Re-constructing Place and Community: Urban Heritage and the Symbolic Politics of Neighborhood Revitalization

by

Daniel Serda

M.C.P., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1996
A.B., Harvard University, 1991 (1992)

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

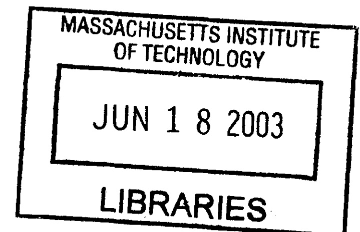
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Urban and Regional Studies

at the

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

June 2003


MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
JUN 1 8 2003
LIBRARIES

© Copyright 2003 Daniel Serda. All rights reserved.

The author hereby grants to MIT permission to reproduce and to distribute
publicly paper and electronic copies of this thesis document in whole or in part.

Signature of Author ______________________________
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
March 4, 2003

Certified by ______________________________
Lawrence J. Vale, Professor and Department Head
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by ______________________________
Frank S. Levy, Daniel Rose Professor of Urban Economics
Chair, Ph.D. Committee

ROTCH

Re-constructing Place and Community:
Urban Heritage and the Symbolic Politics
of Neighborhood Revitalization
by
Daniel Serda

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
on March 4, 2003 in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Urban and Regional Studies

Abstract

Inner-city neighborhoods have gathered new life as the hopeful settings for the resurrection of community, safety, economy, and social vitality. Preservationists, artists, historians, and urban designers make bold claims that urban heritage can strengthen community identity, empower neighborhood residents, and serve as catalysts for economic revitalization. Despite the prominence of such claims in professional and policy discourse, the social and political implications of heritage revitalization strategies remain largely unexplored. This exploratory study therefore builds a theory explaining the ways in which heritage is used by different groups and actors to promote the economic revitalization of historic inner-city neighborhoods.

This dissertation uses a comparative case-study method to apprehend three ways in which heritage is used instrumentally to promote neighborhood revitalization: **heritage as reclamation**, the invocation of legacies to validate disputed claims to space by communities engaged in struggle; **heritage as remembrance**, the evocation of the past through commemoration; and **heritage as restoration**, the literal and discursive re-creation of the past in the present through ritual and ephemeral urbanism. Two neighborhoods, the 18th and Vine Historic District of Kansas City, Missouri, and Ybor City in Tampa, Florida, represent in-depth case studies of the second and third categories.

The model developed in this dissertation identifies four structural factors intrinsic to differences in the outcomes of heritage-based revitalization: 1) small-scale activities by "place entrepreneurs," or individuals with active financial, social, and ethnic commitments to place; 2) the creation, manipulation, and promotion of heritage narratives by heritage institutions (such as museums and historical societies); 3) the public institutions and policies through which heritage is developed and implemented; and 4) the symbolic evocation of memory and place through "ephemeral urbanism", including routine patterns of street life as well as elaborate "invented traditions" such as fairs and festivals. The conclusion offers recommendations for designers and planners engaged in heritage-based practice.

Thesis Advisor: Lawrence J. Vale

Title: Professor and Department Head

Acknowledgments

Research of this sort would be impossible without the active engagement of interview subjects, whose insider knowledge and candor proved far more valuable than any literature on this subject. Ethnographic research relies extensively on trust and a shared sense of purpose. For this reason, I am especially grateful to people who made it possible to discover and engage individuals I would not otherwise have met. In Kansas City, this included Lisa Lassman Briscoe, City Landmarks Administrator; Al Fleming, Director of the Jazz District Redevelopment Corporation; Thabit Murarah with the Black Archives of Mid-America; Claude Page of the City Planning and Development Department; and Raymond Doswell at the Negro Leagues Baseball Museum. In Tampa, my research was considerably aided by the assistance of Maricela Medrano Al-Fakri, a planner at the Ybor City Development Corporation, and Prof. Susan Greenbaum of the University of South Florida Department of Anthropology. I am also grateful to Vincent Pardo, director of the YCDC, and Melinda Chavez of the Ybor City Museum Society, who made it considerably easier to gain access to a range of insiders with deep knowledge about the history and politics of Ybor City. In Houston, my research would not have been possible without the involvement of tenant leader Lenwood Johnson and filmmaker Christine Felton. I am also grateful to have been privy to the profound sociological insights and feedback of Prof. Bill Simon, who I am saddened to report passed away before completion of this study. Of course, there are innumerable individuals in each of these cities without whose practical assistance and insights this study would have been impossible to complete. Most are listed in the interview section of the bibliography; to those I've overlooked, I offer my apologies and gratitude.

My dissertation committee, chaired by Prof. Lawrence Vale, demonstrated a great deal of patience over the years, especially considering the ambitious scope I initially proposed for this research. I also benefited greatly from the insights of Profs. J. Mark Schuster and Dennis Frenchman. I would also like to express my thanks to my colleagues throughout the country, who have provided praise and constructive feedback to conference presentations based on portions of this dissertation. In the midst of advanced academic study, solitude can make it deceptively easy to question the progress and value of your own work. More than once, my optimism was fueled considerably by simple acknowledgements that my research was important and interesting.

Although it may prove a dubious honor, I dedicate this thesis to my wife and son, Dede and Cristián Serda, whose love, comfort, presence, and uncanny senses of humor made finishing possible.

Daniel Serda

Education

A.B., Harvard University, 1991 (1992)

Master in City Planning (M.C.P.), Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1996

Current Appointment

Visiting Assistant Professor, Graduate Program in Urban Planning, University of Kansas School of Architecture and Urban Design

Executive Director, Kansas City Design Center, Kansas City, Missouri

Contents

Abstract 2

Acknowledgements 3

Biography 4

Introduction 7

1 Heritage, Power and Place 43

2 Heritage as Narrative 69

3 Heritage as Remembrance 93

4 Heritage as Restoration 143

Conclusion 197

Appendix 225

References 231

Figure I.1. Derelict houses in Houston's Fourth Ward, c.1986. (Illustration from Patronage: Harvard Architecture Review VI. New York: Rizzoli, 1987.)

Introduction

Urban Heritage and Neighborhood Decline

As American manufacturing has declined, and capital and production have left the city, a derelict landscape, abandoned even by those with few options for housing elsewhere, has emerged. Epitomized in the popular press by areas such as the South Bronx[1] and Newark, New Jersey, such urban neighborhoods retain all of the negative symbolism associated with the working poor and substandard housing conditions decried by policymakers since the Progressive Era, while losing all semblance of a functioning economy or social structure. Bronzeville, Chicago's "Black Metropolis,"[2] a vibrant yet often disparaged center of African-American commercial and social life, was transformed in the late 1950s by the promise of modernism with the development of the Robert Taylor homes, a massive high-rise public housing project, and even more so by the gradual dismantling of de facto segregation over the next decade. Bereft of its social and physical legacies, Bronzeville ultimately was obliterated as a vital urban place. Even its modern replacement would be transfigured gradually, this time as a derelict terrain of abandoned homes, empty lots, and the hulking shells of problem-wracked public housing.

The processes of symbolic identification with place and urban image-making have long traditions in American cities, but only recently have they gained currency in ethnic and minority neighborhoods. While no longer areas of great economic or social vitality, the

[1] During the 1970s, the South Bronx gained national notoriety due to massive disinvestment, violence, arson, and looting that attracted the attention of the national media and political figures, including presidential candidates Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. The South Bronx was thus transformed into a "place of myth," "a scene freighted with symbolic meaning: a public scandal, an urban sore, a mess of problems, a social embarrassment, a tragic locale, a no-man's-land, an urban desert – all kinds of phrases fit the area that removed it from the status of ordinary streets in which ordinary people reside." Martha Rosler, "The South Bronx is Part of America," quoted in Lydia Yee, "Photographic Approaches to the Discourse on the South Bronx," pp.10-17 in *Urban mythologies: the Bronx represented since the 1960s*, Catalog of an exhibition held at the Bronx Museum of the Arts, April 8-Sept. 5, 1999 (Bronx, NY: Bronx Museum of the Arts, 1999).

forlorn social and cultural landscapes of the inner city have suddenly gathered new life as hopeful settings for the re-construction of place and community. The image of ethnic neighborhoods has always been as much a representation as a reflection of their harsh social realities. In the postmodern era, however, ethnic neighborhoods in central cities are being transformed into "symbolic arenas of history, recollection, and sentiment, rather than the location of vital residential or economic life" (Lin 1995). The contrast between the image of a troubled but vital urban life in the past and the post-Fordist reality of the abandoned ghetto has generated a new postmodern dynamic, the idea of restoring to them the social and economic vitality they are imagined to have once possessed (Bennett 1998).

As a study within the discipline of City Design and Development, this dissertation is directed to an audience of planners, urban designers, architects, historians, community organizations, and others engaged in the symbolic discourses of place and community. In its broadest sense, this study attempts to understand how individuals and groups engage the symbolic, physical, and temporal dimensions of the city. This study is structured to inform professional practice and public engagement by asking critical questions about the role of heritage in promoting neighborhood revitalization. The conclusion therefore offers recommendations for a fundamental rethinking of the planning and design processes that underly heritage-based revitalization.

The "heritage crusade" (Lowenthal 1998) has broadened its focus from the privileged places of the urban gentry to the vernacular and social environs of once-marginal groups in society. Ethnic and minority heritage has been promoted as an instrumental means of revitalizing inner-city neighborhoods, and this new interest in the past has led to initiatives at both local and national levels, with backers ranging from the National Trust for Historic Preservation to the Fannie Mae Foundation and the U.S Dept. of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).[3] Despite the prominence of such claims in professional and

---

[2] St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black metropolis: a study of Negro life in a northern city* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945).

[3] The National Trust recently was awarded a $250,000 grant from the Ford Foundation to develop an African American Historic Places Initiative, which will address technical and interpretive challenges facing African American historic sites. Press release on National Trust website (Internet URL: http://www.nationaltrust.org/news/docs/20021204_fordfoundation.html)

policy discourse, the social and political implications of heritage revitalization strategies remain largely unexplored. This study therefore offers an empirically- and theoretically-grounded examination of the ways in which heritage is used by different groups and actors to promote the economic revitalization of historic inner-city neighborhoods. Cultural and historical commemoration do not occur in a political or economic vacuum. Rather, they are profoundly shaped by the currents of contemporary political struggles and imbalances of power. Scholars and policymakers disregard the real possibility that conflicting claims to heritage might be used to validate competing agendas for revitalization, thereby complicating facile claims that such approaches promote community empowerment.

Because urban places are the settings for productive and consumptive activities through time, they become infused with varying types of memory, associations, and symbolic manifestations of culture for those who inhabit them. In short, urban places are intrinsically *storied*; by virtue of having served as the physical context for complex urban and social interactions, urban neighborhoods are a source and reservoir for a multitude of individual and collective associations and attachments. Whether and how these individual and collective experiences of place are *narrated*, or discursively transformed into the social constructs of "heritage," is therefore a central concern of this dissertation.

The goal of this research is to inform contemporary planning and urban design practice by exploring the role of heritage in shaping and advancing private activity and public policies and actions to foster neighborhood revitalization. This exploratory study therefore focuses on providing an answer to a single critical question: How is heritage constructed, advanced, and manipulated by different groups to promote, contest, and shape processes of neighborhood decline and revitalization?

This study consists of six chapters. This introduction outlines the recent interest among community activists, urban designers, and policy makers in using historic preservation, public history, and other heritage strategies to promote neighborhood revitalization. Chapter 1 develops a theoretical framework that conceptualizes the relationship of heritage to the processes of revitalization by considering how discursive practices draw on personal sentiments and identification with place to shape the politics of neighborhood revitalization. Chapter 2 serves as a general history and introduction of the two case

studies. Chapters 3-4 describe the evolution of heritage-based strategies in each of the neighborhoods studied, and the relationships between the discourses of heritage and the structure of specific heritage institutions and practices. The conclusion reworks the framework developed in Chapter 1 based on the discussion in the foregoing chapters. The conclusion also outlines issues and lessons for urban designers and planners engaged in heritage-based revitalization.

The Appeal to Heritage

Heritage-based revitalization represents a significant turn in long-standing approaches to inner-city revitalization. Despite the emergence of heritage as a strategy for urban regeneration, however, there is surprisingly little empirical analysis of the phenomenon in the United States. While the professional literature uncritically advocates heritage as an instrumental means of promoting urban rebirth while empowering marginalized groups and places, academic research has tended to dismiss heritage as a mechanism of social control (Boyer 1994). Critical studies have tended to focus on a handful of cases with limited potential for generalization to other settings, and overlook cases in which such strategies are promoted by grassroots organizations, rather than imposed by elite "gentrifiers" or other privileged groups. Critical theorists may overlook the role that individual and group memory play in serving as the lattice upon which social constructions of both the past and potential future of neglected spaces may rise (Boyer 1994; Smith 1992; Sorkin 1992).

Along with discussions within professional conferences and networks, the professional literatures in planning and heritage focus on the purported direct and indirect economic benefits of heritage for urban revitalization, and are dominated by such practical and technical issues as resource identification and conservation, place marketing, and heritage tourism. Such accounts border on the promotional, and overlook significant cultural and symbolic conflict over both the content and objectives of heritage-based revitalization. Focusing too narrowly on the modalities of heritage misses the broader social and political dynamics of place. Given this polarization of thought and approach between the professions and academia, financial intermediaries and community development corporations have proven highly skeptical of claims advancing the use of heritage in the

inner city, despite a broadening focus within the community development movement from housing to economic development strategies.

Since the 1992 Annual Conference of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, various scholars and practitioners have advocated the use of historic preservation strategies as a means of conserving neighborhoods and commemorating the lives, experiences, and places of African-Americans and ethnic minority groups. Heritage practitioners argue that preservation needs to move beyond the restoration of individual buildings and the commemoration of specific historic sites to reshape itself as a force for neighborhood preservation. Leaders in the preservation movement have urged greater attention to issues of race and ethnicity within the heritage profession. The exploration and evocation of place-based heritage through public history and heritage events, they argue, can help to formulate and strengthen community identity, while a renewed focus on vernacular landscapes of cultural and social (rather than architectural) significance can serve as a catalyst for neighborhood revitalization.[4]

Within the traditional heritage movement, this new advocacy serves as a defense against two long-standing criticisms. Preservation has long been faulted for ignoring the places, events, and figures important to ethnic and racial minorities in favor of inordinate attention to Anglo-American figures.[5] These oversights have reinforced criticisms that

---

[4] A number of such projects are described in "Cultural and Ethnic Diversity in Historic Preservation," *Information Series No. 65* (Washington, DC: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1992), pp. 34-39.

[5] The preamble to the National Register's definition of significance reads: "The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association." From the outset, therefore, significance is limited to specific social practices and types of places or objects. The preamble further requires that the place or object being designated remain standing, essentially intact, and largely unmodified from its "historic" state. The specific criteria that determine significance further limit the range of potential nominees to places or objects associated with "significant events," "the lives of significant persons," the potential for unveiling important prehistoric or historical information, and objects, buildings, and places that "embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction." (National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, "National Register Criteria for Evaluation," Internet URL: http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/listing.htm).

preservation works to the detriment of ethnic and working-class neighborhoods by promoting gentrification, the displacement of the poor and marginal social groups from coveted real estate in renascent neighborhoods and districts in American cities. Moving away from a narrow, privileged approach centered on elitist figures and themes not only enables preservationists to minimize such criticisms, but also helps to broaden the constituency for and further legitimize the movement.

Viewing preservation and other heritage-based strategies only from a practitioner's perspective, however, disregards the origins, objectives and dynamics of heritage-based development in an ethnic and minority context. Historic preservation, as is true of other heritage-based activities, is much more than a form of urban design or architectural policy. As an economic and social discourse, preservation relies on a privileged standard of "significance" to denote places and structures worthy of conversation and rehabilitation (and consequently the investment of public and private capital). Preservation ultimately serves as an instrumental mechanism for guiding public and private decisions about the merits of capital investments in specific sites, neighborhoods, and projects.

The burgeoning interest in a more inclusive approach to understanding places of meaning to marginalized ethnic and racial minorities may prove less a shift in fundamental direction for traditional historic preservation than an indication of how grassroots organizations have embraced the social and economic potential of heritage-based strategies. Community residents have witnessed the ability of urban pioneers to claim territory, physically alter the external appearances of a neighborhood, and fashion a new place identity through symbolic displays of material culture and historicist narratives that guide and reinforce the historical "re-construction" of place.

This tortuous definition has been the subject of considerable debate among heritage professionals, who have alternatively seen the criteria as too restrictive, as a tautology, or too readily subject to abuse. For conflicting views, see Howard L. Green, "The social construction of historical significance," pp. 85-94, and Suzanne S. Pickens, "The silent criteria: Misuse and abuse of the National Register," pp. 193-202, both in Michael A. Tomlan, ed., *Preservation of what, for whom?: a critical look at historical significance* (Ithaca, N.Y.: National Council for Preservation Education, 1998). While this debate is beyond the scope of the present study, it nonetheless mirrors some of the underlying dilemmas examined in this research.

Preservation as a Policy for Neighborhood Revitalization

Community organizations in the City of Pittsburgh were among the first in the United States to adopt historic preservation as a means of conserving housing and institutions in minority neighborhoods. During the 1970s, community development agencies in Pittsburgh focused narrowly on affordable housing and homeownership, primarily to develop suburban-style housing in the inner city. But in 1978, Stanley Lowe, the African-American director of the Pittsburgh Conservation Loan Fund, a nonprofit organization chartered and funded by the city government, was approached by Arthur Ziegler, president of the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, a traditional historic preservation group. Ziegler urged Lowe to consider investments to preserve the derelict Victorian structures that dominated the built landscape of Pittsburgh's African-American neighborhoods.

While initially skeptical of the preservationists, Lowe eventually developed a strong working relationship with them, and used historic preservation to simultaneously stabilize once-declining areas while rehousing neighborhood residents in the renovated units. Lowe's efforts garnered acclaim among preservations, and he soon become a chief national spokesman for historic preservation as a strategy to revitalize inner-city neighborhoods without displacing low-income populations.[6] Pittsburgh may prove most distinctive, however, because minority groups were able to develop a fundamental base of power and influence within the preservation and lending communities prior to the development of the preservation strategy, and therefore led, rather than responded, to the effort.

The professional accolades garnered by such efforts have generated supportive, but measured, responses by African-American heritage professionals. While the professions have long argued for broadening the scope of their work as a means of reaching a larger audience, minority practitioners have urged greater sensitivity to the indigenous knowledge, perspectives, and interest in heritage that exists in minority communities, and

---

[6]Stanley Lowe, "Creating livable communities in Pittsburgh," *Historic Preservation Forum* 8,1 (January/February 1994): 28-33; "Inspiration in Pittsburgh transformed into action in Massachusetts," *Preservation and People: Historic Massachusetts, Inc.* 10,3 (Fall 1995): 1-4; Nora Richter, "Pittsburgh's innovative renovation record," *AIA Journal* 67,17 (November 1978): 50-53,80.

the active inclusion of communities in formal practice. Such an approach is touted as a means of generating public interest in techniques such as archaeology and cultural resource management, but has inadvertently called attention to the dramatic under-representation of minorities within these professions. As a result, formal heritage organizations have developed diversity initiatives to recruit professionals from communities of color (Franklin 1997; Kirby 1991).

The Rise of the Multicultural Heritage Movement

The focus on heritage as a mechanism for inner-city neighborhood revitalization gained significant acclaim in professional and academic circles during the 1990s. In *The power of place: urban landscapes as public history*, architectural historian Dolores Hayden (1995) makes a compelling appeal to practitioners engaged in public history, urban design, and historic preservation.[7] Hayden advocates the use of public history, historic preservation, and public art as means of commemorating the untold history of places inhabited by racial and ethnic minorities, primarily through collaborative, interdisciplinary efforts among artists, urban historians, urban designers, planners, and community members. According to Hayden, the central ambition of such projects should be to make visible to both insiders and outsiders the subtle but profound "place memory" shared by members of these communities.[8] In so doing, practitioners recover once-diminished legacies and empower community residents.

Hayden's work documents specific projects and sites in which professionals have undertaken heritage-based efforts to identify and commemorate sites of significance to marginalized ethnic and racial minorities. Drawing on these case studies, Hayden argues persuasively that place serves as an important locus of attachment for individuals and communities, and draws on critical theory, social geography, and theories of

---

[7] Indeed, even then-HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros embraced Hayden's call for commemoration of "everybody's history" and the use of historic preservation in community restoration. Henry G. Cisneros, *Preserving Everybody's History* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, December 1996).

[8] Place memory, according to Hayden, refers to the ways in which the historical evolution of a specific geographical area has been interpreted and understood by members of a community through time, and how these shared understandings have both influenced and reflected the cultural attributes of communities in physical and geographical space.

environmental behavior and urban design to outline a variety of means by which place can act as both receptacle and conveyor of social, cultural, and historically-derived meanings. Because her work focuses primarily on the built environment as a conveyor of collective memory, however, Hayden overlooks social and cultural meanings lacking tangible expression in the urban landscape. Working-class resident attachments to place are often based on factors unrelated to the quality of the physical environment, such as the strength and quality of social ties and feelings of acceptance and security (Fried and Gleicher 1961). Moreover, the processes of place re-construction take a multitude of forms, but ultimately underlie many of the efforts described by Hayden and other heritage professionals to identify, commemorate, and restore meaning to lost places.

By overlooking not only the social construction of heritage, but also its broader political and economic context, Hayden offers few critical insights into the social and political dynamics that underlie heritage-based revitalization. While this oversight is understandable given the limited scope of her work, it remains problematic, since Hayden admits frequent and sometimes heated disagreement within and among communities over which "place memories" are most relevant for commemoration. Morever, she acknowledges, the process of "memory reconstruction" often requires tangling with controversial historical episodes or themes, a problem that in itself complicates her proposals for broadening the social and cultural range of heritage.

Hayden's appeal for broader inclusion of ethnic and minority heritage in public history, historic preservation, and heritage tourism falls short of apprehending the function and potential of heritage in the marginal urban spaces she describes. Hayden's work lacks compelling evidence of how and why heritage can be used as a political asset, a central (but too often implicit) aspect of her argument. Giving meaningful voice to any marginalized group within the urban environment, whether through public art, history, or ritual observations, requires thoughtful deliberation about the underlying social and political ends that compel such commemoration. The question of control over the symbolic resources necessary for controlling heritage-based revitalization is of paramount importance to the question of community empowerment, a central concern of her appeal to practitioners.

Like much of the professional literature regarding minority heritage, Hayden's book is directed primarily towards academics, heritage professionals, and cultural specialists, with a strong emphasis on breaking down disciplinary boundaries and professional turf to promote collaboration around such issues. As such, her work describes heritage primarily as a technical process, without adequately taking into account the political and social struggles that often underlie such radical re-conceptualization of urban space. While laudable as an exemplary engagement of class and race through practices of urban design, architecture, art, and public history, Hayden's work therefore lacks an organizing link between methods of commemoration and modes of heritage discourse, and the social and political ends to which heritage is applied. An alternative approach is needed to develop critical insights for the multiple professional and academic audiences that often collaborate on such initiatives.

Public history is not merely a descriptive chronology; it is also an interpretive and discursive act that reveals deep-seated tensions in contemporary society (Norkunas 1993). Likewise, empowering the disadvantaged often requires a direct, forceful challenge of the status quo, to satisfy needs unmet by prevailing social, political, and economic arrangements. Practitioners often overlook the social and political context that enable and constrain community-based practice, while overestimating the potential for professionally-led initiatives to nurture transformative change (Schneekloth and Shibley 1995). Heritage consists not merely of artifacts and storytelling, to be encased for presentation and viewing by receptive audiences. To understand the objects of heritage, these practices must be conceptualized as elaborate social constructs that both respond to contemporary circumstances and attempt to reframe public debates over the future of urban space.

In order to evaluate claims that heritage can promote neighborhood revitalization, we need to understand the role of narratives in the processes of decline and regeneration; the social processes through which differing conceptions of heritage are developed and articulated; and how different groups use heritage to promote neighborhood revitalization. Understanding the fundamental aspects of this process places us in a position to begin devising methods for action, but before undertaking this examination, we must disabuse ourselves of the technocratic tendency to assume that methods are value-free and outcomes

are assured. Planners and urban designers need to understand the dynamic interrelationships among heritage, place, discourse, and power before we can make such claims, or advocate such policies.

Conceptualizing Heritage

In order to begin evaluating claims regarding the use of heritage to promote community empowerment and neighborhood revitalization, it is necessary to explore empirical examples of heritage in place. Through an exhaustive search of the secondary literature of heritage tourism, historic preservation, and urban design, I was able to identify nearly two dozen such neighborhoods. Prominent examples of such neighborhoods include Beale Street in Memphis, Tenn.; "Sweet Auburn" in Atlanta, Ga.; Bronzeville in Chicago, Ill.[9]; and the historic Treme neighborhood in New Orleans, La. Locating additional cases in the secondary literature proved challenging. Such areas are often obscure, a consequence of their demise and the manner in which their decline tends to undermine their claims to a notable past or history. Examples of places that were represented by not extensively documented in the literature include the Beach Institute Neighborhood in Savannah, Ga.; Ledbetter Heights in Shreveport, La.; and the Lower Hill neighborhood in Pittsburgh, Pa. Writings about these places establish a pattern of activism based on heritage, but the lack of demonstrable "success" among these cases also seems to have dampened public and scholarly interest.

By identifying not only the underlying structural conflicts within each of these cases, but the context and social ends being pursued by heritage, we can begin to develop a framework describing the principle objects of heritage: remembrance; restoration; and reclamation. Based upon the range of cases identified through the literature, three instrumental uses of heritage can be discerned:

Heritage as Reclamation: Reclamation represents the instrumental use of heritage to validate competing claims to space in protracted struggles over ownership and identity. From the perspective of minority communities, reclamation functions primarily in a defensive way, as a means of defending rights to place.

[9] See Patrick T. Reardon , "Can Bronzeville reclaim its soul? After redevelopment, the name may be all that's left of the community's rich heritage," *Chicago Tribune*, May 21, 2000.

Heritage as Remembrance: Remembrance is the preservation commemoration, and symbolic evocation of heritage in artifacts and sites. Remembrance projects neighborhood heritage to a broad audience of community members, educators, consumers, tourists, and history buffs.

Heritage as Restoration: Restoration, according to historic preservationists, is an attempt to re-create the "form, features, and character" of a period in time by "removal of features from other periods in its history and reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period."

As discussed below, each of these objects implies a different kind of engagement between groups and place, and a differing emphasis on the specific "instruments of heritage" (Boyer 1994), or modalities of practice, being employed to promote revitalization. Ultimately, each category is distinguished by its internal social and political dynamics, as well as the objectives pursued by different groups and the divergent outcomes observed in each case.

Heritage as Reclamation

While remembrance entails commemoration, and restoration is most distinguished by its convivial and celebratory tone, reclamation is largely a contest of definitions. The etymology of the term itself encompasses several types of contest and struggle. On the one hand, reclamation represents the "re-claiming" of an object, legacy, or land from dis- or mis-use. (The term is often used this way in planning circles, particularly in regard to environmental remediation of polluted land.) In this vein, reclamation can involve the revocation of property or rights formerly granted to another; one can reclaim land, objects, or belongings that were improperly or insufficiently used.

Reclamation also connotes a different set of meanings related to protest or a struggle for justice. In a literal sense, reclamation describes attempts to recover a stolen object or legacy, or taking a stand to invoke rights and protections that have unjustly been denied to an individual or group.[10] Place entrepreneurs often invoke this perspective when urging restoration of the idyllic past, and while such invocations overlook the negative overtones of those past eras, there is a deliberate consciousness of how claims to the past validate the role of these groups in contemporary struggles. Such evocations are often premised on the

---

[10] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d Edition, 1989.

concept of struggle, and reclamation leads to direct protest. Chicago's Maxwell Street, located near the University of Illinois (UIC) campus, was the site of a multi-ethnic marketplace and was historic venue for African-American blues music during the 1940s. The Maxwell Street market was destroyed in 1999 due to expansion of the university campus. In response, a broad coalition of residents, blues aficionados, students, and university professors urged the preservation and commemoration of the neighborhood as a national historic district.

The duality of the term, with its consistent emphasis on rights, belongings, and legacies, makes the idea of reclamation a powerful lens through which to assess the most protracted and difficult conflicts of heritage - struggles for fundamental control of a neighborhood and its identity. As a community organizer in Chicago's Bronzeville neighborhood inveighs, "[heritage] is a clear tool for us as African Americans, to claim a turf, to claim that turf and to redevelop that turf and to fight off those outside forces who would like to take that turf from us, who care nothing about our struggle, historically."[11] The concept of heritage as reclamation therefore goes to the root of practitioner claims about empowerment.

Freedmen's Town/Fourth Ward, Houston, Texas

Freedmen's Town is an historic district within a derelict neighborhood traditionally known in Houston as the Fourth Ward (**Figure I.1**). Founded by freed slaves after the Civil War, the town flourished around the turn of the century as the commercial and institutional center of Houston's African-American community. As home to a significant number of black-owned businesses and professionals, the larger Fourth Ward also hosted the city's first black public school, its first medical facilities for blacks, and most of the city's largest African-American churches and civic associations (Wintz 1990). By the turn of the twentieth century, Freedmen's Town had been incorporated into the City of Houston, which subsumed the Town into the City's Fourth Ward. The area lost prominence during the 1920s, as Houston's African-American community settled into decentralized neighborhoods around the edges of the burgeoning downtown, and was

[11] Quoted in Boyd 2000, p.113.

further undermined as the Depression forced many black landowners to mortgage or sell their homes to a burgeoning Italian immigrant community.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the city of Houston developed a number of significant civic structures along a parkway and stream known as Buffalo Bayou. The impressive array of civic and commercial institutions developed along Buffalo Drive contrasted sharply with the adjacent Freedmen's Town neighborhood. As a result, the neighborhood was among the first targeted for redevelopment after the creation of a local housing authority in 1939. A housing development intended exclusively for white war-time workers, known as San Felipe Courts, used the highest standards of modern institutional architecture to overcome the negative associations of the Freedmen's Town site. Despite considerable local opposition, the project replaced the heart of the neighborhood, and was unveiled to great acclaim in national architectural journals in 1942 (Fox 1987). As one commentator put it, construction of the housing project was the first of repeated efforts to obliterate a community "at odds with the adjoining downtown and the 'image' of the city" (Taylor 1991). Construction of the project displaced several thousand African-American residents, as well as an historic African-American cemetery, further contributing to the decline of the Fourth Ward, and increasing already crowded housing conditions in the city's segregated Third and Fifth Wards (Wintz 1990).

With passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Housing Authority of the City of Houston (HACH) was forced to begin accepting African-American tenants (who constitituted the bulk of the city's waiting list for subsidized housing) to the Fourth Ward project, which HACH renamed Allen Parkway Village. In response to social distress at the project, the HACH instituted a policy of active neglect, failing both to maintain the project and to re-fill vacant units, despite growing demand for subsidized housing. By the mid-1970s, the complex had dwindled to less than 10% occupancy, while HACH undermined tenant activism by filling vacant units with Indo-Chinese immigrants, some of whom lacked valid leases and were subsequently evicted (Taylor 1990). These efforts were spurred largely by increasing demand for upscale housing in near-downtown locations.

HACH's actions must be understood in a political context in which a pro-growth coalition of civic elites coveted the Fourth Ward as both an impediment to downtown

development and an area for downtown expansion. During the 1970s, the City of Houston's Department of Planning and Development undertook planning studies contemplating total clearance of Freedmen's Town and obliteration of Allen Parkway Village. Local residents responding by appealing to their historical ties to the neighborhood. In 1981, local residents formed the Freedmen's Town Association to promote housing rehabilitation and the development of a 40-square block local historic district (Berke 1985). The group's initial efforts found some support from public officials, but the city's planning department resisted the group's more ambitious plans to create the district, arguing that such a large district would inhibit public control over the rehabilitation of the neighborhood by restricting the city's capacity to utilize federal funding for redevelopment. Notwithstanding local government concerns, neighborhood leaders obtained assistance from Stephen Fox, an architectural historian and professor at Rice University, to prepare and submit the landmark designation. The proposal eventually was approved for listing on both state and federal historic registers (Ydoyaga 1984; Texas Historical Commission 1984), which imposed restrictions on the use of state or federal funding to alter or demolish structures in the neighborhood.[12]

Despite the local group's success in promoting the historic claims of African-Americans to the neighborhood, the Fourth Ward has faced repeated threats to its continued existence over the last twenty years. Before the mid-1980s, speculation about clearance and redevelopment of the Fourth Ward had amounted to little more than rumor-mongering. But Freedmen's Town faced the first substantive threat to its continued existence in 1986, in the form of a development proposal by two prominent Houston corporations that would draw on the area's vernacular architecture and historic grid as the basis for a massive redevelopment of the area (Taylor 1990). The Founders Park plan, as it came to be known, was the brainchild of two prominent Houston real estate developers who owned significant commercial properties at the edges of the district. The developers hired New Urbanist guru Andres Duany to develop a plan for the neighborhood, which focused on a long-abandoned cemetery that held the graves of prominent 19th-century Houston settlers

[12] The designation would later lead local officials to use local, rather than state or federal funding, to clear the Freedman's Town area.

(Barna 1990). After the first meeting held to discuss the proposal, however, Duany left the project, based on concerns that the developers were not seeking an open process intended to preserve the Fourth Ward.

Figure I.2. Shotgun house in Houston's Fourth Ward.

Founder's Park was a cleverly-crafted scheme for gentrifying a predominantly African-American neighborhood. Rather than simply attempting to acquire property by private or public means, the developers instead elected to craft a heritage discourse they believed would resonate with neighborhood residents. By drawing on a neotraditional architectural vernacular (the shotgun house) as the primary building type in their proposal(**Figure I.2**), the developers attempted to subvert the intention of Freedman's Town residents to use heritage to validate their right to remain in the neighborhood. In the same vein, however, their focus – as revealed in the naming of their proposal – on the two Anglo founders of the City of Houston made their intent obvious to neighborhood residents. Rather than beguiling Freedmen's Town residents, the developers provoked them to develop a counter-proposal rooted in reclaiming their lost heritage.

Over two years, and in the face of lawsuits challenging their proposal to demolish Allen Parkway Village, the developers held public meetings intended to rally resident support for the development plan (Taylor 1990). Led by APV tenant organizers and the Freedmen's Town Association, local residents refused to participated in community charrettes sponsored by the developers. The plan was derailed by a lawsuit filed by APV residents under the leadership of tenant organizer and project resident Lenwood Johnson. The lawsuit sought an injunction forbidding HUD approval for demolition of the project (Taylor 1991). Residents of the Fourth Ward and Allen Parkway Village were neither impressed nor deceived by the developers' ultimate objectives. Representatives of the

Allen Parkway Village Resident Council and the Freedmen's Town Association refused to attend community forums, arguing that their presence would legitimize a staged process intended to affirm a previously derived consensus, which would in turn lead to their displacement from the district. Those residents that did attend surprised local planners and the developers by claiming that they had been conferred property rights to the area by their long terms of residence, and they rejected the idea that the planning process would preserve the district's historic form and character (Taylor 1991).

Over the next few years, the tenants association continued to press rehabilitation of Allen Parkway Village, along with a formal program of economic development initiatives in the surrounding neighborhood (Lang 1995; Fox 1996). Having strongly supported the Founders Park plan, then-Mayor Bob Lanier, a former real estate developer, worked diligently during his last term in office to wrest control of publicly-subsidized housing development from community development corporations. Lanier actively sought to promote housing development in the Fourth Ward by for-profit corporations, and to steer development of new subsidized housing away from low-income neighborhoods (Fox 1996). At the same time, HACH worked closely with HUD to transform Allen Parkway Village as a distressed project, a tactic that in 1993 led to HUD approval of a $50 million HOPE VI grant for demolition of Allen Parkway Village and construction of a mixed-income, townhouse-style development (Tyer 1995).

The revised HOPE VI plan for Allen Parkway Village, crafted by the city only after significant pressure from HUD, provides 250 replacement units on the original site, along with 50 other replacement units to be distributed throughout the city, and 50 rehabilitated historic dwellings, which would be moved to the surrounding neighborhood to serve as rental units. The HOPE VI plan was implemented in 1999, leading to the displacement of the remaining tenants, and the reconfiguration of the project as a central complex of low-rise modernist structures surrounded by much higher-density neotraditional woodframe housing with porches and peaked roofs (**Figure I.3**). The complex was subsequently renamed the "Historic Oaks at Allen Parkway." Because Mayor Lanier was unwilling to meet the federal requirements for low-income units, the city elected to forego an additional $30 million in funding for development outside the district, and instead decided to

underwrite Fourth Ward redevelopment with municipal funds (Mason 1997). Around the same time, the city voted to grant $3.4 million to a non-profit entity controlled by a local real estate developer called Houston Renaissance, which would use the funds to acquire and clear land outside Allen Parkway Village.

Figure I.3. Aerial view of the Historic Oaks at Allen Parkway (formerly Allen Parkway Village), 2001. Photograph by Alex S. MacLean, Copyright © 2002 Landslides Aerial Photography (used by permission).

In addition to succeeding in their efforts to demolish most of Allen Parkway Village, Houston officials also eventually prevailed upon Freedman's Town as well. With HUD's approval of HOPE VI, local officials moved to acquire properties throughout the Fourth Ward from absentee landlords, most of whom had waited patiently for an eventual buyout. On Christmas Eve, 1997, dozens of Freedmen's Town tenants received eviction notices from the private speculators who owned their homes (Kolker 1998). The collective stories of displacement shared by residents of both Allen Parkway Village and the remainder of the Fourth Ward range from tragic to mundane. Most residents reported the loss of vital social ties to neighbors, while some feared for their safety in their new places of residence. Others missed the simple conveniences of life in the neighborhood. One

resident died shortly after leaving the project, while another was placed in a nursing home (Bryant 1998). Some residents wax nostalgic about the historic character of the neighborhood. One resident remembered an era when "[t]here was a cafe on every corner, and barbecue restaurants and movie theaters, all black-owned, within walking distance" (quoted in Kolker 1998). But most simply long to retain the security of remaining in familiar surroundings. As one resident explains:

> "I just rent. I can't tell people what to do with their land . . . I just wish it would stay the same. I wish they wouldn't put people out of their houses. The first night I ever spent in Houston, in 1947, was on this street." (quoted in Kolker 1998)

Despite concerns about management of Houston Renaissance,[13] optimism for the project among local officials seems well-founded. By mid-1998, more than 4,000 luxury and condominium units were slated for construction within the five-mile radius of the I-610 loop surrounding Houston's downtown. Average monthly rents for a two-bedroom unit are projected at approximately $1,500 per month, while condominium prices average between $125 and $150 per square foot (Stuart 1997). Rents in the Fourth Ward, which once averaged $200 to $300 per month, have been projected to double in the "affordable" units being contemplated as replacement housing for Allen Parkway Village, while most privately-developed units in Freedman's Town would be priced to cater to young singles and urban professionals.

Lacking influence in traditional political and social circles, and with little in the way of financial resources, community groups in the Fourth Ward have faltered in their efforts to use heritage to influence public actions. Among the complications to forestalling development was the presence of profound divisions between the Freedman's Town Association and the Allen Parkway Village tenants association, and discord between both

[13] Management of the project has been troubled, and has even raised allegations of fraud. In September 1999, Houston Mayor Lee Brown ordered an audit of Houston Renaissance, acknowledging that he was unable to account for the $3.4 million initial outlay provided the group by the city council. The Houston Housing Finance Corporation, a private group overseeing the Renaissance effort, also expressed dismay, but was heartened by the fact that Renaissance had accumulated some 43 percent of the property in the area (Mason 1998).

groups and the churches that own several large parcels of land within the Fourth Ward.[14] Tenant leader Lenwood Johnson ultimately failed in efforts to align Fourth Ward residents with preservation of the public housing complex. "If a tiger came into our village and devoured one of us," he told a group of Fourth Ward residents, "you shouldn't get comfortable with that and think he's done what he came to do. He's going to get hungry again and come back the next day."[15] Conflict between and among political, social, and religious leaders within the community (whom ostensibly share interests and potentially a common cause) revealed fundamental challenges to the notion of a unitary minority heritage that might enhance prospects for community empowerment. Indeed, the potential for heritage to empower the community was undermined most when it was most needed, in the six months immediately following the announcement of the impending destruction of Allen Parkway Village.

Beyond Reclamation

Other neighborhoods characterized by the use of heritage as reclamation pose serious challenges to the idea that heritage can promote community interests. Pittsburgh's Hill District, a broad swath of land adjacent to downtown, comprises three distinct neighborhoods: The Lower Hill, Middle Hill, and Upper Hill. During the late 1950s, as part of Pittsburgh's famed "First Renaissance," civic elites proposed using urban renewal to clear the Lower Hill in order to construct a Center for the Arts. Local organizations mobilized to resist the move, and developed an alternative redevelopment plan emphasizing residential rehabilitation. Despite their efforts, Pittsburgh's pro-growth coalition prevailed, displacing some 8,000 residents, approximately 80% of whom were African-American. As a result of riots that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., however, plans for the Arts center were shelved, and a prominent local

[14] Interviews with Lenwood Johnson and William Simon, Ph.D. Professor of Sociology, University of Houston, November 12, 1999; interview with Brian Wallstin, investigative reporter, *Houston Press*, November 10, 1999.

[15] Quoted in Verhovek 1998.

foundation eventually rehabilitated a dilapidated theater in another part of downtown as the central element in a downtown cultural district.[16]

During the 1990s, new development, including both CDC-led and private commercial activity, has created upward pressure on land values, which resulted in doubling or tripling of residential property tax assessments, which in turn threaten to displace low-income and elderly African-Americans in the neighborhood.[17] The dynamics observed in Pittsburgh's Lower Hill are also evident in a historic resort town on Amelia Island, situated outside Jacksonville on Florida's extreme northern coast. Developed by the largest African-American-owned insurance company in the southeast U.S. during the early twentieth century, American Beach once served as an expansive, luxurious summer resort for black families from throughout the South. American Beach began to decline during the 1930s, as the heirs of insurance magnate Abraham Lincoln Lewis gradually began to sell or neglect their extensive land holdings in the area.

With the decline of *de jure* segregation and the gradual demise of Jim Crow, black vacationers began flocking to desegregated resorts elsewhere in Florida. Since the 1970s, American Beach has been reduced to half its original acreage, with much of the original resort lying in ruins, and the expansive coastline began rapidly consumed by such mega-resort facilities as a massive Ritz-Carlton Hotel to the north, and the sprawling mansions of Amelia Island Plantation to the south. [18] Led by the eccentric MaVynee Betsch, sometimes referred to as unofficial mayor of American Beach, efforts to protect American Beach against development have focused on the resort's dwindling legacy, and the woeful tale of the decline of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company.

---

[16] Michael A. Fuoco, "Hill District determined to regain lost greatness," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 11, 1999.

[17] Christopher Davis, "Lower Hill rates lead city increases," *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, September 8, 2000; Michelle Fanzo, "The History of the Hill District," *The Observer*, June 1995 (Internet URL: http://www1.pitt.edu/~hilldc/histdist.html)

[18] Mike Williams, "The once and future American Beach," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, January 3, 1999; Larry Copeland, "Historic Status Sought For Black Resort," *The Times-Picayune* May 26, 1996, p.A6; Mireya Navarro, "Fernandina Beach Journal: A Black Beach Town Fights to Preserve Its History," *The New York Times*, April 6, 1998, pA14.

Warmly embraced by staunch historic preservationists (as witnessed in her keynote address to the 1998 National Conference of the National Trust in nearby Jacksonville), Betsch nonetheless remains the tragic heroine of a cause without hope for redemption. Land around American Beach continues to be consumed by private developers, most of them oblivious to or deliberately seeking to minimize the area's nearly-forgotten history as a segregated tourist mecca. Efforts to designate the area a National Historic District have not advanced, despite the inclusion of the beach on Florida's Black Heritage Trail. While African-American tourists continue to patronize American Beach, their presence has been increasingly resisted by local officials and police, who are concerned about their impact on the nearby tourist resorts.

Concentrating on reclamation poses the dilemma of not doing justice to the full range of ways in which heritage might indeed promote revitalization and empowerment. Indeed, by definition, reclamation focuses so exclusively on struggles between those in power and the disadvantaged that it could easily be used to summarily dismiss the potential for using heritage to accomplish anything meaningful in the inner city.

Heritage as Remembrance

Heritage is often evoked through a variety of techniques and activities that simply promote the commemoration of place and community. While there may be minor differences among the specific policies and techniques proposed in such settings, remembrance tends to re-conceptualize the urban neighborhood as an urban tableaux, or ideographic and thematic whole (Boyer 1994). Like Hayden's work, remembrance draws on specific themes and elements from the local past, which are then articulated through heritage institutions such as museums and physical symbols like interpretive markers and memorials. The primary function of remembrance is the identification and (often didactic) commemoration of specific events, figures, symbols, and legacies.

Among the places that comprise this classification are Atlanta's "Sweet Auburn" neighborhood, the stretch of Auburn Street which includes the National Civil Rights Museum and Martin Luther King, Jr. gravesite; and the Beach Institute Neighborhood in Savannah, Georgia. Developed near a southern plantation in the mid-19th century as a company town for African-American railroad workers, the Beach Institute was an African-

American vocational college. Since the late 1970s, the Beach Institute Neighborhood has witnessed efforts to identify sites and places of importance to African-American history in Savannah. Local residents formed a historic preservation group to promote the rehabilitation of homes and interpretation of sites in the neighborhood.

While the secondary literature reveals some differences in the details among these cases, they form a coherent category in that the objects of heritage in each case are manifest primarily in commemorative acts, such as the erection of memorials, the creation of museums, the erection of interpretive displays, and the use of historic preservation to denote and conserve landmark structures. While these cases often represent the outcome of several years of effort, they are distinguished by the tendency for a single entity, often a public agency, or a handful of private groups, to assume primary responsibility for implementing heritage-based policies and activities. Such cases seldom offer evidence of individual, entrepreneurial efforts to promote heritage-based revitalization, although multiple organizations may be involved in the development process.[19]

Heritage as Restoration

While the technical use of the term restoration might suggest the recasting of an urban landscape for presentation as a period piece, in practice, restoration seeks to present the character and values of urban life from a distinct period in time, not only through physical artifacts and landmarks, but also through social and cultural practices, rituals and displays. In the urban landscape, restoration privileges the claims of specific social groups and land uses, and has most often been observed in gentrifying neighborhoods. Nonetheless, the heritage literature reveals a number of cases where restoration strategies have been used in the inner city to re-create the perceived physical and social integrity of place, while promoting ethnic culture and community revival, including Beale Street in Memphis, Tennessee, and Bronzeville in Chicago, Illinois.

While Beale Street is best known due to its recent incarnation as a national entertainment magnet celebrating Memphis blues, the impetus for Beale Street's redevelopment was premised on its legacy as a former center of African-American

[19] This is a key distinction between remembrance and restoration, as explained below.

commercial and cultural life. While the urban renewal agency in Memphis promoted clearance and reconstruction of the district, officials offered nods to a meager remembrance strategy, such as the erection of historical markers.[20] By the late 1970s, however, these efforts were supplanted by a renewed focus on the restoration of cultural activity and the patterns of African-American community life that prevailed during the Street's "historic" era.[21] Recent redevelopment of Beale Street has been spearheaded by the City of Memphis, which granted a long-term lease for nearly three dozen derelict city-owned properties to a private developer. By elevating the "history and lore" of Memphis' musical legacy (which includes figures like W.C. Handy, B.B. King, and Elvis Presley), place entrepreneurs reconfigured Beale Street as an ongoing "staged performance" (Boyer 1994) of African-American culture.[22]

As discussed in the introduction, Bronzeville serves as a prototype of both the segregated ghetto and modernist attempts to refashion such areas through urban renewal and public housing. Ironically, Bronzeville's most recent struggles have been occasioned by the demolition of this same public housing, which has unleashed a wave of home buying interest among upper- and middle-class African-Americans that threatens to displace large numbers of low-income blacks.[23]

"Black Metropolis," a community-based organization, has led a spirited defense of place that draws on heritage not only to commemorate the neighborhood's and defend the community's legacies, but also to use heritage as a means of rebuilding the local economy

[20] Walter Simmons, "Where the blues began ... Beale Street Urban Renewal," *The Tennessee Planner* 25,4 (1966): 97-101.

[21] Denise Scott Brown, "Urban Concepts: Peabody Place and Beale Street, Memphis," *Architectural design: A.D.* (London) 60: 76-87.

[22] Allen Freeman, "Building on the blues." *Preservation* (July/August 1998):.52-58.

[23] Even local community development corporations have been unable to resist the investment potential of market-rate housing. Brian J. Rogal, "Real estate boom threatens affrodable housing options," *The Chicago Reporter*, November/December 2000 (Internet URL: http://www.chicagoreporter.com/2000/11-2000/bronzeville/bronzeville1.htm).

and empowering residents of the community (Boyd 2000).[24] As expressed eloquently by the group's executive director, Harold Lucas:

> What we want to achieve is a bottom-up community redevelopment effort. New funding and a community-generated tax base will be derived from the sale of products and services to national and the international travelers interested in the African-American cultural experience of Chicago style blues, jazz, and gospel music. Additional revenues will come from sales of goods and services reflecting the illustrious business, society and political history of the Black Metropolis Historic District.[25]

Based upon a preliminary examination of the characteristics and differences among such places, and given the practical and financial constraints for undertaking the research, I selected one neighborhood from each of the two remaining categories identified above for detailed study: the 18th and Vine Historic District in Kansas City, Missouri; and Ybor City in Tampa, Florida. These neighborhoods share common histories as the segregated abodes of ethnic and minority migrants to the industrial city. Despite poverty and poor physical conditions, each neighborhood grew into a lively communal setting, but each was transformed and ultimately faced its undoing through the combined forces of urban renewal, de-industrialization, and even desegregation. Unlike the sites typified by reclamation, the contemporary politics of these neighborhoods are shaped less by conflicts between established populations and would-be gentrifiers than by the efforts of "old-timers," largely disadvantaged and elderly populations, to rekindle a nostalgic sense of place and belonging. Each has recently been reshaped to some degree by organized efforts at using neighborhood heritage to re-construct some semblance of their putative "golden ages," a time when a communal social life mitigated the adverse consequences of slum life (Fainstein and Nesbitt 1996).

This study explores each case through the lens of a theoretical formulation of heritage and place that will help to explain crucial differences in contemporary trajectory and outcomes among the cases. While each neighborhood provides an empirical context for this study, *heritage narratives*, socially-constructed discourses that draw on community

---

[24] Timothy Samuelson, "Black Metropolis Thematic Nomination (Cook County, Illinois)," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1986).

[25] Harold L. Lucas, President/CEO, "Open Letter to Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley," April 21, 2000 (Internet URL: http://www.bronzevilleonline.com/cityview.html).

attachments and images of the past, serve as the primary unit of analysis within each case. By identifying, categorizing, and differentiating specific heritage narratives not only by their content but also by their use, we can more readily understand the degree to which external structural factors, such as political influence, social differentiation, financial resources, and level of community involvement, influence divergent outcomes between these two cases. Heritage is constructed and used by multiple actors in the pursuit of different, often conflicting, social and political ends. The objects and dynamics of heritage narratives must therefore be evaluated within the context of the array of social groups and institutions that use them.

Heritage as Remembrance: 18th and Vine, Kansas City, Missouri

Along a four-block stretch of this central city neighborhood stand the remnants of a once-teeming commercial center of African-American life. During the 1930s, 18th and Vine stood at the southeast end of an illicit district of "speakeasies," saloons, and nightclubs that flourished under the corrupt political administration of Boss Tom Pendergast. As a protected haven for various forms of vice, Kansas City became a haven for jazz musicians from throughout the Southwest, who developed innovative musical styles that came to be known as Kansas City Jazz.

Since the early 1960s, a number of unsuccessful efforts have been mounted to create a cohesive cultural district or institution celebrating African-American heritage centered around Kansas City's contribution to Jazz music. The heritage narratives promoted by the various actors in Kansas City are largely celebratory, and focus on the creation of institutions that commemorate the neighborhood's legacy. Specific proposals have centered on using jazz as a means of educating and inspiring young people, developing a new consumer base for local businesses, and reconstructing 18th and Vine as a physical re-presentation of the neighborhood as a 1930s jazz mecca.

The efforts to revitalize 18th and Vine have been most vividly sustained by the memories of one-time residents, such as Fred Hicks:

> "This street, every day it was alive. Everything you could ever want was on every corner. There was horn playing and singing and dancing up and down the street. People were living above all the buildings that used to be here. And in the basements, they had clubs and some of them had tables for the gamblers. . . . It's been gone a long time now, with just

> a few of us old-timers still around waiting for it to come back. I'll tell you, the money in those days wasn't as good - but, Lord, the fun was great."[26]

While such narratives might have formed the basis for a restorative strategy, this grassroots vision of the past has been supplanted and even co-opted by local government and civic boosters. While a variety of community-based organizations once directed their efforts towards the city's African-American population, they lacked the political and financial capital to realize their visions, and were forced to contend with local government ambitions to market the area as a regional tourist destination. Private lenders and philanthropic foundations proved skeptical of the capacity of grassroots organizations to manage the capital investments being earmarked for the area, and the project was stalled due to protracted infighting among community groups and city agencies. Frustrated by continuing infighting and competition among community groups and cultural organizations over the control of the 18th and Vine project, local government, under the leadership of the city's first African-American mayor, quickly divorced control of the various proposals from local organizations and councilmen.

In 1997, city leaders unveiled a newly-constructed cultural facility housing two museums, one honoring Kansas City Jazz, the other spotlighting the Negro Baseball Leagues. In the process, however, local politicians marginalized several organizations that once had been at the fore promoting revitalization and offended African-American business owners by offering relocation incentives to several high-profile enterprises outside Kansas City. As a result of the city's heavy-handed control of the redevelopment process, many in the African-American community have grown skeptical of the project, and increasingly dissatisfied with the outcomes. Optimistic projections about the impact of the museums on the revitalization of the district have therefore failed to materialize. As Gaylord Rogers, a local resident whose father remembered shooting dice with baseball legend Satchel Paige, intones:

> "This today is nice, but it's false. The legend of Vine isn't about special events. It's about daily life. I don't know if we can ever get that magic back."[27]

---

[26] Quoted in Schofield 1995.

[27] *Ibid.*

Ultimately, the symbolic and physical elements of 18th and Vine's redevelopment have been largely commemorative, seeking to mark the past while simultaneously promoting development and activities largely unrelated to the historic context or functioning that characterized the district's past.

Heritage as Restoration: Ybor City, Tampa, Florida

As a multi-ethnic enclave of nearly 15,000 residents, Ybor City was once the largest cigar manufacturing center in the United States. The working-class population of the neighborhood, composed of a polyglot mix of Hispanic Cubans, Afro-Cubans, Eastern European Jews, and Italian-Americans, structured itself into a distinct set of sub-communities, best exemplified by a set of ethnically-distinct turn-of-the-century mutual aid societies (Charleton 1992; Freeman 1994). While much of the built environment of Ybor City's commercial district remains intact, little remains of the once vital working-class neighborhood. The cigar factories began to close in the waning days of the Depression, and many of the shotgun houses that characterized the district's residential environs were destroyed by urban renewal.

A visitor to Ybor City today would find a social and public life quite distinct from what persisted historically. Seventh Avenue, once known as Broadway but now rechristened *La Septima*, has become a locus for tourists from throughout Tampa and Florida, who are drawn to trendy restaurants and nightclubs, coffee shops, and cigar bars. The prevalent theme among the heritage narratives that pervade this neighborhood is the image of "a community held together by the commonality of shared residence, institutions, and adversity" (Mormino 1987). As expressed in the words of a former resident:

> "Life was very much a family affair. Neighbors knew each other over whole blocks. Families had few children so as to be able to send them to good schools. Nightlife was very animated. There were parties in many houses and everybody could join in. Stores stayed open till midnight, and groups of young people were always strolling on the sidewalks. Though there was a bit of tension with the Italians, they had to learn Spanish to get along in the town, because that was practically the only language spoke in Ybor City."[28]

These narratives also emphasize the Latin character of the district, to the exclusion of contemporary minorities living in Ybor City, and deny the existence of ethnic and racial

tension, along with radical activism, among Ybor's residents in the past (Greenbaum 1990). One-time residents of Ybor City and their descendants use their symbolic and affective ties to the neighborhood to promote a vision of revitalization premised on the literal re-creation of a vital past. For these groups, the primary objective is restoration of Ybor City to its former state of grace as Tampa's convivial "Latin Quarter."

Common Roots, Divergent Outcomes

Each of the cases chosen for detailed study provides an intriguing example of a robust neighborhood whose day has come and gone, leaving behind strong physical traces of both the groups that inhabited them, and the physical consequence of public policy decisions to cope with their perceived disorder. Despite their near-destruction by urban renewal and other planning interventions, each neighborhood contains at least some physical and social reminders of a "lost" community, usually deeply embedded within a derelict physical fabric. The built landscape of each neighborhood is dominated to remarkably similar degrees by interstate highways and public housing projects, the most tangible vestiges of mid-century urban renewal planning.

Each case has been previously described in the professional literature, and has served as the subject of academic research in multiple disciplines, offering the potential to leverage extant research to flesh out the historical evolution of each neighborhood and the political contests within them. Drawing on existing secondary materials helped to situate the cases within the research framework and to identify some primary material. The neighborhoods selected are in cities of comparable size and regional influence (metropolitan populations less than 2 million, and urban populations around 500,000), and are located in the Midwest and Sunbelt, areas often overlooked in urban research. As such, they offer insights that may not adequately be represented in much larger urban centers, such as New York, Chicago and Los Angeles.

Historically, these inner city neighborhoods served as the principal place of residence for a relatively large minority population within their respective cities (peak populations ranged from 4,000 to 12,000 residents). Each neighborhood once housed a range of social

[28] Quoted in Amador 1988

classes within their respective ethnic minorities, given relatively strict practices of residential segregation and the exclusion of minorities from other neighborhoods in each city. Within slightly differing contexts of ethnic assimilation and racial segregation, each neighborhood functioned as the commercial center for both ethnic and minority professionals (including lawyers, bankers, and physicians), as well as the principal social and commercial centers for minority residents in each city.

Despite their crucial roles in providing housing for active and varied communities of working-class and minority residents, each neighborhood came to be seen as a slum, and corrupt local municipal administrations allowed various forms of vice, including gambling and bootlegging, to flourish during the throes of the Great Depression. As a result, each neighborhood was stigmatized by urban elites and the media as an undesirable, immoral, and dangerous ethnic enclave. Both neighborhoods declined and were significantly undermined by public policy during the 1950s and 1960s, reflecting the profound combined impacts of national and global economic restructuring and the range of new housing opportunities created elsewhere through federal intervention, including the G.I. bill and, later, legislation outlawing housing discrimination. The immediate consequence for each neighborhood was a pattern of dereliction and abandonment, which in turn made each of these neighborhoods a target for urban renewal, as well as public housing and highway construction programs.

