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Saving This Place: An Ethnography of Fresno, CA's Fulton Mall

by

Doris Dakin Perez

A dissertation submitted in partial completion

of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

(Interdisciplinary Humanities: *Anthropology & History*)

at the *University of California, Merced*

2019

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my father Edward Perez, the original scholar in our family.

This work is also dedicated to my late mother, Carla Jo Dakin. You didn't get to read my work, but you were with me every step of the way.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

Let me get the easy part over with first: I would have not been able to do this without the support of my brilliant wife Darcie Ann Lenz. She spent countless hours helping me prepare for lectures and kindly left me alone with my laptop while she handled the important matter of running our life together.

Many, many thanks to my extended family, the Perezs and the Dakins. My father and sisters Elena and Stephanie read and encouraged my work, and urged me to keep going. My aunts Julie Ann Dakin, Monta Lee Dakin and Joann Steck-Bayat, along with their wonderful partners, were early supporters who believed in me when I could not see the next step ahead. I am forever grateful to you all!

My dear cousin and friend Cynthia Hernandez helped me settle into Merced life, and was a wonderful ear when I needed to discuss the new start graduate school gave me. Her positive attitude and inner strength are why I needn't worry about the next generation of women in our family.

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First, I'd like to thank UC Merced for the educational opportunities it offered me as an intuition. In particular, I'd like to thank Graduate Dean Marjorie Zatz for supporting my research through various programs in Graduate Division. I'd also like to thank Dr. Jessica Trounstine, who first encouraged me to apply to UC Merced. I'd like to thank Josh Franco and Kau Vue for riding out the early days of graduate school with me. Cate Portilla-Silva, Trevor Jackson, Hannah Maulding Chris Caskey, Neama Alamri, Amrit Deol and Shannon Acevedo were wonderful colleagues – together, we pushed each other to develop our professional identities. I'd especially like to thank my colleague Karen Deeming for being the perfect work wife and travel buddy: patient when I was uncertain, generous with help, and encouraging when I had new ideas to research. Dr. Michael Essinger helped me find my footing, and advised me on developing my own teaching style, a profession I have been thrilled to take part in. Lastly, Dr. Amy Moffat and Dr. Beth Hernandez-Jason were and still are wonderful friends to me during graduate school and beyond.

Many professors in the Interdisciplinary Humanities graduate program at UC Merced were helpful to my training and growth as a scholar. Dr. Shipu Wang and Dr. Sean Malloy offered encouragement and critique at the right moments. Dr. Ruth Mostern, now at the University of Pittsburgh, helped me think about space and mapping in my research.

I am grateful for mentors off the UC Merced campus as well. Dr. Lance Gravlee and Dr. Sarah Shurik were instrumental in helping me obtain experience with fieldwork, and introduced me to two wonderful friends and scholars, Emily Hite at UC Boulder and Dalila D'Ingeo at the University of Florida, Gainesville.

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Boom: A Journal of California, University of California Press, Winter 2017

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2014   "A Changing 'Patriotism'. Book Review: *Exhibiting Patriotism* by Theresa Bergman." *Current Anthropology,* University of Chicago Press (5)33: 359-360

Other Public Academic Writing
2017   "Money, Debt and Shame: Financing Our Humanist Futures"
University of California Humanities Research Initiative (UCHRI)
Humanists@Work Blog

2016	"Oakland's Changing Narrative" "The Oakland School of Urbanism" Blog, UCHRI-funded UC Research Group
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California State University, Fresno - Invited by Dr. Michael Eissinger

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            History 112: *The Other California*, University of California, Merced
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            Oakland, CA" 2015 American Association of Anthropology - Denver, CO

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RELEVANT WORK EXPERIENCE
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Saving This Place: An Ethnography of Fresno's Fulton Mall
Doris Dakin Perez
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Abstract

My dissertation situates issues of urban space, place and renewal within a larger context of historical social memory. An open urban space that celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2014, the once-beautiful urban Fulton Mall in Fresno, CA served as abandoned parkland contested by city leaders and community members alike until a controversial infrastructure project began in 2016. I developed an ethnographic project of the site and the dynamics of local narrative. My research agenda concerns several key questions: How does social memory influence the construction of identity and citizenship at the local political level? How does the revitalization of open urban space play into this construction as the mechanism of a changing sense of citizenship?

This small local contest about space is theoretically significant to the broader urban anthropology discipline, and was investigated ethnographically to best capture this particular contestation as historically and culturally-situated. The Fulton Mall's revitalization serves as a test case for issues of space and community all urban centers will eventually confront, and are important to the master narratives of placemaking.

Redevelopment construction on the mall happened during my fieldwork (2015-2017) and added a component of urgency to my research while also affording me the opportunity to see continuing citizen action unfold. My ethnographic evidence suggests that the political discussion engendered by the proposed changes and current revitalization of the Fulton Mall in Fresno is really a contestation of identity, in which the social memory of a community is highlighted and positioned in direct contest to the larger forces of a postmodern movement to manufacture space first, community second. My research highlights thefocus on fiscal matters driving local planning projects as they relate to economic markets and city boosterism, not community desires, needs or history.

List of Figures

Chapter 1

Chapter 3

Chapter 5

Chapter 6

List of Appendices and Abbreviations

Appendices

1. Appendix 1: List of Survey Questions

Abbreviations

1. DFC - Downtown Fresno Coalition
2. DFP – Downtown Fresno Partnership
3. DTA – Fresno Downtown Academy
4. TIGER grant – Transportation Investment Generating Economic Recovery (TIGER) grant

Chapter One: Memory and Imagined Futures on The Fulton Mall

Introduction

The redevelopment of the Fulton Mall in Fresno, CA was a small local contest about space, and is important to the master narratives of placemaking. My dissertation investigates these claims ethnographically and sought to capture this particular contestation as historically and culturally-situated. Underneath the site-specific particularism that is the Fulton Mall's revitalization are the larger elements of urbanization and the global political economy of neoliberalism that shapes city landscapes on economic terms. In this dissertation, I highlight how city government crafts policy as it relates to economic markets and city boosterism, not their community's desires, needs or history. Interdisciplinary by design, my scholarship adds to the subfields of political and urban anthropology and the study of urban America's history.

Figure 2.1 The south end of the Fulton Mall (2015)   *Photo Credit: Doris Dakin Perez*

Case Study: Post-2008 Revitalization Efforts

From 2016-2017, the Mall underwent a major, and controversial, construction project as part of recent local government-led efforts to enliven Fresno's faltering downtown. A revival of public interest and action spurred me to ask questions concerning the symbolic and lived importance of the Mall: What did the redevelopment of this site mean to the pluralistic community of Fresnans in relation to the idea of the Fulton Mall historically, socially, politically? How were attempts to redesign and redefine the Mall's use reflective of a larger hegemonic social project concerning whom gets acknowledged by city

leadership, and finally, how did activist group opposition use history and nostalgia as rhetorical weapons? Here I argue that the political discussion and action engendered by proposed changes to the Fulton Mall are in fact contestation of a burgeoning urban identity first resisted, and then awkwardly embraced, by local leadership in an urbanizing global context.

Figure 3: The office of the Downtown Fresno Partnership (2014) Photo Credit: Doris Dakin Perez

My dissertation research is a diachronic ethnographic project that explores the controversial development's relationship to social memory as a mechanism of study to discuss the phenomenological elements that go into placemaking[1], a term borrowed from the literature of critical urban geography that describes people's efforts to attach themselves to places through shared history and culture. I also heard the word "revitalization" and "redevelopment" used interchangeably in my interviews, urban planning buzzwords that reflected the sweeping, yet still vague, plans to make the site "better." Given the former Mall's Modernist aesthetics, it was ironic to hear these words, which celebrate change and development as linear progress towards Eurocentric universals of truth and beauty, used in true Modernist fashion to describe the project's primary directive. Redevelopment, as it relates to development, implies an aesthetic or spatial corrective on top of already "developed" land, subject to the power relations of space. Much of the recent multidisciplinary literature on urban space uses redevelopment as part of the process of gentrification, or changing space to appeal to newcomers with different class and aesthetic orientations that supersede previous residents' needs or values.

For myself, a native of Fresno, who has been gone for over a decade, this project presents a challenge to the division between emic and etic approaches to anthropological study, as well as in my understanding of the struggles of local government in a community that I barely remember. Simultaneously, the place-memory of home still retains meaning for me, especially in the older areas like the Fulton Mall once untouched by urban redevelopment. It became my task to walk a precarious line of intimacy and distant appraisal, a role that Mark Arax understands as a "messy affair," part of returning home:

> The stakes always seemed higher [in Fresno] then when I was writing about
> L.A. The reasons were obvious in one respect—it was my home—and yet I

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[1] Cresswell, Tim. *Place: An Introduction.* New York, NY: Blackwell Publishers, 2015.

> sensed a deeper explanation that had to do with how we as a society related to place… I am still here, trying to put my finger on this place. [2]

As I moved further into my fieldwork, it became clear that the Fulton Mall's existence was negotiated by supporters and detractors alike through the application of social memory, a shared sense of nostalgia for the site linked to the middle-class suburban prosperity of John F. Kennedy's America. A shared social memory of the public site was highlighted by citizen activists in direct contrast to the larger forces of postmodern urban growth to manufacture space first, community second.

> So, what are the options today for balancing historic values, design, and economic stability for the Fulton Mall? Pioneering landscape architect Garrett Eckbo's design unified the original architecture and planning by Victor Gruen Associates – it was the centerpiece of Gruen's master plan … and an initial hit. Like other pedestrian malls, Fulton has seen its share of decline. Because of demographic and population shifts, the mall's only real usage is during business hours. After 5PM, it's largely dormant. This is bad for retail, revenue and city spirit.[3]

My dissertation uses this controversy as an entry point towards an ethnographic study of urban change. I initiated fieldwork to discover the utility of social memory, or the shared experience that becomes lore[4], in the planning process as part of democratic urban placemaking[5]. As such, the research model I developed operationalizes several research questions: How does social memory influence the construction of shared identity at the local level? How did the revitalization of the open urban space that was the Fulton Mall play into this construction as the catalyst for a changing sense of citizenship? A sense of agency for those groups who sought spatial politics that reflected their values?

Ethnographic evidence suggests that the push to stake a grassroots claim in the revitalization of the inner urban core of downtown Fresno was part of a new project of place that small-scale community organizations are using to highlight the sunshine and noir[6] of urban change. This is evidenced by the ways in which discourse has been shaped by the proposed changes for revitalization, the perpetuating ideas that fueled a particular and historical social memory of place, and the goals for the site that change the character and identity of the Fulton Mall from the crystallization of its 1960s genesis.

The Fulton Mall as Place and Space
The recent revitalization of the Fulton Mall from its original design of three blocks of pedestrian green space and public art to Fulton Street in downtown Fresno, California has generated a contested public discourse over its short history. Built over the former Fulton Street in 1964 as a response to suburban growth northward, the Fulton Mall stretched

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[2] Arax, Mark. 2005: 27.

[3] Birnbaum, Charles. White Paper – Fulton Mall. The Cultural Landscape Foundation, 2010.

[4] Connerton, *How Society Remembers*, 22.

[5], [3] Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz.* New York, NY: Verso Books, 1990.

[6] Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz*, 5.

through what was once the bustling center of the city's downtown area. The Mall's history lives large in the local imaginary as a site that once fostered social cohesion, economic activity and embodied the design aesthetics of American Twentieth Century ideals of Western modernity. For the last decade, the Mall's declined state and potential revitalization has provoked, locally and in national media, excitement and in turn, great disillusionment.

The semi-abandoned feel of the downtown Fulton Mall—often described as such by city leaders eager for change—was by design and by default. "Owing to a series of planning decisions by Fresno's city government, the Mall did not remain the locus of major retail business in Fresno, however, it remains a welcome oasis reserved for pedestrians in the heart of downtown Fresno, and…has played a vital role in the development of Fresno's social history"[7]. Recent (2013-2018) local art exhibits, community meetings and governmental action have all led to one conclusion: Fresno's Fulton Mall, long abandoned by the city's middle class, has had something of a moment in the post-2008 Economic recession cultural landscape of the region, even as its space underwent construction for a new purpose.

The Fulton Mall is now, in the first half of 2019, Fulton Street, part of the newly revamped Fulton Corridor that leads from the Cultural Arts District to Downtown. Cars pass where walkers once stood, in an attempt by boosters and city leaders to manifest the benefits of economic revitalization. This swift rise in attention by local media and citizen activists encompasses several phenomena all at once—years of neglect by local government that act as cultural forgetting that has allowed urban decay to happen while the commercial districts and the new development in the city, specifically tony apartments for rent in Downtown Fresno and larger housing developments have moved towards the northernmost boundary of the city along the San Joaquin River. Both governmental and community-based efforts to revitalize the area have gained traction through planning projects and cultural events aimed at revitalizing the downtown's underdeveloped cultural arts scene. And efforts to renew the downtowns of urban communities have the advancing momentum of a global trend towards the energetic vitality of pre-World War II urban life, densely zoned to contain multipurpose, multi-use buildings, yet carless by design. The Fulton Mall stands at the intersection of these global forces, its revitalization spurred by new economic activity despite a history of political and social abandonment by the cultural and civic elites that worked so hard to bring the new concept of pedestrian malls to 1960s Fresno.

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[7] Downtown Fresno Partnership 2014, 1.

Figure 4: The Mall in 1964   Photo Credit: Getty Images via KVPR (2015)

Theorizing A Contested Revival

My scholarship positions the Fulton Mall as a meaningful site of social memory of Fresno, and I argue that the struggle to redevelop and revitalize the Mall is part of a larger urban impetus to repurpose and access public sites by populations often competing with each other for meaning. Government intervention has and continues to use memory as a way to control the popular image of the city[8] by reifying the site's history and purpose, leading to various different definitions of "community" and "space"[9] and ways in which citizens can participate in the process of placemaking.

The Fresno Fulton Mall is a prime example of the contention of memory and utilization of place coming together as elements in the urban planning process, privileging ideas of the future by utilizing social memory as a product and process from the past. In his 2001 poem "Street Scene on the Fulton Mall,"[10] Gary Soto writes of the decay of the once-vibrant space- "The curb was painted red - blood of a sorrowful brother? I imagined him knocked down and getting up, not god-like, but with the stamina of a burro… Between buildings, the best years long gone." More positive memories reside in the hagiography of wishful editorials and nostalgic commentary from those who resist proposals of redevelopment for an ideational past. Svetlana Boym writes "thus places in the city are not merely architectural metaphors; they are also screen memories for urban dwellers, projections of contested remembrances."[11]. Primary sources from my research echo this sentiment, as Ruth Gadebusch wrote in *Community Alliance* of the Fulton Mall's origins:

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[8] Villa, Humero Raul. *Barrio Logos*. New York, NY: 2000, 26.

[9] Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2013: 45.]

[10] Soto, Gary. "Street Scene on the Fulton Mall." *Poetry Magazine*, 2001.

[11] Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia.* New York, NY: 2001, 77.

Once upon a time, Fresno had vision. It was going to save its downtown. A civic planner was hired and a downtown street was turned into an exciting mall. Dedicated citizens raised money and graced that mall with carefully selected art. It was a showcase recognized far and wide. We came. We saw. We shopped. We boasted.[12]

The forgetting implied in the reification of the Mall's development[13] is similar to the work of Paul Connerton in which he highlights the forgetting of history that urban renewal fosters as part of its temporal fluidity. Social memory, here the memories of a downtown project and an age of economic prosperity, counters this forgetting as a pause in the construction of official history by larger forces using the carefully-shaped past to inform the present. By commodifying spaces and erasing the relationship of labor to materiality, a temporal forgetting[14], is modernity's ace in the hole. His idea of spatial topography and place memory as indicators of a socially inscribed site of power evoked the ways in which Raul Homero Villa's open spaces in the barrio act as places to reproduce resistance.

Ethnographic Research and Positionality

Politically and scholastically, this project is an important case study of urban growth and an example of uneven gentrification and community resistance to change. Personally, as a Valley daughter who has returned, the issues of redevelopment and the ways in which the Central Valley, Fresno and the Fulton Mall have gone largely understudied reify the academic tradition of overlooking smaller cities when discussing urban growth and the development of community.

Planning regimes that grip the Central Valley have privileged agricultural land and other industrial production over public space and sustainable development, making any focus on public goods like open space an innovative place to base my ethnographic gaze. The realities of social dispossession that create imagined futures significant to citizens must be highlighted to counter the positivistic quantitative studies and forms of analysis that drives the focus of a local government that is forced to compete for resources. My ethnographic study of the Fulton Mall and its socio-historical context has captured much of this counter-narrative, as well as contextualizes understanding of the planning ethos that fuels inequality and privatization of the last few common areas available to the public.

This small urban site is enmeshed within broader issues of city planning, political responsiveness and urban identity-making. Thus, it has required a research plan that is interdisciplinary. Fresno's deep racial stratification, geographic sprawl and political culture that minimizes transparency beg for in-depth study. Redevelopment of the Mall during my year of fieldwork (2016-2017) added a component of urgency to the research while also affording the opportunity to see continuing citizen action unfold. California's Central Valley, where the City of Fresno and its Fulton Mall project are located, is deeply

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[12] Gadebusch, Ruth. Letter to the Editor. *Community Alliance*, 2013.

[13] Moore, Joe and Balch. Downtown Fresno's Broken Heart. *City of Fresno* document, 2012.

[14] Connerton, Paul. *How Modernity Forgets*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009 :10.

understudied despite its history as a rural agricultural center increasingly subject, like all other emergent metropoli, to global markets and transnational immigration networks that complicate regional identities. This social memory of dispossession[15] is exemplified in the ways that nonstate actors in the City of Fresno, and the greater Central Valley, seek to revise social-spatial projects through political claims and across disparate sites of power.

The Fulton Mall's recent revitalization exemplifies the socio-political milieu in which global urbanization has challenged the shared experiences that tie people to space, unmaking spatial ties to place through erasure and gentrification while simultaneously seeking to remake space for new residents from outside the neighborhood. The use of the term "urban," in a region known for its rural agricultural economy, is deliberate; "The urban is not a unit, but a process of transformation unfolding in diverse sites, territories and landscapes."[16] The (?)Central Valley maintains its cultural and physical detachment from the hagiography of California narratives that favor the urban duopoly of Los Angeles and San Francisco.

This small case study is a template for other urban contestations of space, especially for smaller cities that seek to change the relationship between space, race and history. The often-repeated perception in local media and electoral politics that a lack of *middle-class shoppers* (read: White suburbanites and economic activity) present on the Mall is evidence of "emptiness," despite the steady stream of people, mostly of color and of lower socioeconomic status, who walked the mall each day.[17] This makes plain the invisibility and illegibility of working-class people and people of color who are not the white middle-class consumer benefiting and partaking in gentrification processes, as well as how changing demographics in urban space challenge social and political institutions. The Mall itself, and its decades-long decline, spoke to the changing foci of local political institutions as they reacted to the competition of urban growth politics. In this 21st Century era of cities-based growth and the growth ideology of civic leadership, the preservation and revitalization of older urban spaces like the Mall helps make visible the collective vision that cities and citizen groups employ as multivocal narratives of urban life.

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[15] Connerton, Paul. *How Modernity Forgets.* Cambridge, *UK:* Cambridge University Press, *2009:* 66.

[16] Brenner, Neil and Christian Schmid. "The Urban Age in Question". *The International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. Vol. 38 (3): May 2014 (731-755)).

[17] Delcore, Henry, Mullooly, James and Anne Visser. *Fulton Mall Pedestrian Count Project.* Institute for Public Anthropology at California, State University, Fresno and the Downtown Fresno Association. 2011, 3.

Economic Marginalization and Racialization of the Fulton Mall's Space

The aesthetic logic of the Mall is countered by a changing public utilizing its space, as the racialization of space and division of city areas are based on encoded color lines[18].Since 1965, as white flight affected all urban areas due to the rise in cheap suburban housing and the deindustrialization of urban centers became desolate places to live and work, white shoppers have abandoned the Fulton Mall. In their wake came different commercial operations, with goods for a changing consumer base that skews toward a Latino audience, further alienating older white shoppers from the offerings on the Mall. "Whites and Asians were present on the Mall in fewer numbers and African Americans and Latinos in greater numbers than their presence in the Fresno County population"[19]. Luftenberg's, a bridal store with nearly 70 years of operation and brand development in the region, left in 2013, seen by many as the final nail in the coffin that was the Mall's original identity as a mainstream place of White consumerism. Latino families stroll down the walkways much like Setha Low's discussion[20] of Latin American urban plazas.

To this particular population, the Mall is a site of social interaction, and less a place of consumerism. Many opponents of the current revamp have concluded that the proposed changes are meant to attract a certain kind of consumer - young, *middle-class*

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[18] Massey, Douglass and Nancy Denton. *American Apartheid*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993.

[19] Delcore, Henry, Mullooly, James and Dawn Visser. 2011, 9.

[20] Low, Setha. *On the Plaza.* New Mexico University Press, 2000.

(read: White) and single - who would not be part of the current population who utilized the Mall in its pre-2017 iteration.

Figure 6: The Fulton Mall amid construction (Photo Credit: Doris Dakin Perez, 2016).

Over time, the Mall also became a physical memorial to the economic marginalization that is situated in the triangle of urban density that lies between Highways 180, 41 and 99, respectively. This economic marginalization echoes nationally, where capital flight to suburban areas outside the urban core concentrates poverty and neglect near the civic buildings of the inner city.[21] A discussion of urban issues seems disjointed given the Fresno area's rural environs - the Central Valley region in which it is centered is "big agriculture" country, where mass-produced fruits, vegetables, nuts and livestock[22] supply the global market. In rural areas, the largely contained space and few common areas allows for limited social cohesion. As an urban center in the rural region of the Central Valley, the City of Fresno remains the central meeting point for social, political and economic activity.

A culture of racial and economic division, often stratified together as the legacy of race relations created by White settlement, Latino and Asian migration, and Native American marginalization, has set the stage for a spatial division of city neighborhoods that remains mostly unchanged since the era of William Saroyan, one of the city's celebrated authors and early resident. The older areas, including the downtown district where the Fulton Mall is located, struggle economically, often working as an alternative

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[21] Sugrue, Thomas. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

[22] Arax, Mark and Rick Wartzman. *The King of California*. (New York, NY: Public Affairs Books), 2005.

economy to the newer revenue-generating subdivisions and central shopping districts situated in outlying areas.

Current civic leadership argues that the original Mall was an attempt to capture the suburban experience in an urban setting, writing in the 2011 Fulton Corridor Plan[23] that "[The] singular goal was to replicate the suburban shopping experience being built on bare dirt just beyond the edges of Fresno and cities across America." An economic argument is made that the site was purely capitalistic in nature, making any claims to a park-like space or place of civic engagement a reification that, in the eyes of city leadership, came about purely by accident. The prophesied economic boost is central to the interpretation and recent engagement in the Mall's revitalization, circling back to its beginnings:

> "Business leaders and the City reacted boldly by trying to give the public more of the suburban experience they seemed to crave. They hired a famous planner of shopping malls and a leading up and coming landscape architect to install the nation's second pedestrian mall on Fulton in 1964. They invested heavily in sculptures, fountains, and other public art. They even recast the street grid and constructed garages with thousands of parking stalls.[24]"

The creation of infrastructure would soon be moot, given the movement away from downtown that started almost immediately after the Mall was opened. After the initial flurry of activity at its opening in 1964, investment in the commercial district trickled to a halt, and the site became, over the years, closer to an urban park. The minimal economic activity - Latino jewelry shops, discount clothing stores and weekday lunch places - was a far cry from the visions of prosperity that lingered in Victor Gruen's imagination.

Different Visions: The Park vs. the Commercial District
Collective memory serves as a normative social space, ideationally created to inform us about what matters and why in society by streamlining individual memory with cultural values. Social memory often counters the claims of ruling regimes, eager to codify history into convenient narrative reproduced across generations into hagiography. Here, the idea and act of forgetting is implicit to plans of revitalization by city leadership eager to develop the area, yet remain challenged due to the Mall's default memorialization into a de facto city park. "The Mall has become an urban park that provides a tree-filled place of refuge from the fumes and noise of vehicular traffic. Properly maintained and promoted, it can become a destination point with cafés and art galleries.[25] This competing vision of a place where social interaction happens, rather than where commercial activity is centered is the sticking point that leaves many community leaders and members at an ideological impasse. The drift away from the original intention of the Mall as commercial

[23] City of Fresno, 2011 Fulton Corridor Plan.

[25] Richert, Doug. Letter to the Editor, *Community Alliance*, 2013.

property to one that is utilized as publicly-oriented space is where utility and memory collide. This opposition is succinctly described:

> "We can found places - i.e., create new places or significantly change existing ones – or we can preserve places - i.e. refrain from altering places or perhaps maintain them according to some notion of their defining character. Often we think of these two activities as fundamentally opposed: founding promotes change and preservation promotes stability.[26]"

The push by community groups in 2010 and later refusal by the city administration, to have the Fulton Mall be nationally recognized and listed in the Register of Historic Places in 2010[27] is indicative of the use of social memory as both an outgrowth and a tool in this particular urban planning process. The proposal to be recognized as sufficiently important by a leading body of historical recognition, and thus, limit the changes to the space that would devalue the Mall's history and place in the regional imagination was led by a group of citizens outside of City Hall. The application for inclusion to the nationally-recognized body of American sites of historical significance is explicit in its use of social memory as valid proof of local significance, as "The relationship between memorials and forgetting is reciprocal: the threat of forgetting begets memorials and the construction of memorials begets forgetting." What didn't get discussed in either the 2010 application to the National Register or in subsequent proposals for redevelopment by the City starting in the Fall of 2013 is the role of forgetting often cited as "discard[ing] the obligation to remember" that Paul Ricoeur[28] says is part of the ethics of the historiographical operation; memorials "(…) permit only some things to be remembered… by exclusion.[29] Thus, the differing conceptions of the utility of the Mall, as a potentially lucrative commercial district or as historically significant urban parkland, cater to different constituencies with competing ideas about the value of the space. This difference is expressed most vividly in how memory informs that valued existence as either one of economic opportunity and/or historical meaning.

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[26] Cannavo, Peter F. *The Working Landscape*. 2007: 3
[27] Downtown Fresno Coalition. Application to National Register of Historic Places. 2010. Available: http://www.parks.ca.gov/pages/1067/files/fulton%20mall.pdf. Accessed December 2013.
[28] Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 2000: 46.
[29] Connerton, Paul. *How Modernity Remembers*, 2009: 29.

Figure 7: Drawing of the Mall Credit: Victor Gruen and Associates, 1962.

Different Visions: Pedestrians and Drivers on the Mall

Much like the production of space into a social actor,the groundwork that is the march of modernity's forgetfulness has been occurring in Fresno since the mid-2000s. The Fulton Corridor Plan created at the behest of then-Mayor Ashley Swearengin in 2011 identified zoning changes and specific places of revitalization along the Fulton Mall, citing the lack of drivability of the Mall as a major hindrance to commercial development and use. The centrality of access to the Mall by cars would ensure a steady stream of visitors and consumers, the document argues, as a way to generate much-needed city tax revenue and reinvigorate the area's business district. Detractors to the plan argue that cars would qualitatively change the character of what they see as an urban park first, commercial operation second, and cite the original plans that closed off traffic on Fulton Street as proof of limited success.

Figure 8: Fulton Street before the Mall (Photo Credit: Getty Images via KVPR.org)

Current urban development debates about the primacy of the pedestrian are also relevant to the revitalization of the Mall. Global planning trends toward a "walkable city", where density is key to social interaction and cohesion while also serving to counteract public health concerns of cities past. "In a relatively compact, mixed-use neighborhood, shopping is not just consumption. Rather, shopping helps foster social interaction between neighbors. . . a shared sense of community might arise… enriched with a variety of meanings."[30] The current urban planning emphasis on an ideation of place so different from the car culture that is inherent to 20th century California, from which Fresno takes its cues, is profound. This type of futurism is reiterated by Benedict Anderson, who wrote that "[national] communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson 1982, 6). The visions of economic prosperity, commercial investment, and the nearly $313 million economic output envisioned by the urban planners contracted by the City of Fresno leave the de facto use of the Fulton Mall as a parkland and public meeting area out of the realm of possibility. The public use of private land on the Mall, now lightly policed due to small crowds, would change as more restrictions would be placed on activity. Setha Low writes that William H. Whyte, influential urban planner of New York City, saw the decline of

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[30] Cannavo, Peter F..*The Working Landscape*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2007:107.

park land and sites of interaction as "a threat to urban civility."[31] Car culture facilitates the "postmodern geographies" of 20th Century sprawl, continued into the 21st century here by the "submergence of the power of central places,"[32] that are typically places of pedestrian navigation.

The proposals made public, three of varied change to the Mall by increasing car accessibility, and the most car-friendly (and ultimately successful) plan was backed by the highly visible Downtown Fresno Partnership. These efforts were legitimized by a $16 million Transportation Investment Generating Economic Recovery (TIGER) grant[33] from the U.S. Department of Transportation bent on revitalizing its inner cities. This proposal achieved local government approval despite ongoing public outcry about a violation of the integrity of space. The announcement for the federal grant awarded to Fresno in the Fall of 2013 privileged complete renewal, rather than preservation, as "restoration of the street grid will allow the revitalization of the City's downtown core, setting up downtown Fresno and the region for success with connections to the new bus route and a planned high-speed rail station[34]". It is to be noted that the proposals passed multiple milestones of public comment and political approval, and thus are considered to represent the majority of citizens' desires as the best option for the underutilized space. According to Cannavo, "as public spaces decline, the landscape becomes characterized by an exaggerated private domain: shopping malls, private clubs and gated communities. Our basic public space, the street, is given over to the car and its accommodation".[35] Efforts to further privatize an already privately-owned space that has served as public open area for decades remains contentious, especially as privatization often counters a public's sense of place.

The rise in American car culture has been documented as limiting social cohesion and political participation[36] while the faux private spaces speak to the historically-informed ideation of the private space, seen as gendered[37] in relation to a masculine public sphere, as a desire to feel comforted by the trappings of home and middle-class life. This strange amalgamation of internal dialectics – home, privacy, community emplacement, safety – meet uncomfortably with the external economic forces that make a city rethink current mores of urban planning to meet, in desperation, the possibilities of the future. The dialectics of change and resistance surrounding the Fulton Mall as a place of community creation, both ideational and de facto, are worthy of in-depth study, for the manifestation of policy reflects the social memory and values that makes a society into a community. Much like the Hegelian idea of history as continuous waves of ideological thesis, antithesis, and then synthesis, the turn of urban planning policy is one of creation,

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[31] Low, Setha. *On the Plaza*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 5.

[32] Soja, Edward. *Postmodern Geographies*. New York, NY: Verso Press, 1989, 234.

[33] Transportation Investment Generating Economic Recovery (TIGER) grant: Smart City Challenge – City of Fresno Vision Statement: https://www.transportation.gov/policy-initiatives/smartcity/smart-city-challenge-fresno-ca-vision-statement (Accessed 2015).

[34] Department of Transportation, 2014: 5.

[35] Cannavo, *The Working Landscape*, 107.

[36] Peterson, *City Limits*, 15.

[37] Connerton, *How Modernity Forgets*, 25.

then destruction begs a synthesis. This meeting in the middle of both sides, one weighted with the privilege of greater public support and the financial backing of federal grant money and the other a persistent scrappy resistance to communal upheaval is unexpected. Yet an increasing utilization of social memory of place[38] has grounded the rhetoric of resistance to remind us of the weight such memory work places in the construction of communities.

Overview of Chapters

This dissertation is organized into six chapters, with respective bibliographies at the end of each chapter. Chapter One served as an introduction that poses my core arguments and key themes I explore, the use of narratives to discuss broader claims to space, as well as the construction of a normative citizenship engaged in the multivocal process of placemaking.

      Chapters Two and Three focus on, respectively, a review of theoretical and thematic literature used to ground my empirical analysis, and the ethnographic and interdisciplinary methodology I used to collect primary source data in the field. Chapter Four is a review of primary ethnographic data - I bookended my research from initial public commentary in 2013 to the reopening of the Mall as Fulton Street in Fall of 2017 and used that event as a coda to finish capturing ethnographic data for this project.

      Chapter Five is the final analysis of my ethnographic, archival and spatial data. Chapter Six is a stand-alone discussion of Fresno's more recent efforts to redevelop itself with the City of Oakland, CA as a comparative measure. My analysis highlights the microcultures of two major California cities as I delve into what a "real city" means to those citizens partaking in the process of placemaking through their participation in Fresno's Downtown Academy. The dissertation ends with a conclusion on my findings and the direction of my future research on urban space.

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[38] Hayden, Dolores. *The Power of Place*, 1995: 23.

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        http://www.thebusinessjournal.com/news/development/9111-fresno-workshops-to-collect-fulton-   mall-input

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Introduction: Cultural Theory and Critique

In this dissertation project, I argue that social memory and narrative are used to bolster citizen's claims to space, as well as a means through which they articulate their claims to space, and thus, their emergent identities as urban citizens. The revitalization of the Fulton Mall in Fresno, CA. encapsulates these themes as a case study of urban change, and though it is a small project in an often overlooked city, the project is a bellwether for other cities who are or soon will have to confront the challenges of urbanization.

My project is interdisciplinary by nature, as I use ethnographic methodologies for data collection and analysis, historical perspective and critical social theory on social memory that also draws upon the various discourses of California's development – the bodies of literature I use are disciplinary in organization. Here I review these three literatures, starting with socio-cultural anthropology. I use the anthropological subfields of urban and political anthropology to analyze urban identity formation and cultural practice, as well as the scholarship on citizenship to discuss how people are tied to space politically, socially and culturally. My research uses themes of politics and political theory, citizenship and urban life to discuss the critical social theories that ask broad questions about the structure and agency of human culture.

