies the areas of literacy needed to prepare placemaking professionals in contemporary time, she does not specifically identify sources for this information other than suggesting coursework in political ecology, etc. For planners, according to Borden et al., the theoretical grounding for such literacy must not only come from within planning discourse. Likewise, the preservation profession should not simply look to preservation discourse, or planning discourse for that matter, for the theoretical foundations that support the literacies described by Sandercock.

With the shortage of scholarship to which preservation can lay claim, preservationists commonly draw on scholarship outside their field. The bibliography of most preservation scholarship reveals a general partiality toward disciplines with both a historic link to historic preservation and stronger scholarship base, such as architecture, landscape architecture, art history, American studies, and even planning. In some cases, only a particular stream of literature is drawn upon. 'Sense of place' studies, with a phenomenological or hermeneutic approach to environmental interpretation from 1970s geography, is one example. Visual preference research with a behavioral approach is also referenced.

Literature from scholarship outside the field of preservation and placemaking professions is arguably more informed by critical theories of society and culture. However, literature outside the field often exhibits or reinforces the barriers to interrogation addressed in this study. Disciplines such as architecture, traditional history, landscape

architecture, and art history, for instance, share with preservation an object-centered focus discussed in Chapter 4, with their own set of understandings that have been historically taken for granted regarding the nature of space, place, time, and society.

Planning scholarship may reinforce the professional duality discussed in Chapter 2. In citing from these sources, critical inquiry runs the risk of providing a theoretical framework for critical engagement that is nothing more than a dressed-up version of the same tenets found in preservation scholarship, including the presumption of a homogeneous public discussed in Chapter 3 (Sandercock, 1998; Dear, 2000). Michael Dear, a postmodernist geographer, believes that "by the late 1980s, planning theory had become a conflictual Babel [and]….Planning Practice had devolved into a ritualized choreography of routines. One dimension of practice was already deeply embedded in the apparatus of the state. There it was relatively insulated and free from interference, serving to legitimize the actions of the state. The second dimension of practice had become ever more situated in the offices of private land and property development interests. There, it was equally insulated, a passive tool capable of only the most muted social criticism" (Dear, 2000, p. 124).[2] The same claims can be made for preservation.[3]

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[2] Dear continues, "...In its twin identities as legitimator of state and capital, planning had come to closely resemble architecture, but with one crucial and as yet inexplicable difference. Whereas architecture [like preservation] has traditionally sought to rationalize or even conceal its subordinate role by wider appeals to art, philosophy, and history, urban planning has so far strenuously resisted such engagement, including its specific links to social science, and has instead sought to bolster its credibility solely on the basis of appeals to utilitarianism...By 1990, discourse around planning theory had splintered...yet paradoxically, the dominant focus of discourse in all narratives became increasingly restricted. The long heritage of utopian concerns was excised from planners' vocabulary. In addition, the ideological commitment of the 1960s and 1970s lost much of its persuasive power...As planners were pressed to legitimize actions by state and civil society in the creation of the built environment, the planner's role diminished to that of facilitator; and the planning process itself was reduced to commodified bits susceptible to an instrumental logic....Planners who continue as agents of the state can still shelter under the mantle of legitimacy afforded them by their elected officials, and even claim to act in the public interest"(Dear, 2000, p. 124).

[3] Historic preservation need not rest its truth claims entirely on instrumentalism; they also rest on the traditional explanations afforded by art, philosophy, and history, i.e., calling upon its special role in the planning process. Thus, it may be more sheltered than planning.

According to Borden et al., scholarship from outside disciplines has the advantage of challenging both the objects of study and the framing of interpretive questions. In other words, they provide an outside perspective from which to question both the substance and representation of preservation issues generated inside the discipline (Borden et al., 1998, p. 139). With respect to challenging the objects of study, Borden et al. recommend interdisciplinary scholarship, such as works on liminal and other spatial zones, practices that present new ways of looking at space and place, and the relation between space, society, and time.

With respect to the framing of interpretive questions, they suggest works in feminist philosophical theory, geography, visual theory, and histories of various kinds that offer a challenge to historical studies at their core, redefining the epistemological grounds on which they are founded. Borden et al. do identify recent literature that is useful in this regard from within and outside the planning profession. Many of the works cited have proven useful to me in this study and promise to be equally useful to the preservation profession and other placemaking disciplines in supporting the literacies noted by Sandercock.