For several decades, each neighborhood has been the focus of concerted efforts by individuals, groups, and the public sector to use heritage to reinvigorate their respective cultural, economic, and community life, based on socially-constructed images of their respective "golden ages." Each neighborhood thus serves as the focal point of personal identity and sentimental attachment for one-time residents and other actors seeking, through active commemoration and new development based on historical themes, to resurrect an imagined sense of community. Each neighborhood has been designated on its respective local and the National Register of Historic Places; each features institutions that promote its history and heritage; and each is the focus of concerted public policies and private interests promoting heritage-based revitalization. The revitalization processes in both neighborhoods, while differing in their content and outcomes, have been underway

for a period of time sufficient to reveal internal conflict, economic and social obstacles to redevelopment and to permit the identification of competing interests.

Kansas City's 18th and Vine District demonstrates the difficult turns and false starts that can thwart grassroots efforts to commemorate community legacies and the ways in which those legacies can be expropriated by municipal development agencies to accomplish political objectives that neither resonate with the African-American community nor diminish skepticism in the white community about the viability of the district as an economic enterprise. In Ybor City, heritage has served both to promote ethnic restoration, and to reconfigure contending uses in ways that reinforce the area's identity as Tampa's "Latin Quarter." Together, the two cases demonstrate the desire by place entrepreneurs to control not only the narrative discourses of heritage, but also the political and economic resources that facilitate the translation of heritage narratives into public and private action.

Contextualizing Variations Between the Cases

While each of these cases presents consistent structural features, such as the context and history of the neighborhood, a pattern of contested politics of land use, and the promotion of heritage by multiple actors, the realization of heritage-based revitalization ultimately depends on tangible political and financial resources. The specific heritage policies and actions pursued in each case vary depending upon how and where among these phases heritage promotion is situated. Over time, neighborhoods may move through and among each of these categories, but ultimately, one or another tends to dominate the process and outcomes of revitalization in a given neighborhood. Conflicts over heritage not only stem from differences in market orientation and intended audience (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996), but are also often revealed by transitions and conflicts among these categories. The exploratory approach in this study will therefore offer insights on how one category as compared to another comes to the fore.

This variation demonstrates the complex dynamics among neighborhoods with similar histories and apparent potential for heritage-based strategies. While basic structural factors across these neighborhoods are similar, the divergent outcomes of recent revitalization are explainable with reference to the underlying theories presented in this study. Such an

approach permits theoretical generalization that can be used to develop a basis for comparison and explanation in other neighborhoods, thereby informing future research and offering critical insights for policy.

Re-constructing Place and Community

Through ethnographic and documentary research, this dissertation develops an analytical framework describing how "heritage narratives," or patterns of rhetoric and discourse drawing on community attachments and neighborhood history, influence both the content of political discourses and outcomes of political decision-making (Bridger 1996), thereby redefining the symbolic politics and processes of neighborhood redevelopment. Language possesses the unique power to broaden or constrain the parameters of public discourse, political debates, and the adoption of competing policies (Edelman 1964, Lofland 1991). As social discourse, the language of heritage allows individuals and groups to consciously evoke, construct, and project images of the past, not simply as a form of reminiscence or communication, but as a means of influencing and helping to determine the outcomes of political contests over both the form and content of future urban development (Dorst 1989; Maines and Bridger 1992).

Personal Engagement with the Past

Professionals tend to think of "history" as the formal interpretation of accumulated data and "facts," and assume that the public "learns" history through such formal mechanisms and institutions as schools, museums, and historic sites. To test these assumptions, urban historians Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen set out to determine how Americans use and understand the past (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998). They discovered that most Americans encounter such formal "heritage" institutions as museums only through serendipitous efforts to inform and construct individual and family history. (Most interview subjects reported that they usually visit museums incidentally, often as a sidelight to travel for other recreational purposes.) At the same time, many Americans view history as dull and boring, something written by academics *for* academics. Americans tend to approach history from a very personal vantage point, and are not particularly interested in history

(the interpretation of the past), or heritage (the social construction of the past into meaning for the present)

Instead, for most American, notions of "the past" stem primarily from a base of personal experiences and recollections. To their surprise, Rosenzweig and Thelen learned that many Americans apprehend the "past" principally through such intimate and personal events and gatherings as family reunions, funerals, and birthdays. (Such occasions are seldom initiated as deliberate efforts to examine the past, but inevitability become a forum for collective reminiscence.) The past helps individuals to develop a better sense of self and their identity, both through the immediacy of their personal recollections and through the sharing of life experiences with kin and close friends. Collective memory is engendered through primary relationships, and both shapes and reinforces the quality and character of personal relationships. These shared memories frame daily life, helping to make sense of the present, and also reinforce individual and collective cultural identity. , The past helps to reinforce immediate, tangible, and profoundly personal attachments to family, and memory also serves as a principal locus of individual attachment to place.

Despite this observed potential for the past to serve as a mechanism for building and reinforcing individual and collective identity, storytelling and more intimate forms of heritage construction and transmittal serve different objective functions for distinct groups. The uses of the past for most Americans are immediate and personal, and only in exceptional circumstances serve collective and cultural purposes. Rosenzweig and Thelen note few conditions under which individual and collective constructions of the past are applied instrumentally to the accomplishment of broader social objectives and goals. Rather, for most Americans, despite some variation by social class and race or ethnicity, the past serves mainly to develop or reinforce cultural notions of individual and group identity. Moreover, African-Americans identify with different cultural icons and venerate different historical figures than whites, including some "minor" figures who would prove obscure to many white Americans (one such example is Dr. Charles Drew, who invented blood transfusions but died in a car accident when he was refused admission to a whites-only hospital.) Narratives constructed by African Americans, even those dealing with

slavery and the Civil Rights movement, tend to serve as positive affirmations of community struggles and accomplishments in the face of adversity.

Heritage as Narrative

Heritage narratives must also be contextualized as social discourses that implicitly express dissatisfaction with the present (Kasinitz and Hillyard 1995). Even ethnographers often report these invocations at face value, divorcing them from the context in which they are constructed and disregarding the purposes to which they are put (Dorst 1989). Rather than merely recounting historical facts, heritage narratives help to reinforce these symbolic manifestations of belonging and identity (as well as to marginalize or exclude others), and can play a pivotal role in structuring, advancing, and legitimating competing claims to space (Kasinitz and Hillyard 1995). Heritage narratives can therefore define the boundaries, content and direction of public discourse, and are central to processes of urban change (Bridger 1996).

Historian Michael Kammen (1997) has explored the question of how history is distinguished from heritage. Like many historians, Kammen frets that academic history may be undermined by the emerging popularity of heritage, while simultaneously decrying heritage as sentimental, superficial and frivolous. By considering the social functions of heritage, he notes that heritage is distinguished from history most in its attachment to personal memory and claims to a legacy, and that unlike historical scholarship, heritage provides a distorted view of the past that is not readily amenable to synthesis and interpretation by historians. While history focuses on interpretation of the past, heritage instead focuses on the instrumental projections of the past into the present to promote visions for the future. Unlike traditional history, which focuses exclusively on rhetoric and interpretation, heritage instead focuses on interpretation grounded in the context of place. Heritage therefore should be understood as a product of *material*, rather than *literary*, culture, which distinguishes heritage as a tangible encounter with the past set against the complexity of the present (Frenchman 2001).

What is most important to understanding the use of heritage, therefore, is not the veracity or authenticity of specific memories, or evaluating the merits of the ends to which they are put. Rather, those promoting the use of history and memory in ethnic and

minority communities need to concern themselves with the "process and purpose of memory construction" that leads individuals and groups to decide which places and events to commemorate (Lewis 1995). Neither the scholarly nor the professional literatures have adequately developed a grounded perspective on the social construction of memory and history into the postmodern objects of heritage. As sociologist John Urry (1996) has written, "we are not well-informed as to how people's popular memories of a place, industry, or social institution, are stimulated, enthused, and then organized into a potential documentation of remembrance." What is needed, then, is an analytical framework to assess both the relationship of heritage to economic regeneration, and to situate professional practice within the symbolic politics of heritage-based neighborhood revitalization.

Traditional ethnographic practice assumes the capability of academic research to represent culture in a way that must at least attempt to mirror reality. Given the prevalence of such images and narratives within communities, and the recent "literary" turn in the social sciences, anthropologist John Dorst has identified an "ethnographic dilemma," related to the difficulty of rigorously conducting ethnographic research under conditions in which research subjects are highly aware of how discourse conditions images and perceptions of neighborhoods and communities (Dorst 1989). Practitioners often view engagement within the symbolic realms of culture and heritage with the intent of advancing an "authentic" approach to the past. As Dorst observes, the postmodern condition consists almost entirely of the production of "self-ethnography," the creation, use, and display of narratives by community members for a variety of social, cultural, and even political purposes. This disrupts traditional claims to authority by researchers, since the self-reflexity of the research subject (a staple of postmodern society) undermines the researcher's ambition of developing objective and authoritative knowledge.

As an interpretive device, Dorst therefore advises the assembly of critical readings of these texts into "allegories of meaning" (Dorst 1989). Rather than accepting such narratives at face value, or attempting to fashion them into a definitive interpretive structure, Dorst advocates a research approach that essentially mirrors the production of narratives: the collection and assembly of these narratives into textual representations

related to the institutions that generate them. This method of analysis develops research products that themselves serve as a “thin veneer” mirroring the themes and contexts in which these narratives are produced. Rather than attempt to contrast "history" with "memory," perhaps by analyzing the divergence between "objective evidence" and the various portrayals of the past observed within these cases, this dissertation identifies, collects, and categorizes the heritage narratives through their instrumental use. "History" and "memory" serve neither as distinct nor as competing values, but rather as discursive fragments which obtain their meaning through a process of social construction, political bartering, and the pursuit of often divisive economic objectives.

Having identified heritage narratives as the central unit of analysis in each of the comparative case studies, we require a theoretical framework through which to evaluate how heritage is used discursively in each of these cases. This framework is developed in Chapter 1, and will be re-evaluated to generate a model for heritage-based revitalization through analysis of the case studies in the Conclusion.

1 Heritage, Power, and Place

Building a Theory of Power and Place

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework for this dissertation. To provide an analytical context useful in its insights for taking action in planning and design, one must consider sociological models that offer context and linkages between heritage as symbolic and narrative discourse and processes of urban change. I therefore begin with an explanation of how the sociological understanding of ethnic neighborhoods has shaped public policy responses to the inner city, and how both historical and contemporary urban design practice in the inner city have overlooked significant factors in the development of individual and group attachment to place. I next consider how design theory has overlooked the discursive construction of the inner city. I then describe heritage as a discursive practice that seeks to alter and challenge the prevailing images of urban neighborhoods. This theoretical framework provides an analytical context in which to explore the dynamics and objects of heritage in each of the case studies.

This chapter represents not so much as an attempt to develop a new social or cultural theory of place, as an effort to apply critical theory in a way that informs our understanding of how practitioners might better act within this contested realm of practice. To do so, heritage must be apprehended as a symbolic contest through which contending groups use heritage to advance contending courses of action, as well as differing views of what a place should become.

Planning a Place for the Ghetto

Urban sociologists traditionally have viewed ethnic neighborhoods as undesirable areas of overcrowding and social pathology. The Chicago School of urban ecology, pioneered by Ernest W. Burgess and Robert E. Park at the University of Chicago, serves as the most influential of these perspectives. Urban ecologists modeled city growth and evolution through a zonal model, in which five concentric zones, radiating outward from a

downtown center, serve as a hierarchy of place. Urban ecology predicted that distinct social classes would successively move from an inner "zone of transition" to the urban periphery as they simultaneously assimilated to American culture and joined the middle class (Park and Burgess, 1925).

Urban ecology helped to reinforce popular conceptions of ethnic places as undesirable, amoral, and degenerative parts of cities, and strongly influenced the practice of city planning (Silver 1985). Park and Burgess predicted that the transitory nature of ethnic areas, characterized by dynamic invasion and succession of different ethnic minority groups through time, would lead eventually to their decline or disappearance, especially with the waning of European immigration to America. As R.D. McKenzie explained, the slum was "the area of minimum choice . . . the product of compulsion rather than design" (McKenzie 1926). The Chicago School further perceived urban neighborhoods as the root cause of modern alienation, the degeneration of traditional communal bonds, and the declining significance of the family as a social institution (Wirth 1938). Through expansive empirical research on patterns of urban land use, urban ecology influenced economic models of urban land rent structure and neighborhood transition, which emphasized the destructive effects of intermingling and "decadent" land uses (Hoyt 1939).

By further associating the dense built environments and social heterogeneity of ethnic neighborhoods with various social pathologies (including crime, poor sanitation, and epidemics), city planners came to view densely populated and socially heterogeneous neighborhoods themselves as a root cause of pathological behavior and the seeds of urban decline. Efficiency, especially in economic and fiscal terms, became the social discourse through which areas already identified as negligible in popular discourse could be objectified as urban cancers, a social malignancy that would spread if not contained, cauterized, and eventually destroyed. Acting on the basis of this ideology, planners urged the clearance of ethnic neighborhoods and their replacement by spatially compact neighborhood units, often intended for individuals from a different stage and class of urban life (Silver 1985).

As early as the 1930s, scholars questioned the explanatory power of urban ecology's deterministic theory of urban spatial development, along with the specific planning and

design interventions advocated by its adherents (Silver 1985). A significant critique of the zonal model was offered by Harvard sociologist Walter Firey, who noted that Boston neighborhoods did not conform easily to the zonal model (Firey 1945). Beacon Hill and the West End, adjacent upper-class and ethnic neighborhoods, respectively, near downtown Boston, historically evaded the predicted invasion-succession and decline, but instead persisted as distinct communities. Firey explained this divergence by noting the social and economic functions of symbolism and sentiment in each neighborhood. Residents of Beacon Hill identified with the area because of its symbolic distinction as an upper-class neighborhood, while West Enders were drawn to the possibility of building stable social ties and sentimental attachments to the neighborhood as a locus of ethnic culture. Firey noted the incongruence of such symbolic and sentimental attachments with the structural and functional dimensions of the strict ecological framework (Firey 1945).

The social and environmental problems that afflicted many such areas undoubtedly existed, but the interpretation of these phenomena as signifiers of "slum" and "ghetto" reveal social meanings imposed externally to rationalize actions desired by those with power and influence. Thus, urban historian Alan Mayne has concluded that "[s]lums are myths"; the concept of the slum, Mayne urges, has been used by those in power to oversimplify a set of complex social realities, and to mask these realities "with words, with discourse, [and] with signs" (Mayne 1993). Despite these critiques, the slum served for the modernist planners as a literal easel to be erased and rewritten at whim. During the early 1950s, Boston's city planners deemed the West End "a decadent area in need of redevelopment," on the basis of various "objective" criteria: its high vacancy rate (5% as compared to 1% in the city of Boston as a whole); its high proportion of land area dedicated to residential use, despite the pronounced intermingling of commercial establishments; its excessive proportion (80%) of substandard housing, defined by age, type of construction, and conformance to modern building standards; its high incidence of tuberculosis and other health problems, which were believed to stem primarily from excessive density; and its high concentration of active welfare cases.[1]

---

[1]Boston Housing Authority, Urban Redevelopment Division, *West End project report: a preliminary redevelopment study of the West End of Boston* (Boston : The Division, 1953).

Even while they flourished, such places were most distinguished by their apparent invisibility. Viewed by mainstream society as dangerous, morally-deprived, and unsanitary, planning apprehended such places first with indifference, then with repulsion, and finally with "creative destruction" in the name of municipal fiscal integrity and economic efficiency (McDonough 1993). Beyond the economic and social reality of deprivation found in such neighborhoods, the image associated with such places in popular discourse further regiment their perceived geographical boundaries, restricting their potential to serve a meaningful civic and public role, and inhibiting their capacity to act as a democratic environment for markets and settlements.

The decades following World War II witnessed the ultimate implications of the prescriptions offered by urban ecology for working-class neighborhoods. Throughout urban America, slum areas were systematically razed on the premise that better housing (including public and private-market housing) could be provided to residents elsewhere in the city. The Federal Housing Act of 1949, along with subsequent urban renewal legislation, provided redevelopment funding premised on the development of comprehensive city plans based on models drawn largely from ecological theory. During the 1950s and 1960s, this coupling of theory with the financial resources and imprimatur of federal policy enabled the destruction of marginal neighborhoods and forced relocation of more than 600,000 residents, the majority of whom were black, but a significant number of whom were ethnic and poor whites as well (Silver 1985; Martin 1966).

Longing for Home: Nostalgia and the Affective Ties of Place

Due to public attention generated both by intensive academic research and ongoing media attention to the urban renewal struggle, Boston's West End remains the foremost case in how and why urban renewal went wrong.[2] To the surprise of contemporary city planners, the total clearance of places like Boston's West End revealed significant and deeply-embedded social networks, meanings, and attachments. The traumatic clearance

---

[2] This loss of community had been foreshadowed by Gans (who titled his work *The Urban Villagers*), and in turn the West End soon became a cause célèbre for the discovery of community in the ghetto.

and replacement of ghetto districts provoked significant neighborhood-based backlash, as well as stinging rebukes by psychologists, sociologists, and design practitioners.[3]

In neighborhoods subject to total clearance, like the West End, the forced removal of residents and destruction of the neighborhoods imposed profound mental and social trauma, which one sociologist characterized as "loss" and "grieving," (Fried 1963). This characterization derived not only from the stigma and financial burdens imposed by physical dislocation, but also from the destruction of regular contacts and established networks of socialization that underlie the very concept of "home" (Fried 1963; Fried and Gleicher 1961). For such neighborhoods, the meaning of "loss" becomes apparent as one examines the consequences that accompanied the forced relocation of groups and communities. For those who inhabited them, the basic "right of presence" was abrogated, often (but not always) because many residents rented, rather than owned, their place of residence. Social ties and communal bonds were severed, as groups that once shared place of residence and identity as "neighborhood" were dispersed geographically.

This sense of trauma pervades not only the web of social networks that reinforced their attachment to place, but even the identity and existence of place itself. For the ethnic and minority groups who once inhabited such places (both by choice and because of a lack of it), ethnic and segregated ghettos served as the setting for daily life, the routinized patterns of behavior and activity often taken for granted, such as work, home, family, play, community, and markets. Urban renewal systematically obliterated neighborhood infrastructure, down to the level of street patterns, alleyways, and well-worn footpaths, as well as the structural and social aspects of the built landscape. With the passage of time,

---

[3] Inspired by the impending destruction of Boston's West End in the late 1950s and early 1960s, intellectuals Jane Jacobs and Herbert Gans pled the cases for urban density and mixed uses, and the maintenance of the physical settings that nourished and maintained the social fabric of ethnic immigrants, respectively (Jacobs 1961; Gans 1962). Each questioned not only the specific policies that led to the displacement of the urban poor, but also the underlying theoretical conceptions of space and society that rationalized such policies. Jacobs, along with other commentators (e.g., Goodman 1972) denounced the idea that urban neighborhoods lacked social vitality, while Gans went further, arguing that planners erroneously assumed the presence of middle-class residents and lifestyles in neighborhoods as a prerequisite to their vigor (Gans 1968). The work of these intellectuals fueled popular sentiments against the machinery of neighborhood clearance, and led to a variety of policy initiatives intended to generate political support and participation from within urban neighborhoods (Keyes 1973; Rohe and Gates 1985).

the social and cultural dimensions of such places gradually waned, as memories faded and the dispossessed aged and passed away.

Mitigating this loss and grieving has been a process of nostalgic recollection and communal "recovery," a social and psychic process through which individuals and groups communicate their individual and shared recollections of place. Such places are now most characterized by narratives of sentiment, affect, and reminiscence associated with both an idyllic past, and the troubling legacy of how that past came undone.[4] David Lowenthal (1974) has reflected on the etymology of nostalgia, which is derived from the Greek words for "returning home" (nostos) and "illness" (algia). Homesickness may be perhaps too strong a formulation, but it does capture the essence of how memory and sentiment affix individual and group identity to place.

Despite its tragic demise, the urban landscape of the West End retains significant meaning and symbolic importance for former residents (Dreier and Gendron 1995). Some forty years after the destruction of their neighborhood, Boston's "West Enders" continue to self-identify as a community, both despite and perhaps as a means of coping with the trauma of dislocation.[5] The resilience of symbolic community attachments and sentiments to such areas has even resulted in legal and political challenges to reaffirm community rights.[6] With the passage of time, narratives of "loss" progressively transform these

[4] Two prominent accounts, both written by journalists, reached the New York *Times* bestseller lists during the mid- to late-1990s: *The old neighborhood: what we lost in the great suburban migration, 1966-1999* (Suarez 1999); and *The lost city: discovering the forgotten virtues of community in the Chicago of the 1950s* (Ehrenhalt 1995). Ehrenhalt's work is discussed in detail below.

[5] During the 1970s, a central group of "old-timers" began organizing regular "West End Reunions," at which former residents and their families reminisce about old times in the neighborhood. These informal social gatherings prompted the creation of "The West-Ender," a bi-weekly newsletter still in active publication, and eventually led to the creation of a non-profit organization dubbed The West Housing Corporation. Peter S. Canellos, "Old Boston grievances die hard: West Enders' fight typifies politics of loss and anger," *Boston Globe*, November 25 1997, pp.A1, A16.

[6] Indeed, the personal and social attachments of former residents to the West End neighborhood continue unabated, as demonstrated in a recent struggle by former West Enders to gain tenancy rights in a new apartment complex being developed on part of the neighborhood destroyed over thirty years ago (Dreier and Gendron 1995).

sentiments to evoke and promote the restoration of a nostalgic former state of being (Kasinitz and Hillyard 1995).

Environmental Psychology and Place Identity

The environmental behavior literature describes fundamental connections between self-identity and the expression of culture within physical places. Environmental psychology recognizes the role of place in the development of self-identity, and that the strength and type of connections between place and self can vary by life stage, gender, and social status (Proshansky 1995). The physical environment serves as "an organizing frame" for the "laying down of memories, the canvas on which a rich set of experiences with objects, people and groups is laid out" (Rivlin 1982). Such attachments are not mere nostalgia, but serve as the foundation for socially constructed meanings that shape the perception and interpretation of specific urban locales. "Sense of place" can be defined as the "complex bundle of meanings, symbols, and qualities that a person or group associates (consciously and unconsciously) with a particular locality or region" (Datel and Dingemans 1984). Despite the fact that ethnicity often sustains communities independently of physical neighborhoods, such attachments to place can in turn serve as a powerful unifying factor in asserting and maintaining ethnic identity (DeSantis and Benkin 1980).

Places not only have important meaning for self-identity, but may also be used to project self- and group-identity in ways that assert claims to space. Neighborhood residents draw on a variety of social and cultural processes to make visible important aspects of emotional and psychological attachment to place. Personal and group attachment to place are mediated through symbols and icons of shared meaning (Rivlin 1982), and identity can be projected within neighborhoods through the physical artifacts and symbolic demarcations, such as those used in historic preservation and commemoration (Datel and Dingemans 1984). Heritage therefore stands to play an important role in the revitalization of urban areas, since ethnic groups often have long-lived and well-established connections to specific neighborhoods.

Further critical insights into the roles of symbols and sentiments in urban development processes are provided by sociologist Albert Hunter (1974), who identifies symbolic attachments as a powerful unifying factor in neighborhood identity and local mobilization.

Hunter argues that cognitive images of neighborhood, which define a neighborhood's boundaries and identity, differ among individuals and groups depending on their sentiments or feelings towards place. These sentiments, in turn, vary by race, class, and social status, and are influenced by how residents evaluate their neighborhoods, and the strength or weakness of their attachments to place. In other words, the symbolic domain, while not independent of underlying structural variables such as race and class, nonetheless offers an alternative premise for understanding collective action that is place-based. Ultimately, Hunter concludes, the symbolic identification and definition of a community is therefore a process of symbolic interaction, in which individuals adapt and reframe their identification with place, as well as their own identity, in the pursuit of different social ends. These local community symbols, in turn, are not only malleable social constructs, but are likewise created, adapted, and manipulated by local institutions and formal organizations.

The advocacy of ethnic heritage as the symbolic basis for economic and social renewal underscores the interest in identity among assimilated ethnic groups. Herbert Gans (1979) describes a renewal of interest in ethnicity among the third- and fourth-generation descendants of ethnic immigrants. Seeking to resolve a crisis of identity, Gans observes that such groups embrace what he calls "symbolic ethnicity," the assertion of ethnic identity through ritualistic, ceremonial aspects of culture, such as observance of religious holidays and ceremonial rites (e.g., bar mitzvah). This search for identity may also be demonstrated through renewed interest in heritage, ancestry, and the concept of an ethnic homeland, all of which may have greater emotional and psychic meaning than physical or social importance for contemporary generations. Drawing on such ritualistic and symbolic identifications may allow ethnic place entrepreneurs to project ethnic culture and symbolic representations in both defensive and proactive ways to stimulate neighborhood revitalization (Lin 1995).

Design Thinking about Place Identity

The seminal work on city image by Kevin Lynch (Lynch 1960), while related to the environmental psychology literature described above, focuses less on the sentimental attachments between individuals and place, and instead concentrates on whether places are

"imageable," that is, perceptible, recognized and readily identified by individuals in urban society. Using focused interview techniques, Lynch developed maps revealing the deeply-embedded cognitive images that enable urban residents to "wayfind" in the urban landscape. These cognitive maps also serve as psychological and emotional assurance to mitigate fear, and enhance an individual's sense of direction and security.

Lynch argues that city image underlies the development of sentimental attachments between individuals and urban landmarks, although, like Firey, he does not explore the mechanisms through which these attachments are developed, or the ways in which such values might deliberately be manipulated. Lynch notes the presence of pronounced "blind spots" in the mental maps of Jersey City residents, while readily identifying the physical boundaries that circumscribe the "Boston that everyone knows." Lynch's combined mental maps reveal gaps that reflect the unease and lack of familiarity among many middle-class professionals with low-income and minority neighborhoods (even within the boundaries of his study area, the city image Lynch describes in mid-century Boston clearly skirts such neighborhoods).

These findings not only help delineate the cognitive boundaries of place in these particular cases, but also suggest that mental maps enable individuals to navigate urban space by differentiating areas of familiarity, desire, and avoidance. More than simply functioning as wayfinding devices, however, cognitive maps tend to remain relatively fixed, especially if an individual has not directly experience a place for some period of time. Lynch noted that while the processes of urban change can make individuals' mental maps obsolete over time, cognitive image of place often persists despite drastic change in the urban landscape itself. His interview subjects occasionally described surprise, if not shock, fear, or disillusionment, after discovering dramatic changes in the urban landscape that had made their mental maps obsolete.

Lynch's study suggests a number of difficult questions that urban designers have proven reluctant to tackle. First, is there popular consensus on the image of a particular city? If not, what accounts for differences? Are images personal (based primarily on direct experience and personal encounters with the city), or collective (perhaps due to their shaping by mass media)? If mass communications replace personal experience as the

barometer of city image, what are the implications for questions of equity and neighborhood attachments?

Lynch's research laid the foundation for the resolution of these questions, but significant work remains to be done. Subsequent studies have found differences in the perception of city image among different groups within the city (Appleyard 1970), especially among different ethnic minorities (Maurer and Baxter 1972). Moreover, other research indicates that the valuation of different types of scenic and cultural landscapes also varies by ethnicity and social background (Zube and Pitt 1981). Both historical and contemporary accounts indicate that the contours and symbolic boundaries of ghetto landscapes are increasingly shaped by popular media in a manner largely independent of the physical landscape and social reality (Wohl and Strauss 1958; Vale 1995).

Both cognitive and discursive images associated with particular places reveal political and social conflict in subtle ways. The fear and ambiguity associated with large open spaces, such as empty and abandoned lots, often serve as tangible if emotional indicators of space in conflict. "[E]mptiness as a complex social space," geographer Gary McDonough writes, "is defined by conflict among groups with distinct visions of the city and presences in its society." Empty space is often excluded space, land held in abeyance due to speculation, boundary disputes, and even as an intentional buffer between socially incongruous zones. Emptiness signifies "conflict between dominating and dominated, "and serves as a tangible expression of underlying social and economic actions, including speculation, displacement, expropriation, and marginalization" (McDonough 1993) The ambiguities occasioned by emptiness tend to provoke fear and uncertainty, a reflection of the unknown. Far from serving as "democratic" space, or space that "permits the freely chosen actions of its users" (Lynch 1962), empty space often subtly or explicitly forbids trespass. "Do not enter" ominously implies a threat of violence or other adverse consequences; contested national boundaries are buffered by "no-man's land" (McDonough 1993).

Rather than following an ecologically determined trajectory of decline and transition, empty spaces in the inner city convey space embroiled in deep, but veiled conflict "among groups with distinct visions of the city and presences in its society" (McDonough 1993). A

seemingly abandoned urban lot can be interpreted as a space whose use has been contested by different social groups, revealing "conflict between dominating and dominated" (McDonough 1993). Urban neighborhoods are therefore defined not so much by dereliction or decline, as by their association with processes of social and political decision making that dissociate individuals and groups from their psychological, social, and emotional bonds to the urban landscape.

The existence of inner-city areas as interstitial space in the combined cognitive maps of major cities seems to imply that lost places constitute a vacuum, space that has been entirely purged of its identity and meaning. Urban designer Roger Trancik has proposed a cognitive and aesthetic approach to recovering such "lost space" as a central focus of urban design. According to Trancik, lost space comprises such marginal uses as surface parking lots, abandoned and vacant industrial and residential sites, poorly-conceived public housing or parks, as well as the physically and aesthetically incoherent "leftover" spaces between commercial developments, public plazas, and elevated highways. For Trancik, lost space is "ill-defined" "antispace," which makes "no positive contribution to the surrounding or users" (Trancik 1986).

Unlike the narrow, utilitarian definition proposed by Trancik, lost places are not merely vestigial or leftover spaces; rather, they serve as the interstices and "gaps on the map" that result from broad and continuous processes of social construction endemic to the processes of land markets in urban development. Urban designers are forced to confront the possibility that their spatial conceptions and image of the city, along with their designation and evaluation of the symbolic and visual quality of city landscapes, therefore differ from those of inner city residents. As Lynch later reported (somewhat regretfully), urban designers have not taken seriously the underlying assumption that city image is a mental and social construct that must be gleaned from city dwellers through collaborative engagement (Lynch 1984), not simply represented or imposed at the whim of urban designers.[7]

---

[7] This is a startling dilemma, one suggested even earlier by Appleyard, who noted that professionals in Ciudad Guyana consistently erred in their description of the geography of the city (Appleyard, *op cit.*)

Despite its invisibility for many, the physical landscape of the inner city contains encoded symbolism and imagery that may not readily be perceived by outsiders. These forms of image, as evidenced by disputes over the use as well as possession and occupancy of space, are no less salient or less tangible to residents than the structural or social fabric of the local neighborhood. Furthermore, place meanings and definitions (indeed, even place names), are often revealed only when conflict and contests over control of urban space fracture deeply-embedded systems of signs and symbols and push them to the surface.[8] To effectively engage such loaded concepts as ethnic identity and neighborhood heritage, practitioners therefore require informed sensibilities about the structural features and discursive practices that frame the use of heritage to promote revitalization.

Urban Decline and Re-Construction

Main Street, the archetype of American "ordinary places" (Francaviglia 1996), once defined the commercial center of the American city, and now serves as the idyllic and potent civic symbol of the American small town. At the height of the industrial city, however, Main Street often diverted attention from the city's less compelling social and aesthetic features. Every major American city and town had a racially and/or ethnically segregated counterpart to Main Street. Chicago's Bronzeville, New York's Harlem, and St. Louis's Gas Lamp District, while signified as ghettoized spaces unto themselves, were largely defined by their contrast with Main Street. In the throes of segregation, the types of business establishments, goods sold, and the skin color and ethnicity of the merchants

[8] Such is the case in neighborhoods like South Boston, where local resistance to new development along the Boston waterfront stems not only from concerns that gentrification pressures might displace established residents, but also from concerns about the compatibility of new development with the neighborhood's established image and working-class identity. Stephanie Ebbert, "'People are afraid that this community that they love is changing': South Boston treasures its way of life as city gentrifies," *Boston Globe*, September 24, 2000, p.B1. An early conflict in the South Boston development pattern surfaced as a rift between City Council President and South Boston councilman James M. Kelly and Boston Mayor Thomas Menino over the Boston Redevelopment Authority's designation of the South Boston waterfront redevelopment zone as the "Seaport District." Kelly charged that the designation was intended to isolate the industrial area physically and politically minimize neighborhood influence over the proposed redevelopment. ("It was a real insult to have one's neighborhood renamed," Kelly said.) The BRA staff and Mayor Menino, who later relented and changed the name to avoid further conflict with Kelly, had rationalized the

offered a provocative, often sensational, contrast with the central business districts of most American cities (Pred 1961).

Despite their prominent and central role in minority life, until recently, urban historians and historic preservationists routinely overlooked these socially- and racially-marginalized areas. Even the contemporary turn towards a more inclusive concept of heritage continues to disparage the "low-down places" of the former industrial city, the undistinguished, workaday landscapes that provided meaning and structure to the lives of minorities and the working class (Crow 1994). This is not to say, however, that all bygone neighborhoods are viewed with longing or as the basis for a nostalgic return to an earlier time of innocence and simplicity. For African-Americans, in particular, the idea of "place" itself is imbued with troubling and deeply-embedded contradictions. Proscribed and delineated not only by social custom but also by legal restrictions, black neighborhoods transformed even the word "place" for itself in ways that connoted not only physical location, but social status and worth (Marcuse 1997).

Since the 1970s, American cities themselves have been besieged by what Robert Beauregard (1993) calls "narratives of decline," patterns of discourse developed by the media, politicians, and the public at large, that highlight economic transformation, labor unrest, and crime to cast a pall over the future of urban areas. Inner city neighborhoods retain all of the negative symbolism associated with the working poor and substandard housing conditions decried by policymakers since the Progressive Era, but have lost all semblance of a functioning economy or social structure. Many of the historically segregated centers of urban America have been abandoned to the calculated processes and policies of planned dereliction, left to fester under the burden of their own deficiencies of social structure, fiscal capacity, and infrastructure. While the image of the industrial ghetto was characterized by visual cacophany and overcrowding, the post-Fordist ghetto is typified by the processes of abandonment and dereliction. This contrast is mirrored in the depiction of the historic "ghetto enclave" as a voluntarily developed spatial concentration

"Seaport" nomenclature as a reflection that the area belonged to the entire city. Anthony Flint, "Mayor kills Seaport so it can live, renamed," *Boston Globe*, June 12, 1999, p.B4.

of a group for purposes of promoting the welfare of its members, whereas the derelict inner-city is now often conceived of as the "outcast ghetto" (Marcuse 1997).

While the discourse of decline both reflects and has influenced popular conceptions of the inner city, the contrast between the enclave and outcast ghetto has entered even sociological analysis and prescriptions for urban policy. One of the most influential sociological explanations of the decline of inner city communities is William Julius Wilson's work, *The truly disadvantaged* (Wilson 1987). In this study, Wilson attributes the emergence of the persistent black underclass to the erosion of middle-class values in the ghetto, in turn fomented by the fall of segregation and dispersal of the upwardly-mobile African-American middle class (Wilson 1987). Wilson's conception of the ghetto posits a near golden age, a period in which social and environmental commingling of individuals from a variety of social and economic backgrounds prevailed. Within the common rubric of enforced segregation, lower-class blacks were provided regular moral and social uplift attributable to the steady presence of middle class mores, role models, and networked contacts into the growing employment opportunities of the postwar era.

Wilson's account in turn has influenced popular thought about the seeds of decline in urban areas. Writing about the Chicago of the 1950s, journalist Alan Ehrenhalt (1994) follows Wilson's lead, and describes a set of distinct moral communities lost due to the erosion of communal bonds and the profound influence of post-Fordist economies on society. Looking at three distinct Chicago neighborhoods (including Bronzeville), Ehrenhalt describes a vital community life shaped by a sociopolitical context in which neighborhood residents accepted the notion of the "limited life," a belief system constrained by moral notions of sin and the grudging acceptance of urban residents for their particular station in life. Ehrenhalt finds common elements in the social distinctiveness of each neighborhood: an acceptance of morality, measured obeisance to centralized authority, and a willingness to accept limitations on personal choice and behavior. The unraveling of these essential elements of community, Ehrenhalt concludes, is most attributable to the breaking of the "rules" by those in power, principally large corporations, which abandoned worker loyalty and the steady promise of lifetime employment in favor of profits and greed. Ehrenhalt's account of the past is optimistic, as

he finds the Bronzeville of the 1950s to be a largely cohesive and uplifting community, despite his own description of local black political leadership enmeshed in racketeering and unwavering obeisance to machine Mayor Richard Daley. Nonetheless, Ehrenhalt fails to acknowledge that the vitality of community in Bronzeville was sustained by legally-enforced segregation, but like Wilson, instead faults a decline in communal values for undermining the black ghetto's role in providing social and economic uplift to the disadvantaged.

Historians have proven less sanguine in discovering community in the historic ghetto. A methodologically impressive study of neighborhood social structure in nineteenth-century New York (Scherzer 1992) directly challenges this "neighborhood of nostalgia" as illusory. Noting the high rates of transiency and turnover in a most Manhattan neighborhoods, it questions whether neighborhood institutions really provided a centered neighborhood life, or merely the physical setting through which flowed a largely aspatial community based of movers from diverse social networks. Sociologists Norman Fainstein and Susan Nesbitt (1996) have more recently challenged Wilson's "golden age" hypothesis by careful quantitative and longitudinal analysis of New York's African-American neighborhoods. Taking their cue from Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis* (1945), they find a high degree of internal class differentation and social stratification in the segregated ghetto, and indications that middle- and upper-class blacks have traditionally isolated themselves from the poor and socially outcast. Any potential support for Wilson's claim that the demise of the communal ghetto led directly to the emergence of the underclass collapses, as Fainstein and Nesbitt discover that isolation of the black poor actually decreased from 1950 to 1970, and find little evidence to sustain Wilson's premise on other grounds.

While the mixed sociological and historical evidence, not to mention the stark realities of segregation, pose challenges to the idea of the communal ghetto, the captivation of urban designers and policy makers with this nostalgic ideal persists. Recapturing this lost sense of community has taken on the force of received wisdom, and in turn has shaped policies bearing on the future of the slum (Bennett 1998).[9]

[9] Some recent Afro-centric scholarship has vaunted the image of the ghetto's "golden age" not only to question the benefits of desegregation, but to challenge white support of the civil rights

Apprehending Heritage as a Dynamic of Urban Change

The Political Economy of Historic Preservation

Historic preservation arose during the 1960s as a response to the planned destruction of the culturally signified urban landscape. Historic preservation has traditionally functioned by signifying places as worthy of conservation and rehabilitation in order to persuade the influx of new, more affluent residents, and public and private capital. Gentrification, the displacement of marginal residents and uses by "urban pioneers," has often been rationalized among historic preservationists as an unfortunate side effect that has the beneficial effect of overcoming lower-income groups' ignorance of the distinctive architecture and history of an area (Davis 1991). Even among heritage professionals, a lack of "appreciation" for the values of preservation has been identified as a "dilemma" compelling new efforts at public education. (Shearer and Lefevre 1997)

As a social and political process, historic preservation not only comprises new capital investment and upgrading of physical structures, but also is reified by symbols and discourses about the character and identity of place. The discursive processes that underlie historic preservation can prove critical in framing public debates about neighborhood revitalization and justifying desired courses of action. Established residents use place and heritage narratives to resist the entry of outsiders and reinforce social and racial antagonisms (Kasinitz and Hillyard 1995). For instance, community residents in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, troubled by increasing urban sprawl, have often inveighed historicist narratives characterizing contemporary development as a threat to established Amish ways of life, while urging the protection of those ways of life as an important source of local tourism activity and revenue (Maines and Bridger 1992).

The territorial demarcations and images that characterize historic neighborhoods and districts are not, therefore, simply a product derived from "resources" embedded in the built environment, but reflect prolonged and complex processes of social construction,

---

movement. One such interpretation attributes the fall of segregation to corporate interest in expanding consumer markets among blacks, which had the consequent effect of undermining black-owned businesses and neighborhoods (Weems 1998). Russ Rymer also takes this stance in *American Beach* (Rymer 1998).

cultural and architectural signification, and narrative discourses (Anderson 1987; Mayne 1993). Indeed, one of the basic elements of historic preservation is the ability to drawn on distinct eras of the local urban past to alter the identity and character of an urban neighborhood (Kasinitz 1988). Historic preservation imposes intricate patterns of symbolic display in the material culture of place, from the type of finishes and ornamentation applied to building exteriors, to the "found" art and statuary displayed within the public realm (Suchar 1992).

For example, during the 1980s, a group of "urban pioneers" (white-collar, middle-class professionals) began to purchase brownstones in a declining residential section of Brooklyn. In order to distinguish their rehabilitated streetscape from Gowanus, an adjacent African-American neighborhood, these "settlers" re-christened the area "Boerum Hill," an obscure reference to a 17th-century Dutch landowner, "because it sounded chic."[10] The newcomers designated local landmarks and promoted architectural standards for conservation and rehabilitation of residential buildings and commercial structures. They also developed a historic neighborhood association, which published "neighborhood histories" focusing on Brooklyn's 17th-century settlement by the Dutch. The association actively marketed the "discovered" neighborhood, offering walking tours, open houses, and other events to market "historic" properties and attract other potential pioneers (Kasinitz 1988). The Brooklyn pioneers used antiques, architectural ornamentation salvaged from renovated buildings, and ironwork as symbolic devices to differentiate Boerum Hill townhouses from nearby wood-frame flats inhabited by poor African-Americans.

With their almost singular focus on the increasing the equity and liquidity of their marginal capital investments in inner city neighborhoods, urban pioneers work diligently to use symbolism and heritage to prime inner city residential markets for revitalization through external private capital and public investments (Davis 1991). The power inherent in the process of naming and recasting the image of an urban neighborhood is often lost on practitioners, but seldom on established residents or newcomers. Historic preservation therefore cannot be conceptualized outside a political economic framework, as

[10] Quoted in Smith 1998, p.70.

preservation is often used instrumentally to transform the social and economic dimensions of urban space through narratives and symbolism.

Place Marketing and Imaging

The appeal to heritage must be viewed critically against the backdrop of a number of contemporary economic and social phenomena. In a context of global economic restructuring, discursive practices have come to the fore as central mechanisms of urban change. Since the mid-1980s, "place marketing," the use of creative images, themes, and slogans to advertise the purported economic, social, and cultural advantages and distinctiveness of different cities and regions, has gained increasing prominence on a international scale. While even the early industrial era saw the rise of "urban boosters" who used local and national media to promote local economic development (Strauss 1963; Strauss and Wohl 1958), these strategies have taken on a new political expediency for local and municipal development policy in the wake of global macroeconomic restructuring.

Although place marketing is often dismissed as frivolous (such efforts usually project celebratory and often absurd themes), cities go to great lengths to differentiate themselves in a regional and global context characterized by high capital mobility and a quickening temporal pace of economic change (Harvey 1994, Urry 1995). Cultural theorists are often quick to dismiss such efforts as caricatures devised by marketing consultants and graphic designers, arguing instead that they are often used to represent and mask the power of hegemonic actors and institutions, such as the state or large multinational corporations (Herron 1993; Watson 1991; Wilkinson 1992). Place marketers can embrace and transform even scathing critiques of a city's identity and way of life into promotional discourses, which often have the paradoxical effect of reconfiguring a community's social and cultural identity (Campion and Fine 1998). Such images serve not only as clever ideographic representations of place, but also serve a guide for purposeful action by local government (Pagano 1995).

Urban redevelopment efforts are premised not only on the need to create new housing or to supply new infrastructure and facilities to generate economic development, but also on the desire of certain political and economic actors to redefine the image of the city. In a

context where not only private developers but municipal governments conceptualize their actions within a market paradigm, revitalization compels redefinition of public perceptions and discourses about specific places in order to overcome their reputations as unattractive, unsafe, or simply unseemly. More often than not, this "redefinition" of place entails the clearance of "derelict" or "undesirable" districts, and the incidental displacement, if not forced removal, of established residents. Place marketing reveals the discursive manipulation of place-based narratives as a central mechanism for guiding urban change, and for structuring and influencing the outcomes of place-based conflicts over development. Tourist-oriented historic districts within metropolitan cities, for example, are often both physically and symbolically segregated from adjoining "unseemly" areas (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990).

The construction of place identity and city image, moreover, reflects the pervasive tendency for those in power to dominate and control physical space through both formal (e.g., property rights, legal status, and political control) as well as symbolic means (e.g., architecture, urban design, and the expression and creation of culture within physical space) (Zukin 1994). The historical and contemporary popular "mappings" of the urban landscape do not always emanate from within such areas, but are often externally imposed by the mass media and policy makers. Outsiders and newcomers can demarcate new and distinct territorial definitions of ethnic neighborhoods and districts, and the socially constructed images of place that follow, have historically been imposed externally, that is, by outsiders and newer residents, who are typically affluent and white-collar, and who have few, if any, connections to established residents, or social and community organizations (Anderson 1987; Mayne 1993).

The image of the ghetto therefore can be viewed not only as a mirror of social reality, but as a socially-constructed web of meaning. While economists assume that real estate markets arrive at equilibrium solutions revealing the "best and highest use" of urban land, geographers and political scientists argue that investment decisions are made on the basis of incomplete information, generalization, and shared assumptions about the social character of specific places. As such, decline and abandonment, commonly attributed to what economist Joseph Schumpeter called the capitalist process of "creative destruction," are

neither natural nor inevitable, but instead reflects political and social struggles, rather than the autonomous calculations of the market. Dereliction and abandonment reveal conscious decisions and actions taken "within social contexts substantially structured to contain and direct initiative" (Jakle and Wilson 1992). As geographer David Wilson has written, "How people, place, and processes are represented determines who are a city's villains, victims, and salvationists amid urban change. And representations are the conduit through which planning and policy interventions are understood and advanced, laying out city 'truths' and 'facts' in a seamless everyday." (Wilson 1998)

The emergence of heritage strategies in minority communities thus lies within a broader shift in the emphases of metropolitan economic development. Ethnic heritage also reflects broader currents in racial and national politics. The rise of multi-culturalism has forced educators and historians to examine the unacknowledged histories of ethnic, working-class, and racial minorities. The use of these strategies in distressed urban communities may derive both from their adoption by community development and neighborhood advocates, and from the desire on the part of social elites to recast the image, identity, and social character of these neighborhoods. The fundamental claim regarding heritage, however, is that it possesses a distinct and inviolable capacity to serve as a bulwark against such public actions and policies.

The various modalities of heritage cannot, therefore, be conceptualized outside their social, political, and economic uses. Heritage is founded on a base of social discourse, while revitalization represents the tangible products of a prolonged process of economic restructuring and revalorization of neglected resources. Heritage therefore represents not simply a social process, but a political act, rife with both the potential and all of the trappings of power. Empowerment, whether on a narrow individual level or within broader collective movements, is achieved only within an explicitly political context that involves struggle, contest, and challenge. Empowerment can derive from tangible control over both the physical arrangement and day-to-day management of practical affairs within a specific community, but more importantly, also stems from control over the symbolic aspects of place and the ways in which they are projected to outsiders (Clark 1993).

Group Mobilization in Contests over Place

The political economy of place-based action is often theoretically premised on simple dichotomies between those with power and resources, on the one hand, and the disadvantaged in society (mainly the poor and racial minorities) on the other. Logan and Molotch (1987), for example, characterize local action and conflict as arising from a fundamental division between use and exchange values, values held independently by tenants and rentiers, respectively. Spatial conflict, they argue, is shaped largely by the "growth machines" that form among property owners and other private capital interests to promote urban development, often at the expense of those lacking significant financial investments in urban land. Returning to Firey's evaluation of sentiment and symbolism, Logan and Molotch prove skeptical of the idea that sentiment and symbolism alone can shape the dynamics of urban development. Firey's own examples of Beacon Hill and the West End, they argue, prove the point, since Beacon Hill's maintenance is largely attributable to the affluence of its residents, while the relatively meager social standing of the West End's residents could not withstand external threats to the neighborhood.

Logan and Molotch explain the mechanics of locality-based action by describing the central role of place entrepreneurs, individuals involved directly in the exchange of real property and the collection of rents. Within this narrow definition, place entrepreneurs are individuals who stand and actively attempt to benefit monetarily from increases in real estate valuations. Place entrepreneurs are not, as Logan and Molotch suggest, simply the functional modern equivalent of feudal landlords, i.e., property owners who benefit directly from the sale, rental, or disposition of real property under their control. A more useful and broadened definition revolves around the activities and interests of any individual or group whose direct social and material interests stand to benefit from improvements in the social status of place. This definition includes not only property owners, but businesspersons, public officials, tenured residents, heads of non-profit organizations, and members of distinct social groups, anyone whose material, professional, and social status will be enhanced by their own or others' promotion of activities, events, that enhance the image and identification of a particular place.

Many scholars treat group mobilization in defense of place as an exception to mobilization along other collective domains independent of place, such as race, class, and social status. Social and political theory traditionally has viewed such structural "cleavages" as the primary determinants of or impediments to collective social action, and argue that they are overcome only on the basis of shared material interests coincidental to co-residence and investment in common land (Davis 1991). In other words, distinct social groups tend not to act except within narrowly defined categories of self-interest, and collective action occurs only when material interests that cross-cut these cleavages, such as land ownership or tenancy, face a common threat. This perspective would tend to undermine any claims that distinct social groups share non-material interests or attachments that would encourage collective action in defense of place.

The global transformation of postmodernism dissociates individuals from narrow, class- and group-based interests and promotes complex, often transitory self-identification with place and lifestyle (Kling 1993). The shifting loyalties forged under the conditions of postmodernism require analysis and interpretation based on more than simple dichotomies of interests. Identifying the multiple actors engaged in the processes of heritage-based revitalization is therefore only the first step in understanding how different individuals and groups use heritage to engage the processes of urban change. Davis (1991) argues that locality-based action should instead be theorized along the lines of multiple objectively constituted domestic property interest groups. Such a framework, he concludes, can better explain the internal divisions and conflicts that exist within local neighborhoods, as well as the factors that might promote collective action across internal cleavages. Davis notes that the narrow concept of "place entrepreneurs" fails to apprehend the multiple dimensions along which individuals in a neighborhood can self-identify, assuming, for example, that the interests of renters are always discordant with those of owners, and vice versa.

The postmodern era has seen the rise of a culturally and racially segregated counterpart to these areas in the rise of the ethnic enclave or entrepôt. While some historic precursors, such as San Francisco's Chinatown, have persisted due to continuing immigration, Miami's Little Havana defines a new era in which expansive consumerism reconfigures the social and cultural landscape, and exploits the epigraphs associated with marginal areas of the city

(Mele 2000). The mass media employs such effusive terms as "Latino" to denote pan-ethnicity, while the colloquial "'hood" exploits ethnic slang to celebrate the "danger" of the inner city as urban "chic".[11] Vital ethnic communities, in turn, develop external images defined more by festivity, food, and consumption than by any notion of spatial proximity or social networks.

While the emergence of new markets for symbolism and information poses inherent risks for groups on the margins of society, it also provides new opportunities for local place entrepreneurs to redevelop their neighborhoods and creates a new forum for resistance and empowerment of local groups (Mele 1996). In the postmodern era, the images of ethnic neighborhoods are often being recast by residents themselves. Historic preservation has been advanced as a development tool not only by elite gentrifiers, but also by a new class of ethnic and minority "place entrepreneurs," second- and third-generation descendants of ethnic immigrants, who own property or hold tangible economic stakes in the revitalization of distressed neighborhoods. These entrepreneurs have been especially interested in the development of consumptive enterprises, such as restaurants, nightclubs, and for-profit recreational activities, and have used ethnic heritage as a means of distinguishing their products and specific neighborhoods and districts from competitors elsewhere in the metropolis (Lin 1995).

The entrepreneurial approach to heritage as a mechanism for economic development must be viewed in the context of declining public sector support for neighborhood revitalization.[12] During the 1980s and 1990s, as government programs were "reinvented," private market strategies moved to the fore. This had direct implications for

---

[11] Joshua Levine, "Badass sells," *Forbes*, April 21, 1997; David Gonzalez, "Creating pride from an insult in El Barrio." *The New York Times*, April 19, 1997.

[12] For example, one of the most celebrated initiatives of the late 1990s has been the creation of the Initiative for a Competitive Inner City (ICIC), a project led by Harvard Business School Prof. Michael Porter, which champions market-led and consultant-driven strategies that focus on the inner city as a stable and growing market for consumer goods and low-cost labor. For a critical analysis of ICIC's strategies, see Bennett Harrison, "Why business alone won't redevelop the inner city: a friendly critique of Michael Porter's approach to urban revitalization," Economic Development Administration working paper, December 6, 1995 (Cambridge, Mass.: Taubman Center for State and Local Government, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University).

neighborhood entrepreneurs interested in promoting economic activity, and led a number of groups to discover concepts like heritage tourism.[13] For example, buoyed by data collected by the Travel Industry Association, a clearinghouse for travel agents, national organizations have promoted African-American heritage tourism as an untapped and potentially multi-billion dollar market. From such obvious outposts as Harlem to obscure small towns in the South, numerous efforts have been initiated to promote historic preservation, heritage tourism, heritage corridors, and a range of activities including bus tours, annual festivals, and themed celebrations focusing on neglected landscapes inhabited by ethnic and racial minorities.[14] Despite some initial skepticism, the movement to utilize heritage as a community development strategy has been embraced even by grassroots organizations long skeptical of the preservation's conceptions of architectural, cultural, and historical significance.[15]

Dissonant Heritage

Practitioners have also embraced the expression of heritage in urban space as an expression of social vitality and place identity. Heritage practice generally assumes the ability of signs and visual elements to "connot[e] specific meanings to an audience who

[13] A 1998 conference convened in Kansas City by Washington, D.C.-based Partners for Livable Communities identified at least 28 cities with active African-American heritage tourism initiatives underway. Don Garfield and Angela Blocker, *African American Heritage Tourism and Community Development: A report to the United States Economic Development Administration based upon the proceedings of the Kansas City Forum, October 25-26, 1999.* (Washington, DC: Partners for Livable Communities, 1999).

[14] Bernetta J.Hayes, "Claiming our heritage is a booming industry," *American Visions* 12,5 (October-November 1997), pp.43-7; David Gonzalez, "Architecture Doesn't Stop at 96th St.," *New York Times*, January 21, 1998; Monte Williams, "Newburgh, an Old River Town, Senses How Bright the New Might Be," *New York Times,* November 30, 1997; Mike Sherman, "Tourism blazes new trail," *Montgomery (Alabama) Advertiser*, April 13, 1998, p. 6B; Solomon E. Jones, "Red carpet welcome: Philadelphia makes a play for African American tourists -- with history," *Philadelphia Inquirer Sunday Magazine*, January 31, 1999 (Internet URL: http://www.philly.com/packages/history/life/america/tour31.asp); *Washington Post*, "U Street in Focus: Exploring Washington's Historic Neighborhood" (multimedia exhibit at Internet URL: http://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/photo/blackhistory/front.htm).

[15] Manna, Inc., a community-based organization, has initiated a neighborhood heritage tourism business in Washington D.C.'s Shaw neighborhood. (Internet URL: http://calvert.com/foundation/mannainc.htm)

share similar cultural values and understanding" (Watson 1991, 61). Many scholars are skeptical that projected signs and symbols in the urban environment are shared or consensual, and note that they seldom bear any meaningful relationship to the contemporary or historic function of cities or regions. Even where such consensus is superficially apparent, images and symbols often are devised intentionally to redefine or obscure negative images. Conflicts over the form and content of monuments, for example, are tangible manifestations of these tensions (Norkunas 1993). Controversy often emerges within metropolitan areas (both among neighborhoods and between competing social and economic interests) over contested themes and representations of place employed as defining elements in the redevelopment of specific districts and neighborhoods.

Many practitioners have dismissed internal conflict over heritage and the urban past as issues secondary to the pragmatic management of cultural resources. Only recently have scholars recognized that the past, history (a selective reading of the past), and heritage (the development of a contemporary product shaped from history) may prove at odds with one another (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). The conscious choices of themes and events to be celebrated by heritage tourism and historic preservation reveal a great deal about contemporary political and social conflict. As a social construct, the commemoration of heritage reflects tensions between groups with varying degrees of power (Norkunas 1993). Individuals identify with distinct memories and impressions derived from their own varied experiences. Urban neighborhoods convey different meanings and images for divergent groups; as such, there is seldom a single collective memory of a given place. Conflict over heritage is intrinsic, rather than external, to the meanings, products, and media of "dissonant heritage" (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). As a form of discourse drawing from these memories, heritage therefore poses the possibility of significant and protracted symbolic conflicts over space.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

2 Heritage as Narrative

This chapter provides empirical background on the evolution of the two study neighborhoods, while setting the stage for understanding how the two differ in the ways that heritage is being used to promote revitalization. Similarities in the evolutions of Tampa's Ybor City and Kansas City's 18th and Vine District provide consistent structural features that will enable analysis in later chapters to tease out how heritage discourses in each city have generated differential outcomes. While neither neighborhood was ever the blissful paradise characterized by heritage promoters, each has a substantive history based on its evolution as a relatively dense, compact, heterogeneous settlement of individuals engaged in similar purposive associations, including a range of economic, social, and cultural practices and institutions.[1] Each neighborhood faced decline that precipitated eventual interest in heritage-based revitalization, and this decline was attributable both to broad structural changes and external discourses that stigmatized each place as a slum. In an important respect, however, the evolution of each neighborhood through history is itself a form of heritage, a legacy that transmits significant implications for contemporary discourses of heritage and revitalization. This chapter provides both an interpretive analysis of this history, and foreshadows themes that will be developed in each of the substantive case studies.

The Social Construction of the Slum

By the 1880s, Kansas City had emerged as the major industrial, financial, and distribution center of the Middle West. As the central nexus of a railroad network that linked the city to Chicago and the upper Midwest, Kansas City prospered as an industrial crossroads between Eastern markets and the burgeoning Southwest. At the close of the 19th century, Kansas City's dramatic growth as an industrial center would draw

---

[1] This definition deliberately combines otherwise conflicting features of "city" developed by Wirth (1938) and Mumford (1937).

professionals and unskilled industrial and commercial workers from throughout the southeast and Midwestern United States.