Second, I use scholarship from urban American history and urban studies to discuss the urban unit as an outgrowth of both 20th Century American politics and spatial entities subject to power relations. Finally, I review the literature on California that has, both fictionally and nonfictionally, sought to dissect the narrative of California as a historical place of capitalism, conflict and growth. Through these lenses, I am able to interrogate the meaning-making of my interviewees' narratives about their connection to place, their role in placemaking and the ways in which they see the City of Fresno playing into broader ideas about place. Each of these three themes brings with it an entire body of literature of which I attempt to comprehensively review here. Given the scope of my project's aims and its interdisciplinary use of three anthropological subfields -political and urban anthropology, as well as the anthropology of citizenship- and works in California history and literature, geography, and urban studies, I make no claims of exhaustive review.

1. Anthropological Theory and Critique

As part of my dissertation's focus on political culture and resistance, as they thematically relate to urban space and dimensions of belonging – my major theoretical influences are the classic and contemporary literature in political anthropology. The particularisms of present-day urban life is shaped in part by formal political institutions and changing claims on the nation-state, offering up new forms of political integration and global citizenship that challenges the boundaries of static communities. This dialectical relationship between social construction and resistance within an urban context makes scholarship in urban anthropology critical to this analysis, as well as texts that discuss citizenship as a changing category of being in the world.

Space and Place in the City: Urban Anthropology
Anthropologist Setha Low's ethnographic and historiographical work covers the major arguments of "the urban," its historical development as a subfield and ensuing debates that prepare the way for new scholarship that inspires the major case study and argument of my project. *On the Plaza*[39] is a seminal text for my own work, exemplifying the legacies of meaning and memory derived from a cultural framework of urban space. Place Attachment[40] is an earlier work that helps articulate the affective nature of place in the memories and frameworks of understanding that build our world. Similar to the theories of collective[41] and social memory[42] as cultural enactments of place and history, attachment draws its salience from the emotive core[43] of its cultural expression.

In *Theorizing the City*[44], Low identifies a typology of the city as distinct types: the Divided city, the Contested city, the Modernist City and the Postmodernist city, among others. She insists that cities have been undertheorized by anthropologists, yet despite this characterization, anthropology's focus on the urban framework of cultural comparison is over four decades old. Richard Fox[45] reviewed the history of the urban anthropology subfield through its development as part of a larger discipline of American anthropology and addresses the difficult distinction between "of" the city, generalizable universals, and "in" the city, local particularities as part of the discipline's historical use of holism to understand cultural difference.

Fox outlines three distinct areas of urban anthropology: the anthropology of urbanism, poverty, and urbanization: "Urbanism, poverty and urbanization are all aspects of a single phenomena, the city". Poverty studies focus on adaptive strategies (ethnic dominance and machine politics), entrepreneurship (industrial stratification along ethnic lines) and brokerage (cultural mediators between periphery and center). Ulf Hannerz[46] put these themes into a model: the "overview" of city elite/institutions and the "underview" of urban poverty: "The particular historical and demographic pattern of given American cities will determine in large measure the adaptive strategy pursued by any ethnic population". Urbanization is distinct from urbanism, focusing on the process of creating density and capital accumulation, not just the distinct characteristics of urban life, i.e. urbanism, like social alienation, secularization and life within a "sea of strangers." Presumed universals of urban existence, "rural-urban antagonisms, heterogeneity, commerce, impersonality or dense population" are, in fact, particular to place but share ubiquity in most urban contexts.

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[39] Low, Setha. *On the Plaza.* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press), 2000.

[40] Low Setha and Irwin Altman, eds. *Place Attachment. Human Behavior and Environment.* (Boston, MA: Springer Press), 1992.

[41] Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory.* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press), 1992.

[42] Connerton, Paul. *How Modernity Forgets.* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 2009; *How Societies Remember.* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 1989.

[43] Gregory, Steven. *Black Corona: Race and the Politics of Place in an Urban Community.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 1998.

[44] Low, Setha, ed. *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology Reader.* (Piscataway. N.J.: Rutgers University Press), 1999.

[45] Fox, Richard. *Urban Anthropology: Cities in Their Cultural Settings.* Ne York, NY: Prentice Hall Publishers, 1977: 160.

[46] Hannerz, Ulf. *Exploring the City: Inquiries Towards An Urban Anthropology.* 1980: 53.

Owen Lynch[47] critiques Fox's previous work on anthropology of the city as essentialist, as if cities are institutions with specific criteria to be analyzed (Louis Wirth cites these criteria in 1938's "Urbanism as a Way of Life" as anomie, alienation and anonymity) rather than a collection of subgroups with different strategies for survival. Lynch further states that the city is not an institution in the way of the family or the church, and its social phenomena are part of larger forces. In fact, "universality pulverizes particularity of places". This work is a quasi-Marxist take arguing for an analysis of the political-economy of cities that uses the localisms of urban life created by larger processes of capitalism. David Harvey built upon this, writing that "urban anthropology must . . . contextualize these urbanites in some larger globalized and contemporary world".[48] According to the postmodern model that Harvey advances, industrialization in the Global South is tied to its inverse, deindustrialization in the North. Lynch critiques Fox's study as looking solely at urban elites, though Lynch writes that terms "city" and "urbanite" are their own discursive fields of power, revisiting themes of imagined communities within urban settings as part of place-making social constructions. In "Nominalism and Essentialism in Urban Anthropology," Walter Zenner[49] writes of two opposing forces that have shaped previous work on urban anthropology and urban studies - essentialist studies that fed off of Wirth's[50] thesis of urbanism as creating distinct social behaviors that need to be compared and addressed as part of a universal phenomenon, and nominalism (or realism,) where the names of each site or system are culturally-bounded texts to be read as particular outgrowths of distinct cultural patterns. "Urbanism provides a particularly privileged space for exploring the interconnections of practices and symbols of reason, representation, society and modernity and modernism". Zenner writes that both an "essential" view of the city, a la Fox, is necessary to understand the specific concerns of city life, but these social phenomena need to be understood as historicized to the particularities of place. "Essentialist view of urbanism retains utility". Hannerz's model of urban life: diversity and accessibility. Nominalism and essentialism are dialectical, competing forces that each offer substantial benefit to urban anthropology. "The entities we use in [urban anthropology] such as the city and the ethnic group must be seen both in terms of essences used in definition and as names which change their meanings".

City life, its increasing importance in an urbanizing world as a networked concentrator of people, has an extensive history of study. "The city as a site of everyday practice provides valuable insights into the linkages of these macro processes with the texture and fabric of human experiences . . . the intensification of these processes--as well as their human outcomes--occurs and can be understood best in cities."[51] Academic scholarship on the city first developed in the 1920's-30s as part of the "Chicago School" of urban sociology that aimed to quantify urban physical spaces and the social behaviors that came with urban change.

Ethnographies of the city came later in the 20th century, after the studies by Robert Parks and Edward Burgess and Lewis Wirth on Chicago's built environs proved such Modernist scholarship to be but a small window onto urban life. The quantification of communities through

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[47] Lynch, Owen. "Urban Anthropology, Postmodern Cities and Perspectives". *City & Society*, Vol 7(1) June 1994: 35-52.

[48] Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity*. New York, NY: Verso Press, 1989: 37.

[49] Walter Zenner "Nomalism and Essentialism in Urban Anthropology," *City & Society*. Vol 7(1) June 2008: 53-66.

[50] Wirth, Lewis. "Urbanism as a Way of Life" *American Journal of Sociology* 44 (1938) 1-24.

[51] Low, Setha, ed. *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology Reader,* 1999.

urban sociology was challenged by anthropology's in-depth qualitative methodology to understand the development of culture in city life. Ulf Hannerz's early work sought to capture the logic of "the ghetto" as an urban American phenomenon with historical and structural antecedents that reproduced contextual behaviors and relationships. Thirty years later, adaptive behaviors in marginalized urban spaces would be the subject of Phillipe Bourgois's[52] work on drug culture and homelessness on both American Coasts. Urban anthropology's growth as a subfield has taken two tracks in recent years to combat its "under-theorization".[53] Ethnographies that discuss the people within cities or the cities themselves leave room for the broad inclusion of work on community, space and place, belonging and social institutions. The tradition of using urban life as the phenomenological boundaries of community invites debate about the scale of inquiry – in what ways do cities create shared communities of practice, and how do communities of practice, in turn, work to create cities?

Saskia Sassen's term "global city"[54] reflects a cosmopolitan community made of foreign nationals ascribing to the benefits of locality while retaining a transnational existence and intersectionality. This social pluralism will, in theory, inform the creation of new institutions that emphasize a global reach. Cities are culturally differentiated and often not part of a nation-state's larger ethos, beyond its history and socio-economic development[55] into a distinct cultural institution. To continue this theoretical argument, Sassen asks about cultural cohesion between the state and its cosmopolitan centers: Is Barcelona Spain? Is London part of England? Is New York directly indicative of American politics and social culture? This relationship between state and city reiterates in perfect example the disconnect between nation-building technologies and urban incorporating tendencies.

Competing Discourses of Citizenship

The reality of citizenship-as-membership is complex, an ongoing contemporary anthropological debate that ties economic, social and political elements to a new globalized order that challenges the previous models of state and subject-making left in the wake of decolonization. Yet despite any search for new modes of analyzing space as subject-making entities, such as cities and sub-national governance like special districts and attempts at regionalism as a planning ethos, the nation-state prevails as a unit of analysis. Scholars point to migration as one of but many forces that has challenged the Westphalian system of international order crystallized in the postcolonial 20th Century world, linking state-making efforts to political economic endeavors. By gaining an understanding of the legacy of an evolving citizenship that has meant different things in different contexts, new academic inquiry is bolstered by the foundational theories that created such systems.

Here the concepts of belonging and membership are explored as building blocks of political entities, and moving targets ascribed to by competing, heterogeneous communities in search of bounded identities in a shifting global landscape. National belonging has traditionally been developed as part of a cultural or ethnicity-based heritage and history, implying a shared

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[52] Bourgois, Phillipe. *In Search of Respect*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999; *Righteous Dopefiend*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003.
[53] Low, Setha, ed. *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology Reader,* 2.
[54] Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 2001.
[55] Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City*, 3.

social narrative that, Benedict Anderson[56] argues, has been created by regime leadership to inculcate cohesion and familiarity. As previously discussed, Anderson's print nationalism, the mechanism by which members learn and reinforce the social memory of a polity's origins, is underscored by the creation of familiar tropes and stories that serve to further frame identity as part of a larger, static political landscape.[57] Inventing such traditions bounds community members to one another, linking past with present, identity with state. Belonging, as it is understood by these theorists, means calling upon this identity while also identifying an Other(s) that is to be excluded from participation. Inclusive policies, by definition, create exclusive socio-political memberships. Citizenship has been debated by scholars as both static and processual, rights-based as well as duty-sworn. Rights and privileges granted by the state are reserved for members who have been delineated in some way - through descent, *jus sanguinis*, or by birthplace*, jus solis*, making the naturalization process or membership through marriage a watered-down secondary process of inclusion.[58] Only after determining the criteria for participation can we turn to the competing frameworks of citizen-making that link people to the political sphere.

Engagement vs. Control

The creation of a whole identity for political use has been done best by the British, wrote Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, as the Brits are historically seen as purveyors of Empire and installers of what Pierre Bourdieu calls cultural capital[59], the reproduction of European habitus as a universal. A European model and a Eurocentric national identity is both a historical process and a historicized conception of state practices, making the international and transnational reproductions of a British-like system all the more problematic. "The repertoire of activities and institutions conventionally identified as 'the State' are cultural forms, and cultural forms of a particular centrality to bourgeois civilization."[60]Corrigan and Sayer's main argument, that the British system was developed over time into its own system of legal and cultural hegemony with foundational institutions and policies (versus a more ideological argument), echoes Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger's work on invented traditions as recently-created systems and institutions that are imbued with historical weight to normalize and naturalize them into existence in the national consciousness.

Corrigan and Sayer assert that state formation is "cultural revolution," whereas the "organized domination of the ruling class" and the development of specific institutions from the 11th to 19th Centuries sealed the fate of the English into its current form. Much of this has to do with its structural beginnings, as "England's precocious centralization around a comparatively strong crown limited 'the parcelization of sovereignty' typical of feudal polities" and lent a flexibility to incorporate shifts in the political upheaval of centuries of state consolidation. This

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[56] Anderson, Bennedict. *Imagined Communities*. New York, NY: Verso Books, 1982.

[57] Hobsbawm, Eric and Terrance Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

[58]Holston, James. *Insurgent Citizenship*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009; Isin, Engin and Bryan Turner, eds. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*.(London, UK: Sage Publications, 2003.

[59] Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972.

[60] Corrigan, Philip Richard D. and Sayer, Derek. *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution*. Oxford, OX, UK; New York, NY, USA: Blackwell, 1985.

ability to counter change helped the history of the English state inform the institutions and processes that were, in turn, globally produced through English colonialism as part of English culture. Its routines and rituals of rule are cultural forms central to the bourgeois civilization of the state that is then reproduced in its own image. The moral project of regulation is really part of a "totalizing project of state formation"[61] where citizens are created and taught to reproduce the state in its rituals of meanings.

> "State formation is a totalizing project, representing people as members of a particular community - an 'illusionary community', as Marx described it. This community is epitomized as the nation, which claims people's primary social identification and loyalty… Nationality, conversely, allows categorization of 'others'- within as well as without … as 'alien.' This is a hugely powerful repertoire and rhetoric of rule."[62]

Ultimately, this learned process of creation is where the national state becomes "the means through which the population is socialized"[63], takes on greater meaning in its modern iteration. The literature on the anthropology of the state[64] has debated the role of discourse and practice that systematizes state's functions, and from that, its own phenomenology. Gupta[65] argues that the distinction between the state and civil society is a Eurocentric configuration, and thus, naturalizes an ethnocentric ideology of citizenship. His work helps interrogate the cultural dimensions of citizenship that the larger body of work on the state began by anthropologists in the 1990s.

Moving from the state to its citizenry, and the civil society that articulates its means and the civic engagement used as the citizenry's point of purchase, the codification of citizenship as socialization legitimized by formal systems and their institutions, is indeed a process that travels well. De Tocqueville argues that these processes of socialization, i.e. civil society, was one of the United States' most important qualitative contributions to the alternative state-formation, highlighting the: "If men are to remain civilized, or to become so, the art of associating together must grow and improve in the same ratio in which the equality of conditions is increased".[66] Learning to become a citizen in a very different environment--within American political culture, rather than British, and choosing to take on such a role via the process of immigration, rather than coercion--is what Caroline Brettell and Deborah Reed-Danahay[67] write about in their study of Vietnamese and Indian immigrants to the Dallas Fort Worth area in 21st Century Texas. Defining citizenship as "belonging to a polity [that is part of a] public sphere placed between

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[61] Corrigan, Philip and Sayer, Derek. *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution, 1985.*

[62] Corrigan and Sayer. *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution, 4.*

[63] Corrigan and Sayer. *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution, 166.*

[64] Hansen, Thomas Blom, and Stepputat, Finn. *Sovereign Bodies: Citizens, Migrants, and States in the Postcolonial World.* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press), 2005; Sharma, Aradhana and Akhil Gupta. *The Anthropology of the State: A Reader.* (Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing), 2006.

[65] Gupta, Akhil. "Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Politics and the Imagined State." *American Ethnologist*, Vol 22, (2):375-402, 1995: 376.

[66] de Tocqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America.* London, UK: Penguin Books. (1835) 2003: 20.

[67] Reed-Danahay, Deborah and Caroline Brettell, eds. *Citizenship, Political Engagement, and Belonging: Immigrants in Europe and the United States.* (Piscataway. N.J.: Rutgers University Press), 2012: 10.

governmental and private" spaces of interaction is one way to reinforce a sense of belonging and the grey areas of contention where responsibility, rights and coercion meet:

> ". . . The relationship between civic engagement and emplacement is related to questions about what constitutes immigrant political incorporation and what constitutes the mainstream in relation to which immigrants are often positioned (and describe) themselves" as marginal[68]."

If becoming a citizen is a political construction and a process of learned identity for all—not just for immigrants, it is also a moral project in its own legal and extralegal way. Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat's work[69] concerning the corporal domain of citizenship as a legal construction within a biopolitical framework (e.g., Michel Foucault's "discipline societies") of political coercion brings a physical manifestation of control to a more learned, participatory, and abstract system of governance. Like Giorgio Agamben's idea of spaces of extralegal contestation[70], *Sovereign Bodies* is a collection of ethnographic studies that center on the role government and its legal means play in the control of its citizenry, most notably, their physical beings. A moral project of control and acculturation of its citizenry is needed to link the sovereignty of the state both internally within its own territorial boundaries and those external pressures that make sovereignty a necessary requirement for international recognition and defense.

With the conception of sovereignty comes the link with state violence, where legitimate force in service of the state make for articulated means of state formation and production. Sovereign power is seen as an "unstable project" that is contested, especially as those who question such confines are sublated. This instability, most directly in postcolonial states, is due to competition with other forces, often globalization, that make the idea of a national project feel like the vestiges of another (perhaps colonial) era of international and transnational relations.[71]A rejection of fluidity is often the central theme of the book's many site-specific studies of sovereignty as it plays out in corporal control, what Agamben calls "bare life"[72]. Ana Maria Alonso's article[73] studies on the creation of a "mestizaje" political ideology (e.g., Jose Vasconcelos's "La Raza Cosmica") to reform the fragmented Mexican state after ten years of civil war as a national identity with cultural buy-in from nearly all sectors of society. The indigenous population was not included in this ahistoric project [like Eric Wolf's people "without history"] despite their appropriated symbolism as the central bearer of mixed ancestry and political negotiation. The claims of such a totalizing identity both included the factionalized North and South of Mexico, while ignoring the indigenous and those who related other ways of

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[68] Reed-Danahay, Deborah and Caroline Brettell, eds. *Citizenship, Political Engagement, and Belonging: Immigrants in Europe and the United States*. 2012.

[69] Hansen, Thomas Blom, and Stepputat, Finn. *Sovereign Bodies: Citizens, Migrants, and States in the Postcolonial World,* 10.

[70] Agamben, Giorgio. *State of Exception. (*Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press), 2002.

[71]Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century.* (New York, NY: Academic Press), 1974; Sen, Amartya. *Development as Freedom*. (New York, NY: Anchor Books), 2000.

[72] Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press), 1998.

[73] Alonso's article (2005: 39)

identifying as more central to their communities, limiting their access and integration into a system by physically limiting them to their traditional areas of territory. This construction of "political imagining of a collective peoplehood"[74] created a homogeneous national culture touting hybridity while also rejecting the bodies of more traditional indigenous people as a threat to national sovereignty, included specific corporeal dimensions of race, sex and gender that informed by colonial legacies later became embedded in the construction of nationhood. And this construction is rarely a finished process:

> "A number of national projects - tied to different visions of national and ethnic sovereignty - vie for hegemony, ranging from the older project of mestizaje to newer official multiculturalism to more radical forms of inter- and multiculturalism from below, which do not split the right to culture form struggle for socioeconomic rights. The redefinition of Mexican nationalism is still incomplete and contested."[75]

The influence of decolonial studies on the work of postmodern ethnographies is deeply felt and reflects the trend to pluralize the history of nation-state development to include non-state actors excluded from hegemonic representation. The authors cite various examples in their collected works that credit the colonial world as "integral to development of Europe," as a site to not only extract resources and produce cheap labor without the citizenship claims of settler-colonialism, but as a site of state formation experimentation that can then be taken in its tested and improved form back to Europe. Technologies of power like these informed the governance of Europeans, who continued to venture beyond the Continent into the underdeveloped parts of the world, allowing for a cycle of information and social control technologies to become evidenced and portable. Governance and a distinct "colonial sovereignty" of biopolitical control[76] was then transferred to colonial outposts, positioning a foundation of the moral project of colonization and state formation from which postcolonial powers could, in their own time, contest and reproduce.

The evolution of citizenship from system typology to characteristics of belonging has happened as a subset of modernity's move and dissolution as postmodern critical social theory. Foundational citizenship studies like that of T.H. Marshall and seminal critiques from Renato Rosaldo[77], Will Kymlicka[78] , Peter Kivisto[79], and Phillipa Norris[80] are used to address a dynamic intellectual conversation, whilst advancing the role cities have played in this process. Within the argument for cities as primary sites of citizenship is a review of the literature concerning the dominant theories and conceptions of citizenship as an idea and ideology that has spurred social change forward in an increasingly globalized world. By focusing on the inherent international

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[74] Hansen, Thomas Blom, and Stepputat, Finn. *Sovereign Bodies: Citizens, Migrants, and States in the Postcolonial World,* 41.

[75] Agamben, Giorgio. *State of Exception,* 2002: 60.

[76] Agamben, Giorgio. *State of Exception,* 2002: 30.

[77] Rosaldo, Renato. "Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy." *Current Anthropology*, August 1994 Volume 9 (3): 402-411.

[78] Kymlick, Will. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1995.

[79] Kivisto, Peter and Thomas Faist. *Citizenship: Discourse, Theory, and Transnational Prospects*. (London, U.K.: Blackwell Publishing), 2007.

[80] Norris, Phillipa, ed. *Critical Citizen*s. (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press), 1999.

scope of cities as places of citizen development and challenges to older conceptions of the idea itself, an argument is forwarded that re-emphasizes the role cities play as creators of subjects and particularistic understandings of the world while also linking them back to an older model of citizenship, i.e. the Greek polis within the city-state system that emphasizes participation and collectivity. Political communities take their cues from the rules for membership; thus, citizenship remains an important process and product of the state. "Citizenship" as a term and an idea first needs to be broken down into its itinerate parts, for only walking through the multilayered meanings do we understand how new challenges seek to alter the underlying concept of citizen to space. T.H. Marshall[81] writes of social citizenship as status, a 20th Century development of citizenship evolved from its liberal revolutionary context. Social cohesion is created only by buttressing society from the whims of economic markets, creating social status as key to membership. Programmatic attempts to address such risk--old age pensions, food distribution to the poor--are held as examples of the social rights that citizens can expect from the state to provide a baseline of economic security that fosters social connection in a country where feudal lineage once reigned as the marker of power. "Status differences can receive the stamp of legitimacy in terms of democratic citizenship provided they don't cut too deep."[82] These social rights--more formal than cultural--are coupled with the economic and civil rights gained in the 19th Century and the political rights in the 18th Century, as the British nation-state moved away from a monarchical system towards a democratic and constitutional form of liberal government. Holistically, these three-tiered rights are, according to Marshall, expected and produced by a citizenry (not to be confused with an electorate) that benefits from the status of membership and reciprocates by participation and cohesion.

Marshall's history of citizenship is critiqued by many[83] while enduring as the seminal text on citizenship that moves forward an idea initiated from models of antiquity. His work asks the following question: To what extent can "reduction of inequality through expansion of civil rights reconcile people to remaining inequality?" A response could be, Marshall writes, that social citizenship and capitalism are "at war," which generates social conflict that must be addressed. The idealism found within Marshall's typology is critiqued as an overly-homogenized vision of society, based in part on its context. Monied, male Brits in post-war England are the normative ideal with which Marshall uses as empirical evidence that posit that social rights are intrinsic to full citizenship. He closes his work with three factors that have allowed the proliferation of social rights to develop within an already-won political and civil rights framework: the compression of income distribution (i.e. the economic "baseline" of human existence in a civilized, democratic order), the extension of common culture and experience, and finally, the enrichment of the universal status of citizenship. This social framework is essentialized as to "share in social heritage which in turn means a claim to be accepted as full members of the society, that is, as citizens". Several major critiques remain even as Marshall's work is recognized as essential to the canon of citizenship studies. Kivisito employs an argument that social citizenship has an implicit passivity[84], internalizing rights rather than acting them out, eroding the activism needed to keep governments accountable and members involved in the

[81] Marshall, T.H. *Citizenship and Social Class*. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press), 1950.
[82] Marshall, T.H. *Citizenship and Social Class*, 44.
[83] Shafer, Gershon (ed). *The Citizenship Debates: A Reader*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.
[84] Kivisto, Peter and Thomas Faist. *Citizenship: Discourse, Theory, and Transnational Prospects*, 2007.

political process. In his introduction, he cites sociologist Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone*[85] as evidence of a decline in social and political participation due in part to this indoctrination of passivity. We social animals are left with few social ties when the obligation to participate is removed or barriers to access erected.

An overarching critique by other scholars[86] lists neoliberal economic markets as shifting violently this norm of "welfare capitalism," removing the state as the political actor providing communitarian economic and social security against market risks. Empirical evidence about current states and their relationship to citizenry counters the successes of social and economic causal claims as advancing and making more egalitarian the idea of citizenship supposedly available to all. The duties and privileges of membership may be deemed universal, but due to a large and diverse population, dispersed accordingly to one's social strata by default.[87] The American model of citizenship has a history and legacy that attempted to distinguish itself from the feudal European hereditary system. The path-dependency of the political-economic development of the United States has created two key rights of citizenship explored by Judith Shklar.[88] She cites the historical particularism of African slavery as central to understanding its social and political organization. Voting and earning a wage were once rights bounded by race and national-origin, available only to white men of privilege despite a history of immigration and de facto racial diversity. The limits of the slave-based economic system remained relevant during the civil rights movement of the 20th Century--gaining civil rights for all citizens applied universally was coupled with gaining access to economic markets by those previously shut out of them in the "primordial struggle for recognition".[89] The social right to be paid for labor, hindered by de facto discriminatory Jim Crow laws despite constitutional redress, became a source of respect, and thus symbolic full inclusion. The nationality and social standing of citizens became the central difference between egalitarian ideology and social fact, a different take on social citizenship as defined by Marshall's original study. Voting was seen as an affirmation of belonging, an act "expressive rather than instrumental" to the political process. Additionally, Shklar carves out two more distinct meanings embedded within the term "citizenship;" active, in the Aristotelian sense of "good," where citizens are expected to reciprocate rights with duties and ideal, the normative aspirational society organized around democracy. Marshall claims citizenship as a status bestowed with social meaning, but it also is important to identify the behaviors that are in concert with such social placement. James Holston writes of the rights-bearing citizenship of a nation-state as a social entity informed by history[90]; a status at once revolutionary and democratic while also being exclusionary and conservative. This is due to the status of "citizen" linked to a body of law, above all other forms of identity. This claim further serves to erode local identities: religion, race, etc., using nationality and formal citizenship status as the ultimate social cleavage. Any attempt to initiate an expansion of citizenship laws by way

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[85] Putnam, Robert. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. (*New York, NY: Simon and Schuster), 2000.

[86] Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 1989.

[87] Holston, James. *Cities and Citizenship*, 1998.

[88] Shklar, Judith. *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press), 1996.

[89] Schklar, Judith. *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion*, 17.

[90] Holston, James. *Cities and Citizenship*, 1998: 2.

of inclusion uses the argument of universal application of identity of citizenship as a way to limit the scope of rights to new populations.

The cosmopolitan critique of Marshall's statement that social citizenship led to a more perfect social union of state and people reflected its genesis as a mid-century study of British men. The construct of social citizenship as social status within the confines of a welfare-state of culturally similar people was challenged by the growing recognition of a multicultural, multi-vocal world. This is especially relevant to the British context, where, in postcolonial fashion, the "empire came home." Will Kymlicka's idea of a "rights revolution[91]" starting as an internal politicized claim to social and political citizenship has framed the discussion of cultural (nee multicultural) citizenship as a particular critique of the state's failed recognition of the diversity of its people. This is in service to Renato Rosaldo's theory of cultural citizenship[92], and is central to the discussion of multicultural inclusion in the American context, although his critique resonates globally:

> "[Cultural citizenship] claims that, in a democracy, social justice calls for equity among all citizens, even when such differences as race, religion, class, gender, or sexual orientation potentially could be used to make certain people less equal or inferior to others. The notion of belonging means full membership in a group and the ability to influence one's destiny by having a significant voice in basic decisions."

The tension between an ethnic or national heritage embedded within a larger nation-state legal and political system is something all immigrants or emerging constituencies must negotiate. "Rather than accepting the dominant ideology that posits difference as a stigma or a sign of inferiority, cultural citizenship asserts that even in contexts of inequality people have a right to their distinctive heritage."[93] This claim for minority rights counters nationalized teleological narratives that link a people to its history, drawing the ire of a national government seeking to stabilize its cultural hold en masse. The limits of the so-called rights revolution were stymied by the essentialized division between the rights of the individual--here, the Jeffersonian yeoman farmer--and the group, distinctive cultural communities that pushed to claim a stake in the polity by demanding rights and institutions that reflected their authentic cultural experiences.

Ruth Lister[94] writes of a feminist critique of the idea of citizenship as a social organizing mechanism, reflecting the codification of centuries of female electoral and social exclusion in liberal visions of equality. Marianne, the symbolic female form of liberal freedom in 18th Century France, proves somewhat ironic--while women played a role in revolutionary functions, their access to the political, civil and economic rights of citizenship was constrained by a gendered system of privilege that denied female actors access to the public sphere. Even the language used to discuss and build a construction of citizenship during important moments of disjuncture was rhetorically gendered, reflecting the liberties that most men, here presupposing a 18th Century Eurocentric vision of the world, enjoyed in greater degrees of freedom than their female counterparts. Additionally, feminist scholars remain divided on the mechanism for

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[91] Kymlick, Will. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, 45.

[92] Rosaldo, Renato. "Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy." *Current Anthropology*, August 1994 Volume 9 (3): 402-411.

[93] Rosaldo, Renato. "Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy," 1994.

[94] Lister, Ruth. *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives. (* New York, NY: New York University Press), 2003.

change that will create a more gender-egalitarian democratic society: does the extension of collective rights trump the privilege of individual rights? Do the needs of women in the social collective benefit from social rights or the political rights of an individual voter? This remains an unanswered question and lives on as the major challenge of identity politics in a neoliberal world order.

Gershon Shafir's edited volume *The Citizenship Debates* walks the reader through the ontological history of citizenship and citizen as a social construct.[95] He includes in his introduction an essential overview of political theory as it relates to the process of developing citizens and subject-making. Ancient forms of governance that encounter social issues from within the Greek polis, political community, and the *oikos*, the family home, shift the role of political and communal leadership from the public to private sphere and back again. The Roman liberal form of republican democracy that centers on the legal rights of citizens is taken into the 18th and 20th Century by John Rawls who advocates for a blind justice that emphasizes fairness as the ultimate social cooperation. This is in contrast to the Greek communitarian democracy that focuses on direct representation and, in later versions, the breakdown of community via modernist[96] cultural alienation.

This bodily manifestation of the political is continued in this vein by *Senses and Citizenship*[97], where ethnographic accounts of the Other and the experience of political culture is disassembled as an embodied, sensory experience of difference. The "corporeality of citizenship" is analyzed as a relationship between ideology, aesthetics, affect and bodily experience. The feelings of fear, disgust, acceptance and wonder about cultural practices are aspects of political life, including some of the most fundamental enactments of citizenship, resting not only upon our senses but their perceived naturalization.[98] It is this naturalization of reaction to the Other that we invoke, consciously or not, the rules and regulatory features of our dominant cultural practice. These everyday encounters, experiences of the individual in a citizenship regime and how they are asked/forced/volunteer to participate in this discursive process provides a deconstructive analysis of citizenship similar to Michel de Certeau's work[99] on everyday encounters of individual autonomy. In his influential chapter "Walking the City," he cites the volatility of spatial organizations of modern urban life as "constantly exploding" universes challenged by the practices of city dwellers: "a migrational, or metaphorical city thus slips into the clear text of the planned and readable city". Opportunities for communal and individually-expressed agency within the structure of a planned urban environment counter the development of "the city," de Certeau argued, and the city as a unit constitutes a subnational flavor of state-formation[100] much like the Hobbesian State. de Certeau's work on agency in

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[95] Shafer, Gershon (ed). *The Citizenship Debates: A Reader*, 1998.

[96] Shafer, Gershon (ed). *The Citizenship Debates: A Reader*, 1998: 31.

[97] Trnka, Susanna, Christine Dureau and Julie Park. *Senses and Citizenships: Embodying Political Life*, 1st Edition. (New York, NY**:** Routledge Press), 2013.

[98] Trnka, Dureau and Park. *Senses and Citizenships: Embodying Political Life*, 2013.

[99] De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), 1984.

[100] De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 95.

urban spaces becomes central to the phenomenology of being in space that this dissertation will discuss, as well as the ways in which practice makes legible hidden power dynamics.

Domestic reconstitutions of citizenship as full *de jure* membership in the political process and social community, versus a legacy of de facto exclusion due to class and status, is but one of several evolving trends concerning the nation-state and its citizens. Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner[101] focus on the means of departure, where new stresses aren't revolutionary, but simply part of natural evolution of earlier demands for inclusion. What is new are the conditions-- socially, politically, and economically--under which such claims of inclusion can be made, revealing an increasingly democratic project that has moved beyond the strata of postcolonial rule. In her work *Critical Citizens*[102], Phillipa Norris argues that a critique of the codes and criteria for membership has been developed in part to deepen the democratic ideals of the institutions that serve citizens. This reflection of representation and responsiveness to a changing public is also legitimized by public trust in the democratic process. Other social theorists[103] argue that these tensions and grievances with one's government can and should lead to a more democratic society, fueled by dynamic critique that includes the evolving concerns of a changing society.

New constituencies from within a nation-state's bounds ultimately reflect a diversifying population that is fueled by immigration and movement of capital resources across traditional boundaries towards a supranational global focus on markets, people and place. The claims of cultural citizenship[104] as reflecting a diversity of demands and experiences in a heterogeneous society are coupled with the institutionalization process of "becoming" a citizen. Defining citizenship as "belonging to a polity [that is part of a] public sphere placed between governmental and private" reinforces a prescribed vision of belonging. This includes a discussion of the nebulous, undefined attitudes toward the responsibilities and rights of American citizenship: ". . . The relationship between civic engagement and emplacement is related to questions about what constitutes immigrant political incorporation and what constitutes the mainstream in relation to which immigrants are often positioned (and describe themselves) as marginal".[105] Access to the naturalization process of becoming an American, or, most often, citizen of the metropole remains elusive for some categories of peoples due to the different means of incorporation[106] and acceptance of immigrant minority populations.

Boundaries are the focus of Ludvig Beckman and Eva Erman's *Territories of Citizenship.*[107] The authors argue that there are "legal and aspirational" ideas of citizenship that

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[101] Isin, Engin and Bryan Turner, eds. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, 2003.

[102] Norris, Phillipa, ed. *Critical Citizen*s, 1999.