Several other works I encountered in my research for this study have been indispensable and are worth mentioning. These fall into two categories: works that provide a comprehensive overview of issues and perspectives linking the domains of literacy identified above in ways that are relevant to historic preservation and other placemaking professions, and works that in some way disempower the barriers to interrogation maintained by preservation identity, ideals, and expertise. Sources by the most cited scholars, such as Anthony Giddens, Michael Foucault, Jurgen Habermas, or by those who attempt to comprehensively present the theoretical terrain of such authors with all of their

nuances, such as Edward Soja and Michael Dear, are not recommended because they are better read in concert with their critics than read to distill key issues. Other sources, particularly those that draw on interdisciplinary scholarship to provide an overview of a discipline in an effort to facilitate critical inquiry (such as *Towards Cosmopolis* by Leonie Sandercock) fall into both categories. Notable mentions are identified below.

Overview Sources

Overview sources are more valuable than any other in facilitating critical inquiry and building the literacies Sandercock suggests. In particular, human and social geography textbooks provide the most comprehensive, concise, and accessible discussions of relevant theoretical issues. They also do so in a way that blurs disciplinary boundaries and effectively illustrates, or at least provides a strong foundation for illustrating, the relevance and interconnectedness of theoretical issues to everyday placemaking practice. The best examples: include glossaries; identify the breadth of theoretical positions debates; identify research methods, categories of research, and landmark scholarship; and provide recommendations for further reading by category. Overview sources in effect serve as entrées and guidebooks for critical inquiry by providing road maps with keys to translate many areas of scholarship that would otherwise appear irrelevant to the practice of historic preservation and other placemaking professions. In addition to geography texts, the introductions to edited collections can provide useful overviews if the collections are interdisciplinary and sufficiently broad.

- Hoggart, K., Lees, L. et al. (2001). *Researching Human Geography.*
- Sandercock, L., Ed. (1998). *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History.* California Studies in Critical Human Geography.
- Sandercock, L. (1998). *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities.*
- Knox, P. L. (1995). *Urban Social Geography: An Introduction.*
- Pain, R. et al. (2001). *Introducing Social Geographies.*

- Valentine, G. (2001). *Social Geographies: Space and Society.*
- Shurmer-Smith, P., Ed. (2002). *Doing Cultural Geography.*

Sources that disempower oppositional identity, the object-centered view of the built environment and history, and blur the boundaries between placemaking professions

- Liggett, H. and D. C. Perry, Eds. (1995). *Spatial Practices: Critical Explorations in Social/Spatial Theory.*
- Freestone, R., Ed. (2000). *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience.*
- Schneekloth, L. H. and R. G. Shibley (1995). *Placemaking: The Art and Practice of Building Communities.*
- Madanipour, A. et al., Eds. (2001). *The Governance of Place: Space and Planning Processes.*
- Sibley, D. (1995). *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West.*
- Pile, S. and M. Keith, Eds. (1997). *Geographies of Resistance.*

Additional sources that link theory to preservation and could replace or accompany the standby resources

- Crysler, G. (1996). "Silent itineraries: Making places in architectural history." *Re-Presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital, and Culture in the 21st-Century Metropolis.*
- Dubrow, G. L. (1998). "Feminist and multicultural perspectives on preservation planning." *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History.*
- Hamer, D. A. (1998). *History in Urban Places: The Historic Districts of the United States.*
- Graham, B. J., Ashworth, G. J. et al. (2000). *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy.*

FURTHER QUESTIONS FOR PRESERVATION PRACTICE

On a personal level, literacy in the above areas would provide an avenue for confronting and examining recurrent statements that I have encountered in professional and educational settings. For instance, I wonder how privileged concepts of space and time support the conclusion that a traffic circle in a residential neighborhood—one that improves the pedestrian experience, makes for safe play, and discourages traffic speed and volumes from far exceeding historic levels—is considered to be incompatible with the historic character of that neighborhood. Similarly, how do these concepts relate to the

conclusion that concern for traffic safety and road-widening is not an authentic motivation for pursuing an historic district? Or more broadly, how do they relate to the conclusion that current social concerns, ranging from the need to modify an historic structure that is ideally located to serve the needs of a group home or to accommodate changing family sizes and lifestyles, are antithetical to preservation? I have read accounts of cherished victory gardens continuously used but not qualifying as significant because they are considered vacant space without a fixed landscape. Certainly the object-centered approach to preservation and the need to identify an historic context, the criteria of significance, and corresponding period of significance support this conclusion.