The post-Depression era emigration of African-Americans from the rural South to the urban North has been recounted in several notable studies, including Nicholas Lemann's *The Promised Land* (Lemann 1991). But the history of African American settlement in Kansas City actually dates to the late 19th century, as the black community saw its greatest growth between the 1890s and 1920s (Schirmer 1995). By 1912, most blacks in Kansas City resided in three dense neighborhoods: two on the city's northeast side, along Independence Avenue near Troost and Prospect, known as "Belvidere" and "Hick's Hollow," respectively; and Lincoln-Coles, (the largest of the three), located between Troost and Woodland avenues and 17th and 25th Streets, and described colloquially as the "Bowery." The heart of Lincoln-Coles would eventually contain the commercial district centered on the intersections of 18th and Vine Streets.

The Bowery was a special focus of attention of the city's Board of Public Welfare (one of the first public charities in the United States), which noted the poor conditions of housing and high population density in the neighborhood:

> Most of the buildings are two and three-story brick structures and arranged in two and three-room apartments. Congestion, alley houses, dilapidation, poor ventilation are found. Privy vaults and filthy housekeeping are paramount. Twenty-two blocks in this vicinity have a population of 4,295.[2]

The reformist Board translated the decrepit physical conditions and extreme poverty of Lincoln-Coles into bold declarations of moral reprehension. "The people of this neighborhood are shifters," the Board reported, "having few family ties" and "small conception of decent domestic life." The "Bowery's" residents, the Board inveighed, "are ignorant – but sophisticated in the evasion of authority for irregular conduct. There is a great deal of drinking, gambling and promiscuity."[3]

---

[2] *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Public Welfare* (Kansas City, Mo.: Board of Public Welfare, 1913), p.31.

[3] *Id.*, p.100.

Despite the existence of these concentrated enclaves, historians have concluded that early black settlement in Kansas City was not characterized by levels of segregation adequate to forge the development of any coherent or distinct "black ghetto" (Schirmer 1995; Gotham 2002; Taylor 1993). Instead, African-Americans tended to reside in areas with high levels of interracial dispersion, with ethnic whites intermingling at the edges of the areas of high racial concentration. White ethnics also owned property in this area, and operated a range of ethnic and industrial businesses there. This settlement pattern is explained by the high density and compactness of most residential development in the late 19th century, which compelled low-skilled and poor workers to live in low-cost, marginal environmental surroundings in close proximity to their workplaces (Massey and Denton 1993). Notwithstanding this fact, before World War I, it seems clear that that white middle-class reformers viewed black settlements with disdain, if not outright reprehension. Not until the early and mid-twentieth century, however, would this disdain translate into antagonism that created a strictly demarcated black ghetto.

Discrimination against blacks in Kansas City during the early twentieth century therefore tended to occur through informal and social, rather than political, means. Despite conspicuous attempts to keep blacks away from white areas, middle-class blacks were able to obtain property in areas more desirable than the worst slums. One such area was bounded by Troost Avenue on the West and 13th Street on the north. The prevalence of fashionable apartment houses inhabited by blacks here led to its distinction as the "'Negro' Quality Hill" (an allusion to Kansas City's Brahmin enclave and social equivalent of Boston's Beacon Hill). Located near the segregated Lincoln High School, the area boasted, according to one source, an aggregate personal income of well over a million and a half dollars, and contained several social institutions, including a Pythian Lodge (Brown and Dorsett 1978).

The early decades of the twentieth century would see a rapid transformation of such settlement patterns, however, as improvements in public transit and the emergence of private automobile ownership encouraged de-concentration and heightened residential mobility among the emerging white middle-class. Within the next decade, these developments, coupled with the increasing ostracism of the urban poor and minorities by

urban reformers (Boyer 1983), would transform previously ad hoc patterns of residential segregation into more formal mechanisms of legally and socially-reinforced segregation. As the limits of the Lincoln-Coles neighborhood pushed southward, blacks settled into predominantly white areas, and were often met by violent resistance, as demonstrated in a series of bombings in 1907. By the end of World War I, the gradual expansion of working-class settlements on the city's northeast and southern edges opened opportunities for blacks to purchase the former homes of Jewish and German immigrants as far south as 24th Street and The Paseo (Brown and Dorsett, *id.*).

By the 1920s, most blacks continued to be employed in unskilled occupations, particularly in heavy industry, including Kansas City's extensive railroad and packing house industries, and service-oriented jobs, such as housekeepers, barbers, and cooks. Kansas City blacks were represented proportionally to their numbers only in the teaching profession; they made up only four percent of the police force, and were sparsely represented in the medical professions. "White barbers displaced black barbers, the downtown hotels employed fewer and fewer black waiters and bell-boys, and the number of Afro-American nurses for white children declined drastically" (*Ibid.*) The worst inequalities would be manifest in public education, as the city's segregated schools became increasingly overcrowded. Black patrons were increasingly segregated in public accommodations, black teachers were segregated from whites at once-integrated meetings, and black organizations were no longer allowed to use once common meeting places.

Discrimination did not end at segregated and unequal accommodations, however. By 1920, conscious efforts to exclude blacks extended not only to place of residence, but also resulted in formal and informal steps to forbid blacks from owning or leasing property, or even patronizing white-owned businesses in the city's downtown. During the early years of the decade, the increasingly segregated black neighborhoods saw the consequent development of segregated commercial zones catering to African-American consumers. In the face of strict segregation, black businesses and recreation flourished along 18th Street east of Troost Avenue (**Figure 2.1**). In 1919, a local chapter of the New York-based Urban League was founded in the Shannon Building, one of the largest office buildings in the black ghetto. The same year, Chester A. Franklin established the Kansas City *Call*, the

oldest continuously-circulating African-American newspaper in the U.S., at 18th and Woodland.[4] In 1926, the Peoples' Finance Corporation, a locally-owned African-American bank, was established at 1811 Vine Street, just around the corner from the *Call*.[5]

Figure 2.1. View southwest along Paseo from 18th Street, 1920s. (Black Archives of Mid-America.)

These signs of economic progress masked deep divisions and conflict between white and black Kansas City. By the early twentieth century, numerous incidents of police brutality against African Americans turned the black vote against the largely Republican Board of Police Commissioners. In the early years of Prohibition, the Republican Police Board stringently enforced anti-liquor laws, often to excess, such as happened when police reportedly raided one black nightclub over a hundred times without ever obtaining a conviction (Grothaus 1975). Nonetheless, a number of prominent black organizations, including *The Call* and the Negro Women's Division of the Republican Central Committee, supported the GOP head of the Board of Police Commissioners due to his campaign to eliminate vice, which Franklin and others condemned as degrading to African-Americans (Schirmer, *Id.*). Despite their hopes, Franklin and the other black Republicans were soon simmering over the police department's race-baiting, which targeted "crap-shooting Negroes who should either get jobs or get out of town" (*Ibid.*, citing Grothaus).

The Ethnic Mosaic

Like 18th and Vine, Ybor City evolved from its early roots as a loose settlement into a substantial urban neighborhood with distinctive institutions and culture. The "creation

---

[4] William H. Young and Nathan B. Young, Jr., *Your Kansas City and Mine*, pp.12-13, 130-131. Roy Wilkins, who later became executive secretary of the NAACP, began his career as a Call reporter during the 1923 NAACP Convention, held at Kansas City's Convention Hall, and wrote columns decrying Klan activity in the "Hard Heart of America." (Hughes and Webster 1987)

[5] Young and Young, p.29.

mythos" (Wohl and Strauss 1958) of Tampa has become inextricably connected to the establishment of Ybor City. According to the dominant version of the narrative, tobacco merchant Vicente Martínez Ybor arrived in Tampa in 1885, and soon thereafter established a cigar factory in the swampy outskirts of the fledgling village of 700. Among the "coconut palm groves, alligators and insects"[6], Ybor constructed (and sold on modest time payments) cottages for his Cuban workers (**Figure 2.2**), who shortly arrived from Key West. (According to one account, the cottages were adorned with "grilles and balconies of wrought iron," and Ybor also arranged for the establishment of "markets and drug stores," "transportation," and "all sorts of amenities to make life more comfortable.")

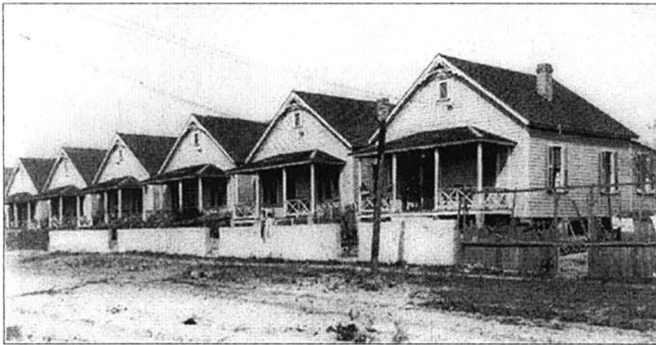


Figure 2.2. View of Vernacular Rowhouse residences along dirt road in Ybor City, 1921. (Burgert Brothers Photographic Collection, Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System.)

Apparently inspired by the planned industrial communities elsewhere in the United States, Ybor undertook his vision of creating a major industrial city and foothold for the distribution of Cuban-style cigars throughout the United States. Unlike in Key West, where transport of finished cigars was constrained to oceangoing vessels, Ybor found a natural ally in Henry B. Plant, who at the time was expanding his railroad and steamship lines to an area just east of Tampa. By creating a new city and controlling workers' housing, moreover, Ybor hoped to forestall labor problems of the sort that had uprooted him from Key West. Ybor also actively marketed the site for development by other cigar manufacturers. His plans met with mixed success,[7] but within five to ten years, Ybor City had not only grown

[6] Amador, pp.2-3.

[7] Ybor's initial production run was forestalled when he made the mistake of hiring a Spanish foreman for Cuban workers, who shut down the plant until Ybor agreed to replace the foreman with a Cuban. Bond, p.42.

tremendously, but it provided the industrial foundation for the expansion of the City of Tampa.

Within the tightly delineated grid devised by Gavino Gutierrez, the civil engineer who platted Ybor City, a range of factories and industrial enterprises quickly arose. With active recruitment of cigarmakers from Cuba and Key West, Ybor and other manufacturers were assured a steady stream of immigrant labor. While many of the initial factory owners were Spaniards, the plentiful factory jobs in Ybor City were occupied mainly by Cubans (including Afro-Cubans), as well as Italian-Americans (particularly Sicilians), and highly-skilled German Jews were recruited to devise the intricate labels for the packaged cigars. On the factory floors, workers passed the tedium of hand-rolling cigars by engaging in regular banter about Cuban, Spanish, and American politics, and the factory owners eventually installed lecterns at which *lectors*, or readers, would announce the news of the day and broadcast serials and novels.[8]

Figure 2.3. Young cigarmakers in Tampa, Fla. Photograph by Lewis Hine. (National Archives and Records Administration. Still Picture Branch. Colleae Park. Md.)

Despite the fact that in its first two decades, Ybor City's factories were known nationally for exploiting workers (even children were employed on the factory floor, as shown in **Figure 2.3**), workers responded by actively organizing and engaging in political causes. The pan-ethnic community that developed in Ybor City has been described by one commentator as a "radical Latino island in the Deep South" (Yglesias 1985). Ybor City's cigar makers were well-educated, highly-organized, and heavily engaged in activist political causes. Within two decades, Ybor's cigar makers had developed an array of ethnically-distinct mutual aid societies, each of which provided workers health care and life insurance. Each of the societies also developed opulent social

[8] The lectors were reportedly replaced with radios early in the twentieth century, when owners began to fret about the radical political readings often requested by the workers.

facilities that served as private clubs to host banquets, dinner parties, stage performances, and regular festivities like dances and weddings (**Figure 2.4**).

Having created a variety of distinguished and highly visible cultural traditions, Ybor City's ethnic communities proved a peculiar curiosity for many contemporary Anglo observers (**Figure 2.5**). As one wrote:

Figure 2.4. Ballroom dance at Centro Asturiano, c.1931. (Burgert Brothers Photograph Collection, University of South Florida Library, Special Collections Department.)

> A stranger in Ybor City, especially at night, is reminded of a city of Old Spain or in Havana. The tinkle of guitars and click of castanets are heard in cafes amid the voluptuous music of native dances. Dark-eyed señoritas in lace mantillas peep from latticed windows and flirt shyly behind their fans. Native vendors hawk their strange wares in the musical tongues of Seville or Venice. On all sides are the dazzle, the bright colors, gay laughter and picturesque street scenes typical of cities of Southern Europe."[9]

Cultural theorists speak of the "tourist gaze" that leads tourists to objectify the other, although they generally refer to a postmodern context (Urry 1990). From the above narrative, it seems clear that curiosity about distinct ethnic cultures began at the outset of the modern era. Narrative depicts a distinct other in the use of terms like "native dances," that suggest the population of Ybor City is somehow less than civilized, the smattering of Spanish terms and depiction of affectations that verge on performance, and the entire characterization of the scene as being drawn from a European (not American) city.

Figure 2.5. Performers at Centro Asturiano, Ybor City, September 1938. (Burgert Brothers Photograph Collection, University of South Florida, Special Collections Department..)

[9] Florida Federal Writers' Project, WPA. *Seeing Tampa; a guide and handbook of information to the city and its suburbs.* [n.p., 1937], quoted in "Echoes of Ybor City," *Tampa Bay History*, p.173.

Shifting Economic Tides and Incipient Decline

Tampa's cigar industry began its decline during the Depression, as production shifted from labor-intensive hand-rolling to mechanized production, and the hand-rolled cigar industry was gradually displaced to the Caribbean and South America. In 1939, at the behest of the Tampa Chamber of Commerce, a research center at the University of Florida undertook an economic study of the decline of the Tampa hand-rolled cigar industry (Campbell 1939).[10] The study exhaustively examined the entire cigar production process, and found that increasing competition from abroad, coupled with more efficient processes of mechanized production, were undermining the local industry's competitive position relative to other cities in the Caribbean and Central America. The report described serious problems in the working conditions confronting Ybor City workers, and recommended such elementary improvements as improved air circulation and ventilation; enhanced lighting in the dark, wood-frame factory interiors; the provision of iced drinking water, improvements in the sanitary conditions of restroom facilities; the installation of company cafeterias; and the provision of radios to help workers pass the tedium of the working day.[11]

Ultimately, the report concluded that even improved marketing and mechanization would prove unlikely to offer renewed employment to the nearly 5,700 idle workers. The report recognized a need for re-training workers to work in newly mechanized plants, but also noted that the local apprentice system was declining, which was encouraging younger residents to seek work in other industries. The report therefore recommended creation of a vocational training system to equip older workers and new entrants into the job market for employment in industries other than cigarmaking, and advocated development policies that might induce other industries to locate in Tampa to absorb surplus workers.

---

[10] The study was precipitated by an apparent decline in the profitability of Ybor City factories, which had resulted in the idling of more than 5,000 cigar workers, creating massive unemployment in Tampa.

[11] Campbell also advocated the creation of medical clinics and recreational facilities by the factories, but suspected that the mutual aid societies might oppose such measures. Such a recommendation seems counter-intuitive, since the societies were created largely because factory owners had long failed to offer such benefits.

One crucial suggestion emerged from the report, however, which would later be emphasized by promoters of Ybor City's Latin heritage. The study noted the production in Latin countries near the U.S. of ethnic handicrafts, such as wicker, pottery, leather, apparel, and other novelties intended for the tourist market. The report therefore suggested the establishment of a center in Ybor City devoted to the production of such items, as a partial remedy for unemployment. In a dramatic twist, the report then suggested that a section of Ybor City be reconstructed "to represent a typical Cuban town, and be known as the 'Cuban Quarter'."[12] The recommendation was based in part on the tourist appeal of New Orleans' French Quarter, and would create an active Latin market that would draw tourists from throughout Florida and the U.S. to witness a Cuban city. The tone of the recommendation imagined Ybor City as a vivid dioramatic representation of Cuban heritage:

> Authentic Cuban architecture, interior decorating of houses, furniture, clothing, and customary mode of living could be shown. Cuban patios and gardens, with fountains and flowers, would add a touch of beauty. Pictures portraying scenes of Cuba would lend realism. Articles of significance in Cuban History or the settlement of Cubans in Tampa would be of interest. If carefully planned and constructed by competent persons, the Cuban Quarter of Ybor City could be made famous. Scattered throughout the Cuban Quarter could be shops in which the handmade novelties would be offered for sale. Likewise, there could be cafes serving Cuban drinks and food, and places of entertainment for tourists.[13]

Despite a warm reception among Ybor City leaders, several of whom advocated for greater attention to the district's potential for Latin American tourism, Campbell's suggestions went largely unheeded. With the outbreak of war in Europe, civic boosters began to promote Tampa as an ideal location for naval shipbuilding and other military facilities. In 1939, the U.S. Army began acquisition of land at the tip of the peninsula for the construction of an airfield and marine port, which eventually became MacDill Air Force Base (the 1990s headquarters of the U.S. Central Command). In this transformation, problematic neighborhoods like Ybor City were rapidly lost among Tampa's civic priorities.

[12] Campbell, p.90. References to this recommendation are discussed below.

[13] Campbell, p.90.

Race, Place, and The Geography of Vice

Sociologists have reasoned that vice in ethnic neighborhoods demonstrates the strict constraints on economic integration imposed on minority society. Viewed in this light, ethnic vice, such as prostitution, gambling, and drug dealing, represents the opportunistic exploitation of available opportunities by ethnic entrepreneurs (Light 1977). Such a perspective overlooks the structuring role of majority society in restricting illicit trade and activities to ethnic and African-American ghettos. Rather than simply reflecting a desperate strategy of survival by minority entrepreneurs, the historic expansion of vice in minority neighborhoods is directly related to the symbiotic (perhaps parasitic) relationships among organized crime, corrupt politicians, and ethnic vendors in illicit trades. As discussed in Chapter 1, the characterization of ethnic neighborhoods as crime-laden, dangerous, and amoral stems not only from the harsh realities of ghetto life, but also from discourses that marginalize ethnic places. The history of the neighborhoods examined in this study demonstrates that these discourses rely, at least in part, on the exploitation of the disadvantaged by well-organized and politically connected cadres of corrupt politicians, police, and mob elements.

Kansas City and Tampa represent two of the more notorious cases of this phenomenon in American cities. By the 1920s, the rise of Tom Pendergast, an unelected political boss who would control Kansas City's municipal government through a system of patronage and ballot-stuffing, helped transform the face of public life and race relations in Kansas City. Pendergast and his allies built a strong voting block among the local African-American population, in part by doing a much better job than Republicans of courting new migrants from the rural South. Pendergast further expanded his base in the African-American community by decrying unfair police treatment of blacks, opposing discriminatory legislation on the state level, as well as a local attempt to segregate street cars. As an Irish-Catholic, Pendergast also opposed the Ku Klux Klan, which organized heavily in and near Kansas City during the early 1920s (Dorsett 1968; Grothaus 1975). Pendergast further solidified his support among the working poor throughout Kansas City by offering personal and financial support to black families through local precinct captains, who in turn expected beneficiaries not only to vote, but to vote often. Old-line black

Republicans, including *The Call*'s Franklin, were highly critical of Pendergast's tactics, and noted that Pendergast never offered any significant political appointment to an African-American. Indeed, the only significant black official under the Pendergast regime was the director of General Hospital No. 2, the city's segregated (and inferior) hospital for blacks.[14]

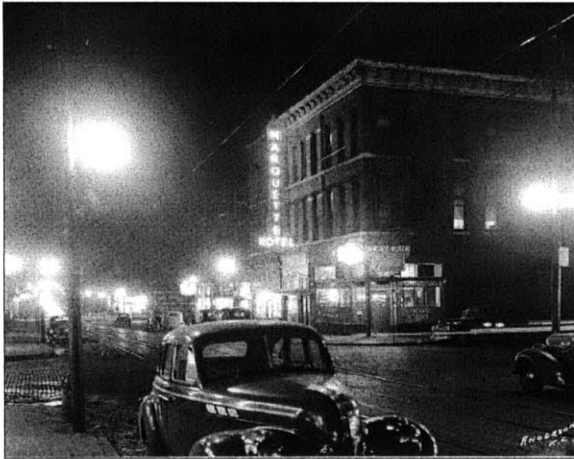


Figure 2.6. Looking southeast from the northwest corner of 12th and Holmes, at night, c.1930. (Special Collection, Kansas City Public Librarv. N1336-412.)

Despite his vocal support for black causes and success in generating support among the city's African-American community, even contemporary critics of Pendergast saw his influence on the black community as insidious. Pendergast permitted a lively trade to flourish among speakeasies and other illicit establishments. The western edge of the city's red light district lay between 12th and 14th Streets just south of City Hall, and the notorious 12th Street strip ran east some three miles from the central business district into the black neighborhoods east of the Paseo (**Figure 2.6**). (Black and Asian prostitutes were rumored to sit in the illuminated windows of 14th Street brothels, tapping nickels on the windowpanes to lure passersby.)[15] To the south, between Paseo and Prospect as far as 23rd Street, the vice district infiltrated the commercial and residential core of the segregated African-American ghetto. Hotels and saloons served as the primary fronts for illicit activities ranging from bootlegging to gambling and drug- and gun-running, while the local police, under Pendergast's influence, openly ignored Prohibition. Kansas City soon gained a regional and national reputation for being "wide-open," offering

[14] Young and Young, *op. cit.*, pp.27, 146.

[15] Carey James Tate, "Kansas City Night Life," *The Second Line* (November-December 1961): 10. Jazz archivist Chuck Haddix attributes this report to Morrow, and notes that another columnist likened the furious tapping of so many nickels on glass to "falling hail." Chuck Haddix and Jim O'Neal, "Tales from Tom's town: 'Come with me if you want to go to Kansas City'," *Living blues: The magazine of the African-American blues tradition* 31,1 (Jan.-Feb. 2000): 13.

easy access to alcohol, gambling, prostitution, and other illicit activities. Most of the taverns and cabarets featured scantily-clad (if not nude) waitresses, and were known to feature backroom brothels and side-window vending of marijuana, barbiturates, and narcotics.[16]

Pendergast's ultimate control, however, lay in his ability to utilize violence to quell community dissent and assure regular turnout at the polls. Despite a 1925 attempt by business leaders to defuse Pendergast's influence by instituting a Council-Manager form of government, Pendergast quickly secured the appointment of H.L. McElroy, one of his chief lieutenants, to serve in the post. At Pendergast's behest, McElroy precluded police or judicial involvement in the bootlegging trade. Pendergast offered local hotels and saloons protection against police raids, provided they made regularly payments to his "front" men. Chief among these was an Italian-American gangster named Johnny Lazia, who was so feared that many residents, and even prominent business leaders, avoided speaking his name.[17] Along with his henchmen,[18] Lazia regularly collected tribute from "[e]very club operator, rum runner, pit boss, madame, prostitute, pimp, narcotics peddler, hoodlum, and bartender in Kansas City." Lazia was purported to control screening of appointments to the Kansas City police force, which was widely known to be on the take (Russell 1978; Milligan 1948; Reddig 1986).

Within this context of public corruption and vice, Kansas City would soon become known as the regional hotbed for booze, drugs, public corruption, entertainment, and vice (Milligan 1948). Over time, both "legitimate" theaters and illicit establishments began to feature jazz (which was frowned upon as "nigger music" by upper-crust society) as an edgy

---

[16] Tate, p.10.

[17] Jazz pianist Mary Lou Williams later recalled, "He was real bad; people used to run when you just mentioned his name. ... I heard that Count Basie later worked for the same dracula, and also had a slight misunderstanding. As a result, Basie had to work two weeks without pay." Quoted in Shapiro and Hentoff (1966), p.287.

[18] A list of Lazia's known associates reads like a cheap dime novel: Gold Tooth Maxie, the crapshooter; gargantuan Solly Wissman the "fixer," Hard Luck Charley Haughton, and Verne Miller the bank robber. Tate, p.11.

and exciting stimulus for white and black customers alike.[19] "If you want to see some sin," columnist Edward Morrow purportedly wrote, "forget about Paris and go to Kansas City. With the possible exception of such renowned centers as Singapore and Port Said, Kansas City probably has the greatest sin industry in the world." "As an entertainment center," one music critic wrote in the late 1970s, "Kansas City of the Pendergast era compared favorably with Las Vegas today." [20]

The machine's mechanisms of social control, which not only encouraged illicit activities but outright violence, unavoidably tainted the city's African-American neighborhoods as hotbeds of violence, immorality, organized crime, and vice.[21] As a result, black leaders of the era were highly divided over why and how Pendergast managed to maintain solid black support for the machine. *The Call*'s Franklin disputed claims by the *Kansas City Times* that blacks supported the machine to protect vice, noting that the machine's most solid support came from respectable black neighborhoods outside the vice zone (Schirmer 1995). Such debates notwithstanding, "Boss Tom" cast a profound influence on the social life and cultural development of black ghetto.

Vice in the Ethnic Brew

At the same time that 18th and Vine was under the thumb of Kansas City's corrupt political administration, Ybor City was besieged by organized crime focusing on *bolita*, which one commentator has described as the clandestine equivalent of today's state

---

[19] Quoted in Thomas and Bodine 1986. The dual "lure" of nightclub culture and indignation among upper- class society are examined in Lewis A. Erenberg, "From New York to Middletown: Repeal and the Legitimization of Nightlife in the Great Depression," *American Quarterly* 38,5 (Winter 1986): 761-778. The contrast between white society's acceptance of Negro spirituals and indignation towards jazz is described in Morroe Berge, "Jazz: Resistance to the diffusion of a culture-pattern," *Journal of Negro History* 32,4 (October 1974): 461-494.

[20] Morrow's comments were reportedly published in the *Omaha World-Herald*. Quoted in Russell 1978, p.9; Tate, p.11. For an extended discussion of Kansas City's role in jazz development, see Nathan W. Pearson Jr., "Political and musical forces that influenced the development of Kansas City jazz," *Black Music Research Journal* 9,2 (Fall 1989): 181-192.

[21] Sociological debates over vice in ethnic neighborhoods are examined in Ivan Light, "The Ethnic Vice Industry, 1880-1944," *American Sociological Review* 42,3 (June 1977): 464-479.

lotteries.[22] Feuds among mob bosses over control of the local numbers rackets led to a number of heavily-publicized gangland killings in Ybor City during the 1930s and 1940s. Ybor City was ostracized by Tampa's Anglo elites, who resided on the opposite side of Downtown in upscale neighborhoods such as Hyde Park, along Bay Shore Boulevard, and on Davis Island, an exclusive suburban resort-style development built in the 1920s at the mouth of Tampa Bay.[23] By mid-century, however, social segregation failed to prevent the unseemly reputation of Ybor City's clandestine drug and gambling trades from tainting the city's own reputation nationally, and would eventually lead to significant federal and state investigations that would force the city's business community into action. Ybor City's Latin population also was the object of organized election fraud and vote buying before World War II, a problem brought to its nadir by federal investigations and Congressional hearings in 1950 (Mormino and Ross 1987).

The resulting disparagement of Spanish, Cuban, and Italian residents among Tampa's elites reinforced Ybor City's image as crime-ridden and corrupt. Discrimination forced Latins to develop and maintain close contact with neighbors of different ethnicities, and Spanish soon prevailed as the *lingua franca* even among the neighborhood's Italian-American population. Nonetheless, ethnic divisions within Ybor City remained strict, as intermarriage and even feuds between Italians and Cubans persisted through the 1950s. As one retired Afro-Cuban resident would later describe, "There were parts of Ybor I didn't go into – they called us the 'Black Wops,' and by golly, if we walked into the wrong part of town, they'd beat us up."[24] Even fair-skinned denizens of Ybor City viewed the neighborhood with ambivalence and anxiety, if not downright shame. As celebrated Latin poet José Yglesias, reflecting on his experience as a young GI returning home to Ybor City, wrote:

---

[22] The Spanish word *bolita* is translated literally as "little ball," so called because of the numbered ivory balls used in the game. *Bolita* originated in Cuba and was the central feature of illicit gambling operated by the Tampa mob.

[23] Interview with Patrick Manteiga, Publisher, *La Gaceta*, November 5, 1999; Mormino 1983, pp.141-2.

[24] Quoted in Gayla Jamison, *Living in America: a hundred years of Ybor City*. New York, N.Y.: Filmakers [sic] Library, dist. by Modern Educational Video Network, 1988.

> I will never forget the time when I returned to Tampa from New York, on leave from my ship in the Navy during World War II. I stayed talking in the club car with two other servicemen. Believing that I was a New Yorker, they praised the virtues of Tampa. The only warning they gave me was about Ybor City: "Don't go, it's a dangerous place, full of 'spics.'" Those prejudices were nothing new to me. I had always known that was what the "americanos" in Tampa thought of us.[25]

As mentioned above, from 1939 to 1945, planning and development activities in Tampa focused on mobilization for the war effort. Efforts by Tampa leaders to generate war-related development came to fruition in 1939, when the U.S. Army announced plans for the construction of MacDill Field on land abutting Tampa Bay. Over the next several years, construction and then fraternization of the base would provide a steady stream of military personnel to patronize Ybor City's less savory business establishments. In 1941, at the behest of MacDill officials, local police began to crack down on prostitution and gambling establishments in Ybor City. The economic transformation of Ybor City, now coupled with increasing police scrutiny of vice, presaged an impending transformation that would leave Ybor City forever changed. With the onset of war, second and third generation Latin youths were called up for service, mainly in the European theater. Like most of America, Ybor City would be fundamentally transformed by the war, and for a generation afterwards, Ybor City's rapidly-aging Latin population would bemoan the onset of World War II as the neighborhood's nadir.

The Rise of Kansas City Jazz

> In those years around 1930, Kaycee was really jumping - It was a ballin' town, and it attracted musicians from all over the South and Southwest... So I found Kansas City to be a heavenly city - music everywhere in the Negro section of town, and fifty or more cabarets rocking on Twelfth and Eighteenth Streets.[26]

Despite the manipulation of black electoral politics and the increasing role of vice in marginalizing Kansas City's African-American community, Kansas City's Depression-era reputation as a "wide-open" town had profound cultural consequences. The flowering of

---

[25] José Yglesias, "Searching for a dream from Tampa to New York," transl. by Ana Varela-Lago, *Tampa Bay History* 18,1 (Spring/Summer 1996): 35-37.

[26] Mary Lou Williams, quoted in Shapiro and Hentoff, pp. 284, 286.

Kansas City's Jazz era is inextricably tied to public corruption, and the ward-based system of patronage that exploited the poverty of African-Americans to ensure their support for the political machine. As had been the case in New Orlean's Storyville, bootlegged alcohol, prostitution, and other forms of vice proved essential ingredients in the rise and persistence of Kansas City as a locus for jazz performance and innovation. As one of the few cities freed (in practical terms) from the shackles of Prohibition, and consequently, one of the few cities to offer active employment to musicians during the Great Depression, Kansas City attracted a multitude of entertainers from theater and club circuits throughout the Midwest and South.

Figure 2.7. Local 627 of the Musicians' Protective Union, c.1930. (Archives of the Kansas City *Star*.)

The 1920s and 1930s found some of the nation's premier jazz bands regularly performing in Kansas City, among them Andy Kirk's Clouds of Joy, Walter Page's Blue Devil's, and Bennie Moten's Orchestra. Among the most prominent jazz artists to emerge from the Kansas City jazz scene were bandleader and pianist Count Basie; pianists Pete Johnson, Mary Lou Williams and Julia Lee; drummer Jo Jones; trumpeter Oran "Hot Lips" Page; and saxophonists including Lester Young, Fletcher Henderson, Ben Webster, and Herschel Evans. Native Kansas Citians who started their jazz careers wandering among neighborhood cabarets included saxophonist Charlie "Bird" Parker, crooner "Big Joe" Turner, and pianist and bandleader Jay McShann. Kansas City's rollicking club scene even inspired the subsequent New York careers of Thelonius Monk, and vaunted to Hollywood once-obscure natives like Richard "Red" Skelton (Pearson 1987; Shapiro and Hentoff 1966; Russell 1971). The array of jazz clubs near 18th and Vine offered a dazzling visual spectacle, as Count Basie, one of Kansas City's most prominent jazz bandleaders and pianists, would later describe:

> "...we came to the corner of Eighteenth Street and Wham! Everything along that street was all lit up like klieg lights... And everywhere you went, there was at least a piano player and somebody singing, if not a combo or maybe a jam session... we were walking into a scene where the action was greater than anything I've ever heard of."[1]

[1] Quoted in *Good Morning Blues: The Autobiography of Count Basie* (London: Paladin Grafton Books, 1987).

Despite the aura of excitement that surrounded both the 1930s jazz scene and its influence on later reminiscences, African-American musicians faced constraints on where, how often, and whether they performed, and were often subject to manipulation by unscrupulous club owners and managers, their gang overlords, and the local police and precinct captains who could, at any time, choose not to turn a blind eye to the illicit venues in which the music was performed. Most clubs, cabarets, and saloons in the segregated ghetto, even those with black managers, were owned by whites. Furthermore, Kansas City's club scene and performance venues, like most other aspects of public accommodations, were strictly segregated, which meant that black artists could sometimes perform in venues where they would not be welcome as spectators.[28] Because black musicians were not allowed to join the American Federation of Musicians, the largest national union, in 1917 a group of 25 artists formed the Kansas City Negro Musicians Association to guard against exploitation by local club and bar owners. Eventually, blacks were allowed to join the American Federation, but were required to form segregated locals, leading to the establishment of Negro Musicians Local 627 in 1929 (**Figure 2.7**).[29]

Figure 2.8. KC in the 30's: *Rowdy Music Memories of America's Wildest City*. Capitol Records cover of an album produced by Dave E. Dexter, Jr., in the early 1960s.

While the vice district emanated from the city's downtown and seeped through black neighborhoods, such "respectable" (and segregated) establishments as hotels, restaurants, and theaters regularly featured jazz performances. Among the most notable of these were the Pla-Mor Ballroom at 31st and Main Street, near the city's south side; the Main Street and Tower Theaters and Muehlebach, Baltimore, and Bellerive Hotels

---

[28] Pearson, *Id*., "Political and musical forces that influenced the development of Kansas City jazz," *Black Music Research Journal* 9,2 (Fall 1989): 181-192. This fact led to an embarrassing 1937 incident in which bandleader Cab Calloway was assaulted by a white Kansas City police officer for attempting to enter the venue where he was scheduled to perform through the front door, rather than the Negro balcony.

[29] Fowler, "Tradition Jams On," p.7; Name History, Charter B00007001, Business Entity Registration Database (Jefferson City, Missouri: State of Missouri, Office of Secretary of State Matt Blount). (Internet URL: http:// sosweb.sos.state.mo.us/businessentity/)

downtown; and Fairyland Amusement Park and Wynwood Beach, just outside the southeastern city limits (Shapiro and Hentoff 1966; Russell 1971). For white Kansas Citians, the association of African-American clubs and performers with both the geography and discourse of vice served to objectify both African-American culture and women as exotic fruits for their wanton consumption (**Figure 2.8**). As one commentator notes:

> These worthies – given a good strip show or the services of a naked waitress – paid little attention to what kind of musical setting it all happened in. These were the so-called "best people" who were out slumming.[30]

The End of the Jazz Age and Dissolution of the Segregated African-American Community

> Well, I've been to Kansas City, girls
> and everything is really alright.
> The boys jump and swing until broad daylight.
>
> Yes, I dreamed last night I was
> standing on 18th and Vine.
> I shook hands with Piney Brown and
> I could hardly keep from cryin'[31]

The Kansas City Jazz era came to a relatively abrupt close with the 1939 indictment and conviction of Pendergast on federal charges of income tax evasion. With Pendergast's conviction, Kansas City's jazz scene faced a prompt and ignominious end. Within weeks, the reformist administration raided most of the clubs, shuttering some and arresting the owners of others, and began enforcing closing laws, rapidly bringing to a close this chapter of Kansas City's history.[32] Musicians Local 627 bemoaned the death of Kansas City jazz in a national music magazine:

---

[30] Bodine and Tracy 1983, 92. The most notorious example of this practice was the existence of the Chesterfield Club downtown, where waitresses clad only in shoes and a see-through plastic apron served lunch to businessmen while they imbibed in black-led performances. Haddix and O'Neal, p.12.

[31] "Piney Brown Blues," performed by "Big" Joe Turner, lyrics by Pete Johnson and Joe Turner,.1940 (Decca 18121). While these lyrics are often performed at 18th and Vine celebrations, the song is structured as a standard 12-bar blues that laments the demise of the Kansas City jazz scene.

[32] Haddix and O'Neal, p.13.

> "All the night clubs are dark and most of our musicians are walking the streets... As far as jazz music goes, Kaycee, once the great founthead [sic]of the 'beat and drive style' as pioneered by Moten, Lee, Basie and Downs, is now a muted city. Law and order is a fine thing - guess we ought to have it - but it has laid our Local 627 might low!"[33]

For the next twenty-five years, jazz would be forced into anonymous hiding places and private clubs, such as the Local's clubhouse on Highland Avenue.

Pendergast's downfall eventually led reformers not only to dismantle the Kansas City jazz scene, but also to undertake the physical and social obliteration of the areas in which it had flourished. Reformers sought to rid Kansas City of its "stigma" and association with vice, and urban renewal proved a potent tool in accomplishing this goal. Among the first sites chosen for redevelopment by the City's 1947 Master Plan (**Figure 2.9**) were the vice zones, including those in the African-American and Italian-American neighborhoods on the east side and north end, along with the riverfront venues where such infamous madames as Annie Chambers had once plied their trades.[34]

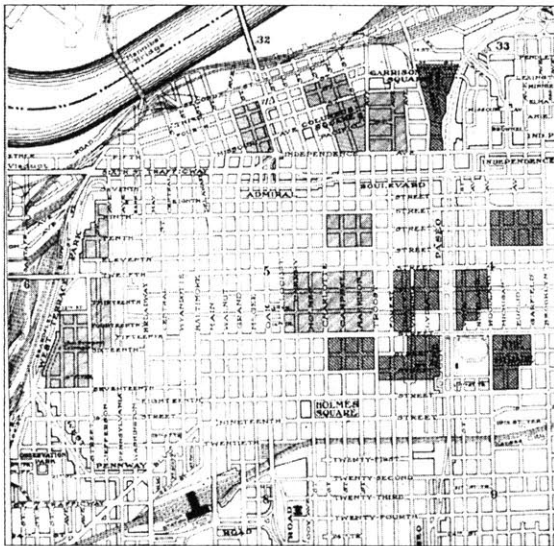


Figure 2.9. Map showing location of proposed public housing sites, 1947 Kansas City Master Plan. (Kansas City, Mo.: City Plan Commission.)

In 1950, just three blocks from 18th and Vine, the city government designated the Attucks neighborhood (so called because of the adjacent segregated Crispus Attacks elementary school), a poverty-stricken and severely blighted area, as one of two sites for the city's first public housing project. The other, located near Eighth Street and The Paseo, was designated an all-white project and targeted the city's Italian-American North End, which had similarly become associated during the

[33] Quoted in Tate, p.12, and partially in Nancy Parks, "Jazz Hot and Cool," *Missouri Life* 4,3 (July/August 1976): 63.

[34] Tate, p.12.

Pendergast era with criminality and vice. Bounded roughly by Fifteenth Street on the North, Eighteenth Street on the South, Woodland Avenue on the West, and Brooklyn Avenue on the East, the Attucks neighborhood was cleared for construction. Comprising approximately twenty city blocks (nearly thirty acres), the area abutted the 18th Street commercial district to the South, and Parade Park to the West. The Parade Park homes, public cooperatives constructed by the Reynolds Aluminum Company to display aluminum's versatility as a construction medium, boasted monthly rents as low as $46.[35] The Attucks development also created a small shopping center on the project's east side, facing Brooklyn St., and a community center in Parade Park. Built at a cost of $7.6 million dollars,[36] the Attucks development displaced most of the original neighborhood residents, while the project itself served low-income African-American tenants from other parts of the city.[37]

For many African-American leaders, the pattern reinforced their perception that even reformers would fail to take seriously the need for meaningful political and economic empowerment of the African-American community. Carl Johnson, an attorney and chairman of the local NAACP chapter, argued that the Pendergast machine had "crippled politically" the development of effective black leadership by promoting "mere stand-ins" to marginal positions of responsibility. As revealed in the wanton destruction and marginalization of the city's black neighborhoods, the depth of the persisting schism between Kansas City's white and black communities at mid-century was further elaborated in research conducted in the late 1950s by University of Chicago sociologists (Coleman and Neugarten 1971). Kansas City not only faced significant patterns of residential and social segregation, but blacks were not afforded meaningful participation in civic or public affairs, as specific "leaders" continued to be hand-picked by the white civic community as token representatives with little meaningful political power:

---

[35] "Profile of a City – Kansas City, Missouri," *Housing and Urban Development Notes*, November-December 1966, p. 7.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[37] Gertrude Keith, "Relocation is a human relations job, Kansas City says," *The Journal of Housing*, November 1956, p. 384.

> Negro-white interaction was minimal. The public schools were segregated, as were all but one of the restaurants. ... While a few leaders of the Negro community served on civic boards and on welfare agency committees, their roles were quite different from those played by whites, for they were considered supplicants for an underprivileged minority; they were included to symbolize the democratic ethos. These handpicked Negroes did not function as donors or decision makers, which were the roles assumed by most of the white members. ... The essential feeling of whites was better summed up by a leading white clergyman who said, "The truth is that Negroes here are totally unequal as well as completely separate."[38]

The reform administrations were unseated in 1960, raising significant questions about the nature of "progress" under their watch.[39]

The Eclipse of Community

During the 1960s, images of a vibrant community near 18th and Vine would begin to vanish. After the city of Kansas City passed a public accommodations ordinance in 1964 requiring all businesses to serve patrons without regard to race, black Kansas Citians finally earned the right to visit the same downtown stores from which they had long been forbidden. Other advances in civil rights would likewise generate mixed results, exacting a gradual but severe toll on the 18th and Vine neighborhood. After passage of federal housing discrimination laws, white realtors practiced extensive blockbusting in neighborhoods bordering on the African-American community, resulting in a broad dispersion of black Kansas Citians from established neighborhoods (Gotham 2001). In the process, retail and social life at 18th and Vine declined, leaving little more than fleeting impressions of the once-vibrant community.

After World War II, Ybor City's returning GIs took advantage of federal VA loans and began settling into new homes in West Tampa, which became a sheltered enclave for Ybor's exiles. For the second generation and elite among Ybor residents, the lull of suburbia proved irresistable. The gradual ascent of Ybor City's Latin population towards middle-class gentility, and their relocation to elite locales like Davis Island and new suburbs like Carrollwood, introduced rapid racial turnover and perceptions of incipient

[38] Coleman and Neugarten, p.22.

[39] Tate, p.12.

decline to the old neighborhood.[40] During the 1950s, the resulting emptying out of Ybor City's housing stock encouraged expansion of the Afro-Cuban and African-American populations at the edges of the neighborhood towards its center, generating consternation among Ybor City business owners. During the early 1960s, Ybor City's political and business leaders would also assume the lead in encouraging the use of urban renewal to stave off further filtering of blacks into the neighborhood. Few homes and businesses in Ybor City survived urban renewal during the late 1960s. By the mid-1970s, urban renewal would displace several thousand residents from Ybor City and all but destroy the area's remaining pre-war housing stock, reinforcing Ybor City's image as a forlorn community.[41]

In the absence of massive immigration and economic expansion, the processes of ascent and decline in urban neighborhoods mirror little of the transitional paradigm elaborated by the Chicago sociologists (Greenbaum 1993). Over the course of the twentieth century, and throughout the United States, an array of communities like Ybor City and 18th and Vine saw rapid patterns of growth that generated problems with crowding, sanitation, and crime. The economic pull of these neighborhoods nonetheless provided significant economic opportunities to immigrants and working-class minorities, who in turn developed enclave settlements that sustained active and vivid local cultures and place-based identities. With the onset and passage of Depression, war, economic recovery, and even the Civil Rights movement, such neighborhoods gradually dissipated into the passage of time. Leaving only vestigial fragments of place, such communities persisted only in personal evocations of memory, history, and culture.

---

[40] Interview with Susan Greenbaum, Prof. of Sociology, Univ. of South Florida, September 26, 1999.

[41] Interview with Susan Greenbaum, September 9, 1999.

YESTERDAY . . . in the area surrounding 18th and Vine, there existed and thrived a viable commercial area, where black people were both the producers and consumers of the goods and services that sustained their way of life. Yesterday there also existed an era, so totally unique, that vibrations from it still resound around the world – the era of the big band and the christening of jazz. Birthplace: 18th & Vine.

Figure 3.1. Re-constructing community: visions of 18th and Vine (inset). From poster produced by the Black Economic Union, c.1990.

TOMORROW . . . what do we hope for tomorrow? We hope for those same things, the thriving commercial area, the abundance of jobs, the pride of community residents, the unity of the inner-city people, the re-establishment as a jazz center... the ability to look forward to other tomorrows. Only this time not contingent up on anything other than the good faith and hard work of the people and of those that believe in them.

Peggy Eldridge, "From Yesterday Comes Tomorrow"
p.14 in "Tradition Jams On," n.p., April 1979.

3 Heritage as Remembrance

Remembrance is a largely commemorative strategy through which heritage narratives are used to signify sites, events, people, and legacies. The primary features of a strategy of remembrance are a focus on commemorative heritage institutions such as museums, as well as on ritual observances tied to specific themes, people, and events of interest (see **Figure 3.1**). Remembrance is also characterized by an emphasis on memorials and physical symbols that signify the past, rather than on a literal re-creation of the past in the present. While traditional interventions, such as historic preservation, contribute to remembrance, such activity is largely instrumental to the achievement of redevelopment unrelated to heritage. The instrumental use of heritage in this manner strongly distinguishes the processes of heritage-based revitalization in Kansas City from that in Tampa, and begins to explain the divergent outcomes observed in each case.

18th and Vine: "How We Remember It"[1]

> Yes, Kaycee [sic] was a place to be enjoyed, even if you were without funds. People would make you a loan without you asking for it, would look at you and tell if you were hungry and put things right. ... There was the best food to be had – the finest barbecue, crawdads, and other seafood. There were the races, and swimming, and the beautiful Swope Park and zoo to amuse you. There were jam sessions all the time, and big dances such as the union dance given every year by our local.[2]

Since the mid-1960s, attempts to revive 18th and Vine as a place have vacillated between efforts to commemorate Kansas City's jazz legacy and proposals to celebrate the city's African-American heritage. Among the community-based proposals for 18th and Vine have been the creation of a local performing arts center and studio for jazz and musical

---

[1] The section title is based on map legends that appear on exhibits presented to the Kansas City Landmarks Commission during initial mid-1970s efforts to have the area designated as a Historic District on the National Register of Historic Places. 18th and Vine National Register Nomination Files, "Exhibit B," December 16, 1975, Landmarks Commission, Kansas City, Missouri (hereafter KCLC mss.).

[2] Mary Lou Williams, quoted in Shapiro and Hentoff, *op cit.*, pp.292-3.

instruction, an International Jazz Hall of Fame, a museum and archives promoting interpretation and commemoration of African-American history in the Midwest, and a museum celebrating the history of the Negro baseball leagues. Along with a local community development corporation, this array of formal organizations and individuals promoting the creation of new cultural institutions viewed redevelopment of 18th and Vine as instrumental to the restoration of community life once prevalent in the area. It would be years before these efforts to regenerate commercial and social life near 18th and Vine would bear fruit, primarily because the organizations promoting them lacked the financial means to translate their visions into bricks and mortar.

Jazz: One Era's "Houn' Dawg" is Another's Art"[3]

The first documented effort to revive the Kansas City jazz scene was spearheaded in 1963 by Kansas City Jazz Inc., a group of white businessman and jazz aficionados dedicated to "re-establish Kansas City as the Midwest Mecca for live jazz on a continuing basis."[4] Many of the organization's leaders had "prowled the jazz joints in the Depression and wanted to preserve as well as share that Thirties' sound with contemporary audiences."[5] In 1964, the organization sponsored the first of several annual jazz festivals at Municipal Auditorium, the city's premier arena, featuring local notables such as Count Basie, Milt Abel and Jay McShann, and national-profile artists like Buddy Rich, Duke Ellington, Clark Terry, and Doc Severinson.

The group's secretary, Sherman Gibson, an attorney and part-time musician, said that the organization intended to "act as a catalyst to stimulate wide public appreciation of an art form that had its first great stimulus here." Another expected the group's annual concerts to eventually rank with the Monterey and Newport jazz festivals as national

[3] The section heading is based on Henry J. Haskell, "'Houn' Dawg vs. Art," pp. 201-326 in Duncan Aikman, ed., *The Taming of the Frontier* (Reprint ed., Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press: 1925).

[4] Donald Janson, "Kansas City Jazz on the rise again," *The New York Times*, May 3, 1964; "Program Schedule, Kansas City Jazz, Inc. Week - '65," mss., Vertical File – Jazz #1, Missouri Valley Special Collections (MVSC), Kansas City Public Library.

[5] Parks 1976, p.65.

events.[6] The organization hoped to use profits from the concerts to develop a "jazz hall of fame" at an undisclosed location on 12th Street, which would feature regular performances, a museum of jazz memorabilia, and exhibits commemorating local and national artists. Within a few years, Jazz Inc. began inducting musicians into a "national league of jazz," which they proposed to house at the jazz hall. Kansas City Jazz had clearly emerged as a "high-brow" art form, as indicated by one member of the organization:

> Jazz may have grown up in the saloons and slums ... but it has achieved concert-hall respectability and should be honored in the city where it was nurtured.

The group's efforts were rewarded with the unveiling by a major local bank of a bronze sculpture "depicting Kansas City Jazz" on the façade of a downtown building.[7] In 1969, Jazz Inc. proposed building the hall of fame near 12th and Paseo, in the heart of the city's African-American east side, but the group lacked credibility within the black community, and by 1975 had disbanded.[8]

"From Yesterday Comes Tomorrow"

Within the African-American community, the earliest and most credible interest in redeveloping the 18th and Vine commercial district was found in the efforts of the Black Economic Union (BEU), a grassroots community development corporation. Founded in 1968 by Curtis McClinton, Jr., a retired member of the NFL's Kansas City Chiefs, the BEU focused its early efforts on small business development within the African-American community. The BEU offered technical assistance to black-owned businesses, including feasibility studies, market analyses, and the development of business plans and business operating loans. Within a few years, the BEU had facilitated the start-up of a printing company, a fiberglass contractor, and an automotive service station.[9]

---

[6] Janson, *op. cit.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Wilson, "Sweet Music, Sweet Dreams," p.8. Longtime Kansas City radio personality Walt Bodine later noted the paradox that music once derided or ignored by the city's upper crust would now surface as an elite art form and platitude for redevelopment. Thomas and Bodine 1983, 92.

[9] Within a few years, however, all of the efforts (except the gas station) had failed, but McClinton remained resolute. He attributed problems to the ongoing out-migration of blacks from the inner

The BEU focused its early efforts near 18th and Vine on light industrial development on city-owned land reclaimed and cleared by urban renewal. In 1971, the BEU was designated an urban redevelopment corporation under Missouri's Chapter 353 law, which granted tax abatement and conferred powers of eminent domain to the organization to redevelop blighted areas.[10] With funding from the U.S. Economic Development Administration, the BEU undertook initial planning for an inner city shopping center and industrial park, and through a partnership with the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Kansas City, the BEU co-sponsored an annual Minority Business Exposition. McClinton made community control the BEU's central strategy, and promoted minority set-asides in local government and private business contracting. By 1973, BEU boasted that it had helped to create and sustain nearly 1,000 new jobs in the black community.[11]

The BEU's emphasis on light-industrial development and new construction (often through the demolition of derelict but familiar commercial structures) contrasted sharply with efforts to focus on preservation and commemoration of the social and cultural legacies of the 18th Street corridor. Despite its marginalization during the reform era, the Musicians' Local Union had persisted as an integral part of Kansas City's jazz scene, and was reincorporated in 1958 as the Mutual Musicians Foundation, Inc.[12] During the late 1970s, the Foundation's aging members, led by Carroll Jenkins, the MMF's in-house historian and former arts administrator, began to promote jazz instruction as a means of empowering inner-city youth. Jenkins obtained a federal CETA grant to fund the Inner

city, and to a general lack of investment capital available to black entrepreneurs. Judy Goodman, "The Twilight Zone of Black Bu$iness [sic]," *Kansas City Magazine*, July 1974, pp.22-5.

[10] Missouri's Chapter 353 redevelopment law provides for the establishment of urban redevelopment corporations (URCs), grants to the state and local jurisdictions the authority to endow them with redevelopment powers, including eminent domain, for areas designated by those jurisdictions as "blighted," and offers a 10-year tax abatement on property owned by these corporations. *R.S.Mo.* Ch. 353, "Urban Redevelopment Corporations Law," August 28, 2000 (Internet URL: http://www.moga.state.mo.us/statutes/chapters/chap353.htm).

[11] Goodman, p.23.

[12] Missouri Secretary of State, Name Database, *op. cit.* During the late 1970s, the city government began enforcing closing hours at commercial jazz clubs. As a result, much of the late-night action shifted to the MMF. Fowler 1979.

City Orchestra, a group of elderly Musicians Foundation members, in "charity circuit" performances at schools, nursing homes, and correctional institutions. [13]

The Orchestra's ambition to imbue young people with the spirit of jazz was eloquently described by drummer Samuel Johnson:

> "Jazz is a gift, that's all. And in order to receive, you have to give a little bit yourself. That's what the elderly musicians do for the young people who come here to meet them.
>
> "Foundation - that means the basement that holds the whole house together. It trains. People here take the opportunity to teach. They give off [sic] their minds - for free. They train the babies. That's what you've got to do. Got to train the babies." [14]

Other grassroots efforts likewise focused on cultural, rather than economic strategies, as a mechanism for community uplift. In 1974, the Black Archives of Mid-America, an Afro-centric museum and research center, were established by a former schoolteacher named Horace Peterson. Peterson sought to explore the untold history of blacks in the Midwest, and to challenge dominant themes in national and local history. Within ten years, the Black Archives obtained space in a former city fire station to store Peterson's growing collection of Afro-American history and memorabilia. Among Peterson's programmatic goals for the Black Archives, the documentation of local and African-American history emerged as a means of recapturing of a sense of place and community thought to have been lost during the decline of the area in the 1950s and 1960s. Peterson's work promoting revitalization of the area reinforced efforts among the musical groups to develop educational outreach and cultural activities for the city's African-American youth, and to advocate for the revitalization of the 18th and Vine district.

In 1979, through the combined efforts of local musicians and the city's Landmarks Commission, the Mutual Musicians Foundation union hall on Highland Avenue (**Figure 3.2**) was designated a National Historic Landmark. [15] The following year, the

---

[13] The Orchestra was supported by a federal CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, a Carter-era job training initiative) grant. Fowler, p.8.

[14] Quoted in Fowler, p.10.

[15] "Mutual Musicians Foundation and Black Economic Union, "The Tradition Jams On," April 1979. Report published through support from the National Endowment for the Arts, Project No. R80-42-76. KCLC mss. files; NPS NR database; KCLC mss. files. To date, the MMF headquarters remains the only site in Kansas City so designated.

Figure 3.2. Mutual Musicians Foundation, 1998. (Photograph by the author.)

Musicians Foundation partnered with the Black Economic Union in efforts to acquire a long-abandoned National Guard Armory at the corner of 18th and Highland, which had once housed the Boone Theater.[16] The Foundation's ambition was to redevelop the structure as an arts center with its own jazz theater troupe, which would stage recreations of famous episodes in Kansas City jazz history; an art gallery featuring works by black artists; and potentially, a home for the long long-vaunted Jazz Hall of Fame. Although the BEU estimated rehabilitation costs of nearly $600,000, and operating costs of at least $50,000 per year, Jenkins acknowledged that the Foundation lacked the resources to undertake the project on its own. "People around here have paid a lot of lip-service to the greatness of Kansas City jazz," Jenkins said, "but the material base has been lacking. Where are the dollars?"[17]

A superficially complementary effort to use jazz education for community-oriented activities emerged in the efforts of local bandleader Eddie Baker, who in 1971 founded the Charlie Parker Foundation to provide inner city youth with opportunities to participate in music and arts instruction and performance. "One of our goals," Baker said, "is to stimulate the Kansas City school system to provide training at the grass roots for upcoming musicians so Kansas City will be the jazz mecca it once was." The Foundation held regular concerts as fund-raisers to support its educational programs, and sponsored week-long celebrations of Charlie Parker's music.[18] By the early 1980s, the Foundation was among the leading advocates for the creation of a Jazz Hall of Fame, although Baker

---

[16] "The Tradition Jams On," n.p.

[17] Quoted in Fowler, p.7; Wilson, "Sweet Music, Sweet Dreams," p.8.

[18] Quoted in Parks, p.65. Baker had apparently set his sights on the former Jewish Community Center at 8201 Holmes Road, in a suburban neighborhood on the city's southeastern fringe.

himself favored a suburban location. When the city council first began to seriously consider the idea of a jazz hall near 18th and Vine, Baker proved skeptical. "I was really concerned," Baker said, "because you can't re-create what was."[19]

Crabgrass among the Grassroots

The early phase of heritage-based promotion in Kansas City, which demonstrates the emergence of multiple contending interests within the African-American community for the redevelopment of 18th and Vine, was further characterized by conflicting perceptions of the area's importance and potential. These differences brought to the surface considerable dissonance over the value and centrality of heritage to various groups. While it was able to leverage significant local and federal funding sources, the BEU's consequent emphasis on industrial and commercial redevelopment of vacant and blighted land largely ignored physical vestiges and sites of symbolic importance to the various cultural groups and merchants with interests in 18th and Vine.

Despite their interest in promoting the revitalization of 18th and Vine, however, the cultural organizations lacked expertise in real estate development and gained little financial support from federal, local, or private sources. Along with the MMF, Baker and the Charlie Parker Foundation promoted culturally-oriented redevelopment primarily to accomplish two goals: sustaining a rapidly aging and impoverished cadre of elderly jazz musicians, while transmitting their cultural legacy to young people in the inner city. The two groups differed, however, in their direct interest and support for the 18th and Vine district, a natural divergence in interests given the MMF's long-term presence in the area. Despite his lack of a direct connection to the district, Peterson recognized the area as an opportune location for the Black Archives, in order to advance his vision of radical Afro-centric history by drawing on the built environment and symbolic legacies of the area. By 1990, Peterson had secured a rent-free lease in a former firehouse at 22nd and Vine, in the midst of several historic public facilities adjacent to the Kansas City Terminal Railway.