[103] Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction*. (London, UK: Allen Lane), 1979.

[104] Rosaldo, Renato. "Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy." *Current Anthropology*, August 1994 Volume 9 (3): 402-411; Reed-Danahay, Deborah and Caroline Brettell, eds. *Citizenship, Political Engagement, and Belonging: Immigrants in Europe and the United States*, 2012.

[105] Reed-Danahay, Deborah and Caroline Brettell, eds. *Citizenship, Political Engagement, and Belonging: Immigrants in Europe and the United States*, 2012:10.

[106] Soysol, Yasmine. *The Limits of Citizenship.* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press), 2003; Touraine, Alain. *A New Paradigm for Understanding Today's World.* Oxford, UK: Polity Books, 2007;

[107] Beckman, Ludvig and Eva Erman. *Territories of Citizenship*. New York, NY: Palgrave, 2012.

act as an assemblage of norms and ideals. These elemental claims--territorial, cultural, fluid, contested--are found at the grey areas of state-making: "[there are] three ways in which states may be imagined: first, as peripheries or territories in which the state has yet to penetrate; second, as 'spaces, forms and practices through which the state is continually both experienced and undone through the illegibility of its own practices, documents and words'; and finally, as the space between bodies, law, and discipline". Seyla Benhabib writes in *The Rights of Others*[108] that "our fate, as late-modern individuals, is to live caught in the permanent tug of war between the vision of the universal and the attachments to the particular".[109] She invokes theoretical frameworks of the past--discussed by Immanuel Kant, Hannah Arendt and John Rawls--that are salient in today's discussion of transnational citizenship as bimodal in scope. She posits that a cosmopolitan universalism is needed to address new social divisions and claims on state. Universalism, i.e. universally applied rights that take on a humanistic character, versus the particularism of nationality, the privileging of history and difference, remain the central debate around which transnational identities must be coalesced. James Holston[110] addresses the citizenship construct by linking territorial claims to cities as one way of developing national belonging in a globalized world. He writes of the "city as [the] arena of citizenship;" Nation-building often took precedence over the role of the city in creating citizens, despite the role cities have played in engaging new communities and ideas into national culture.

Deconstructing and Contextualizing the State

I link my study of social memory and urban change to subnational processes of collective identity, states and citizens, and power. The following overview discusses key works and tenets of political anthropological scholarship; more in-depth discussion of the major themes, like belonging and resistance, and concepts, like the production of citizens, the state, and states as moral projects, are included here.

Here lies the central dialectic of the corpus of these reviewed texts from three multiscalar approaches to anthropological inquiry: The tension between advancing ideas of citizenship as packages of rights for the individual is placed in parallel to the collective lives in the urban context where agents structure their everyday practices of resistance and assertions of inclusion. The bottom-up claims of citizenship forward are in relation to the top-down technologies of control state functionaries exert to reinforce the goals of the modern nation-state. Cities, as sub-national arenas of peoples, economies and space, are where these two forces comingle. These three literatures are different in their scale and approach to anthropology's historic debates about method, scope and analysis and the theoretical lessons from these literatures inform the multi-sited approach to my own scholarship.

Joan Vincent writes that political anthropology's goal as a field is to "understand, interpret and transmit ideologies of political structure, organization and action".[111] Anthropological analysis of political processes finds its value in surfacing the logics of culture-like state formation and the relationship between citizen and state--a process so ingrained in the project of modernity[112] that its centrality is naturalized in the complex cultural responses of its

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[108] Benhabib, Seyla. *The Rights of Others*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
[109] Benhabib, Seyla. *The Rights of Others*, 2004: 16.
[110] Holston, James. *Cities and Citizenship*, 1998.
[111] Vincent, Joan. *Anthropology and Politics*, 1990.
[112] Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity At Large*. (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press), 1996.

denizens. Political anthropology as a subfield includes foundational ideas about social systems that have been historically challenged and reformed under postmodernism[113]. Brought to prominence by the British Structural-Functionalists of the1940-50s, the comparative focus on non-Western small-scale and large scale formal political behavior was eventually fragmented as a response to a broader social diffusion of shared authority as institutions began to democratize through decolonialization[114]. The "political" to be queried goes beyond the localism of power structure analyses, toward a broader understanding of formal and informal politics as the transactional modus operandi of conflict and harmony[115] that discursively operates in everyday life, the "unmoving mover" of human behavior.

Donald Kurtz[116] applies a paradigmatic periodization to the study and history of political anthropology theory in opposition to older organization of theory as categories of distinct cultural elements like kinship and ethnicity that classic anthropology textbooks utilized[117]. Five key paradigms have directed academic study of political phenomena from an anthropological perspective, and mirror the changes in interpretations of theory over the last century of scholarship: From the first Functionalist discussions of power based in colonial African states now considered "hegemonic" literature[118] to the processual debates of structure and agency[119], the current postmodern turn of political anthropology, where power is a diffuse mechanism that is no longer located squarely at the feet of the state[120] owes this theoretical fragmentation to the studies of political economy[121] and political evolution[122] that followed. While the academic interpretations of culture and power have changed over time, the specific site, subject or focus of this body of literature is also disparate. Kurtz' overview, and the additional text by Ted Llewellen[123] have helped sketch the broad historical outlines of scholarship of political anthropology. The development of leadership and power, as well as formal political institutions, and those that resist or employ tactics to work around the institutional "theories of constraint[124]" have all been the foci of ethnography, making the "political" in political anthropology a complex heuristic. My scholarship on urban space is located (by historical context and by proxy) in the postmodern paradigm of political anthropology, though my interlocutors are interdisciplinary and come from the fields of human geography, urban studies and American history, reflecting this "dislocation" of politics and the political.

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[113] Vincent, Joan. *Anthropology and Politics*. (Tempe, AZ: University of Arizona Press), 1990.
[114] Barret, Stanley R. *Anthropology: A Students Guide to Theory and Method. (*Toronto, OT: University of Toronto Press, 1996.)
[115] Ortner, Sherry B. *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power and the Acting Subject.* (Raleigh, N.C.: Duke University Press), 2006.
[116] Kurtz, Donald V. *Political Anthropology: Paradigms and Power*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001.
[117] Herzfeld, Michael. *Anthropology: Theoretical Practice in Culture and Society.* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing), 2001.
[118] Vincent, Joan. *Anthropology and Politics*, 1990.
[119] Ortner, Sherry B. *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power and the Acting Subject*, 2006.
[120] Scott. James C. *Domination and the Art of Resistance.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990; Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 1989; Jameson 1987.
[121] Scott. James C. *Weapons of the Weak*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986.
[122] Kurtz, Donald V. *Political Anthropology: Paradigms and Power*, 2001.; Cohen and Service, 1962.
[123] Lewellen, Ted, C. *Political Anthropology: An Introduction.* Westport, CT: Preager Press, 2003.
[124] Ortner, Sherry B. *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power and the Acting Subject*, 2006.

Within the postmodern paradigm of fragmentation are the revitalized theories of Kurtz's "processual" theorists.[125] Agent-driven action, highlighting the practice of individuals within complex "political" cultures, foreshadow the place-making strategies my own ethnographic work seeks to study. The mental frameworks of French Structuralism, the "model of rules" and "transformations"[126] forwarded by Claude Levi-Strauss, had moved away from the functionalism of F.G. Bailey[127] who used a form of game theory to discuss the agency of individuals within specific milieus. Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus[128], or the cultural framework that guides an individual's action through a system of values as "cognitive meaning structures," moved towards decoupling the study of power with that of the state. The resistance found in marginalized communities[129] was the outlet for uneven political economies where hierarchies were embedded into the understanding and encounters of power.

Kurtz cites a fundamental differentiation of the terms "political" and "politics" in the ethnographies of political anthropology; whereas "political" connotes institutions and the functions of governments in the process of governing, "politics" concerns the search and maintenance of power through relationships derived by human political agents to gain more power and reach political goals.[130] John Gledhill stated most conclusively: "It seems more necessary now than ever to move beyond a focus on the state to an analysis of how power acquired and transmitted into society as a whole".[131] Political anthropology as a subfield of socio-cultural anthropology builds upon an examination of communities and their ties towards a macro-analysis of the larger networks and nexus they work within. A study of power, both informally diffused and as formal systems of rule, merits analysis that uses the different interpretative traditions as points of departure. Here, information is dichotomously organized into the systems of control based on the individual corpus as a social actor and the collective, policy-wide systems of statist development that regard citizens as groups to be controlled and maneuvered. This "conflict relationship"[132] programs of power amid the goals of inclusion and state formation, and their benefits and failures, is discussed as part of the larger themes of anthropological scholarship. While not specifically anthropological in method or audience, I cannot talk about the functions of political institutions and social relations without citing the importance of Michel Foucault's theory of governmentality and Henri Lefebvre's classic discussion on the production of space as part of the development of institutions, nor can the elements of practice theory as the framework for enacting the dialectic relationship between structure and agency be dismissed in this analysis. The analytics of contemporary social theory help delineate the boundaries of my analysis of culture and the anthropological literature upon which my fieldwork was built upon.

John Gledhill's ethnographic compilation focuses on power, specifically as an expressed phenomena within the study of culture. Gledhill reviews the entry point of politics into

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[125] Vincent, Joan. *Anthropology and Politics*, 1990.
[126] Gledhill, John. *Power and Its Disguises*, 135.
[127] Bailey, F.G. *Stratagems and Spoils: A Social Anthropology of Politics. (*New York, New York: Schoeken Books), 1969.
[128] Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction*, 1972: 170-171.
[129] Scott. James C. *Domination and the Art of Resistance.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.
[130] Kurtz, Donald V. *Political Anthropology: Paradigms and Power*, 2001: 9-10.
[131] Gledhill, John. *Power and Its Disguises*, 1994: 20.
[132] Vincent, Joan. *Anthropology and Politics*, 1990.

anthropological thought, an analysis that breaks away from historical integration into socio-cultural frameworks. The previously separated nature of politics as its own sphere to be dealt with individually, separate from culture, has been thoroughly contested to have a more holistic presence not only in modern ethnographies but also in archaeological and historical studies looking to study a community in its entirety. "It could, and should, be argued that each case of conflict. . . needs to be contextualized, to be placed in its historical and cultural setting". Such theoretical concentration continues to lend legitimacy to the methods of ethnographic work in trying to capture the experiences of power and state practices at the local level. Giorgio Agamben's postmodern take on the role the state places on corporal control injects the discussion of a state's regulatory role with a Foucauldian interpretation of bodily control, or biopolitics, building off previous scholars' ideas about the ways in which the state uses the physical body as both ammunition and justification for rule and subject-making.

Unit of Analysis: The "State" and Nation-State
My case study on local urban development connects to the study of nation-states and citizenship by presenting subnational issues central to broader state-formation processes. The state figured largely in ethnographic work of the 1990s, during which nation-states and their corporate counterparts in the private sector grappled with the limits of physical and ideational boundaries[133] in the increasingly transnational flow of capital and people.[134] Specific definitions of the "state" and "nation-state" are in order. The state is seen by many in the literature of anthropology as the Weberian cohesive unit where territorial bounds cross the interests, and therefore governance, of a socio-political population as part of the linking of a people's shared sense of belonging and customs.

Functions of government and the processes by which populations implicitly accept, adhere to and eventually reproduce institutionally[135] are discussed in the literature on "state effect," or what could be argued as Foucault's governmentality writ large across an acquiescent body politic. The production of the state through practices that lead to cohesion and a shared identity are well detailed by Benedict Anderson's celebrated monograph[136] on the development of the "imagined" nation to which citizens feel a sense of belonging. His analysis details the production of state institutions that weave a coherent narrative listed as pivotal to the genesis of a nation that is simultaneously tangible and internally imagined. Anderson writes of a particular "print nationalism" that uses official documents and their dissemination as part of a large scheme to textualize a nation-state into existence. Anderson argues that nationality, as a cultural artifact, stems from a perceived emotional legitimacy invoked by a historicized mode of being. He charts the rise and fall of national identities, specifically in print and distribution of such state artifacts, as a deliberate codification of narratives and ideology into official canon. Such a process of consolidation around a central winning story (for what is statehood without a crisis from which to spring from?) makes legible claims of state: "It is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into

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[133] Brenner, Neil. "Globalization as Reterritorialization: The Re-scaling of Urban Governance in the European Union." *Urban Studies*, Vol 36 (1999): 431.

[134] Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 1989; Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City*, 1996; Castells, Manuel. *The Networked Society*, 1996.

[135] Scott. James C. *Seeing Like A State*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press) 1998.

[136] Anderson, Bennedict. *Imagined Communities*, 1982.

destiny".[137] His critics[138] argue over his lack of attention to the multiple and competing narratives that intersect and are utilized to draft a winning narrative (for what is the birth of statehood without conflict to arise from?) unified by the power elite. Other anthropologists[139] take a more utilitarian stance to reach a similar conclusion of a studied cohesion: conflicts over resources were superseded by the bureaucratic administration of security and prosperity across populations.

Anderson cites entities such as museums and monuments of the state that act as symbols, most vividly the Monument of the Unknown Soldier established in multiple countries to remind its citizenry of its war torn past and peaceful present, an intersection of history and symbolism that reinforces the current regime's legitimacy. These principles of nation building Anderson addresses as symbolism in a vacuum are evident in Hansen's[140] discussion of 20th Century Mexican nationalism:

> "In Latin American nation-states, such as Peru (Poole 1997) and Mexico, the exhibitionary complex became central because of the importance of spectacle of 'Indian' arts and crafts, music, dance, rituals, costumes, and mythology in constructing the 'soul of the nation.' Spectacles and performances of mestizo nationalism were not only located between the covers of textbooks or the confines of schools but also became integral to the public spaces of the city."

Turning to a more historical analysis, Anderson discusses the path that countries took to break away from their religious and dynastic leadership, towards a secular government that necessitated a binding national story with its own sense of meaning and history to spur collective feelings of belonging. Anderson is joined in his meta-analysis of the construction of collective identity as a socially constructed project by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrance Ranger[141], whose work starts with the pageantry of the British Monarchy as procedures evoking an *ancien regime* history of tradition[142], yet in reality a modern (post-18th Century) creation specifically devised to instill meaning. The state-sponsored and state-generated social memory of its own history and symbols has become, Hobsbawm argues, primary in nation-state production. The collective identification with familiar tropes and symbols "inculcating certain values and norms of behavior by repetition. . . thereby automatically implying continuity with a historical past"[143] make such invented traditions an integral part of the national narrative. Yet it is not, Hobsbawm admits, purely monarchical pageantry that looks to the past for its future iteration, but the regular routine of many states, including postcolonial nations, that seek popular cohesion and a historicized cultural recognition: "The object and characteristic of 'traditions', including invented ones, is invariance. The past, real or invented, to which they refer imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices." The invention of traditions toward the ends of a collective

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[137] Anderson, Bennedict. *Imagined Communities*, 1982: 12.

[138] Cheah first names?and Culler, eds. *Grounds for Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson.* New York, NY: Routledge, 2003.

[139] Gupta, Akhil. "Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Politics and the Imagined State," 1995.

[140] Hansen, Thomas Blom, and Stepputat, Finn. *Sovereign Bodies: Citizens, Migrants, and States in the Postcolonial World (*Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press), 2005.

[141] Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*, 1983.

[142] Corrigan and Sayer. *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution*, 1985.

[143] Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*, 1983.

social memory, and the imagined collective community, converge as strategies to develop an overarching sense of identity and belonging that reshapes its history to forward its future as a state.

The use of popular media and other means of communication as developed into national narratives is discussed specifically in Robin DeLugan's (2012) work on national belonging development in contemporary El Salvador. The strategies used by official entities (and those in opposition by resistors of consolidation) echo those institutional practices that Anderson wrote about. Monuments, official records, and museums created to memorialize national events and organizations forward a state-sanctioned narrative, creating the space and insertion of history into events that naturalize the state. This idea of a consciously created state is forwarded in Hansen's work, where all state actions are part of a "continuous state spectacle".[144] The Eurocentric nature of universalizing the state as a natural entity is discussed in postcolonial sites, making such imaginations of state systems more about the reproduction of a European model (or in India's case, a vestige of a European model once in place) that is reproduced as mores embedded with local meaning.

> ". . . [a central] notion of the state probably remains the most powerful lens through which society, nation and even the ubiquitous but elusive notion of the 'economy' is imagined. The modern state is not just a set of rationalities or institutional forms. It has also acquired vital mythological dimensions that give its authority both historical aura and weight."

The imagined nation-state is, Hansen writes in the introduction to his collected ethnographies, an "embodiment of sovereignty condensed into covenant," touching on the issue of a created space of cohesion that then gets manifested into legal and political codification of moral and political ideas into law, and thus, practice. The state's imagined past previews an idealized future as well as organizes the functions of the present day. In the next section, the practice of citizenship as a categorical function, claim and process of production will be examined within the context of the state as I draw attention to how urban redevelopment illustrates local level power dynamics.

Sovereignty
A continued effort to denaturalize the state by anthropologists - its structures, functions and processes - with innovative works of ethnography as a means to mitigate circumscribed and limited official narratives is needed within the field of political anthropology to further this conversation: "…the written forms that make up political anthropology are read in a context of activity that is not performed outside of institutional structures and political struggles but arise from them",[145] As states make and remake themselves, shifting meaning of place and history, analysis that encompasses the production of official statist activities, an evaluation of the larger global forces that contest these processes and the agency enacted by those within territorial and symbolic bounds allow for a holistic account of state creation, control, and context.

The primacy of state processes of cohesion neglect their inversion, the creation of margins and subaltern communities that exist both within and out of a state's official history, boundaries and official sense of self. Gledhill wrote of tactics of resistance in these spaces in

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[144] Hansen, Thomas Blom, and Stepputat, Finn. *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002: 37.
[145] Vincent, Joan. *Anthropology and Politics*, 1990: 5.

relation to James Scott's *Weapons of the Weak*[146]: "It is important to analyze the content of such popular "practices of resistance" in order to see what kind of impact they have on power relations, accepting that they do not pose an immediate threat to the stability of existing forms of social and political domination." Veena Das and Deborah Poole discuss these grey areas, the margins of society beyond the reaches of the state. Subaltern or alternative communities that are socially marginalized- ethnic minorities, indigenous populations and those that challenge legal statuses like undocumented workers within the United States – are subject to the rules of sovereignty often without means of official redress.

Giorgio Agamben discussed the obscured processes of state production that create what he calls "state[s] of exception." Not only are these social spaces of contestation of the state, often by indigenous populations remade into subaltern communities of resistance, but the state's legitimacy is challenged by the existence of categorical ambiguity. "The state of exception is not a special kind of law (like the law of war); rather, insofar as it is a suspension of the juridical order itself, it defines law's threshold or limited concept." Residents of these spaces bear a likeness to Agamben's reconstitution of the Roman category of *Homo Sacer*, where someone is killable (beyond the law), but not sacrificial (as part of it), and thus, an inconvenience to the development of tidy nation-state Kipling origin stories.

The colonial state imagined its dominion into being through narrative– "the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain and the legitimacy of its ancestry[147]". Thus Agamben's conception of bare life, and its biopolitical production, coupled with the social state of exception where the state can act outside its codified mores, encompass the grey areas of categorization and the limits of the state's responsibility. The state's role in the creation of categories--Alexis de Tocqueville's[148] distinction between citizens and subjects is particularly salient here--also creates, by default, extralegal categories where political refugees, prisoners and those subaltern indigenous people that resist political integration languish and are made illegible. The resistance inherent to such categorical claims is enumerated by Thomas Blom Hansen, in his collection of work about the idea of citizenship as a learned, social, and political construct. Illegibility of the law and legal constructs--documentation, codes and laws on the books-- become contested as the state demands paperwork. Laws that stratify societies into those who can access, understand and depend on a legal framework for protection highlights disparities within such systems, and the "extralegal space between the law and its practice[149]".

Yet these very disruptions of a kind of citizenship or bounded state entity create new ideas about what these categories embody. Added to this growing idea of vibrant networks of life across borders was the increased attention by the state to its citizenry abroad. Including citizens abroad in their official census, the dependence on remittances from foreign economies, and the inclusion of transnational identities in preserving and recognizing the country's political history are central to the scholarship that claims a sense of national identity and belonging has shifted

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[146] Scott. James C. *Weapons of the Weak*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986.

[147] Horsman, Reginald. *Race and Manifest Destiny,* 1981: 164.

[148] de Toqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America*. London, UK: Penguin Books. (1835) 2003.

[149] Hansen, Thomas Blom, and Stepputat, Finn. *Sovereign Bodies: Citizens, Migrants, and States in the Postcolonial World.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005.

course. Loosening state practices of connection now includes fluid, transgressive, and complex notions of belonging.

The Central Valley and the California Narrative

[Maybe this is where the briefest but more abstract reference to the sub-national state as your unit of reference with parallels to nation-state formation?] The Fulton Mall's revitalization is part of a long historical tradition of spatial politics in California that are part of and partnered with the co-creation of the Dream narrative. The California Dream, a subset of the American Dream mythos of open frontiers and untouched wealth awaiting plunder, was developed as part of Westward-looking land speculation efforts (Self 2003) that reached a fever pitch in the 19th Century. Ethnographies and social histories that detail the role of 19th Century ideas like Manifest Destiny and the conception of the West as made available by God for American expansionism are the literary roots to understanding the production of California as a culture and a state. Reginald Horsman's *Race and Manifest Destiny*[150], Anders Stephanson's *Manifest Destiny*[151] and James Campbell, et al.'s, *Race, Nation and Empire in American History*[152] forward these conceptions of the racial hierarchies built into the American experience, only to be reproduced and contested at its Western border. Theoretical texts that discuss the social history and offer a critique help create an intellectual framework in which to situate the social movements and changes that occurred within the state's fragmented, uneven political growth.

Previous waves of expansion descending into recent history have always taken part in practices of dispossession: early 20th Century imperialism under Roosevelt and the 19th Century development of the railroads--going West is an American tradition.[153] Intertwining race, space and systems of power is a uniquely white American endeavor, especially when invoking the larger call of Manifest Destiny, the ideology of unifying the North American continent under Euro-American political control. California, as a product and site of cultural production, is an outward-facing entity that valorizes a mythic, encrypted self-narrative of opportunity "envisioned"[154] by generations of elites eager to monetize[155] the American West. These encounters incorporated the politics of space and spatial monopoly into American nationalism; California's settlement and expansion westward began to take on the political and social connotations of a national, moral project of control.

Writers as disparate as Joan Didion, Jack London and Mike Davis understand California as a social construction and political project, a physical and cultural space that lends itself to technologies of power through a historical particularism that maximizes its external value for global consumption. California is a brand and a physical landscape, and has always been part of an aspirational discourse, sold as a postwar permanent vacation in the 20th Century that echoed the mid-19th Century gold rush promise of wealth and happiness found only in the state's Mediterranean climate.

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[150] Horsman, Reginald. *Race and Manifest Destiny,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.

[151] Stephanson, Anders. *Manifest Destiny*. (New York, NY: Hill and Wang Publishers), 1995.

[152] James Campbell, et al.'s, *Race, Nation and Empire in American History*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press), 2007.

[153] Horsman, Reginald. *Race and Manifest Destiny, 1981.*

[154] Self, Robert. *American Babylon*, 2003.

[155] Campbell, et al., *Race, Nation and Empire in American History*, 2007.

Historians and cultural geographers note California's specific relationship to the conception of national Westward expansion, in part due to its implacability, as both an idea and an end goal. In "Is California Part of the West?"[156], Gerald Haslam used California's cultural development as a discussion of California's place in the historiography of American expansion. Many authors link California to Asia and Latin America, to differentiate its genesis and interests as beyond the "old west" frontier narrative that once dominated American history. California is an outlier in the history of America, with foreign connections and processes of urbanization that counter historical discourse, threatening the lifeways in Central California as the last bastion of the "West" and all that entails. Haslam ends his discussion thusly:

> "But finally, this question isn't about facts, it's about illusion and perhaps fear. Those who don't know about this state's vast stretches of open land, its abundance of rural towns, or its actual history seem to sense LA creeping towards them like the slimy critter in a Hollywood horror flick - which is exactly what folks in most parts of rural California fear." Citation?

Linking California to the West and the control of resources, Marc Reisner's monograph *Cadillac Desert*[157] is over two decades old but still relevant. Deeply historical and well-versed in the internal politics of the past, Reisner writes of the discovery, use, commodification and distribution of water as a resource in the arid Western states as a classical tragedy of idealism and pragmatism gone askew. From the very beginnings of the discovery of the West by European Americans to the redistribution politics of the then-dying Los Angeles River in the 20th Century, the scope of the monograph runs wide. The author charts the rise of the State Water Project and its smaller, regional iterations (including the Central Valley Water Project) as doomed infrastructure built with a ticking clock due to the limitations of resources, specifically water and good soil, that will leave such places as underdeveloped as they first were upon Anglo-American encounter. Political and ecological ideology seemed at odds in the beginning-century development of Western infrastructure, as city leaders across the state did questionably legal acts to obtain water and redistribute it back to their thirsty constituents. The Southern California residents of new suburban areas added to this problem of infrastructure, making the Army Corps of Engineers in direct competition with the federal Bureau of Reclamation to secure water rights for use and preservation. Reisner argues that the commodification and movement of water has led to eventual natural and economic disaster. Written twenty years ago, this is a prescient statement in post-recession California, concerning the worst manifestation of a growth ideology that threatens the economic and environmental future of a region, the West, long held as a place of prosperity and innovation in all Dream narratives.

Fresno-born author Mark Arax's monograph *West of the West*[158] uses his personal stories of a Valley upbringing and endeavors in Southern California journalism to weave a cultural analysis of the state in the early 21st century. Arax details both the history and current struggles

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[156] Haslam, Gerald. "Is California Part of the West?" *Haslam's Valley*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books,, 2005.
[157] Arax, Mark and Rick Wartzman. *King of California: J.G. Boswell and the Making of a Secret American Empire.* New York, NY: Public Affairs Books, 2005.
[158] Arax, Mark. *West of the West: Dreamers, Believers, Builders and Killers in the Golden State. (*New York, NY: Public Affairs Books), 2009.

of Californians across regions, race and socio-economic status- Here, he chronicles the individual stories of wealthy entrepreneurs who capitalize on the fertile soil of the California agriculture industry and those who pick the fruit themselves, indigenous people from Mexico's highlands who have limited exposure to the land they consider a temporary economic opportunity. The author mentions the metropolitan centers of Los Angeles, Sacramento and the Bay Area, but the primary focus is on the "other" California, the rural Central Valley. He has a personal interest in the 21st century development of Fresno, CA, as his place of birth and childhood. Now returned to live, he spent several chapters connecting his Armenian roots with the agricultural lifestyle that brought his grandfather over in 1920. In-depth research and detail make this journalistic take on the modern California experience grounded in history.

The Urban Duopoly: San Francisco and Los Angeles
The state's historical relationship to the commodification of space, culture created at the point of sale, is best understood through its urban centers and spatial North/South cultural divide:

> "Not much about California, on its own preferred terms, has encouraged its children to see themselves as connected to one another. The separation, of north from south, and even more acutely of west from east, from urban coast from the agricultural valleys . . . was profound, fueled by the rancor of water wars and by less tangible but even more rancorous differences in attitude and culture."[159]

The ensuing fight for infrastructure echoes this regional detente. California's system of highways was? first idealized as conduits of state traffic that moved past cities, then developed into ways people could move around the larger urban metropolitan regions of the San Francisco Bay Area and greater Los Angeles region. This was seen as a reaction to the demands of a growing populace, centered on the urban foci of San Francisco-Oakland and Los Angeles-Orange County.

Mike Davis's discussion in *City of Quartz*[160] of Los Angeles as both the end result of a process of urbanization and a restructuring of traditions altogether. He cites LA as the place where the Disneyesque dream meets a noir reality that is readily applied to the state's larger historical development. This emphasis on noir is built out of the multinational blending of European disaffection with American racial tensions, met with the entrepreneurial spirit valorized as distinctly American. The "LA School" of urbanization's disenchantment[161] with modernist development goals of capitalism. A multi-pronged interdisciplinary critique of cultural homogeneity birthed by a Reagan-era privatization of space, the LA School offered up a critique of urban development and the pro-growth policies that sought to commodify the entire state of California for profit. Thus, such temporal critique of the urbanization process offers an interesting counter to the totalizing function of the Fresno Fulton Mall's design, a grand pedestrian centered circled by dense housing and concentric rings of freeway to funnel people into and out of the city core, is High Modernist at heart, and its decline over the past fifty years has been a study in postmodern physical and cultural fragmentation that the LA School thinkers focused their efforts on.

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[159] Didion, Joan. *Where I Was From*. (New York, NY: Knopf Doubleday Publishing), 2012: 64.
[160] Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz,* 1990.
[161] Soja, Edward. *Postmodern Geographies,* 1989.

Narratives of the state's dualistic urban centers - Los Angeles's 20th century rise, San Francisco's uneven Gold Rush explosion- are well-documented as bodies of literature. Los Angeles's fight for natural resources and primacy in the production of American culture has been predicated on a historical narrative of exceptionalism and fragmentation. "Even though Los Angeles's emergence from the desert has been an artifact of giant public works, city-building has otherwise been left to the anarchy of market forces, with only rare interventions by the state, social movement or public leaders."[162] Unlike other American cities, Los Angeles was sold as a culturally Spanish city, developed by European interests that transcended space and linked the arts community's centrality with the city's political economy. Jennifer Price[163] calls this proto-packaging out as part of its conception: LA malls (like LA) are "simulations of place". In his section entitled "The Thought-Shapers",[164] Gary Brechin writes that this tight control of California's public image was filtered by the media into the public sector and back out, a tight cabal of civic leaders, elected and not, that helped craft the Dream narrative. The concentration of daily papers under William Randolph Hearst and other self-styled barons of culture allowed for a unified message that "successfully restricted what readers knew about how the state and city was run, and by whom".

In contrast, San Francisco has always been discussed as a gateway to the East, symbolizing the new Asian frontier opening at the close of the West. Brechin[165] used his analysis of the idea of the *contado,* the Italian word meaning "hinterland," or "countryside" to analyze the "parasitical relationship" that cities have with their surrounding rural areas, as raw material for the concentration and agglomeration of capital for the benefit of the few, to study San Francisco's social history of development. Most interesting to this study here of the creation and contestation of space is the section[166] devoted to the development of Golden Gate Park with Frederick Law Olmsted. "To guarantee that San Franciscans would build a park, he appealed to them in the terms they understood best, emphasizing how property adjacent to Manhattan's Central Park had appreciated by 1000 percent in only five years, and that 'the impulse caused by the park extended to all real estate in and near the city'". The landscape developer, he of New York City fame, was a wary consultant, knew enough about the distinct relationship of urbanization and nature to help city leaders create a showpiece upon which they could enact the image of the city they so ardently worked to create and regulate.

Dispossession amid Plenty: California's Central Valley in Literature
Physical dispossession and the commodification of space in particularistic ways in the Valley have ideational manifestations. The Valley's struggle for cultural significance is reiterated in the literature produced by its denizens, as part of the production of local culture fueled by the social memory narratives of place. The immigrant experience and the process of Americanization distills the desire for emplacement even as those newly arrived to California and the Valley struggle with displacement. William Saroyan, the literary giant who would claim Fresno as home, originated this discussion of immigrant cultural incorporation in the Valley with his *Fresno Stories*[167], 10 small pastiches that contributes to a bird's eye view of the Central Valley's

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[162] Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz*, 23.

[163] Price, Jennifer. *Flight Maps: Adventures in Nature with Modern America*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 2001.

[164] Brechin, Gary. *Imperial San Francisco*, 2006.

[165] Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco*, 45.

[166] Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco*, 80-82.

[167] Saroyan, William. *Fresno Stories*. (New York, NY: New Directions. (1935)), 2004.

cultural development in the early 20th Century. In "Madness in the Family"[168], he writes of this displacement as part of becoming American:

> "He wanted someone to die, and to be buried so that he, as well as the rest of us, might know that a tradition had been established, that a culture must inevitably follow, and that, consequently, we might all be permitted to believe that we were in fact in Fresno, in California, in America, and, in all probability, would stay." Where is the citation?

This displacement reflects the often painful incorporation into the dominant American culture as well as the social and economic displacement that entering such an economy as the Central Valley offered could entail. Mark Arax, pulling on his attachment to the Valley as both a writer and an American of Armenian descent, often references Saroyan's long shadow as part of the literary canon of Valley writers trying to make sense of the particularities of place.

Another son of Valley immigrants, Gerald Haslam, writes about the Okie migrant experience as one of intense cultural displacement and economic dispossession as well as a re-entrenchment of Depression-era Valley industrial ethos that has endured. Oakies, the trope of cheap labor to be done by a cheap people, white, but not of means nor culture, disposable as they were dislocated in relationship to the land. The last half of *Haslam's Valley*[169] contains fictional stories, reimaginings of Haslam's boyhood in Oildale and Bakersfield. *Haslam's Valley* is divided in two parts, his fiction and deeply personal essays on the history and nature in the Valley. His last chapter "Voices of the Valley" includes many interviews with other authors and an analysis of the Central Valley in California-centered literature.

A major author of Central Valley literature and journalism, Haslam has helped develop the prevailing tone of wistfulness and celebration that much fiction surrounding the Central Valley uses to do both memory work and identity-building. Fiction situated in the Central Valley and by Central Valley authors also draw upon this disconnection between extreme wealth and extreme poverty situated next to one another in the California physical and social landscape. In *Haslam's Valley* (2005), the author writes a cultural studies meditation on memory and place by the Okies who settled the fields of Bakersfield, and reminiscent of the social differences created by forced Depression migrations. I consider this part of nonfiction Haslam produced a form of primary source literature on the experiences of the Valley, and use his other texts to color my analysis of sustained social memory.