I have been told that the criteria for traditional cultural properties, while necessary to recognize the values of ethnic peoples, are problematic due to their subjectivity, and for this reason should not apply to preservation in general. I wonder in what ways do the exclusivity of traditional cultural properties to ethnic groups and concern for subjectivity reflect traditional western ideals, and reflect distinctions between objectivity and subjectivity, public and private, reason and nature, and the mythical "other"?

I have also been told that postwar architecture reflects the desire of the nuclear family with a single wage earner. I wonder how the conception of a homogeneous public, space, and time all work together to exclude from the equation considerations of the gendering of space and racial politics. Might postwar architecture reflect and reinforce the hegemonic powers that be in terms of the landscape and representation thereof? Might bringing forth the issues surrounding that question open up new understanding and perspectives about the impact of preservation that shapes what is considered to merit preservation and the loss of integrity? I suspect yes. These conversations are concrete examples of how the absence of

critical perspectives in preservation has limited the ability to speak to issues related to livability and diversity.

CONCLUSION

Initially this study was to explore the best way to identify and characterize the public interest in historic preservation, so as to combat the public misconception that historic preservation is an elitist concern as suggested by the State Historic Preservation Office. My initial review of the literature revealed that on its face, feminist and other critical scholars would regard the entire project as fundamentally elitist.[4] Not only does the question posed by the Oregon SHPO presume that an objective and unspoken public interest exists, but it also presumes that preservation professionals can effectively advance those interests and the specific concern of the public with more public input and outreach. In defense of SHPO, its public participation approach is not uncommon, and is readily understood as democratic policymaking strategy. This, however, is not to say that the critics should be passed off as nonsensical radicals and that historic preservation is rightly

[4] Goal 1 of the Oregon SHPO Plan states, "There is a common perception that historic preservation is the concern of an elite group. As a result, Oregonians with genuine heritage interests do not always identify themselves as a part of the community of preservation. We want to understand and reach this audience better. The SHPO wants to gain a clear understanding of how the public views historic and prehistoric resources and what value it places on them." We see evidence of a celebratory tone. Criticism of preservation as elitist is a perception. People not allied with the preservation community have genuine heritage interests. SHPO can identify which interests are genuine. Once they understand what value citizens place on historic and prehistoric resources, SHPO can do a better job of advocating and clear up misconceptions. We can only guess how genuine heritage interests will be described. We can deduce that the public interest in preservation is reduced to that which the public and preservation professionals can agree on about the value of historic resources. My guess is that genuine heritage interests, and legitimate practitioners, are those that advocate historic preservation in terms of a unified vision that historic preservation can touch. The word choice is noteworthy in that it assumes and blends two concepts that have become increasingly challenged but privileged in state: The existence of a singular public interest or public good, and the possibility that it may be advanced by experts balancing a diversity of public interests. Presented in this light, disciplinary rhetoric is ill-equipped to provide insight into the issues of the State Historic Preservation Plan. The SHPO Plan extends this logic by questioning what the public interest is in historic preservation. By using the concepts of livability and conflict to frame the analysis, these assumptions are uprooted because they require engagement of this issue. In the SHPO example, disciplinary rhetoric forecloses debate about who determines and the

considered as fundamentally not elitist. The fact that such an approach is common and is criticized by theorists for defeating the purpose for which it is intended is indicative of a need for further investigation.

SHPO's approach serves to depoliticize and legitimize a host of unspoken assumptions about fair democratic processes, a topic at the heart of contemporary discourse about cultural policy and social structure. However, for reasons already discussed, these issues are peripheralized within the discipline of historic preservation by design. Because of this and because elitism is an undercurrent in much of the literature addressing place, identity, community, and history, all topics of great relevance to historic preservation and the public interest, I modified the initial question, turning it on its head.

The critical perspectives raised in this study offer a vocabulary for raising issues of concern including the debate about the meaning of place and democracy, the proper role of the preservation profession and government, and even the meaning itself of the interests of multiple publics in preservation—that is, a meaning that enables a view differing from that presumed in the Oregon Research Needs List to which this study responds.

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basis upon which they determine non-heritage interests and disingenuous interests—even while encouraging public participation.

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