Lacking the financial resources and political capital necessary to sustain their visions, however, these various groups floundered in their efforts. Jenkins and the MMF had

[19] Quoted in Wilson, p.8.

developed a vision for a cultural facility in the absence of financial resources to see the concept to fruition, and the promised partnership with the BEU soon broke down due to profound disagreements between Jenkins and the BEU's CEO, Chang D. Hwang.[20] Despite its significant base of federal and local funding, the BEU's neglect of the area's heritage dismayed Jenkins, who decried the BEU's demolition of commercial structures in the area. Jenkins used his relationship with the city's Landmark's Commission to generate public scrutiny of the BEU's initiatives, and circulated a reported entitled, "The Abuses of the 18th and Vine 353 Redevelopment Plan" to black political officials and organizations.[21] Despite their common concern for advancing community concerns on various fronts, the contending interests and priorities of these organizations thwarted the development of a place-based coalition that might have more effectively promoted the physical and economic transformation of the area. These seeds of discord, planted in the late 1960s and early 1970s, would prove considerable obstacles to any subsequent efforts to organize development in the area.

Public Action for Redevelopment

In 1989, all of the upstart proposals for 18th and Vine finally began to coalesce when Fifth District Councilman Emanuel Cleaver spearheaded an initiative to fund several neighborhood-based capital improvements projects. The Cleaver Plan, as the proposal became known, would allocated $114 million in capital improvements to three projects: $20 million for a new American Royal Arena (the venue for an important regional rodeo and livestock show near the defunct Kansas City Stockyards); $50 million for a flood control and bridge reconstruction over Brush Creek, which abuts the Country Club Plaza and the city's elite cultural district; $20 million for an unspecified cultural project at 18th and Vine; and $24 million in neighborhood infrastructure improvements, such as sidewalk and sewer repair.

---

[20] KCLC mss.

[21] Anita J. Dixon, "Politics seems to be the only thing working at 18th & Vine," Kansas City *Pitch*, c.1994.

Passed by the City Council without voter approval, the Cleaver Plan would fund the projects by issuing bonds to be repaid by new sales tax revenues levied on tourism and convention business in the city. The controversial proposal followed by less than a year two public votes rejecting funding for a new American Royal Arena. The neighborhood projects component was added to the proposal primarily to obtain the support of other members of the City Council, whose districts would be largely unaffected by the three major projects, two of which were located within a mile or so of downtown. Included in the neighborhood improvements project were infrastructure and road construction funding for the largely-undeveloped section of the city north of the Missouri River, annexed during the 1950s, along with improvements to various state highways on the city's rapidly sprawling southern edge. The Cleaver Plan envisioned development of the cultural facilities along Vine Street, in city-owned buildings adjacent and opposite to the Black Archives, near 21st Street.[22] Cleaver later acknowledged that while the plan reflected a careful set of political calculations, he had pushed the proposal through without a public vote due to his own skepticism that white voters would support the project at 18th and Vine.[23]

Ambivalence and the Dissonance among Heritage, Culture, and Place

In 1990, the Negro Leagues Baseball Museum was formally incorporated in Kansas City as a non-profit entity "devoted to preserving, researching and disseminating the story of black baseball, and to honoring the thousands of men who played."[24] Dewitt "Woody" Smallwood, a former Negro Leagues player and Negro Leagues president, emphasized the need to preserve the history of the leagues while former players were still alive, a point

---

[22]Yael T. Abouhalkah, "How has Cleaver Plan changed the face of Kansas City?" *The Kansas City Star*, 22 November 1992.

[23] Cleaver's brokering of the initiative reflected his keen political sense, which was buffeted by his status as a religious leader and capable speaker. Relying on these skills, Cleaver had cleverly boosted his own fortunes during the 1987 mayoral race by building a coalition to support the re-election of incumbent Mayor Richard L. Berkley. The return on his efforts paid off in 1991, when Cleaver handily defeated a weak business-backed candidate to become Kansas City's first African-American mayor. Joe Popper, "Plans laid by Cleaver in '87 pay off in '91," *The Kansas City Star*, March 31, 1991.

[24] David Conrads, "A Natural," *Kansas City Live!* February 1992, pp.43-44.

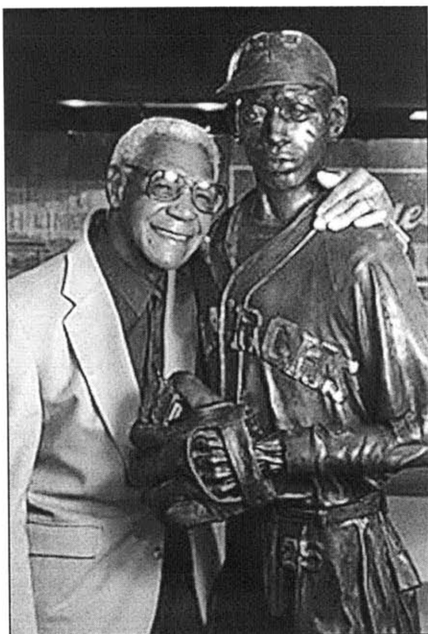


Figure 3.3. John "Buck" O'Neil. (*Kansas City Star.*)

reinforced by Donald Motley, the organization's executive director. "We need to preserve Negro baseball before it is lost," he intoned. The central spokesman for the Negro Leagues museum is Museum Chairman John "Buck" O'Neil (**Figure 3.3**), a charismatic 17-year veteran of the Kansas City Monarchs who later became the first black coach in the major leagues and a scout for the Kansas City Royals. "The museum is something that should have been done years ago," O'Neil explains, "because when we're dead, that's the end of it. The major leagues will go on forever, but pretty soon there won't be any Negro Leagues players left."[25] Like the Mutual Musicians Foundation, the Negro Leagues organization was driven by a desire to communicate this legacy to African-American schoolchildren. "We need to put something in the central city," Motley intoned, "for the kids to do and enjoy."[26]

At the time, leaders of the organization touted Kansas City as a natural location for a Negro Leagues museum. In 1920, at meetings held in the segregated YMCA at 19th and Paseo (see **Figure 2.1**, p.73) and the Street Hotel at 18th and Vine (**Figure 3.4**), owners of seven all-black teams in the Midwest circuit had formed the Negro National League. The Kansas City Monarchs, whose on-field prowess was said to be comparable to the 1920s New York Yankees, were one of the Negro Leagues' most successful teams during the

[25] Quoted in Conrads, p.45. O'Neil, a highly charismatic figure whose humble personality and solid frame belie his age, has been described by associates as "spiritual leader" and "sage." "Buck is what the museum is all about," says one associate, "He's what we're trying to preserve and honor. . . . In Buck, we have an eyewitness account from the front row during the glory days. Nobody can tell the story of Negro Leagues baseball like he can, because he was there. The rest of us can only imagine what it was like." *Op.cit.* The NLBM has received a great deal of national exposure through O'Neil's appearances on National Public Radio and television programs ranging from *Late Night with David Letterman* to Ken Burns' documentaries on Baseball and Jazz.

[26] Quoted in Conrads, p.44.

1940s. The team nurtured such eventual major league pioneers as Jackie Robinson, Ernie Banks, Chet Brewer, and Satchel Paige. The Monarchs had often played at Parade Park, and the municipal stadium at 24th and Brooklyn, a half-mile southeast of 18th and Vine, served as their last venue before the team left Kansas City in the 1950s. Motley split few hairs in projecting the impact of the proposed museum. "The Negro Leagues Baseball Museum," he declared, "will be the only one of its kind in the country, [and] will make Kansas City *the* center for black baseball."[27]

Figure 3.4. Street Hotel, 18th and Vine, c.1940. (Black Archives of Mid-America.)

But the early history of the Negro Leagues organization belies this enthusiasm for a Kansas City location, much less a venue near 18th and Vine. The first formal expression of interest in a museum among retired Negro Leaguers came around 1980, at a reunion of former players held in Ashland, Kentucky. Shortly thereafter, players began donating artifacts to a county museum, which vowed to create a "Negro Leagues Hall of History." Within a few years, however, it became apparent that the growing collection was not being properly stored, and eventually, the collection was donated to the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York.[28] Motley, who had served as a scout for the major league St. Louis Cardinals and Kansas City Royals, learned about the interest in a Negro Leagues Hall of Fame several years later, and became an active proponent of locating the facility in Kansas City. Nonetheless, it was never clear to Motley that 18th and Vine was the appropriate venue. By the time the organization was formally incorporated, locations proposed for the Negro Leagues museum included a site in the central business district; Satchel Paige Stadium, a little league venue on the city's southeast side; and the Truman Sports Complex, which houses dual stadiums for the major league Royals and NFL Chiefs, on the city's eastern boundary.

---

[27] *Ibid.*, (emphasis in original).

[28] Interview with Raymond Doswell, Curator, Negro Leagues Baseball Museum, 3 August 1996.

In early 1991, Horace Peterson, director and founder of the Black Archives of Mid-America, announced plans to renovate an abandoned castle-like limestone structure adjacent to the organization's headquarters as the new home for the Black Archives. Prompted largely by the organization's need for more space, the proposal was also intended to enhance the visibility of the Black Archives.[29] Behind the scenes, Peterson and others acknowledged the move was part of a calculated effort to offer credibility to Peterson's and the Archives' participation in the 18th and Vine project, since the City's Planning Department had begun to develop formal proposals to fund a city-developed jazz hall of fame.

Arbitrating Heritage

Given emerging conflicts among the cultural organizations over the programmatic vision for the facility and issues of control over management of funding and the project itself, the city planning department decided in 1990 to contract the Boston planning firm of Stull and Lee to conduct a stakeholder planning process. Representatives of the three principal organizations, BAMA, the Jazz Hall of Fame, and the Negro Leagues Baseball Museum, were brought together in a series of joint discussions and individual consultations during the fall of 1990. Based on this input, and working within the $20 million budget, Stull and Lee developed a preliminary facility plan that would locate the entire cultural complex in Parade Park, a curious move that would require significant city overview and legal intervention. Stull and Lee contemplated placing the Jazz Hall on a highly-visible corner location, while the Hall's supporting facilities, the Negro Leagues museum, and the Black Archives would be located along a terraced plaza facing the park.

Although lead city planner Claude Page viewed the idea favorably, Peterson was incensed. While hedging his disappointment behind a complaint about the use of scarce inner city park land for the development, Peterson argued that the Black Archives would move to 18th and Vine only if forced to do so, and even then would do so begrudgingly. "I think it is an insane idea," said Peterson, whose plans for the entire complex had focused on the area near the fire station and armory three blocks further south on Vine Street.

---

[29] Mary Sanchez, "Black Archives ready for new home," *The Kansas City Star*, 11 February 1991.

Nonetheless, the proposal was strongly supported by Third District Councilwoman Carol Coe, the Black Economic Union, and the jazz and baseball museums.[30] From the dispute, it became clear that Peterson's objectives had as much to do with controlling the development process as with securing a permanent home for the Black Archives.[31]

The Stull and Lee planning process also revealed significant disagreement within Kansas City's jazz community. Saxophonist Horace Washington, a former MMF president, noted that many musicians saw the project "as a political thing, where they're not going to be hands-on participants."[32] (Besides the Mutual Musicians Foundation, the local jazz community still included such mainstream white-led organizations as The Jazz Festival Committee, which sponsored annual jazz fairs in parks located near downtown and the Country Club Plaza; the Jazz Ambassadors, an aficionado group whose interests focus primarily on jazz as a musical art form; and the Kansas City Jazz Commission, a public marketing agency which sponsored annual jazz "Pub Crawls.")[33]

In their final report, Stull and Lee recommended that the International Jazz Hall of Fame and Negro Leagues Baseball Museum be housed in separate facilities constructed in Parade Park, a large community park one block north of 18th and Vine. The Black Archives of Mid-America would be housed in a new facility on the south side of 18th Street between Highland and Woodland Avenues. The Jazz Hall, a nearly 35,000 square foot, two-story structure, would be accompanied by a separate, larger academic facility for jazz and jazz history instruction. The proposed two-story structure included a 5,000 square foot main exhibition hall, an auditorium, and an adjoining gallery. Directly north of the Jazz Hall, Stull and Lee outlined a slightly larger freestanding educational facility, which would include classrooms, performance space, and administrative offices.

The Negro Leagues Museum and the Black Archives would be built in a second phase, estimated to cost $5.4 million. Together, the two structures would comprise the first phase of the project, with a projected completion date in early 1995. Finally, the plan

---

[30] Kevin Q. Murphy, "Plan shows new site for jazz museum," *The Kansas City Star*, 30 April 1991.

[31] Interviews with Pam Whiting and Sylvester Holmes, October 1996.

[32] Quoted in Wilson, *op.cit.*

[33] Ashcraft 1990 p.33.

proposed the development of at least 200 units of market-rate housing to be constructed between 19th and 21st Streets, Brooklyn and Highland Avenues, with underwriting from unspecified private and public funds, to be occupied primarily by young professionals. Stull and Lee's initial cost estimates for the three facilities approached $37 million. Stull and Lee also projected that the Jazz Hall would face an ongoing operating deficit, which would likely result in ongoing city subsidies for the facilities.

Foreshadowing significant conflicts to come, after the plan was unveiled, city officials admitted that an organizational and administrative structure for the Jazz Hall of Fame had not been determined. The Stull and Lee plan had cautiously suggested that while the city government would manage the construction and development process, the cultural organizations themselves should program the facilities. In press accounts following the release of the plan, city planner Page explained that primary responsibility for programming in the Jazz Hall would rest with the Charlie Parker Memorial Foundation, since the Foundation already possessed and would actively seek additional memorabilia and other historical objects for the Jazz Hall. Foundation President Eddie Baker thus expected a central role in the decision making process. "We've paid the dues," he declared, "and we've earned the right."[34] Baker envisioned a range of programs being housed in the complex, including a new Count Basie Academy of Performing Arts, which would offer musical instruction by jazz legends to adults and schoolchildren, along with an instructional program in gospel music. Peterson differed. Ultimately, he noted, "you get down to having the dollars, and everyone goes in different directions."[35]

Skepticism, Racism, and Discord

When the Stull and Lee plan was finally presented to the City Council in August 1991, council members from outside the district were not enchanted with idea of increasing the project budget to the proposed $31 million, and questioned the wisdom of building three separate facilities for the Negro Leagues, Jazz Hall, and Black Archives. The plan had found a receptive audience during initial review by the Council's Finance Committee,

---

[34] Quoted in Wilson, p.8.

[35] *Ibid.*

although one committee member expressed concern that the project budget greatly exceeded the $20 million designated in the Cleaver Plan.[36] In defending his presentation, Boston urban designer David Lee argued that constructing three independent facilities was requisite to achieving the level of "synergy" needed to revitalize not only 18th and Vine, but the larger Washington-Wheatley neighborhood.

The next afternoon, the full Council unanimously approved expenditures of $14.6 million for the Jazz Hall of Fame and the teaching academy envisioned by Stull and Lee, and planning and architectural fees for the design of other facilities and street improvements in the district. Despite the jubilant tone in the Council Chamber, Mayor Cleaver remained concerned about likely operating deficits for the combined facilities, which Stull and Lee estimated might approach $2 million annually. Cleaver therefore urged the appointment of an independent oversight committee "of high-octane jazz enthusiasts who can raise money" to finance ongoing operational costs. [37]

The acrimonious debate that surrounded passage of the plan also revealed a level of external circumspection that Councilwoman Coe attributed to racism. While acknowledging that possibility, other commentators pointed to the severe fractures among the multiple local groups and constituencies that promoted jazz performance and culture.[38] Councilwoman Coe questioned media and political attention to the fiscal scrutiny given the project. "When we try to change the level of [African-American community] participation," she said, "we get a lot of questions that are ordinarily not asked" of other city projects, such as the American Royal Arena (another project funded by the Cleaver

---

[36] Kevin Q. Murphy, "KC committee passes jazz hall measure," *The Kansas City Star*, 5 September 1991.

[37] Arthur Brisbane, "A vision of good old days," *The Kansas City Star*, 23 August 1991.

[38] Kevin Q. Murphy, "Jazz hall of fame approved," *The Kansas City Star*, 6 September 1991; Calvin Wilson, "Sweet music, sweet dreams," *The Kansas City Star*, 22 September 1991. The most ardent skepticism about the funding proposal and plan was voiced by Councilman Dan Cofran, who represented the upper-income district, and who would unsuccessfully run against Cleaver in the 1995 mayoral race.

Plan that also faced projected operating deficits).[39] Coe also expressed frustration with media coverage of the planning process, which had characterized the plan as "a lightning rod for criticism," and explicitly bemoaned the fact that the project was located in the "black ghetto." One editorial noted the troubling irony that a project celebrating the principal African-American contribution to American culture was being derided by charges of needless infighting among "blacks in charge of uniting behind the project," and that expectations requiring the active participation of African-American city planners, community leaders, and cultural organizations meant that "tax money is being wasted."[40]

Despite (or perhaps because of) Councilwoman Coe's concerns, in late 1992, Cleaver quietly assembled a working group of civic leaders that he dubbed the 18th and Vine Oversight Committee. The group was headed by entertainment mogul Stanley Durwood, head of Kansas City-based AMC Theatres, which pioneered the concept of multiplex cinemas. Other board members included representatives of Kansas City's business and philanthropic communities, and two of Cleaver's staff aides. Cleaver's primary aim, as he had stated publicly, was to build a board capable of raising funds for a museum operating endowment, but the effort was also intended to build trust with corporate and philanthropic leaders who remained skeptical of the capacity of grassroots organizations to manage the development process. Ultimately, Cleaver wanted to ensure that 18th and Vine redevelopment would be viewed as a project benefiting all Kansas Citians, not just the black community.

Analysis: Narrative as Symbolic Politics

The City Council's passage of the Stull and Lee plan reinforced the narrative discourses that had linked cultural performance and community vitality. "For many years," one reporter wrote, "the health of jazz and of the community around 18th and Vine streets seemed bound together.

---

[39] Quoted in Calvin Wilson, "Sweet Music, Sweet Dreams," *Kansas City Star Magazine*, 22 September 1991, p.8. Wilson notes that the American Royal regularly received city support of more than $1 million annually to cover operating shortfalls.

[40] Yael T. Abouhalkah, "Spotlight on 18th & Vine," *Kansas City Star*, August 22, 1991.

> "As clubs flourished in the area, businesses did too, bolstered by patronage from a segregated black community. . . . Now, community leaders say the cultural complex and the proposed housing units offer a chance to regain that lost sense of community."[41]

Sylvester Holmes, president of the Black Economic Union, explained that the plan's central emphasis on the Jazz Hall was a necessary means of reconstituting a vital community life. "The rich jazz history of this area has always been an important ingredient," he later said. "People who live here, people who work here and people who play here – that is extremely important to developing a community." Support for the development was cast in these terms not only by the various entrepreneurs vying for influence in the development, but also by local media. One columnist compared the acrimony at City Hall to the steadfast dedication of a district resident to the Jones Billiard Hall, one of the few historic structures intact and in active use on 18th Street. The plan, he wrote, offered a vision

> "of remaking the once-vibrant heart of Kansas City's black community in the pre-World War II era, a district that has slipped by all accounts into the last stages of decay. And while Dodie King passed the afternoon quietly in the pool hall, the politicians argued about that vision."[42]

While this is not an unreasonable interpretation of events at the time, these contrast developed rhetorically in this account clearly serves to reify the public decision making process. By explicitly linking jazz, the fulcrum of contemporary development, to a nostalgic concept of a vital era in the forlorn commercial district, advocates and critics of the process legitimated not only the appropriateness of Cleaver's vision for the area, but the central focus of the redevelopment project on the creation of a jazz museum that would primarily serve a broad, multi-ethnic audience of local and out-of-town visitors. In so doing, the Mayor began to emphasize that the District was not a "black" project, but represented a new asset for the entire city.[43]

---

[41] Wilson, p.10.

[42] Brisbane, "A vision of good old days," *Kansas City Star*, August 23, 1991.

[43] Interview with Pam Whiting, Communications Director, Office of Mayor Emanuel Cleaver, October 14, 1996.

The Mayor Takes Control

The enthusiasm and favorable media attention that greeted passage of the Stull and Lee plan soon dissipated. By the spring of 1992, the planning process had virtually ground to a halt. Based on input from the oversight committee, the Mayor's office began quietly exploring two options not contemplated by Stull and Lee. The first was to build a single cultural facility (rather than the three outlined in the plan), which would house all three organizations. The second was to separate the Black Archives and Negro Leagues Museum from the 18th and Vine development, and to locate them at the Bruce R. Watkins Cultural Heritage Center (a recently-constructed African-American cultural center on the city's southeast side), and the Truman Sports Complex, respectively. Cleaver and his staff reasoned that narrowing the scope of the 18th and Vine project exclusively to the Jazz Hall would minimize construction expenses and help resolve ongoing tensions among the leadership of the various organizations. "If the decision was based strictly on economics," Cleaver said, "the Negro Leagues Museum would go to the sports complex and the Black Archives would go to the Watkins center. But the decision must be made based on a variety of factors – economics, nostalgia, and racial pride."

When local media revealed the discussions, Councilwoman Coe dismissed the proposal out of hand, as did Ruby Jackson, interim executive director of the Black Archives. Coe acknowledged the logic of the proposal, but argued forcefully that a single facility would prove incapable of serving as an adequate magnet for the area, and emphasized the symbolic importance of 18th and Vine to the black community and the need to target public investments in an area long-neglected by local economic development policy, despite the precarious financial state of similar proposals in other parts of downtown. Ollie Gates, a leading African-American businessman and chairman of the city's Board of Parks and Recreation Commissioners, however, thought locating the archives within the cultural center, which the Parks Department subsidized, would make the latter "more vibrant" and reduce the organizations' operating costs.[44]

---

[44] Yael T. Abouhalkah, "City needs to decide once and for all on $20 million project," *Kansas City Star*, June 4, 1992; James C. Fitzpatrick, "No moves planned for archives; Negro Leagues museum also to stay at 18th and Vine complex," *Kansas City Star*, June 6, 1992.

Despite the initial skepticism and resistance to the idea, just three months later, in a statement that shocked several of his colleagues, Cleaver publicly announced that three separate facilities would be too costly for the city to build and maintain, and that he thought all four cultural organizations involved in the project should be housed in a single building in Parade Park, one to two blocks from 18th and Vine.[45] Councilwoman Coe derided the Mayor, saying that Kansas City "would never be a world-class city with that limited vision."[46] But one of Cleaver's top aides acknowledged that the proposal to develop only a single facility was a deliberate attempt to overcome "the discordant voices" that were clouding the planning process. Cleaver acknowledged during press interviews that he still expected the single facility to house all three cultural organizations, as well as Count Basie Enterprises, the non-profit entity formed by Basie's heirs which controlled his likeness and the orchestra that continues to use his name. Cleaver's indicated that he perceived the Basie group as crucial to success of the facilities, and even contemplated construction of a recording studio for the band's exclusive use.

The proposal to locate the single facility in Parade Park met with quick approval from the Parks Department, which would play a crucial role in any such scheme. Despite his support, however, Parks Board Chairman Gates, strongly urged the mayor to consider putting the project under the management of a single organization or person. "There have been too many folks saying too many things," Gates noted, "going in too many directions."[47] Cleaver agreed, saying that this was the primary reason he had appointed the oversight committee in the first place. (The oversight committee itself, however, had only a few weeks earlier recommended to Cleaver that any cultural facilities should be sited on

---

[45] James C. Fitzpatrick, "Parks chief won't oppose new Vine plan; Mayor now favors one building on 18th, instead of earlier three," *Kansas City Star,* September 29, 1992. The idea of locating the facilities in the park, and Gates subsequent public support, suggests that Gates had likely been a part of these discussions.

[46] James C. Fitzpatrick, "Cleaver recasting 18th, Vine," *The Kansas City Star*, 26 September 1992;

[47] Fitzpatrick, September 29, 1992. According to several sources, around this time Peterson had a conversation with Cleaver in which he "effectively asked, 'Where is my $5 million check?'" (Interview with Pam Whiting).

18th Street, rather than in Parade Park, in order to maximize their visibility and help rejuvenate commercial activity along the avenue.)[48]

As he had argued previously, Cleaver believed a single facility would minimize expenses while maximizing the potential return from the project. For example, rather than building a separate instructional facility, as suggested in the Stull and Lee plan, Cleaver envisioned the renovation of the nearby Gem Theater into the principal performance facility in the district. (Renovation of the theater, to be managed by Pat Jordan, a prominent African-American businesswoman, had not been considered by Stull and Lee, but the Gem itself had been designated by the city's Municipal Arts Commission to receive federal subsidies as a cultural and performing arts center the previous summer.)[49] Cleaver shrugged off criticism of the proposal, saying that imposing his will on the planning process would ensure a successful outcome for "the measuring stick by which east-of-Troost development will be read."[50]

Cleaver's emphasis on financial issues and his decision to focus on a single facility, along with the proposal to attract Basie Enterprises, clearly reflected the influence of Durwood and other members of the oversight committee. Cleaver's proposal found a warm reception among private funders in the city, including the Hall Family Foundation (established by Hallmark Cards founder Joyce C. Hall), one of the city's largest private trusts, which had supported the Jazz Hall concept since passage of the Cleaver Plan. The approach to the Basie orchestra also reflected increasing frustration among city staff with Baker and the Parker Memorial Foundation, who continued to insist on greater control over funding and management of the project. Off the record, several of those involved in the planning effort derided Baker and the Foundation as having "a dubious financial track record," of being "in disarray," and "incapable of raising its $2 million to $3 million share

[48] James C. Fitzpatrick, "Cleaver recasting 18th, Vine," *The Kansas City Star*, 26 September 1992; Id., "Parks chief won't oppose new Vine plan," *The Kansas City Star*, 29 September 1992.

[49] Shortly before passing the Jazz Hall funding proposal, Cleaver had hired Jordan's husband, Edgar, as part-time aide to coordinate planning, urban design, and economic development efforts in the district. Wilson, "Sweet Music, Sweet Dreams," p.9. James C. Fitzpatrick, "Gem Theater renovation plan advances," *The Kansas City Star*, 8 June 1991.

[50] James C. Fitzpatrick, "Cleaver recasting 18th, Vine," *The Kansas City Star*, 26 September 1992;

for furnishings and exhibits at the hall of fame." Baker attributed the fallout to blatant racism, as well as efforts within the white community to defeat the project altogether. In their defense, Baker's detractors argued that they supported the Jazz Hall, but worried that Baker and the Parker Foundation would cause it to "become mired in bureaucracy and poor management." Nonetheless, given both the unwillingness of anyone to make such claims to Baker directly, and the acknowledgment by detractors that Baker held a position of influence, suggests that distrust emanating from either the Authority or the civic community was at least partially responsible for exacerbating the rift.[51]

From Conflict to Crisis

The considerable discord brewing over Cleaver's manipulation of the development process abruptly faltered in March 1992, when Peterson, the Black Archives' founder and one of Cleaver's primary antagonists, drowned during a family outing with his children.[52] For several months afterwards, planning activity virtually ceased.

In late October 1992, the city government officially awarded the 18th and Vine planning contract to McCormack Baron, a private planning and development firm headquartered in St. Louis, Missouri. The decision was announced by Holmes, as the Black Economic Union had been assigned responsibility for making the final selection from among seven consultants that responded to the city's request for proposals. Holmes touted McCormack Baron's accomplishments in St. Louis as essential to generating the mixture of residential, commercial, and cultural facilities necessary to achieving the BEU's visions for the neighborhood. As the designated 353 redevelopment corporation for the area, the BEU retained redevelopment rights to most of the properties within the district, and would therefore play a central role in the planning process.[53] In another respect,

---

[51] The depth of the conflict is best reflected in the fact that it was first revealed in a *Chicago* newspaper (one local reporter confided to the author that Kansas City media were aware of antagonism towards Baker, but had refused to report the story. Margaret Traub, "Kansas City rocking with criticism of jazz tribute," *Chicago Sun-Times*, January 14, 1992, p.27.

[52] Steve Penn, "City mourns the death of Peterson; Dreams of expansion of Black Archives and district will continue." *The Kansas City Star*, March 17, 1992.

[53] While Chapter 353 provides for the expiration of these development rights, "in the event of failure of the urban redevelopment corporation to acquire ownership of property within the area of the development plan," the law does not otherwise specify any other performance standards.

however, the entry of a private, out-of-town consultant to manage the development process revealed Cleaver's skepticism that Holmes and the BEU would prove capable of seeing the project to fruition, a view based, at least in part, on feedback from the oversight committee.

Initial enthusiasm for McCormack Baron's involvement soon dissipated, however, when the firm argued publicly that the city's $20 million investment was inadequate to revitalize the neighborhood. Basing their projections in part on a successful redevelopment model that the firm pioneered in St. Louis, and subsequently realized in Kansas City's Quality Hill district downtown, the firm's vision for 18th and Vine included the creation of new housing and retail uses as a catalyst for the revitalization of the district and the generation of adequate traffic for the district's new cultural facilities.[54]

The news rankled nerves at City Hall, where a local councilman questioned the potential appropriation for additional funds to an unrealized project in the face of significant infrastructure problems in other neighborhoods. Pronouncements by Gould Evans Associates, project architects for the museum facility, worsened the political brew. Gould Evans announced that the $20 million budget would be adequate only to build a single museum facility, while an additional $7 to $10 million would be required for fixtures, exhibits, and furnishings. To top off the bad news, McCormack Baron issued a lengthy memorandum to the Mayor's office, indicating that past work of professional architects, engineers, and marketing consultants had been poorly coordinated and without direction and contributed little to material progress on the project.[55]

In March 1993, concerned that project funds were being poorly spent, the Mayor proposed a spending freeze to ensure that the concerns of his oversight committee were addressed. But the project faced its clearest threat a week later, when the two Third District Councilpersons, Ronald Finley and Carol Coe, submitted a proposal to the full

---

[54] Letter from Tony Salazar to BEU, KCLC mss.

[55] Rick Montgomery, 'Jazz Hall gets a case of the blues," *The Kansas City Star*, 27 March 1993; Tom Linafelt, "18th & Vine lacks a marketing plan," *The Business Journal of Kansas City*, September 26, 1997; Id., "18th & Vine marketing effort still troubled," October 10, 1997; Id., "Lack of marketing mystifies firms courting 18th & Vine ," October 17, 1997.

Council to reallocate the $15 million of the original $20 million allocation, ostensibly for use on other capital improvements projects in the Third District. The about-face posed serious problems for the city government, because bonds to fund the project had actually been issued in 1991, at the time of the Stull and Lee study.

The proposal made public a long-simmering struggle between the Mayor and Councilwoman Coe for control of the project. While the Mayor attempted to defuse business community concerns over the fiscal integrity of the project by installing McCormack Baron as project manager, Coe argued that direct oversight should remain with the City Planning and Development Department, which, under city ordinance, administers all planning contracts approved by the City Council. (Coe's intervention also reflected her ongoing commitment to make the Black Archives a central component of the redevelopment project.) The struggle was protracted and ominous, foreshadowing a number of political scandals that would taint African-American political figures over the next few years.[56] But Cleaver was infuriated by the suggestion that the funds be devoted to other projects. "This idea," he rejoined during the Council meeting, "will generate great celebration among the closed-minded people who never wanted money spent east of Troost in the first place."[57]

---

[56] In 1996, three Kansas City council members, along with a handful of their assistants and private businesspeople, were indicted and later convicted or plead guilty to federal charges of corruption, extortion, bribe-taking, and money laundering and mail fraud as a result of multiple investigations into public corruption launched by U.S. Attorney Stephen Hill. The following year the scandal resulted in the conviction of three other prominent African-American political figures. Councilwoman Jeanne D. Robinson, an African-American who represented the city's heavily African-American and middle-class Fifth District (the seat formerly held by Cleaver), and Elbert Anderson, the African-American chairman of the Kansas City Port Authority, were indicted and convicted of extortion and fraud related to municipal funding of a for-profit African-American business exposition. Mark Morris and Gromers Jeffers Jr., "KC gave $100,000 for-profit Black Expo," *The Kansas City Star*, September 7, 1996; "Kansas City Councilwoman Robinson pleads guilty to fraud," *Kansas City Star*, September 10, 1996; Tom Jackman and Mark Morris, "Kansas City Councilwoman Robinson is scheduled to plead guilty today," September 9, 1996. The scandals not only tainted the city administration, but also reinforced skepticism among white civic leaders and suburban residents regarding the African-American political community's ability to manage public investments. Lewis W. Diuguid, "Some black leaders have felt heat as they reached spotlight," *The Kansas City Star*, October 16, 1996, p.C2.

[57] James C. Fitzpatrick, "Two propose shifting funds from 18th and Vine project," *The Kansas City Star*, 19 March 1993.

In October 1993 the project faced its biggest crisis: after several years of waiting for the city to construct a facility for their museum, the Board of the Negro Leagues Museum decided to explore locations other than 18th and Vine. Randall Ferguson, the Negro Leagues' executive director, announced that the organization was seriously pursuing the idea of locating the facility at the Truman Sports Complex (the site of Kauffman and Arrowhead Stadiums, the respective homes of the Major League Baseball Royals and NFL Kansas City Chiefs). Ferguson was candid in expressing his frustration. "Who know if there's ever going to be a building?" he asked. The idea found support among the management of the Royals professional baseball team, which for several years had been exploring the idea of a local baseball hall of fame at the sports complex.[58]

A 1993 *Toronto Star* article called the lack of private financial support from Major League Baseball, especially in a context of multi-year, $40-million superstar salaries, "baseball's disgrace."[59] The need to obtain private financial support needed to operate the museums not only proved a vexing dilemma for the city staff, but put even the most eloquent of promoters in a difficult position. "You see," intoned Buck O'Neil, "I can't fight [major league] baseball because I'm trying to win over baseball."[60] Despite the ambivalence, the following month, O'Neil and other leaders of the Negro Leagues Baseball Museum were suddenly vaunted to the fore as the project's greatest hope. With no hope of obtaining an architecturally-distinctive, dedicated facility for the Jazz Hall of Fame, Eddie Baker and the board of the Charlie Parker Foundation abruptly withdrew their support for the project.[61]

---

[58] James C. Fitzpatrick, "New plan for baseball museum," *The Kansas City Star*, October 9, 1993.

[59] Dave Perkins, "Negro Leagues museum is being sadly neglected," *Toronto Star*, July 6, 1993, p.D1.

[60] Quoted in *Toronto Star*.

[61] The move effectively made the Negro Leagues Museums the facility's sole tenant. After Peterson's death, discord within the Black Archives board and an ongoing dispute with Peterson's widow over life insurance disputes had even further marginalized the organization. In 1993, with Council approval, planners had removed the Archives from the facility, but offered to let the organization operate a small "visitor's center" in the facility's lobby, rather than the larger museum Peterson had sought for the archives since the 1970s. Yael T. Abouhalkah, "Reject the 18th and Vine raid," *The Kansas City Star*, November 9, 1994, p.C8. Baker later began to pitch his efforts in Tampa, Florida, where he held an induction ceremony and proposed a jazz retirement village, an

Facing devastating political fallout over the withdrawal of the cultural organizations, in 1994, Cleaver began efforts to transform oversight committee into a formal public authority controlled by the Mayor's office. Cleaver sought to engender trust on the part of corporate and philanthropic leaders who remained skeptical of the capacity of grassroots organizations to manage the development process. He also envisioned centralized management for 18th and Vine project as a cornerstone for building a citywide, multiracial constituency for the city's contemplated redevelopment of the area.[62]

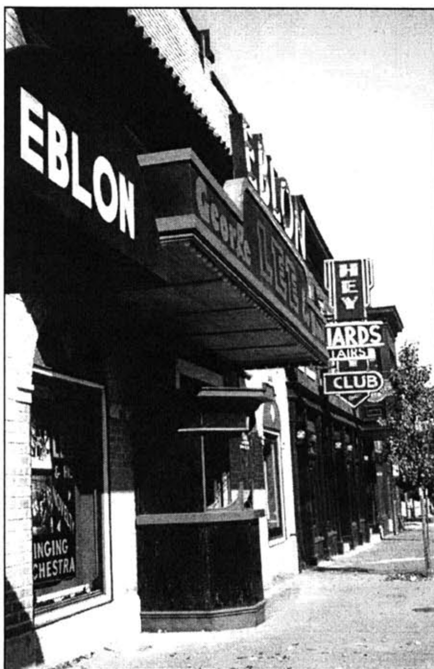


Figure 3.5. Vine Street façades repainted as a movie set for *Kansas City*, 1998. (Photograph bv the author.)

Despite Council concerns, Cleaver persisted in his efforts to have city staff manage most aspects of the development project, including marketing and public events. In 1994, the 18th and Vine Planning Center hosted a photographic exhibit entitled "Do You Remember 18th Street?," an event intended to generate local support for the City's development agenda. As the project's director argued, "[a]nyone who has lived in Kansas City can relate to these pictures . . . the basis for the cultural project the city is building . . . is in 18th and Vine history."[63]

The Authority also shepherded a variety of private initiatives to refocus energy on the district. In the fall of 1995, Kansas City native Robert Altman returned to his hometown to film *Kansas City*, a film based in part of the real life escapades of a local numbers runner and bootlegger. With the active backing of the city's planning and economic development agencies, Altman used the 18th and Vine

entertainment center and a museum that would house the hall of fame. Lindsay Peterson, "Jazz masters star in Hall of Fame show, project," *The Tampa Tribune*, November 11, 1997, Baylife, p.1. Baker died in late 2001 without ever realizing his ambitions. Robert Trussell, "Eddie Baker, advocate for jazz in KC, dies at 71," *The Kansas City Star*, December 19, 2001.

[62] Interview with Pam Whiting.

neighborhood, and the nostalgia associated with Kansas City's once-vibrant jazz scene, as an actual set for filming. Along a stretch of Vine Street between 18th and 19th, Altman's production company repainted abandoned facades (**Figure 3.5**) to create a literal stage set of commercial storefronts and hopping juke joints, which served as the film's principal representations of the built landscape of Kansas City's black neighborhoods.[64]

Despite the increasing use of jovial and effusive narratives by the Authority to promote the project, Altman's motion picture presents a jarring interpretation of race relations during the jazz era, and the political and criminal manipulation of the city's African-American community by political sidemen and local gangsters. The film describes Kansas City, perhaps too accurately, as a corrupt town in which the white power structure, under the control of the notorious Pendergast, both supports and relies upon black gangsters to maintain neighborhood control over local election fraud, gun running, and the illicit drug trade. The relationships outlined among the major characters in the film pose a derisive view of a virtually-colonized African-American community and leadership at the behest of a variety of corrupt municipal, state, and federal officials. Far from reading the film as an interpretation of the past counter to their own, local officials actively embraced it as a means of marketing the district.[65] Two years later, for example, city officials arranged a photo shoot featuring jazz musicians performing in front of the movie set (**Figure 3.6**). Photographs from the shoot were used to create a poster marketing the district.

Figure 3.6. Photo shoot on Vine Street movie set for "Kansas City is Jazz" poster, October 1998. *(Kansas City Star.)*

---

[63] Glenn E. Rice, "Photos to recapture life at 18th and Vine," *The Kansas City Star*, May 19, 1994; Matthew Schofield, "Jazz salutes past, future at 18th, Vine," *The Kansas City Star*, August 28, 1995.

[64] Glenn E. Rice and Matthew Schofield, "Back on the crime scene '30s gangster 'Seldom Seen' is featured in Altman's movie," *The Kansas City Star*, July 15, 1995;

[65] "Swinging back to 1930s Kansas City: A jazz memory," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, August 22, 1996, p.B-5.

Retrenchment and Reconfiguration: Confronting Real Politics

Centralized city management of the redevelopment process at 18th and Vine created circumstances that not only generated political embarrassments, but also raised serious questions about the city's aims in promoting a heritage strategy for 18th and Vine's rebirth. Despite the problems created by political discontent over the city's management of the planning process, Mayor Cleaver remained committed to realizing the project, particularly because of challenges posed to other aspects of his political agenda. By the spring of 1994, it had become clear that despite pledges made by the Army Corps of Engineers and the Parks Department, the reconstruction of Brush Creek (the largest of the four Cleaver Plan projects) would not contribute materially to the redevelopment of African-American neighborhoods east of Troost Avenue.[66] Members of the city council were especially alarmed by prospects that improvements east of Troost might never happen, because the project budget itself faced a $41 million shortfall.[67]

In the absence of active participation by the various cultural organizations, Cleaver's decision to take direct control of the project created a number of awkward political dilemmas. The earliest of these occurred in late 1994, when local media discovered that, acting on behalf of the 18th and Vine Authority, Cleaver had personally arranged the purchase of a plastic saxophone once used by Charlie Parker, along with various other Parker memorabilia, from Christie's auction house in London. The absurdity of the scandal was exacerbated by Cleaver's handling of a potential violation of state open meeting laws, and the fact that the $160,000 spent on the items exceeded a budget line

---

[66] Instead, the Corps and the Parks Department had concentrated the bulk of the $120 million flood control improvements to the area around the Country Club Plaza, an affluent shopping district developed in the 1920s by nationally-recognized developer J.C. Nichols. Unlike the heavily landscaped berms, walkways, reconstructed bridges, and docks constructed near the Plaza, improvements to the east were primarily structural, with minimal landscaping, limited pedestrian access, and no integration with commercial or residential development along the major boulevards and traffic arteries that served as through arteries bisecting some of the city's most stable and densely populated African-American neighborhoods.

[67] A 1977 flood on Brush Creek, which flows through the Country Club District and Plaza, precipitated the Corps' planning efforts, which culminated in the Cleaver Plan. Jeffrey Spivak, "Brush Creek illusions; Amenities won't be seen east of Troost," *The Kansas City Star*, March 17, 1994.

dedicated to museum facility and construction management. "I'm just trying to get the museum open," Cleaver said. "The primary reason we need the memorabilia is that we don't have any."[68]

While serving as the Mayor's first public acknowledgment that the city project now lacked a museum organization, management, or even artifacts to exhibit, the saxophone scandal revealed the degree to which Cleaver was isolating the Authority from Council and public oversight. This political gaffe revealed serious consequences of the Mayor's earlier decision to exclude the community groups, despite their infighting, from the process. Despite statutory language that required all Authority members to be approved by the Council, only Cleaver himself (as Authority chairman) had actually received such approval. Cleaver had appointed the other two members, an assistant city attorney and former assistant city manager, in part to deal with reluctance from civic leaders to participate in the project. "The situation is that with all the negative publicity, it has been tedious to get the kind of board for the authority that we need," Cleaver said. Significant legal questions also surfaced regarding the Authority's decision to authorize the purchase without a public meeting. To overcome this predicament, the Board held an open meeting a week after the auction, at which it formally approved the purchase (along with a short-term loan to cover a discrepancy between the Board's original authorization and the final purchase price).

Cleaver's admission also revealed the utter lack of private financial support for the 18th and Vine development. Despite the embarrassing political fallout, Cleaver remained firm. "The people that hired me - the people of this city - are excited that we are building a huge museum and have something to put in it," he later said.[69] But Cleaver minced no words in assigning blame to the corporate community for its lack of support to 18th and Vine,

[68] Mark Morris, "KC's purchase of Parker's sax raises questions," *The Kansas City Star*, September 14, 1994, p.C1.

[69] Mark Morris, "City board approves purchase of Parker's sax," *The Kansas City Star*, September 16, 1994, p.C3. A few years later, a Japanese jazz enthusiast who had bid against Cleaver during the auction donated several other items of memorabilia to the planned jazz museum. Mark Morris, "Charlie Parker memorabilia is donated by Japanese group to proposed Kansas City jazz museum," *The Kansas City Star*, April 2, 1996.

which paled in comparison to regular civic fundraising for the American Royal Arena (another of the Cleaver Plan initiatives). Local media steered clear of racial issues, noting that various individuals in the private sector had openly expressed desires to avoid potential confrontations with Councilwoman Coe, outright skepticism about the marketability of the development, and significant questions about the city's oversight and rationale for the project.[70]

In 1994, the City Council formally chartered the 18th and Vine Authority, and charged it with responsibility for overseeing the construction of the single museum facility Cleaver had proposed two years earlier. Approval did not come easily, and was delayed by Councilwoman Coe's proposal to reallocate $3 million from the redevelopment budget to renovate an unused maintenance building in Parade Park to house an expanded Black Archives. [71] Coe eventually relented, but only after Cleaver committed to funding a planning study exploring the proposed move. While accepting Cleaver's nominations, [72] the Council, led by Coe and Finley, restricted the Authority's independence, including

[70] Yael T. Abouhalkah, "More blues for Mr. Charlie; Flawed purchase of Parker sax proved how private donors haven't supported 18th and Vine," *The Kansas City Star*, September 22, 1994, p.C7. Concerns also surfaced that the scandal might imperil pending votes on a bi-state cultural tax, which had become unavoidably entangled in both the politics of race and suburban skepticism over the fiscal and political accountability of the Kansas City, Missouri city government. The bi-state tax, an idea which had been floated since the early 1980s, originally had been proposed by Jackson County legislators as a means for sharing the expense of maintaining the Truman Sports complex. An amended version of the tax was approved in 1998 to restore the city's neglected Union Station as a regional science museum, but as recently as December 2002, an extension to the tax was proposed for stadium upkeep and renovation.

[71] Mark Morris, "Cleaver is dealt setbacks; Council panel votes limits on authority of 18th and Vine group," *The Kansas City Star*, November 3, 1994, p.C1.

[72] Cleaver's appointments included Landon H. Rowland, CEO and president of Kansas City Southern Industries Inc.; J. Reuben Benton, an executive and co-owner of *The Kansas City Call*; Beth K. Smith, a community activist and adjunct professor of nonprofit leadership and management at the University of Missouri-Kansas City; and James I. Threatt, a former assistant city manager and an unpaid aide to Cleaver who helped the mayor incorporate the authority. Cleaver also proposed included an unnamed representative from the BEU, and conveniently designated the Mayor as head of the board. Mark Morris, "Cleaver names 4 to panel; His 18th and Vine authority choices still need council approval," *The Kansas City Star*, October 26, 1994, p.C1.

requirements that it file an annual report and include a council representative on its board.[73]

Figure 3.7. Construction Barrier at Kansas City Jazz Museum Site, August 1996. The barrier was emblazoned with images of local and national heroes, including Horace Peterson, Mayor Cleaver, Count Basie, vocalist Ida MacBeth, and Kansas City *Call* publisher Lucille H. Bluford. (Photograph by author.)

Among the Authority's first actions was the hiring of Dr. Rowena Stewart, the original director of Detroit's Motown Museum, as Director of the Kansas City Jazz Museum. By the summer of 1996, construction was finally underway on the single museum facility (**Figure 3.7**). Cleaver's accomplishment, however, was bittersweet, after he learned that Basie Enterprises had not only declined to participate in a concert celebrating the groundbreaking, but also threatened legal action if the Jazz Museum continued to use Basie's image, likeness, or music in its programming, exhibits, or marketing.[74] Even centralized control obviously could not guarantee Cleaver the acquiescence of even the most desired cultural partners.

---

[73] Mark Morris, "Cleaver, Coe reach compromise over new Black Archives center," *The Kansas City Star*, November 11, 1994, p.C1. More than six years after Cleaver agreed to study moving the Black Archives to the park maintenance building, the Black Archives still lacks a new home. Steve Penn, "Black Archivs of Mid-America is in need of a friend, with funds," *The Kansas City Star*, January 11, 2001.

[74] Steve Penn, "Indecision gives way to construction at 18th and Vine," *The Kansas City Star*, June 30, 1996.

A Place for Jazz

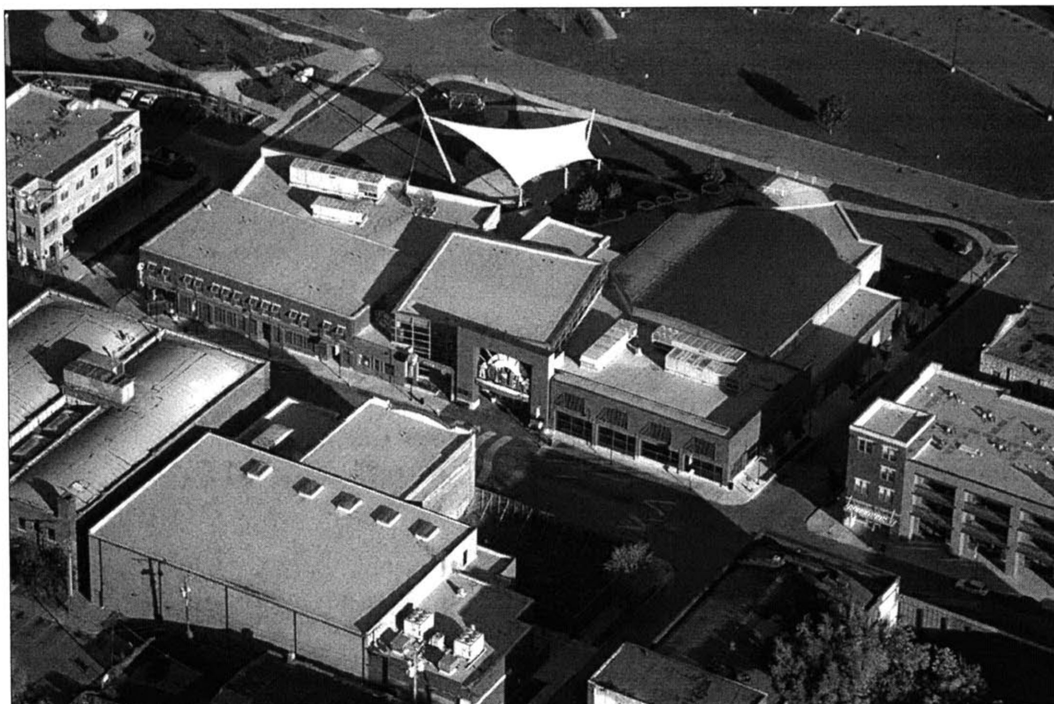


Figure 3.8. Museums at 18th and Vine (aerial view). Photograph by Alex S. MacLean. Copyright © 2002 Landslides Aerial Photography. (Used by permission.)

Although it took nearly four years, Cleaver's efforts to guide the project to completion finally succeeded. In September 1997, after several months of construction delays, Kansas City's widely-publicized "Museums at 18th and Vine" opened to broad acclaim (**Figure 3.8**). National and global attention was focused on the district, as the opening gala for the Jazz Museum, hosted by Harry Belafonte, a star of Altman's film, was later broadcast nationally by cable television network Black Entertainment Television (BET). As part of its program to develop the new museums and aid revitalization of the area, the Jazz Museum staff expanded upon the fictional streetscapes created by Altman's film company, creating new false storefronts for the opening day festivities (**Figure 3.9**). Notably, the opening day festivities included a pronounced (perhaps excessive) police presence, as more than a dozen city officers patrolled the districts by foot and on mountain bikes (**Figure 3.10**) The new streetscape included fresh produce stacked outside a false-

front grocery; new window signage and painted trim re-christening a derelict commercial storefront as the long-demolished Street Hotel. Window awnings and plywood were also used to create the illusion of a beauty salon, jewelry store, and appliance shop from the façade of the decaying Roberts Building.)

Figures 3.9 and **3.10. 18th and Vine façades repainted as false storefronts** and **local police patrolling opening day festivities, September 7, 1997.** (Photographs by author.)

The veneer of celebration overshadowed considerable controversy regarding management of the facilities, since the Mayor's office had decided that the city government would operate the jazz museum independently of local groups. Due to the fallout with Baker, who had trademarked the City's intended name for the facility ("The International Jazz Hall of Fame"), the facility opened with the unwieldy moniker "The Kansas City Jazz Museum at 18th and Vine."[75] Because the Authority had failed to resolve its impasse with Count Basie Enterprises in New York, the museum's exhibits (**Figure 3.11**) conspicuously lacked any memorabilia referring to Basie or his music, and instead featured a traveling

---

[75] In 1999, at the behest of Rowena Stewart, the jazz facility was renamed the "American Jazz Museum" in order to emphasize the project's national profile. Steve Penn, "Kansas City Jazz Museum is taking on national overtones," *The Kansas City Star*, March 11, 1999.

While the moniker lacked the cachet or longevity of the Jazz Hall, the move was greeted with skepticism by many established jazz artists. "Jazz never had a single home," said drummer Max Roach. His point was confirmed in late 2000, when New York's Lincoln Center announced plans to include a Jazz Hall of Fame at its new home on Columbus Circle, followed a few months later by Congress authorization of a $1 million matching grant to build a "National Jazz Museum" in Harlem. William H. Honan, "Budget Bill Jump-Starts Jazz Museum in Harlem," *The New York Times*, December 19, 2000.

Smithsonian exhibit on Duke Ellington and the Washington, D.C. jazz scene.[76] Effectively precluded from meaningful participation in the initial phase of the development, the Black Archives was also noticeably absent from the project, a decision by Cleaver and the Authority to name the visitor's center in Peterson's honor. Due to construction delays, the formal opening of the Negro Leagues Museum, which was celebrated that weekend as a counterpart to the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York, was postponed until the following spring.

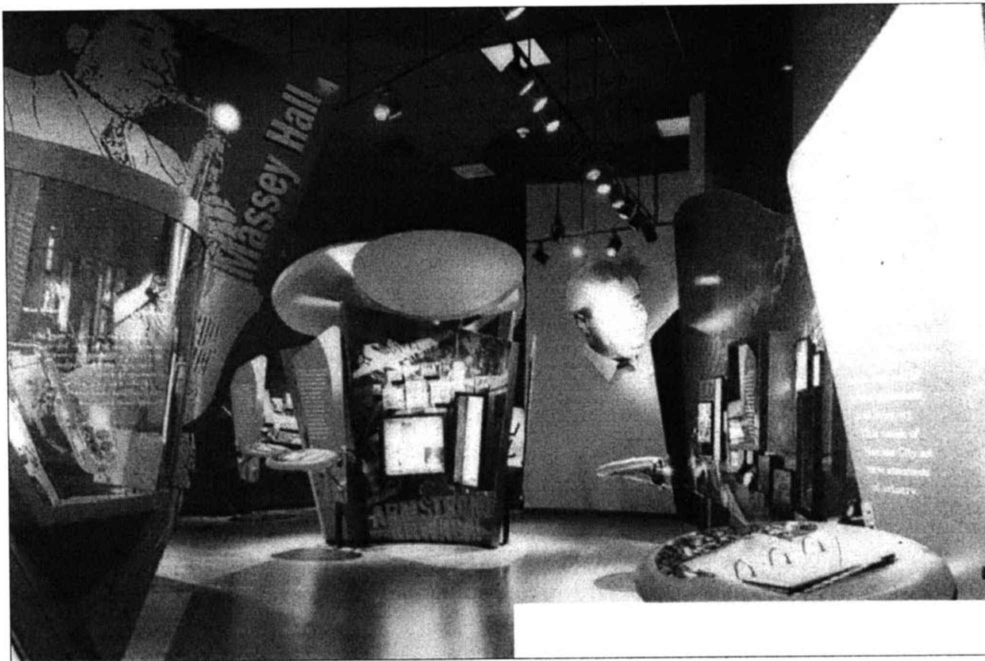


Figure 3.11. Interior of the American Jazz Museum. (From publicity brochure produced by American Jazz Museum.)

The resulting defensive tone of the Authority's marketing effort was underscored by a promotional piece written by a free-lance journalist and published in a local business journal. Entitled "All is fine at 18th & Vine," the article focused on the celebratory nature of the museums. "The beat never really left Kansas City's historic jazz district," the cover boasted. "Now it's back - louder and more rhythmic than ever." The article, and other promotional literature produced by the Museum, firmly ensconced the development in

[76] Bruce Weber, "Jazz, honors and politics; a new museum pays tribute to musicians but stirs criticism," *The New York Times*, January 5, 1998, p.E-1; Steve Penn, "Two absences mar opening of

narratives that recast the history of 18th and Vine as the focal point for African-American life, Kansas City Jazz, and Negro Leagues Baseball, and reified the cultural complex as the product of the Cleaver Plan. As Rowena Stewart proclaimed:

> "The idea that was first enunciated by the Black Economic Union over 20 years ago and further clarified by Mayor Cleaver eight years ago is about to become a reality. Whether you live in Kansas City or come here for a visit, 18th & Vine is going to be the place you can't miss. It's going to be a great experience and it's going to be fun."[77]

Like Cleaver, the Museum's own literature projects the site as a place of significance not only to Kansas City or African-Americans, but to all Americans, and its language restricts its lens on 18th and Vine's history to themes that resonate with the Museum program:

> When large numbers of African Americans started moving to Kansas City in the 1920's, segregation kept them living and trading in a small geographic area. Eighteenth Street was the main stem – the heart of tile community where you could find everything from clothes to cars, a doctor or a dance, food or a funeral. And jazz ... always jazz. It was a bridge community, full of spirit and diversity. It was the first stage for saxophonist Charlie "Bird" Parker and home plate to the Kansas City Monarchs and the Negro Leagues Baseball.
>
> In 1989, the City of Kansas City, Missouri committed $26 million to the development of the Museums and the Theater. This cultural center is part of a larger effort designed to revitalize this important neighborhood.
>
> The return of vitality, deep sense of pride, and grandeur of old to the 18th & Vine area began with the opening of the historic Gem Theater and new 50,000 square foot unique museum complex that now houses the Kansas City Jazz Museum, Negro Leagues Baseball Museum, and the Horace M. Peterson III Visitor Center. Upon entering the Museums, visitors will be captivated with the journey of the African American Community and gain greater insight into the lives of all Americans.[78]

Commemoration and Remembrance

Despite the lull in activity and the marked pessimism that followed revelations that the Museums at 18th and Vine were not drawing repeat visitors, Mayor Cleaver persisted in

---

jazz museum; Rifts force facility to forgo Basie name, originator's support," *The Kansas City Star*, September 5, 1997, p.A21.

[77] Quoted in H.J. Fortunato, "All is fine at 18th & Vine," *Ingram's* 23,9 (September 1997): 38. (Upon completion of the Museums in 1997, Stewart also became Executive Director of the Jazz Museum, but retains her title and function as head of the Authority, while Cleaver now serves as the Authority's board chairman.)