Dispossession, dislocation and placemaking among the ruins of "extractive industries" like agribusiness and urbanization--the apocalypse is never far off in California-based literature. Science fiction and a futurism that reflects a nihilistic noir is present in several novels that use California to set the mood and describe the physical and social landscape of a disrupted system subject to rapid, sweeping social change. *Earth Abides*[170] is a postwar novel that could easily be translated to the movie screens of the 21st century, making creative allusions to the history of Ishi, the mythologized "last of his tribe" indigenous man analyzed by anthropologists in the 1920s. Octavia Butler's vision of a California apocalypse is not about illness but of a resource allocation problem. In *Parable of the Sower*[171], a great drought has swept across the West, and

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[168] Saroyan, *Fresno Stories*, 43.
[169] Haslam, Gary. *Haslam's Valley*, 2005.
[170] Stewart, George R. *Earth Abides*. (Boston, MA: Houtin Mifflin Company), 1949.
[171] Butler, Octavia. *Parable of the Sower*. New York, NY: Open Road Media, 2012.

society has broken down by intensive economic stratification and a collective desire to move northward where water is plentiful. Scenes described by Butler are not far from reality in Central Valley circa 2016: sun-baked fields, diminished crops, social desperation and the visual division of rich and poor demarcated by the full green lawns of enclosed, privatized suburbia. Other novels based in a realism that are, chronologically, pre-apocalypse (but, duly noted, the apocalypse is never far off!) are the works of urban fiction that reflect Davis's central theme of California noir and the excesses of Modernism in society. Competition between social classes for resources, the construction of new identities and the memorialization of the past are crucial parts of a postmodern understanding of California. Even post-war characters like Mildred Pierce in the novel of the same name[172] find they are excluded by position from the possibilities of the California Dream. This individual dispossession harkens to a collective moralism, a celebration of the shadowed activities that industry, be it Hollywood or Southern California real estate, entices out of a stratified, indebted populace.

The commodification of land and the privatization that capitalism encourages are evident in Jennifer Price's[173] discussion of nature in *Flight Maps*, as understood as a "far way place" to go to rather than the everyday interaction with the natural world that bioregionalist thought integrates into the ethics of human life. Price discusses our precarious American relationship with nature, as a socially constructed place, as something that counters urban growth and suburban lifestyles created as part of the mass consumption model of late Capitalism. The construction of nature, like other placemaking practices, is an outgrowth of a specific ideology of consumption, bounded by the mores of Modern progress where the car is the pinnacle of progress and scientific innovation over nature. The pedestrian, as an urban figure from history who needs a walkable city with a limited planning scope, counters these spatial impulses that have so long had the Valley in its grip. Suburbia, and its opposite, "the city" are all forms of urbanization along a continuum of density, and it is the newness of a global desire for urban spaces that makes the Valley's sprawling planning ethos an oppositional phenomena. Rebecca Solnit, academic provocateur, uses a cultural analysis of walking[174] to understand the way people have come to interact in modern America as historically contingent phenomena made possible through economic decisions that shape our world into one of production over experience.

From the closure of public space and the attempt to control nature through its pacification into formal gardens, walking is now an elite phenomena that is subversive given the primacy of the automobile and planning regimes that celebrate its disconnection from the natural world. This cultural study of how we experience our environment, among others examined here, acts as a kind of placemaking, of linking culture to space with all the underlying histories and experiences that force a shared understanding and perpetual construction that organizes our lives. Malls embody this social construction of place, intertwining narratives of popular culture, consumerism, Americana and its noir dislocation in the collective imaginary. In his short essay "Fifty Shades of Green"[175], Bruno Latour identifies the tension between modernity and an appreciation, or rather, an impulse to save or get closure to a diminishing natural world that leaves both practitioner, critic and their everyday encounters in an unfinished space awaiting some form of resolution. It is interesting to note the Fulton Mall's implied place in this

[172] James, Cain. *Mildred Pierce*. New York, NY: Knopf Publishers, 1941.
[173] Price, Jennifer. *Flight Maps*, 164.
[174] Solnit, Rebecca. *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2001.
[175] Latour, Bruno. "Fifty Shades of Green," *Environmental Humanities*. Vol. 7, 2015: 219-225.

discussion, where walking the mall becomes a euphemism for the urban impetus, a critique of development without any real discussion of the infrastructure needs of a city, a faux urban landscape to encounter nature and, per Price's critical analysis, available for purchase.

The City: History in Space

This section examines urban theory that help place the modern Western city in historical context as a site of continuous social contestation--both as a built environment and as a social phenomenon to be studied with far-reaching influence on human relations. While complimentary and intimately intertwined, these two approaches, the physical and the social, are helpful analytical units as I think through my case study, the revitalization of Fresno's Fulton Mall. Much of the following themes, large cities, prewar growth and industrialization, can be seen on a much smaller scale playing out in the development of the City of Fresno. Yet Fresno's written history[176] is limited to hagiography celebrating early Euro-American leaders[177] and the Gilded Age railroad system[178] that birthed it into its modern form. A master's thesis[179] on the morphology of the City of Fresno over the last century lists downtown as mainly a work-use site, with little housing to be had. By delving into a deep history on the study of cities, major trends in design and governance, I bring in theoretical markers to craft a cultural analysis of the City of Fresno's development, especially in relation to other American cities it now must compete with economically.

Urban centers, as social phenomena, and the way in which cities are conceptualized as physical sites have been contextualized by social histories and ethnography that take a close look at the cultural framework cities develop as subnational units of larger nation-state projects. The body of literature on urban issues concerns space, place, belonging as understood through the frameworks of race, class and nationality, as well as the forces of urbanization that have transformed rural spaces, created suburbs and continues to spur gentrification. In these works of urban history and theory reviewed here, a division remains between the analysis of the process of urbanization that intensified human development of place[180] and the city as a variable itself, an entity to be approached holistically as part of the formation of a broad urban culture.[181] The body of literature on the city, both as a physical site to be examined and an outgrowth of processes of human development, has had several disruptive moments over the course of its formal study. As Carl Smith[182] wrote:

> "These narratives built upon each other, mutually shaping the recollection and anticipation of contemporary experience into highly conflicted set of ideas and images which the major theme was the relationship between disorder and modernity".

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[176] Wasserman, Jim. *Fabulously Fresno*. Fresno, CA: California State University publication, 1990.

[177] Clough, Thomas. *Fresno County in the 20th Century: From 1900 to the 1980s*. 1986.

[178] Hamm, Edward. *When Fresno Road the Rails*. Glendale, CA: Interurbans Press, 1986.

[179] Silviera, Christopher. "An Urban Morphology of Fresno: Its Structure and Growth". Master's Thesis, William and Mary College, 2010. *Accessed on Proquest January 2016.*

[180] Hayden, Dolores, *The Power of Place*, 1995; Villa, Raul Humero, *Barrio-Logos*, 2000; Harvey, David. *Condition of Postmodernity*, 1989.

[181] Low, Setha, ed. *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology Reader*, 1999.

[182] Smith, Carl. *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief*. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press), 2007.

Disorder, and its inverse, the codification of urban typologies as ordered structures, is a key component in the chronology of contemporary urban scholarship. Physically, 20th Century cities have been typified as central sites of commerce and exchange around which suburbs have been created, and 21st Century cities as multipolar networks tied to global systems of movement. Ideationally, the study of cities has developed into cultural structures to be discovered. Many theorists working on proto-Structuralist research discussed the way city culture--competition, anonymity and density--have shaped modern social relations and indeed, such ideas about the sociological imagination that encounters and creates urban phenomena are an important component to analysis. These twin scholarly approaches, the city's physical infrastructure and development, paired with its cultural influence as a centralization of culture, encompasses much of the historiography and study that urban theory has contended with. Any analysis of urban theory must include nods to the varying constraints found over the course of 20th Century with the advent of formal disciplinary foci of sociology, history[183], urban anthropology, and the interdisciplinary breadth of urban studies.

Other theoretical constructs inform this work. The literature on space[184] and place[185] meets lived experience as part of understanding the phenomenology of the city; The built environment of the major cities of the world are but brief memorials in the Benedict Anderson[186] sense, marking the role of the past, as Paul Connerton[187] writes, embedded within society's "place memory." Yet these memories are subject to change; Henri Bergson wrote that "to exist is to change, to change is to mature, to mature is to go on creating oneself endlessly." The larger projects of space, the local within the subnational, meet the experience of place: Our sense of self and local history is shaped by the places we remember, as well as the communities we create, recreate and are a part of.

Central to the study of the urban form, spatially and sociologically, are the inversions that have led to changing conceptions of the built environment of the city. An overview of major scholars and ideas of the last century will be reviewed here as the scholastic context and historically-informed praxis of knowledge informing Western, and holistically, global urban development that often forwards a universalizing Western canon.

Positivistic models of knowledge about the modern city that were created by the Chicago School[188] of early 20th Century urban theory concentrated in the University of Chicago's burgeoning discipline of urban sociology. This body of literature by early social theorists whose work dominated the first decades of the 20th Century was led by Robert Park[189], who urged his students to observe urban humanity in its context outside of academia and codify its phenomena as empirical social science. 20th Century urban theory about the city and its people solidified as empirical models informed by the tenets of ecology and the natural world, made famous by Burgess's "ring" model of city development where people from similar social backgrounds

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[183] Torres-Rouff, David, *Before LA*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013.

[184] Lefevbre, Henri. *The Production of Space*, 1978.

[185] Pulido, Laura. "Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 90(1) March, 2000: 12-40.

[186] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*, 1982.

[187] Connerton, Paul. *How Modernity Forgets,* 2009.

[188] Park, Robert and Edward Burgess. *The City*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1925.

[189] Park and Burgess, *The City*, 1925.

clustered together due to the same ecological pressure of competitive, impersonal urban life. The model reflected the challenges of demographic and spatial shifts in Chicago due to increased immigration from Europe into ethnic enclaves, and the racial politics of arriving Southern blacks during the domestic northern-based Great Migration; urban space was zoned concentrically away from the center business district, the urban inner core of immigrant reception around the middle, then outwards moving laterally across zones of industry to the tony suburbs of privilege. The civic center dominated the periphery in a way that was reinforced by rapid development, Chicago's hinterlands and the beginnings of the suburban planning process still paid homage to the central business district's social and physical centrality.

The City Beautiful movement centered on a Romantic era notion of nature's primacy even as industrialization threatened the natural resources cities were so dependent on. The emphasis on designing parkland and monuments to commemorate city leaders and the godliness of nature was used as an argument for civic "good," rather than the work of investors eager to develop their investment amid rampant land speculation. Evoking the "deserving poor" argument of moral poverty, those poor who would bend to the planning ideology of the urban elite would get a forced education in natural aesthetics. Recreation of the pastoral as the highest form of urban achievement is mirrored by the industrialists who pushed for skyscrapers and parking lots fifty years later as hallmarks of innovation--space continues to have planning ideologies and social commentary built into its environs to help, in the Foucauldian sense of recognizing a disciplined society's system of internal and external surveillance, regulate social actors. Master plans that are a manifestation of a social ideology shared by the elite eager to make their city into a place that salutes their vision of power and prestige are still being encountered today, especially as the aging infrastructure of North American cities tests those ideologies' longevity. In this sense, the revitalization of Fresno's Fulton Mall into Fulton Street echoes these themes.

After World War II's disruptive force engendered much social upheaval, industrialization and change in North America, the beginnings of what would become urban studies and the professionalization of urban planning were subject to subversion by actors from outside the academy, most notably Jane Jacobs.[190] She argued that bustling city streets were places for social cohesion and community, not slums for vice and denigration. Mitchell Duneier's revisting of her trope[191], the public characters of Greenwich Village, is a testament to her scholarly longevity. The empiricism of the Chicago School's approach to urban centers using scientific models to understand and dominate their natural chaos was seen as too technocratic and distant, a quantitative approach unable to capture the realities of the human experience in its urban iteration. Classic urban development was the project of capitalism; High Modernist projects like the Empire State Building and large projects of infrastructure created for the World's Fair in both Chicago and New York at the start of the 20th Century served capitalism, not community. These major productions of space were to both market the city and reinvigorate its marketplace with infrastructure that highlighted its economic potentialities.

Jacob highlights empirical evidence about the way cities work, in the normative ideal of city-as-marketplace that Modernist urban planners envisioned. There are socio-political, economic and physical factors, Jacobs argued, that go into the placemaking of community that

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[190] Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* 1961.
[191] Duneier, Mitchell. *Sidewalk. (*New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux Publishers), 1999.

informs identity: social trust that are created by density and proximity that increases security and cohesiveness, diversity that fuels the growth and driver of city neighborhoods and economies and governing processes that are "horizontal," i.e. less about planning an ideal built-environment, like the policies of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society projects of urban renewal, than about approaching cities as units with "conditions for success" that need to be met to improve the health of the urban dwellers within. Her strong reaction to the Modernist planning boom that placed the Lower Manhattan Expressway directly through city parkland would have been shared by the previous generation of urban planners who valued natural aesthetics, however man-made, if not the concern for social networks and political transparency. Social concerns came later, as an unintended or less important consequences of planning for the beautification of natural resources that increased the economic value of city landscapes. Like Robert Moses, New York's Modernist developer, and Daniel Burnham, the Progressive architect of Chicago's waterfront, Jacobs stands as the figurehead of a critical urban planning and urban studies moment that demarcates an aesthetic change in the discipline that was responsive to political and historical threads from the past. Much of the community resistance from activist citizens to the revitalization of the Fulton Mall recreates Jacob's critique, a lack of focus on the community already in place when considering a spatial fix.

This is echoed in later designs to industrialize urban space in Los Angeles, freeways being the link between the centers of finance in the city center to the social project that was the suburbanization of America[192]: "The freeway, as a comprehensive system of mass transit imagined and implemented by a technocratic cadre of planners and engineers, is a quintessentially modern space. Even in its totality, however, the freeway cannot mask the seething tensions within postwar Los Angeles. Alas, it created new ones."[193] Critique of classic 20th Century urban planning theory and urban human ecological models didn't, critics argued, take into account the needs of the urban dweller as part of a community (in direct contrast to the Modern individual, *Homo Economicus*). Particular structures and ideas (here diversity, density and walkability) create community through trust, interaction and the foundations of social capital through proximity and knowability.[194]

Yet Jacob's work became a pastiche from another era as neoliberalism gripped city institutions during the 1970s and forward.[195] The "LA School" of urban study, referenced above, loosely assembled into a body of literature much like its subject of study, Los Angeles, allowed scholars like Mike Davis[196], Michael Dear, Edward Soja and others to respond to older works that favored a "scientific" approach that removed place from space. Borrowing concepts on rupture, taste and informatics from the art world and material culture[197], this cohort questioned long-held assumptions about society and their formative master narratives of order and function. Disruption, disorder amidst the paternalistic order of city planning processes and the efforts to apply scientific inquiry to the understanding of them, perpetuates in the critiques those forces

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[192] Jackson, Kenneth. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United State, 1985.*
[193] Avila, Eric. *The Folklore of the Freeway: Race and Revolt in the Modernist City*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2014: 18.
[194] Lynch, Kevin. *Image of the City*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1960.
[195] Gandy, Matthew. *Concrete and Clay*, 2002; Harvey, David. *Social Justice in the City*, 1977; *The Conditions of Postmodernity*, 1989.
[196] Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz,* 1990.
[197] Jameson, Frederick. 1984.

engender. This view of the city, its theorization into the field of urban studies from a distinctly Western perspective, the creation of theory to encapsulate its cultural phenomena and the site-specific changes that happen due to the increased mobility of people and capital in the late 20th Century, is one of theoretical change and inversion.

American cities like Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and Oakland were all subject to the same economic pressures of growth liberalism[198] that would intensify at the close of the 20th Century, yet their histories were distinct. Chicago's development and subsequent marketing as America's "Second City"[199] was in contrast to Detroit's' close relationship with the manufacturing industry that gave its community economic life. Yet the marketplace prevails-- these regional differences and historical particularism that shaped the development of cities would later be homogenized by the economic tensions of competition intensified in the postmodern world of late capitalism[200] starting in the 1970s and onward. Additionally, moral projects that shaped cities are not just an anachronistic method of control by state entities of the Johnson Administration. 21st Century urbanism has its own genesis and agenda: a rejection of sprawl, increased economic division of communities and of freeways themselves.

Critical Junctures in the Study of the City
A call for greater democratization of urban institutions has become louder in the last 25 years, especially as the restructuring of urban environments and communities have rapidly occurred as part of neoliberal changes to space and place. The political decisions and economic markets, of which cities create and are a part of in the larger global sense, have been discussed at length by scholars of urban history, sociology and anthropology. As all cities are assemblages of their natural genesis and man-made environments, these disjunctures help us understand how formal professions like urban planning, academic scholarship on urban development and political institutions have destroyed city infrastructure only to remake it as part of an ever increasingly complex pattern of human effort into urban space.

The city's role in the process of citizenship formation and reshaping democratic values is evident by its uncomfortable and mutual reinforcing relationship with what David Harvey calls the liberal formulation of urban places as part of a great accumulation of capital surplus. Thirty years later, Harvey writes[201] of citizens' rights in the process of placemaking that creates a sense of community that goes beyond economic concerns: "Since the urban process is a major channel of surplus use, establishing democratic management over its urban deployment constitutes the right to the city." This is where our postmodern cities currently stand, Harvey argues again, uneasy at the juncture where democratic ideals and neoliberal economic realities must find a common language. This tension is one of the? central arguments of the postmodern era that actually has its roots in the disruptions of earlier eras, made complex due to the intensification of urban growth and an outdated planning canon in need of change. This institutional focus on commerce, and the cultural output of such density and exchange as but an outgrowth of such

[198] Molotch, Harvey and John Logan. *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986.
[199] Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the American West*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990.
[200] Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 1989.
[201] Harvey, David. "Right to the City," *New Left Review*, Volume 53, September-October, 2008.

interaction, is key to David Harvey's[202] analysis of cities: "Urbanization, we may conclude, has played a crucial role in the absorption of capital surpluses, at ever increasing geographical scales, but at the price of burgeoning processes of creative destruction that have dispossessed the masses of any right to the city whatsoever."

The city as a marketplace first, social space second has endured, despite calls over the last 50 years to include placemaking and community as planning priorities by those eager to dismantle urban hierarchies of power. William Cronon[203] writes of Chicago's development in the discipline of political ecology rather than one of history or cultural studies, *Nature's Metropolis* shows that the land was first seen as available for development, than its actual urban beginnings occurred only after the space was deemed valuable and thus marketable. "By using the landscape, giving names to it and calling it home, people selected the features that mattered most to them, and drew their mental maps accordingly."[204] The new urban site, an important link between the developed East and the mythical West, was governed by "second nature", a term that Cronon coined as applicable to Chicago's man-made environs so very far away from its "first nature" origins. The naturalization of "advantage" built into the Chicago metropolitan landscape helped sell the city as a place of prosperity, commodifying its resources to further incentivize economic investment.

Identity and Race in the City

The relationship between community, property and democracy was unique to each place, yet manifesting in similar ways. Sociologically, economic concerns acted as dividing lines, encoded by both class and racial systems into geographic reality. St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton[205] wrote that in all cities, most notably Chicago, blacks were concentrated into specific areas, i.e. ghettos, via "informal and formal social controls". This concentration, due to restrictive covenants, was different than the traditional ethnic enclaves of European immigrants that slowly disperse over time into "mainstream" areas of the city--in black ghettos, property values plummet and labeled as blight over a relatively short period of time. "Negroes are not finally absorbed in the general population"[206], making the community's development a distinct and different process of social causality[207] in relationship to the Park and Burgess ecological model of urban transformation via immigrant emplacement.

Civic development in the first half of the 20th Century, buoyed by City Beautiful and Progressive-era building mandates to showcase regional beauty and power was diminished by New Deal legislation that spurred on the infrastructure of nationalization in the form of highways and suburbs.[208] Thomas Sugrue writes of the "urban crisis"[209], a multifaceted phenomenon that made headlines due to the social upheaval of urban centers of the 1960s. The benefits of postwar America were distributed unevenly even as national prosperity improved overall, making the

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[202] Harvey, David. *Rebel Cities*, 2012.
[203] Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis*, 1990.
[204] Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis*, 1990: 25.
[205] Drake, St. Clair and Horace Cayton. *Black Metropolis*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, (1945) 2003.
[206] Drake, St. Clair and Horace Cayton. *Black Metropolis*, (1945) 2003: 17.
[207] Hirsch, Seymour. 1983; Wilson and Taub, 2007.
[208] Self, Robert. *American Babylon.*2003; Avila, Eric. *The Folklore of the Freeway*, 2014.
[209] Sugrue, Thomas. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*. 1996.

disparities between those who could move to suburbs[210] and those who could not leave the abandoned urban centers all the more apparent. The term "white flight" has been overused to describe this moment of disjuncture as just that, a moment where white urban investment seemingly bottomed out. Sugrue argues that local policies put in place years before the social unrest of the 1960s made American cities inherently unequal through the use of redlining and restrictive covenants that kept houses in the hands of white owners, thereby limiting the economic assets and social mobility of African Americans and other groups then stigmatized for their poverty.

Literature on the racial inequality that has shaped the built environment and demographic landscape of 20th Century American cities considers this issue to have a structural genesis, rather than analyzed simply as an essentialized cultural response to social stratification. Douglas Massey[211] writes of the dual educational and social institutions built for whites and racial minorities, a two-track system that led to inequities that compounded upon themselves over generations. Josh Side's work[212] echoes this discussion of structural challenges to economic prosperity, listing the opportunities given to African-Americans in postwar Los Angeles that had an uneven distribution of benefits that would eventually lead to disillusionment of the American Dream sold so well by those in its grip. Robert Self[213] continues this discussion of racial inequality codified into local political institutional power, citing the rise of the Black Power movement in Oakland, CA as but one moment of rebellion against the failed economic policies of the Great Society's Modernist agenda. Self argues that Black Power was responding to unequal distribution of the costs and benefits of urbanization and industrialization of American society. He also cites the rising tide of white conservatism that centered on the maintenance of property values as a key component to white supremacy that was not made available to other races in the postwar boom. This conservative movement of those who identified as homeowners first, urbanites second[214] led to public policy outcomes like California's Proposition 13 which many argue unfairly taxes property values in a way that favors the political and social elite able to buy homes earlier than other groups. This mobilization of racial groups around an economic agenda – in search of economic opportunity and the maintenance of race relations encoded into urban districts – proved to be a powerful social mover in response to top-down policies of urban renewal. This linkage of powerful racial identifiers to the civic language of boosterism[215] utilized by city leadership pursuing urban development for market purposes mark the centrality of economic concerns of urban life that are part of each city's history.

Infrastructure and Urban Growth

Issues of privatization, the development and investment of the public good, the role of civic institutions and the separation of social classes all were particular to their urban environments, each city confronting and responding to issues of social upheaval in unique ways that were shaped by their history. Yet the marketplace prevails -these regional differences and

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[210] Sugrue, Thomas. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 1996; Massey, Douglass and Nancy Denton, *American Apartheid*, 1995.

[211] Massey, Douglas and Nancy Denton. *American Apartheid,* 1995.

[212] Sides, Josh. *LA City Limits.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004.

[213] Self, Robert. *American Babylon*, 2003.

[214] Self, Am*erican Babylon*, 2003.

[215] Self, *American Babylon*, 2003.; Sides, Josh. *LA City Limits*, 2004.

historical particularism[216] that shaped the development of cities would later be homogenized by the economic tensions of competition intensified in the postmodern world of late capitalism[217] where neoliberal policies seeking to create global markets initiated the fragmentation of city powers starting in the 1970s forward. This would reverse what urban theorist Robin Einhorn[218] argued was the legacy of early urban growth: infrastructure. His analysis of lost archives on Chicago's development as a municipality in 19th Century America argued that the city's segmented system of service delivery was similar to a private corporation, where property owners acted as stockholders rather than citizens. Building on Sam Bass Warner Jr.'s theory of privatism as a central tenet of city government/city development in that period, Einhorn argues that a favoring of private assessment for gains of property value that would benefit the city's boosters was key to Chicago's growth as a model American city. Privatism is the natural extension of "states' rights," where control of decisions is made locally by city leadership. Private citizens who wanted public goods, like a sidewalk, needed to pay for it, and local government would simply facilitate it. Reconstruction's "urban counterparts . . . [in] the strict construction of urban city charters and the localization of municipal finance especially through the use of special assessments rather than property taxes for public works[219]". Yet the seeds of a neoliberal political economy were planted even then, as special taxes, assessments and privatization of other services "minimized official power over jobs," making the private development of public space a class issue that would go unchallenged.

Additionally, moral projects that shaped cities are not just an anachronistic method of control[220] by state entities of the Johnson Administration. These reversals of ideology, reinscription of infrastructure and sentiment are grounded by their reactionary positions to what came before. The retrenchment of such systems are seen in the wild swing of the metaphorical pendulum towards 21st Century deconstruction of old planning agendas. 21st Century urbanism has its own genesis and agenda: a rejection of sprawl while also increasing the economic division of communities as the age-old process of urban transformation that Parks and Burgess would find familiar.

The City: Political-Economy of Place

Space and place in an urban context are key ideas in this review of literature, especially as they relate to the way Fresno's development has been theorized. Spatiality and space as a variable used to discuss urban phenomena is specifically important to the theoretical underpinnings of my research. The idea of space as socially-produced and contingent on the contestation of meanings embedded within the politics of space and place is where my work will be grounded, literally and figuratively. The socially-constructed site of my research interest in Fresno, CA, concerns the contestation for its future utility given historic development. This is emphasized in the conversations surrounding the Fulton Mall's role as social producer. David Harvey casts doubt[221] on the distinction between the social and the spatial, tying the two phenomena together as part of the urban question of sustained inequality and issues of economic

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[216] Gandy, Matthew, *Concrete and Clay*, 2002; Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis*, 1990.

[217] Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 1989.; Jameson, . 1984. ; Smith, Neil. 2012.

[218] Einhorn, Robin. *Property Rules: Political Economy in Chicago, 1833-1872.* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press), 1992.

[219] Einhorn, Robin. *Property Rules: Political Economy in Chicago, 1833-1872,* 232.

[220] Warner Jr., Sam Bass. *Streetcar Suburbs.* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press), 1971.

[221] Harvey, David. *Social Justice in the City.* New York, NY: Verso Books, 1977.

and social development. By understanding the discursive power of open spaces to create or deconstruct society, we are able to use space as a method or unit of analysis to get at the deeper questions of place and belonging in urban environments.

Space, like history, is subject to different modes of categorization and phenomenological experience that speaks to its social construction. Here, the power of the past becomes material in that space, as a physically bounded area and abstract ideational place in the collective imagine, is used as a product and process of historical intervention. Space, especially urban space, can benefit from a discussion of its parts in the abstract, moving away from the symbolic sites of historical power to a more nuanced discussion of how people feel emplaced and "own" their community. Kevin Lynch's piece *The Image of the City* (1960) centers on urban aesthetics, or how people broke the city into memorable essential elements with which to mentally map the city- mentally recording parts like paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks that bounded their knowledge of the urban landscape. Lynch's work took a phenomenological approach, basing power structures of the urban environment on human perception rather than the central focus of the city as a marketplace above all else. He uses the concept of symbolic interactionism, or the human adaptation and negotiation of the urban built environment through social processes of change and continuity, to theorize space.

Works of critical urban geography can be used to discuss the development of space as a social production, or as Henri Lefebvre writes, "the urban cartography of power[222]." By understanding the discursive power of open spaces to create or deconstruct society, urban scholars interested in space[223] are able to use space as a method or unit of analysis to get at the deeper questions of place and belonging. Edward Soja's work offers a California-specific study of disconnection[224], using the physical development and highways of Southern California as a manifestation of postmodernism in its disparate, incoherent topography. Much like the uncontained, uneven development of suburbia[225] spurred by the economic gains of the 20th Century housing boom, Soja's work highlights the economic imperative behind the creation of communities. The centrality of the city is tested by the multipolar sites of power in the development of suburbs, "yet the center holds" as part of a site-specific emplacement of power[226]. The social geography of place keeps sites infused with meaning, making the civic buildings of downtown L.A. part of a regime of power's built environment.

Social histories of Los Angeles[227] detail how urban communities contend with the social, political and economic forces that shape their boundaries and interactions. The postmodern development of Los Angeles's barrio neighborhood, created by the decree of mid-Century political and economic will, is defended by a community that also acts to undermine its own power. Contested space is deeply relevant to the marginalization of poorer urban areas as a site

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[222] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 1978.

[223] Harvey, *The Spatial Fix*, 22.; *The Condition of Postmodernity,* 35

[224] Soja, Edward W. *Postmodern Geographies,* 1989.

[225]Jackson, Kenneth. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United State*. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press), 1985; McGirr, Lisa. *Suburban Warriors: Origins of the New American Right*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

[226] Soja, Edward W. *Postmodern Geographies*. (New York, NY: Verso Press), 240.

[227] Nicolaides, Becky. Nicolaides, Becky. *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angele, 1920-1965*. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press), 2002.

that becomes racialized over the course of its history. Urban planners must negotiate the racialization of space due to countervailing legacies of racial formation[228] that have concentrated populations, specifically the urban inner core, and then ignored or paved over their existence. Raul Homero Villa's *Barrio-Logos*[229] is a discussion of neighborhood politics and attempts to retain historical, social and cultural cohesion in the face of the physical and economic development of Los Angeles. The community is modified to fit a commercial area being affected by the same kinds of external threats to its continuity.

The main text moves from theoretical discussion of the production and consequences of space-making to a case study on the expressive culture of Chicano resistance to the hegemonic forces of urbanization from a place in the barrio of Los Angeles. *Barrio-Logos*, borrowing its title from both philosophy and Chicano cultural expression, is a study in resistance to place-making from a made-place. Lefebvre's idea of spatial practice[230] becomes important to the discussion of a community's place-right; here "barrioization," or ghettoization, of displaced people of Mexican descent into concentrated areas with limited economic activity or political recourse contends with barriology, or the embracement of a discursive communal power that breathes life into a marginalized status. The modernization of urban space is, as Robert Self writes in *American Babylon*, "about the process through which markets, property, communities and even class and race are constituted within capitalist urbanization[231]". His in-depth history of Oakland, CA's political and social development from San Francisco's shadow city to a political culture all its own uses space as the variable to be queried when reviewing how cities develop as part of larger economic processes. Space is an abstract concept, yet made tangible as part of property, social imagination and political scale. Villa's work on spatial topography and place memory as indicators of a socially inscribed site of power evoke the ways in which the barrio's open spaces act as places to reproduce resistance. Additionally, graffiti on the walls of the barrio both are symbolic acts of emplacement and place-rights as well as ways to skewer a community's creation into a shadow of its former self, the hidden transcripts that write against discursive power regimes.

Most notably are the contributions that this cohort of urban historians offer in their presentation of urban change as a function of California's ethos. The specificities of sub-national culture within the Golden State, and hyper-locally, in the divergent regional centers that are Los Angeles and San Francisco, are given appropriate context and analysis as social projects within physical spaces that inform one another. This body of scholarship is a direct outgrowth of LA's multipolarity as a fragmenting urban order, giving historical context to the competing racial and social projects of placemaking that now inform new models of urbanism.

Conclusion
If literature on Chicago once served as a universalizing heuristic for models of urban growth and change, the current era of urban scholarship reflects the schisms of postmodernism. Scholars like

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[228] Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States.* (New York, NY: Routledge), 1986.
[229] Villa, Raul Humero. *Barrio-Logos*, 2000.
[230] Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*, 10.
[231] Self, Robert. *American Babylon,* 17.

Jennifer Robinson[232] reject the typologies of urban, rural, developed and Modern as too formulaic in an increasingly complex society that has continued to reproduce social inequalities of the past into its urban models of the future. Planning ideologies that revisit the successes of Progressivism and the City Beautiful movements, here seen as governmental transparency and accessibility, a reverence for nature and local history, have been revived in new formations.

Planning ideologies, like all social phenomena, are subject to historical paradigms that change their internal logic, disrupting one theoretical foundation to lay the next. New Urbanism and its 2000s iteration, Smart Growth, are loosely cohesive planning paradigms started in the 1980s by Western urban planners to evoke the visions of a small, centralized town where, like in Jacob's West Village community of New York City, social cohesion is strong due to density and daily interaction with one's neighbors. Ideational visions of community can take on the verbiage of moral projects, leaving a door open for critique. By reaching back into history for modern inspiration, the movement also becomes subject to the Hegelian dialectic of historical thesis, antithesis and eventual synthesis back to hegemonic stasis. New Urbanism uses design features that counter and repurpose infrastructure created at a time of seemingly unending resources, looking to ease the environmental and social burdens arising from the unintended consequences of Modernist planning agendas. Setha Low's[233] work exemplifies why the core values of these planning ideologies increases social interaction - her focus on open urban spaces and the enclosure of private space add qualitative evidence of the wrongs the movement hoped to address on a societal level. Cannavo discusses a "crisis of place: "Certainly, physical location does not define the totality of human activities and self-perceptions. However, to deny the importance of place is to indulge in absurdity, to overlook what it means to be an embodied human being."[234] Limited social action reduces civic institutions and social actors engagement with one another, something reduced by the lack of preservation of space and social cohesion that New Urbanists claim as central to their mission of design.

The return to walkable cities is tempered by 21st Century economic winds. In *The Great Inversion*[235], gentrification of the urban core long neglected by civic leaders unable or unwilling to work on the issues of concentrated urban poverty and a disappearing tax base[236] up-ends these long-standing classifications of "urban" and "suburban." The documented post-2008 recession return to the city by educated, middle-class people eager to seek out the employment opportunities of the city is the latest in a conceptualization of the city as one of unchecked growth, planned reconstruction, abandonment and subsequent reinvestment. This form of gentrification does not come with the quasi-suburban aesthetics of 1980s New Urbanism, nor the ecological concerns of the Smart Growth movement of the early 2000s. It comes as yet another inversion, one of middle-class "Haves" in a still-recovering economic era of intensified urbanization. Instead of focusing on gentrification as change at the level of neighborhood, this is a social inversion that has regional impact, as the "rearrangement of living patterns across a metropolitan area, all taking place at roughly the same time[237]". Yet those coming to the city are

[232] Robinson, Jennifer. *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development*. (London, UK: Routledge), 2006.
[233] Low, Setha. *On the Plaza, 82.*
[234] Cannavo, Peter F. *The Working Landscape*, 19.
[235] Ehrenhalt, Alan. *The Great Inversion and the American City. (*New York, NY: Vintage Books), 2013.
[236] Massey, Douglass and Nancy Denton, *American Apartheid*, 1993.
[237] Ehrenhalt, Alan. *The Great Inversion and the American City,* 10.

those who help create unusually competitive urban housing markets[238] displacing previous tenants who can no longer afford to live in their home cities[239]. This shift from urban to suburban, poor to privileged has yet to be fully analyzed due to its nascent status as a measurable phenomenon but is expected as part of urban history cycle of continuous change.