[78] 1998 Local Host Committee, "Welcome to the Historic 18th & Vine District," brochure and event schedule prepared for the 1998 Annual Conference, National Congress for Community Economic Development (NCCED), Kansas City, Missouri.

his efforts to move the project forward. In 1998, Cleaver attempted to negotiate a macabre bargain with the family of saxophone great Charlie Parker to exhume Parker's remains from a neglected cemetery and re-inter them near the Jazz Museum. While the proposed exhumation was abandoned after one of Parker's widows objected, Cleaver persisted in his efforts for a memorial. Parker was eventually commemorated by a massive bust designed by acclaimed sculptor Robert Graham (**Figure 3.12**), whose recent work includes the FDR Memorial in Washington, D.C.[79]

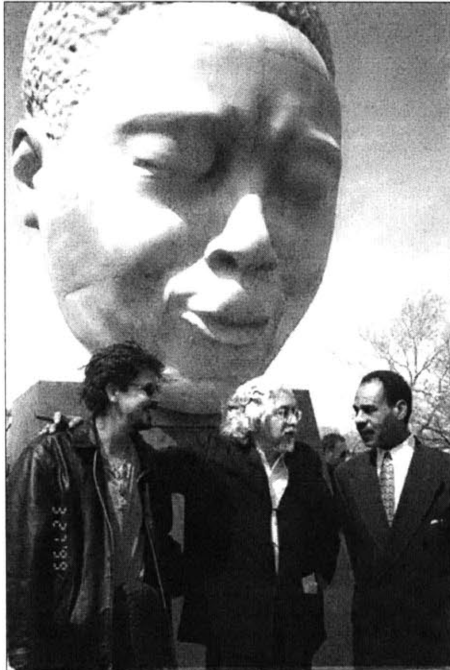


Figure 3.12. Unveiling of Charlie 'Bird' Parker bust, April 4, 1999. Mayor Emanuel Cleaver (right) greets sculptor Robert Morris (center) and Graham's son, Steven (left). (*Kansas City Star.*)

The centralized control of the 18th and Vine Authority has not only altered the nature of the development process and its outcomes, but the character of street life in and around the district. The Museums at 18th and Vine regularly host private functions, often held in conjunction with downtown conventions. During such activities, the major streets within the district are closed to vehicular traffic, and entry to the district and the museum facilities is restricted to ticket-bearing guests. It has become regular practice during such events for the Museums to furnish a canopy that covers most of 18th Street between the Museums and the Gem Theater, creating the impression of a virtual arena. While the Authority intends to reinforce perceptions of security, the routine closure of 18th Street and excessive security presence often conveys the opposite impression. Local business owners have also complained about the practice, noting that it frustrates efforts by clients to locate parking

[79] Steve Penn, "Charlie Parker to be reburied in tomb in jazz district." *The Kansas City Star*, October 19, 1998; Lee Hill Kavanaugh, "Plan would move Charlie Parker's grave to 18th and Vine." *The Kansas City Star*, April 18, 1998.

and employees to reach their offices and workplaces, not to mention the disruption to heavy traffic on the commercial artery.[80]

Figure 3.13. 18th and Vine Historic District (aerial view showing neighborhood context. Photograph by Alex S. MacLean. Copyright © 2002 Landslides Aerial Photography. (Used by permission.)

The Authority's practice of closing the streets might seem a peripheral issue if its impact did not contrast so dramatically with the informality, restraint, and heavy attendance at other annual events and festivals sponsored by other organizations in the area (**Figure 3.13**). Among the first activities initiated by the Black Archives of Mid-America (in 1980), Kansas City's Juneteenth celebration is one of the largest and oldest commemorations of the June 19, 1865 end of slavery in Texas. It is also the principal African-American festival in Kansas City, and regularly draws crowds above 50,000. Recurring activities include a two-day weekend basketball tournament in Parade Park (just north of the district), an all-day block party along Vine Street hosted by the Zodiac Motorcycle Club (an organization for African-American bikers, housed in a clubhouse on

[80] A. Marie Young, "Not everything is fine down at 18th & Vine [Guest Column]," *The Business*

Vine Street); live street entertainment by jazz, reggae, blues, and bluegrass bands; a golf tournament in Swope Park (in the city's largely African-American southeast area); and a gala ball at which Mr. and Mrs. Juneteenth awards are given to men and women who have made significant contributions to the African-American community. In 1997, the 18th and Vine Authority initiated an annual observance of Kwanzaa, the African-American tradition during the winter holiday season celebrating African-American culture, with an emphasis on promoting unity and pride, but attendance has proven spotty (the Authority nonetheless attributes the meager crowds to poor weather and lack of marketing).

Figure 3.14. Interior of the Blue Room, Street Hotel, c.1940. (Black Archives of Mid-America.)

While the American Jazz Museum's Blue Room is intended to emulate the original Blue Room in the historic Street Hotel (**Figure 3.14**), Stewart herself insists that the Blue Room is not a nightclub, but a museum exhibit. "This club represents the essence of Kansas City jazz in the 1930s," she says.[81] Visitors and local observers, however, have criticized the room as artificial, and often complain about the obstructions posed by vertical display cases arranged throughout the room.[82] The Mutual Musicians Foundation continues to host weekly Saturday late night jam sessions in their clubhouse on Highland Street. (Foundation members, most of whom are elderly musicians, like to boast that the sessions start around 11:00 p.m. and last until dawn.) The jam sessions are intended to evoke the historical jam sessions during which musicians like Charlie Parker and Fat Lips Page are reputed to have "traded licks for hours

Journal of Kansas City, September 11, 1998

[81] Interview with Rowena Stewart, March 2000. Because the Blue Room is considered an exhibition space, smoking is not permitted. Robin Davis, "The Slow Rebirth of Kansas City Jazz," *The Washington Post*, July 25, 1999, p.E04. Despite Stewart's insistence, in 1999, the American Jazz Museum and JDRC had to lobby the City Council for an exemption to city regulations that would have forbid the Blue Room from selling alcohol due to its proximity to neighborhood churches. Lynn Horsley, "Plan to ease liquor regulations advances in City Council," *The Kansas City Star*, March 16, 2000, p.B2.

on end."[83] At the time of the Museum opening in 1997, the only "real" jazz venue in the area was the Club Mardi Gras at 19th and Vine. Due to impending construction in the area, however, the club was forced to vacate its building (**Figure 3.15**), despite being nationally acclaimed as an exceptional performance venue.[84]

Figure 3.15. Former site of Club Mardi Gras, 19th and Vine. (Photograph by the author.)

The Kansas City Jazz and Blues Festival, held each Labor Day weekend, has never been held at or near 18th and Vine. Promoted by mainstream jazz aficionados, the event began in the early 1970s, and is most often held in Penn Valley Park, a sprawling hillside park opposite the City's Union Station and immediately adjacent to Hallmark's Crown Center retail complex. Other sites have included Starlight Theatre, an outdoor amphitheatre located in Swope Park. In recent years, promoters have argued that the Jazz and Blues Festival offers the best in contemporary jazz, as opposed to the classical swing and be-bop featured at 18th and Vine.[85] The annual 18th & Vine Heritage Jazz Festival, a free event hosted by the BEU, began in 1983 as an effort to promote classic Kansas City jazz. The BEU touts its efforts to make the event, and jazz music, accessible to a broad audience, but the Authority's most recent staging of public events have undermined this perception. The unfortunate result has been that even heavily marketed activities, such as a "1930s Jazz

---

[82] Informal conversation with unidentified Blue Room patron, October 23, 1998.

[83] Interview with Don Wilcox, Mutual Musicians Foundation, July 1999.

[84] Berit Thorkelson, "Kansas City, Mo.; Jazz coming back," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, November 14, 1999, p.6G.

[85] Several conflicts have emerged between these mainstream groups and the American Jazz Museum. In 1997, The Jazz Ambassadors feuded with Stewart over the distribution of proceeds from the annual "Pub Crawl." Lee Hill Kavanaugh, "Ownership issue sticks in their Crawl; Jazz Ambassadors clash with 18th and Vine Authority over event.," *The Kansas City Star*, October 24, 1997, p.E1; Id., "Dispute over event is settled," *The Kansas City Star*, November 4, 1997, p.B4.

Day" held in conjunction with Kansas City's recent week-long sesquicentennial celebration, draw sparse crowds to an even lonelier streetscape.[86]

Figure 3.16. Historic armory building at 18th and Highland, August 1999. (Photograph by the author.)

While the city's African-American community remains publicly supportive of the Authority's efforts, support is not unanimous. Many are dismayed at the lack of local involvement and focus on national marketing of the district, and question the relevance of themes promoted by Stewart and Cleaver, along with the ways in which specific icons and individuals, such as Parker, have been commemorated or overlooked.[87] African-American business people were also dismayed to learn in 1997 that despite pledges made by Cleaver at community meetings, long-lived community landmarks like Papa Lew's Soul Food and Ruby's Café had been rejected as tenants in the development, while the BEU publicly announced plans to court Sylvia's Soul Food from

[86] Participant observation, October 11, 2000. The event, which featured local actors and singers who impersonated historic jazz artists like Big Joe Turner and Charlie Parker, drew fewer than three dozen spectators, despite the assembly of a full-sized stage and performances by an eight-piece ensemble.

[87] Interview with Herman A. Johnson, May 2, 2001. Johnson specifically notes the absence of any references to Leone Pouncey Thurman, Kansas City's first female African-American lawyer, who had purchased and refurbished the site of the Street Hotel during the 1960s with her own funds.

Harlem.[88] The city administration was so enamoured with the New York restaurant that it repainted the façade of the Armory (the site that the Musicians Foundation had originally promoted for a jazz hall in the 1970s) with a false window advertising the Harlem restaurant (**Figure 3.16**).

A Renewed Focus on Development

Until 1997, the BEU was also the principal entity responsible for the economic redevelopment of 18th and Vine. After a series of publicized failures, control of the marketing and redevelopment of the district was transferred to McCormack Baron Associates, a private St. Louis-based developer with significant expertise in mixed-use redevelopments.[89] The City even explored having the J.C. Nichols Company, famed developers of the city's elite Country Club district, manage marketing of commercial real estate in the neighborhood.[90]

The Authority's marketing efforts received a significant boost when Kansas City-based long distance giant Sprint opened a customer service center in the historic Lincoln Building, which once housed the offices of numerous African-American doctors, lawyers, along with People's Finance Corporation, the historic black-owned community bank.[91] But the difficulty in managing the museum facility while simultaneously marketing, fundraising, and ongoing development in the area, led Cleaver and other members of the Authority to suggest the creation of a new organization to handle those responsibilities.[92]

---

[88] Steve Penn, "Businesses have plans for 18th and Vine area, too," *The Kansas City Star*, July 8, 1997. Papa Lew's originally stood on the current site of the Charlie Parker Memorial, but was forced to vacate when the city condemned its property to build the Jazz Museum. Shawn Edwards, "The Redevelopment Blues: Is the Jazz District dead?" *Pitch Weekly*, June 2, 2000.

[89] In 1997, a city lending agency initiated a private audit of the BEU and another CDC, which disclosed that the Basie Court apartments lacked adequate financial and management controls. Chris Lester, "Woes spur KC to look at taking over housing; Agency controlling the developments causes city concern," *The Kansas City Star*, March 30, 1997, p.A1.

[90] Steve Penn and Chris Lester, "18th and Vine dream takes a major step," *The Kansas City Star*, July 9, 1997.

[91] Steve Penn, " "Sprint Corp. jazzes up 18th and Vine by creating jobs," *The Kansas City Star*, December 4, 1997. KCBJ article saying call center's not an attractive ED tool due to low impacts.

[92] H.J. Fortunato, "All is fine at 18th & Vine," *Ingram's* 23,9 (September 1997): 37-38.

Created by Mayor Cleaver shortly before he left office in 1998, the Jazz District Redevelopment Corporation (JDRC) is now in charge of coordinating all marketing and retail development activities in the historic district. The JDRC is headed by Al Fleming, an urban planner from Marin, California with significant experience in economic development and community revitalization, including military base redevelopment and Main Street initiatives. The JDRC board is headed by Jake Mascotte, President of Blue Cross & Blue Shield of Kansas City, and Deron Cherry, a former member of the Kansas City Chiefs and owner of a distributorship at 19th and Brooklyn, while Peter Yelorda, a former Cleaver aide and current Blue Cross V.P., serves as the organization's treasurer. (Other board members include local business officials, a local minister and city councilmember.)[93]

Fleming, who quickly and boldly took control of direct oversight for the ongoing development of the area, had little patience for the inability of BEU director Sylvester Holmes to close the much-touted deal with Sylvia's Soul Food to open a restaurant in the district.[94] In early 1999, Fleming developed a request for proposals geared to attracting both franchise and community-based businesses to renovated commercial space along 18th Street. By late 1999, Fleming claimed to have preliminary commitments from a diverse mix of potential tenants, including a barbershop, dry cleaner, and coffeehouse.

Underwritten by a combination of commitments from commercial banks and pledges from not-for-profit financial intermediaries like FannieMae and the Local Investments Support Corporation (LISC), construction on a number of developments beyond the Museums is now

---

[93] Steve Penn, "Divided authority sought for 18th and Vine; Need for investment funds is the major argument for change," *The Kansas City Star*, May 13, 1997, p.B2. Steve Penn and Chris Lester, "18th and Vine dream takes a major step," *The Kansas City Star*, July 9, 1997; Tom Jackman, "Ideas could bear fruit for Vine," *The Kansas City Star*, July 1, 1998; ; Jeffrey Spivak and Steve Penn, "Officials hope developing 18th and Vine area will boost museum crowds," *The Kansas City Star*, July 3, 1998.

[94] Six months after officials from the New York eatery signed a letter of intent to locate in the district, the BEU had failed to execute a formal agreement, leading Fleming to impose a one-week deadline. A month later, Sylvia's backed out of the deal. Steve Penn, "Vine district restaurant deal in peril," *The Kansas City Star*, June 10, 1999, p.B4; Id., "Sylvia's says no to KC; But soul food is still planned in jazz district ," *The Kansas City Star*, July 14, 1999, p.B1. Fleming's assertiveness was welcomed by Stewart. "There are some things some people just can do better," she said. "It should have been given to the JDRC originally." (Although the deal fell through, nearly two years later, the façade of the vacant Armory building, which was repainted to represent its earlier incarnation as the Boone Theater, continues to display a false window splashed with the Sylvia's logo.)

being undertaken in three phases. The first phase, which focused on 18th Street and was completed in early 2002 (see **Figure 3.13** on p.128), created 87 new residential units and more than 60,000 square feet of retail space. Phase II contemplates an additional 100 residential units and 15,000 square feet of retail space, while the final phase, to be completed around 2005, will add 14 additional residential units in renovated structures. Fleming hopes the $32 million development will add six restaurants, five jazz clubs, and a variety retail to support the growing population that will occupy the more than 200 new residential units in the area. By 2003, however, space in the new development had been leased to only two businesses (a small retail store and an upscale restaurant). As a result, despite the multi-million dollar investment in new storefronts, the empty façades only reinforced the district's image as a commercial failure.[95]

While community-based organizations have drawn on local jazz history as a means of promoting cultural education and economic development, differing conceptions of place have been revealed in the evolution of 18th and Vine's redevelopment process. While the original proponents of 18th and Vine redevelopment targeted their efforts towards the city's African-American population, and restoration of community bonds, Cleaver's broader political ambitions reframed 18th and Vine as a city-wide project with regional and national tourist appeal. Since the 1970s, private lenders and philanthropic foundations long had been skeptical of the ability of the grassroots organizations to manage the capital investments being earmarked for the area. The 18th and Vine case therefore reveals two significant shortcomings commonly faced by African-American museums and cultural organizations: the need to solicit private (often corporate) support to finance construction and operating expenses, and the attendant dilemmas that arise due to the common dissonance between community and corporate objectives.[96] Ultimately, 18th and Vine represents a case of messy local and racial politics, but this conflict is also results from the arbitration of heritage among the categories proposed in the Introduction.

---

[95] Becky Cotton Zahner, "Jazzing Up the District," *Urban Land* 58,8 (August 1999): 32. The LISC commitment to the project came in the form of a $1 million Entrepreneurial Support Fund commitment, which the JDRC would lend to prospective businesses at a below-market interest rate. *A Decade in Review: The Story of Greater Kansas City LISC*, p.5 (Kansas City, Mo.: Local Initiatives Support Corporation, 2001).

[96] Stephen Kinzer, "Museums on Black Culture Still Fighting for Money and a Future," *The New York Times*, February 22, 2001.

This narrow conclusion, however, does little justice to the racial and personality politics that have dogged the project since its inception. While the protracted struggle amongst the Mayor, Councilwoman Coe, and the various leaders of the cultural organizations undoubtedly undermined public support for the effort, the resulting delay only confirmed the prior depth of skepticism among the city's civic community. As several project leaders have noted, the city's media and business leaders failed to subject other large-scale economic development initiatives (such as the poorly-managed redevelopment of the city's Union Station as a regional science museum, and a failed proposal to redevelop the southern edge of the central business district as a themed retail complex), to a similar level of vocal public scrutiny. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle these issues from questions of race, since even the impending completion of construction on the new retail facilities (and commitments secured by the JDRC from multiple tenants) have failed to temper local skepticism and disappointment in the project. As a result, more than five years after its celebrated unveiling, the cultural complex continues to see declining attendance, leading to frequent claims that the project is a failure.[97]

Remembrance versus "Preservation"

On another level, the city's emphasis on a largely commemorative strategy as the mechanism for 18th and Vine's redevelopment have effectively revived the BEU's earlier problematic emphasis on demolition and construction of new facilities, albeit within a historicist mold. This trend has intentionally minimized and disregarded the traditional criteria and techniques espoused by the preservation movement. This divergence became apparent in September 2000, when local media reported that the president of Historic Kansas City Foundation, a traditional preservationist group, had independently contacted state officials, seeking the revocation of 18th

[97]Edwards, *op. cit.*; Glenn E. Rice, "Attendance drops at Historic 18th and Vine District," *The Kansas City Star*, September 15, 2000; Steve Penn, "At 18th and Vine, you'll soon see and taste progress," *The Kansas City Star*, April 26, 2001. A detailed investigation by the independent *Pitch Weekly* uncovered the primary cause for a lack of tenant's in the JDRC's resplendent new facilities: the JDRC did not provide potential tenants with any finish allowance whatsoever, requiring tenants themselves to bear the cost of necessary improvements. (For most prospective tenants, this could range from $100-$150/square foot, or in the range of $500,000 to $1 million for a typical restaurant or bar.) In addition, the JDRC is seeking rents averaging $14 per square foot in a market where Class A commercial space commands approximately $17. T.R. Witcher, "Nothing For Dinner," *The Pitch*, May 2, 2002.

and Vine's National Register designation.[98] "Twelve of the 46 structures that comprised the 1984 nomination for the district have been demolished," Jane Flynn, the organization's President, wrote. "The result of all this demolition is that the historic district has lost such a sufficient number of buildings that this area no longer resembles the historic Black community."

Figure 3.17. Derelict houses on Highland Avenue, November 2000. (Photograph by the author.)

The dilemma disappeared from public view by the next day, however, after a state legislator intervened, and the state's historic preservation officer announced that his office would take no such action.[99] Behind the scenes, Flynn and her staff were subsequently upbraided during a meeting with JDRC board members, who characterized her action (which had not been foreshadowed by any communication with anyone directly involved in the process) as an insidious form of racism.[100] The initial rancor subsided, but more than six months later, Historic Kansas City Foundation's board took a formal vote to reopen the issue. During an appearance in Kansas City by National Trust President Richard Moe, Flynn herself led a tour of the district,

[98] Lynn Horsley and Glenn E. Rice, "KC preservationists seek removal of 18th and Vine District from national historic register," *The Kansas City Star*, September 19, 2000. Flynn had served as administrator of the Landmarks Commission during the late 1970s and early 1980s, when both the MMF and District nominations were initially developed.

[99] Lynn Horsley and Glenn E. Rice, "Status of 18th & Vine upheld," *The Kansas City Star*, September 20, 2000, p.B1.

[100] One such official, speaking off the record, said that Flynn "would have preferred to have African-American schoolchildren suffer the stigma of walking past the abandoned shells of burned-out buildings and crack-vial littered streets to seeing progress in advancing the black community." Electronic mail communication, September 20, 2000; Personal interview, October 2000. In 1997, the year Flynn became HKCF president, the organization publicly challenged initiatives by DST Realty, the real estate arm of a regional data services firm, to spearhead the redevelopment of several commercial and warehouse structures in the city's garment district as Class A office space and loft condominiums, despite DST's public commitment to follow historic preservation standards for adaptive reuse in retrofitting the buildings. Between 1999 and 2001, Flynn was involved in a vocal and very public conflict with the Parks Department over the latter's restoration of Liberty Memorial, the city's World War I monument and a focal landmark of the City Beautiful era. Again, the Parks Department had sought multiple levels of review to ensure conformity of the work to Secretary of the Interior standards for historic landmarks, but Flynn characterizes the confrontational approach as an essential element of her organization's strategies. Patrick Dobson, "War of the Words," *Pitch Weekly*, August 10, 2000.

focusing on several derelict houses as the basis for the organization's complaint (**Figure 3.17**).[101] The episode underscored the degree to which 18th and Vine redevelopment has revealed the deep and persisting chasm between Kansas City's black and white communities, but also raises important questions about the relevance of traditional preservation criteria applied to inner city neighborhoods.

The Question of "Leadership"

For more than a decade, local government, which was the only actor in Kansas City effectively able to tap external financial resources for redevelopment, found itself increasing frustrated by continuing infighting and competition among community groups and cultural organizations over the control of the 18th and Vine project. Faced with serious doubts on the part of the city's corporate and philanthropic leaders, the Cleaver administration, through the auspices of the 18th and Vine Authority, abandoned earlier proposals for the neighborhood and elected to constructing a single museum facility intended to serve as the home for separate jazz and Negro Leagues baseball museums. Through the 18th and Vine Authority, Cleaver effectively divorced control of the various proposals from both the contending local organizations and council oversight. In so doing, Cleaver deliberately chose between instrumental uses of heritage that differed fundamentally in both their means and ends.

Cleaver's vision of the project, while guided by a broad concerns that the black community receive a fair allocation of both neighborhood tourism and public improvements funding, also responded to a contrary impulse, his avoidance of being cast as a special-interest representative of the black community. Cleaver's central political philosophy as Mayor was guided by the idea that he spoke and acted as the elected mayor of *all* Kansas Citians, black and white.[102] More importantly, however, Cleaver's vision of planning the district was closely allied to the other public works projects in the Cleaver Plan, and has since been supplemented by several initiatives in the years since he was elected Mayor. In 1992, Cleaver proposed redeveloping an area of the city's downtown north of City Hall into a new civic mall, a project now underway with a new

---

[101] Glenn E. Rice, "Deterioration in jazz district doesn't fit national register image," *The Kansas City Star*, May 8, 2002; *Id.*, "Group holds off on request to remove jazz district from list of historic places," *The Kansas City Star*, May. 16, 2002.

federal courthouse as a primary anchor.[103] Cleaver's staff actively pursued large service-sector employers, including TransAmerica insurance, Harley-Davidson, and Gateway 2000, each of which was enticed to locate facilities in or near the city's downtown through various subsidy arrangements. Cleaver also pledged support to a number of tourism-related ventures, including riverboat casinos, one of which was built on riverfront land formerly owned by the city government, and deeded to the developer in exchange for private funding of a riverfront park nearby.[104]

Taken together, these projects not only constituted politically-astute attempts at coalition-building and generation of city-wide support for the Mayor's efforts, but also reflected Cleaver's vision of knitting the city's physical fabric together with destinations that link disparate elements in a city long considered socially and economically fragmented. Like Brush Creek, which winds it way from affluent suburbs in Kansas past the Country Club Plaza and into the suburban heart of Kansas City's black community, the array of cultural and tourist-oriented amenities Cleaver spearheaded connects disparate neighborhoods and create an urban fabric oriented towards tourism and directed towards attracting suburban consumers to the city.[105]

---

[102]Yael T. Abouhalkah, "Interesting gaps in State of the City speech," *The Kansas City Star*, 5 February 1994.

[103] With the exception of the Courthouse and a federal office building, as of 2001, no major developments had been planned for the civic mall, although the city government had purchased and razed four square blocks and funded redevelopment of the site as a public park. Economic Development Corporation of Kansas City, "Civic Mall Tax Increment Finance Plan" (Internet URL: http://www.edckc.com/html/_civic_mall_-_faa_1.html).

[104] Economic Development Corporation of Kansas City, "Jazz District Tax Increment Finance Plan" (Internet URL: http://www.edckc.com/html/jazz_district_1.html).

[105] Glenn E. Rice and Mark Morris, "Ornery stream gets spiffed up," *The Kansas City Star*, 24 June 1995. Cleaver's efforts resonated in a more recent collaboration between Buck O'Neil and Hispanic leaders from Kansas City's West Side community, who proposed a streetscape plan along 18th Street that would connect the city's Latino West Side with the African-American neighborhoods a mile to the East. Mary Sanchez, "Stroll becomes span between communities; Walk from 18th and Vine to West Side notes KC's 150 years," *The Kansas City Star*, May 7, 2000, p. B4.

The Prevalence of Narratives in Political Contests over Heritage

Figure 3.18. Aerial view, 18th and Vine Historic District (view northeast from Paseo Blvd. and Kansas City Terminal Railway). Interstate 70 runs east to west at the top of the photograph. The large development to the upper right is the former Attucks Housing Project. The grassy oval is the main ballfield in Parade Park. The Count Basie Court Apartments are visible in the lower right. Photograph by Alex S. MacLean, Copyright © 2002 Landslides Aerial Photography (used by permission).

Rather than indicating the inability of historic preservation or public history to serve as a fulcrum for economic development, however, this case demonstrates the central importance of narratives and heritage dissonance in shaping, stalling, undermining, and reconfiguring the notion of "progress." The lack of demonstrable "revitalization" in this case is the result of a process that has not only produced an indeterminate resolution, but one that is regularly perceived as a failure. These perceptions are heightened by the contrast between the vocal acrimony of local politics and infighting among community groups, and the lack of reinvigorated structures, social life, or economic activity in the area.

The instrumental use of heritage to promote revitalization at 18th and Vine has been largely commemorative in nature, focusing on memorials, symbols, and reconstruction of facilities in a historicist vein that utilizes the past as a veneer for the attainment of goals largely unrelated to the local past. A superficial reading of the area's built landscape suggests few inconsistencies

between these symbols and structures and the heritage narratives that re-constructed the district as a narrated space (**Figure 3.18**). Nonetheless, such views overlook or dismiss outright the deeply-embedded patterns of political conflict, which reflect both the typical structures of individual and group interest, and the symbolic discourses of conflicting heritage narratives. A strategy of remembrance is not simply the inevitable product of technical or resource constraints that compel the prevalence or use of narrow heritage modalities such as landmarks, reconstruction, and museums. Rather, the contours defined by the heritage narratives in their instrumental use by groups with varying levels of power and influence, both economic and political, help to shape and elevate such modalities to the fore.

At the same time, this contest over narratives simultaneously marginalized advocates who pursued strategies focusing on higher levels of community control and alternate objectives. Under Holmes' leadership, the BEU championed an essentially restorative strategy focusing on indigenous culture, social life, and economic advancement (as symbolized in the organization's synchronic map of the district). Likewise, elderly jazz musicians, including Jenkins and others, along with an entire cadre of small business owners, advanced heritage as a means of restoring a shared sense of community.

Without offering any judgments on the acrimony and profound skepticism about the capacity of the various grassroots cultural organizations involved in promoting 18th and Vine redevelopment, this case clearly demonstrates that a single place can serve as a well from which competing groups draw compelling and articulate visions of the past, but that these narratives can be supplanted and even co-opted by local politicians and civic boosters pursuing distinct visions of the project. The protracted symbolic politics of 18th and Vine not only influenced the character of eventual development at the site, but public and civic actors used contending narratives to reframe 18th and Vine's "legacy" in such a way as to reify centralized control of the project, its primary function as a regional tourist destination, and to dismiss as a needless diversion the active participation of the grassroots organizations. In so doing, Cleaver deftly drew on imagery from the past and a bold narrative justifying redevelopment that was consonant with achieving his broader political objectives.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Tampa is noted for its cigar industry, established in 1886 when manufacturers in Key West, experiencing labor troubles, moved here with thousands of Spanish and Cuban employees. Ybor City, the pioneer colony founded by and named for Vicente Martinez Ybor, lies to the east of the business district, bordering Ybor estuary and McKay Bay. On the west, across the Hillsborough River, is newer West Tampa. Originally separate municipalities, both are now within Tampa city limits. They retain their native customs, their squalor and beauty, their picturesque festivals, and contribute to the city's gayety and color.

YBOR CITY (pronounced E-bore; colloquially E-bo), extending approximately two miles east from Nebraska Avenue, and south to Ybor estuary and McKay Bay, is the larger and older of Tampa's two Latin settlements. More than half of Tampa's 29,000 Latins live in this area of two square miles. With its clubs, restaurants, theaters, Spanish newspapers, and its own chamber of commerce, Ybor City is a self-contained unit. Spanish is the common tongue, and few outside the present generation speak or read English. In many shops are signs reading: 'English Spoken Here.'

Spanish restaurants provide chicken and rice, yellow with saffron, steak catalana, black-bean and garbanzo soups, crawfish, and spaghetti, with wine from native vineyards. These delicacies – even the Cuban sandwich, a local institution that is a five-course meal blanketed between huge slabs of hard-crusted bread – are served with gracious smiles, stringed music, and, in season, floor shows.

Federal Writers' Project, Work Projects Administration,
Florida, a guide to the southern-most state (1939)[1]

---

[1] pp.285, 291-2.

4 Heritage as Restoration

> Cigar makers, or *tabaqueros,* work at long tables in double rows. These are grouped in units, each known as a *vapor*, the Spanish word for ship. Each worker is permitted to take out, free, three cigars a day, provided they are carried in plain sight, and allowed to smoke as many as he pleases on the job. The finished cigars are tied in bundles of 100, known as a *rueda* or 'wheel,' and graded by experts, *resagadors,* according to color that ranges from *claro claro,* very light, to *colorado,* red, and *maduro,* dark. The embossed bands and cellophane wrappers are applied by machines, and the cigars are packed into labeled boxes by hand. The tobacco left over from the making of cigars, called *mogolla,* is ground into small pieces for scrap or filler. All those who prepare the tobacco are known as clerks or *dependientes.* Readers, or *lectors,* who formerly read to the workers were abolished in 1933 because of the introduction of radical literature, but in many factories radios have replaced them.[1]

"Latin Quarter," "Soho of the South," or "Florida's Bourbon Street"

> Ybor City is not a place where time has stood still, but a town ravaged by time and lost social struggles. This doesn't mean there is nothing to celebrate about the special contributions this Latino community has made to Floridian and Cuban history . . . but if it was inevitable that its special *ambiente* die out, the truth about it must not. (Yglesias 1985)

In Ybor City, a former cigar manufacturing district in Tampa, Florida, little remains of a once-vibrant multi-ethnic enclave of some 15,000 residents. As the manufacturing center of the American hand-rolled cigar industry, Ybor City declined precipitously during the Great Depression, as domestic consumption shifted to cigarettes and labor activism drove manufacturers to shift production offshore to Central and South America. By the late 1930s, Tampa's cigar factories were being mechanized, resulting in the idling of thousands of workers. After the massive social transformation of World War II, Ybor's second generation sought the green lawns and pickets fences of the American suburban dream. As the remaining immigrant workers aged and passed away, Ybor City's heyday as a thriving working-class neighborhood was soon eclipsed by decline and dereliction.

Today, Ybor City is at the pinnacle of more than five decades of mixed attempts by various individuals, groups, and the public sector to reinvigorate the neighborhood's cultural, economic, and community life. Ybor City has been designated both a local and national historic district, and

[1] Federal Writer's Project, *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State*, p.293.

was further designated a National Landmark District in 1991. Ybor City features a prominent and influential range of institutions that promote its history and heritage. Ybor City serves as the focal point of ethnic identity and sentimental attachment for diverse groups of former residents and other persons seeking a sense of restored urban community. As such, Ybor City is the focus of concerted public policies and private interests promoting heritage-based restoration.

The revitalization process in Ybor City has taken such significant turns over this prolonged period of community and public activism that it helps to clarify the internal cleavages and distinctions among competing interests. Along Seventh Avenue, the neighborhood's main commercial artery, storefronts that once provided staples and clothing to the immigrant population now serve as nightclubs and restaurants, drawing a young and steady stream of weekend thrill-seekers for whom Ybor's ethnic past is but a thin veneer on the district's reputation as Tampa's entertainment zone. Punctuating the "Ybor Strip" are two commercial banks, an occasional cigar shop, cafes, and a variety of offbeat retail outlets, featuring items ranging from antiques, gargoyles and cast statuary, to fetish wear and trendy alternative fashions.

While the descendants of immigrant cigarworkers promote Ybor's past and future as Tampa's "Latin Quarter,"[2] this evocation of ethnic identity represents a central symbolic and narrative struggle for proponents of Ybor's "authentic" past to overcome Ybor's turn-of-the-millennium reality as Tampa's major entertainment and nightclub district. The conflict between Ybor as "Latin Quarter" and Ybor as Tampa's "Bourbon Street" is also complicated by another set of influences, often seen in gentrified and revitalized neighborhoods: the role of artists in reclaiming derelict commercial spaces for adaptive reuse, only to find themselves later displaced by the rising property values they helped to create (Zukin 1982). In the late 1970s, artists were drawn to Ybor's dreary landscape by its impressive (albeit vacated) commercial facades, the loft-like voids defined by the narrow frontage, high ceilings, and depth of the blank storefronts. Artists were also attracted by the eclectic vestiges of ethnic culture that punctuated the vernacular fabric, portrayed in the slow movements and routine gatherings of Ybor's elderly Latins, shopping and communing along Seventh Avenue.

---

[2] As discussed below, this nomenclature bears no small relation to that of New Orleans' Vieux Carré.

Within Ybor City, three distinct and dissonant threads can therefore be found within the heritage fabric: the notion of restoring the ethnically "authentic" Ybor City, in both its material and social forms, driven largely by Ybor's Latin elites during the 1950s and 1990s; the "discovery," rehabilitation and transformation of Ybor's forlorn commercial infrastructure by artists, who were attracted by low rents, vast spaces, and the eclectic symbolism of the ethnic district; and the resulting intervention of other outside place entrepreneurs, many of whom bear no relationship to the relatives or descendants of Ybor's original Latin elites and cigar workers, to ride this initial wave of interest in commercial rehabilitation among artists by attracting higher-paying tenants to Ybor City's commercial space.

"Making the Past Its Future"

Promotion of Ybor City's Latin heritage began as part of an effort to promote Tampa as a destination for Latin American tourism. Ironically, interest by Tampa's Anglo elites in Latin culture and tourism was inspired by a stinging 1948 article published in *Holiday* magazine, which "suggested that Tampa smelled, that its renowned Gasparilla Festival smacked of a 'slapstick comedy,' and that its slums 'beggared a Mexican peon village.'"[3] Around the same time, *Time* magazine reported that Miami Beach had become a winter destination for Cuban vacationers, and that Cuban tourism annually contributed $33 million to the city's economy (Pizzo 1994). Soon thereafter, the *Tampa Tribune* ran a series of articles suggesting that civic leaders should promote Cuban tourism in Ybor City.[4] Over the next few years, Tampa's civic community took up the charge, and, under the leadership of the Ybor City Rotary Club, established regular travels by Tampa officials to Havana, where they met with government and business officials interested in tourism. William B. Abbott, a Tampa business leader, began advocating for the redevelopment of Ybor City as a Latin-themed district through appearances before civic groups and op-ed pieces published in the *Tampa Times* and *Tribune*.[5] In August of that year, members of the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce and the Pan-American Commission of Tampa (PACT) organized a "Restoration of Ybor City Committee," which began discussing and advocating

---

[3] Quoted in Mormino 1983.

[4] "Embarrassing incident brought about campaign," *Tampa Tribune*, April 30, 1961, p.3E.

[5] Mss. "Committee Report," April 2, 1952, Tony Pizzo Papers, Special Collections Department, University of South Florida, Tampa Campus (henceforth "Pizzo Papers").

policies to promote the restoration of Ybor City as a Latin American tourist center. The Restoration Committee organized a speakers' bureau, which solicited support from other business and civic organizations for the cause, including the Lions Club, Rotary Club, and Tampa Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Chaired by the Ybor City Rotary Club's first president, Anthony Pizzo, an Ybor City liquor distributor, the committee also included influential Ybor City merchants and professionals, a number of whom no longer resided in the neighborhood.[6] The group actively lobbied the Tampa City Board of Alderman and Hillsborough Board of County Commissioners for the inclusion of Ybor City as a federal urban renewal site, and solicited the support of such influential federal officials as U.S. Senator Claude Pepper, to back local implementation and federal funding for the effort.[7] In November 1948, Pizzo and a group of Ybor City Rotarians undertook a goodwill visit to Havana, which generated strong interest and support among Cubans.

Cuban interest in Tampa was based primarily on the fact that Jose Martí, the revolutionary leader of Cuba's war for Independence from Spain, had sought refuge in Ybor City during the Spanish-American War, and had found strong support among the radical laborers who toiled in the cigar factories. This fact led to a significant gaffe in 1949. Anthony Pizzo, first president of the Ybor City Rotary Club, along with other civic leaders, invited a delegation from Havana to visit Tampa. During that trip, a young Cuban woman reportedly asked to lay a wreath at the "Martí statue" in Ybor City, leaving befuddled Tampa officials to acknowledge that Tampa had no such memorial. As Pizzo would later acknowledge, he and other denizens of Ybor City knew little about Martí, his role in the Cuban revolutionary cause, and the degree to which Cubans

---

[6] Meeting minutes and related mss., Restoration of Ybor City Committee, August 8, 1949, Pizzo Papers, "Ybor Redevelopment" Folder. A draft invitation to this meeting refers to the group as the Ybor City Reconstruction Committee. In addition to Pizzo, the membership of the committee, included Jim Boring, John Diaz, H.W. Hesterly, J.L. Cone, A.A. Fernandez, R.C. Bigby, Sr., and Milo Vega. The Ybor City Rotary Club was chartered in October 1948.

[7] Joseph A. Bua, President, Ybor City Chamber of Commerce, to Ernest Berger, President, Pan American Commission of Tampa (PACT), August 29, 1949; Id. to Hon. Claude Pepper, U.S. Senate, August 29, 1949; Pizzo Papers, "Ybor Redevelopment" Folder. Apparently, the groups' efforts were not well-received by the city administration, which had set its initial renewal sights on the "Scrub," an African-American neighborhood situated between Ybor City and downtown Tampa.

recognized Tampa (and Ybor City specifically) as a site of historical and patriotic significance to the Cuban revolution against Spain.[8]

For Pizzo, the embarrassment translated into a personal crusade to document and rediscover Tampa's Cuban heritage. A third-generation Italian-American and grandson of one of Ybor City's first grocers, Pizzo devoted himself to reconstructing Ybor City's historical role in the Cuban cause, and soon discovered a vast archive of primary material assembled by the Federal Writers' Project of the WPA during the 1930s. Over the next several years, he began interviewing "old-timers," retired tobacco workers with vivid memories of Ybor City and its incendiary past. During trips to Havana, Pizzo undertook research in the Cuban national archives, and was eventually named a member of the Columbian Society of the Americas, an international fraternal organization.

After two years of lobbying local officials, the various business groups finally prevailed upon Tampa Mayor Curtis Hixon, who in April 1951 appointed a committee to study the issue. Hixon's "Advisory Committee on the Redevelopment of Ybor City," led by C.C. "Milo" Vega, led efforts to acquire and redevelop the old El Pasaje hotel as an "International House" for Latin American tourists.[9] Over the next several months, the committee considered multiple proposals for restoring and reinforcing Ybor City's Latin heritage, including the construction of a Jose Martí traffic circle at the intersection of Nebraska Avenue and Broadway (Seventh Avenue); the creation of a central "Park of the Americas"; construction of a new Ybor public library; redevelopment of El Pasaje as a city museum; erection of a new headquarters for the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce and neighborhood post office; extension of various through-streets to better integrate the district with downtown and surrounding neighborhoods; and a formal program of streetscape improvements, including planting of palms and shrubs along Ybor City's major avenues (**Figure 4.1**).[10] The committee also took up formal recommendations for the creation of a redevelopment program for Ybor City under the Housing Act of 1949, with a

---

[8] "Embarrassing incident brought about campaign," *op. cit.*

[9] Mss. letter from C.C. Vega, August 1951, announcing meeting of the Advisory Committee on the Redevelopment of Ybor City, Pizzo Papers, Ybor Redevelopment Folder.

[10] Mss. "Recommendations," n.d., *op. cit.*

special focus on enhancing Latin American relations and creating in Ybor City a unique tourist attraction and "stimulus to business, industry, and municipal growth."[11]

Figure 4.1. Looking down 7th Avenue at a trolley car as it passes the Las Novedades Café, 1937. (Burgert Brothers Photograph Collection, v1864, University of South Florida Library.)

The 1951 *Tampa City Plan* (Simons 1951), written by Jacksonville planning consultant George Simons, acknowledged that the prominent attention given other neighborhoods had caused city officials to overlook incipient decline elsewhere in the city, and even to neglect the rapidly disappearing heritage resources of Ybor City. Housing in Ybor City was in poor condition and rapidly depreciating, Simons warned, and the growing prominence of industrial and wholesaling operations near the commercial district presaged potentially chronic decline. Despite many years of interest in heritage-based development from Latin leaders, Simons observed that Tampa city government had not supported such efforts. "Ybor City is unique and distinctive - one of the few spots in America where the flavor and traditions of old Spain and the Mediterranean still linger," Simons wrote. "It is one of those communities that contributes appreciably to the character, importance and colorfulness of the city of which it is a part comparable to the Vieux Carré of New Orleans."[12]

Simons noted that despite the strength of Ybor City's ethnic character and established interest in redevelopment, there were a great many competing ideas and priorities among community leaders. Despite the disagreement, he recommended that the city support the development of a Spanish plaza and the "Martí Circle" at or near the intersection of Nebraska Avenue and

[11] *Ibid.*

Broadway (Seventh Avenue), Ybor's primary entrance from downtown. He also suggested that a "Pan-American trade mart and cultural center could be established" in Ybor City. Simons recommended that an inventory of historic structures and monuments be conducted as a first step in determining redevelopment priorities in Ybor City. He also advised that the city adopt design policies and seek architectural guidance to discourage modernization of Seventh Avenue's commercial structures, favoring instead their preservation and rehabilitation "along architecturally correct and harmonious lines consistent with the Latin motif."[13]

The Advisory Committee on the Redevelopment of Ybor City presented its formal report to Mayor Hixon in April 1952. Noting the recommendations first made in the Campbell report some thirteen years earlier, the committee advocated creation of a "Latin Plaza," a massive retail complex, which would in turn anchor a range of office buildings and other commercial structures, along Broadway (Seventh Avenue), Ybor City's major thoroughfare (Kerstein 1997). Together with the Tampa chamber, the Ybor City Rotarians began hosting regular visits of dignitaries from Cuba, and over the next ten years, Tampa's Chamber of Commerce would regular advertise in Cuban newspapers and seek out conventions of Cuban professional associations and social groups. Tampa Mayor Curtis Hixon, an Anglo who generally had tepid relations with the Latin business leadership of Ybor City, pressed the resources of his office into the service of Cuban tourism. Cuban visitors were greeted by Spanish-speaking ambassadors and signs displayed in Spanish at Tampa's airport (Pizzo 1994). In the waning days of the Batista regime, Cuban dignitaries such as Senator Eddie Chibas were among those who traveled to Tampa for appearances at major cultural events, such as Tampa's Gasparilla festivities (Mormino 1983).

The death of Mayor Hixon in 1956 led to the run-off election of Tampa's first Latin mayor, former Ybor City alderman Nick Nuccio, who had run against Hixon the previous year and lost. Nuccio's victory transpired amidst an electoral campaign tainted by media reports questioning Nuccio's Latin background and Ybor City's dubious reputation as a center for gambling and electoral mischief. During the nasty campaign, the *Tampa Tribune* pilloried Nuccio by associating him with ward-based corruption, but the negative press mobilized the Latin vote and propelled

---

[12] Quoted in Simons, pp.59-60.

[13] *Ibid.*

Nuccio into office (*Ibid*). As Tampa's first Latin mayor, Nuccio responded to ongoing appeals by Ybor City businessmen with pledges to pursue slum clearance funding to raze residential property in Ybor City, while preserving commercial properties to enhance Ybor City's "Spanish atmosphere" (quoted in Kerstein 1997). Despite Nuccio's support, local progress was thwarted by a lack of state enabling legislation, as various business coalitions successfully mounted legislative and legal challenges to urban renewal in Florida as a threat to private property rights (Pizzo 1983). Three years later, Nuccio was defeated by Julian Lane, a business candidate backed by Tampa's Anglo elites, who nonetheless remained committed to restoration of Ybor City's Latin heritage (Kerstein 1997; Mormino 1983).

The Barrio Latino

In November 1958, an article in the *Tampa Times* compared the $90 million annual impact of New Orleans' French Quarter as a convention "drawing card" to Ybor City's growing reputation as a "blighted area." At one time, the article noted, the French quarter had faced similar problems, but through "community action, it was brought back to become one of the nation's outstanding symbols of gaiety and glamor [sic]." The transformation had required not only a re-marketing of decrepit buildings and narrow streets as "picturesque" and "colorful," but concerted private action and legislation creating the Vieux Carré commission, a state-chartered body with legal authority to regulate architecture, signage, and development in the district. The following month, a group of Ybor City businessmen, led by Redevelopment Commission President Dr. Henry Fernandez, traveled to New Orleans to meet with Chamber of Commerce officials and staff of the Vieux Carré commission, and stated their intent to pursue similar legislation in Florida to create a "Latin Quarter" commission in Tampa.[14]

Fernandez and the Tampa group were wowed during their visit, as attested by Fernandez' handwritten notes on Vieux Carré commission stationery. The New Orleans commission regulated more than 100 square blocks, issued some 400 development permits and collected fees of more than $8,000 annually. Property values in the French Quarter not only were rising, but the district's reputation was increasingly becoming a focus of books, movies, and convention

---

[14] Bob Denley, "As compared to Tampa's Ybor City: New Orleans' French Quarter is convention drawing card," *Tampa Times*, November 28, 1958; "Tampans Study New Orleans Vieux Carre," *Tampa Times*, December 19, 1958; photostatic copies in Pizzo Papers, Urban Renewal folder.

business.[15] The New Orleans hosts also treated the Ybor City delegation to a "Gay Night Life Tour," which promised to take them to clubs, cabarets, and casinos "you wouldn't want to be caught in at home," including such New Orleans' standards as Pat O'Brien's tavern as well as off-color venues like the Dream Room Dance Lounge, Gunga Den, the 809 Club, and Ciro's.[16]

Upon their return to Tampa, Fernandez, Pizzo, and the other Ybor City leaders set to duplicating the New Orleans efforts. Fernandez manually re-typed the Vieux Carré commission law, and changed the street names and boundaries to correspond to Ybor City. Through the sponsorship of the Hillsborough County legislative delegation, led by state representative Sam Gibbons, the measure was taken up as a state constitutional amendment, and approved by the Florida legislature in April 1959. The bill authorized the Tampa City Council to create, by ordinance, a "Latin Quarter" commission, with limited powers to regulate architectural design and development "so as to preserve the Latin atmosphere of Ybor City." The proposed legislation further authorized Tampa authorities to exempt conforming properties from local taxes, as well as to purchase property within the area for redevelopment purposes. [17] By the following summer, the Tampa City Council had prepared and approved a local ordinance creating the Barrio Latino Commission (BLC), and Mayor Nuccio had appointed nine members, including Dr. Fernandez as chairman. The BLC's jurisdiction extended from Fifth Avenue on the south to Columbus Drive on the north, Nebraska Avenue on the west to 22nd Street on the east, and comprised the commercial core of Ybor City's major avenues (see **Figure 4.11**).

Fernandez made a number of notable observations in explaining both the scope and purpose of the Barrio Latino Commission. First and foremost, like the Vieux Carré Commission, Fernandez expected the commission to regulate design in Ybor City to preserve its "Latin flavor." Fernandez noted that the visit to New Orleans had led to the surprising revelation that, like Ybor City, the French Quarter had been undermined by a significant increase in the area's

---

[15] Undated mss. notes, Pizzo Papers, *Id.*, Vieux Carré Commission letterhead.

[16] *New Orleans "Gay Night Life Tour"* brochure, Pizzo Papers, *Id.;* Fernandez' Vieux Carré notes, *Id.*

[17] Mss. notes, Henry Fernandez, describing creation of the Barrio Latino Commission legislation; typescript "Notice of Legislation," Henry Fernandez, President, Ybor City Chamber of Commerce, April 22, 1959; "Measure to preserve Latin Quarter gets green light," *Tampa Times*, April 22, 1959; "Law Eyes to regulate architecture in Ybor City," April 21, 1959; Publisher's affidavit, "Notice of Legislation: An Act authorizing the City of Tampa to create the 'Barrio Latino' Commission," *Tampa Times*, April 22, 1959; newspaper clippings in Pizzo Papers.

Depression-era black population. Seeking to avoid similar "problems" in Ybor City, Fernandez and the delegation had received frank advice from the Vieux Carré officials on how best to deal with the "threat" posed to the area's Latin heritage by "negro migration."[18] He expected the groups's first priority to be the long-vaunted Latin Plaza, which he proposed relocating to an area between 18th and 19th Streets, and Eighth and Tenth Avenues, in the residential northwest section of the district.

In 1958, inspired by the repeated visits of Cuban dignitaries, a wealthy Ybor City couple donated the land on which the original home (now in great disrepair) of the Pedrosos, the young family that had sheltered Jose Martí during the Revolution, to the Cuban government for the creation of a memorial park. Dubbed Parque Martí (**Figure 4.2**), the park was dedicated to the Cuban state by "Los Amigos Americanos de Jose Martí y el Estado Cubano." Soon thereafter, Pizzo wrote text and made arrangements for a variety of distinguished historical markers to be cast in a Havana foundry for placement throughout Ybor City. The markers were actually cast, but not before Pizzo's plan was thwarted by the *fidelistas* during their New Year's eve siege of Havana. Pizzo eventually had the markers fabricated in an American foundry, but the Cuban revolution soon forestalled the Tampa business community's ambitions to transform Tampa into a center for Pan-American tourism (Pizzo 1983; Pizzo 1994; Mormino 1983).[19]

Figure 4.2. Parque Jose Martí, 1997. (Photograph by the author.)

Nonetheless, by 1961, local church and civic groups, as well as organized groups of mostly female tourists, began to request tours of Ybor City, driven by "curiosity about Florida's one cosmopolitan area where three languages are spoken as a matter of course." Dr. Walter Passiglia, pastor of Ybor City Presbyterian Church, often conducted such tours informally, guiding visitors

---

[18] "Ybor City leaders are confident in their plans," n.d.; "Law eyed to regulate architecture in Ybor City," April 20, 1959; photostatic copies in Pizzo Papers.

[19] The issue of Cuban ownership of the Parque Martí is discussed in John Sellers, "Does Cuba own Marti Park?" *Sunland Tribune* 3,1 (November 1977): 34-5.

to the Ybor factory, El Pasaje hotel, and recently-constructed memorial in Parque Martí. Dr. Passiglia said that despite Ybor's languid reputation as a "'changing community' with many problems," civic leaders had high hopes that proposals for redevelopment would "enable a revival of the atmosphere of the past."[20] As chairman of the Ybor City Redevelopment Committee, Pizzo was hopeful that his ideas for tourist-oriented enterprises, such as a market and tobacco exchange, would help return Ybor City to its authentic "Latin" roots.[21]

While Pizzo viewed international developments with frustration, he did not allow them to stunt his promotion of Ybor City's Latin heritage. Pizzo began to compare the potential for Ybor City to Colonial Williamsburg. Pizzo himself, however, had moved to Davis Island by this time, joining other notable "Ybor boosters" who had long since departed the neighborhood.[22] Using promotional brochures from New Orleans as a template, Pizzo drafted tour brochures that recast Ybor City as a sensual slice of the "old world" served for the enjoyment of Tampa tourists. Pizzo's language evinces the flair and flash of a slick vacation or travel guide:

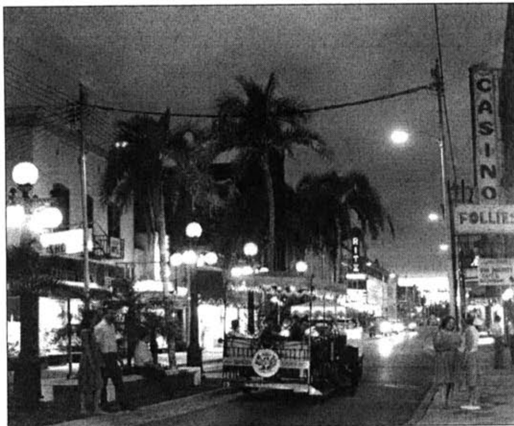


Figure 4.3. Street scene in Ybor City: La Carozza, 1966. Developed by Ybor City's Latin promoters, the vehicle was modeled on Ybor City's historic trolleys, and led visitors on guided two-hour tours of the "Latin Quarter." (State of Florida, Department of Commerce Photo Collection.)

> You come up on it all at once. You're driving through modern city streets and suddenly, as if by magic, you're transported into a fascinating old world city in the heart of a modern metropolis.
>
> You stroll under projecting wrought-iron balconies, past spacious multi-columned buildings, such as the Centro Espanol, Circulo Cubano, the Centro Asturiano and the Unione Italiana.
>
> You see Spanish malls and plazas and arcades, old casinos and sidewalk coffee shops and old men playing dominoes. You enter gay gift shops filled with imported curious. You hear the murmur of many foreign tongues, and the tinkle of Spanish guitars.

---

[20] "Tours already popular," *Tampa Tribune*, April 30, 1961, p.3E.

[21] "Embarrassing incident brought about campaign," *Id.*

[22] *Ibid.*

> You smell the aroma of fine cigars, and Cuban coffee and Cuban bread, made right here in Ybor City. Finally, you stop for lunch or dinner at one of the internationally famous Spanish restaurants, and dine in old world splendor to the strains of strolling troubadours.[23]

Pizzo's efforts were complemented by others, including Sam Leto (discussed below), who initiated a conveyance known as "La Carrozza," which offered two-hour tours of Ybor City (**Figure 4.3**). Despite the continued marketing of place, the neighborhood's Latin image of was quickly eclipsed by social stagnation and demographic change, pressing Ybor City's Latin elders into action.

Urban Renewal

> Architecturally, Tampa records the waves of its growth. Old frame dwellings, many of them false-fronted for business purposes, are scattered throughout the retail district. Primitive one-story houses, occupied chiefly by Latin cigar workers and Negroes, surround the business section. In numerous subdivisions are typical American shingled and weatherboarded [sic] bungalows, and stucco and tile houses that came in with the boom. Some sections have been influenced by their Spanish, Cuban, and Italian populations, but the Latin trend has been more toward the Havana type dwelling than the Mediterranean – stucco, flat or tile roofs, grilled balconies, and courts and patios.[24]

After passage of the federal Housing Act of 1949, the revitalization of Ybor City's ethnic vitality turned towards restoration of its distinctive Latin identity. Ybor's cigar factories had long since gone quiet, but thousands of aging cigar workers remained in Ybor City, "determined to spend their final days near their beloved Latin clubs."[25] After World War II, Ybor's returning GIs took advantage of federal VA loans and began settling into new homes in West Tampa, which had become a sheltered enclave for Ybor's exiles. For the second generation and elite among Ybor residents, the lure of suburbia proved irresistible, as successful Latin business leaders moved to pristine Davis Island, while the upwardly mobile sought greener pastures in Tampa's emerging suburbs.[26] The resulting emptying out of Ybor City's housing stock encouraged gradual movement of the Afro-Cuban and African-American populations at the

---

[23] "Visit a fascinating 'City Within a City,'" typescript brochure, Pizzo Papers.

[24] Federal Writers' Project, 1939, p.285.

[25] Mormino 1983, p.148.

[26] Interview with Susan Greenbaum, September 26, 1999.

edges of the neighborhood towards its center, generating consternation among Ybor City's business owners.

Between 1940 and 1950, Ybor City's total population declined from approximately 17,000 to 14,000, while its proportion of black residents nearly doubled, from 15% to 27%. By 1960, total population had further dwindled to just over 11,000 people, of whom nearly 60% were African-American.[27] Despite the dramatic succession, Ybor City's aging Latin population remained firmly wedded to the mutual aid society clubhouses, such as Centro Español (**Figure 4.4**), which provided a forum for gathering, socializing, entertainment, and engaging in banter about the news of the day.

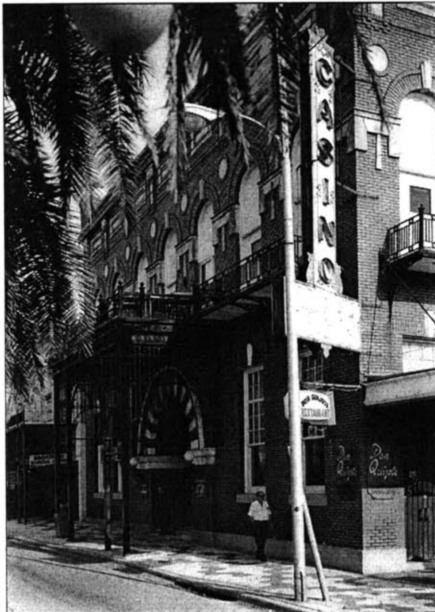


Figure 4.4. Centro Espanol, 1500 Block of Seventh Ave. (Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.)

During the early 1960s, in response to this dramatic racial transition, Ybor City's businessmen, working through the Ybor City Rotary Society and Redevelopment Committee, aggressively promoted the use of urban renewal to stave off further filtering of blacks into the neighborhood in an effort to reclaim the "Latin Quarter's" heritage. These efforts were supported by analysis developed by city planning consultant Milo Smith, whose plans for Ybor City were premised on the ecological invasion-succession of urban change, reinforced by Anthony Downs' model of weighting minority influences to project the likelihood of urban decline.[28] The campaign found strong support from the local media: urban renewal, the Tampa *Tribune* intoned, would remake Ybor City as "the beautiful butterfly that it should be."[29]

---

[27] U.S. Census of Population and Housing, *Census Tracts; Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla., Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area*, Final Report PHC(1)-156 (Washington, D.C. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1961).

[28] Interview with Susan Greenbaum, September 26, 1999.

[29] *Tampa Times*, quoted in Kerstein 1997.

The concept of Ybor's zenith undoubtedly overlooked the relatively staid and unseemly qualities of most of its built environment. Nonetheless, Latin leaders attributed Ybor City's problems solely to racial invasion and succession. By 1960, the Tampa City Council had approved appraisal of Ybor City properties to be acquired for clearance, while the Tampa Chamber of Commerce and Tampa *Tribune* advocated for a "re-created Ybor City," based on the construction of the Latin Plaza as a regional and international tourist destination. Two years later, the Tampa *Tribune* began arguing that Ybor City could be redeveloped through an extension of downtown renewal, with the development of Ybor as a regional destination that would supplement shopping opportunities downtown (Kerstein 1997). Dr. Fernandez urged the City Council to approve inclusion of Ybor City as an urban renewal site, arguing that they would become known to history as "men of vision," and that redevelopment of Ybor City was in the interest of everyone living in or near Tampa. Fernandez prognosticated that Ybor City's redevelopment could generate three million tourist visits annually, yielding the city tax revenues comparable to luring $150 million in new industry.[30]

The City of Tampa obtained federal approval (and funding for 75%) of the $9 million project in June 1965. In July 1965, the City of Tampa formally initiated the Ybor City urban renewal project, the major objective of which was to "preserve the distinctive architecture and strengthen the social, cultural and commercial center of Tampa's Latin heritage and the present-day Latin community."[31] Ybor City's business community responded with jubilation, and pledges to make personal investments in improvement of the area. Their proposals included renovation and expansion of existing restaurants, construction of dozens of new office and commercial buildings, development of a tourist hotel, and creation of the long-vaunted Latin Plaza.

Columbia Restaurant owner Cesár Gonzmart later wowed the Urban Renewal Authority with a bizarre proposal to create a "walled" Latin city in the heart of the neighborhood's commercial core. Gonzmart claimed to have backing from the Spanish government to build the complex, which resembled colonial St. Augustine and would feature retail shops catering to international

---

[30] Quoted in Kerstein 1997.

[31] Quoted in Webb 1974, p.2.

tourists (Kerstein 1997).[32] Gonzmart held no reservations in touting the promising start, but noted that success ultimately would depend upon private and external investment. "Ybor City can be developed as a tremendous tourist attraction," he said, "a center with restaurants, art galleries, shops, nightclubs and theaters, all of them preserving their historical character."[33] Rodriguez, head of the Ybor Redevelopment Agency, projected that plans would require 10 years to reach fruition, at an estimated cost of $100 million.[34]

Their plan proved ill-conceived. Over the next few years, jubilation turned to dismay as Ybor's elderly Latins began to bear the brunt of urban renewal. The URA's pre-clearance surveys had found that some 90 percent of the immigrant shotgun houses in Ybor City were beyond repair. The entire renewal area eventually comprised some 158 acres over sixteen square blocks, largely on the north side of the neighborhood in the areas of highest African-American concentration. When demolition proceeded, a number of elderly Latins were also forcibly evicted, leading to the well-publicized death of an elderly woman who suffered a heart attack when asked to leave her home.[35]

---

[32] Gonzmart also proposed spectacles such as Portuguese (bloodless) bullfights, but this part of the plan was derailed when a well-publicized incident involving a bullfighting exhibition led to the bull being put down by state police (Kerstein 1997).

[33] Quoted in Amador 1988, p.6.

[34] Amador 1988, p.6.

[35] U.S. Census of Population and Housing, *City Blocks; Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla., Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area*, Series HC(3)-116 (Washington, D.C. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1961); U.S. Census of Population and Housing, *Block Statistics; Tampa Urbanized Area*, Table 2, Characteristics of Housing Units and Population, by Blocks, 1970 (Washington, D.C. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1971).

Leaving Ybor City[36]

The summer I finished high school
Mother and I worked in the same factory
in Ybor City, the black section of town....

We had no television, no telephone,
so I sat on the terrace
watched the elevated highway
next to the house and read
novels that transported me
far away from Ybor City....

I dreamt of distant cities
of going to college, of writing
books, of leading a life
that had nothing to do with a factory,
not knowing
I would journey
away from Ybor City
exiled from the world of my mother
yet still be a survivor....

While Tampa's Urban Renewal Authority had proven adept in destroying the central core of Ybor City's urban fabric, federal urban renewal funding soon dried up, forcing the city instead to focus on municipal projects as a means of rebuilding the neighborhood. The largest single beneficiary of the clearance would ultimately prove to be the local campus of the county community college. Initiated by a young Mayor Dick Greco during his first term in office, construction of the campus was cast as an effort to reinvigorate commercial and retail activity within the district, and to prevent the land from being redeveloped as low-income housing, the construction of the Ybor City campus of Hillsborough Community College transferred ownership of some 51 acres of the cleared residential section of Ybor City to the college. As a commuter campus, however, HCC proved unable to generate sufficient external foot traffic in Ybor City itself (students instead tended to congregate and make use only of HCC's own facilities).[37] Other efforts to reinvigorate Ybor City through the construction of public facilities, such as the Hillsborough County Sheriff's Operations Center, also proved futile.

By the end of the 1960s, some 800 structures in Ybor City had been demolished, and over 3,000 residents displaced. Urban renewal all but destroyed the area's pre-war housing stock, reinforcing the neighborhood's prevailing image as a derelict community. Latin business leaders, many of whom had literally invited urban renewal, quickly became disillusioned. Gonzmart, who had earlier pledged to expand his restaurant and build a convention hotel nearby, later derided

---

[36] Jaime Manrique, "Leaving Ybor City." Excerpted from Lori Marie Carlson, ed., *Barrio Streets, Carnival Dreams; Three Generations of Latino Artistry* (New York: Henry Holt and Company), pp.59-62.

[37] (Internet URL: http://www.hcc.cc.fl.us/services/campus/yborcity/MasterPlan/HistoryOfYborCity.htm)

the impact of urban renewal. "Ybor City remained a popular shopping center until the end of the 50's," he said. "But when so many houses were torn down and the people moved elsewhere, it lost its appeal as a place for trade."[38]

While Latin leaders led efforts to restore Ybor City to a former state of grace, the fiasco occasioned by their embrace of urban renewal led to rapid retrenchment from direct advocacy for revitalization. For nearly ten years after the eclipse of urban renewal, Ybor City's Latin population continued to gradually wane, as the elderly passed away and young people with aspirations for something more fled the forlorn neighborhood. At the same time, Ybor City's ethnic succession and transition into an African-American neighborhood continued unabated. By 1980, Ybor City's population had dwindled to around 2,200 people, more than 80% of whom were African-American (Mormino and Pozzetta 1987).

[38] Quoted in Amador 1988, p.6.

"What We Lost"[39]

> Inscrutable wrinkled faces guard the secrets of Ybor City. Octogenarian domino players tacitly conspire to keep the past among themselves. The triumph is in the secret. Everyday, the same walk to the Centro, a bit of coffee, then some dominos. Everyday. Coffee and dominos. There reside the secrets of Ybor City.[40]

Deindustrialization, ethnic decline, and the impact of urban renewal left Ybor City moribund for more than ten years. Despite their persisting attachments to the social clubs and gathering spots in the old neighborhood, elderly Latins continued to leave Ybor City, and young people old enough and with the financial means to do so followed their example. As clubs dwindled, marginal uses moved into Ybor City, and rents declined as Ybor's commercial storefronts emptied and stagnation pushed the bottom out of the market. Only the "thin veneer" of Latin culture was left observable to outsiders, while the secrets of Ybor City's ethnic culture remained ensconced in its private societies and ethnic clubs. The decline in Ybor City eventually declined to levels that facilitated the development of an artist/bohemian movement, which – like racial succession before it – not only recast the image and identity of the neighborhood, but also led to a resurgence of interest in heritage among Ybor City's Latin progeny.

The "Soho of the South"

By 1985, artists had transformed once-vacant Ybor City storefronts into more than two dozen galleries and live-work spaces, and promoted the district as the "Soho of the South." Artists led the push for historic designation, and, as was the case in the original Soho, primed the pump for investors and speculators who had long sought a new future for Ybor City's fast-dwindling but architecturally distinctive commercial landscape. In 1974, through the combined efforts of the Hillsborough County Planning Commission, the Florida Preservation Office, the Barrio Latino Commission, the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce, and HCC, Ybor City was designated a National Historic District, while fifteen structures, including Circulo Cubano de Tampa, the El Pasaje hotel, the Ybor Factory Building, Centro Asturiano, and El Centro Español de Tampa,

---

[39] The section title is adapted from Ray Suarez, *The old neighborhood: what we lost in the great suburban migration, 1966-1999* (New York: Free Press, 1999).

[40] Perez 1983, p.172.

were individually listed on the National Register.[41] At that time, the Barrio Latino Commission was designated as the official review body for modifications that might alter the integrity of buildings designated historic. The BLC was largely dormant, however, a fact that allowed artists and other investors to modify commercial structures largely free of regulation.[42]

Differences in the orientation and interests of artist-led groups led them to promote a range of events that contested prevailing attitudes and perceptions of Ybor City. In addition to the range of galleries and live/work spaces rehabilitated and inhabited by painters and sculptors, Ybor City also attracted an active colony of writers and poets, who sponsored regular poetry "slams" in new neighborhood fixtures like the Bluebird Café, an alternative bookstore and restaurant. . Artists also initiated an annual Artists and Writers Ball in Ybor City in 1978. The range of activities sponsored and developed by artists extended to annual festivities, all of them with an arts, rather than an ethnic, emphasis.

In 1985, a group of Ybor City artists and the Playmakers, a community theater group, collaborated with the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce to produce a satirical parade that would become Guavaween, a fall festival that soon drew crowds numbering in the tens of thousands (discussed below). Other activities were lower in profile, but nonetheless, an active part of artist-led promotion of the area. In 1987, the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce sponsored a sidewalk art festival dubbed "Avenida de Arte." Designed principally to spotlight the work of Ybor's growing artist colony, the event drew several hundred people, many of them suburbanites who otherwise would never venture to Ybor City.[43] Ybor City artists also formed an organized call the Ybor Entertainment and Arts Association, which began to sponsor gallery nights and band concerts in Centennial Park that attracted large crowds of tourists from throughout Tampa Bay.[44]

An artist interviewed by the local media in 1979 explained that the appeal of Ybor City was very straightforward. "'Why does an artist choose Ybor City?' Among other reasons, the ethnic culture, the historic nature of the area, and the attraction of other artists already in residence is

---

[41] Webb, p.2. NRIS website data.

[42] Interview with Susan Greenbaum.

[43] "Deep in the art of Ybor City," *St. Petersburg Times*, April 13, 1987, p.1; Babita Persaud, "After ups and downs, Ybor ready for renewal," *St. Petersburg Times*, October 3, 2000, p.9B.

my reply to that question."[45] Once artists began to set up shop, they developed networks that created a sense of community that in turn attracted other artists and made them aware of the creative and economic possibilities in the district. Artists took great pride in the transformation they were beginning to work in the district. "We have become a part of Ybor," one said. "Day by day each nail driven, each floor swept, and each window cleaned is a triumph."[46]

Outsider interest in Ybor City was crystallized in the late 1970s when Harris Mullen, a well-heeled Tampa published, purchased and rehabilitated the Ybor Cigar Factory as an indoor mall and arts center. Mullen re-christened the factory Ybor Square, and soon attracted a range of small and eclectic vendors, ranging from painters to craftspeople to antique shops and curio vendors (Amador 1988). While much-heralded as the harbinger of Ybor's revitalization, Ybor Square ultimately proved unable to generate adequate business to transform the rest of the district on its own.[47] Nonetheless, the project was significant because of the extent of Mullen's investment and the fact that it recovered the most significant emblem of Ybor's ethnic past for arts-driven commercial reuse.

Arts-led revitalization created anxiety among the elder Latin leadership, which worried that Ybor was becoming less identifiably "ethnic". This recognition was the trigger for resurgence in interest among the elder Latins and their progeny, with the attention given the early success of developer- and artist-led initiatives as Mullen's investment in Ybor Square. "Anglos were taking over Ybor City," one elder Latin intones. "They came here with this 'Hyde Park' mentality, and we had to get organized to stop it. We decided that we can't lose our community."[48] In response, major property owners, such as Cesár Gonzmart, actively began marketing Ybor City properties for ethnic- and heritage-based reuse.[49] In part, the persistence of these elderly

---

[44] Interview with Sara Romeo, Owner, Romeo's Stylish Furniture, September 24, 1999; Tom Scherberger, "Two sides battle over future of Ybor City's soul," *St. Petersburg Times*, January 2, 1994, p.6.

[45] Bruce Cottle, "Ybor City: An Artist's View," n.d. newspaper clipping in Pizzo Papers.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] In the late 1980s, Mullen was still optimistic that he eventually would fully lease out the complex, and he expected nearly 40 shops and four restaurants to occupy the entire space. Amador 1988, p.6.

[48] Interview with Sam Leto (President, Ybor City Roundtable, Inc.; Former President, Ybor City Alcalde Association), November 5, 1999.

[49] Interview with Sara Romeo.

entrepreneurs and their emphasis on the "Latin" theme can be attributed to the key structuring role played by Ybor City's mutual aid societies, which now functioned largely as social clubs and gathering places for these aging "old-timers."

Another observer takes a different view. "The 'propertied interests' were rehabbing buildings," she says. The problem was, there were plenty of these old guys who had their heart in Ybor City without their wallet. They didn't recognize that their "how it was" mentality – trying to keep things in stasis – was actually helping Ybor decline."[50] Public officials also expressed frustration with the cynicism among the elderly Latins. In the words of former Tampa Mayor (and later Florida Governor) Robert Martínez, Ybor City would progress, but "it won't be — can't be — the Ybor City the old Latin community knew . . . They are living on memories."[51]

By 1990, despite the artist-led re-marketing of the area, Ybor's intact residential areas continued to stagnate. According to the 1990 Census, housing prices in the residential neighborhoods between Sixth and Fourth Avenues, and north of Columbus Drive, were among the lowest in Tampa Bay, with median values around $26,000, and some houses selling for less than $15,000. While artists and other cultural entrepreneurs cherished the Key West-like stylings of the quaint woodframe cottages, with their tin roofs and wide porches, the "market" for Ybor housing remained moribund. "They're not even worth that," said historian Anthony Pizzo. "The houses are so old that I don't imagine it will be very many years before they are condemned."[52]

The physical dereliction of Ybor's housing stock reflected the area's continuing social decline, and remained a considerable obstacle to overcoming the area's tainted reputation. Within that recognition, however, lay a difficult reality: Ybor City's negative image was a reflection of its social realities. Although subtle, it would gradually become apparent to place entrepreneurs that promoting development required actively recasting Ybor City's identity. Over the next decade, active attempts to alter Ybor City's unseemly reputation involved coupling heritage discourses to

---

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Quoted in Bond 1982.

[52] Bill Adair, "Where a porch is elegance," *St. Petersburg Times*, July 14, 1991, p.4H.

active policies, as well as organized activities and programs, that would marginalize and uproot those on the social and physical margins of the district.[53]

The Old-Timers' Tale[54]

> I thought your readers should know some of the history and thoughts of those women and men in the photographs in the photo-essay. Those old men playing dominoes well know what Ybor City was like. The reason the sign in the window of a bar, so well caught by the photographer, says it closes at 10 p.m. is that in the last 15 years many have been mugged on the way home and no one now lingers on dear old Seventh Avenue when the sun goes down. If the photographer had moved his camera one block away, we could have seen, in some cases, the empty fields high with weeds where once stood the clapboard houses in which they lived, bulldozed now, awaiting new real-estate entrepreneurs. The moral: we Latins are not necessarily of a piece. (Yglesias 1985)

> The struggling mutual aid society, the decline in Italian-speaking youths, and the abandonment of the old neighborhood must not be viewed as a destruction of ethnic bonds and a sign of total assimilation. The processes of assimilation are complex; Ybor City may have been physically abandoned and disfigured, but in its ruins the former immigrant colony has served as a powerful symbol and a source of ethnicity. If ethnicity is defined in one sphere as a commonly shared personal perception of allegiance supplying coherence and meaning at a group level, many Ybor City Italian Americans still draw from that cultural wellspring. (Mormino and Pozzetta 1983, p.310)

For over 50 years, former residents of Ybor City and their progeny have drawn on their affective ties to the neighborhood to construct narrative ideographs that promote a narrowly "ethnic" vision of revitalization. For long-time Latin leaders and their descendants, several of whom now hold positions of considerable influence in local and county government (Freeman 1994), the capacity to translate narratives and symbols into public policies for revitalization has generated a slow, but gradual build-up of interest in redevelopment of the neighborhood. These heritage narratives (Bridger 1996) serve not only as frequently-invoked nostalgia, but form the basis of contemporary visions for the revitalization of the neighborhood. Based both on the historic character of the neighborhood, as well as invented traditions and personal reminiscence, the heritage narratives of Ybor City also have inspired an ethnic renewal, directed towards preservation and revitalization of the neighborhood's mutual aid societies and social clubs.

---

[53] Interview with Melinda N. Chavez, Executive Director, Ybor City Museum Society, September 25, 1999.

[54] The title is borrowed from Kasinitz and Hillyard 1995.

In 1986, Ybor City celebrated its centennial. The celebration, formally dubbed the Ybor Liberty Carnival, featured a theatrical reenactment of a Jose Martí speech on the steps of Ybor Square (the former factory where the revolutionary himself had spoken nearly a century earlier), ethnic parades and pageants, and art and history exhibits. Performances by traditional Cuban and Italian musicians colored the air, while dances and concerts by Miami Sound Machine and Jose Greco's Flamenco Dance Company added color and flair.[55]

Invented traditions such as these also reflect a re-awakening of interest in what Herbert Gans' (1986) calls "symbolic ethnicity." More than simply serving to reinforce individual identity, however, the types of events and narratives promoted by Ybor's Latin population serve to reveal the overall impetus for contemporary redevelopment and promotion of ethnic tourism. As exemplified in the images of a local artist, historic denizens of Ybor City enjoyed strolls along *La Septima*, partaking of a daily ritual of Cuban coffee and bread, and savoring true *Habanas* in local coffeeshops. Seventh Avenue is portrayed as a gallant setting for public displays of finery and social standing (**Figure 4.5**), staged specifically for a tourist audience. The leisure activities of Ybor City's historic cigar makers serve as discourse that defines the essence of sociability in the past and present. Both prospective and contemporary activities and development in Ybor City have focused on restaurants, bars (including short-lived cigar bars), coffeehouses, and nightclubs.

The transformation of Ybor City's image as a restored ethnic community is found not only in the narrative accounts cast by residents, place entrepreneurs, and government officials. Contemporary press accounts make these connections explicit, and reinforce the connection of Ybor's past to its future. As one journalist writes:

> Old timers remember the days when Ybor City was a lively neighborhood of thriving businesses and close-knit families. Today that vitality is returning, as festivals fill the streets, and old buildings take on new roles.[56]

---

[55] Amador 1988, p.6. Greenbaum 1990.

[56] Amador 1988, p.3.

Figure 4.5. Characters in "Latin" dress pose for Ybor City Tourists, c.1975 (postcard). N.p., n.d.

Evocations of early childhood memories of Ybor City serve as the most profound of heritage narratives, and clearly root personal memory in attachments to place and identity. Former sports announcer Ferdie Pacheco, among the most influential champions of the area, has authored a biography celebrating communal life in the area, and regularly exhibits his own artwork capturing his vision of neighborhood and communal life in the district. As Pacheco writes,

> "The ride back down 7th Avenue was memorable to me. It has its own place in my long list of happy events and I can feel the rocking of the old Tampa Heights streetcar, its electrical smells mingled with the olfactory delights of La Septima. The aroma of fine cigars combined with the heavenly smell of a bakery making bread and coffee being ground. The sights and sounds of La Septima as the street lights were going on, the cool air of the night taking the place of the heat of the later afternoon sun. The streets filled with people, getting on with their happy lives" (Pacheco 1994, p.87).

Other descriptions of the neighborhood are also highly sensual and experiential, as evoked in the language of Ybor native and then-director of the Ybor Redevelopment Agency (forerunner of the YCDC), Santos Rodriguez:

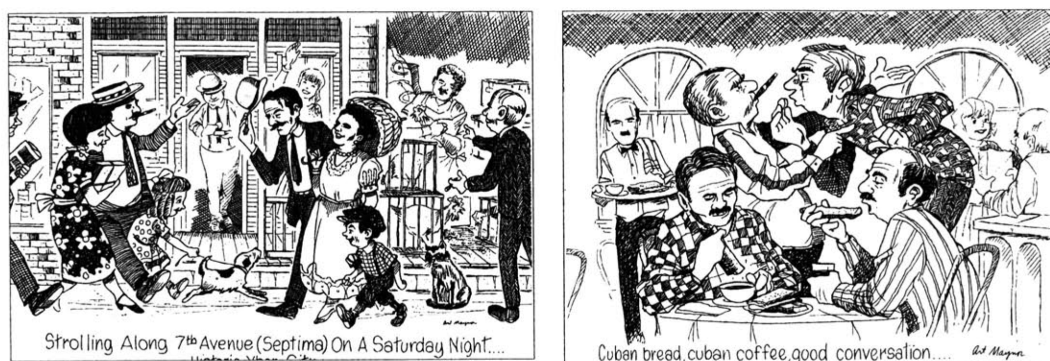
> "The aroma of olive oil, freshly baked bread and fragrant cigars was everywhere. In the morning we heard the shouts of the children and the cries of the fruit and ice cream vendors; at night there was the music of the bands playing Cuban dances in the clubs. Since there was no air conditioning, doors and windows stayed open. Saturday afternoons the whole family would sit at the entrance to the house to watch the passersby on the sidewalks and hear the music of the

parties. The whole family lived together, by tradition and also so that they could pool their earnings and be better off. We would hear Radio Cuba as if we were right in Havana." (quoted in Amador 1988)

Figure 4.6. Cigar Workers Savoring Coffee. Painting by Ferdie Pacheco. *Pacheco's art of Ybor City.* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997)

These nostalgic evocations are also represented symbolically in Pacheco's artwork (**Figure 4.6**) and other visual representations of Ybor's past. Art Maynor, the son of immigrant cigar factory workers, has established a regular trade in postcards with cartoonish dramatizations of the "typical" Latin scenes: "Strolling 7th Avenue" (**Figure 4.7**); depictions of factory workers savoring cigars and Cuban bread in neighborhood cafés (**Figure 4.8**); men playing dominoes in a social club; the "fruit peddler" and "crab man" peddling their wares on Ybor's streets, the "afilador" (tailor) making a house-call to hem a woman's dress; and the "Lector" reading to workers in the cigar factory. Maynor's postcards can be found at obvious locations, such as the Ybor City Museum gift shop, as well as in the restaurants and cafés along Seventh Avenue.[57]

[57] Mss. "Memory Box Collections" flier advertising Maynor's postcards; field observations, September 1999.



Figures 4.7 and 4.8. "Historic" Postcards by Ybor City artist Art Maynor. (Memory Box Collections, Tampa, Fla.)

Genealogical ties to place can serve a dramatic role in shaping later professional advocacy for neighborhood revitalization. Vincent Pardo, executive director of the Ybor City Development Corporation (a non-profit organization chartered and staffed by the City of Tampa), was born and spent his early years in Ybor City. Although his family moved to a developing suburb while he was still a child, Pardo spent considerable time in the neighborhood visiting extended family, and holds fond memories of "fooling around on the streets" and watching Saturday serial matinees at Ybor City's Ritz Theatre.

Pardo's own involvement in Ybor's restoration was serendipitous. After the birth of his first child, his parents, who had operated an Ybor grocery, invited him to a meeting of the Italian Club. The president of the club at that time gave him a tour of the clubhouse, and convinced him to join the board of the organization. Shortly thereafter, Pardo helped patch over a rift between the Italian Club and the Ybor Chamber of Commerce, through the intervention of long-time community activist Sam Leto. Ten years later, Pardo pioneered the creation of the Ybor City Coalition, a roundtable of community organizations devised to foster cooperation on neighborhood issues and problems. The group meets once per month, and each Ybor City organization sends two representatives to meet with Pardo and other city staff to discuss common concerns and issues. Meetings range from near-dormant to raucous and adversarial, depending on who attends and what issues are raised. Several key observers report a high degree of chauvinism displayed towards female attendees.[58]

---

[58] Interviews with Susan Greenbaum and Melinda Chavez (held within a day or two of each other and YCC meeting).

Sentiments and attachments to place also serve as the formative basis for heritage institutions, including not only the mutual aid societies, but also a range of other clubs and organizations. The Ybor City Roundtable, established in 1986, is a not-for-profit organization directed primarily by several colorful Ybor City elders, senior citizens who grew up in and retain strong sentimental attachments to the neighborhood. Those involved in creation of the Roundtable included members of the *comancheros*, the Sons of Italy, the Ybor City Optimist Club, the Ybor City Alcalde Assocation, and the Latin-American Fiesta Association. The Roundtable was also motivated by the desire to serve as a "watchdog" for Ybor City's Latin heritage, and undertook such perfunctory tasks as coordinating calendars to avoid conflicts among social events sponsored by the different ethnic clubs.[59]

Figure 4.9. Immigrant Statue, Centennial Park, Ybor City. (Photograph bv author.)

The Roundtable also promoted the development of historic memorials, such as a statue honoring Ybor City's immigrants (**Figure 4.9**), and has proven so successful at fundraising that it has surplus funds on hand to provide emergency grants to cover the clubs' operational expenses. The Roundtable also reinforces the engagement of Ybor's elders in major events, such as the Knight Parade. Despite this level of activity, the Roundtable is a very closed society, and is not well known outside Ybor City. Their founder, Sam Leto, an Ybor City native and acclaimed equestrian, acknowledges that his personal styles is "great at frustrating people in groups, but also great at working individually."[60] Other ethnic natives of Ybor City also exercise considerable influence within this closed network. Through the Roundtable and his position in the Italian Club, Pardo helped local organizations apply for preservation grants sponsored by state agencies, which were used to rehabilitate and preserve the remaining mutual aid society clubhouses.[61]

---

[59] Interview with Sam Leto.

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] Interview with Vince Pardo, September 16, 1999.

Heritage and Redevelopment

While narratives serve as the principal medium for the evocation of heritage, they are mediated by the active intervention of private organizations, groups, and public institutions and policies. Ybor City exhibits a complex range of entities that have been established to preserve and promote not only its heritage, but its revitalization. These include promotional entities ranging from the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce, which was established in the 1920s due to discrimination against Ybor's Latin population, to more traditional heritage organizations like the Ybor City State Museum. The range of formal organizations also includes a number of public agencies and programs specifically instituted to promote Ybor City's economic development, while ethnic groups have actively created and participate in a range of affinity groups with more parochial interests in promoting Ybor's heritage.

Ybor City's most important public agency is the Ybor City Development Corporation (YCDC), which was created as a quasi-public entity in 1988 by Tampa's Community Redevelopment Agency to promote Ybor City redevelopment. During the term of its first director, Rebecca Gagalis (who led Steiner + Associates work on Centro Ybor), the organization was largely dormant, leading then-Mayor Sandy Freedman to propose its abolition. Since Pardo took charge in 1993, however, the YCDC has taken on key central role in securing both public-sector support and private development contracts. The YCDC is funded by the Ybor City TIF District and local government. Its principal functions include marketing properties, acquiring and disposing of private and public real estate; providing financing referrals to private developers; coordinating development activity; promoting and marketing Ybor City developments; and facilitating meetings between private developers and city agencies and staff. Since early 1999, YCDC (along with CRA and other City of Tampa economic development agencies) has been housed in the city-renovated German American Club, an abandoned mutual aid society clubhouse on the western edge of the district.

The Ybor City Chamber of Commerce (YCCC) was established in 1930, and serves as the principal public relations entity for Ybor City businesses. The YCCC hosts an official visitor information center, and sponsors events like Fiesta Day and Guavaween, the organization's principal fund-raiser. The YCCC engages in a high-level of media-related activity, including marketing and promotional article placements in travel magazines and the national press. Since 1994, the YCCC has hosted Ybor City's principal website, www.ybor.org, which promotes all of Ybor City's major events.

Figure 4.10. "Casitas" renovated by Tampa Preservation Inc., 1998. (Photograph by author.)

Since 1975, the Barrio Latino Commission (BLC) has served as the official board for architectural review of all projects, renovations, rehabilitation, and alterations to structures and sites within the local historic district. The Barrio Latino Board is composed of two members of the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce; one architect; one attorney; one horticulturalist (as required by the Florida enabling status); one representative each from Ybor City Museum Society and the Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce; and one Ybor City resident. In response to mid-1980s development pressure, which led to complaints about the character of physical renovations and new construction (particularly of nightclubs), the BLC developed formal design

guidelines (Historic Tampa/Hillsborough County Preservation Board 1986) that require all rehabilitation, renovation, and new construction to conform to a range of Latin motifs. BLC review of development proposals within local historic district occurs twice per month. The first meeting is informal and is intended primarily as an informational review where staff become acquainted with pending matters. While intended to provide developers guidance on how to conform to local design guidelines, the meetings can become acrimonious, especially since developers may have invested significant resources in pre-development work (such as concept design) prior to the informational session.[62]

In the mid-1970s, the City of Tampa began exploring efforts to redevelop the Ferlita Bakery, which had ceased active operation in 1973. The city's efforts focused on the historic characteristics of the 1923 building, including its ornamented façade and massive brick ovens.[63] In 1982, the city's efforts were institutionalized in the creation of the Ybor City State Museum and Ybor City Museum Society (YCMS), a state-funded agency and not-for-profit membership society, respectively. The Museum's permanent exhibits focus primarily on the early history of Ybor City, although YCMS has recently hosted traveling exhibits with ethnic and urban theme. Located on Ninth Avenue, on a quiet corner opposite Centennial Park, the Museum's exhibits display equipment and artifacts from cigar factories. In 1984, Tampa Preservation, Inc., the traditional historic preservation group responsible for the revitalization of Tampa's Hyde Park neighborhoood, restored three *casitas* (shotgun houses for cigar workers) to their 1922 appearance (Charleton 1990) and relocated them to a vacant lot adjacent to the museum site (**Figure 4.10**). One of the casitas has been restored as a period exhibit, while the other two house the Museum's staff and the offices of the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce, respectively.

Tampa's Bourbon Street

In the mid-1980s, the mayoral administration of Sandy Freedman, at the behest of Ybor City property owners (such as arts patron Barbara Guyton), as well as Ybor's elder Latins, instituted a development framework for Ybor City that focused on its designation as an entertainment zone. In 1988, the City of Tampa designated Ybor City as a Community Redevelopment Area (CRA).

---

[62] Field observations, September 1999.

[63] Webb, p.2.

Within the CRA district, which is contiguous with the Barrio Latino Commission's boundaries (**Figure 4.11**), properties are eligible for tax increment financing to support capital improvements. A CRA redevelopment plan for this 133-acre area was simultaneously developed by the City of Tampa to promote development by providing ad valorem tax exemption, encouraging the use of historic preservation tax credits, and waiving requirements for on-site storm water reduction (Ybor City sits in the floodplain of the Ybor Channel, which empties into Tampa Bay, as shown in the aerial view presented in **Figure 4.12**).[64]

While largely technical and policy-driven, the Ybor City CRA plan did not merely contemplate public investment to promote the redevelopment of Ybor City, but its restoration as a convivial commercial and residential center. The plan therefore comprised a variety of strategic redevelopment objectives, such as the construction of 300 brick townhouses, the adaptive reuse of abandoned factories for office space, and new landscaping, street, sidewalk, and other infrastructure improvements. Private investments would provide for the adaptive reuse and restoration of the Pasaje Hotel as an ethnic restaurant, the Rivoli Theater as a nightclub, and the Centro Español as a multi-use casino and entertainment complex.

[64] The CRA plan is also summarized on the YCDC website (Internet URL: http://www.tampagov.net/dept_YCDC/development/plans_and_studies.asp).

Figure 4.11. Ybor City Redevelopment Area, showing local and National Register historic districts. (Map provided to the author by Ybor City Development Corporation.)

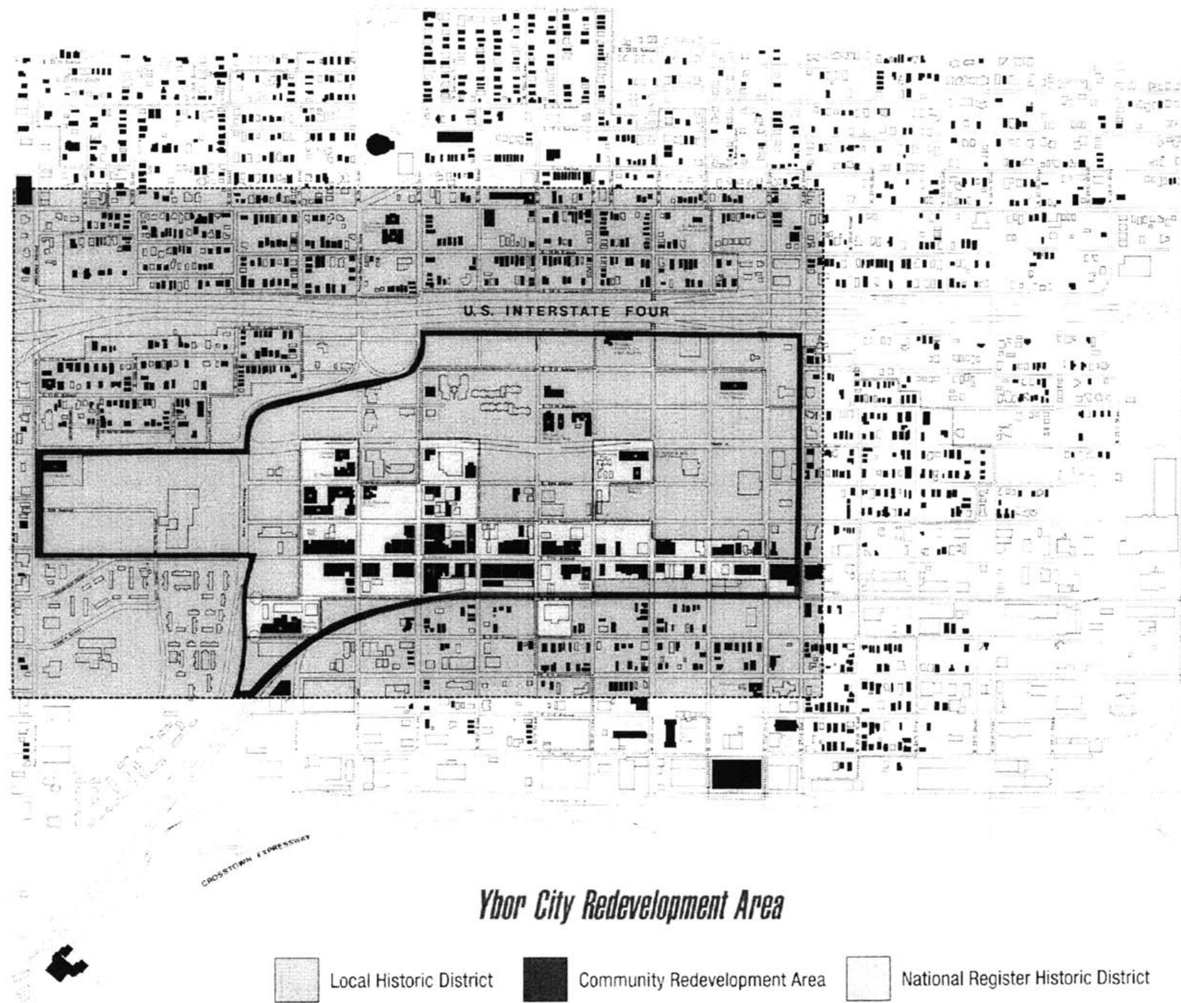


Figure 4.12. Aerial view of Ybor City, view southwest towards Tampa Bay. Interstate 4 defines the northern boundary of the district, and appears at the bottom. Photograph by Alex S. MacLean, Copyright © 2002 Landslides Aerial Photography (used by permission).

The plan anticipated that all reconstruction would be guided by the preservation and enhancement of such embellishments as iron balconies; Cuban, Spanish and Mediterranean architectural styling; and restoration and reuse of historic ornamentation on individual structures. Even the townhouses would be designed around a central patio, to mimic the style of the nearby cigar factories. The plan also contemplated the reconstruction of a half-dozen "typical" cigar worker's cottages, one of which would be fitted with period furnishings and outfitted as a museum, to be operated by the Ybor City State Museum, which had opened in the restored Ferlita Bakery a few years earlier.

A new symbolic gateway, flanked by fountains and topped with ornamental tobacco leaves cast in copper, would announce entry to the district, while Ybor City would be reconnected to downtown through the reactivation of a long-defunct trolley line. Layered above these highly-ornamented and historicist structural elements, the plan proposed the creation of an open-air Farmer's Market in Centennial Park, and the promotion of new retail and entertainment uses in the district, which would help recast Ybor City as "a place where people can live, work, be

entertained and shop, while enjoying every day the beauty of their past and the values of their historical and cultural traditions."[65]

Figure 4.13. Seventh Avenue Gateway and Streetscape Improvements (rendering). Image provided to the author by Ybor City Development Corporation.

The Ybor City Redevelopment plan came to fruition largely because of ongoing, albeit piecemeal, investment in the restoration of individual commercial structures by artists, who were attracted by the low rents and vast, open spaces available in the neighborhood's commercial structures. The plan was institutionalized through the Tampa Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA), created in 1982, which utilizes tax-increment financing for capital improvements in all eligible CRA districts. Most of the CRA plan's objectives were implemented, such as creation of the Seventh Avenue Gateway (**Figure 4.13**) and streetscape plan; improvements to Centennial Park; and destination signage. CRA funding has also been used to address crime problems through the installation of video surveillance along Seventh Avenue.[66]

The CRA Plan did not merely support the instrumental use of heritage to promote development. The Freedman administration specifically coupled heritage narratives to a set of policy decisions that rationalized the designation of Ybor City as an adult entertainment district. Within the confines of the CRA boundaries, alcohol permit requirements were relaxed, while parking and parking and storm water retention impact fees were waived to promote development. Over a period of three to five years, the number of bars and nightclubs in Ybor City increased from a dozen to over 60, most of which displaced art galleries and small-scale retail shops.[67] The new policies generated a push from speculators to rehabilitate long-empty commercial spaces as taverns, and the effective designation of Ybor City as Tampa's

---

[65] Amador 1988, p.7.

[66] Interview with Maricela Medrano al-Fakri, urban planner, Ybor City Development Corporation, September 23, 1999.

[67] Interview with Sara Romeo, Owner, Romeo's Stylish Furniture, September 24, 1999.

entertainment zone. As one shopkeeper remarked, the unfortunate consequence for artists, many of whom had explored the use of historic preservation tax credits to redevelop architecturally distinctive buildings, was that they were displaced by a process to which they had unwittingly contributed.[68]

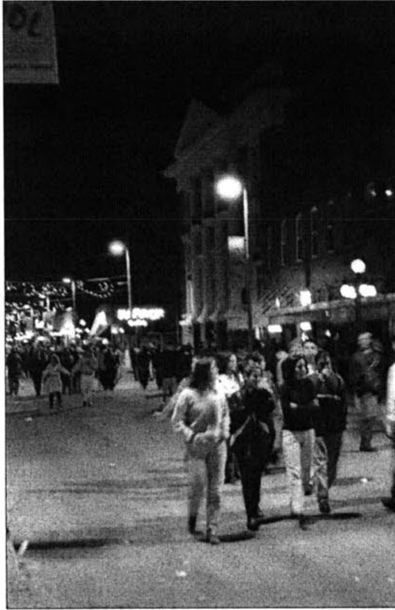


Figure 4.14. Seventh Avenue on a Saturday night, January 1998. (Photograph by author.)

By the mid-1990s, Seventh Avenue's bar culture had not only begun to create significant problems with crime and vandalism, but had also attracted a variety of uses that both business owners and the Latin core found disreputable and troublesome. In early 1998, for example, a Saturday night on Seventh Avenue would find not only a Bourbon Street atmosphere of crowds wandering, drink in hand, from bar to bar (**Figure 4.14**), but a melange of food vendors, carnival sidemen, and barkers for the various taverns wandering the street. On a vacant lot adjacent to the Columbia Restaurant, a street vendor operating from a boardwalk tent offered passersby the chance to win stuffed animals through a basket toss. In front of a tattoo parlor nearby, an incense and bead merchant spread his wares on a blanket strewn across the sidewalk. At the corner of 14th Street and Seventh Avenue, just a few blocks from the Italian Club, the neon signs above Club Flamingo, owned and operated by Tampa strip club baron Joe Redner, screamed "Girls, Girls, Girls." In front of the Baja Beach Club, a nightclub with folding doors that retract to open the club interior to the street, teenage girls in micro-miniskirts and heavy makeup (obviously well below the drinking age) shared a cigarette and a beer.[69]

New restaurants, bars, and other tourist and leisure destinations have created increasing demand for parking, and surface lots and new garages have displaced long-time residents living in substandard homes. Between 1980 and 1985, the speculative turnover of long-dormant property

---

[68] Interview with Jill Wax, Owner, La France (vintage clothing store), November 4, 1999; Babita Persaud, "After ups and downs, Ybor ready for renewal," *op cit.*.

[69] Field observations, January 23, 1998.

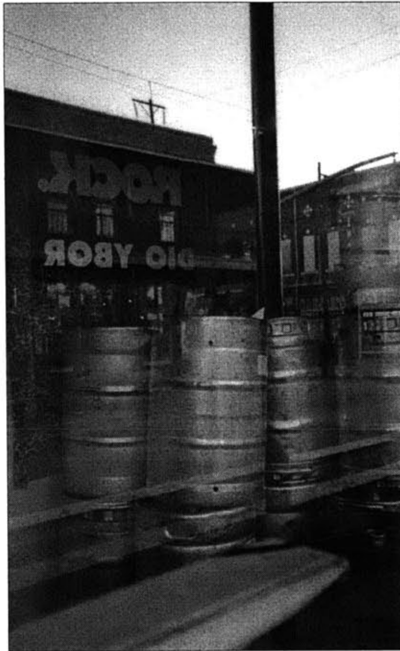


Figure 4.15. Looking into an Ybor City Tavern on a Sunday afternoon. (Photograph by the author.)

to developers intent on opening bars and nightclubs led to a 300% increase in property values.[70] At the same time, the surge in alcohol-related entertainment venues has not only dampened Ybor City's public persona as an ethnic neighborhood, but has also generated a host of problems and complaints from artists, nearby homeowners, and shopkeepers. (**Figure 4.15**).

Developers deny that the nightclubs undermine other aspects of life in Ybor City. "What we want are 20 restaurants on Seventh Avenue," said developer Barbara Guyton, who at the time she was negotiating with Fat Tuesday's, a national nightclub chain. "[Ybor City] is the only part of Tampa that has been developed without the government's help. Nobody wants a whole street of bars. That's absurd." Nonetheless, Guyton's speculative interests were clear, as she argued that low-rent users displaced by rising property values would likely be replaced by high-end retailers, which would work to the greater good of the neighborhood.[71]

---

[70] Mormino and Pozzetta, pp.312-3.

[71] Scherberger, "Two sides battle over future of Ybor City's soul," *op cit.*

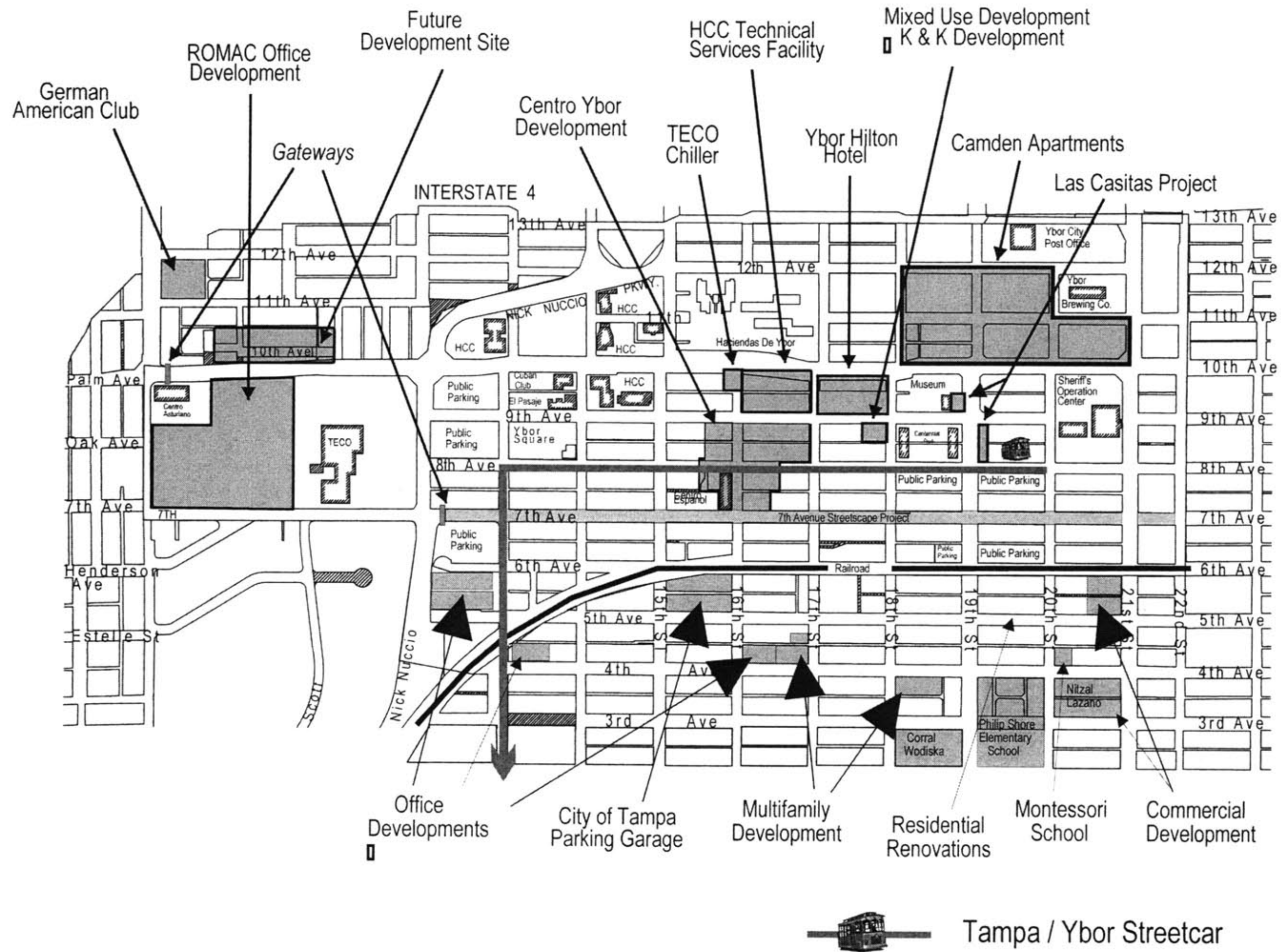


Figure 4.16. Ybor City Development Projects, October 1999 (Prepared by Ybor City Development Corporation, used by permission.)

Figure 4.17. Tampa Mayor Dick Greco, 1999. (City of Tampa.)

Despite its conflicted image, Ybor City remains an active magnet for development (**Figure 4.16**), in part due to generous public subsidies and active promotion by the current mayoral administration of Dick Greco (**Figure 4.17**), himself a former developer. In August 1998, Mayor Greco held a ground-breaking ceremony for "Centro Ybor" (**Figure 4.18**), a $40 million, 210,000 square foot themed entertainment/retail complex developed by Columbus, Ohio-based Steiner + Associates, developers of Miami's famed CocoWalk. Based on the restoration and adaptive reuse of the Centro Español clubhouse, Centro Ybor represents the latest attempt to invoke Latin heritage, and the distinct social rhythms of Ybor's past, in an effort to overcome the negative vestiges of its prevailing bar culture (**Figure 4.19**).

Figure 4.19. "Centro Ybor is calling." (Photograph provided to the author by Steiner + Associates.)

Figure 4.18. Aerial view of Centro Ybor, view northeast. The imposing Centro Ybor logo hovers over the entrance to the 20-screen Muvico Cinema. The historic Centro Espanñol is visible in the center and towards the bottom of the photograph. New hotels and apartment complexes are also visible near the top. The Ybor Labor Temple appears near the left margin, just behind Centro Ybor. Seventh Avenue dominates the foreground. Photograph by Alex S. MacLean, Copyright © 2002 Landslides Aerial Photography (used by permission).

Centro Ybor is anchored by a 20-screen Muvico Cinema multiplex theater accommodating 4,000 patrons, and features national retailers like Camelot Records, Johnny Rockets, the Improv Comedy Club, and Pacific Coast Sunwear.[72] The Centro Español clubhouse[73] serves the cornerstone and inspiration for the design of the complex. In addition to the trellises and extensive exterior balconies, Centro Ybor is encoded with visual representations of Ybor City's Latin heritage, most visibly in the graphic logo created by the developers, which resembles a cigar label. Opening day festivities for the complex included a poorly-attended afternoon

---

[72] Press release provided to the author by Rebecca Gagalis, Steiner + Associates, "Groundbreaking for Central Ybor complex signals next step in Ybor City's rebirth," August 7, 1998. Interview with Rebecca Gagalis, Director of Community Affairs, Steiner + Associates, November 5, 1999.

[73] Central Español had fallen into disuse and foreclosure and was eventually purchased by the State of Florida to protect it against demolition. Interview with Susan Greenbaum.

salsa/meringue dance and crafts exhibition featuring cigar rollers and other ethnic vendors (**Figure 4.20**).[74]

The Latin theme deliberately influenced the selection of tenants for Centro Ybor, most of which represent national, rather than local, chains and corporations. These includes Café Tu Tu Tango, a Spanish *tapas* bar; Adobe Gila's, an open-air Mexican-themed Margarita bar; and Tomatoe's Italian Restaurant. (All three restaurants already operate venues in other Florida tourist destinations, such as Sarasota, Coconut Grove, and Miami's South Beach.) The newest generation of Latin entrepreneurs, including Casey Gonzmart (son of Cesár) hope that Centro Ybor will finally put to rest the tension and problems created by the nightclubs.[75]

Figure 4.20. Cigar rolling at Centro Ybor opening. (Photograph provided by Steiner + Associates.)

Ybor City's physical rehabilitation and reputation among historic preservationists represents an example worthy of emulation. In 1999, the cable television show *Restore America*, hosted by Bob Vila (the former host of PBS' *This Old House*) featured Ybor City in a segment highlighting preservation in Florida. The program featured Ybor City as one of four heritage sites in Florida (the others being St. Augustine, Key West, and Miami Beach). With its focus on residential restoration and rehabilitation, the program featured a handful of Ybor pioneers who had transformed and redeemed properties other might have seen as eyesores. In the words of one owner, who recovered a former cigar workers' cottage for use as his primary residence:

> I was born and raised here in Ybor City, and the heritage to me is very important. I used to come here to my grandparents' house and it was a close setting. Homes were next to each other; people would speak from porch to porch, and there was a uniqueness here -- well, you didn't find that that in the suburbs.

---

[74] Babita Persaud, "Centro Ybor in the mix," *St. Petersburg Times*, October 5, 2000, p.23W; Sherri Ackerman, "Centro Ybor starts off all Salsa and spice," *The Tampa Tribune*, October 6, 2000, Florida/Metro, p.1; n.a., "Unwrapping Centro Ybor," *St. Petersburg Times*, October 6, 2000, p.1B.

[75] Interview with Casimiro ("Casey") Gonzmart, Chairman, Columbia Restaurant Group. November 4, 1999.

> The place really looked like a shed. I knew that underneath all the alterations, there was the vintage little L-shaped cigar-maker's house.
>
> I wanted to restore the first home in Ybor City and show everyone that these little cigar-maker houses can be the most beautiful, little house you ever seen -- the house, the dog, the picket fence, it has it all.[76]

In mid-1999, the YCDC and YCCC, in collaboration with the City of Tampa, applied for Florida Main Street designation for Ybor City, which the state approved the following year. The Main Street program would offer technical assistance and funding from the state Bureau of Historical Preservation.[77]

Rhythm and Ritual

> Welcome to Ybor City, Tampa's National Historic Landmark District. Florida's Latin Quarter experience beckons you back to another era. Wrought iron balconies, globe streetlights, brick-lined walkways and the majestic architecture of cigar factories, social clubs and other unique buildings, provide a glimpse into an era rich with culture and history. Today, Ybor City is a shopping, dining and entertainment district where the ancient art of premium hand-rolled cigar making lives on. And, we also boast a nightlife as colorful as our Spanish Flamenco dancers.[78]

While the pursuit of "authenticity" is among the central elements of heritage-led revitalization, heritage extends well beyond the physical fabric and aesthetics of place. In Ybor City, contentions among different visions of Ybor's past and future have both generated and been reified by ephemeral urbanism (Schuster 2001), the routinized activities, high rituals, festivals, and other forms of public events that contribute to or contest the cultural image and identity of urban space. Urban rituals are the primary focus of most public use of a place: entertainment districts regularly draw nightlife; shopping centers serve as gathering places for mass consumption; and public squares serve as interchange points for all manner of informal public and private uses. Rituals in urban space are distinguished from more routine activities by the cultural association between a place's identity and the form and character of its uses. Other types of ephemeral

---

[76] Transcript, Episode 102 (Florida), *Restore America*, HGTV cable television network, October 1999. Internet URL: http://www.hgtv.com/ hgtv/shows_ram .

[77] Interview with Maricela Medrano al-Fakri, urban planner, Ybor City Development Corporation, September 23, 1999. *La Gaceta*, 2 July 1999, p.12. The State of Florida's Bureau of Historic Preservation approved Ybor City's Main Street application in 2000. (Internet URL: http://dhr.dos.state.fl.us/bhp/main_st/mstreet.cfm?name=YborCity).

[78] Welcome text on the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce Website, http://www.ybor.org/ .

urbanism include a broad range of highly-stylized activities and events associated with the identity of a place. Invented traditions (Hobsbawm 1983), or socially-constructed events observed at regular intervals, serve to define, contest, and/or shape group identity and solidarity.

In Ybor City, urban rituals and invented traditions have been developed and promoted by a range of private societies and clubs, as well as some of the formal institutions already noted. The major annual events in Ybor City occur in the Fall and Spring, and form important contrasts in the contest to define Ybor City's identity. The primary seasonal events in Ybor City remain those aligned with Latin heritage. Established during the 1920s, Fiesta Day honors the tri-cultural (Italian, Spanish, and Cuban) Latin heritage of Ybor City. The event is held each year on the second Saturday in February, and its primary feature is the free (volunteer-provided) distribution of Cuban *cafe con leche* and Cuban bread and sandwiches (**Figure 4.21**). Fiesta Day is heavily oriented towards families and children, features a carnival, crafts demonstrations (including cigar rolling), and is avowedly ethnic in flavor.

Figure 4.21. Food line at Fiesta Day, 1972. (State of Florida, Department of Commerce collection).

Fiesta Day was inspired as an Ybor City counterpart to Tampa's century-old pirate festival, Gasparilla, which is held the same day. Named for Jose Gaspar, a Cuban émigré reputed to have left Key West to grow guavas near Tampa Bay, Gasparilla Gasparilla features a massive spectacle in which an armada led by the mythical pirate and his minions ritually seizes the City of Tampa through a frontal assault on the Tampa Bay marina near

Figure 4.22. Landing of the Pirate Ship, Gasparilla (c.1920). (University of South Florida Library.)

the city's downtown (**Figure 4.22**). The attack is followed by a massive parade through downtown Tampa. Like Mardi Gras, Gasparilla nurtured the creation of multiple krewes, exclusive mason-like fraternal organizations, from its earliest days, drawn from Tampa's Anglo elite. Membership in the Krewes was limited to whites only, leading to the creation of a number of Afro- and Latin-American krewes in the 1930s and 1940s. One of the most influential Latin Krewes, The Knights of Sant'Yago, established in 1972, now sponsors a nighttime electrical parade in Ybor City one week after Fiesta Day. (The Sant'Yago Knight Parade imprints a Carnival-like Latin imprimatur on these festivities, as do cigar festivals held in Centennial Park each spring.)[79]

Figure 4.23. Mama and Papa Guava.

The membership of the Latin krewes overlaps to a high degree with that of other heritage groups and institutions, such as the Ybor City Museum Society, the handful of remaining mutual aid societies, and the Ybor City Roundtable and other membership organizations catering to the interests of Ybor's exiled senior population. Other heritage-related annual activities sponsored by local heritage organizations, such as the Ybor City Museum Society, include the Cigar Heritage Festival, the Taste of Ybor Festival; and annual dinners given to present the Tony Pizzo and Vicente Martínez Ybor Awards (named for the recently-deceased historian and original founder of Ybor City, respectively). Most of these events are remarkably similar in celebratory tone and spirit to Fiesta Day. The activities are held primarily during the daytime, they are avowedly ethnic in character, and are geared towards families with children.[80]

In sharp contrast to the ethnic imprint of Fiesta Day, Guavaween, an annual Halloween event with origins in the artist-led bohemian movement of the early 1980s, draws a crowd of between 75,000 and 150,000 revelers to Seventh Avenue. Guavaween began in the mid-1980s as a fund-raiser for Ybor City Chamber of Commerce, which at the time was chaired and directed

[79] Interviews with Sam D. Leto, President, Ybor City Roundtable, Inc., November 5, 1999; and Patrick Manteiga, Editor and Publisher, *La Gaceta*, November 5, 1999.

principally towards the activities of loft artists and galleries in Ybor City. The day-long Halloween event includes a children's carnival and nighttime "Stumble Parade," which used to serve as political and artistic satire of Tampa politics. Led by Mama and Papa Guava, two costumed characters based on folklore about Tampa's origins (**Figure 4.23**), the parade once featured floats with satirical and artistic themes.

Figure 4.24. Ybor City's Mardi Gras: Guavaween, 1999. (Photograph from *St. Petersburg Times.*)

In recent years, the event has been undermined by its growing reputation as Tampa's "Mardi Gras." The satirical floats have been replaced by more literal, and usually gruesome, Halloween-oriented displays. Since 1995, organizers have distributed Mardi Gras-style beaded necklaces, demonstrating the influence of local bars on the marketing and attractions of the event, and creating a frenzy as women are asked to bare their breasts in exchange for the beads (**Figure 4.24**).[81] As a result of the decline in the event's political focus, Tampa Tribune columnist Steve Otto, who served as the original "Papa Guava," refused to participate after 1998.[82]

Despite the rising rents that displaced most of Ybor's art studios, loft spaces, and commercial galleries during the early 1990s, a number of galleries and arts-oriented establishments have persisted. These distinguished galleries serve as influential holdouts that wield considerable leverage through their involvement in the complex organizational lattice that unites disparate interests in promoting and managing Ybor as a "Latin Quarter," historic district, commercial zone, and entertainment strip.

Without question, however, the most regular and largest constituency for Ybor City remains the (mostly) weekend crowds of 20,000 to 50,000 bar patrons who weekly descend upon the 60

---

[80] Interview with Fernando Noriega, Jr., Mayor's Administrator of Development, Department of Business and Community Services, City of Tampa, November 4, 1999.