The collected works reviewed here create an intellectual framework upon which questions about social belonging, the legacy of political institutions and the place-making practices of urban communities naturally rise to the surface. With considerations of ontology and a large debt owed to previous scholarship, my intentions with this body of literature are to highlight the way urban spaces makes legible regimes of power that are complicit in the erasure of Central California's history and residential stratification. These theoretical underpinnings are the foundation for data collection and ethnography discussed in the next chapter on methodology.

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[238] Harvey, David. *Rebel Cities: From Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. London, UK: Verso Press, 2012.

[239] Brown-Saracino, Japonica. *A Neighborhood that Never Changes: Gentrification, Social Preservation and the Search for Authenticity.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

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Chapter Three: Walking and Listening on Fulton

Introduction

The Fulton Mall was created by civic leaders and the City of Fresno in 1964 to answer the then-national question of failing downtowns, yet it came under threat of destruction by theensuing generation of city interests striving to yet again "remake" downtown. Such competing propositions about the mall's use-value in the larger community have proven to be cyclical in nature. The Fulton Mall's place in the local community, as a space where the future is constructed or as a place of historical memorialization, make no simple answer readily available.
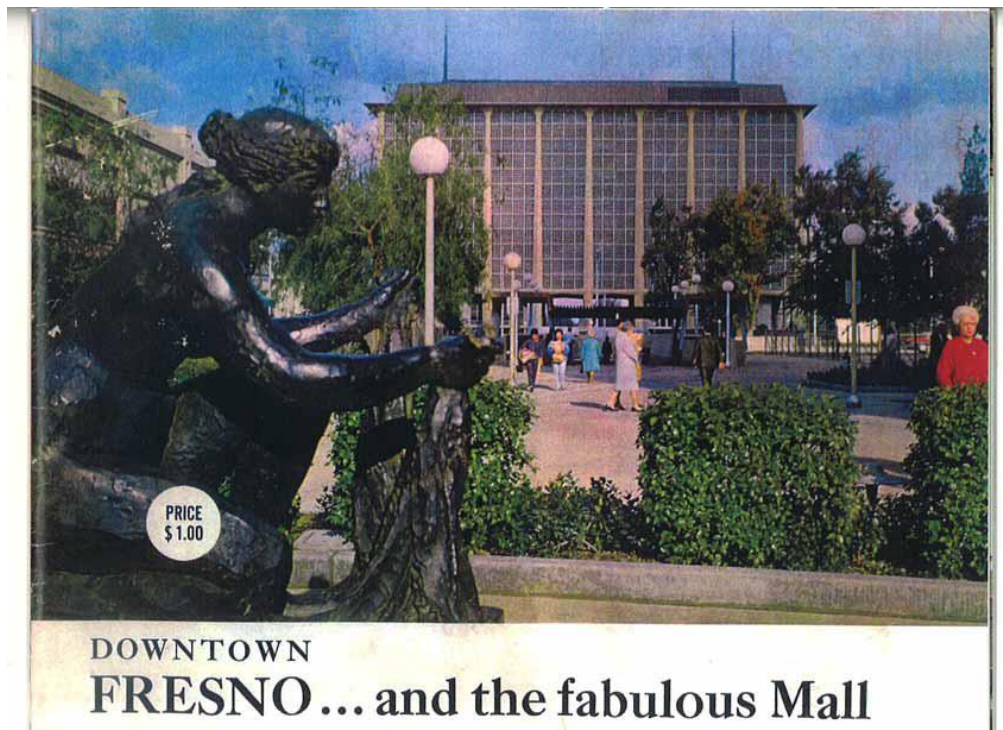
Figure 1: Cover image of "Downtown Fresno and the Fabulous Mall," a 1966 city-produced advertising booklet (Source: City of Fresno)

"If everything is going to stay the same for all eternity, why bother coming downtown?" said the leader of the walking tour on January 2, 2016. He was addressing the 40 or so people who had gathered at the top of the spiral parking garage to catch a glimpse of the soon-to-be demolished Fulton Mall from above. After listing the studies and arguments for why pedestrian malls have failed at the national level (lack of foot traffic and bad parking, for starters), he took us into the bowels of the old Gottschalk's department store. It is an empty building on the southern end of the Mall's original superblock design, "something nobody mentions in planning anymore." If attendance was any gauge of interest, the families and amateur photographers that wandered around the abandoned shop floor seemed to answer that question with their enthusiasm amid what felt like an exercise in nostalgia. I overheard several people say they shopped there as children and were surprised to see it had stayed nearly the same since its closure in 1989.

Several weeks later in April 2016, the cheers and flash photography almost drowned out the bulldozer that dug into the cement of the sidewalk at the other end of the Mall. After a groundbreaking ceremony where three levels of government, represented by the City Council, CalTRANS[240] and federal Department of Transportation representatives all spoke at length, the same walking tour leader choked back tears as he talked about the efforts to make the Mall's revitalization happen. Amid calls to "carrying on the legacy of those visionaries" who commissioned the Mall in the 1960s, the officials made no mention of the countermeasures that community groups and voters had taken to try to stop this project over the past 10 years. This carefully constructed public narrative, I argue, is the meeting of two inversely related phenomena: social memory and an "imagined futures" narrative that complicate the creation of urban space. Firstly, the unofficial communal and civic forgetting within the production of local social memory and second, the manifestation of civic imagined futures that continue to pursue modernist infrastructure projects in a postmodern urban growth context.

The Fulton Mall's Revitalization Timeline
Over the course of the last 3 years, an intensified political battle has been fought by citizens and won by the administration of the City of Fresno over the Fulton Mall's future in downtown Fresno, CA. Citizens who are preservationists claimed the Mall was a memorial to 1960s architectural aesthetics worked to fight a proposal to revamp the nearly-empty pedestrian mall put forth by the administration of then-Mayor Ashley Swearengin. The Mall was also characterized as valuable parkland in a city that has the lowest number of parks per capita.[241] Now out of office, Mayor Swearengin crafted her proposal to open the pedestrian space to vehicular traffic, arguing that the model of pedestrian malls was historically unsuccessful at the national level and the financial opportunities for commercial activity went unmet in a volatile economy. She cited an urban planning study, nicknamed the "Buffalo Study" to many involved with the Fulton debate, that measured the utility of pedestrian Malls across the United States. The study found that pedestrian malls like the Fulton Mall were most successful when they were adjacent to downtown anchors, like a university or a civic center, and that many struggled to keep shoppers as well as retail shops. Because the Fulton Mall had neither a university nor a direct connection to Fresno City Hall and other civic buildings, it became one of the many pedestrian malls that failed to produce the revenue projected by builders who followed the architectural trend in the 1960s. The study, and subsequent "Death of the American Mall" literature in planning scholarship, was cited as empirical evidence that pedestrian malls needed to be revitalized or, like many, be removed all together.

The reopening of the Mall as Fulton Street happened in full celebratory fashion in October 2017, marking the end of a series of community actions that served as a coda to my fieldwork. After attending public meetings and interviewing key stakeholders in this process, I was struck by the strategies and evidence used to back each side's argument for change. Both sides employ the nostalgia of social memory, an entity that Maurice Halbwachs[242] calls the "social framework of memory.". Informed by our familiar and social institutions, Halbwachs argues, memory embeds values and meanings that shaped our understanding of the past even when we as individuals have

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[240] California Department of Transportation (CalTRANS)
[241] The Trust for Public Land, http://parkscore.tpl.org/city.php?city=Fresno
[242] Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

not actually experienced it. Indeed, such uses of memorialization became the mechanism by which particular subjectivities - preservationists vs. redevelopers, citizens vs. outsiders - begged for public recognition during the debate over the Fulton Mall's utility as a public space. My dissertation research focuses on social memory narratives around urban change via the cultural construction of urban space. In the once exclusively pedestrian Fulton Mall, where the city leaders of mid-twentieth century Fresno placed art amid commerce, the site was designed to showcase high-brow aesthetics while also serving the needs of capitalistic accumulation.

This chapter focuses on the methodology used to complete and forward my interdisciplinary dissertation project. Using research methods that draw upon ethnography, survey methods, geo-mapping, archival research, all the while informed by California history and literature, the following review is in support of my larger argument that posits that citizenship practices, seen and observed through participant-observation and ethnographic interviews, are informed by social memory. The anthropology of spatial politics and its output, public policy, are technologies of power that reinforce cultural claims of belonging, resistance and lastly, hope for a city's future constituents. Fresno's unique case study, of dismantling public space, as other cities seek to develop more public space, is a lesson in changing ideas about urbanization. The Fulton Mall's revitalization is valuable from a? spatial perspective and a more cultural review that finds meaning through the attachment and use-value of such space by its users. My methodological training allowed me to draw on a variety of empirical research methodologies - quantitative, qualitative, spatial, as well as my own interests in the Digital Humanities and community-engaged scholarship--tools that reflect the challenge of studying urban issues. The potentialities of interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks also illuminate the experience and representation of power, history, agency and change.

Fieldwork on the Mall

My ethnographic analysis is informed by the data collected through fieldnotes from 2014-2017. My participant-observation efforts helped me understand the Fulton Mall as an active part of Fresno's urban landscape. The act of entering a social world, observing its key behaviors and institutions, and taking notes on these observations immediately makes the student of anthropology suspect in the emic view of cultural insiders. My inside-yet-outsider perspective, or more specifically, the cultural knowledge I have of the area as a homegrown daughter and the distance afforded me by time away and living elsewhere, challenges the dichotomy of emic and etic in this particular context. Yet, as Akhil Gupta writes, "all graduate students in social-cultural anthropology know, it is fieldwork that makes one a "real anthropologist," and truly anthropological knowledge is widely understood to be "based" (as we say) on fieldwork".[243] This act of codifying culture --the "writing culture" narrative form that has been critiqued for over two decades as an essentializing process of analysis --immediately bounds such cultural behaviors and ideas into a particularistic time and space, giving the anthropologist prime narrative authority. An eagerness to represent the underlying cultural knowledge of any situation must be balanced by the responsibility of advocacy, even when observing a cultural network in an advanced industrial society like the North American city of Fresno, CA. Setha Low, the urban

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[243] Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson. "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference." *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol 7 , Issue 1: 6-23, 1992.

ethnographer that works on space[244] and security[245] writes of the purpose of anthropological engagement as activist in nature and throughout the history of the discipline. The production and dissemination of knowledge, as well as the engagement of the anthropologist within the multivocal process of policy is paramount to the continued relevance of ethnographic work beyond academia. Within this production of knowledge, we are tasked as working ethnographers to produce the most truthful work for the greater good of humanity, including a self-critique of privilege and reflexive attention to bias that makes our subjective experiences authentically tied to a particular time and space. As a biracial, white-looking woman, my own positionality, as well as my status as a former resident with personal memories of place, served to inform my research agenda and was always part of my ethnographic observation and analysis.

The pitfalls of political anthropology are that such studies of political engagement[246] are often intrinsically dichotomous: sides must, or are perceived to be, taken; issues need to be explained that have embedded within them the talking points and values of a specific subjective master narrative. Author Marx Arax[247] understands as part of returning home: "The stakes always seemed higher [in Fresno] then when I was writing about L.A. The reasons were obvious in one respect - it was my home - and yet I sensed a deeper explanation that had to do with how we as a society related to place. . . It has been a messy affair, but I am still here, trying to put my finger on this place."

My complicated stance as what I deemed an "etic insider" and my attempts to maintain reflexivity as I approached this familiar place that lived in my own social memory of downtown Fresno's cultural institutions happened at the level of data collection. Fieldwork was where theory became praxis. Far easier--emotionally, politically--was the construction of my research model. Employing the disciplinary approaches of political anthropology, policy and power to this project linked its part as a case study in urban revitalization to distinct bodies of literature in cultural anthropology and geography.

To gain a better sense of the action surrounding the broader redevelopment of downtown Fresno, I worked on small projects that had to do with space and memory, including obtaining a Fall 2015 internship with the non-profit community advocacy group A Better Blackstone[248] from August 2015 through late November. Their event in August 2015, a community "pop up park" called Imagine Blackstone where governmental and nonprofit resources gathered together to advertise services like First Five California, an educational program. The non-profit staffers chairing the event asked participants to reimagine Blackstone Avenue, the main commercial artery that traveled North from Downtown Fresno that also suffered from visible economic decline. I helped curate a photo voice project where young residents were asked to find examples of "good" and "bad" parts of their neighborhood, a prime example of community-engaged ethnographic methodology that local institutions were using to get people interested in the process of placemaking.

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[244] Low, Setha, ed. *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology Reader.* (Piscataway. N.J.: Rutgers University Press), 1999.

[245] Low, Setha, ed. *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology Reader, 1999.*

[246] Holston, James. *Cities and Citizenship*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 1989.

[247] Arax, Mark. *West of the West: Dreamers, Believers, Builders and Killers in the Golden State.* New York, NY: Public Affairs Books, 2009: 27.

[248] A Better Blackstone Association: http://www.betterblackstone.com/ (access dates for websites)

I also joined the 2017-2018 cohort of the Downtown Academy,[249] a monthly dinner meeting for young professionals interested in, and often, allowing themselves to be introduced to the downtown for the first time. I discuss more of this experience in Chapter 6, where I explore the Downtown Academy's role in building a constituency of people invested in Downtown Fresno's revitalization. Additionally, I met with staff members and reviewed the archives on the Mall with the resources of the Fresno Historical Society.[250] These disparate set of field opportunities allowed me to participate in community meetings, meet potential contacts for interviews and witness the work of citizens eager to have a say in their city's spatial politics.

Over the course of the last three years, I have attended many public meetings at the state, city and regional levels (some key examples: Fresno City Council Meeting, February 4 and 27, 2014; State Workshop on Water, January 2015; Kings River Irrigation District Board Meeting, August 2015; the Fresno Planning Commission's discussion of the new downtown building code in October 2016) on urban redevelopment and resource policy, as well as conducted unstructured and semi-structured interviews with community members working on issues pertaining to downtown development within the Central Valley at large. Additionally, I went to community meetings and attended special events with various organizations working outside the confines of political campaigns or governmental office that focused on Downtown Fresno. Much of this was an attempt to find activists/citizens interested in the dynamics of change in Downtown Fresno but did not have direct expertise or experience with urban planning, design, governance and community organizing.

My initial interest was the narrative development at the official level of urban change discourse coming from the governing bodies of the City of Fresno. I reviewed official documents and public commentary from civic leaders like the Mayor and the City Council themselves at City Council meetings and in media coverage. Yet my focus changed as I saw how non-official stakeholders, i.e. "ordinary citizens", as I defined above as lacking direct expertise or experience in the development of downtown, demonstrated their attachment to Downtown through their own activism. These participants, who attended community forums both in person and commented online, began to challenge the norms of city development (top-down vs. bottom-up) through activism from the positionality of their sense of belonging, or as I began to observe, claims to the burgeoning shared idea of urban citizenship. The central social phenomenon that created this social world of political engagement around the Mall's revitalization was the use of social memory as a paradigm that informed the rhetoric of debate for both revitalizationists and preservationists. The subjectivity of citizenship, as in bounding group membership to Fresno, Fresnans and Downtowners, was a social legitimator and mechanism for participation. Both preservationists and revitalizationists, the loose dichotomy of political sides I use to characterize my findings, called upon their own citizenship as reason to be engaged in the debate about the Fulton Mall's future.

Starting in 2015, I began to regularly attend scheduled walking tours that became the basis for a majority of my participant-observational data. Led, at first, by two groups with competing visions, I attended the walks and soon made note of their unique takes on the utility and value of the space (then in Mall form):

> 'It makes you think of history, being here. Of a return to form' said the walking
> tour leader, as we stopped at the former J.C. Penney's store off Fresno Street

[249] The Downtown Academy: //downtownfresno.org/about/dta/
[250] Fresno Historical Society: https://www.valleyhistory.org/.

and surveyed the construction before us. This was the first time I had heard
him speak directly about history in a year and a half of selling the idea of
Fulton Street.[251]

Several key decisions by the City Council, specifically the 2014 vote on the three options
for the Fulton Mall space and the city's successful application won them federal grant money,
ultimately led to the Mall revitalization project moving forward unimpeded. Despite this, much
of the public resistance to the change, as well as the ongoing conversation about the different
options offered by the City for the Fulton Mall's redevelopment, continued and included a
lawsuit, protests and vocal opposition at public forums.

The pro-revitalization group continued to lead walking tours in 2016, even after "winning
the argument" about the Fulton Mall's future through City Council support for the Fulton Street
project. These walking tours became a monthly touchstone for capturing the ethnographic data
this project is based on. Free and open to the public on the first Saturday of every month from
2015 to late 2017, the tours often took over three hours. Each month had a different theme:
"views" on the Mall, real estate tours, tours of the open office space and buildings, a focus on the
artwork lead by a local Girl Scout and finally, its history as part of Fresno's development
narrative. The last walking tour, in September 2017, became a walking celebration of the almost-
completed converted Mall into Fulton Street. My fieldwork officially ended with the reopening
of the space on October 21st, 2017, a street party in the new open area attended by thousands of
Fresnans interested in seeing local history unfold.

Ethnographic Interviews
Semi-structured interviews are an essential part of this research project as part of a larger
collection of qualitative data. I started interviews with a short timeline of my interest in the
history of the mall as a local institution, and then asked research collaborators if they had a
specific vision of success for the space. Much of their hesitation about signing the informed
consent form, which only happened about five times out of two dozen hour-long interviews and
follow up calls/emails, was dispelled once I let them know I was born in Fresno too. I ended the
interviews, often thirty minutes to an hour long and held at local coffee shops in the downtown
Fresno area, with open-ended questions about their first and final memories of the space as it had
been as the Mall.
Soliciting formal interviews with people directly involved in the revitalization process
(business-owners, street vendors, developers and governmental officials) was much harder and I
was able to conduct only two interviews in this category. Beyond the incongruence of an
academic asking questions over a cash register, I felt that for many directly affected by the
revitalization, speaking out beyond uncertainty about the future felt somewhat taboo. Often,
when talking to people I met directly on the Mall, I found that they fell into three categorical
schemas: the partisans, who towed the party line and used familiar talking points to sell Fulton
Street's imagined future; the emotional hold-outs, who spoke uncertainly about their position on
the Mall, and the skeptics, who saw this project as one in a long line of overpromising by civic
leaders, reflecting the failures of Fresno to be a "real city." Thus, a majority of the interviewees
were of people who did not visit the Mall regularly (as in daily or weekly) and were in some
category of elite: Mostly white or Latino and college-educated volunteers with the time and

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[251] Fieldnotes, September 2017.

resources to give themselves to a community issue, and/or the capacity for civic participation, or in turn, part of the official planning and development arm of the revitalization project. These profiles leave a significant gap in the experience of urban change I hoped to capture. The daily experience of life on the Mall from the perspective of Latino shoppers, small business owners struggling to stay open in a liminal space and the homeless that used the Mall as a place of respite are missing by official silencing and exclusivity built into the revitalization process, and the admittedly limited ability of my research to get all perspectives. Much of this lacuna is due to the timeline of my research project agenda that started in earnest in 2014, after the official vote of the City Council that chose which version of the Mall's future to pursue, and the sense of inevitability that a major revitalization took on in the discourse about its changing character. My focus is of those who worked to craft a narrative around the Mall's revitalization, elite stakeholders at the community activist and civic level who were directly involved in this discursive contest, and privileged enough to capture the attention, however dismissively, of official decision-makers like the City Council and city staff working to shape, approve and fund the project of turning Fulton Mall into Fulton Street.

Many of my interviewees are the lead voices that employed the strongest oppositional force against the mayor's proposal to revitalize the Mall, as well as those everyday Fresnans who supported a changed, curated vision of the future by unofficial means. I found them through my initial fieldwork in 2014, often cold calling to set up interviews as well as using the snowball method of participant solicitation by asking my interviewees to suggest people they thought would be relevant to my project. I was careful to also ask for the names of people who disagreed with them.

My interview questions were crafted to allow for a free form conversation. I wanted to capture my informants' thoughts about why this issue was important to them, the community and the City of Fresno at large, as well as query their entry into this public issue and the role they saw themselves or their organization playing in the political struggle to change downtown. My questions were developed to holistically focus on the criteria (social memory, local cultural expression, etc.) that I thought served as the mechanism underlying the entire research agenda I had planned to work within. But this pretty approximation of a social transaction included information I had not accounted for in my preparation of criteria. While first interested in social memory, the imagined futures narratives became another way to examine how interest groups made spatial claims. Interviewees articulated an alternate vision for the mall that circumvented the idea of an economically productive area to one that values cultural formation behavior, like enjoying art or buying specifically Latino cultural items made available on the Mall:

> What are the strengths of Fresno? The culture. The cultures that exist here.
> Also, we have a vibrant music and art scene. We really do. They need a place
> to perform, and a place to hang out. Eat and drink, before and afterwards. I just
> would love it. There's so many of us just so ready, and that's where [the Fulton Mall]
> we would go to. When there are things [on the Mall], we flock there. There is like a
> dry oasis in between, really sad. So, it's revisioning a little bit of what the purpose is.[252]

The quote above is an example of a theme I came across often: competing interpretations of value, of proving that there is "high culture" in the City of Fresno and thus, being worthy of "saving" its older infrastructure. In my interviews, many interviewees offered a competing

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[252] Interview with K., Fresno, March 28, 2014.

reason for preservation of the Mall as a place of cultural connection and community, adding their subjective take on a pressing issue that has forced many Fresnans to think about the meaning and place-making that go into urban renewal efforts. These preliminary themes became the basis for my central hypothesis, that social memory and imagined future narratives inform the value and attachment to place that competing groups claim, and the thematic criteria for coding my ethnographic text.

Coding interview and observational data has been what LeCompte and Schensul[253] call a "recursive process," a cycle of data collection, field analysis and revision as I finished my fieldwork in the Fall of 2017. My a priori assumptions about attachment to place, namely nostalgia and social memory, gave way to empirical findings through the development and processing of a system for thematic coding of data. Key themes included memory, specifically, childhood memories, familial experiences and young adulthood, as well as community events, and practices, like shopping, hanging out and "dragging the main" on Fulton Street.

Spatial Data

Using the Google Maps application My Maps, I gathered spatial data in the form of KML files as I went on several walking tours in 2015 and 2016. Given my limited knowledge of digital spatial analysis, this data was used for purely descriptive means as background to this project. By geocoding each point of interest on the Mall during every walking tour, I was able to visualize the different ways the two groups conceptualized the walking tours--one pro-vitalization, the other, focused on historical preservation--in their discourse. I was able to take my descriptive spatial data and infer the different modalities of spatial use-value and history engaged with by walking tour leaders representing disparate points of view.

The tours led by volunteers of the citizen activist group working to preserve the Mall focused on the history of the space. Older white volunteers led six tours in the summer of 2015, with about ten to twenty people at each event. I attended four of these events, and listened to the ways in which the story of the Mall's origins was discussed. The leaders had prepared a deep history of the site, reading from a list of stops along the way that went into the history of the buildings and their use over the decades.

The history and value of the artwork was also their focus as they walked to the Mall from end to end. During several tours, the leader, a woman in her early fifties openly expressed her emotions of grief about the development plans threatening the Mall's existence. She went on to speak angrily about the City's role in lobbying against their application to the National Register of Historic Landmarks[254], and how the City had devalued the place for so long. Many of the attendees seemed to already agree with her argument, or else were learning about the City's plans for the first time. One tour I did not attend but heard about later "ended badly", as supporters of the Mall's revitalization shouted down the tour leader's voice, effectively silencing her work. These tours were tonally very different from the opposition's events, and clearly a labor of love. They were deeply researched by volunteers eager to impart their knowledge. All of the tours stopped at nearly every piece of artwork and site of historical note on the Mall, making the tour a two-hour experience in the blazing summer heat.

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[253] LeCompte, Margaret D. and Jean J. Schensul. *Analysis and Interpretation of Ethnographic Data: A Mixed Methods Approach.* Ethnographer's Toolkit, Book 5. Plymouth, UK: AltaMira Press, 2013: 65.
[254] National Register of Historic Landmarks, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/index.htm. Accessed March 2018.

Conversely, the citizen group made of quasi-governmental and governmental-friendly Downtown activists who wanted to make the Mall car friendly once again led their own "Yellow Umbrella" tours during the summer of 2015. The leader, a white man in his fifties, advocated for a more gentrified, "productive" space. He continued to lead tours once a month from 2015 to 2017. Having strong relationships with local business owners and developers, as well as having his own pub on the Mall that became the revitalization's de facto headquarters, he was able to take groups of people, sometimes thirty people at a time, into the buildings themselves. His access to the spaces on the Mall, as well as his central role in the revitalization campaign as a lead member of a downtown organization, made his experiences with the Mall's space much more direct. Many preservationists did not have daily knowledge of the Mall and focused instead on its origins as a quasi-public space to see artwork as the Mall's main function. This difference, daily use versus nostalgic trips downtown, was a key element to the competing narratives of space that I encountered in my findings.

Survey Data

I initiated an online survey through Google Forms on April 2, 2016[255], and posted it on different public Facebook pages, including For the Love of Downtown Fresno, Fresno History, and the group page of the Downtown Fresno Partnership and the Downtown Fresno Coalition. The questions attempted to start with immediate contextualization of positionality: the question "Where are you from?" elicited, as expected, a broad response of answers both temporal and geographical. The responses gave me a sense of each participant's point of view and helped me understand their positionalities. I designed the survey on memory to move from abstraction to specifics through additional questions about memory and the Fulton Mall as a site of significance. This method allowed me to capture some of the conversations I saw happening online around the Mall's fate, giving me more data on participant's connection to the Mall by those who primarily engaged online. I was also able to source four additional interviewees through this form, which allowed me to approach people that weren't connected to the project in any other way.

Archives

The archives of the Fresno Historical Society[256] have been invaluable to this dissertation, specifically Chapter Five. Housed in its own historical landmark, Fresno County's Kearney Mansion in Kearny Park, the Historical Society has recently undergone a serious professionalization that has set the small archive apart from other local efforts to preserve the Valley's history. Two staffers directed me to the Maybelle Selland Collection, the personal newspaper clippings and ephemera of the wife of Fresno Mayor Arthur Selland, who died in a car crash in 1963 before the original Mall was opened. Pivotal finds were the original 1964 grand opening program, with lists of events and original commercial occupants of the mall, as well as original, unpublished photos of the mall's construction. Additionally, the archives of the Fresno Bee daily newspaper and the special collections room at the Fresno County Free Library offered up historic gems from which I found many images, resources and maps of the Fulton Mall and its previous iteration, Fulton Street. Much of this is detailed in Chapter Five, and also provides historical background for the first chapter.

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[255] See Appendix 1 for a list of complete questions in the online survey.
[256] Fresno Historical Society: https://www.valleyhistory.org/. March 23, 2018.

Concluding Thoughts: Walking and Listening

The reality of urban spatial politics has bred some discomfort within me since starting my fieldwork. The clarity of my theoretical research domain model gave way to the messy emotional milieu that organically surrounds change within any geographical community with a shared history. Participant-observation, walking and embodying the act of "being in space"[257], while attempting to elicit data from two entrenched political communities, what I have termed the Preservationist vs Revitalizationist dichotomy, proved challenging at best. I found myself, as a new ethnographer, participating in events and struggling to analyze information as it was presented to me in the field.

Yet the methods I used have produced research with wide implications for the utility of memory in anthropology and historical scholarship. The nuanced data analysis that my research has produced drills down to core themes (local memory, social connection to space, placemaking strategies) that relate to the persistence of interest group resistance and community empowerment practices. Ethnographic research has deep explanatory power and could potentially be used as way to get community input before large infrastructure projects like the revitalization of the Fulton Mall are started for greater responsivity by those in power to community voices. Finally, the discussion of power relations that anthropology affords is more holistic than other disciplinary conventions, making ethnographic data a source of valuable local data that is "ground truth" through embodiment and participant-observation.

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[257] Pink, Sarah, et. al. *Digital Ethnography: Principles and Practice*. (London, UK: Sage Publications), 2015.

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Fieldwork Interviews & Notes I don't think this goes into the bibliography.

Interview with K., Fresno, March 28, 2014.

Fieldnotes, September 2017.

Chapter Four: Competing Discourses on the Fulton Mall

This chapter will focus on ethnographic data I collected during the research for this dissertation. To summarize the scope of my data collection temporally, the ethnographic interviews are part of my ethnographic research during the period of public and private events on or about the Mall's future from 2013-2017, beginning with exploratory research started in 2013. My fieldwork began once I received UC Merced's Institutional Review Board approval to initiate formal research in the summer of 2015, and carried out an additional series of interviews, online survey, participation at site events and general observation through the fall of 2017.

Research Findings

My major finding indicates that the revitalization process spurred a changing sense of citizenship by getting different stakeholders, including government bodies, civic groups and activist citizens, to question their ties to space amid advocacy efforts. Upon examination, a normative construction of citizenship that implied ready engagement and an equal sense of agency held by all belies the inherent privilege that were part of such claims to place.

Second, key interviewees speak to both shared and idiosyncratic understandings of the Mall's space and place in the history of Fresno. The narratives produced by the prospect of a changed Fulton Mall space fell into a naturalized dichotomy that spoke past each other: nostalgia informed by a collective and social memory of Fulton Mall, and an "imagined future" that seeks to shape the future of Downtown Fresno as part of the formation of the city's burgeoning urban identity.

Finally, the use of a dichotomy to explain the political contestation over the Mall's fate is also too simplistic of a mechanism to explain the centrality of the Mall in the broader discussions about Downtown Fresno's changing identity; while the two advocacy groups, whom I have identified as "preservationists" and "reservationsists," grappled over the Mall's meaning amidst a changing downtown, they are two sides of the same coin – urban elites attempting to codify their vision of place through public discourse.

Theme 1: Narratives As Meaning
. "The conversations about the Mall's future have been around since the Middle Ages," one older, white male interviewee stated, "but…gained a little bit of steam with the 2006 conversation process thing and helped put on the city's cooperation".[258] The two contesting public narratives driving the push to "save" the Mall or "revitalize" the space occurred for decades in Fresno's planning politics. Such theoretical heuristics deserve a more nuanced definition--social memory being the socially inscribed, public memory shared through intergenerational contexts that help define or delineate anthropological positionality.[259] I use the concept of "imagined futures," first used by the Los Angeles School of critical urban geographers, as the nebulous concept where dream narratives meet futurist social prognostication in the literature of American urban history

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[258] Interview with E., Fresno, July 8th, 2016.
[259] Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

and urban anthropology. Such forward prognostication, and the intentional process of placemaking to link history, culture and space together, was shared by many interviewees as they discussed not only the future of Fresno but the nature of cities in general. Below, a quote from one person I interviewed, a white man in his forties who worked downtown, (C) was eager for change, but felt the need for public space:

> C: We always say all great cities have a great downtown and that's true as far as I can tell, that downtowns are the place where everyone comes together. So, you can have successful districts, which is fine, but if all of those people don't have that one meeting spot then it doesn't really hold the city together.[260]

Demonstrations of social memory[261] and an "imagined futures[262]" narrative were produced by many Fresnans I interviewed, often overlapping despite the political "sides" the interviewees had chosen to align themselves with. Both groups were racially homogenous, in that they are mostly white and elite minorities with some stake, socially or financially, in the future of Fresno's downtown area. Both groups spoke the language of whiteness, in that they seemed to feel comfortable in the elite milieus of local government and the local business community. Also, as typically privileged, older white professionals who were either already established or retired from their careers, they had time to invest in advocacy work, like being a Downtown "booster" at midday meetings during the work week. I pulled much of my interviews from activists in local arts communities, and finished every interview with a request for more names that might be interested in my research or offer a unique contribution. The few racial minority interviewees I met with were firmly attached to a particular advocacy group.

Memories of Fresno: Nostalgia and "A Place to Go"
The role the Mall played as communal space was effectively ignored by revisionists, who were mostly from within and adjacent to local government and business groups seeking economic opportunity. The mall's use as public space became the emotional plea[263] by preservationists that informed their vision of the Fulton Mall as primarily a social site. The Downtown Fresno Coalition (DFC), the most active Fulton Mall preservation supporters, utilized what James Scott[264] identified as the rhetorical "weapons of the weak" in a political process that ultimately favored the powerful. Such powerful social actors include building and home developers, industrial entities that author Mark Arax[265] cautioned against in his work on the history of Fresno's regional development. This was echoed in multiple interviews with activists across the political spectrum: "[there is] a very crass aspect of Fresno, ruled by developers and profit where, you know, this sprawl of Fresno. I mean, that's what killed Downtown, that made the mall less

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[260] Interview with C., Fresno, July 5th, 2016.
[261] Connerton, Paul. *How Modernity Forgets*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 2009; *How Societies Remember*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 1989.
[262] Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz,* 1990; Didion, Joan. *Where I Was From*. (New York, NY: Knopf Doubleday Publishing), 2012.
[263] Hemmings, Clare. "Invoking Affect: Cultural Theory and the Ontological Turn.*" Cultural Studies* Vol. 19 (5), September 2005: 550.
[264] Scott. James C. *Weapons of the Weak*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986.
[265] Arax, Mark. *West of the West: Dreamers, Believers, Builders and Killers in the Golden State. (*New York, NY: Public Affairs Books), 2009.

viable and no, that's not unique to Fresno, but we have a particular case of it here."[266] These metaphorical "weapons" were the emotional pleas of nostalgia[267] that pointed to the aesthetics of the Mall as important enough to preserve: "It opened the year I came to college, 1964, and I just thought it was such an amazing difference in downtown and such a treasure to have in Fresno. Something so unique and unusual."[268] The use of terms like "weapons" and "invention" are perhaps too caustic and definitive to describe a process of resistance that was much less directed[269], even a generational response, to change that got reproduced by newcomers who want to see a city with a vibrant downtown. The rhetoric used by both sides is reminiscent of the political ideologies that inform their cause. "Every great city has a great downtown" is the tagline of the futurist planners of the Fresno Downtown Partnership (and a previous iteration of sorts, the merchant-based Downtown Fresno Association), espousing what they see as a potential center of economic activity. A 2013 campaign, complete with a well-produced video and city-wide lawn sign giveaway, used the hopeful phrase "I Believe in Downtown" to evoke feelings of placemaking and community tied to redevelopment. The more emotional calls to "remember" and "preserve" the past are the tools of the groups in resistance to such visions, echoing Villa's[270] claim discussed above that emotional sentiments are best used by those in the minority.

> "In these struggles, the persistence and power of memory is crucial, becoming simultaneously effective - as practically informing history in the politics of community defense - and affective - as emotionally orienting story in the politics of textual representation."

Villa cites Willa Cather's[271] "city of fact" and "city of feelings" as two sides of the same coin of use of memory in the imaginings of a city by its citizens and leaders. The list of facts noted in ethnographic interviews with revitalizationists have no bearing on the emotional nostalgia expressed by preservationists. The narrative directionalities of both, looking backwards and forwards, inform their meanings of place. Talking about the site with my contacts often led to a shared social memory of the Mall as a hub of cultural and economic activity that many citizens recalled from their childhood. The vast majority of my contacts during my participant-observation and those that I interviewed shared several characteristics: racially homogeneous, White residents of North Fresno who held deeply nostalgic views of the prosperous, centralized downtown they grew up knowing.

These shared memories, of childhood excursions to the Fulton Mall in its heyday and a vibrant downtown in which the Mall was a nexus full of energy, are useful in that they exemplify the process by which shared experiences get codified into cultural norms and traditions, i.e. the excitement of "downtown": "It was great, it was busy. Oh, the stores were wonderful, you know, it was just such an array of really nice stores and in the art and everything was very intriguing. I remember all the fountains working," recalled one person.

For many older people I interviewed who fell into the Baby Boomer generational category, the Fulton Mall in the 1960s also became a place of teenage discovery. "Yeah, it's very

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[266] Interview with J, Fresno, September 3, 2015.

[267] Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia.* (New York, NY: Basic Books), 2008.

[268] Interview with D., Fresno, August 3, 2016.

[269] Pink, Sarah. *Situating Everyday Life*. (London, UK: Sage Publications), 2012.

[270] Villa*, Barrio Logos*, 230.

[271] Villa, *Barrio Logos*, 235.

vivid . . . it was a moment of growth and being able to kind of spread my wings, after Christmas a friend and I met up, caught the bus at Palm and Fruit, and rode the bus down to the Mall to spend our Christmas money and that had to be when I was maybe in the sixth grade." More than one adult sheepishly admitted that "…there was the occasions that we would ditch [school] and go downtown and hang out on the Mall or in Chinatown." This presumably stemmed from its previous iteration as Fulton Street where "dragging the main," *American Graffiti*-style, was an oft-cited Saturday night ritual. Theorists Hobsbawm and Ranger's central thesis that invented traditions in the course of the production and maintenance of the ideational nation-state are more coercive than rituals may belie, also indicates that there is a distinction between the traditions that can be created and reified for a national narrative seeking consumers, and customs that have a local "authenticity" of mutability that points to a lack of invariance[272] "because life isn't so". While this dissertation focuses on urban space, Hobsbawm's conversation about nation-state cultural consolidation finds its subnational unit of analysis in the development of city culture. The Fulton Mall, however vibrant in 1964, was created as a response to a downtown already in decline immediately after World War II. These official memories of downtown disseminated by the City of Fresno and its boosters are prime examples of an ahistoric invented narrative for ideological use, where identities that simultaneously conform to and resist rule in a way that binds communities with shared histories, despite underlying contention or fragmentation.

The Fulton Mall was often called a catalyst, or bellwether for positive change, by many activists I interviewed across the spectrum of the revitalize vs. preserve debate. Investment of any kind on the Fulton Mall would, many people believed and expressed to me, allow the city as a whole to reach its full potential. Importantly, the idea of "reaching its full potential" was an amorphous, problematic idea that changed depending on who I was talking to. A subset of those interviewees I created relationships with were equally as racially homogeneous, white Fresnans who saw the potential of an imagined future where the Fulton Mall, and subsequently, the downtown inner urban core of Fresno, regaining its prosperity. Those interviewees often saw downtown as a site of neoliberal investment, and like most of my contacts, did not live downtown themselves.

Grief and intense attachment to the Mall's original design present in my ethnographic interviews were inversely proportionate to the enthusiastic futurism, including exciting visions of prosperity, broadly defined as the discursive concept of "imagined futures". As a supporter said, "It's [revitalization] is basic in the sense of allowing more people to see businesses that they haven't been to for the first time. It's, you know, much as pipes bring water, streets bring people and sidewalks bring people." Linked to a broader discussion of changing Fresno's downtown to match the trendy growing celebration of urban life across the globe and in popular design aesthetics.

The culmination of the discursive dichotomy, or political "sides," publicly reached a turning point in September 2017 with the reopening of the Mall to car traffic as a two-lane road, renamed Fulton Street despite ongoing, and quieter, discussion that revitalization was a short-term solution to Fresno's unchecked growth. "We're at a stage right now where we had an opportunity--we really do here in Fresno--but urban living centers around human interaction.

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[272] Hobsbawm, Eric and Terrance Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 1983.

You can't plan something, you can't just put a street in and say well, we put a street in with parking and some trees, people are going to flock and come here."[273]

Value, Affect and "Emptiness" : The Mall in Decline
In direct relation to its declining use-value, most people I talked with set blame for the Mall's perceived deterioration squarely at the feet of City of Fresno leadership, most specifically the City Council and subsequent mayoral administrations. This decline in value, or more tangible "emptiness" that so many of my inerviewees discussed as a reason to move forward with the infrastructure project of Fulton Street was apparent in my own experience of the Mall. From my fieldnotes in the fall of 2014:

The six city blocks of pedestrian walkway, cut into thirds by the heavy traffic of Fresno and Tulare Streets, are lined by grand buildings that once held the high-end shopping sites that favor North Fresno and its conservative, suburban sibling, nearby Clovis, CA. Most of these multistory buildings, formerly banks, shops and department stores, have hung boards over their large street level windows. Few businesses remain active, though stores often blast music through their open doors to attract customers. These customers are a mix of lower income Latino families shopping for Latino consumer bargains, white collar multiracial office workers from nearby governmental agencies and homeless men, though it is almost empty except for the homeless after 2pm on most weekdays. At over 40 feet wide, the Mall's pavement was striped with wave-like indentations that were meant to evoke the naturalism of the space as something unusual in its surrounding urban environment. Tall trees offer welcoming shade, as Fresno consistently gets triple digit heat from May to September. Walking down the space, pedestrians could still encounter benches with shade, intermittently run fountains, sculptures, as well as raised seating and greenery every 100 feet. It is a resoundingly quiet space, despite nearby street noise and scattered music. The Mall has become a place where one can find oneself entirely alone in a major city for several city blocks.

Planted decades ago, the Fulton Mall's leafy trees once offered respite from the Central Valley's intense heat. Seats under overgrown arbors and benches styled in Mid-Century Modernism's[274] distinct blocks and squares tempted passersby walking the open pedestrian mall, but in the Fall of 2014 few sat down. In 2016, construction fencing with dark green fabric was placed along the middle of the main walkway on each of the Mall's three blocks, increasing the isolation of the space as liminal and under transformation. What little activity existed, stirred by food carts and Latino clothing stores, posed a sharp contrast to the empty buildings labeled with a red X warning the Fresno Fire Department that, in the event of a fire, there was no need to save these buildings. Few would miss the buildings, and many were expecting their demise.

The same aesthetic design and conception of the Mall beloved by pro-preservationists were, in turn, seen by pro-revitalizationists as a boondoggle from another era. The pedestrian design hindering real growth, despite the noted prestige of the project's origins and design. A, a white woman in her early thirties who moved to the Downtown area as part of an intentional project of advocacy based in her religious faith struggled to reconcile the cultural value of the Mall's history with what she saw as its undervalued potential:

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[273] Interview with K., Fresno, April 2016.

A: …I would run up and down the Mall and to be honest, I feel like I had a love-hate relationship just because I loved, like the culture that I was seeing. I thought it was awesome. My husband is from Mexico, so I very much related to the Mexican culture and you can see a lot of them on the Fulton Mall. That's something I love because I feel like it represents a huge part of Fresno, but then I think about the hate part came in when there was lot of [graffiti, trash]you could just tell it was rundown. Like it just wasn't very nice and definitely like there's a homeless problem almost, like I guess, it's an issue of people hanging out there, saying it works, it's shady here anywhere.[275]

The emotions triggered by the discussion surrounding the Mall's potential revitalization and then, subsequent revitalization, were strongly-held on both sides of the debate. Anger and frustration were also evident in my interviews, as well as grief. To many supporters of the Mall as it was originally designed, the process for commenting on the design-process in 2013 and the act of revitalization itself were twin projects of erasure, of misguided "improvement" that left a lot of people out of the conversation.

J: Before they closed it all off and started tearing it up, destroying it? I took some pictures, of course I did, I think a lot of, even pro-street people came down and did that. I try to think I try to see and really feel the optimism of the times when it was prudent. . you had a lot of problems [with that 1960s era] but you see a potential like this, edition go people even in this modern era, the messy modern era still an inspiration…I just had a reflective moment or two, kind of thing…we did what we could.

Anger was the underlying emotion involved in the ways in which supporters of the Mall processed their emotions and directed their grief, the emotion embedded with nostalgia. This emotional attachment was not, however, limited to those in support of the Mall's preservation of its original design. "I hope good comes with it," stated A, who remains resolute in her championing of Downtown Fresno several years after moving in a new loft space on Fulton. She clearly has organized her life around advocacy, yet remains tense about the line she feels she must walk as a newcomer to the area. "I think that's the biggest thing, like if no good comes with tearing it up then I'm going to be really upset."[276] Often, the words of my interview subjects belied an emotional back and forth between grief and hope for progress, as they conceived the revitalization to be.

As the emotions above express, the signifiers of place attachment and history[277] used by citizens are meaningful. "Places are fragmentary and in-ward turning histories, pasts that others are not allowed to read, accumulated times that can be unfolded but like stories held in reserve, remaining in an enigmatic state . . ." Formation, dissolution and memory are concepts that

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[275] Interview with A., Fresno, July 12, 2016.
[276] Interview with A., Fresno, July 12, 2016.
[277] Low, Setha. *On the Plaza.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000; Low Setha and Irwin Altman, eds. *Place Attachment. Human Behavior and Environment*. Boston, MA: Springer Press, 1992: 108. Remove shading

resonate with this case study, for how does the pedestrian space of the Fresno Fulton Mall distinctly counter the car-centric suburban futures sought by planning leaders? Do the suburbs favored by decades of planning get "unmade" at the start of the pedestrian space of the mall, or does the city become "made" by walkers in a distinctly dense urban environment that sits in an island of sprawl? New, "better" iterations of Fresno floated by those who supported a revitalization of the Mall were equally present in my research, legitimized and eventually overshadowing the discourse on preserving the Mall, with its own embedded touchstones: historical preservation, nostalgia and memory.

Theme 2: Remaking Downtown, Rethinking Citizenship
Underlying dimensions of race, ethnicity and class informed the larger discussion of placemaking that my research uses as its central focus, particularly when it came to the utilization of the Fulton Mall's space over time by particular populations. My research started in 2013, when the Fulton Mall was mostly used by immigrant Latino consumers, a stark contrast from its original design as a place of White mid-century class formation.

The youngest person I interviewed made the connection between race and a changed sense of place on the Fulton Mall clear. The Fulton Mall of the 1990s and early 2000s that drew primarily Latino shoppers looking for their cultural hallmarks had been the entirety of her experience of the Mall. She was only one of two Millennials I spoke two, and the generational difference of cultural celebration, rather than a sense of loss, was evident in her interview:

> "You would bring your families and you could probably like speak a different language, because it was always [not possible elsewhere in Fresno]. Like, oh ok, I actually got to speak Spanish now. . . There's like little culture things, like to me, the Fulton Mall felt a little piece of, like, Mexico and the families could go to."

In the last decade of public discussion about the Mall's Future, clear demarcations were drawn between struggling downtown citizens who were daily visitors to the Mall and the luring of future well-heeled denizens from North Fresno and the larger Central Valley area. Below, one interviewee, a man in his late fifties who took part in Fulton Street boosterism efforts, touched on this subject of value:

> S: "I've been to other places where the streets have been restored--Eugene, Oregon is a good example. I don't think Third Street Promenade in LA is a very good example - you won't find everybody there. So a lot of my friends who are Fulton Mall supporters, I bet are like, it should just be like that, and I'm like, no, you don't want that, you don't want that because we're going to be missing a huge segment of our population, so we need to think of something that does that."[278]

Alienation of one set of consumers to lure the economic investment of another group of consumers speaks to the ideation of the Fulton Mall as a commercial space, subject to economic

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[278] Interview with S., Fresno June 23, 2016.

rule. "The people that are left out of that dichotomy are the people that aren't even asked, aren't even included in the conversation and that's really where the real impact is going to be."[279]

To a certain degree, this study inadvertently replicates the lacuna – at the time of my entry into the subject of downtown revitalization in early 2014, much of the major decisions about the Fulton Mall's future had just been made. Federal money had been secured through the Department of Transportation and the infrastructure plan, specifically Option Three of the three options[280] presented to the public in several public forums and workshops, had just been voted on by the City Council in February 2014.

After two years of increasingly emotional and heated debate, many store owners on the Mall were hesitant, even unwilling to talk to another outsider about the future of the Mall and implicitly, their livelihood. I use my fieldnotes from informal conversations with a handful of store owners as background references to this sense of inevitability that hung around the physically and socially, as well as economically, declining space after the February 2014 vote by the City Council. Resistance to the street design crawled along after 2014, but slowly wilted with time. Change was happening, and the store owners could only shrug, shake their head or be suspicious of my questions.

I found that some store owners, specifically the family behind one of the main restaurants on the Mall, and newer sites hoping to capitalize on downtown revitalization seemed to buy into the Mall's revival with eagerness that mirrored the talking points of the revitalization groups. In 2016, the restaurant publicly announced plans for expansion, including outdoor seating, while the hipster tamale shop new to the area produced funny publicity videos about feeding the construction workers then working on reconstructing the Mall into Fulton Street. Resignation, excitement and anxiety replaced the anger I heard in the voices of previous years' interviews.

> K: " …the street could work, and it's you know, there's data there to support that it could work and I think it will. I think it's not the only way we could have revitalized the Fulton Mall and those other options being completely left off the table is what frustrated me in the process and in that there's no real focus on improving the lives that need it and making the business owners that have committed decades of their lives to operating on the Fulton Mall, I don't think there's nearly enough supported tracking to make those family businesses be ones that get the benefit from downtown revitalization."

I was told by several people that vacancy rates increased after construction started in April of 2016, though I could not secure an official count by the City. I saw that shops were even harder to find by the dwindling foot traffic maneuvering around fenced off areas of the Mall under construction in late 2016. My regular site visits got increasingly shorter in 2017, as I encountered fewer people on the Mall, even at the usually bustling weekday lunch hour. Even the popular pub frequented by many supporters of the revitalization project to make Fulton Mall into Fulton Street closed up shop during this period between 2016 and 2017.

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[279] Interview with K, Fresno, April 2016.

[280] See Appendix 2: City of Fresno documents on the revitalization of the Fulton Mall.

Citizens and Placemaking
My secondary interest is the way in which this case study demonstrates that citizenship is enacted through engagement, protest, and to a certain degree, codified by claims to space that become placemaking praxis. A short discussion of the evolution of citizenship as a conceptual tool and as a set of behaviors and actions is needed to understand the full scope of how I claim citizenship was being rethought. Through the lens of contestation about the Fulton Mall's future, the praxis of citizenship was being reinvigorated in a political community where engagement often felt impossible against an overbearing political and planning regime.

Many interviewees cited the overpromising of a revived downtown for years without clear outcomes or defined measures of success. Much of the discussion about the Mall's decline was hinged on the value of the Fulton Mall's public art.

> J: A lot of the stuff was done locally and a lot of local talent. They had some very bright people in 1964 when they tried to put the whole thing together. I hold the art community in Fresno for the destruction of that Mall just as much to blame because I was at the meeting, I was at the hearings. I was just like, you can complain all you want, you weren't there, I was…And I was just very disappointed in most of the artists' community in Fresno.

After outcry in 2016, the city issued a special report on the art work's restoration and promised to replace them on Fulton Street. This focus on value proved to be part of the social memory of the origins of the Mall. A few interviewees mentioned the prestige surrounding the Mall's original conception as new ideas in urban planning and landscape design at the time.

> J: I was in college back in the 90s and taking an art appreciation class, urban landscape and architecture in the American Mind. Our teachers showing slides of different things…she put up this whole study and talked about the Fulton Mall, we saw Garret Eckbo's *A City Reborn*…in 2009, walking downtown when I first arrived in Fresno. I'm looking around, going this is just vaguely familiar, where have I seen this?

Citizens, Philippa Norris posits, vote with their actions, reinforcing the role institutions play in their daily lives. This public trust is essential to a well-functioning polity: "Voluntary compliance with law, the public's willingness to pay tax dollars and the eagerness of bright young people to enter government services are three ways in which institutional confidence and faith can be vitally connected. Without these resources, government cannot perform well".[281] This continued and internal critique of the effectiveness of institutions is "important, but also destabilizing".[282] A sustained critique could foster disillusionment with one's government, forcing voters to rethink their very democratic form. Perhaps the newly-embraced political category of "denizen"[283], referring to temporary workers who are granted some political and social

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[281] Norris, Phillipa, ed. *Critical Citizen*s. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1999: vi.

[282] Norris, Phillipa, ed. *Critical Citizen*s, 270.

[283] Lazar, Sian. *The Anthropology of Citizenship*. New York, NY: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013: 6-8.

recognition due to their participation and embracement of local culture, may be a fruitful alternative to ongoing questions of residency, representation and reciprocal cultural affiliation.

Urbanization routes the debates of citizenship back to their original context: the Greek city-state of antiquity. Here engagement with the state is best understood as identification with a city's culture and place, bypassing the larger nation-state context typically linked to citizenship as central to one's understanding of membership. In urban contexts, transnational and supranational identities are welcomed; Iris Young [not cited below] writes that "an openness to unassimilated others is the political ideal, today found in the "unoppressive city".[284] Here the issues of the international community, ordered by the economic push and pull factors of neoliberalism, are encountered as immigrants, ideas and cultural outlays are integrated into the receiving culture, in turn already resisting the homogenization of nation-state narrative. "Cities are sensitive to peregrinations of capital and labor"[285]; simultaneously developing the localization of capital and labor--due to domestic industrialization (postcolonial cities) and strategic, specialized sites for more globally-oriented capital and labor. By placing the Mall within its historicized context in the urban landscape as a place of social interaction, the so-called "heart of the city", the role of active citizen that such memory and shared experience engender became more pressing. This eventually materialized into community resistance.

Activism: Manifesting A Vision
The activism by community groups bent on resisting growth is reiterated by the civic engagement that happened around the debate about the Fulton Mall's future. On February 28th, 2014, supporters of a revitalization plan marched from the Mall to City Hall before the official City Council meeting where members voted to support the Mall's complete revitalization into Fulton Street. Led by one of my informants who played a very public and key role in spearheading support for the Mall's revitalization, the march was covered heavily by local media and debated on Facebook forums and the Fresno Bee newspaper's comments section. Groups of downtown supporter groups, like local sports team fans and merchants, often linked to the 2013 "I Believe in Downtown" media rollout that was part of the mayor administration's efforts to focus on downtown development, made their presence known, and shouted down opposition in public debate during the actual meeting.

In the early days of this public debate, the DFC regularly expressed their support for maintaining the Mall by enacting small protests and public debate on City of Fresno and Fresno-related Facebook group pages.[286] In 2015, the DFC led a series of walking tours on the Fulton Mall, even as plans for the Mall's revitalization were started. I participated in these walking tours and provide more detail below. Public demonstrations of engagement and claims to space are the main types of citizenship engagement that I saw in my research. Ideas about citizenship have been challenged or confirmed by their urban manifestations across the disciplines of social

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[284] Lazar, Sian. *The Anthropology of Citizenship*, 9.

[285] Holston, James. *Cities and Citizenship*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998: 10.

[286] Pink, Sarah, et. al. *Digital Ethnography: Principles and Practice*. London, UK: Sage Publications, 2015.

science - Weber's argument that a liberal form of citizenship could not develop in the Orient[287] due to a lack of history and experience with autonomous cities that could transform a traditional kinship-based social organization. This dated notion still carries epistemological value: the history and formation of Citizenship Studies privileges the Occident, or Euro-centric form of full democratic membership, while also denoting a focus on active participation of citizens as a means of deepening the democratic project. Just as Athenians were asked to participate in their governance, so too are most modern nation-state dwellers, however implicitly tied to societal discourses of power and control. The politics of space around the Fulton Mall itself, as the center for political protest in Fresno, were highlighted by preservationists who also decried the dearth of public space and parkland within city limits.

Paving the Path: Governmental Intervention & Resistance
The role of governmental entities in urban change is an important factor in my analysis of the cultural impact of the revitalization of the Fulton Mall. Much of the anthropological literature on governmentality focuses on the way in which entities are legitimized by governmental bodies as a way of gatekeeping power. Key local government entities cited by interviewees were the city council, the planning board, the city manager, as well as the quasi-governmental downtown merchants' associations and ambassadors trained and paid for with public money through public-facing groups. As one interviewee who wanted to preserve the Mall put it:

> K: "[A specific store manager on the Mall] has been skeptical of the Fulton Mall, and their, very, I don't know if their opinion has changed, but when I spoke to them about two years ago on this, they felt very left out of the process because they were members of the downtown association which was a merchants association . . . that organization changed from merchants to property owners and that's a very important framing of who has the power and the decision-making ability." [288]

A series of public forums and design workshops were held in the summer and fall of 2013. The workshops were criticized by many as being inaccessible, as most of them were held during the work day and required pre-registration (though no cost). "I went to many, many of the what I would call it, the pseudo-public community meetings," stated J, an activist in his early forties working with a pro-preservation group. We met in the summer of 2016 after he responded to the online survey I initiated on Facebook in April of that year. It was clear he felt dismissed, and was annoyed by those in the city administration he had communicated with. "I mean, there were community meetings, but they were set up for particular outcomes."[289] It was incredibly interesting to hear about what he described as seemingly performative aspects of public engagement by city staffers helping host the workshop series in 2013. In the era of Big Data, where the focus on gathering lots of input before issuing governmental or institutional change has been embraced by many government entities large and small as a mechanism of democratizing the planning process, J's description of such events painted a dubious effort. Interestingly, the City of Fresno's planning process also in theory aligns with the ethos of

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[287] Isin, Engin and Bryan Turner, eds. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, London, UK: Sage Publications, 2003: 117-124.
[288] Interview with K., Fresno, April 5, 2016.
[289] Interview with J., Fresno, September 3, 2015.

placemaking as an output of critical urban geography; Resistingthe top-down foci of High Modernist planning process, placemaking also seeks a democratic, bottom up approach to urban design through the inclusion of multiple stakeholers. The body politic must be located as part of placemaking and the particularities of local political culture, but the action and schematics of its participants make the enactment of national discourses categorical.

The burden of civic engagement as a hallmark of citizenship often belies the racial and economic privilege embedded in the idea that all voices are met with universal respect by civic institutions, a baseline of civic trust. During a markedly quiet planning meeting in 2016 where the Planning Board voted to change the planning code in downtown to spur growth, an incident exemplifies the differentiated reception of public commentary:

A discordant moment that marred what was a smooth transition from staff presentations (City Planner/developer that was on one of the DFP walking tours in August) to a parade of official thank yous to staff, councilmembers and most importantly, the Mayor for overseeing this larger project of downtown revitalization, including the new Fulton Street project, through years of debate. Many speakers (about 15 in total at an open commentary period before the actual vote and statements from councilmembers, mostly white professionals in suits that seem to have some connection to city institutions) mentioned how long this process had been, and how much they remembered the former Mall in its glory and hoped it would return to such a state.

During the open commentary period, an announced final speaker name met several minutes of silence and uncomfortable movement as people looked around the room for the speaker. A Latina approached the microphone with her interpreter. (awkward, bad interpreter) she said she was a resident of West Olive (Tower/downtown nexus),and was requesting funds 'for central Fulton Mall.' She addressed the councilmember who represented part of District 3. She stated that there was a great need for housing and more accessible housing prices for low income homebuyers. She argued that 'with construction of High Speed Rail, everything will increase and will make it harder for low income families to buy a house.' She went on to criticize the revitalization processes' format. '[Public meetings need to be] accessible for all people, most people work [and] announcements need to be made on television and radio because that is where most people get their information.'

As the council president helped moderate the process for public comments, it became clear that the woman was part of the downtown neighborhood that was struggling to maintain their presence within the unintended consequences of displacement that happens when construction disrupts the ecosystem. She was brought by a lawyer and another small group of people who were mostly people of color and attired in casual clothes. The visual difference of the group was striking, given the last thirty minutes of the meeting amounted to elected officials mutually congratulating each other. The speaker herself was visibly different than the rest of the white professional class at the front of the audience before the council dais, and her lack of welcome was evident. She walked back to the group and the meeting wound down.

Thus, despite engagement with citizens, the quest for public commentary and input by the City of Fresno administration leading the charge for revitalization was more performative than in search of substantive feedback. Community-oriented planning process workshops were led by city and community staffers in late 2013. Very few members of the public were invited, and a

few interviewees involved in preservation efforts felt that the promotion of the events was limited in scope to people already invested in a renewed, rather then preserved, downtown. By offering up three potential options for the Fulton Mall, ranging from complete preservation to a complete overhaul into a street, city staffers I was told, shaped the conversation towards one that favored the Fulton Street revitalization option.

> K: "It's a little scary because there's been a very strong machinery at work… the Revitalization Department and the Mayor. They seem just very sold on this one way that the only way to get people to come downtown is if they could drive down the street."[290]

All states must "articulate themselves through their cities," as all forms of states have been "performances enacted in practice"[291] that continue a particular political program of citizen-making and system formation. The tools of change were entirely governmental, including shaping the narrative around the Mall's decline. At the local level, techniques of power included a review and subsequent change of local planning codes and ordinances, like the limit on tall buildings in downtown and the relaxing of multi-use, multi-purpose zoning to spur private investment. Suspicions about the speed at which such changed were made during the 2014-2017 process abounded:

> J: "…the City was so secretive about money. It still hasn't been explained really where they got the additional money they needed for the time to match the target grant. So you never know if the city, if they say they're going to maintain it to who's going to make sure they do. That's one way our committee will probably continue to make sure that any effort on the art and the planning and the maintenance of the Mall [will occur]."

The contention concerning the utility of the Mall's space, the role it could potentially play as an economic hub and the presence of cars on walkways long reserved for pedestrians, I argue, were ultimately about the social memory of the site, imbued with a shared understanding of what it was to be an engaged citizen here in Fresno, even with competing visions of the future.

Resistance by the bureaucracy of city government can be found in the agency that local institutions, namely the Mayor's Office, took to route preservation efforts by activists seeking to combat early discussion about changing the Mall in 2008. The City of Fresno eventually sponsored a survey furnished by the Institute of Public Anthropology on the California State University, Fresno campus in 2010. CSUF anthropology students interviewed 157 people about their place of residence and reason for being on the Mall, obtaining data that showed the localized use of the Mall by downtown residents and the disparate uses that the Mall encouraged. Researchers wrote of a perception problem of the Mall as envisioned as abandoned, yet empirical data showed its daily utility in the lives of many Fresnans. The study argued for more comparative data--older retail centers like Fig Garden and the central Tower District business district were listed as comparative --to get a sense of larger patterns of use, "however, one thing

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[290] Interview with K., Fresno, March 28th, 2014.
[291] Lazar, Sian. *The Anthropology of Citizenship*, 2013: 12.

is clear: there are far more pedestrians using the Fulton Mall than public perception would indicate"[292]. The City's projected gains were subject to the realities of empirical analysis: "Seventy five public guesses at pedestrian numbers during the count period were, in general, dramatically less than the number counted. The median daily guess was about eight times lower than the actual count."[293] In short, observations of pedestrians far exceeded the expectations of researchers and of those citizens they interviewed.

Studies cited by pro-revitalization efforts, both public and private, argued that cars would add more consumers on the Mall, but limit the social interaction that local community groups feel was necessary as they defended the historically-defined central character of the Mall. This resistance to a planning regime highlights the ways in which citizenship and connection to place were tested by the plans to revitalize the Fulton Mall. De Certeau[294] wrote that agency practiced as the unmaking of statist planning can be made legible in the "rhetoric of walking" that pedestrians self-create. Given that car culture, and its implicit physical and spatial disconnect between people, actually reduces political participation, the focus on getting cars to drive through Fulton is an entirely different kind of spatial politics. Fulton Street, *nee* Fulton Mall, would be a spatial fix[295] that "fixed" the problem of public space.

Summary of Findings

Through in-depth interviews with people involved in this process, with those who considered themselves "activist citizens," and those who were every day users of the Fulton Mall before its revitalization into Fulton Street in 2017, I found social memory was a social theory informing revitalization efforts via visions of future and memories of the past that all sides employed to great effect. The ethnographic evidence reviewed here exemplify how each "side" in the debate over the Fulton Mall's fate and recent revitalization produced distinct tactics and foci that crystalized into positions dictated by elites

The overarching pattern across all data was that, despite much public discussion at political forums, design workshops hosted by the city and online public debate via Facebook commentary or the Fresno Bee Daily newspaper, neither "side" spoke to one another in dialogue. Rather, they used narrative talking points that looked towards the future or back to the past as more meaningful than the present state of the Mall related to its pre-2016 use-value, a strange focus given the evidence provided by the 2010 pedestrian survey. To that end, social memory, nostalgia and the implicit erasure created by an "imagined future" informed citizen's participation in the construction of placemaking, elite discourses already subject to institutional bounding that limited public discourse altogether. Coupled with the efforts of city government to downplay the historical significance of the site, exemplified by their efforts to combat application put forth by local advocates to have the Fulton Mall be granted recognition from the National Register of Historic Places, it was the site's future that only mattered to those in power.

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[292] Delcore, Henry, Mullooly, James and Anne Visser. *Fulton Mall Pedestrian Count Project*. Institute for Public Anthropology at California, State University, Fresno and the Downtown Fresno Association. 2010: 5.

[293] Delcore, Mullooly and Visser. *Fulton Mall Pedestrian Count Project*, 2010: 9.

[294] De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984.

[295] Harvey, David. "Right to the City," *New Left Review*, Volume 53, September-October, 2008.

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Chapter Five: Placemaking on Fulton - Narratives and Imaginings

Introduction: Regional History of the Mall

I present archival research on Fresno's Fulton Mall to better understand the social and historical antecedents of the revitalization of this public space. Chapter Five focuses on material culture; literature, planning materials and film produced about the Mall's site-specific spatial and cultural history are part of the body of material culture I found during my research. Offered here as part of a schematic analysis of the understanding of place, or more broadly, how the Mall has been conceived and produced as an "urban" site. I use literature on Modernism and urban growth to contextualize the site's historical development and current revival, and analyze how new efforts to "make place" contributed to the Fulton Mall's urban evolution as a site deemed worthy of interest after years of declining status.

My research on Fresno's Fulton Mall has included a corpus of literature from California Studies. This chapter references that literature and also includes qualitative ethnographic material as it was created during moments of activity during the site's redevelopment that officially started in 2016. The Heritage Department staff of the Fresno County Free Library directed me to key primary source items from the original mall planning process that are extremely helpful to my analysis of archival documents. Other sources reflect the more contemporary memorialization of the Mall and its central spatial debate, preservation versus revitalization, particularly through the medium of film. Youtube has become a central repository of short, locally-produced and creative nods to the Mall's continued significance in the lives of Fresnans.

Urban Change and the Role of the City

The city was named by many as being complicit in the Fulton Mall's physical and cultural demise – a reneged promise of maintenance and promotion that never fully materialized. "(…) The mall is something the City of Fresno no longer wants to be responsible for"[296]. The push to commoditize a space is something not unknown, deconstructed in *Barrio Logos*[297] as something cannibalistic, the "super-urbanization of America. The urban giants being created are not 'communities' in any real sense… this process is in fact destroying what does remain of human communities." Villa's work concerns the cultural aesthetics and expression of resistance of the Chicano community in the barrios of Los Angeles, a more culturally-specific argument for the production of space as a culturally-centered place. Villa writes of the "creative destruction" that is urban morphology, as "Chicanos in the central-city barrios repeatedly defended their use-value orientations to place against the exchange-driven imperatives of the urban growth machine[298]". The historical change in consumer habits on the Fulton Mall reflects a changing community, increasingly comprised of racial and ethnic minorities, with fewer resources to counter external attempts to change its use value by the northern centers of economic power that have settled in Fresno's new shopping and entertainment complexes on Shaw Avenue and Riverpark.

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[296] Interview with H., Fresno, March 2016.

[297] Villa, Raul Humero. *Barrio-Logos*: *Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000: 15.

[298] Villa, Raul Humero. *Barrio-Logos*, 17.

Harold Tokmakian, the late head of California State University, Fresno's Regional Planning Department, added an important perspective, noting that the Fulton Mall's environs were only partly completed to designer Victor Gruen's specifications. The Mall was to have three major components[299]: a park-like atmosphere surrounded by accessible freeways, commercial outlets and housing. Vertical, dense housing was never added, leaving the Mall as a liminal space between park and shopping district. The emphasis on centralization of city growth as dense and situated in a tight nexus surrounding a prosperous downtown was undermined by ongoing development to the north, which ignored the tenets of the 1964 General Plan[300] that took its core values from Gruen's density manifesto. "This policy led to the virtual abandonment of downtown as a major retail center[301]". Mark Arax[302] wrote about this local culture of development. "In Fresno," Arax observed, "the Planning Department was renamed the Development Department . . . This [culture of suburban growth] is why Fresno had one of the lowest park-to-people ratios in the nation and why downtown had become a roost for pigeons[303]". Suburban development, in turn, has become Fresno's default position over the years, decentralizing the city into the postmodern topography of sprawl that urban geographer Edward Soja[304] cautioned against.