[81] The cultural implications of this practice are discussed in Shrum and Kilburn 1996.

drinking establishments along La Septima, along with a number of less-conspicuous venues on the north-south through streets that criss-cross Seventh Avenue. As in many entertainment zones, these large crowds pose problems with public safety, vandalism, traffic, illicit drug use, and sporadic violent crime. While a number of vocal Ybor entrepreneurs have persistently bemoaned these attendant problems, others are surprisingly mute, and discussions with even those most troubled by the pattern reveal them to be highly ambivalent about how or whether to resolve it. (The City of Tampa's most active intervention, the installation of active video surveillance and facial recognition technology, received a great deal of media scrutiny during the 2000 Super Bowl and following the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington, D.C.)

For the bar-going crowd, Ybor City portends an entirely different level of meaning, little of it having to do with "heritage," as least not as it is commonly expressed in the narratives that describe Ybor. Weekend revelers drawn to Ybor City seem ambivalent about and indifferent to the heritage panoply. Asked why they frequent Ybor City, by partygoers on the streets and in Ybor's taverns on a busy Saturday night use the terms "lively," "crazy," "racy," "seedy," and "wild" with far greater frequency than "ethnic" or "Latin". Many non-bar merchants view the crowds with disdain, bemoaning lax enforcement of open container laws and the resulting litter, vandalism, and occasional violence. Merchants also see the nightclubs as an impediment to attracting a more attractive clientele to their establishments. Ybor's bar culture has reinforced the district's reputation for violent crime and petty theft, with bar-room brawls often leading to armed conflict in the dark spaces of Eighth Avenue parking lots, beyond the scope of Seventh Avenue's video surveillance. This "spiked hair and pierced lip crowd," one merchant says, "is the only thing holding us back from really moving this place forward as an historic district."[83] Nonetheless, while expressing similar sentiments, others among Ybor's development interests are more ambivalent. "The fact is, if the bars weren't here," says another, "there wouldn't be anything here."[84]

---

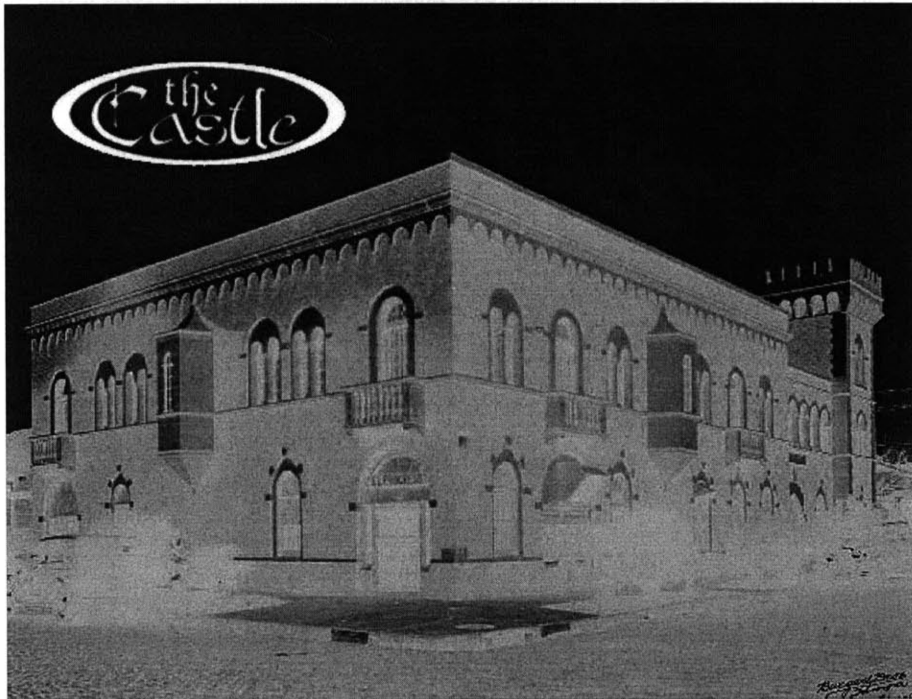
[82] Interview with Susan D. Greenbaum, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology, University of South Florida, September 26, 1999; Babita Persaud; "Guavaween has no papa again in '99," *St. Petersburg Times*, October 16, 1999.

[83] Interview with Annette Gonzalez DeLisle, President, Ybor City Chamber of Commerce, .

[84] Interview with Casimiro ("Casey") Gonzmart, Chairman, Columbia Restaurant Group, November 4, 1999.

The night-time patrons of Ybor City comprise a Gen-X/Y admixture of college students, young professionals, under-21 and high school students, and middle-aged tourists. There is also a distinctly "grunge" counter-culture of self-described "vamps," "fetishists," "Goths," "skate punks," and "technophreaks". The primary destination for this group is the former Ybor Labor Temple at 16th St. & 9th Ave. (**Figure 4.25**), a turreted, yellow-brick structure originally constructed in 1930 for the fraternal Order of the Golden Eagle (Charleton 1990). Since 1996, the Labor Temple has housed "The Castle" (**Figure 4.26**), an "industrial/tekno" "Goth" club that has transformed the Temple's interior with multiple video screens, which project absurdly contrasting segments from Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*, *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, and the 1925 silent-version of *Phantom of the Opera,* set to pulsating industrial music mixed by house dj's.[85] The undulating crowd, goaded by "club-kid" dancers (paid performers, usually provocatively dressed, whose job is to encourage patrons to dance), seems oblivious to the irony that the main dance floor once served as the platform for intense labor activism. The mahogany-paneled ballroom and turreted exterior of the building pose a compelling draw for this particular sub-group. Lines of patrons waiting patiently to enter the club easily snake around the building by 9:00 p.m. on typical weeknights.

[85] Field observations, September 1999. The club operates Saturday through Monday nights, with occasional Wednesday night special events. Like everything GenX, it hosts a website featuring photos, promotions, and suggestions for appropriate attire. (Internet URL: http://www.castle-ybor.com/castle.html).



Figures 4.25 (top) and **4.26** (bottom). **Ybor Labor Temple, 1520 N. 16th Street (16th and Ninth Avenue).** The 1930 structure became "The Castle", a "Gothic" nightclub, in 1996. (Photograph obtained from www.castle-ybor.com.)

Management of the nuisance issues associated with the bar crowds has been among the chief problems addressed by the Ybor City Development Corporation, which organized a trip to Miami's South Beach in 1999 to learn how the Lincoln Road Development Corporation manages these types of problem through a combination of security and sanitation measures.[86] Jay Miller, vice president of Steiner + Associates, which developed Centro Ybor, is candid in his perception of the "spiked hair" and "pierced eyebrow" crowd as a major threat to developing a family-oriented clientele for the new entertainment complex.[87]

Despite the reality and perception of alcohol-induced problems in Ybor City, the range of audiences drawn to Ybor City by the complex array of activities occurring in the course of a normal week, reflects a high degree of temporal differentiation in the use and meaning of city space. Many Ybor merchants recognize the temporality that characterizes Ybor City's streets, noting that one reassuring aspect of the nuisance problems is that they are confined to the weekends, largely out of view of daytime patrons. Nonetheless, perceptions of crime and Ybor City's active association with violence and drug-related crimes creates real problems, in part because of how local media characterize the area and sensationalize these issues.[88] More intriguingly, however, empirical observation of the role of ritual, cyclicality, and seasonality in Ybor City reveals a further complication. Ybor City serves multiple audiences, including not only the "Yborciteños" and "Anglo" tourists they sought to attract as early as the 1950s, but also a new wave of Gen-X "ravers" and bar-hopping crowds that dominate the district on weekend nights.

---

[86] Steiner + Associates memorandum, "Fact-finding trip to Miami Wrap Up – October 19, 1999"; City of Tampa Parks Department, memo. from Corrine Linebrink to Henry McGriff, October 18, 1999; n.p., "Miami Beach Debriefing, 10/19/99"; Tony McBride, Solid Waste Dept., "Miami Beach Lincoln Street TourDebriefing Notes," n.d. Mss. provided to the author by Vincent Pardo, YCDC, November 1, 1999.

[87] Interviews with Rebecca Gagalis, November 5, 1999; and Vincent Pardo, Executive Director, Ybor City Development Corporation, November 1, 1999.

[88] Interviews with Susan Greenbaum and Vincent Pardo, *op cit.*

The Symbolic Politics of Heritage Narratives

> In 1985, some 100 years after the inception of the community, Ybor City stands again on the threshold of change. In reality there are two Ybor cities: the celebrated strip of ethnic restaurants, shops, and clubs along Seventh Avenue; and the residential area the public prefers to ignore. The former is prosperous: property values along Seventh Avenue have risen 300 percent since 1980, reflect of the economic boom affecting downtown Tampa. Lunchtime crowds throng the cafés, disguising the malaise of the other Ybor City, where 2,229 persons resided in 1980, 1,829 of whom were Afro-Americans.
>
> The collective profile is not encouraging for the revitalization of the new Ybor City. Nearly half of the district's residents live below the poverty level; fully one-third of the area's residents in 1970 have since vacated the premises; property values range among the city's lowest, averaging $10,000 per home; the police department rates Ybor City as one of the highest crime areas in Tampa. There remains only a remnant of the former Latin population – in 1980 less than 12 percent of the residents claimed Latin heritage. (Mormino and Pozzetta, pp.312-3)

Race and Redevelopment

The revitalization of Ybor City over the past three decades has been significantly complicated by internal cleavages and distinctions among competing interests within the city. The redevelopment process also reveals important conflicts over the use and control of urban space. While the principal advocates for revitalization of Ybor City include one-time residents and their descendants, the image of the past that they offer is often exclusionary, diverging from the reality of conditions beyond Seventh Avenue. The prevailing narratives of community and sociability in Ybor City even downplay or deny altogether the existence of ethnic and racial tension among Ybor's residents in the past, often by disregarding the long-standing presence of Afro-Cubans among the neighborhood's population (Mormino and Ross 1987; Greenbaum 1986).

Ignored by the various efforts to renew Ybor City are the neighborhood's Afro-Cuban population, a historic minority that constitutes the only semblance of a stable population in the area. Because most of Tampa's Afro-Cubans are poor and speak only Spanish, it has not been difficult for public officials and entrepreneurs to exclude them from meetings to plan the future of the neighborhood, despite their long-standing historical roots in Ybor City (Greenbaum 1986). The absence of Afro-Cubans in the heritage narratives of Ybor City is a striking omission (Mormino 1987; Greenbaum 1986). Afro-Cubans have been part of the history of Ybor City since its founding, and were among the most influential in 19th-century activism for Cuban independence. (Indeed, Jose Martí was sheltered by Roberto and Paulina Pedroso, Afro-Cuban

denizens of Ybor City, and the Cuban-owned park that bears his likeness is at the site of the Pedroso homestead.) La Union Marti-Maceo, Ybor City's Afro-Cuban mutual aid society, was created at the insistence of segregationists alarmed by racial mixing at El Circulo Cubano during the 1920s. During the urban renewal era, the group's clubhouse was the only one among the mutual aid societies to be demolished, forcing the group to relocate to a non-descript and isolated building several blocks west of Ybor City's commercial core.

Because most of Tampa's Afro-Cubans are poor and speak only Spanish, their history and current presence in the neighborhood have been overlooked by developers and the public initiatives, but local place entrepreneurs also have acted deliberately to exclude them from a range of cultural activities hosted in the district (Greenbaum 1990). During the 1986 Ybor City Centennial, Latin organizers resisted the inclusion of Afro-Cuban heritage in organized observances, but were rebuffed by a USF anthropologist and members of La Union Martí-Maceo (Greenbaum 1993). The sad irony is that by maintaining residence near the district, Tampa's Afro-Cubans are among those most directly threatened by revitalization.

Physically isolated south of Sixth Avenue and north of Interstate 4 that are no longer actively identified as part of Ybor City (**Figure 4.27**), Ybor City's Afro-Cuban population is also symbolically absent from both discussions and narratives recalling the history of the area. Predatory speculation by developers, such as the case of one who purchased a cottage from a poor Afro-Cuban family for $11,000, has also gradually reduced the number of Afro-Cubans living near Ybor City. A number of speculators have also purchased residential property away from Seventh Avenue from absentee landlords, and in turn displaced the poor and often overcrowded households living there.[89]

[89] Mary Jo Melone, "Quiet lives in Ybor City will hear money talk," *St. Petersburg Times*, May 18, 1993, p.1B. One developer reportedly dismissed the Afro-Cuban residents south of Ybor City as "'roaches' who would scatter to other poor, dark corners of Tampa when the change comes."

Figure 4.27. Non-descript cottages and shotgun homes in Ybor City, north of Interstate 4. Photograph by Alex S. MacLean. Copyright © 2002 Landslides Aerial Photography. (Used by permission.)

Heritage, Restoration, and Revitalization

> Like the Phoenix rising out of the ashes, Ybor City is reborn. Ethnic is in. Ybor City is chic. Born-again Ybor City is cleansed, purged of all original sin associated with immigrant radicalism, labor militancy, and social protest. The cigarworkers "liked the American way of life," a tourist tract assures unsuspecting visitors to a local cigar factory. Odd, I thought, the first time I read those words. Who constructed that reality? Could it be that the history of Ybor City would be written without attention to the truths of the cigarworkers? The final – and supreme – irony. (Perez 1983)

Ybor City has been touted as a "successful" example of both place and community "restored" through various types of heritage-based initiatives. In Ybor City, heritage serves as both the explicit and implicit foundation for revitalization, and has proven effective enough to take on a social and cultural significance of its own. Since the 1950s, a range of public institutions, place entrepreneurs, and social organizations in Tampa has worked to promote revitalization of the district, and their efforts have generated significant public and private investments. While many of the actions and objectives pursued by Ybor's various entrepreneurs are primarily commemorative, neighborhood redevelopment goes beyond mere remembrance and

commemoration. Ybor City's museums, monuments, landmarks, and historic structures serve not merely as symbols, but function as the substructure for a pattern of entrepreneur-led place promotion, characterized by "multiple, objectively-constituted interest groups" (Davis 1987). Ybor City has become a central element in the tourist geography of Tampa (**Figure 4.28**).

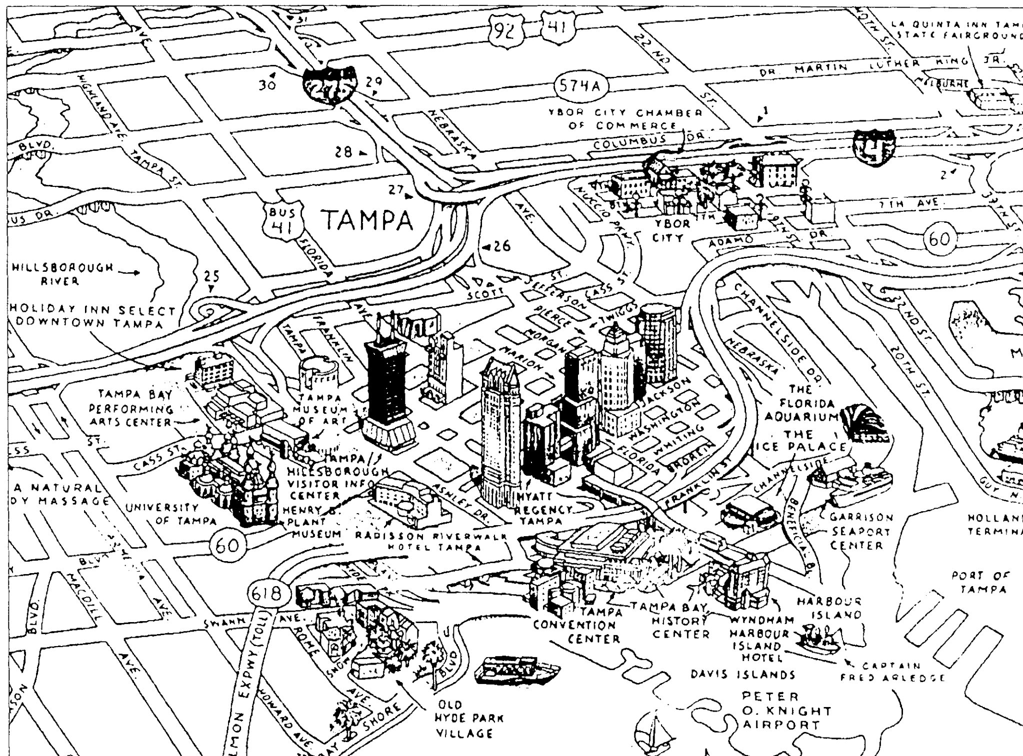


Figure 4.28. The Tourist Geography of Tampa, Florida. Ybor City is now prominently identified among such Tampa landmarks as Old Hyde Park Village and Davis Island, as well as major tourist destinations, such as the Convention Center, the Ice Palace Arena, Florida Aquarium, and Busch Gardens Safari and Amusement Park. (Tampa Bay Chamber of Commerce, 1998.)

Much of the conflict among the multiple interest groups identified in Ybor City is emblematic of the gentrification and displacement struggles waged in several cities. Ultimately, however, Ybor transcends these traditional understanding on two fronts. First, as Davis (1991) has observed, relying only on the traditional sociological cleavages of race, class, and interest group to explain conflict over urban change disregards cross-cutting cleavages and interests that complicate such explanations. While a handful of Ybor's principal entrepreneurs were "outsiders" from "Anglo" South Tampa, a number were "Yborciteños" and descendants of major commercial and property owners along Seventh Avenue. Their interest in Ybor City, while

obviously directly tied into the equity and investment potential of their real estate holdings, has also been shaped by their culture of belief in the past and its role in shaping the future of Ybor City, including its future uses.[90]

The tensions between the present reality of Ybor City and the heritage-based hopes of "old-timers" residents ultimately turn on the restoration of a lost culture and community, not merely the expression of symbols and signs of ethnicity. As one resident expresses in frustration:

> "We seem to have lost the meaning of the story of the people who put Ybor City on the map in the first place, those hard immigrants, and what they brought here; moreover, why they came. Our schools apparently forgot to teach this, and now our city government fails to appreciate the value of our local history! Bars have become more valuable to our community than a meaningful and honorable effort at community identity, such as museums or other relevant ethnic attractions that would tend to uplift and inspire tourists (including youth). Bars generate more money! Consequences? What consequences?" (Anello 1998).

Potential political backlash and conflict over displacement has been ameliorated by entrepreneurial focus on the Latin character of the district, suggesting that heritage is only legitimately vested in those of Italian-American, Spanish, and Cuban descent:

> Someday, soon, Ybor City will be without cigarworkers, hollowed of its essence, and sold to the highest bidder. Falsehoods of unknown origins will appear to drive out persisting truths. Cigarworkers "liked the American way of life..." It has already started. [91]

When used to accomplish restoration, the social constructs of heritage, such as landmarks, symbols, and even institutional bearers of memory, serve as a configurative lattice for the transmission of cultural and group legacies. This memory lattice is further imprinted by ritualistic invocations of the past, urban ephemera that seek, at a level above and beyond commemoration, to define the contours of contemporary development. Ritual conjures the past into the present. Unlike remembrance, which focuses only on vestigial legacies (such as architectural fragments, artifacts, and heirlooms), restoration has the unique capacity to transmit cultural legacies as well.

---

[90] Interview with Joe Capitano, Sr., President, L'Unione Italiana-Ybor City, November 4, 1999.

[91] Perez, "Ybor City Remembered," p.172.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Conclusion

> History is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake.
>
> Dadelus
>
> (James Joyce, *Ulysses*, quoted in Lynch 1972)

Heritage, History, and the Past

Heritage tends to serve instrumental purposes that go far beyond mere preservation of the built environment, and extends into the realms of social and political contest. In each of the cases discussed in this dissertation, multiple actors with competing and often conflicting interests drew upon the local past to construct heritage narratives to legitimate their individual and collective interests. Collectively, these cases reveal the integral role of heritage narratives in the cultural and economic re-marketing of place. Through a contest of narratives about the image and identity of inner-city neighborhoods, local place entrepreneurs offer market signals to private investors, and challenge longstanding perceptions to redefine the image and desirability of lost places for real capital influx and new cultural and market-oriented uses. Differences in the evolution of the neighborhoods studied in this dissertation compel critical examination that can explain the observed differences in outcomes.

For community groups in Kansas City, heritage has functioned in largely personal terms, being imbued with individual stories of struggle in the face of adversity and an abiding belief in the neighborhood, despite external pressures and perceptions that maligned the area around 18th and Vine as a ghetto. The public sector coalition that successfully created the Museums at 18th and Vine, on the other hand, selectively drew from that same local past to legitimate a redevelopment process that views local heroes as commercial and cultural products from a bygone era. The disorganized and resource-poor grassroots groups shunted aside by the city government pursued a vision largely intended to commemorate local heroes. Like restoration, however, their use of heritage also focused

on objectives that were socially and community-oriented, directed towards reinforcing individual and group attachments to place, as opposed to the city's policies of marketing the district to a broad consumer audience.

Kansas City's 18th and Vine District demonstrates the difficult turns and false starts that can accompany plans intended to revitalize a "lost" neighborhood. In Kansas City, both public officials and private groups have actively drawn upon heritage to revitalize the neighborhood, but have succeeded thus far only in creating rudimentary heritage institutions that fail to generate levels of social or economic activity commensurate with vibrant narratives depicting life in the past. Coupled with the intense level of scrutiny given the project by local media and potential funders, public officials and staff have been reluctant to relinquish control over the area to potential tenants or independent heritage-based groups. As a result, many local observers view the project as a failure, and characterize nearly every new initiative or proposal for the area as a potential "come-back" for revitalization of the area.

For many observers, especially heritage practitioners, Tampa's Ybor City serves as a "successful" example of a neighborhood revitalized through heritage-based activities. Beyond the physical structures and visible culture that denote the district as a "historic," Ybor City contains an impressive array of places, institutions, and invented traditions signified through an elaborate set of heritage narratives. Ybor City is also readily identified as a success because of the level of development interest generated by these narratives. In Ybor City, three successive generations of self-described "Latin" place entrepreneurs have keenly manipulated heritage discourses to promote a particular cultural vision of Ybor City's past and future. Prompted at distinct points in time by dramatic neighborhood transitions, these entrepreneurs have rallied both private and public resources behind a dual family- and commercially-oriented, Latin Quarter theme. Their actions, in turn, have encouraged speculative activities by other private sector actors who wield increasing levels of influence over the character of social and economic activity in the district.

Ethnic themes play an ostensible role in revitalization proposals/plans for each of these locations, but the degree to which competing historical elements, characters, and cultures

actually receive physical or rhetorical expression in the plans and existing structures, monuments, and symbols varies a great deal. Each case does seem to be guided by the beginnings of a coherent "image" derived from local and/or regional history, but the substantive content of this image, and its relationship to contemporary uses, also reveals a great deal about local political/economic processes and the extent of representation or marginalization of specific groups. As a social construct, heritage can be projected in ways that bind together groups and guide purposeful activity. 18th and Vine has been strongly shaped by nostalgic sentiments that hope to recapture some sense of community from the district's heyday as the commercial heart of the African-American community, and birthplace of Kansas City jazz. Ybor City's restoration is promoted by ethnic place entrepreneurs with strong sentiments and attachments to place, who literally seek to re-create the historic culture of a once-vital Latin community.

Each of these examples is as notable for what is left out of the revitalization narrative as for what is included. Promoters of 18th and Vine ignore the role of organized crime and the paradoxical role of racial segregation in structuring the history they now celebrate. They also disregard the implications of de-segregation (and the growth and mobility of the black middle-class) as the key factors in the eventual demise of the district. In Ybor City, contemporary development is torn among the ethnic heritage advanced by Latin entrepreneurs, the "Bourbon Street" entertainment district fancied by local government and local speculators, and the exclusion of marginal racial groups, such as Afro-Cubans and black residents of nearby public housing projects. Although part of the contemporary "reality" of Ybor City, racial minorities are excluded from the grand visions – and narratives – that guide revitalization.[1] Likewise, while artist-led revitalization generated crowds and development interest that helped preserve Ybor City's commercial infrastructure, this also inspired resistance from Latin place entrepreneurs, who found the artists inauthentic and a distraction from Ybor's "true" past.

---

[1] Paradoxically, while Latin place entrepreneurs contributed to the creation of the bar culture and its ensuing problems, many now invoke Latin heritage instrumentally to get rid of it. In some respects, this recent turn mirrors the motives of mid-century urban renewal. Like urban renewal, the re-creation of Ybor City has created new problems that Latin place entrepreneurs have proven either ambivalent or ineffectual in dealing with.

The contrasts between these cases reflect the degree of interaction between narrative discourses and established sources of power and influence. In Kansas City, decades of dispute and inaction were resolved only through the intervention and personal engagement of an influential mayor. Despite such a high level of place promotion within city government, development beyond the museums has proven insufficient to generate tangible material improvements and a re-constructed sense of place. Lacking a base of effective place entrepreneurs, however, moving the revitalization process beyond construction of the museums has proven a Sisyphean task. In Ybor City, by contrast, private entrepreneurs have made incremental investments to redevelop of the historic district, but the area has likewise reached its cultural zenith only through the active engagement and support of the public sector, and even the personal involvement of Mayor Dick Greco, a former developer.

These mixed results should not suggest, however, that leadership is not important; to the contrary, leadership is critical in determining whether and how development happens at all. Distinctions among the outcomes observed in each case are based, in part, on the characteristics of political and group leadership observed and identified through interviews and documentary evidence. Political leadership matters greatly in the relative success or failure of inner-city revitalization efforts generally, and is of especial importance to the question of empowerment. Striking similarities have been observed in the character of leadership in each city: Kansas City was led by their first African-American mayor during the principal study period; Tampa is now led by a Mayor who built a substantial career as a private real estate developer (Indianapolis-Based Simon DeBartolo Group). In both cases, little if any activity occurred without the full imprimatur of the Mayor's office. But organizational leadership is also crucial, as it permits crossing of carefully guarded turf and cooperation on shared problems, such as crime control, sanitation, and coordination of development activities. Moreover, varied organizational leadership begins to suggest a more inclusive means by which planners and designers might encourage the layering of multiple narratives in a way that continues to draw on the past while more actively engaging the present.

The Objects of Heritage Narratives

Through ideographs that shape the contours of local political struggles over place, local groups, communities, and institutions deploy symbolic capital to promote strategies to defend, reclaim, and restore a neighborhood's identity and social fabric. As demonstrated in Boston's West End, memory, the personal underpinning of heritage, is both an informational resource and basis for concerted social action aimed at the recovery of both physical and social legacies. Because the traditional artifacts of these legacies have often been destroyed in many inner-city neighborhoods, however, conflicts over heritage in such places essentially become contests of words and ideas.

These discourses are in turn embedded within larger social and political conditions, meaning that traditional sources of power and influence wield considerable leverage in determining the outcome of public deliberations and encouraging private action to advance specific notions of the past. Attaining the visions for a revitalized neighborhood promoted by various place entrepreneurs requires more than massive infusions of capital. Translating information into action requires significant investment of time, money, and political and social influence. In an important respect, heritage-based revitalization only *succeeds* to the extent that it reinvents local culture and beliefs.

Tourism studies often argue that places are finite resources, whose marketable attributes (such as the character of local social life or integrity and significance of the local built environment) are often exploited to the point of exhaustion by tourism (Urry 1995). The categories delineated in this thesis, however, reveal another possibility. Urban neighborhoods are, at a fundamental level, informational resources, deeply imprinted with memory, history, and myth. Because urban places are the settings for productive and consumptive activities through time, they inevitably become infused with varying types of memory, associations, and symbolic manifestations of culture.

Some aspects of heritage might appear never to be recoverable, a simple reflection of the fact that it is impossible to fully reconstruct a particular moment in time. The urban ephemera and rituals observed in Ybor City, as well as differing forms of remembrance, make apparent the intent of different groups to do just that. Ritual functions on a plane fundamentally distinct from preservation. Preservation can restore a structure to its

original aesthetic and structural integrity, and perhaps even to its original function. Likewise, remembrance can elevate personal and communal narratives through symbols and icons in the landscape. Restoration, on the other hand, pursues an end that is inherently symbolic and discursive: the evocation of individual and communal acts in the present. This layering functions as a potent and distinctive form of design: restoration attempts to reshape the image and identity of place by re-shaping beliefs and myths, rather than the physical artifacts of place alone. It is not the past that speaks and acts in the present; rather, restoration compels those living in the present to make sense of the past by giving it voice and re-enacting it through a range of ephemeral acts.

The Limits of Heritage

In the realm of heritage-based revitalization, grassroots objectives often run counter to the broader ambitions of city government's development agenda (Glaser et al., 1996). To the extent that community based organizations rely on public sector financing or a lead role for public agencies to advance community development projects, there will always lurk the possibility that the ultimate objectives for revitalization will be influenced by the broader development agenda and impetus of the public agency. The continuing emphasis on revenue generation, retail sector development, and the external marketing and re-imaging of lost places will always post the hazard of thwarting community objectives, but advocates of heritage in the service of community empowerment have neglected to adequately take these dynamics into account.

By focusing primarily on the built environment, preservationists inadvertently exclude more than racial and ethnic minorities and vernacular building types. Advocating preservation and reuse of the built environment alone minimizes the other varied expressions and associations of memory, history and culture with specific urban places, including other forms of heritage narrative, as well as the cultural machinery and politics that generate new heritage narratives from personal memory and attachments. Historic preservation succeeds in elevating the primacy of one resource, the built environment, while heritage emphasizes the distinctive character and social anthropology of place. Largely bereft of these legacies, contemporary inner city neighborhoods pose a fundamental challenge to the traditional stance of preservationists in that their relevance is

almost purely social and informational. This study demonstrates that neither advanced dereliction nor total clearance can entirely destroy the narrative content of place. At a certain level, communities may not need "built legacies" to generate revitalization.

For example, in Ybor City, cigar making factories, the central infrastructure of production, are not the primary physical assets being targeted for redevelopment. The district's social clubs, although few in number, are also being preserved and reused as magnificent anchors in a broader program of revitalizing that extrapolates from them narratives that animate an otherwise nondescript commercial landscape. Even the distinctive architecture of the clubs themselves, however, is not as potent as interest derived more from their social function and role in reinforcing ethnic identity. At 18th and Vine, the Black Archives of Mid-America likewise promoted redevelopment of two noted landmarks, a fire station and an abandoned armory, to assert and advance their place-specific claims to a dominant role in the revitalization process. The fire station and armory are certainly infused with certain place-specific meanings for the history of the African-American community in Kansas City, but their role in the contemporary debate over the future of the district is largely to serve as the platform from which a constructed narrative of memory and revitalization is promoted. Despite the prominence of these landmarks, they serve primarily as "contributing structures," or a foundation from which heritage narratives that guide decision making and marketing of other non-descript commercial properties as "historic."

The differences expressed in the personal and group associations and memories generated by the historic development of Ybor City are also being elevated as informational assets. Heritage narratives in Ybor City are used by different constituencies as political capital in deliberative exchanges that attempt to influence public perceptions of the relative merits of different claims to place and its future. Ybor City's Latin place entrepreneurs use heritage narratives instrumentally to argue for a distinct vision of neighborhood and community, one that is based primarily in eliminating dissonant themes and marginalizing the presence of undesirable groups. Their methods include the extensive use of invented traditions, such as festivals and fairs based on historicist themes but with little tangible connection to documented events or real individuals. To merely dismiss

these activities as "inauthentic" or "staged" misses the point: heritage is ultimately a mechanism for directing public actions and private decisions.

Heritage as a Liability

The implication that effectively using heritage requires control or ownership over a legacy poses significant challenges for marginalized groups. In pro-growth cities like Houston, a recalcitrant belief in an the ideology of property rights runs as a basic current of popular thought, and often influences even informal discussions of development issues (Feagin 1988). (Houston is renowned among U.S. cities for its lack of zoning, a direct consequence of the property rights ideology.) The relative dominance of such a perspective is therefore mirrored in the frequency of its expression, and its potency is heightened by the degree to which such narratives influence the editorial decisions, content, and tone of routine exposition in local mass media. These narratives are heightened in contexts offering dramatic contrasts between derelict, impoverished neighborhoods and the development-led symbols of progress around them. As the author of a letter to the editor in the *Houston Chronicle* intones:

> I read with interest the article on the standstill of the development project by the Founders Park Venture being "held hostage by a small group" opposing the demolition of Allen Parkway Village (*Chronicle*, Aug. 28).
>
> Often I have driven down Allen Parkway and thought what a beautiful drive it would be if the dilapidated, largely vacant apartments were replaced. If improved, it would greatly impress any visitor and likewise be a source of pride for any Houstonian.
>
> The key to the article is that "the Founders Park project would generate tax money earmarked for low-income housing." Let's not forget that without a prosperous business community to tax, there can be no social programs. Let Houston not make the mistake of eroding its tax base by not being able to compete to attract new businesses and keep the old.
>
> I would be greatly saddened if the developers lost interest. There are no losers if this unique area gets developed. We all lose if it doesn't.[2]

Of course, the "small group" to whom the author of the letter refers is in fact the Allen Parkway Village Tenants Association. Her windshield observations of the area reflect the

---

[2] Elaine Bindo, "All lose if APV area does not get developed," *The Houston Chronicle*, September 24, 1991, p.A.21.

intended consequences of HACH's lack of maintenance, while her perspective values the parkway – the drive itself – over APV's use value for low-income tenants. The author urges pro-business policies as the basis for social programs, and the failure to enact a pro-business agenda as a net loss of welfare to the community as a whole. Like the public at large, this particular author presumably has little if any material stake in the conflict. Nonetheless, the influence of pro-growth narratives in public discourse is such that the replacement of a "dilapidated" but "unique" area can find support from a person whose only direct interest is in improving the quality of her view during a drive towards Houston's downtown.

Rather than offering a simple insight into local political attitudes and expressions, the repeated refrain of such narrative voices can lend considerable legitimacy to advancing particular political agendas. The prominence of such messages, like all modes of symbolic discourse, strengthens the prevalence and acceptance of such viewpoints, while simultaneously reflecting the prevailing balance of power relationships within an urban area (Edelman 1964; Beauregard 1993; Mele 2000). In such a context, the consequences of private acquisition of land, even when coupled with the power of government, are seen as incidental to the pursuit of private property rights. The primacy of property under these circumstances raises a problematic issue for the concept of heritage.

The Fourth Ward serves as one of the most provocative lessons in how even the best-intended policies work against disadvantaged residents with longstanding ties to urban neighborhoods. In Houston, a largely disorganized array of individuals attempted to use heritage to maintain their own presence in the neighborhood while simultaneously resisting development that is largely beyond their control. Despite intervention by students, practitioners, and even federal officials, residents ultimately lacked the tangible claims to space and material resources necessary to translate heritage into political efficacy. The demise of Freedmen's Town stands as testament to the need to couple narratives with real political and economic capital in order for communities to withstand development pressure and potential displacement.

In Houston, corporate developers upstaged community members in elevating the primacy of the city's first settlers above the cultural and social legacy of a neighborhood

whose greatest physical and social legacies are tied to the presence and persistence of freed African slaves and their descendants. In more recent years, the heritage mantras in Houston have been obscured and confounded by more immediate concerns about gentrification and displacement of the poor. Protracted divisions have ensued between established and newer residents of the neighborhood, between those living in newly-developed townhomes and those in public housing.

Heritage as a Problematic Construct

Heritage differs from other traditional manifestations of political power precisely because it is the product of social discourses; at its core, heritage is essentially an informational resource. As such, heritage narratives constitute highly elastic but nonetheless compelling form of symbolic political capital, and as such may be used by those lacking access to traditional sources of political power, such as time or money. Practitioners often focus on what might be called a "resonant" approach to heritage, which emphasizes the capacity of heritage sites and structures to passively draw attention and interest from audiences who self-identify with the place, person, or theme being commemorated (Harris 1994). This study establishes the importance of recognizing heritage in its instrumental uses to further specific visions for urban redevelopment. The three categories outlined in the Introduction provide a social, cultural, and economic context through which to understand the symbolic politics of heritage-based neighborhood revitalization.

In legal terms, heritage literally describes a right to a legacy or inheritance. Even in common currency, heritage generally implies the right of ownership or control of a legacy. This legalistic perspective suggests a narrow meaning for heritage as the transfer of property and material goods to legatees, or heirs. In social discourse, however, heritage is most often used to characterize ideals of the past, not objects. Heritage can therefore be conceived of as social rights and entitlements bestowed by the past, rather than literal ownership of objects or properties. Heritage, by this definition, suggests the transmittal of an indivisible good. Individual and group entitlements are therefore exclusive by their nature, which forces us to recognize and grapple with the dilemma that heritage is

inherently contested. It is problematic, but not impossible, to assume that what belongs to one person or group can effectively be simultaneously possessed or controlled by another.

One important and commonly overlooked connection between heritage and neighborhood development is the analogy to structural networks that forge links between cultural organizations and pro-growth regimes (Whitt and Lammers 1991). Local elites may view culture as a valuable strategy for displacing economically marginal or socially undesirable uses, and introducing new convivial uses that attract visitors to other attractions in urban settings. These linkages are not merely serendipitous: for example, the boards of cultural organizations are frequently comprised of member's of a city's social and economic elite, who may have ulterior motives in promoting the growth and development of the downtown business district.[3] Irrespective of the implications of these institutions for the exercise of power by traditional elites, the central and formative role of institutions in mediating discursive practices underscores the limitations to a purely narrative approach to heritage.

Heritage is an important, but inadequate political or economic resource, unless it is coupled to other sources of political and economic power. Invoking heritage to substantiate a claim to place is ultimately effective only when heritage is coupled to financial and political capital, as well as the mediation of heritage institutions. For example, public officials in Houston are forthright about who controls the revitalization process in the Fourth Ward. Community organizer Lenwood Johnson, the tenant leader who headed the unsuccessful fight to prevent the demolition of Allen Parkway Village, has stirred considerable antagonism with city officials.[4] Johnson has proposed creating a

---

[3] Whitt and Lammers (1991) find that the ties between development and arts organizations are much stronger than those between development and social service organizations. They conclude, therefore, that the arts and culture are conceived of by local elites as part of the local urban growth machine. As such, it is not the direct outcomes of investments in culture that motivate interest in cultural policy, but the indirect benefits that might accrue to their related endeavors through improvements in the local city's business climate, reputation, and external image projected to visitors.

[4] Interviews with Lenwood Johnson and Christine Felton, November 10-11, 1999. Johnson was personally engaged in negotiations over creation of the HOPE VI proposal, and was even privy to negotiations with then-HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros and his lieutenant, Kevin Marchman. Johnson's role in the crafting the HOPE VI proposal was undermined by his own insistence on direct control and personal benefits, such as a staffed office, from the arrangement. As a result, an

community "bank trust" that would purchase Fourth Ward properties at rates equivalent to those being paid by Houston Renaissance (Berger 1998). An assistant to Lee Brown, the city's first African-American mayor, vented his frustration that Johnson was "stirring up confusion" among residents. "There is a plan that is being followed for revitalization and development," he said. "It boils down to who will be in position to obtain the land for development. *If you don't control the land, you can't develop.*"[5]

Rethinking Design and Planning Approaches

This study demonstrates that the processes of narrative construction used in heritage-based revitalization offer the potential to not only empower groups within the metropolis, but also to forge the renascence of long-neglected neighborhoods. Nonetheless, the relative success of different cities and groups in successfully deploying heritage-based strategies for neighborhood revitalization reveal significant limitations to the utility of this strategy and offer important lessons and insights to design and planning practitioners. At a fundamental level, heritage practice poses serious constraints and challenges both the content and process through which practitioners engage the past.

Implications for Planning Practice

Of the sites discussed in this dissertation, 18th and Vine most visibly demonstrates the dilemma facing planners and design professionals engaged in heritage projects. Anxiety among professionals involved in the project is documented in media reports, internal correspondence, and planning documents, and most of the planning representatives interviewed for this study relayed their frustration with the slow progress in realizing the development. The city's lead planner on the project, for example, states unequivocally that the only reason the museum facility was constructed is that the Mayor, City Council, and planning staff decided it was time to "finally get the project going."[6] (In other words,

---

innovative community campus concept outlined in the original draft was dismissed in favor of a design-driven strategy that led to Johnson's own eviction from the complex. Interview with Othello Poullard, Director of Public Housing, Center for Community Change, Washington, D.C. November 19, 1999.

[5] Quoted in Bryant 1998; emphasis mine

[6] Interview with Claude Page, 18th and Vine Project Coordinator, October 15, 1996.

implementation was an end that justified any means, including the exclusion of ineffectual grassroots groups lacking resources and the political sophistication to reach their goals, despite the merits of their vision of what the district ought to become.)

What appears superficially to practitioners as a development delay or the inability of community-based organizations and other actors in the development process to reach consensus on the framework of a heritage project is much more than mere "politics" or "turf squabbles." Individual actors in the development process use heritage narratives rooted in competing claims to space to delay, alter, or resist development agendas that conflict with their own visions of the past and future. In Kansas City, where internecine feuding among multiple individuals with distinct visions for and of place, contentions among groups have focused principally on the institutional forms and developmental objectives for commemoration itself. Heritage narratives based on both individual reminiscences and dissonant political objectives of distanced "outsiders" are arbitrated to determine the ultimate focal points for commemoration.

Protracted conflicts over programmatic details of project planning and control of project funding therefore mask a larger process through which narratives broker claims to place. Of course, the old adage that "too many cooks spoil the broth" might easily be applied to understand the pile of delays that characterized 18th and Vine's redevelopment. This conclusion is thwarted, however, by the contrast in outcomes and process between Kansas City and Tampa. An equally large number of vocal and strong-willed personalities routinely engage in regular conflicts over minutiae regarding Ybor City redevelopment, with diametrically opposite results.

A facile interpretation of the differences between the outcomes of heritage-based revitalization exhibited in Kansas City and in Tampa is that they are attributable to broader structural dynamics, such as the scale and pace of local and regional economic growth. Even in a sprawling Sunbelt city like Tampa, however, the resurgence of a once-derelict neighborhood is not simply the outcome of profound regional growth, but a direct consequence of how marginal spaces are defined, perceived, contested, and understood. Narratives are the fundamental building block of place marketing, and the re-framed of

place identity that results from their use is a determining factor in the re-capture of urban space for economic and social redevelopment.

This concept is well understood by successful developers like James Rouse, who transformed a set of decrepit, rat-infested wharf buildings into the most successful urban festival marketplace in the world, Boston's Faneuil Hall. Connecting a place to stories, images, and history, and thereby animating and making that place an amiable and pleasurable environment to visit, is a focal mechanism for reclaiming marginal urban landscapes. The maintenance of these meanings through marketing and the control of symbolic space is obvious in elite developments like California's Bel Air, Kansas City's Country Club Plaza, L.A.'s Westwood Plaza, Florida's Cocowalk, and Tampa's Hyde Park. It has also been a central feature in the re-configuration of contested and once-marginal spaces like New York's Tompkins Square Park (Mele 2000) and Times Square (Reichl 1999).

Despite the insistence of many economists to the contrary, the macro-structures of regional and local economies determine only the broad parameters of economic development, not the suitability or local geography of economic development, which is fundamentally much more a social, cultural, and politic question than an economic one. The politics of place has much to say in the geographic and spatial configuration of local economies, particularly in the postmodern age. Traditional economic perspectives assume that development merely reflects the "best and highest use" of available urban land. Observing and critically assessing the social construction of local markets, on the other hand, demonstrates that discursive practices are a key factor in whether and where consumers patronize place. This should not suggest that the use of discursive practices like the social construction of urban heritage means that development outcomes are in any way assured. Like many ideas in good currency, revitalization is a moving target, a muddled concept that is not always amenable to measurement or detection. As one commentator

recently stated, it is often difficult to image *re*vitalizing neighborhoods that might not ever have been *vital* in any meaningful sense of the word.[7]

We are left to confront two crucial questions: first, can heritage generate economic and social revitalization in the inner city? The evidence provided in this study offers a highly qualified yes, as long as that heritage shapes and is constructed within a complex array of practices, institutions, and policies. Second, does the renascence of once-abandoned places necessarily reflect the empowerment of the historically disenfranchised groups who have been forced to reside there? The answer to this question is "not necessarily," given the sharp constraints on the existing distribution of symbolic assets, and the requirement that heritage be sustained through a coupling with tangible political and economic resources.

Developing a Theory of Heritage-Based Revitalization

In the physical environment, heritage adheres through explicit symbolism, both in terms of design and the character of preferred social uses and activities. In the political realm, heritage is articulated and arbitrated through narratives, which can be advanced by any number of individuals, groups, or organizations. Heritage institutions, in particular, are dedicated primarily to the generation and promotion of specific heritage narratives, while place entrepreneurs, public actors, community residents, and private investors can redefine and reframe these narratives, or generate narratives of their own, resulting in a broad discursive process of political brokering. Conflicts among groups, particularly those observed between communities and public agencies, as well as those observed between grassroots actors on the social and political margins in each case, are an integral part of the struggle for control of symbolic and material resources.

Unlike a traditional model of political co-optation or economic exchange, these cases illustrate that conflicts between politically disadvantaged groups and communities can result in the expropriation of symbolic resources from disadvantaged groups by those with greater relative levels of economic or political power. In Kansas City, this became apparent when Mayor Cleaver consciously excluded the various cultural groups vying for

[7] Comment made by Prof. Joe Warren, Northeastern University, at "Urban Revitalization and the Future of Black, Latino, and Asian Neighborhoods," September 18, 1997, Roxbury Community

control of the 18th and Vine heritage project. While each group remains relatively intact (albeit embittered), much of the symbolic and discursive heritage they generated and promoted has been expropriated into the institutions and facilities created independently of their input by the city government. While each of these groups has continued to press its own agenda outside the formal 18th and Vine planning process, their relative positions have been further marginalized as a consequence of their exclusion from participation in the museum complex and the insertion of impoverished versions of their narratives within the new complex.

To generate revitalization, urban heritage requires the mediation of multiple institutions to construct and shape the market for place-based redevelopment. To engage in heritage-based practice, designers need a stronger conception of the dynamics and instruments of heritage, such as urban rituals based on invented traditions and other discursive practices. A single entity, even a public redevelopment agency, is often insufficient for these purposes, since there is a need for multiple points of focus with the institutional capacity to generate change and interest in inner city markets and places. Ultimately, enacting heritage requires the use and investment of non-symbolic resources, including fiscal inputs (private and public capital, and time), human capital, and political capital. Because these inputs are unevenly distributed about groups and communities, however, stakeholders enter the heritage process at different relative levels of political influence and control over heritage resources, even such malleable intangibles as group and community memory. The internal struggles observed within these communities over control of resources and the planning process reflect a necessary step in procuring external resources for these groups; without such struggle, individuals and groups lacking such resources stand little chance of translating their claim to legacy (symbols and narrative) into heritage products. Indeed, much of the struggle observed within the heritage planning process constitutes an active attempt by groups lacking resources to obtain them, usually from public sources, but occasionally from private sources as well.

College, Boston, Mass.

The Instruments of Heritage[8]

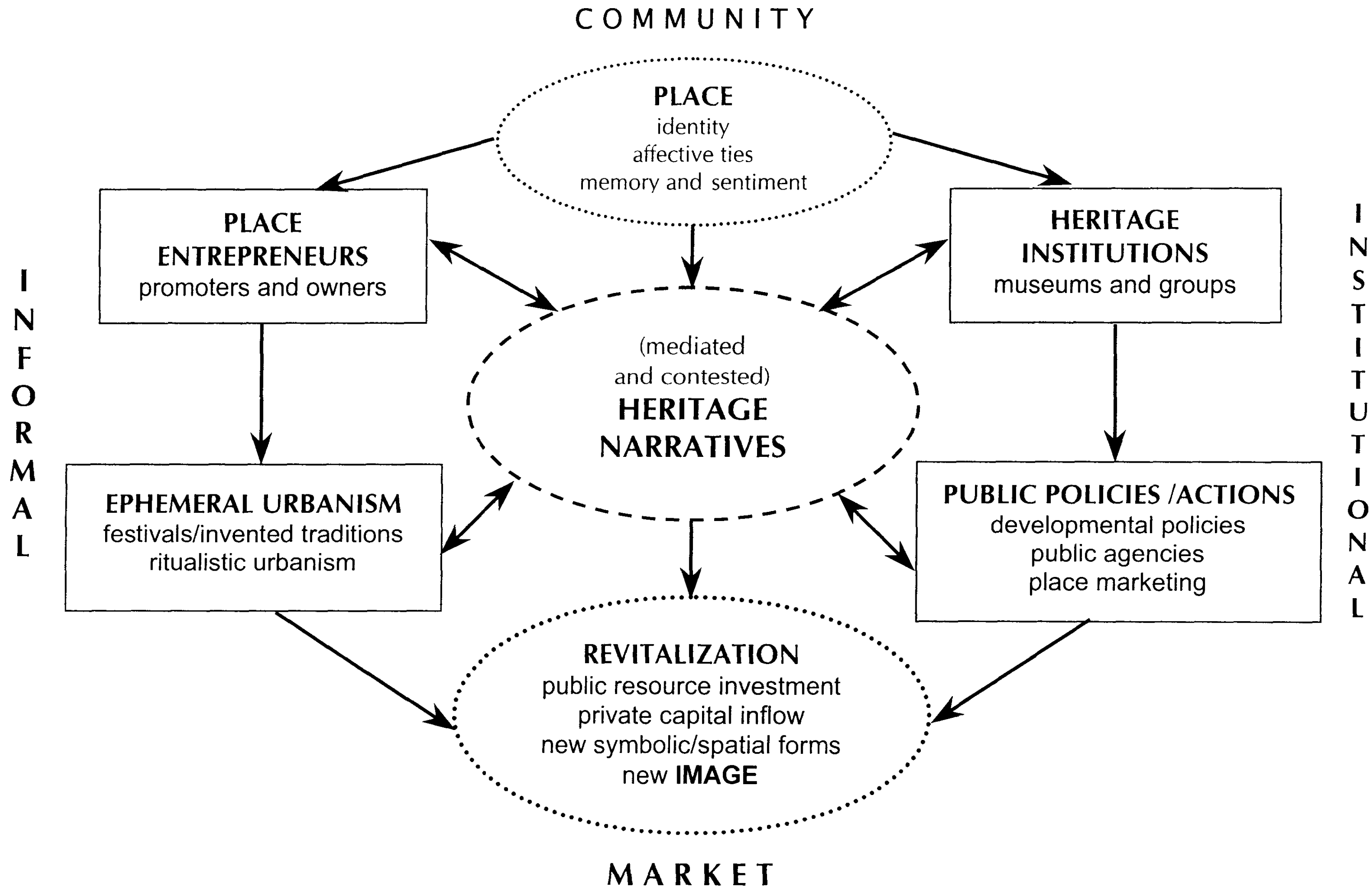
The theories outlined in Chapter 1, which ground the instrumental use of heritage narratives in place-based personal identity and attachment to place, has been refined through the cases explored in this dissertation to incorporate the role of institutions, entrepreneurs, policies, and ephemeral urbanism. While acknowledging the central role of institutions and their capacity to organize development (de Jong 1991), the context for this study emphasizes the primacy of narratives in structuring the processes and outcomes of heritage-based revitalization. Based on the analysis of the empirical evidence collected during this research, this dissertation has identified four discrete structural factors intrinsic to differences in outcomes in the use of heritage to promote revitalization: 1) small-scale activities by "place entrepreneurs," or individuals with active financial, social, and ethnic commitments to place (Logan and Molotch 1985; Lin 1995); 2) the creation, manipulation, and promotion of heritage narratives by heritage institutions (such as museums and historical societies); 3) the formal political institutions, policies, and actions through which heritage policies are developed and implemented; and 4) the symbolic evocation of memory and place through ephemeral urbanism, including routine patterns of street life as well as elaborate "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm 1983) such as fairs and festivals.

This theoretical elaboration is described graphically in **Figure C.1**, which situates heritage narratives as the central mediating mechanism among structural factors and discursive practices in promoting revitalization. The model begins with the concept of **place**, enveloped with the range of memory, sentiment, and affective ties that underlie personal identity and attachment. This social construct of place serves as the primary generator of **heritage narratives**, but also motivates individuals to fashion **heritage institutions** that structure memories into heritage, and to act as **place entrepreneurs** who promote the identity of development of place consistent with these narratives. Narratives, in turn, reify personal attachments to place, and reinforce the motivation of place entrepreneurs and discursive content of heritage institutions.

---

[8] This phrase was devised by Boyer (1994).

Figure C.1. Conceptualizing Heritage-Based Neighborhood Revitalization



Both place entrepreneurs and heritage institutions initiate ritual and **ephemeral urbanism** through narrative, and both likewise use narratives to promote **public policies** and actions based on discourses drawn from the past. Again, these patterns of public activities and actions in turn reify and legitimate the heritage narratives that reproduce them. Collectively, this range of **informal** measures and formal **institutions** also re-directs the original community orientation of place towards market-based activities and products. Viewed as a dynamic and interactive whole, this model portrays symbolic interactionism among individuals, institutions, and markets as a coherent social discourse that results in the range of public and private investments that constitute **revitalization**.

The complex politics of heritage-based revitalization compel planners and designers to consider how to develop and sustain these institutions, while accommodating private and public investment controlled by external actors, whose motives may be at odds with those of the neighborhood. Can local communities do so without "selling out" their stake in a project, and yielding control to a process in a way that undermines their claim to a legacy of place? This is a central challenge: Tampa's experience proves that symbolic claims to place are translated into physical and social rebirth only when sustained through a healthy and closely intertwined network of cultural and development institutions.

While heritage portends a significant capacity to catalyze the investments needed to transform long-neglected inner cities, the infusion of museums, restaurants, bars, and entertainment venues offer few guarantees of significant increases in employment or income growth for inner city residents. In some respects, this shortcoming is not dissimilar from that of traditional economic development strategies. Public subsidies do not always guarantee commensurate returns to public welfare. Nonetheless, heritage provides a potential "hook" often missing from traditional economic development: heritage discourse relies on personal and communal attachments and sentiments towards place. As such, heritage offers a distinctive avenue of approach for both present and former residents of the inner city, who can rely on personal stores of information and narrative to define a new future for neglected neighborhoods.

Conclusions

In the contemporary politics of revitalization, place becomes transfixed into a virtual realm of myth and experience, from which any infinite combination of viable narratives can be drawn, constructed, and advanced to legitimate competing claims to urban space. Thus multiple competing interests can draw on consonant themes and discourses drawn from elements of local history and culture to construct narratives that justify divergent courses of public and private action. Through a process of contest and accommodation, different local groups can draw on the same elements of local history and culture in constructing a narrative that justifies incompatible courses of neighborhood revitalization. Community residents and organizations can envision the literal re-construction of the communal ties and affect drawn from the local past, while local governments and private developers view heritage as a malleable fabric for consumption-oriented retail and tourism promotion. The politics of place can therefore be construed as an "ecology of games" (Abu-Lhugod 1994) in which different actors vie to influence the image and future of urban space.

Marxist and ecological approaches to understanding urban change overemphasize the tendency for elites or growth coalitions to develop a totalizing hegemonic narrative, which is then deployed and defended against competing interests through the literal control of physical space. In the postmodern era, both the processes of capitalist development and the governing structures that nurture and sustain them have been fractured. The narratives governing urban space have become more elastic, and the resulting cleavages among the interests of distinct groups in society have become more diffuse and ambiguous. Through narrative discourses that both construct and maintain affective ties to place, local groups, institutions, and communities manipulate heritage narratives to promote specific policies for neighborhood redevelopment. By utilizing heritage as a form of symbolic capital, local place entrepreneurs also offer market signals to private investors, and leverage public and private resources in ways that help to redefine the image and desirability of urban places for capital influx and new convivial uses. These narrative acts are further reinforced through ephemeral urbanism, ritualistic behavior including festivals, commemoration, parades, demonstrations, and other ritualized activities that condition the use of urban

space and help build core users and audiences for further development. Ephemeral urbanism shapes the perception of both reality and possibility in urban space in ways that promote and constrain other behaviors and social/political actions.

Heritage as Deliberative Practice

Despite its potentially transformative power, the promotion of heritage as the basis for re-constructing place and community remains fraught with risk. Advocates often overestimate both the tangible benefits of heritage-based activities, as well as the potential for such development to positively impact disadvantaged communities. Because urban design practice is situated at the intersection of design and economic development, categories like "community," "neighborhood," "district," and "residents" are fraught with both inherent – and perhaps necessary – contradictions and ambiguities. Urban designers who charge headfirst into the use of local vernaculars without reference to the meanings such symbols hold for urban residents risk alienating their intended audience with the negative associations of dark symbols from the past (Nepomechie 1997). The range of conflicting and competing claims to urban space, posited not only on ownership and other formal institutions of the market but also cultural and personal heritage, impose fundamental ethical obligations on practitioners advocating the forging of collective memory into the socially-constructed fabric of heritage.

The dynamics of heritage and place are hallmarks of postmodern urban development, and urban designers, public historians, and others advocating or engaging in such practices must recognize the political and social realities of conflicts over revitalization. Practitioners often dismiss conflicts over neighborhood revitalization without recognizing that regime politics can easily co-opt the rhetoric and symbolism advanced by disenfranchised groups. Commemoration and heritage, as suggested above, often work against, rather than for, the interests of marginalized urban communities. Because the resources used by place entrepreneurs and institutions to construct heritage are unequally distributed, urban designers must apprehend the processes and objects of memory construction that lead individuals and groups to decide which places and events to commemorate. Planners and urban designers must confront and critically examine their own roles in such conflicts. Practitioners face hard choices about how best to support the

capacity of grassroots groups to sustain their communities and envision alternative futures for their neighborhoods.

Planning deals readily with technical concepts by neatly delineating them within specific definitions based on the particular context of practice and method at hand. For instance, one can easily – and unambiguously – distinguish between tenants and owners, and commercial and residential land uses, even where such distinctions intermingle and overlap in physical and social space. Determining what constitutes "community" or "neighborhood," on the other hand, requires deliberate equivocation over who(m) and what is or is not included, and which groups and/or spaces do or do not "belong."