Social memory is both a tool and an outcome in the urban planning process, community emplacement surrounding the revitalization of the Fulton Mall is discursive, site-specific and shapes the futurist plans for a modern overhaul of its purpose. As previously claimed, this is evidenced by the official and countering rhetoric used to inform proposed changes, the particulars of the history and memory of the space itself, and the economic and cultural goals of future proposals to revitalize the Mall.

The semi-abandoned feel of the downtown Fulton Mall, as I did my fieldwork from 2013 forward, was the manifestation of its' social "death[305]" which happens when the site is considered no longer useful or productive by the power structures to which it is subject. "Owing to a series of planning decisions by Fresno's city government, the Mall did not remain the locus of major retail business in Fresno, however it remains a welcome oasis reserved for pedestrians in the heart of downtown Fresno, and . . . has played a vital role in the development of Fresno's social history"[306]. A historical analysis shows that failure, here measured as the inability to capture the attention of the suburban middle-class consumers for whom new housing and leisure activities like shopping meant they had reached the zenith of mid-century American consumerism, wasbuilt into the process of Fresno's suburban development.

This chapter supports my central argument that the political discussion and action engendered by proposed changes to the Fulton Mall are really a contestation of urban identity as it is understood and articulated by citizens and interest groups through visual media such as film,

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[299] Tokmakian, Harold. "Fresno Debates Pedestrian Mall's Future" *Planning*, American Planning Association: July 2012 issue.

[300] City of Fresno. *1964 General Plan.* Fresno County Free Library.

[301] Tokmakian, Harold. *Planning*, 2012.

[302] Arax, Mark. *West of the West: Dreamers, Believers, Builders and Killers in the Golden State. (*New York, NY: Public Affairs Books), 2009.

[303] Arax, Mark. *West of the West, 17.*

[304] Soja, Edward W. *Postmodern Geographies - The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. (New York, NY: Verso Press), 1989.

[305] Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities. (*New York, NY: Basic Books)*,* 1961.

[306] Application, *National Register of Historic Places,* Downtown Fresno Coalition, 2010.

negotiated and moderated through the application of social memory. Through this development, the social memory of a public site is highlighted on camera in direct contrast to the larger forces of a postmodern movement to manufacture space first, community second. This is evidenced by the ways in which discourse around the Mall has been shaped by the proposed changes, the perpetuating ideas that fuel a particular and historical social memory of place shared by Fresnans of different generations and communities and finally, the goals for the proposed site that change the character and identity of the Fulton Mall as it stood as a crystallization of its 1960s genesis up until September 2017's grand reopening of Fulton Street.

Regional History of the Mall

Situating the Mall as something from the past is central to understanding the recent public support for its preservation, as well as arguments for its revitalization. The Mall was created in 1964 by city leaders, specifically a group of private citizens and public officials- as a celebration of progress and modernism. Calling themselves the "100 Percenters," this group sought to revitalize a flagging downtown starting in the mid-1950s, and ultimately gained the attention (after much wooing and interest) of a nationally known urban planner, Victor Gruen, who proposed a downtown development that centered around a plaza-style pedestrian mall. Coupling his work with public art became the domain of local leaders, who raised private funding of over $100,000 to curate a collection of art to be part of its formation. Some of the art was created by young, local artists, some who have become the most vocal opponents to 21st Century revitalization that include paving over the mall to make space for vehicular traffic. It was this capital and cultural investment that made the mall meaningful to different groups of people - businesses and civic leaders lauded the private investment to reinvigorate commercial interest and the public enjoyed the intersectional space as functioning somewhat between a plaza, Main Street and urban parkland.

Fresno's regional history is tracked in the monograph *Fresno County in the 20th Century: From 1900 to the 1980s*. Charles W. Clough's[307] work is a comprehensive and in-depth overview of Fresno County's development. What is most helpful are the sections on the development of successive general plans, of which the 1960 General Plan was pivotal to the Fulton Mall's development. The monograph also details a history of the interpersonal political maneuverings that civic leadership, public and private, took on to build the post-war city from its agrarian roots. In addition, three short story and essay collections discussed below help set the stage of the Mall as part of a larger process of capital accumulation in the Central Valley that informs the collective tone for local cultural and social formation. This compliments the news stories gathered from *The Fresno Bee* archives that chronicle its beginnings and the decades-long fight to revive the area.

Where I Was From[308] features Joan Didion's style of narrative journalism ("New Journalism") and the perpetual subject: Herself. A reflexive narrative of the history of settlement in California, and the California project as a an ever-renewing project made different through waves of immigration like her family's history, and the land use policies, like the Central Valley Water Project, that made "farmers into growers." Mark Arax details both the history and current struggles of Californians across regions, race and socio-economic status in his monograph *West*

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[307] Clough, Charles W. *Fresno County in the 20th Century: From 1900 to the 1980s*. (Los Angeles, CA: Panorama West Books), 1986.
[308] Didion, Joan. *Where I Was From*. (New York, NY: Knopf Doubleday Publishing), 2012.

of the West[309]. Here, he chronicles the individual stories of wealthy entrepreneurs who capitalize on the fertile soil of the California agriculture industry and those who pick the fruit themselves, indigenous people from Mexico's highlands who have limited exposure to the land they consider a temporary economic opportunity. The author mentions the metropolitan centers of Los Angeles, Sacramento and the Bay Area, but the primary focus is on the "other" California, the rural Central Valley. He has a personal interest in the 21st century development of Fresno, CA, as his place of birth and childhood. Now returned, he spends several chapters connecting his Armenian roots with the agricultural lifestyle that brought his grandfather over in 1920. In-depth research and detail grounds Arax's journalistic take on the modern California experience in history. The author continues to delve into his personal experiences: his father's violent, unsolved death looms large, as do figures of recent past, like Zankou, a disgraced restaurateur; the hippies who resist against the commodification of marijuana in Humboldt County; and the aging Oakies who mourn their way of life and history as each neighbor dies off. Arax successfully weaves these short individual pastiches of the California experience into a larger story about the struggle for resources, recognition and the unique brand of self-actualization that California offers. Arax's work is a chronological coda to celebrated local author Saroyan's collection of ten short essays, *Fresno Stories* separated as Early and Late Stories. Each story is a small pastiche that contributes to a bird's eye view of the Central Valley's cultural development in the early 20th Century (1912-1935). Major themes include immigrant assimilation and emplacement ("Fire"), the Italian and Armenian experience in America, gender roles, class and innovation. A heavy moralistic tone is often part of the collection ("Cowards") as stand-in for the new social rules of American society. In "Madness in the Family[310]," the author distills this experience of placemaking:

> "He wanted someone to die, and to be buried so that he, as well as the rest of us, might know that a tradition had been established, that a culture must inevitably follow, and that, consequently, we might all be permitted to believe that we were in fact in Fresno, in California, in America, and, in all probability, would stay."

Saroyan's words are made material here, as well as that of his image. His wizened face, simultaneously gruff and charming, sits next to the words "I believe" on a public mural at the intersection of Olive and Blackstone Avenues in central Fresno, echoing the recent call by pro-Revitalization interest to "believe" in downtown once again (see illustration). Thus, the linkage of cultural to space, and shared community histories became the instrument of change for those on both sides of the Fulton Mall debate.

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[309] Arax, Mark. *West of the West, 2009.*
[310] Saroyan, William. *Fresno Stories*. (New York, NY: New Directions. (1935)), 2004:43.

Figure 5.1 William Saroyan's "I believe" Mural (Photo Credit: Doris Dakin Perez, August 2015)

Space, Politics and Urban Planning

The primary sources that help convey spatially the changes of the physical landscape, both proposed and manifested, as well as images that show Fulton Street before it became the Mall, allow me to visualize this local contest as two competing discourses about place through the paradigms of memory and imagined futures. Primary sources include those found in the archives of the Fresno Historical Society and the archive of the Fresno County Library, as well as City of Fresno planning documents known as the 1960 "Gruen Plan" that was assembled by the Los Angeles-based planning firm of urban design icon Victor Gruen. This original planning document lays out the vision articulated by planners and city leaders about the potentialities for improvement that the Mall was so supposed to have manifested. What becomes clear after such review is that the original vision by the planning firm was only partially produced, and the ensuing decisions by the City Council to allow unimpeded development that moved northward at a rapid pace in the 1960s and 1970s left the Mall in a liminal space of history bounded by the limits of futurism.

As discussed in Chapter Four, a pedestrian survey in 2010[311] was the first academic study of the Mall commissioned by the city initiated by the Applied Anthropology Institute housed at California State University, Fresno. Used as a metric to make legible[312] the use value[313] of the Mall, it found that more people were visiting per day than had previously been assumed or expected. While there was a general decrease in utility over time, a qualitative difference, the *type* of people, had most visible changed. More Hispanics were using the Mall in the early 2000s and stores catered to this changing demographic proliferated to meet demand. The blighted, often-cited "emptiness" of the Mall talks over this quantified data that highlights the empirical utility of the space, reinscribing "otherness" to current shoppers as not reflecting the valorized return of the original white middle-class consumers that would, presumably, be the key metric of

[311] Delcore, Henry and James Mullooly and Anne Visser. "Fulton Mall Pedestrian Count Project". City of Fresno. 2010.

[312] Scott. James C. *Seeing Like A State.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.

[313] Molotch, Harvey and John Logan. *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986.

success in the eyes of the City. Adding weight to this implicit construction is a promotional booklet "The Fresno Mall: An Adventure in Convenience, Beauty and Progress[314]" produced by Victor Gruen and Associates, the main design firm involved in the making of the mall. It lists all stores on the Mall at its initial opening, and uses full color photography to advertise the amenities that the Mall offers shoppers. It is a historic piece that speaks to the consumption patterns of Fresnans at that time, as well as the idealized vision of the Mall in its early years. The terms "convenience," "beauty" and "progress" are historicized measures that highlight what was, and is, valued in the space - new forms of consumerism in the increasingly mass produced American marketplace, ideal type visions of gendered roles and the ways cities shape themselves to manifest the Modernist future.

Planner Gruen's vision of a European-style city center is at odds with the legacy his work has created: A master's thesis[315] on the morphology of Fresno over the last century cites the downtown area as mainly a work-use site, with little housing to be had. This is distinct from the original 1964 plans for the Mall created by Gruen and Associates. Their in-house promotional materials add context to the maps I have collected over the years concerning this project, as well as other planning and promotional documents that reinforce the aesthetic moment of the Mall's beginnings. One such item, a promotional booklet, *Fresno and the Mall*, created in conjunction with the Fresno City Council in 1965 to highlight the history and development of the Mall. At 11" by 14" in size, the 16 page booklet was distributed by Gruen and Associates locally and nationally as part of its portfolio. It detailed the timeline of the work and planning process, as well as listed the city fathers who helped usher the Mall into being. By placing plans next to reality, imagined futures next to history, this case study exemplifies the enduring dualism of modern city-state formation - how do visions of the future meet and co-mingle with social memory, other than to argue past one another?

Modernism and the Search for an "Urban" Identity
The weight of history is felt here, for revisionists have called Modernist design a "polemic and radical rupture with hundreds of years of tradition". Much like the Progressive and interwar years of its birth, Modernism was positioned as a break from corruption, the over-dramatic style in public life that lacked efficiency and an "antidote to a rotten culture". Furthering these ideas was the move towards individualism and the single family home, much like a return to the Jeffersonian ideal of a yeoman farmer who exemplified morality, self-sufficiency and direct democracy. These core ideas that informed the paving of Suburbia eventually gave way to an advancing global reach. Neil Smith, a frequent critic of the commodification of space towards capitalistic ends, uses the processes of globalization and David Harvey's idea of the time -space compression[316] embedded within globalizing forces to discuss transformation of the city as one of change made by economic mandate. Gentrification becomes a neoliberal project for gain[317], without the embedded consciousness of planning

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[314] Gruen and Associates. "The Fresno Mall: An Adventure in Convenience, Beauty and Progress" (1965)
[315] Silviera, Christopher. "An Urban Morphology of Fresno: Its Structure and Growth". Master's Thesis, William and Mary College, 2010. *Accessed on Proquest January 2016.*
[316] Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity*. New York, NY: Verso Press, 1989.
[317] Smith, Neil and Setha Low, eds. *The Politics of Public Space*. London, UK: Routledge Press, 2006.

ideologies like Smart Growth where focusing on the development of holistic communities and a commitment to diversity are primary concerns of the idealistic planner.

Like other revitalization movements that call for a return to something or some idea more critically foundational and ideological in nature than any modern iteration, the disparate arms of the New Urbanist movement look to smaller and older social projects like infill housing and walkability indexes to correct the faults of the Modernist city. Lacking an authentic community in the hollowed out suburban areas of the Modernist project, neighborhoods remained incohesive, without places for interaction. The characteristics of such planning goals - connectivity, walkability, and density - were shown to increase the retail value of neighborhoods redesigned in this revitalized model. Soja's[318] intensified urban landscapes become "postmodern geographies" and "cartographies of power" that in turn make the urban topography subject to the capitalization and commodification of space, clustered around economic centers that devalue the role public space and interaction play in the creation of communitas. Additionally, urban political science research imbues the New Urbanist's rejection of modern car culture with quantitative critique, citing its limitations in fostering socio-political interaction that ultimately decreases political participation[319]. Walkability as a feature in urban planning, and the search for new ways of community development in the spatial sense that encourages pedestrian interaction is one way of democratizing space.

This dialectic is grounded by Lefebvre's theoretical discussion of the ways in which power makes space into place by affixing meaning. He posits three modes of spatial production each their own model of how power makes space, and part of performed authenticity[320]. Spatiality, the first mode of spatial production discussed by Lefebvre centers on practice, competence and cohesion. Representations of space are "tied to the relations of production," and concern the order of power relations and power structure within a particular space. Representational spaces are mediated by a dominant discourse, much like the flower stalls of a fictive Spanish past created by the mid-Century civic leaders of Los Angeles to distance themselves from the reality of Mexican historical legacy.

The theorist Edward Soja cites the idea of "thirdspace[321]" as a way to unite the ideational and physical development of space into place-making, allowing for agency within larger structural bounds. Yet the cultural development of cities as places to be an individual, untethered by the previously tight communal bonds of small villages, as sites of deviance and what would later be seen as the naturally-occurring negative influences of anonymity and vice within city slums are also part of the city's development. Whether the people have a right to the open urban places that are where civil liberties and practices of equity are exercised is a question of our postmodern era, necessitated after decades of uneven growth have dictated divisions of community, encouraged privatization and civic leadership by political and economic elites. AS evidenced by my ethnographic interviews with citizens, the Fulton Mall's use value as parkland and open space for those citizens living in nearby apartments was not the value considered by planning entities. In fact, it was the opportunity costs of underdeveloped retail space that has

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[318] Soja, Edward W. *Postmodern Geographies*, 1989.
[319] Peterson, Paul. *City Limits*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
[320] Lefevbre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. (New York, NY: Verso Press), 1978: 33.
[321] Soja, Edward W. *Postmodern Geographies,* 1989.

proven to be the focus of city planning efforts, whether these concerns have been fully embraced or articulated beyond use of the catch-all phrase, "potential".

The Mall on Film: Memorializing A Beginning and Shaming An Ending
The material culture produced around the Mall's genesis, revival and history is varied and voluminous, given its liminality as a forgotten space in the context of city boosterism and the collective conscience of many Fresnans. Three locally produced films (historic and contemporary) focus on the subject of the Mall as envisioned and currently understood. The Fulton Mall's history was quickly memorialized during its very beginnings as the great new hope that would save the struggling downtown of Fresno. The promotional film "A City Reborn[322]" was made by the same Los Angeles-based planning firm tasked with creating the Mall out of the former downtown "main" all the local teenagers dragged on saturday nights. Historic black and white footage of the development of the City of Fresno in the late 19th and early 20th Century is used to place Fresno in context in the Central Valley and highlight the car culture it had circa 1965. Using a concept that was timely in public opinion, the growing "urban crises[323]," as the rationale for revamping downtown, the film is quick to switch from images of car traffic to those of urban blight and homelessness. Additionally, the film's Modernist aesthetics reflected the cultural conservatism of its era and sought to valorize the planning efforts as visionary thinking during said moment of crisis. The authoritative voiceover alone, that of a grand-père working during Hollywood's golden era, is enough to get one sitting up in one's seat. Given the untested nature of the Mall at this time, only four years after it opened, it is fair to assume that this memorialization was something of an overreach, a hallmark of urban planning hubris.

Other short videos, found on Youtube[324] over the course of the last two years of preliminary research, are contemporary. Much like the "urban pioneer" trope used by Japonica Brown-Saracino[325] to discuss the phases of gentrification that are started by middle class people looking for opportunities to buy property in previously neglected areas, these films (often just one and two minute long clips) are "moments of discovery" that speak to the gentrifiers' sense of pioneership:

> " . . Pioneers celebrate gentrification's benefits and unabashedly welcome the transformation of the wilderness. They seek financial gain as well as the less tangible rewards associated with the social, cultural and physical transformation of the place in which they live[326]."

One quick video clip asks the viewer to follow as the camera discovers "what's under the Fulton Mall", and goes down a rickety staircase off the superblock that leads to a utilitarian corridor behind a locked gate. This discovery doesn't go very far, the film stopping after the cameraman attempts to jiggle the door lock several times, but the perception of "something" ("under" the Mall) to be discovered is the central thematic narrative. Another film is a 30 minute wordless

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[322] Gruen and Associates, 1968: "A City Reborn." Youtube, https://youtu.be/eR_ZGop3UFw Accessed November 2014.
[323] Sugrue, Thomas. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 1996.
[324] Author Unknown. "Cruising the Fulton Mall Fresno California (6-4-2014)", Youtube: https://youtu.be/yc4cXK93IKs (Accessed November 2016)
[325] Brown-Saracino, Japonica. *A Neighborhood that Never Changes: Gentrification, Social Preservation and the Search for Authenticity.* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press), 2010.
[326] Brown-Saracino, Japonica. *The City That Never Changes*, 51.

shot of the Mall as it passes by, moving South to North and then doubling back again, presumably attached to someone's skateboard, given the low height of the camera. "Cruising" the mall is still an activity worth pursuing and celebrating, even if it is to exorcise the ghosts of a city center perceived to be abandoned and emptied of subjects who are made invisible to the viewer.

Discovery, as well as places to take over and reimagine, have all the theoretical trappings of settler-colonialism at the sub-national, even neighborhood, unit of analysis that Fresno's changing urban landscape provides[327]. Current gentrifying forces in Fresno, like new construction and businesses that cater to a tonier, implicitly Whiter clientele, and the way they are conceived on film, are undergirded by the tropes of California Dreaming. This is the often-studied[328] of cultural exceptionalism, social pluralism and enterprising opportunity offered by the Golden State that harkens back to Frederick Jackson Turner's historical "frontier thesis" where the civilized must overcome the savage and go to forge something new (hint: It's America). Perceptions of "emptiness," or the dead social space that Jane Jacobs mourned as part of urban renewal, is created when the space doesn't or no longer serves a dominant social group or idea, leaving it open to conquest and consumption. Urban gentrifiers, however well-meaning and interested in local history, are the social progeny of 19th Century settlers who profited off enclosure and native "removal." Privatization of the Mall is prognosticated as happening through economic means, though the racial dimensions of spatial exclusion are equally significant to changing perceptions of Fresno's built environment.

The Mall's ending has been a slow decline, painstaking documented in various forms of material culture that stretch from the utilitarian reports and studies commissioned by City Council to the arguments for preservation that seek to creatively reimagine the site's beginnings and celebrate its place in the history of the city. "Look Around, Follow Me: The Art and Architecture of the Fresno Fulton Mall" is a 2014 film[329] created by Fresno-based filmmaker Edward Goto. He uses a *Mad Men*-like stylized narrative of Mid-Century Modernist alienation to make the Fulton Mall seem like a product from and of the past, as well as something to be discovered. A single man, filmed in noir's black and white spectrum of shadows, wakes up on a weekday morning feeling defeated, and rereads the denial of his vacation request by his employer, Fresno Widgets and Co., over his lonely breakfast. While waiting for the bus to work, he numbly watches a snail pass him by in depressed silence until something bright catches his eye. The main protagonist then follows a Manic Pixie Dream Girl, she of the Twiggy blonde crop who pairs her golden ball gown with black Doc Martins boots, down the proverbial rabbit hole and out onto the Mall, where discovery (of himself? Of history? A planning vision once pursued?) happens. The film, similar to when Dorothy walks out of the uprooted farmhouse into Oz, goes from black and white to full color at this pivotal moment. Twee ukulele music is played over long shots of the two of them looking at the public art, running around fountains and dancing down the center walkway hand in hand.

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[327] Zukin, Sharon. *Naked City: The Life and Death of Authentic Urban Spaces.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2011.

[328] Arax, Mark. *West of the West, 2009.*

[329] Goto, Edward. "Look Around, Follow Me: The Art and Architecture of the Fresno Fulton Mall," 2014. (Accessed November 2014): https://youtu.be/J8CWQ_BZMqA

I interviewed Goto in 2017, years after he initially shot the film. His enthusiasm for the subject matter, as well as disgust for its implicit controversy, remained undimmed:

> All the political mechations of what was going on, I was really surprised and it infuriated me . . it was not fair that it was decided, how the Mall would be destroyed and they would put in the street. So I thought, this needs to be exposed to the public and be put down somewhere and I thought film would be a great thing to do[330].

Goto's film has several "chapters", one specifically as a re-enactment of planning meetings to discuss the creation of the Fulton Mall by city leaders. Men in grey flannel suits and fedoras gather around a conference table while their secretaries, who look more 1990s rockabilly than like *Mad Men*'s Joan Holloway in their animal print cardigans and pearls, take notes about their visions for the Mall and a Fresno that is to be celebrated as a destination worth visiting. Back-slapping and sexual harassment commences as the leaders drink to the success of their ideas. Played for laughs, the film's narrative is pedantic and dramatic, yet the stylistic choices present both the problem and a solution that audiences, screened over the course of Fall 2015 around Fresno, seemed to identify with.

I was present for two Question and Answer sessions with the film's director after screening the film publicly at a local library. Goto remembered expressing shock at what he was told was the controversial nature of his film:

> It shows you how political this thing was and how fearful citizens are of reprisal from the government, you've got to remember the County Library [where the screenings took place] has nothing to do with the City, but they warned me, the lady who was in charge, I wanted to screen the political section, and she didn't say no, she said she'd advise against it. What they might get is pressure from the city I guess they were basically afraid that get some feedback from the city, the Mayor's office and the whole thing [film series] would be shut down.

Audience members focused on the history of the space and various articulations of its meaning and purpose by those who remembered going there to shop at the height of its success. Audience members lamented proposed changes, and often focused on the fictional portrayal of a goofy, if well-meaning, city council looking to "go big" with the Fulton Mall project. The reimagining of the origins of the Mall, with an aesthetic homage and stylistic language, evoked a social memory of the 1960s era and the implicit values of that cultural moment: Whiteness, mainstream cultural trappings like institution-led growth, aesthetically bowing to the ideals of Modernity. Simultaneously, this film critiques its central tropes of the embedded hegemonic universalisms of the historical urban planning process as part of the Mall's initial failings as a Modernist aesthetic and institutional experiment.

Another film important to narrative construction is the series of 2014 interviews of artists and those interested in preservation efforts created by students at the nearby California State

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[330] Interview with Goto, December 2017.

University campus. Posted to Youtube[331], these short takes include a three minute interview in the Fall 2014 with local artist Stan Bitters, who laments the "destruction" of the mall as both inevitable and part of the city government's continued disinvestment. Overwrought music swells in the background, but little historical context is provided, reinforcing the feeling of defeat and loss that so many who were eager to preserve the space speak of as a tangible feeling of grief.

As I discussed in Chapter Four, the affective nature of responses to the Mall's revitalization, either grief or hope, are also bounded in the material culture, discussed in this chapter, produced on the Mall itself. Even as Fulton Street, the legacy of governmental intervention continues to use memory and history as a way to control the popular image of the city[332] by reifying the site's history and purpose, leading to various different definitions of "community" and "space[333]". Defining space – here, narratives around cultural significance and spatial use-value- is where citizens have participated in the discursive process of placemaking by narrating their own experiences.

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[331] New Media Club. "Fulton Mall." Fresno City College. Youtube: https://youtu.be/kmCpqDzUZWw (Accessed 2014).
[332] Villa, Raul Humero. *Barrio-Logos*, 2000.
[333] Lefevbre, Henri. *The Production of Space*, 1978.

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Interview with Goto, December 2017.

Interview with H., Fresno, March 2016.

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Chapter Six: 'There' in Oakland, CA, or What A 'Real City Looks Like'

On a rainy November morning, the group of travelers from Fresno arrived in downtown Oakland, or more specifically, the industrial area around Jack London Square's Amtrak station. An older area that still used most of its four by four block nexus to store and distribute industrial goods and produce destined for Bay Area restaurants, Jack London Square has persisted as a place of disjointed civic investment, first with failing chain restaurants in its open space surrounded by storefronts, now a wildly popular weekly farmer's market and hipster bocce court even as new high rise condos crowd the skyline above. Other civic institutions abound in this un-place; Jerry Brown, that iconoclast of California politics, is known to have property nearby. As I watched from the back of the group walking along 3rd Street, whose members sleepily dragged rolling suitcases and duffle bags along the sidewalk, boxes of produce were being unloaded from idling trucks into warehouses. *We're not the only ones in fresh from the Valley.*

Figure 1: Members of the Downtown Academy on a walking tour of Downtown Oakland, November 5, 2017.
Photo Credit: Doris Dakin Perez, 2017.

Our group was led into a walking tour of Oakland's key sites for our edification. Our goal was to compare the cities of Oakland and Fresno, while learning about the impact of re-development and infrastructure projects over the course of Oakland's city history. The local guide, a member of Oakland's Downtown Association, highlighted the current infrastructure projects along our route: recent zoning for 600 new housing units, new downtown businesses and

the possibility of a new stadium for the A's Major League Baseball team. Conversations about the troubled downtown stadium in Fresno bubbled up as we walked across intersections in groups. While the disruptions and controversy over infrastructures in Oakland were larger facsimiles of Fresno's current downtown revival movement, the difference in lifestyles and cultural norms, suburban vs. urban, were a continuous loop of discussion. We gathered around the guide at Bicycle Coffee, another new denizen of the Jack London area known for delivering coffee on two wheels. "Does Fresno have biking infrastructure?" the guide (who had arrived on her own bike) asked, and was met with uproarious laughter. "Well, at least it's flat?" she said with a grimace and hastened to move us onward.

Boosterism in the City
Fresno and Oakland are two of California's largest cities, with broad economic growth as well as a growing regional footprint. While their differences in character and history are evident, it is the phenomena of development, including the use of freeways to draw boundaries and the use of those boundaries to create socio-political changes, that are similar in scope. Each city has battled their legacy of uneven development in unique ways. Using ethnographic field research, this chapter compares the two cities' historical development and historiography, as well as argues that they can be models of future planning projects for one another while also using citizenship engagement as part of an inclusive process of placemaking.

Both Oakland and Fresno suffer from a lack of cultural capital, real and perceived: Oakland, the shadow city of glossier San Francisco, and Fresno, another place without a "there" there, as the age-old Gertrude Stein quote about Oakland goes. Problematizing this "lack" is the major goal of civic boosters in both cities, and that extends to civic participation which serves as both a solution and a sales pitch. Juxtaposing the two cities is a comparative analysis about the role of narrative development tied to place, tonally similar even as change is built-out from very different origin stories. If Oakland were an emotion, it would be defiant righteousness; If Fresno were an emotion, it would be self-conscious justification.

At the most basic level of review, any quantitative comparison is nearly one-to-one: Fresno's population tops half a million, and Oakland's is nearly 450, 000 as of 2010. Both have a history of dynastic political regimes, and a white nativism that has spurred development away from the city's downtown hub. Recent efforts to revitalize the downtown areas of both cities took on a post-2008 recession urgency, as the populace shifted to meet the new demands of a compressed job and housing market. Both cities have seen major physical and population growth, as well as housing costs that spiral ever upwards. Central to their economic growth, as well as a key indicator of the local politics of space, are the infrastructure projects that have sought to change the landscape within city bounds, especially the shared California car culture and use of freeways as mechanisms of contestation and control.

Walking through the Oakland's downtown environs with members of the walking tour, a place shaped by car culture, from another place where driving is central to daily life, was an embodied study of placemaking.[334] We walked to see the past, in the form of historic sites, as we discussed the future with Oaklanders excited, frustrated and determined to see something,

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[334] Fieldnotes, November 2017

anything, happen in their city. Billed as a group field trip to see both the inner workings of urban life *en vivo* and an act of civic participation in the planning process, members of the Downtown Academy were paying for the privilege to see Oakland, and indeed Fresno, through the lens of possibility. The Fresno Downtown Foundation's Downtown Academy (DTA)[335] was in its fourth year in the Fall of 2017. Once a year, a cohort of 30 young professionals were selected to participate in activities that would allow them to get to know their downtown as it presumably flourishes into a renaissance of culture and activity. As ethnographic work goes, this was the perfect opportunity for some "deep hanging out," a chance to practice participant-observation with a group[336] that had a clear agenda: teaching people to "rethink" Downtown Fresno.

The founders, funders and associates of Fresno's DTA are cross-pollinated from various business-centered groups, both private and quasi-public in nature; all a part of the larger social fabric of boosterism. Some of the leadership were paid professionals of the Fresno Downtown Foundation, others volunteered their time in their capacity as denizens of Downtown. One man in particular, in his late 50s and a second career of being self-designated? Mr. Downtown Fresno himself, when not leading the Academy, played a large role in the push to change Fulton Mall to Fulton Street, as well as the many walking tours of the changing space during 2014 through 2017. At the first monthly dinner of our cohort, he argued that the DTA not only got people to downtown, but that it created a constituency of people "ready to champion the area" across the city. The word constituency took on a different meaning when, in 2018, he announced that he would be running for a city council seat.

We were in Oakland for the weekend as part of our cohort requirements, nine monthly dinners that came with an annual fee of $350 and expectations of volunteer work around the ad hoc community of downtown events, organizations and institutions. Oakland was chosen as a nearby example of a "real city" where infrastructure, entrepreneurship and civic pride worked together to be, if not a rousing success, a real life example of what people and local institutions could do when they took part in urban development.

Rethinking Fresno in Oakland, CA

Ethnographies and social histories that detail the role of 19th Century ideas like Manifest Destiny and the conception of the West as made available by God for American expansionism are the root to understanding the production of social unrest and outgrowth of the highway system. Reginald Horsman's *Race and Manifest Destiny*[337], Anders Stephanson's *Manifest Destiny*[338] and James Campbell, et al.'s, *Race, Nation and Empire in American History*[339] forward these conceptions of the racial hierarchies built into the American experience. As

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[335] The Downtown Academy: http://downtownfresno.org/about/dta/.

[336] Fieldnotes, August 2017

[337] Von Eschen, Penny. *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism 1937-1957*. University of Chicago Press., 1997.

[338] Stephanson, Anders. *Manifest Destiny*. New York, NY: Hill and Wang Publishers, 1995.

[339] Campbell, James T., et al. *Race, Nation, and Empire in American History.* Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

critiques to such ideology, Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin Jr.'s *Black Against Empire*[340] posits that the reactionary politics of the Black Power Movement, first initiated from the Jim Crow discrimination of the American South, are part of an international understanding between transnational African Diaspora activists that sought global equality at the apex of the 20th Century, whether it was in the war-torn Algerian countryside or the urban decay of East Oakland. Here, an ideological thread from the beginnings of W. E. B. Du Bois-authored transnational blackness to the marginalized "colonies" of inner city black America span a period of political momentum and contraction, where the disparate fragments of a derailed movement were once again put forth for social critique and a sense of urban community in 1960s Oakland.

In Fresno, similar divisions were constructed; West Fresno, cut off by Highway 99 and missed entirely by the North-South conduit of Highway 41, has had a legacy of black homeownership and residency. Even downtown Fresno, with its struggling business district, is ringed by a triangle of highways meant to get shoppers in and out of the area quickly. Highways are, in a sense, historical sites and conduits of exchange, reproducing systems of control that were embedded into their beginnings, taking on meaning in their subsequent life. The movement of people, goods and the geographical ramifications of the placement of highways create meaning while also manifestations of the practice of state control. "The freeway, after all, materializes the Anglo-American worldview, which saw history as a highway - an unbroken path of linear progress towards distant horizons."[341] From their 20th Century beginnings as a national priority for military security and economic growth, highways have been tools of state power that are exclusionary in nature, capitalistic in aim and cultural in manifestation.

Oakland's Historical Placemaking

The history of postwar Oakland was first imagined as an industrial garden, then as a system of neighborhoods embodying the political conflicts of governance, and finally as part of the larger imagination and legacy of a now majority African-American city with the benefits and issues therein--fundamental information to any analysis of Oakland. Chris Rhomberg's monograph *No There There*[342] continues this narrative along a larger timeline. 20th Century politics of space are discussed as themes that are revisited in the 1960s political upheaval and again at the turn of the 21st Century as three waves of disjuncture that situate Oakland's politics within history: a rising white nativism gives way to an uncomfortable racial detente through mid-Century political incorporation to a final consolidation of African-American political machines of the nineteen eighties and nineties.

The winding, green bike paths and pedestrian walkways on Mandela Parkway in industrial West Oakland belie the racial conflict, government intervention and events that created such a disparate place of bucolic respite amid warehouses and rundown housing. It's an odd

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[340] Bloom, Joshua and Waldo E. Martin. *Black Against Empire.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.

[341] Avila, Eric and Mark H. Rose. "Race, Culture, Politics, and Urban Renewal: An Introduction." *Journal of Urban History*, 2009, 35: 335-47.