Thus, while theoretical and practical precepts for urban design practice can readily dispense such ideographs to advance ideas in good currency, practitioners face a quandary when attempting to act and interact through their practice. Not only the image but also the social and political delineation of groups and space, will by necessity color any proposal advanced by the designer. In the realms of heritage and redevelopment, particularly in the contested terrain of the inner city, urban design must therefore proceed apace on the basis of categorical precepts which are recognized as deliberate social constructs with hazy boundaries. Designers not only have to make hard choices about what facts and techniques to represent, but their objectives – and the ethical implications of their objectives – in choosing to focus on specific narratives and themes. Deliberative planning processes help to reconcile methods with these values, as well as means with ends. As Forester (1999) has observed,

> "[t]he challenges of deliberation in the design professions are, most simply, the challenges of learning about what to do. That, not so simply, means learning about what we *should want* in a specific case as well as learning about how to get it, learning about the appropriate ends as well as about effective means. Such learning then embraces not only facts and functions, data and capacities, but what is important or valuable in a case, what is to be honored or protected, encouraged or developed."[9]

Conflict obviously entails costs of time and resources, but situated, deliberative approaches to planning and design practice offer the only useful leverage for resolving the unavoidable tensions between questions of interpretation and objectives. Unfortunately,

[9] Forester 1999, pp.61-2. (emphasis in original).

planners and designers often persist in mistaking "politics" as an unnecessary distraction, and only a "necessary evil accompanying the 'real work' of planning and design."[10] Politics is at the essence of any process involving the allocation of shared resources, but also shapes individual and collective "capacity to act." "The design professions are deeply and inevitably political," Forester concludes, "because they reshape our senses of hope or resignation, our shared perceptions of our possibilities."[11] Sophisticated planners and designers should therefore not only recognize and moderate their own political beliefs, but also understand how to situate their values against the contending values and objectives that prevails in any community design or planning process.

Evaluating the practice of design in the service of equity reveals a less than exemplary track record among professionals (Pyatok 2000). In the context of heritage-based practice, there is a need for professionals to rethink their approaches to the substantive content of heritage, not merely making heritage an objective worthy of pursuit. There is strong potential for dissonance between the cultural assumptions of the professions and the symbolic consciousness of communities. This dissonance is often manifest, but seldom analyzed or contextualized into a re-situated practice (Bennett 1998; Nepomechie 1997). Traditional architectural practice, which is not generally collaborative or participatory, poses particular hazards in such a politically and culturally loaded realm as heritage-based revitalization. Moreover, as discussed in the Introduction, heritage practitioners and designers often focus on the modalities of heritage, such as historic preservation, without reference to the social, political and cultural contexts in which communities instrumentally use heritage. The process of narrative design (Frenchman 2001) requires designers to be more circumspect about the uses and objectives of heritage ends than the veracity of specific content of heritage narratives (Lewis 1995).

The promotion of methods and policies without regard to their social and cultural context or impact can therefore place practitioners in a precarious position. On the one hand, it is reassuring that designers, planners, and preservationists recognize the widening disjuncture between the demographic profile of the professions and the disadvantaged

[10] *Id.*, p.63.

[11] *Id.*, p.72.

communities who often bear the greatest burden of their interventions. On the other hand, the professions have adopted the facile view that this fissure can be bridged merely by refocusing their collective energies on the promotion and elevation of "minority" issues to the fore of professional discourse. Merely drawing greater attention to these concerns does little to effectively transform the politics of design that reify and elevate the status of "professional" and "expert" over "community," and even less to develop situated knowledge that will better enable professionals to act within dissonant social and cultural contexts.

As Schneekloth and Shibley (1995) observe, placemaking involves "inherently political and moral acts" of inquiry, consultation, collaboration, deliberation, and action. To respect the attachments and sentiments communities and groups hold for the places they inhabit and cherish, practitioners must apply and expand their knowledge within the context of established relationships between people and place. Schneekloth and Shibley advocate for an alternative model of design practice that requires designers to create a "dialogic space" within which professionals engage communities. This dialogic space serves as the communicative and deliberative medium within which communities engage practitioners; in contrast to the hierarchical models of expert knowledge that dominate traditional architectural practice (Schneekloth and Shibley 2000). They propose instead that designers and communities use this communicative envelope to share insights and knowledge about "what is and what could be."

This dialogic space affirms established relationships between communities and place, while neither privileging professional knowledge nor denigrating indigenous beliefs and life experiences. The process of "confirmation" that it implies affirms the value of everyday experience and complex social and environmental relationships within communities, while allowing professionals to acquire insights and knowledge that can help frame subsequent interventions, as well as force practitioners to consciously confront questions of exclusion and inclusion. "By asking questions about the history and societal purposes of any place (such as an institution, city, or neighborhood)," they write, "one gains insights into how the environment is used to support, maintain, and/or subvert the agreed-on purposes of the social form. Such an inquiry is required for competent and

informed practice."[12] The selection of specific methods and approaches for intervention and action, they conclude, is not merely a technical matter, but an ethical one, since any policy or strategy invariably reflects the underlying ideologies and beliefs of those involved in decision making.

The types of conflicts and controversies that confronted designers and planners in Kansas City, especially, might have been defused had practitioners spent more time engaging the questions of what different groups were trying to accomplish through their differing construction of heritage narratives. Instead, designers turned their focus exclusively to the accomplishment of a pre-determined objective, planning and construction of the museum facilities, without regard to the political context and social implications of their myopia. In an environment as resource-constrained as the defunct heart of a once-segregated commercial district, practitioners cannot afford to squander opportunities to leverage the design process communicatively to accomplishing broader aims than simply building a single edifice. The consequence, as seen in Kansas City, is that buildings stand without tenants, and the shallow evocations of the past promoted by local government are compelling neither to visitors nor to members of the community.

Heritage as a Priority

In the realm of such discursive practices as heritage tourism, historic preservation, and ephemeral urbanism, community objectives are seldom consonant with the revenue-generating appeal of municipal development agendas. Scholars therefore need to retain a healthy skepticism of claims by municipal governments that their motives in revitalization are necessarily supportive of community empowerment. Likewise, local political conflicts over neighborhood revitalization cannot be dismissed by practitioners without recognition that regime politics can easily co-opt the rhetoric and imagery advanced by the residents threatened with displacement. Scholars and practitioners need to support the capacity of grassroots groups to sustain their ties to urban areas and advance alternative futures for urban neighborhoods. Neighborhoods are not revitalized by promoting the removal of the poor and disadvantaged and their replacement by more affluent consumers. Promoting

[12] Schneekloth and Shibley 1995, p.13.

empowerment involves developing the capacity of local residents to direct their own economic and social futures (Rubin 1994). Despite its profound potential to transform both the politics and the outcomes of efforts to economically and socially reinvigorate marginalized spaces, heritage-based revitalization suffers from significant limitations and should not substitute for more substantive processes of community empowerment and development.

Scholars and practitioners should also recognize that neighborhoods cannot be revitalized by merely changing the identity and perception of long-stigmatized places, especially when many such efforts result in the removal of the poor and disadvantaged and their replacement by more affluent consumers.[13] True grassroots development involves developing the capacity of local residents to direct their own economic and social futures (Rubin 1994). Even when not at odds with established communities, commemoration and heritage should supplement, rather than replace, broader social and economic initiatives to revitalize urban neighborhoods. Indeed, as demonstrated in both Tampa and Kansas City, even a broad range of traditional development initiatives may not be sufficient to generate meaningful development-led transformation of place.

Heritage practitioners view empowerment as the capacity of communities to develop a unified voice or narrative, and in turn to use these narratives as a means of creating symbolic capital that can be leveraged to promote community and neighborhood revitalization. Power can be conceived of as the capacity to control, direct, or influence the actions of another. Empowerment therefore becomes the bestowal upon or assumption of power by an individual or group. The cases presented in this dissertation

[13] Such an approach was uncritically promoted by the Fannie Mae Foundation in 2000, with the release of a practice-oriented publication entitled "Reimaging Distressed Communities: A Strategy to Reverse Decline and Attract Investors" (Toups and Carr 2000). "If a community plagued by a public image of abandonment, crime, and blight can reimage itself early in the process" they write, "it is better positioned to attract new residential and commercial development and engender a new sense of community pride and hope in the future among current residents. . . . One of the primary strategies often used to change the perception of a neighborhood is giving it a new name that creates a positive image, possibly highlighting historic or positive elements in the community. . . . Other reimaging techniques include packaging creatively the community's unique or historic assets, making highly visible physical improvements, and target marketing the neighborhood to carefully selected potential residents and merchants."

demonstrate that not only the use, but even the creation of heritage narratives, is always instrumental to some other purpose. Even in places like Ybor City, heritage does not act simply as the affirmation of individual or community identity, nor as a simple and uncontested end unto itself. The mere creation of heritage narratives, even through renewed attention to the legacies of groups traditionally ignored and marginalized by the heritage movement, therefore seems difficult to accept as a form of empowerment in and of itself. Power is fundamentally about control; empowerment therefore requires not only the identification or legitimation of a legacy, but the capacity to control and direct the application of that legacy to the accomplishment of both individual and collective needs. From the literature and these cases, it appears that such a level of control is contingent upon the possession or acquisition of tangible, non-symbolic resources, including social, economic and political influence. While heritage does create some intriguing possibilities for recasting the image of place, empowerment will always be constrained by prevailing, often externally-imposed, social and political structures. Ultimately, the prospects for community empowerment through the use of heritage will be influenced by the adeptness with which local place entrepreneurs mold the symbols and narratives of memory and place, and their ultimate ability to translate the symbolic capital of heritage into the economic and political capacity necessary to sustain their role in challenging and subverting long-held stigmas associated with the inner city.

This is not to say that practitioners should not advance efforts to commemorate the local past or wield the past in service to the present. Taking such action, however, demands that we recognize the potential illusion of community in the past, and the fundamental differences between our own and resident conceptions of memory and heritage. Individual sites can still proceed as a collaborative and invigorating exercise, even in ways that challenge the dominant heritage narratives that are often imposed on marginalized communities. There will always be severe limitations, however, in moving beyond small sites into the larger revitalization of place. By necessity, designers tend to proceed one project at a time. This should not relieve them, however, of the ethical obligation to consider how their individual projects impact the quality of the urban realm and do or do not contribute to the stability and priorities of communities that will use and live with design products long after a contract is concluded. Designers must also recognize

that heritage can build resonance and meaning for places that have been overlook, but resonance alone will not translate into revitalization without an ongoing influx of resources, including financial and political capital, as well as the efforts of individual place entrepreneurs and social dimensions of community.

The potential for empowerment does not, however, promise an easy resolution to the arbitration of such images among urban designers and other professionals and community residents engaged in shaping the symbolic contours of economic development and sense of place. The images and memories that we offer to local residents might overlook more deeply ingrained and ultimately more powerfully charged symbols and attachments among residents themselves (Herron 1993). One of the chief ethical imperatives of academic research is its capacity for breaking through the subterfuge and sleight-of-hand with which political conflicts over class and race are often cloaked. This study has served, in part, as an attempt to unmask and bring to the foreground the importance of conflicts over race, class, and place bound up in the rhetoric of heritage and culture.

Appendix

Methodology and Approach

This dissertation uses a comparative case-study method to apprehend the political and symbolic mechanisms that shape the use and objects of urban heritage to promote neighborhood revitalization. The selection of these cases is based on a literal replication logic (Yin 1994), in which the researcher identifies cases with similar attributes, and relies on a theoretical framework to interpret and explain any observed differences in outcomes. Divergence from the outcomes predicted by the theoretical framework is then used to modify the underlying theory (Yin 1994).

The test of internal validity requires the development of causal linkages between the conditions being studied and the particular outcomes observed in each case. Because this is an exploratory study, however, patterns of cause and effect are ambiguous, and may elude formal proof. Despite this limitation, the exploratory nature of this multiple case study design offers a unique opportunity to develop fundamental insights about the creation, promotion, and arbitration of distinct "heritages" within the context of urban space.

The primary challenge posed for most case studies, including multiple case study designs, is the difficulty in generalizing from the results observed in an individual case. This criticism often stems from misapprehension of case studies as proceeding on the sampling logic that underlies statistical analysis (Yin 1994). Unlike quantitative research, case studies rely on analytical, rather than statistical, generalization. Case studies are not equivalent to multiple statistical "observations," but are analogous to individual experiments undertaken under controlled conditions and within rigorous research protocols. Within an experimental framework, observed results are evaluated against a robust body of theory, which predicts or accounts for observed variations among cases. This can be accomplished within a case study framework by selecting cases that either predict similar results (literal replications), or produce contrasting results but for predictable reasons (theoretical replications). In either framework, multiple case study

design requires the development of a robust theory that specifies the conditions under which a particular phenomenon or outcome is likely to be observed (literal replication), as well as the conditions under which an outcome is unlikely to be observed (theoretical replications).

Logic of the Study

In practical terms, there are two avenues of approach to deal with concerns about the validity of a case study approach to social research. A literal replication logic requires the identification of cases sufficiently similar in both their structural attributes and dynamics to predict similar outcomes. The alternative, which has been adopted in this instance, is to identify cases with similar structural characteristics, but significant variation in observed outcomes, which can then be explained with reference to the underlying theory.

Cases were selected for inclusion in this study based on their correspondence to a number of factors identified through literature searches and emerging issues in practice. First, this dissertation narrows its focus to a particular subset of ethnic and minority neighborhoods that declined due to broader patterns of economic and social change, as well as planning interventions. These neighborhoods are actively being "re-constructed" by an array of public and private actors and organizations, who promote revitalization through the use of specific policies and actions that draw on urban heritage to construct a future that mirrors their concept of an effusive and idyllic past.

Sources and Ethnographic Methods

The political and social processes of heritage-based revitalization have been apprehended through a combination of methods, including both documentary and ethnographic field research. The initial research for each case included exhaustive literature reviews to identify previous scholarship on the history of each neighborhood and more contemporary processes of revitalization. This background research was supplemented by the identification and analysis of primary materials, including unpublished manuscripts, correspondence, and documents, in addition to formal planning studies and policies. Using online bibliographic databases, including the NEXIS™ news service, media accounts describing revitalization controversies and processes from 1992 to the present were

collected for each city. By organizing these documents, I was able to sketch preliminary chronologies of heritage efforts in each neighborhood, and also identify major episodes, controversies, and the principal actors involved in each neighborhood's revitalization efforts.[1] Secondary accounts, mainly scholarly histories and articles from academic journals, were then used to confirm the developmental chronology of each neighborhood, as well as to identify marginal actors not identified directly by the media.

Ethnographic methods offer critical insights into the role of heritage in defining the boundaries, content, and outcomes of a contested symbolic politics of revitalization. By identifying the key factors that enable competing actors to effectively wield heritage as symbolic capital, this dissertation helps to explain both the potential and limitations for heritage-based strategies, and the differential outcomes observed in each case. The main body of this work is based upon extensive field research, including semi-structured interviews with numerous key informants, and direct and participant-observation of street life and festivals, public hearings, groundbreakings, and other significant events.

Because the first phase of this research commenced in Boston, I relied on accumulated media accounts to identify key informants. I restricted my initial approach to public officials and professional staff at the various development and neighborhood-based heritage institutions. Initial contact with these key informants was attempted through written letters, electronic mail and telephone calls upon my initial visit to each neighborhood. I conducted two brief, informal visits to Tampa and Kansas City to establish preliminary contacts, and conducted interviews with key informants during several follow-up visits of 1-2 week duration during the Summer and Fall of 1999. During the initial trips, I also undertook qualitative field surveys of the physical environment of each neighborhood, identifying significant landmarks, observing street life, and speaking informally to residents and visitors I encountered while photographing and documenting the physical environment of each neighborhood. The formal contacts attempted prior to these visits did not generate much response. Fortunately, during each subsequent visit, I was able to establish informal contacts using my secondary list, and these informants provided a more

[1] This process was simplified by saving each document as a text-based computer file, using a file naming convention that relied on date (in YYYYMMDD format), followed by the article title or

direct means of contact with many of the key informants I had originally sought out in my research.

Significant points of contact during my subsequent visits included public officials and faculty at local colleges and universities, all of whom eventually granted interviews. Prior to each initial interview, I compiled brief biographical summaries for each respondent based on reference sources and media accounts, which also served as a useful chronology and identification of public statements and positions taken by each interviewee. All interviews were semi-structured and focused on three major lines of inquiry: the respondent's personal background and current involvement in heritage initiatives, a chronological outline of development issues, emphasizing those identified in the biographies and during the interview; and requests for the respondent's appraisal of the trajectory and current state of heritage efforts in each neighborhood.[2]

During interviews with the additional informants identified through the cluster process, I used the information from the previous interviews to present a fuller context for the study. I held follow-up interviews with a handful of key informants, during which I clarified issues and concerns previously identified, as well as issues raised by other respondents. I then asked each of these key informants to clarify my interpretation and understanding of the issues raised. This line of questioning often generated lively discussion of ongoing concerns and perceptions of other individuals and groups, which provided me a deeper understanding of the interpersonal and group dynamics shaping conflicts and cooperation among the various parties. During the interview process, a

---

significant keywords useful in organizing the chronology.

[2] I began each interview by describing my academic interests, my personal background, and my interest in the subject matter (all of which, as I described, are closely related). I then asked the informant to describe their own background, and to summarize their involvement in the revitalization process. Using indirect references to key events and other informants, I asked each respondent to identify key sequences and turning points in the revitalization process, and was often offered frank assessments of the motivations and character of other individuals and groups involved in the process. In many cases, it proved unnecessary to reconfirm or revisit specific events identified in the chronology, with the exception of ongoing disputes and major initiatives with which respective respondents had been personally involved. Finally, I asked each respondent to suggest other potential interview subjects, and acknowledged persons whom I had already contacted or intended to interview. This elicited interesting background detail and occasional warnings about the perspective, approachability, and veracity of other potential interview subjects.

number of respondents also provided me with invaluable primary documentary sources, including copies of newspaper clipping files, obscure books, and planning reports and studies not identified in my bibliographic research.

Narrative Analysis and Theory Building

In the process of writing each case study, I returned to the local media accounts to "triangulate" the interview data by verifying dates and confirming factual details discussed in each interview. I then drew on the academic studies to validate the factual detail of the media content and contextualize the tone and emphasis of the reporting.[3] I soon discovered that a variety of published materials accumulated during my research, including biographies and local history, which I initially had classified as secondary sources, were not especially useful in confirming the factual details discussed in the interviews, nor in developing a context for understanding the role of each respondent or other actors in the revitalization process. Instead, many such documents proved more useful as rich sources of narratives, rather than as descriptive or explanatory material.[4]

By focusing on the narratives used to promote heritage as a mechanism of neighborhood revitalization, as well as the structural contexts in which these narratives are projected, this

---

[3] Because local media can be heavily influenced by local elites and governing regimes, academic research relying only on mainstream sources may overlook significant events and conflicts that escape formal reporting. To mitigate this problem, in each city I relied not only on the major daily press, but also identified community and alternative newspapers. During my informal street-level observations, especially in Ybor City, I also collected brochures, fliers, and other ephemeral literature. While I eventually decided some of these were outside the scope of this study, a number proved useful in identifying marginal groups, counter-currents and alternative perspectives on the heritage issue.

[4] To my surprise, after undertaking this project, I learned from secondary accounts and early interviews that heritage-based strategies in each neighborhood dated at least to the 1960s, perhaps earlier. As a consequence, a number of central figures in each city are no longer alive, and some organizations once centrally involved in promoting heritage have since disbanded, relocated, or abandoned their focus on the neighborhoods studied (indeed, some of my interview subjects have died since I began this research).

While this is an inevitable consequence of expanding the time frame considered within a research project, it did pose practical difficulties for interpreting and validating characterizations and sequences described by respondents during the interviews. Some accounts proved tangential to the main focus of the study and were simply omitted. Rather than report the remainder at face value, however, I have either classified them within the narrative analysis, or indicated in footnotes that I was unable to verify those claims.

study grounds empirical observation within the theoretical framework established in Chapter 1. Along with planning documents, assorted promotional brochures, and other published sources (including both scholarly and popular histories), quotations from the media reports served as the mother lode of these "heritage narratives."

I have used these narratives to frame the discussion within each chapter, and organized my analysis by identifying, categorizing, and locating the dominant themes within these narratives among the actors and processes of heritage-based revitalization in each neighborhood. Critical readings of these texts have led me to formulate an analytical framework that contrasts the images promoted by different actors, the relationship of these narratives to conflicting proposals and objectives for redevelopment and/or preservation, and differences among the specific elements and planned objectives embedded within each of these narratives. This analysis helps to contextualize the contending plans, development proposals, and specific modes of heritage used by competing groups.

References

Primary Sources

Interviews

18th and Vine, Kansas City, Missouri

Dennis, Rodney. Executive Director, Negro Leagues Baseball Museum. October 12, 1996.

Doswell, Raymond. Curator, Negro Leagues Baseball Museum. August 10, 1996.

Fleming, Al. President, Jazz District Redevelopment Corporation. September 16, 1999; March 8, 2000.

Holmes, Sylvester. President, Black Economic Union. August 9, 1996; October 15, 1996.

Page, Claude F. 18th and Vine Project Coordinator, City Planning and Development Department, City of Kansas City, Missouri. October 15, 1996.

Stewart, Rowena, D.H. Executive Director, 18th and Vine Authority; American Jazz Museum. March 7, 2000.

Strait, Dennis M. Vice President, Gould Evans Goodman Associates. August 9, 1996.

Stewart, Tilmon. Marketing Coordinator, Black Archives of Mid-America. August 10, 1996.

Whiting, Pam. Communications Director, Office of Mayor Emanuel Cleaver, City of Kansas City, Missouri. October 14, 1996.

Yelorda, Peter K. Former Assistant City Manager, City of Kansas City, Missouri. October 10, 2000.

Ybor City, Tampa, Florida

Acosta, Del. Historic Preservation Administrator, Department of Business and Community Services, City of Tampa. July 15, September 27, 1999.

Alvarez, Mary C. District 6 City Council Member, Tampa City Council. November 3, 1999.

Capitano, Joe Sr. President, L'Unione Italiana-Ybor City. November 4, 1999.

Chavez, Melinda N. Executive Director, Ybor City Museum Society. July 15, September 25, 1999.

Ferrell, Stephanie, FAIA. Former Director, Tampa Urban Design, Architecture and Historic Preservation consultant. September 24, 1999.

Gagalis, Rebecca. Director of Community Affairs, Steiner + Associates. November 5, 1999.

Garcia, Rosann. President, Ybor City Museum Society. September 24, 1999.

Gonzmart, Casimiro ("Casey"). Chairman, Columbia Restaurant Group. November 4, 1999.

Howden, Joe. President, Historic Ybor Neighborhood Civic Association. November 3, 1999.

Greenbaum, Susan D., Ph.D. Associate Professor of Sociology, University of South Florida. July 9, September 26, 1999.

Leto, Sam D. President, Ybor City Roundtable, Inc.; Former President, Ybor City Alcalde Association. November 5, 1999.

Manteiga, Patrick. Editor and Publisher, *La Gaceta.* November 5, 1999.

Medrano al-Fakri, Maricela. Urban Planner, Ybor City Development Corporation. September 23, 1999.

Noriega, Fernando Jr. Mayor's Administrator of Development, Department of Business and Community Services, City of Tampa. November 4, 1999.

Pardo, Vincent. Executive Director, Ybor City Development Corporation. September 27; November 1, 1999.

Romeo, Sara. Owner, Romeo's Stylish Furniture. September 24, 1999.

Smith, Sylvia ("Nootchie") Vega. President, Tampa Preservation Inc. September 22, 1999.

Wax, Jill. Owner, La France (vintage clothing store). November 4, 1999.

Freedmen's Town/Allen Parkway Village, Houston, Texas:

De la Reza, Ray. President, Ray de la Reza Architects, Inc. November 12, 1999.

Denkler, Joan. Director, Houston Housing Concern. November 12, 1999.

Felton, Christine. Documentary filmmaker. November 10; November 11, 1999.

Johnson, Lenwood. Tenant Leader, Allen Parkway Village. November 8; November 11, 1999.

Poullard, Othello. Director of Public Housing, Center for Community Change, Washington, D.C. November 19, 1999.

Simon, William, Ph.D. Professor of Sociology, University of Houston. November 12, 1999.

Wallstin, Brian. Investigative reporter, *Houston Press.* November 10, 1999.

Manuscripts

18th and Vine, Local and National Register Nomination Files (Case 0048-D). Office of the Administrator, Landmarks Commission, City Planning and Development, City of Kansas City, Missouri.Tony Pizzo Collection. Special Collections Department, University of South Florida, Tampa Campus.

Unpublished Public Documents, Plans, and Reports

Charleton, James H. 1990. "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Ybor City Historic District." Washington, D.C.: History Division, WASO, National Park Service.

City of Houston, Texas. 1998. "Fourth Ward Revitalization Plan, Houston, Texas." Prepared by Stull and Lee, Inc., *et al.*, for Houston Renaissance/Fourth Ward Community Coalition, October 27, 1997.

City of Kansas City, Missouri. City Planning and Development Department. 1990. "18th and Vine Historic District, Urban Design Framework and Facilities Concept Plan." Boston, Mass.: Stull and Lee, Inc., Coordinating Architects and Urban Designers.

City of Tampa, Fla. 1970. "Street and numbered block directory of the model neighborhood area and the expanded boundary area." S.l.: s.n.

__________. Community Redevelopment Agency. 1988. "Community Redevelopment Plan for the Ybor City Community Redevelopment Area, May 1988."

__________. Metropolitan Development Agency, Division of Planning. 1976. "Neighborhood Decline: Housing analysis and program strategy, January 1976."

Economics Research Associates. 1983. "Technical Memorandum: Ybor City Historic District Revitalization Plan." Los Angeles, Ca.: Prepared for the Ybor Redevelopment Agency.

Founders Park Venture. 1990. *Founders Park: Houston, Texas.* n.p.Fox, Stephen. 1987. "San Felipe Court Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form." Houston, Tex.: Resident Council of Allen Parkway Village.

__________. 1988. "National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form: San Felipe Courts Historic District." Houston, Tex.: Resident Council of Allen Parkway Village.

Greer, Diane D. 1974. "National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form: Ybor City Historic District." Tallahassee, Fla.: Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Florida Department of State.

Hillsborough County City-County Planning Commission. 1980. *Ybor City: preliminary redevelopment plan.* [Adopted by City Council, April 17, 1980, Ordinance No. 74-14A.] Tampa, Fla.: The Commission.

Historic Tampa/Hillsborough County Preservation Board. 1986. *Ybor City design guidelines: a guide to rehabilitation and new construction in the Ybor City Historic District.* Tampa, Fla.: Barrio Latino Commission, City of Tampa, Florida.

__________. 1991. *Ybor City Historic District Urban Design and Preservation Plan, November 1991.* Tampa, Fla.: Barrio Latino Commission, City of Tampa, Florida.

House, Gladys M. 1991. "Community, economic and social development, Freedmen's Town, Houston, Harris County, Texas." Manuscript application No. 35-91, Rudy Bruner Award for Excellence in the Urban Environment.

Simons, George W., Jr. 1951. *Report on the city plan of Tampa, Florida, 1951.* Jacksonville, Fla.: Prepared for the Mayor and the Board of Representatives.

Texas Historical Commission. 1984. "Freedmen's Town Historic District, Houston, Texas: National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form." Austin, Texas: Texas Historical Commission.

Uguccioni, Ellen J. 1984. "National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form: Eighteenth and Vine Streets Historic District." Kansas City, Mo.: Landmarks Commission of Kansas City, Missouri.

United States. House of Representatives. Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs. 1993. *Rehabilitation of Allen Parkway Village, Houston, TX. Field hearing before the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development, Houston, Texas, Dec. 14, 1993.* Serial No. 103-105. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Ybor City Development Corporation. 1996. "Tampa Ybor Revitalization Strategy, May 1996." Tampa, Fla.: Department of Business and Community Services, City of Tampa.

Published Studies, Guidebooks, and Memoirs

Campbell, A. Stuart. 1939. *The Cigar Industry of Tampa, Florida.* Gainesville, Fla.: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida.

Federal Writers' Project (Fla.). 1939. *Florida, a guide to the southern-most state.* New York, Oxford University Press.

Greenbaum, Susan D. 1986. *Afro-Cubans in Ybor City : a centennial history.* Tampa, Fla.: s.n.

Harner, Charles E. 1975. *A pictorial history of Ybor City.* Tampa, Fla.: Trend Publications.

Martin, Asa Earl. 1913. *Our Negro population, a sociological study of the Negroes of Kansas City, Missouri.* Kansas City, Mo.: F. Hudson Publishing Company.

Milligan, Maurice M. 1948. *Missouri waltz: the inside story of the Pendergast machine by the man who smashed it.* New York: C. Scribner's Sons.

Pacheco, Ferdie. 1994. *Ybor City chronicles : a memoir.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Perez, Louis A. 1983. "Ybor City Remembered." *Tampa Bay History* 7: 170-3.

Pizzo, Anthony. 1983. "Tony Pizzo's Ybor City." *Tampa Bay History* 7: 142-160.

__________. 1994. "Tampa's Cuban heritage." *Tampa Bay History* 16,1 (Spring/Summer): 40-47.

Shapiro, Nat and Nat Hentoff, eds. 1966. *Hear me talkin' to ya; the story of jazz as told by the men who made it.* New York, Dover Publications.

Thomas, Tracy and Walt Bodine. 1976. *Right here in river city: a portrait of Kansas City.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

Yglesias, José. 1985. "The Radical Latino Island in the Deep South." *Tampa Bay History* 7,2 (Fall/Winter): 166-169.

__________. 1996. "Searching for a dream from Tampa to New York." Transl. by Ana Varela-Lago. *Tampa Bay History* 18,1 (Spring/Summer): 35-37. (Orig. published in 1991 as "Buscando un sueño de Tampa á Nuevo York," *Mas* 3 [July-August], 58-61.)

Young, William H. and Nathan B. Young, Jr. 1997. *Your Kansas City and Mine.* [Reprint of original 1950 ed.] Kansas City, Mo.: Midwest Afro-American Genealogy Interest Coalition.

Journal and Magazine Articles

n.a. 1984. "A Fourth Ward Overview." *Cite* (Winter): 13-16.

Amador, Omar. 1988. "Ybor City: Making the past its future." *Américas* 40,2 (March/April): 2-7.

Ashcraft, Michael. 1990. "What do we do with all that jazz?" *Kansas City Live!* 1,5 (February): 31-4.

Barna, Joel Warren. 1990. "Preservation: Flap over Houston Historic District." *Progressive Architecture* (June): 30.

Berke, Arnold M. 1985. "Critical Ward: Houston blacks fight removal of 'Freedmen's Town,' their cultural cradle." *Preservation News* (March): 9.

Bond, Evagene H. 1982. "A community in the process of change." Pp. 41-50 in *La Comunidad: Design, development, and self-determination in Hispanic communities.* Washington, D.C.: Partners for Livable Places.

Charleton, James H. 1992. "Ybor City Historic District." *CRM [bulletin]*: 15,7: 15-16.

Conrads, David. 1992. "A Natural." *Kansas City Live!* 3,5 (February): 42-46.

Cuff, Dana. 1984. "An Update from Freedman's Town." *Cite* (Winter): 14-15.

__________. 1985. "Beyond the last resort: the case of public housing in Houston." *Places* 2,4: 28-43.

Fortunato, H.J. 1997. "All is fine at 18th & Vine." *Ingram's* 23,9 (September): 35-38.

Fowler, Giles M. 1979. "Musician's Foundation: The Tradition Jams On." *Kansas City Star Magazine* (February 26): 6-9.

Fox, Stephen. 1996. "Where we live: In Houston, revitalization hits and misses." *Texas Architect* 46,6 (Nov./Dec.): 48-50.

Freeman, Allen. 1994. "A sense of belonging." *Historic preservation* 46,2 (March/April): 28-34, 118-119.

Ghirardo, Diane Y. 1984. "Wielding the HACHet at Allen Parkway Village." *Cite* (Winter): 13-16.

__________. 1987. "A Taste of Money: Architecture and criticism in Houston." Pp. 89-97 in *Patronage: Harvard Architecture Review VI.* New York: Rizzoli.

Goodman, Judy. 1974. "The Twilight Zone of Black Bu$iness [sic]." *Kansas City Magazine* 64,27 (July): 22-25.

Hermance, Leigh. 1984. "Fourth Ward: A $100 Million Ghetto." *Houston City Magazine* 8 (May): 106-111, 118-30, 137-45.

Hughes, Mamie and Tom Webster. 1987. "18th & Vine: Kansas City's Most Famous Intersection." *Jackson County Historical Society Journal* 29,1 (Spring): 18-22.

Lang, Curtis. 1995. "A depleted legacy: Public housing in Houston." *Cite* 33: 10-15.

Parks, Nancy. 1976. "Jazz Hot and Cool." *Missouri Life* 4,3 (July-August): 62-5.

Smith, Wendy. 1998. "We live in Boerum Hill, a Brooklyn neighborhood..." *Preservation* (March/April): 68-75.

Tampa Tribune. 1998. *Tampa and West Central Florida: Postcard Paradise.* Tampa, Fl.: Tampa Tribune with the University of Tampa Press.

Tate, Carey James. 1961. "Kansas City Night Life." *The Second Line* (November-December): 9-12, 32.

Taylor, Rives. 1990. "Fourth Ward and the Siege of Allen Park Village." *Cite* (Fall): 6-11, 31.

__________. 1991. "Fourth Ward and the Siege of Allen Park Village: The Private Sector; Founders Park Venture and Community Activism." *Cite* (Spring): 21-24.

Tyer, Brad. 1995. "Update: Allen Parkway Village." *Cite* 33: 15-16.

Webb, Robert S. 1974. "Ybor City: A National Historic District." *HUD Challenge* 5,12 (December): 2.

Wilson, Calvin. 1991. "Sweet Music, Sweet Dreams: After years of hoping, fans of a jazz hall of fame prepare to applaud." [Kansas City] *Star Magazine* (September 22): 7-8,10.

Ydoyaga, Ray. 1984. "Texas Historical Commission approves historic designation for Houston's Fourth Ward." *Texas Architect* 34,5: 30-31.

Zimny, Michael. 1995. "Cradles of Mutual Aid." *Florida Heritage* (Winter): n.p. [reprint].

Newspapers

Houston Chronicle, Houston, Texas.

Houston Press, Houston, Texas.

Kansas City Star, Kansas City, Missouri.

La Gaceta, Tampa, Florida.

Pitch Weekly, Kansas City, Missouri.

St. Petersburg Times, St. Petersburg, Florida.

The Tampa Tribune, Tampa, Florida.

Secondary Sources

Heritage, Preservation, and Associated Professional Literatures

n.a. 1992. "Roundtable: Preservation in minority communities." Progressive Architecture 73,5 (May): 156-158.

Bennett, Tony. 1988. "Museums and 'the people'." Pp. 63-85 in *The Museum Time-Machine: Putting cultures on display*, edited by Robert Lumley. London and New York: Routledge.

Berry, Jason. 1998. "Jazzing up New Orleans." *Preservation* (July/August):.58-63.

Bluestone, Daniel J. 1994. "Preservation and renewal in post-World War II Chicago." *Journal of Architectural Education* 97,4 (May): 210-223.

Cisneros, Henry. 1996. "Preserving everybody's history." *Cityscape: A journal of policy development and research* (special issue): 85-98.

Cohen, Rick. 1985. *Historic preservation for low-income neighborhoods.* Washington, D.C.: Community Information Exchange, National Urban Coalition.

Dewey, Richard. 1950. "The neighborhood, urban ecology and city planners." *American sociological review* 15:4 (August): 502-507.

Dreier, Peter and Marie Gendron. 1995. "Boston's West End 35 years after the bulldozer." *Planning* 61 (Aug.): 14-17.

Ehrenhalt, Alan. 1995. *The lost city: discovering the forgotten virtues of community in the Chicago of the 1950s.* New York: Basic Books.

Franklin, Maria. 1997. "'Power to the people': Sociopolitics and the archaeology of Black Americans." *Historical Archaeology* 31,3: 36-50.

Freeman, Allen. 1998. "Building on the blues." *Preservation* (July/August): 52-58.

Green, Howard L. 1998. "The social construction of historical significance." Pp. 85-94 in Michael A. Tomlan, ed. *Preservation of what, for whom?: a critical look at historical significance.* Ithaca, N.Y.: National Council for Preservation Education.

Harris, Robert S. 1994. "Places of privilege. Biddy Mason Park, Los Angeles." *Places* 9 (Summer): 20-4+.

Isaacs, Reginald R. 1948. "The 'neighborhood unit' is an instrument for segregation." *Journal of Housing* 5,8 (August): 215-219.

Kammen, Michael G. 1997. *In the past lane: historical perspectives on American culture.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Kirby, Daniel L. 1991. "Threat or promise: historic preservation and the African-American community." *Dimensions* 5 (Spring): 16-19.

Lewis, Earl. 1995. "Connecting memory, self, and the power of place in African American urban history." *Journal of Urban History* 21 (March): 347-371.

Lyon, Elizabeth Anne Mack. 1992. *Cultural and ethnic diversity in historic preservation.* Information series; no. 65. Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Nepomechie, Marilys R. 1997. "Unacceptable echoes." *Places* 11,1: 28-37.

Pannekoek, Frits. 1998. "The rise of the heritage priesthood or the decline of community based heritage." *Historic Preservation Forum* 12,3 (Spring): 4-10.

Pickens, Suzanne S. 1998. "The silent criteria: Misuse and abuse of the National Register." Pp. 193-202 in Michael A. Tomlan, ed., *Preservation of what, for whom?: a critical look at historical significance.* Ithaca, N.Y.: National Council for Preservation Education.

Rosenzweig, Roy and David Thelen. 1998. *The presence of the past: popular uses of history in American life.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Ruffins, Fath [stet] Davis. 1992. "Mythos, memory, and history: African American preservation efforts, 1820-1990." Pp. 506-610 in *Museums and communities: the politics of public culture*, Ivan Karp et al., eds. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Rymer, Russ. 1998. *American Beach: a saga of race, wealth, and memory.* New York: HarperCollins.

Shearer, Susan and Michel R. Lefevre. 1997. "Latinos in Historic Districts: Whose History? Whose Neighborhood?" *CRM* 11: 44-45.

Suarez, Ray. 1999. *The old neighborhood: what we lost in the great suburban migration, 1966-1999.* New York: Free Press.

Toups, Catherine and James H. Carr. 2000. "Reimaging Distressed Communities: A strategy to reverse decline and attract investors." *BuildingBlocks* 1,1 (Spring 2000). Washington, D.C.: Fannie Mae Foundation.

Verrey, Robert and Laura Henley. 1991. "Creation myths and zoning boards: local uses of historic preservation." Pp. 75-108 in *The Politics of culture*, Brett Williams, ed. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Wall, Susan and Susan Kidd. 1995. "Cultural diversity: A movement of statewide efforts in the South." *Historic Preservation Forum* 7,5 (Sept./Oct.): 80-85.

Weyeneth, Robert R. 2000. *Historic preservation for a living city: Historic Charleston Foundation, 1947-1997.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

History and Politics

Brown, A. Theodore and Lyle W. Dorsett. 1978. *K.C.: a history of Kansas City, Missouri.* Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Pub. Co.

Bullard, Robert D. 1987. *Invisible Houston: the Black experience in boom and bust.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

Ehrenhalt, Alan. 1995. *The lost city: discovering the forgotten virtues of community in the Chicago of the 1950s.* New York: Basic Books.

Dorsett, Lyle W. 1968. *The Pendergast machine.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Dreier, Peter, and Marie Gendron. 1995. "Boston's West End 35 years after the bulldozer." *Planning* 61 (Aug.): 14-17.

Francaviglia, Richard V. 1996. Main street revisited: time, space, and image building in small-town America. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

Gotham, Kevin Fox. 2002. *Race, real estate and uneven development: The Kansas City Experience, 1900-2000.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Greenbaum, Susan D. 1990. "Marketing Ybor City: race, ethnicity, and historic preservation in the sunbelt." *City & Society* 4,1 (June): 58-76.

Grothaus, Larry. 1975. "Kansas City Blacks, Harry Truman and the Pendergast Machine." *Missouri Historical Review* 69 (January): 65-77.

Kerstein, Robert. 1997. "From annexation to urban renewal: Urban development in Tampa during the 1950s and 1960s." *Tampa Bay History* 19,1 (Spring/Summer): 69-92.

Lemann, Nicholas. 1991. *The promised land: the great Black migration and how it changed America.* New York : A.A. Knopf.

Mormino, Gary R. 1983. "Tampa: From hell hole to the good life." In Bernard, Richard M. and Bradley R. Rice, eds., *Sunbelt cities: politics and growth since World War II*, pp.138-161. Austin: University of Texas Press.

__________ and George E. Pozzetta. 1987. *The immigrant world of Ybor City : Italians and their Latin neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Ostransky, Leroy. 1978. *Jazz city: the impact of our cities on the development of jazz.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Pearson, Nathan W. 1987. *Goin' to Kansas City.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

__________. 1989. "Political and musical forces that influenced the development of Kansas City jazz." *Black Music Research Journal* 9,2 (Fall): 181-192.

Perez, Louis A. 1990. *Cuba and the United States: ties of singular intimacy.* Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Reddig, William M. 1986. *Tom's town: Kansas City and the Pendergast legend.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press. {Reprint. Originally published: Philadelphia and New York: Lippincott, 1947.]

Russell, Ross. 1971. *Jazz Style in Kansas City and the Southwest.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schirmer, Sherry Lamb. 1995. "Landscape of denial: Space, status and gender in the construction of racial perceptions among white Kansas Citians, 1900-1958." Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, University of Kansas.

Shelton, Beth Anne et al. 1989. *Houston: growth and decline in a sunbelt boomtown.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Thomas, Robert D. and Richard W. Murray. 1991. "The Politics of Redevelopment: The APV/Fourth Ward Case." Pp. 371-389 in *Progrowth politics: change and governance in Houston.* Berkeley: IGS Press, Institute of Government Studies, University of California at Berkeley.

Weems, Robert E. 1998. *Desegregating the dollar: African American consumerism in the twentieth century.* New York: New York University Press.

Wintz, Cary D. 1990. "The emergence of a black neighborhood: Houston's Fourth Ward, 1865-1915." Ch. 5 in *Urban Texas: politics and development,* edited by Char Miller and David Johnson. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

Social and Cultural Theory

Abu-Lhugod, Janet et al. 1994. *From urban village to East Village: The battle for New York's Lower East Side.* Oxford UK and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.

Anderson, Kay J. 1987. "The idea of Chinatown: The power of place and institutional practice in the making of a racial category." *Annals of Association of American Geographers* 77,4 (December): 580-598.

Anderson, Martin. 1966. "The Federal Bulldozer." Pp. 491-508 in James Q. Wilson, ed., *Urban renewal : the record and the controversy.* Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

Appleyard, Donald. 1970. "Styles and methods of structuring a city." *Environment and behavior* (June): 100-116.

Ashworth, G. J. (Gregory John) and J.E. Tunbridge. 1990. *The Tourist-Historic City.* London and New York: Belhaven Press.

Bassett, K. 1993. "Urban cultural strategies and urban regeneration: a case study and critique." *Environment and planning A* 25,12: 1773-1788.

Bennett Larry. 1998. "Do we really wish to live in a communitarian city? Communitarian thinking and the redevelopment of Chicago's Cabrini-Green public housing complex." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 20,2: 99-116.

Beauregard, Robert A. 1993. *Voices of decline: the postwar fate of US cities.* Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.

Boyd, Michelle. 2000. "Reconstructing Bronzeville: Racial nostalgia and neighborhood redevelopment." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 22,2: 107-122.

Boyer, M. Christine. 1983. *Dreaming the rational city: the myth of American city planning.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

__________. 1994. *The city of collective memory: its historical imagery and architectural entertainments.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Bridger, J.C. 1996. "Community imagery and the built environment." *Sociological Quarterly* 37,3 (Summer): 353-374.

Campion, A. and G.A. Fine. 1998. "Main street on main street: Community identity and the reputation of Sinclair Lewis." *Sociological Quarterly* 39,1 (Winter): 79-99.

Capek, Stella M. and John I. Gilderbloom. 1992. "Cities without urban grass-roots movements: The case of Houston." Pp. 209-232 in *Community versus commodity: tenants and the American city.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Cohen, Abner. 1993. *Masquerade politics: explorations in the structure of urban cultural movements.* Oxford: Providence: Berg.

Coleman, Richard P. and Bernice L. Neugarten. 1971. *Social status in the city.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Cook, Christine C. and Mickey Lauria. 1995. "Urban regeneration and public housing in New Orleans." *Urban Affairs Review* 30,4 (March): 538-557.

Clark, Heléne. 1993. "Sites of resistance: place, 'race' and gender as sources of empowerment." Pp. 121-142 in *Constructions of race, place and nation*, edited by P. Jackson and J. Penrose. London: UCL Press.

Crang, M. 1996. "Envisioning urban histories: Bristol as palimpsest, postcards, and snapshots." *Environment and Planning A* 28,3 (March): 429-452.

Crow, D. 1994. "My friends in low places – Building identity for place and community." *Environment and Planning D-Society & space* 12,4 (August): 403-419.

Datel, Robin E. and Dennis J. Dingemans. 1984. "Environmental perception, historic preservation, and sense of place." Pp. 131-144 in *Environmental Perception and Behavior: an inventory and prospect*, edited by Saarinen et al. Chicago: University of Chicago, Dept. of Geography.

Davis, John Emmeus. 1991. *Contested ground: collective action and the urban neighborhood.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

De Jong, Mark W. 1991. "Revitalizing the urban core: Waterfront development in Baltimore, Maryland." Pp. 185-198 in Joanne Fox-Przeworski, et al., *Urban regeneration in a changing economy: an international perspective.* Oxford; New York; Toronto and Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Denzin, Norman K. 1992. *Symbolic Interactionism and Cultural Studies: the politics of interpretation.* Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

DeSantis, Grace and Richard Benkin. 1980. "Ethnicity without community." *Ethnicity* 7,2 (June): 137-143.

Dorst, John Darwin. 1989. *The written suburb: an American site, an ethnographic dilemma.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Duncan, James S. and David Ley. 1993. *Place/culture/representation.* London; New York: Routledge.

Edelman, Murray J. 1964. *The symbolic uses of politics.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Esman, Marjorie R. 1984. "Tourism as ethnic preservation: The Cajuns of Louisiana." *Annals of Tourism Research* 11,3: 451-467.

Fainstein, Norman, and Susan Nesbitt. 1996. "Did the Black ghetto have a golden age? Class structure and class segregation in New York City, 1949-1970, with initial evidence for 1990." *Journal of urban history* 23,1: 3-28.

Falassi, Alessandro. 1987. *Time out of time: essays on the festival.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Feagin, Joe R. 1988. *Free Enterprise City: Houston in Political-Economic Perspective.* New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press.

Feldman Roberta M. 1996. "Constancy and change in attachments to types of settlements." *Environment and Behavior* 28,4 (July): 419-445.

Firey, Walter. 1945. "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables." *American Sociological Review* 10,2 (April): 140-148.

___________. 1947. *Land use in central Boston.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Forester, John. 1999. "Challenges of mediation and deliberation in the design professions." Chapter 3 in *The deliberative practitioner: encouraging participatory planning processes.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Frenchman, Dennis. 2001. "Narrative Places and the New Practice of Urban Design." Pp. 257-282 in *Imaging the city: continuing struggles and new directions,* edited by Lawrence J. Vale and Sam Bass Warner Jr. New Brunswick, N.J.: Center for Urban Policy Research.

Fried, Marc and Peggy Gleicher. 1961. "Some sources of residential satisfaction in an urban slum." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 27: 305-315.

Fried, Marc. 1963. "Grieving for a lost home." Pp. 151-171 in *The urban condition*, edited by L. J. Duhl. New York: Basic Books.

Gans, Herbert J. 1962. *The urban villagers; group and class in the life of Italian-Americans*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

__________. 1979. "Symbolic ethnicity: The future of ethnic groups and cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2,1: 1-20.

Giuliani, M. Vittoria and Roberta Feldman. 1993. "Place attachment in a developmental and cultural context. *Journal of environmental psychology*. 13,3 (September): 267-274.

Glaser, Mark A., et al. 1996. "Local government-supported community development - Community priorities and issues of autonomy." *Urban Affairs Review* 31,6 (July): 778-798.

Goss, Jon. 1996. "Disquiet on the waterfront: Reflections on nostalgia and utopia in the urban archetypes of festival marketplaces." *Urban Geography* 17,3 (April): 221-247.

__________. 1997. "Representing and re-presenting the contemporary city." *Urban Geography* 18,2 (February 15): 180-188.

Greenbaum, Susan D. 1993. "Housing abandonment in inner-city black neighborhoods: A case study of the effects of the dual housing market." Pp. 139-156 in *The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space*, edited by Robert Rotenberg and Gary McDonough. Westport, Conn.: Bergin and Garvey.

Griffiths, Ron. 1995. "Cultural strategies and new modes of urban intervention." *Cities* 12,4 (August special issue): 253-265.

Harvey, David. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell.

Hayden, Dolores. 1995. *The Power of Place: Urban landscapes as public history*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Henig, Jeffrey R. 1982. "Neighborhood Response to Gentrification: Conditions of Mobilization." *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 17,3 (March): 343-358.

Herron, Jerry. 1993. "Niki's Window: Detroit and the humiliation of history." *Georgia Review* 47,2 (Summer): 362-375.

Hobsbawm, Eric J. 1983. *The invention of tradition*. Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Holcomb, Briavel. 1993. "Revisioning Place: De- and re-constructing the image of the industrial city." Pp. 133-143 in *Selling Places: the city as cultural capital, past and present*, edited by Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Hall, Tim and Phil Hubbard. 1996. "The entrepreneurial city: new urban politics, new urban geographies?" *Progress in human geography* 20,2: 153-174.

Hoyt, Homer. 1939. *The structure and growth of residential neighborhoods in American cities*. Washington, D.C.: United States. Federal Housing Administration.

Hull, R.B., et al. 1994. "Place identity - Symbols of self in the urban fabric." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 28,2-3 (April): 109-120.

Jacobs, Allan B. 1985. *Looking at cities.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Jakle, John A. and David Wilson. 1992. *Derelict Landscapes.* Savage, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Kasinitz, Philip. 1988. "The Gentrification of 'Boerum Hill': Neighborhood change and conflicts over definitions." *Qualitative Sociology* 11,3 (Fall): 163-182.

__________, and David Hillyard. 1995. "The old-timers tale - The politics of nostalgia on the waterfront." *Journal of contemporary ethnography* 24,2 (July): 139-164.

Kearns, Gerry and Chris Philo. 1993. "Culture, history, capital: A critical introduction to the selling of place." Pp. 1-33 in *Selling Places: the city as cultural capital, past and present.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Kling, Joseph. 1993. "Complex Society/Complex Cities: New social movements and the restructuring of urban space." Pp.28-51 in *Mobilizing the Community: Local politics in the era of the global city.* Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Light, Ivan. 1977. "The ethnic vice industry, 1880-1944." *American Sociological Review*, 42 (June):464-479.

Lin, Jan. 1995. "Ethnic places, postmodernism, and urban change in Houston." *Sociological Quarterly* 36,4 (Fall): 629-648.

Lofland, Lyn H. 1991. "History, the city, and the interactionist: Anselm Strauss, city imagery, and urban sociology." *Symbolic Interaction* 14,2 (Summer): 205-223.

Logan, John and Harvey Molotch. 1988. *Urban Fortunes: The political economy of place.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lowenthal, David. 1975. "Past time, present place : landscape and memory." *The Geographical Review* 65,1 (January): 1-36.

__________. 1998. *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history.* [1st pbk. ed.] Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lynch, Kevin. 1960. *The image of the city.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

__________. 1972. *What time is this place?* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

__________. 1984. "Reconsidering *The image of the city.*" Pp. 151-162 in *Cities of the mind: Images and themes of the city in the social sciences*, edited by L. Rodwin and R. M. Hollister. New York and London: Plenum Press.

Maines, David R. and Jeffrey C. Bridger. 1992. "Narratives, community and land use decisions." *The Social Science Journal* 29,4: 363-380.

Marcuse, Peter. 1997. "The enclave, the citadel, and the ghetto - What has changed in the post-Fordist US city." *Urban affairs review* 33,2 (November): 228-264.

Maurer, Robert and James C. Baxter. 1972. "Images of the neighborhood and city among Black-, Anglo-, and Mexican-American children." *Environment and behavior* (December): 351-388.

Mayne, Alan. 1993. *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper representation in three cities, 1870-1914.* Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press.

McDonough, Gary. 1993. "The geography of emptiness." Pp. 3-15 in *The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space*, edited by Robert Rotenberg and Gary McDonough. Westport, Conn.: Bergin and Garvey.

McKenzie, R.D. 1926. "The Scope of Human Ecology." In Erngest W. Burgess (ed.), *The Urban Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mele, Christopher. 1996. "Globalization, culture, and neighborhood change; Reinventing the Lower East Side of New York." *Urban Affairs Review* 32,1: 3-22.

__________. 2000. *Selling the Lower East Side: culture, real estate, and resistance in New York City.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Miller, Zane L. and Bruce Tucker. 1998. *Changing plans for America's inner cities: Cincinnati's Over-The-Rhine and twentieth-century urbanism.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Milligan M.J. 1998. "Interactional past and potential: The social construction of place attachment." *Symbolic Interaction* 21,1: 1-33.

Moore, Mark. 1990. "What sorts of ideas become powerful?" In *The power of public ideas*, edited by R. B. Reich. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Mumford, Lewis. 1937 (1996). "What is a city?" In Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, eds., *The City Reader*, 2d edition, pp.93-96.

Norkunas, Martha K. 1993. *The politics of public memory: Tourism, history and ethnicity in Monterey, California.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

O'Brien, Robert W. 1942. "Beale Street, A study in ecological succession." *Sociology and social research* 26,5 (May-june): 430-436.

Padgett, Deborah. 1980. "Symbolic ethnicity and patterns of ethnic identity assertion in American-born Serbs." *Ethnic Groups* 3,1: 55-77.

Pagano, Michael A. and A.O.M. Bowman. 1995. "Aspirations, visions, and images." Pp. 44-67 in *Cityscapes and Capital: the politics of urban development.* Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Park, Robert E. and Ernest W. Burgess. 1925. *The city.* Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

Perin, Constance. 1977. *Everything in its place: social order and land use in America.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Proshansky, Harold M. 1978. "The city and self-identity." *Environment and behavior* 10,2 (June): 147-169.

__________, et al. 1995. "Place-identity: Physical world socialization of the self." Pp. 87-113 in *Giving Places Meaning*, edited by Linda Groat. London: Academic Press.

Pyatok, Michael. 2000. "Martha Stewart vs. Studs Terkel?: new urbanism and inner city neighborhoods that work." *Places* 13,1 (Winter): 40-43.

Reichl, Alexander J. 1999. *Reconstructing Times Square: politics and culture in urban development.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Rivlin, Leanne G. 1982. "Group membership and place meanings in an urban neighborhood." *Journal of Social Issues* 38,3 (Fall): 75-93.

Rocha, Elizabeth M. 1997. "A ladder of empowerment." *Journal of planning education and research* 17,1 (Fall): 31-44.

Rowntree, L.G. and M.W. Conkey. 1980. "Symbolism and the cultural landscape." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70: 459-474

Rubin, Herbert J. 1994. "There aren't going to be any bakeries here if there is no money to afford jellyrolls: The organic theory of community based development." *Social problems* 41,3: 401-424.

Santino, Jack, ed. 1994. *Halloween and other festivals of death and life.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Scherzer, Kenneth A. 1992. *The unbounded community: neighborhood life and social structure in New York City, 1830-1875.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Schneekloth, Lynda H. and Robert G. Shibley. 1995. *Placemaking: The Art and Practice of Building Communities.* New York: Wiley.

__________. 2000. "Implacing architecture into the practice of placemaking." *Journal of architectural education* 53,3 (February): 130-140.

Schuster, J. Mark. 2001. "Epehemera, Temporary Urbanism, and Imaging." Pp. 361-396 in *Imaging the city: continuing struggles and new directions,* edited by Lawrence J. Vale and Sam Bass Warner Jr. New Brunswick, N.J.: Center for Urban Policy Research.

Shrum, Wesley and John Kilburn. 1996. "Ritual disrobement at Mardi Gras: ceremonial exchange and moral order." *Social Forces* 75 (December): 423-58.

Silver, Christopher. 1985. "Neighborhood planning in historical perspective." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 51,2 (Spring): 161-174.

Sime, Jonathan D. 1995. "Creating places or designing spaces?" Pp. 27-41 in *Giving Places Meaning*, edited by Linda Groat. London: Academic Press.

Smith, Neil. 1992. "New city, new frontier: The Lower East Side as Wild, Wild, West." In *Variations on a theme park: the new American city and the end of public space*, edited by M. Sorkin. New York: Hill and Wang.

Sorkin, Michael. 1992. "Introduction: Variations on a theme park." In *Variations on a theme park: the new American city and the end of public space*, edited by M. Sorkin. New York: Hill and Wang.

Strauss, Anselm L. 1961. *Images of the American city.* New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

Suchar, Charles S. 1992. "Icons and images of gentrification: the changed material culture of an urban community." *Research in Urban Sociology* 2: 165-192.

Suttles, Gerald. 1984. "The cumulative texture of local urban culture." *American Journal of Sociology* 90,2 (September): 283-304.

__________. 1990. *The man-made city : the land-use confidence game in Chicago.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Trancik, Roger. 1986. *Finding lost space: theories of urban design.* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Tunbridge, J.E., and G. J. Ashworth. 1996. *Dissonant heritage: The management of the past as a resource in conflict.* West Sussex [UK]: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Urry, John. 1990. *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies.* London; Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

___________ 1995. *Consuming Places.* London and New York: Routledge.

___________. 1996. "Museums as contested sites of remembrance." Pp. 45-65 in Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, eds., *Theorizing museums: representing identity and diversity in a changing world.* Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers/*The Sociological Review.*

Watson, S. 1991. "Gilding the smokestacks: the new symbolic representations of deindustrialised regions." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9: 59-70.

Weiss, Robert S. 1994. *Learning from strangers: the art and method of qualitative interview studies.* New York: Maxwell Macmillan International.

Wilkinson, Sue. 1992. "Towards a new city? A case study of image-improvement initiatives in Newcastle Upon Tyne." Pp. 174-211 in *Rebuilding the City: Property-led urban regeneration,* edited by P. Healey. London: E. & F.N. Spon.

Wilson, William J. 1987. *The truly disadvantaged: the inner city, the underclass, and public policy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wirth, Louis. 1938. "Urbanism as a way of life." *American Journal of Sociology* 44 (July): 1-24.

Whitt, J. Allen and John C. Lammers. 1991. "The art of growth: Ties between development organizations and the performing arts." *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 26,3 (March): 376-393.

Wilson, David. 1998. "Urban representation as politics." *Urban Geography* 19,3: 254-261.

Wohl, R. Richard and Anselm Strauss. 1958. "Symbolic representation and the urban milieu." *American Journal of Sociology* 63,5 (March): 523-532.

Zube, E.H. and D.G. Pitt. 1981. "Cross-cultural perceptions of scenic and heritage landscapes." *Landscape planning* 8: 69-87.

Zukin, Sharon. 1982. *Loft living: culture and capital in urban change.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

___________, et al. 1998. "From Coney Island to Las Vegas in the urban imaginary - Discursive practices of growth and decline." *Urban Affairs Review* 33,5: 627-654.