[342] Rhomberg, Chris. *No 'There' There: Race, Class and Political Community in Oakland*. Berkeley, CA: University of California, Press, 2004.

place, underutilized, with little market activity like its counterpart Jack London Square to the south. Was the parkway developed to get Oaklanders to Emeryville, the swanky corporate development that lures shoppers to its commercial centers, or was it created to pretty up the vestiges of the collapse of the freeway after 1989's Loma Prieta earthquake? The parkway is now in use, with activity just as varied as its beginnings: hipsters queue up for twelve dollar waffles at Brown Sugar Kitchen, thanks to a nod from *O* Magazine and The New York Times *Style* section, and street people collect cans near the intersection of 14th Street and Market. Less than a mile away from Mandela Parkway, the twin spires of Oakland's landscaped United States federal building anchor the bustling downtown business district. Mandela Parkway echoes the underutilized feel of similar civic open spaces in Fresno, empty and designed for a more hopeful era of economic maturity.

Figure 9: The greenscape of Mandela Parkway, formerly the Cypress Freeway, at center in West Oakland, CA. Photo Credit: Steve Proehl, dbarchitect.com via Google Images, 2013.

At the opening ceremony of the Parkway in 2002, a California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) director intimated the underlying goal of the site: "This project will have the effect of putting the Cypress Freeway, with its divisive neighborhood effects, behind us for good".[343] Such disparities of place and circumstance on such a small section of geography in a vast metropolitan area welcome questions of historical genesis and state maintenance. "The freeway, as a comprehensive system of mass transit imagined and implemented by a technocratic cadre of planners and engineers, is a quintessentially modern space. Even in its totality, however, the freeway cannot mask the seething tensions within postwar Los Angeles. Alas, it created new

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[343] Barthelson, Gene. "Building Pride in West Oakland." California Department of Transportation: *California Transportation Journal*, 2002. 3(3): 3.

ones."[344] The distinct political consciousness and spatialization of the City of Oakland has been defined by freeway systems that are sites of control and ensuing contention. Critically analyzing the historical development of Oakland and Fresno highlights the disjointed relationship between government, public policy and its people. This chapter posits a crucial relationship between a city's historical development and freeways as sites of interaction between state and citizenry.

Historical works on the development of the national interstate highway system and its local iterations, specifically Interstate 880, evidence highways as both a state-building project for modernization and a grander moral project of neoliberal economic intent. Mark Rose's history[345] on the political tangles surrounding the creation of a national system of highways is integral to understanding the national impetus for such infrastructure. In addition, Rose's work with collaborators Seely and Barrett[346] discuss how public policy's role in creating the American transportation system of roads, public transportation and air travel reshaped the spatialization of the American experience.

While specific to Los Angeles, Eric Avila's article on the "folklore" of the Los Angeles freeway system, give experiential contextualization to the larger themes of development, community and geography: "As the freeway took shape, a folklore was developed in the regional culture that reflected the very different ways in which people experienced the freeway and its construction".[347] And finally, the Stanford University and State of California-produced report[348] on the socio-economic issues inherent to planning urban freeways gives a historical voice to development and what issues were made a priority, and what was not, in the process of highway creation, planning and implementation.

Development of Highways

The conception of Westward expansion and the need for good roads to do so should not go unexamined. These efforts, both as political movements (the Good Roads movement of the 1910s, consolidation of government agencies[349] to form what is now the Federal Highway Administration) and as actual policies (The National Highway Acts in their multiple versions with changing legislative cosponsors) were much larger than their aims articulated. Much like previous waves of expansion, descending backwards into recent history: early 20th Century imperialism under Roosevelt and the development of the railroads, going West is an American spatial tradition.[350] Intertwining race, space and systems of power is a uniquely white American

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[344] Avila, Eric. "The Folklore of the Freeway: Space, Culture and Identity in Postwar Los Angeles," 1998:18.

[345] Rose, Mark H. *Interstate: Express Highway Politics, 1939-1989.* Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1990.

[346] Rose, Mark H., Bruce Edsall Seely and Paul F. Barrett. *The Best Transportation System in the World: Railroads, Trucks, Airlines, and American Public Policy in the Twentieth Century.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005.

[347] Avila, Eric. "The Folklore of the Freeway: Space, Culture and Identity in Postwar Los Angeles," 1998.

[348] Bishop, Bruce A., Clarkson Ogelsby and Gene Willeke. *Socio-Economic and Community Factors in Planning Urban Freeways.* Washington: U.S. Federal Highway Administration and the California Department of Transportation, 1970.

[349] Gutfreund, Owen D. *Twentieth Century Sprawl: Highways and the Reshaping of the American Landscape.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004

[350] Horsman, Reginald. *Race and Manifest Destiny,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.

endeavor, especially when invoking the larger call of Manifest Destiny. "An American Anglo-Saxon ideology was used internally to bolster the power and protect the status of the existing population and externally to justify American territorial and economic expansion. Internally it was made quite clear that the American republic was a white Anglo-Saxon republic…nonwhite races would be rigorously excluded from any equal participation as citizens."[351] Much like these encounters and incorporation of space into American nationalism, highways and their expansion westward began to take on the political and social connotations of a national, moral project of control. Sub-nationally, city development is what geographer Ash Amin calls this the "politics of small interventions with large effects".[352]

California's system of highways was first idealized as conduits of state traffic that moved past cities, then developed into ways people could move around the larger urban metropolitan regions[353] of the San Francisco Bay Area and greater Los Angeles. This was seen as a reaction to the demands of a growing California populace.[354]. The development of national and subnational interstate highway networks had embedded within them an unfinished political fight from its very beginnings[355] that would arise with renewed local focus in the later part of the 20th Century. "Not only did road engineers and their critics disagree about the goals of highway construction, but they were separated by social differences…different types of education and jobs."[356] Policy makers and agency heads looking to forward a national agenda of growth[357] saw the necessity for a national network as part of a planning process, with an emphasis on issues of security and rising militarism. Urban planners saw a need to consider the local ramifications of such a system and the needs of growing urban centers.

The rise in suburbanization and a desire to escape the city was spurred at the national level by government-sponsored economic incentives and racial unrest, due to the integration and economic stagnation of returning veterans and the aftereffects of the Great Migration of southern African-Americans to northern urban centers. This movement of people and capital (both typically white) out of the inner core of the city made a highway system now integral, and even possible, to life in the suburbs. This was intentional: "These urban segments [of national highway infrastructure projects] were designed to make it easier to get in and out of cities, with little regard for easing transportation within cities themselves".[358]

As part of the top-down planning of transportation systems, local highways were built regardless of this internal discord, leaving their mark on the landscape of an eastwardly

[352] Horsman, Reginald. *Race and Manifest Destiny,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.

[353] Rose, Mark H. *Interstate: Express Highway Politics, 1939-1989*, 1990.

[354] Bishop, Bruce A., Clarkson Ogelsby and Gene Willeke. *Socio-Economic and Community Factors in Planning Urban Freeways.* Washington: U.S. Federal Highway Administration and the California Department of Transportation, 1970.

[355] Horsman, Reginald. *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 1981.

[356] Rose, Mark H. *Interstate: Express Highway Politics, 1939-1989*, 1990: 43.

[357] Rose, Mark H., Bruce Edsall Seely and Paul F. Barrett. *The Best Transportation System in the World : Railroads, Trucks, Airlines, and American Public Policy in the Twentieth Century*, 2005.

[358] Gutfreund, Owen D. *Twentieth Century Sprawl: Highways and the Reshaping of the American Landscape*, 2004: 56.

expanding city. The building of the Nimitz Highway, later I-880, stretching from San Jose towards South Berkeley further incentivized the move east. Upwardly-mobile whites who longed for single-story homes of their own, Oakland's promised industrial garden, settled in East Oakland near fast-moving conduits to jobs in the city center.[359] Waves of construction (with federal and state funding) added linkages to I-580, now wrapping around the East Bay to become its most central highway that connected the area with I-5, stretching up and down the length of California, and I-80's nationwide route.

Oakland was able to get some concessions integrated into larger regional projects, but the forward march of general urban planning left some communities of Oakland completely separate from the rest of the city's environs.[360] The California Department of Transportation first used freeways, specifically I-880's Cypress Freeway (erected in 1957) as a dividing line separating industry from the business districts of downtown and Grand Avenue near the center of town. Several blocks of single-family homes were cleared to make room for the expressway. Again, the dividing line of the Cypress Street Viaduct (eventually known as the Cypress Freeway) was used to demarcate areas for 1960s urban renewal projects stemming from President Johnson's Great Society agenda.

Later projects of social organization and control of an isolated community echo the first initiatives to put the post-war freeways of the East Bay into place: "such programs frequently became the catalysts for black community organization and political mobilization…struggles emerged for control of the city's Community Action Agency and Model Cities programs, centering on demands for jobs, housing and social services, as well as long-standing grievances over police conduct in black community".[361] Mary and Adrian Pratzellis of the joint venture between the California Department of Transportation and Sonoma State University concerning the archeology of West Oakland[362] have since used found material goods to disprove the "slum myths" that were perpetuated by reformers of urban renewal as justification for the faulty overhaul of West Oakland houses into urban housing projects.

Revitalization After Urban Renewal

The next major shift was the deconstruction of highway within the bounds of Oakland. This was due not to a reversal of policy, but by an act of God: the collapse of part of the I-880, called the Cypress Highway, in West Oakland after the 1989 Loma Prieta Earthquake. Images of nearly a mile of pancaked highway ribboning through West Oakland dominated the coverage of this natural disaster. Over a decade of reconstruction and a local emphasis on addressing some of the social issues that had arisen with the forced nature of highway development, i.e. the social

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[359] Self, Robert O. "'To Plan Our Liberation': Black Power and the Politics of Place in Oakland, California, 1965-1977." *Journal of Urban History*, 2002, 26:759-792.

[360] Rose, Mark H. *Interstate: Express Highway Politics, 1939-1989*, 1990.

[361] Self, Robert O. *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003: 3.

[362] Pratzellis, Mary and Adrian Pratzellis, ed. "Putting The "There" There: Historical Archeologies of West Oakland" I-880 Cypress Highway Replacement Project. Anthropological Studies Program at Sonoma State University. Rohnert Park: California State University, Sonoma, 2005.

and economic isolation of a majority black community, helped repair some of the physical damage wrought by freeway infrastructure. The rebuilding and reopening of the collapsed section of highway into the Mandela Parkway, and a move of the actual working highway west towards the industrial parks of the Oakland Army Base and the Port of Oakland created a new sense of spatialization and purpose of land use to foster economic development and community cohesion. Yet the gains of a less divided West Oakland and the stripe of greenery that made Mandela Parkway a disparate sight amongst the greys and browns of industrial buildings that used to ring freeway landscape are the gains of a project of urban revitalization and democratization that have a long, difficult history.

If the Mandela Parkway can be situated as a place changed due to a changing city, Fresno's Fulton Mall, now Fulton Street, echoes its discursive embodiment as a site of contestation. Now a three-block thoroughfare with traffic and parking on each side, the former mall is a site of uncertain development. Reopened in 2017 as Fulton Street with a celebratory car parade, the space still has more of a pedestrian focus with its large walkways, reinstalled benches and scattering of public art. Remade not by an act of God but by a federal grant, the space still acts as Fresno's place of civic performance for street fairs and protests.

Like many urban centers in postwar America, Oakland gained a sizable number of new residents and struggled to keep them housed and employed after the end of the war effort. The construction of new housing in East Oakland and a perennial fight by city leaders to attract industry from back East created a tension that has never been resolved. In the postwar era, Oakland was sold to investors as a curious yet modern mix of an urban core and suburban residential tracts with interspersed industrial activity that fueled a growing regional economic engine. This was only partly true. Juxtaposed with the working-class tenements of older cities on the East Coast, West Coast cities with open land must have seemed like (and were sold as) Paradise. Oakland's eastern expansion of single-family homes towards San Leandro fed into the process of early 20th Century suburbanization that became white flight, where white populations moving away from city centers towards bucolic suburbs were incentivized by government housing and a growing car culture. "Thi[s] change involved a reconstruction of racial and class identity for groups and for urban areas. The rise of East Oakland as a suburban white middle-class area in the '20s contributed to the disinvestment in ethnically mixed West Oakland, well before the mass influx of African-Americans in the '40s."[363] This was all made possible by the revived infrastructure projects like local freeways and interstates moving West.

> "The freeway did not cause white flight, but it did sharpen the contrast between white space and nonwhite space in the postwar urban region by creating a conduit for capital flight away from downtown and by wreaking havoc upon the inner-city communities of East and South Central Los Angeles."[364]

With the development of neighborhoods, and the gradual concentration of racialized communities after World War I, the construction and growth of highways acted as economic

[363] Rhomberg, Mark. *No 'There' There*, 2004: 182.
[364] Avila, Eric. "The Folklore of the Freeway: Space, Culture and Identity in Postwar Los Angeles," 1998: 16.

dividers and a means to outside opportunities. Careful to preserve pre-war segregation, city housing ordinances only allowed African Americans to live in the already majority-black neighborhood of West Oakland, squeezed between the city's downtown commercial district and the industrial zone of railcars and Port of Oakland activity. Due to the entrenched African-American culture that overlapped with organized labor and immigrant emplacement, West Oakland became a hub of African-American life that was simpatico with its Eastern sister cities: Harlem, Chicago's South Side, Detroit and Atlanta. Because many of the African-American working class were part of unions, specific to railroad work like the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters, news concerning the labor movement's gains and the national politicization of other majority black communities was available and widely disseminated. The development of West Oakland from a diverse community pre-World War II to one of entrenched urban black poverty is chronicled in Sonoma State University's 2005 report on its historical archeology and efforts to rebuild after the Loma Prieta earthquake in 1989. The report states that Oakland was " a problem to be fixed. Yet those disapproving, explicitly ideological images afforded only one perspective; a history written from the inside out shows other realities and perceptions".[365] This sentiment can easily be applied to Oakland as a whole, as a place to be fixed for sale and promise that cast an "explicitly ideological" eye to any reforms, be they Progressive Era modernization, 1940s economic revitalization, 1960s urban renewal or 21st Century restitution.

The spatialization and evolution of West Oakland as Oakland's specific African-American community was complete with the construction of I-880 in 1957, in effect dividing the crowded yet cohesive community on either sides of the freeway and furthering the distance between downtown and the more industrial and declining neighborhoods from its political center:

> "The Cypress Freeway, connecting the Nimitz Freeway with the Bay Bridge, was built above West Oakland's streets, further marginalizing the community while setting the scene for the earthquake tragedy over two decades later. The Cypress structure became the boundary of continued urban-renewal projects of the 1950s and 1960s, ironically acting to protest the original neighborhoods to the West"366 .

Community integration, self-creation and emplacement were always part of the politicization of West Oakland as a site of communal *agitas*. Local efforts to integrate the bus system that moved across the East Bay and later within Alameda-Contra Costa Transit's purview, continued by the burgeoning black elite and labor activists.

Car Culture of California
Despite resistance and the later investment in regional public transportation systems like the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) and ferries, Oakland's spatial landscape that stretched from the Hills to the flatlands of East Oakland necessitated a car culture similar in ways to Fresno's chain of neighborhoods connected by freeway conduits. As modest gains in industrialization, most markedly in the wartime shipbuilding industry, were reversed and the continual quest by

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[365] Rhomberg, Mark. *No 'There' There*, 2004: 316.
[366] Rhomberg, Mark. *No 'There' There*, 2004: 31.

city leaders for economic investment marched on[367], the process of suburbanization continued further east into Alameda County as small towns like Orinda and Moraga attracted white upper-middle class families. Piedmont, a self-succeeding entity incorporated from within Oakland, kept the moneyed class and political elites (most importantly, the Knowland family, whose members ran for political office and owned The Oakland Tribune) geographically separated from the more diverse neighborhoods of Oakland proper. This continued a trend of spatialization where Oakland's class and racial contentions were encountered as carefully contained neighborhood borders, here by Highway 13 to the South as the dividing line between North Oakland and its Hills communities of Piedmont and Montclair.

The flatlands of Oakland and the racialization of West and East Oakland neighborhoods were where, in the mid to late 1960s, African-Americans began to cluster after the deindustrialization of East Oakland and the concentration of poverty by urban renewal efforts in West Oakland. As functionaries of the state, the local police department served as the militaristic arm of local government, and its policies reflected the deep-seated racism and economic vision that did not include a diverse population accessing its benefits and political rights. "By standing up to the police, they found they could organize the rage of young blacks fueled by brutal containment policing and persistent ghettoization."[368] In a larger sense, the marginalization of African-American communities by limited access to city government, geographic decisions made by outsiders about their neighborhoods, and a growing disenchantment with the missed gains of the local postwar economic boom were primed for what anthropologists Das and Poole call "an unstable project"[369] of state (here, city) formation.

The regulation of movement by police through traffic stops and harassment of black youth with limited horizons and political clout led towards a well of racial antagonism that would be set aflame, however briefly, by the local iteration of the Black Power movement. What is most important to this discussion was how the Black Panther Party was shaped by and shaped Oakland culture[370] and the specific strategies of engagement of the police by activists that were made possible by the spatialization of Oakland's geographical landscape and the car culture it promoted. Bounded by freeways, limited by space, these types of political moments--Newton and Cleavers' infamous first armed standoff with Oakland Police near Merritt College in 1967, would not have been made possible in older, denser cities where the communities of color were so concentrated, nor where the use of police patrol cars (instead of walkable police beats) lent a sense of invasion into neighborhoods already compressed and limited in all areas of interaction--economically, politically and historically.

These types of political actions were facilitated by the car culture that was created by decades of freeway investment and spatial (then, de facto racial) segregation of neighborhoods.

> "The[ese] institutional settlements [freeways] affected the formation of actors
> but failed to eliminate the structures of inequality. As new structural changes

[367] Self, Robert O. *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.

[368] Bloom, Joshua and Waldo E. Martin. *Black Against Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.

[369] Das, Venna and Deborah Poole. *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 2004.

[370] Bloom and Martin. *Black Against Empire*, 2013.

occurred, or as relations between groups broke down, so the conditions of political community were again transformed."[371]

The distinct landscape of Oakland comprised of posh Hill communities in Montclair and Piedmont where city leaders gathered; crowded, declining neighborhoods of West and East Oakland, was shaped by free movement of cars and structural division provided by I-880 that was not meant to include all of Oakland's citizens, and thus, in turn reshaped its political landscape. Ultimately, freeways, specifically I-880, and the ensuing culture of car use rather than a walkable urban space were instrumental in setting the tone for all interactions--race, class and power--to come.

In addition to contestations of power between many in Oakland's black communities and the Oakland Police Department, frustration with local public police, especially late 50's redevelopment efforts, that reinforced the racialized boundaries of the city continued to be an issue that was exacerbated by I-880's western arch (also called the Cypress Freeway) through West Oakland. Mid-century housing ordinances[372] continued to limit the places where African American families could move into, and overt racism that limited black economic access and gain helped reinforce the isolation of such communities to two distinct neighborhoods that were physically and politically separated from downtown's (admittedly declining) power nexus. Freeways disconnected the communities, and a dependency on cars that alluded more compact cities like San Francisco and New York due to its sprawling landscape added to the isolation.

Resistance to such marginalization, and outside forces controlling the resources of cohesive communities like the authority of the Oakland Planning Commission's mid-century plans for growth, came to be imbued within the African American community's political consciousness and presence, despite limited political, social and economic means. 1960s resistance to the imagined community[373] that Oakland was sold as to potential industrial agents with visions of industrial gardens now replaced by racialized space and uneven economic statist projects like downtown revitalization began to be fostered by the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement, as civic boosterism completely erased the growing population of minority neighborhoods. This false imagining, and textualization via advertisements and pitches to Eastern industrial investment[374] created a sense of place that rewrote the realities of state (here, city) and self-created narratives of city life. Ignoring the housing needs, rising segregation and class upheaval (most visibly in the entrenchment of organized labor and the general strike of 1946) for a monolithic image of Oakland's potentialities by city leaders is the quintessential textual imagining that Anderson wrote about, leaving disempowered communities to begin a decentered, small-scale resistance to Oakland's political class.

Perception and the Downtown Economic Machine

The communities that are bypassed by general growth plans and urban revival initiatives happily endorsed by Oakland's postwar business community[375] could claim such a status, as

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[371] Rhomberg, Mark. *No 'There' There,* 2004: 15.

[372] Self, Robert O. *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.

[373] Anderson, Bennedict. *Imagined Communities*. New York, NY: Verso Books, 1982.

[374] Self, Robert O. *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland*, 2003.

[375] Self, Robert O. *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland*, 2003.

killable[376], yet not considered part of the state to be sacrificed for a greater economic vision of Oakland's mythologized industrial garden city because they were never really a part of it to begin with. ". . . For many, the freeway is safe passage through the ghetto or barrio that (by design, many would argue) maintains the social distance between separate and unequal worlds".[377] Das and Poole[378] build on this idea, where the space between law and its enactment breed mistrust between citizens and state functionaries. This distrust was on vivid display in the way that the Fulton Street project was pushed through in 2014 by the City Council despite the efforts of many who deemed the project unnecessary, ultimately too fantastical in scale to create real change. Charges of gentrification and NIMBYism were lobbed on both sides.

Gentrification efforts of 1960s Urban Renewal by city planners hardly considered the voices or histories of the West Oakland community as a whole, once a network of diverse neighborhoods within the city where many African-Americans sought to reap the benefits of an urban postwar economy in ascension. Decades after construction, decentralization of the major West Oakland business district (leaving Seventh Street intact and now part of a BART transit village effort of gentrification), little access to commerce and displacement of blocks of West Oakland neighborhoods by the Cypress Freeway was addressed at the groundbreaking of the Mandela Parkway in 2002, however descriptively: "This project represents context sensitivity at its best…the community was involved from the beginning".[379] Integration of community opinion through the public hearing process is now in greater use by public agencies after the unintended outcomes of public transportation projects like the rise, and quite literal fall, of the Cypress Freeway have been historicized and mitigated by affected communities that then become woven into a localized tradition of resistance. Caltran's "context sensitivity" concerns the political discourse surrounding the creation of urban communities and its backlash from a politically sensitive historical wrong of racist, classist public policy reflected in city infrastructure that then, in turn, use these outcomes as points of politicization and mobilization. Using "context sensitivity" is an attempt to historicize[380] the implementation of faulty public policy and infrastructure projects that have within them a moralizing component. Moral projects, or more accurately described as social organizing actions, are manifested as a set of ideas that guide and shape community development. Moral projects have within them a universalizing definition of citizen[381], state, subject, outcomes and definitions of success. Fresno and Oakland's histories of growth, development and reinvention is reflective of the moral projects developed in stages and in certain times (space, time) by those who wished to define the contours of their community.

Finally, any discussion of nation-state building (and its local urban development components) would be remiss in not including discussion concerning the global forces of economic neoliberalism that are making such state building projects of the past part of an anachronistic way of organizing the world. Thus, the homegrown politicization of Oakland's systematically marginalized black communities is one of heterogeneous social struggle. This struggle has historically included political mobilization, social actions and a community's place

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[376] Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.

[377] Avila, Eric. "The Folklore of the Freeway: Space, Culture and Identity in Postwar Los Angeles," 1998.

[378] Das and Poole. *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*, 2004.

[379] Barthelson, Gene. "Building Pride in West Oakland," 2002.

[380] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*, 1982.

[381] Agamben, Giorgio. *State of Exception.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

in a civic hierarchy and imagination. Such resistance is focused against the materials and functions of a distant nation-state, and in essence, a larger force of economic universalism--Empire--that has helped deindustrialize their community, limit their movement and devalue their capital.

The ways in which large infrastructure projects act as nation-building processes, with an economic and social agenda attached to them, are what Das and Poole[382] recognize as the moral projects of state creation. Freeways as part of the early to mid-20th Century task of fully gentrifying the West also reflect a quest for capital improvement through economic gain and the physical manifestations of capital networks that supersede local control. Issues of Empire, of apparatus of economic force, are reflective in the planning goals of city governments that put industrial concerns before citizenry. Fresno's downtown revival is predicated on relocating businesses to the area, not creating housing or community. Similarly, the 1998 City of Oakland General Plan[383] listed "accommodating the dramatic increase in shipping and distribution activities" as more immediately concerning than the development and reinvestment of public transportation needs, codifying their public priorities as (and as ever) more attune to economic concerns than public life.

Redevelopment Projects of the Future

Within these local, urban power dynamics were the harbingers of far-sweeping political movements: the codification of race-based policies of space and housing, racial contention and the genesis of whom and for whom the city of Oakland was developed. While less politically motivated, resentment of white flight in Fresno was evident even when the Fulton Mall was built in 1964 to attract shoppers back to downtown. The unchecked power of housing developers was made plain as ever more land north of downtown Fresno was rezoned for suburban growth. Similar charges of gentrification over the desires of the downtown community, as well as the moralist's arguments for the removal of street people as a way to "clean up downtown," were levied as the Fulton Street project gained momentum after 2013. Yet moral projects that shape cities are not just an anachronistic method of control by state entities. The retrenchment of such systems can be seen in the wild swing of the metaphorical pendulum towards 21st Century deconstruction of old planning agendas. 21st Century urbanism has its own genesis and agenda: a rejection of sprawl, economic division of communities and of freeways themselves. This shift in thinking is ironic given the scope of Fresno's Fulton Street, where pedestrian walkways were removed to let traffic into the center of the city.

New types of tools and actors, be they neighborhood surveys and organizational development, are assembled to push planning agendas since infrastructure projects like freeways have become passé. This post-21st Century urban movement that favors density and walkability is inherent to the cycles of city reinvention. These policy aims continue to work within the contentious issues of statist projects for economic ends, neoliberal growth, environmentally-

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[382] Das and Poole. *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*, 2004.
[383] 1998 General Plan, "Envisioning Oakland". City of Oakland. From the City of Oakland Planning Commission's   website: (Accessed April 30, 2013). http://www2.oaklandnet.com/Government/o/PBN/OurServices/GeneralPlan/DOWD009015.

conscious development and the fiscalization of land use[384] by cities working to outcompete each other for scarce tax revenue. The deindustrialization of cities seems nearly complete, yet issues of space, place and a sense of community continue to cause friction. The planning lessons from Oakland's recent history are readily accessible in the local imagination.

Plans to make West Oakland BART Station a "transit village" throughout the Bay Area system with mixed use zoning for both commercial and residential development continue this conversation. Historical wrongs towards the institutional discrimination of communities of color like the spatial isolation of West Oakland, and the distinct brand of politics stemming from their resistance still linger in the minds and public policy agendas of cities like Oakland. Only by remembering these tensions does the planning process (local, state, national) become contextualized and located[385] within a historical moment that resonates with today's social interactions.

The deliberate integration of West Oakland community groups in planning processes and civic engagement by the political leadership, i.e. Mandela Parkway's triumphant 2002 opening, is part of the history internalized by the overarching political consciousness and culture of Oakland's civic community. In turn, the attempts to democratize the planning process, i.e. the three design options for the Fresno Fulton Mall offered by the City of Fresno in 2013 as part of public input discussed in earlier chapters, were in name only. The ways in which the city worked to shape the conversation, as well as their methods of holding public workshops and meetings during the work day, countered authentic efforts to integrate the public's concerns.

Conclusion: Two Case Studies

The pro-growth years of the 1940s that ushered in economic investment and the rise of freeways as sites for economic gain to the disjointed years of deep racial unrest in the 1960s and 70s are where moral projects and the infrastructure that supported them - here, freeways - abounded and embedded themselves into the political consciousness of Oakland's shared history. Fresno's physical expansion after World War II echoes this unchecked growth and division, aided and abetted by freeways moving people northward. Freeways are part of larger forces of a neoliberal economic project of Empire used to claim space for economic gain and define communities regardless of consent. 21st Century urban planning trends towards moving highways out of urban areas argue that highways remain mechanisms of control that are central to penetration of state in the lived experience of its citizens. A shift towards walkability and high-density planning try to put distance between the primacy of highways in urban planning, yet the past remains present.

The history and question of infrastructure -who creates it, and for whom--remain central to the city of Oakland's collective sense of place, self and future plans for growth. Fresno's entrenchment of car primacy in downtown is an example of high-handed placemaking efforts, with an embedded focus on future constituencies rather than championing the interests of communities that are already in downtown. Seeing Oakland through the eyes of the Fresno Downtown Academy as a place of potential amid a similar effort of revitalization made clear the

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[384] Peterson, Paul E. *City Limits.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

[385] Das and Poole. *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*, 2004.

shared pattern of growth bent on championing visions of prosperity while simultaneously glossing over structural inequities of recent history. Citizens of both cities must contend with the legacy of spatial politics. Its persistence is felt even by visitors looking for clues to the future.

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Conclusion: Welcoming Fulton Street

Introduction: Fulton Street's Future

   Since its opening in late 2017, Fulton Street is a slow, stop-and-go experience for downtown drivers still unsure about driving on Fulton. Many buildings remain vacant and most of the large trees have been removed, opening up the area's vista. Several new restaurants have made their splashy debuts, and media coverage in 2018 about a successful local bakery's arrival to one of the larger storefronts attracted lots of commentary online. Even in January of 2019, pedestrians still ignore designated crosswalks and trample new foliage as they cross the street, perhaps forgetting that they themselves are no longer the only traffic on the former Fulton Mall.

    Ironically, the new street was closed at its unveiling in September 2017, a massive street party organized by the City of Fresno and downtown organizations like the Downtown Fresno Partnership. I attended as a volunteer in my capacity as a member of the new cohort of the Downtown Academy and was assigned to answer question or direct people towards Mariposa Plaza, the center of the day's activities. Six thousand people came to the all-day affair, the mood turning festive as pop-up bars opened their doors and dance parties ensued. The classic car parade, held before Sunset, marked the official reentry of cars in the space, all pre-1964 models as a historical nod to Fulton Street.The sheer logistics of the event were impressive, and made manifest the clear sense of who would own Fulton's future. And yet the narrative contestations about place surround the Fulton Mall's redevelopment continue to be heard even after the project was completed. The sense of grief over a lost landmark continue to be expressed by those in favor of the preservation of Fulton Mall in local print media and public commentary on Facebook. It is quite touching to see many activists hold their memories aloft, and surprising, that nearly two years later, continue debate about the revitalization process as the new Fulton Street finds its economic and cultural footing.

Findings

   My findings are twofold: First, I highlighted how part of the discourse around the Mall's revitalization was an attempt by local government to respond to economic pressures that draw lines in the sand around every urban downtown in search of shoppers, businesses and capital investment. Governmental intervention has and continues to use memory and history as a way to control the popular image of the city by reifying the site's history and purpose, leading to various different definitions of "community" and "space". Competing visions of space are the foundations of this political contest, and such variance in interpretation and meaning are found in the global discourse around urban change. As the world continues to urbanize, research such as mine will be helpful as examples of city-centered change and challenges to growth.

   Second, by acknowledging the role that narratives around social memory and forgetting have played in the overarching conversation regarding the Mall's revitalization, my empirical research offers in-depth analysis about the social phenomena at play in this contest. Given the depth of feeling that my work captured, the process of ethnographic research in service to civic development would be an interesting tool for those in power to embrace. In this way, my research paints a fuller picture of a community looking to define itself in a changing context.

   My research's additional focus on citizen engagement, attachment to place and the meaning attributed to the space adds to the cultural knowledge and meaning of urban space in the broader theoretical context. Defining space--here, narratives around cultural significance and

spatial use-value- is where citizens can participate in the process of placemaking. By connection process and product, this dissertation adds to the theorization of the creation of space by way of case study, of which the Fresno Fulton Mall is a tiny stage upon which global issues concerning urban life, local history and economics have manifested themselves.

The heart of the city of Fresno is given full symbolic measure --"I Believe in Downtown"--and competing ideas of place were interrogated in my research as attempts to utilize or influence memory-work, making preservation of its meaning important and significant to the cultural landscape in which Fresno, and indeed, Oakland is situated. Oakland provided an interest comparison for those activists seeking a model for development, and also proved what Fresno, in its overlooked status, can teach other regions about urban growth. Contested claims carry over into small case studies like this and through much broader discussions about inclusion and community. As the world urbanizes, these claims to space will be the driver of social conflict that could further exacerbate social divisions of race, class and gender in urban space.

Conclusion: Possibilities and Limitations

As I develop my research agenda for future work, urban space plays into what I see are two potential areas of focus. The first area concerns changing urban space, specifically in cities that struggle to revitalize aging infrastructure. Like my dissertation work on the Fulton Mall in Fresno, CA, I am interested in investigating this process of development ethnographically, as lived experience largely informs people's sense of place and belonging. I plan to add spatial information to my data collection process that allows me to digitize the maps I have. Additionally, I plan to employ analytical software to better get a sense of the physical areas that are the foundation of social space. I also plan to do a comparative analysis of areas in Sacramento (K Street Mall) and Oakland (Jack London Square and the broader downtown revitalization project) in relation to my research on Fresno's redevelopment. Preliminary evidence suggests that there are important parallels that need to be investigated. Both K Street and Jack London Square are quasi-public spaces that have garnered much attention, resources and cultural hand-wringing, much like the Fulton Mall. As I survey the recent literature on urban development and the politics of natural resource allocation, a study on smaller cities like Sacramento, Fresno and Oakland will add interesting spatial nuance to scholarship that tends to focus on what geographer Saskia Sassen calls "global cities[386]" with large populations like New York and London that dominate discussion of urbanization.

Further plans for future scholarly work include an interdisciplinary, multi-sited project tracking the historical changes in water policy across the American West as an indicator of placemaking practices, continuing a smaller project on water infrastructure I started in 2015. Both projects will include literature on and discussion of the interplay between urban infrastructure and natural resources.

Appendix 1: Survey Questions

Survey Questions (N= 45)
Administered through Google Forms ("live" and available to the public starting March of 2016 and continuously filled out through late 2017):

1. Where did you grow up?
2. Do you currently live in Fresno, CA?
3. What are your first memories of the Fulton Mall?
4. When was the last time you were on the Mall prior to March 2016? What did you do there? Did you attend a specific event?
5. Did you attend meetings or were part of groups working on the Fulton Mall in the last five years? If so, please list your affiliation with specific groups and advocacy work on this issue.
6. Do you agree that opening up the Mall to vehicular traffic was the correct way to revitalize the Mall and/or the general downtown area? Please explain your answer.
7. What will you miss about the mall?
8. What will you hope to see in its future development?
9. Any other comments?