From Pathways to Portals: Getting to the Root of a Public Housing Community¹

Nicola Mann

Abstract: The Chicago Housing Authority is currently in the late stages of a controversial ten-year urban renewal initiative that will see the city's public housing projects replaced with mixed-income accommodations. Ordered to pack up and leave not only their homes but also lifelong friends and support networks, many project residents have, quite literally, had their roots yanked from beneath their feet. In this essay I employ the iconographic uses of natural imagery present in Kerry James Marshall's Garden Project paintings (1993-1994) and Daniel Roth's installation *Cabrini Green Forest* (2004) to, first, explore the "rooted" attachment of public housing dwellers to their living environment and, second, to consider the desire of many residents to safeguard community landmarks against the threat of demolition.

I am a resident of Cabrini Green and I want to continue to live here forever. We care about Cabrini Green because *it is a part of us*. That's why I say that Cabrini is just like one big family. Just like any other family, we've had our disagreements, but we've been through everything together. To break up our family is just wrong, and I can't let that happen...I have always had a dream that I would be able to raise two children of my own in 1230 N. Larrabee St., teaching them just as my father has taught me...I know that justice will prevail -- which is why we will never give up. We will come together and fight to get our buildings back. We've lost three of them, and don't plan on losing any more.²

In this impassioned plea, made in the wake of the implementation of the urban renewal initiative, the *Plan for Transformation*, Chicago public housing resident Maurice T. Edwards Jr. succinctly pinpoints the heart of the relationship between self and place within the city's public housing neighborhoods: Not simply a space to sleep, play, and dwell, Cabrini-Green is something more, "it is a part of us." Taking Edwards' statement as a guiding philosophy, this essay will explore the socio-spatial interconnections that exist and that have always existed between members of Chicago's public housing community and their lived environment. This focus stems from the phenomenological principle that people and place are synergistically intertwined. As Edward Casey states in the Preface to his ubiquitous book on the subject, *The Fate of Place*, "To be at all—to exist in any way—is to be somewhere, and to be somewhere is to be *in* some kind of place."³ In other words, people do not exist separately from the world they live in but, on the contrary, are "immersed" in it. This existential

feeling of environmental immersion - or what Martin Heidegger terms “being-in-the-world” - is the basis of place experience.⁴ Today, in Chicago’s public housing neighborhoods, the intimate relationship between people and place is changing.

The Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) is currently in the late stages of a ten-year urban renewal initiative that will see the city’s high-rise housing projects replaced with glossy mid-rise mixed-income accommodations. Upon completion, the fifty-three high-rise buildings that once marked a grey and red slash across Chicago’s inner-city skyline will be a distant memory. Ordered to pack up and leave not only their homes but also lifelong friends and support networks, many residents have, quite literally, had their roots yanked from beneath their feet. While there are many meanings ascribed to place - symbolic, political, topological, and imaginary to name but a few - social associations are perhaps the strongest. This is particularly true for residents of public housing for whom depending on neighbors to mind their children when they go to the store because they cannot afford childcare, or borrowing food from friends when they don’t have the funds to buy their own, proves fundamental to the formation of place-based collective bonds. This dependence has been confirmed by Sudhir Venkatesh and Isil Celimli who claim that seventy-six percent of all Chicago public housing tenants’ social networks are comprised of other project inhabitants. If they could, roughly seventy-five percent of all displaced CHA families would return to their old neighborhood.⁵

Through iconographic and polemical uses of natural imagery, painter, Kerry James Marshall, and installation artist, Daniel Roth, critically respond to this social displacement. Marshall and Roth’s central motifs of flower-laden ‘pathways’ and watery garden ‘wells’ not only map the literal physical configurations of streets and busy thoroughfares that existed within Chicago’s public housing neighborhoods, but also illustrate the deep-rooted, rhizomatic social interconnections “inside” these places. Edward Relph conceived the use of “insideness” as a conceptual means to describe the degree to which a person or group belongs to and identifies with place.⁶ Framed by the path and portal spatial motifs, I utilize the concept of “insideness” as a way to allegorize the deep-rooted, place-based networks of social attachment present within Chicago’s public housing neighborhoods. Divided into two sections, this essay employs the work of Marshall and Roth to, first, chart and explore the attachment of public housing dwellers to their living environment and the threat that the *Plan for Transformation* poses to this relationship and, second, to consider the current desire of some residents to safeguard community landmarks against the threat of demolition.

The first artwork I consider, Marshall’s *Garden Project* series (1994-7), presents a historicized vision of the interlaced social relationships that existed within Chicago’s Stateway Gardens, Rockwell

Gardens, Altgeld Gardens, and Wentworth Gardens housing projects during the mid twentieth-century. The multi-layered spaces (both literally and symbolically) of the paintings portray public housing as an Edenic paradise. Golden rays from a lemon-yellow sun lick the sky, plastic-wrapped Easter baskets speckle the well-tended lawns, and storybook bluebirds bearing festive scrolls fly this way and that, toting messages from 1950s- and 1960s-style ads such as “There’s More of Everything,” and “Bless Our Happy Homes” (Figure 1). Often dismissed as ironic, mock-naïve evocations of everything the high-rise projects are not - beautiful gardens - Marshall’s nostalgic vistas are more complex than this paradoxical assessment permits. The organic connective symbologies at play in the artist’s artworks replicate a very real history of collective practices within public housing. The pathway motif, present in all the *Garden Project* paintings, comes to symbolize the socio-spatial infrastructure of reciprocity so prevalent within Chicago’s public housing neighborhoods during their lifetime.

While Marshall’s paintings invite the viewer to an interpretive walk along its pathways, Daniel Roth’s *Cabrini Green Forest* (2004) installation beckons her to step off this horizontal plateau and immerse herself *in* place. Roth’s exhibition, installed at the Donald Young Gallery in Chicago in 2004, includes faux documentary evidence of a mythic forest that exists within a secret underground pathway connecting the Metropolitan Correctional Facility in the city’s Loop with the Cabrini-Green housing project. The central motif in Roth’s installation is a fiberglass well or, as the artist refers to it, *Portal* (Figure 2). This reflective gateway invites the gallery visitor to cross the threshold to the subterranean world and explore the unseen catacombs below. Like a modern day Jules Verne, Roth accepts the *Portal*’s invitation, returning from his mission with a selection of hand-written texts, wall drawings, and sculptural forms. Through these minutely detailed artistic testimonies, we learn that the land beneath Cabrini-Green is a labyrinthine terrain of twisted roots and thorns. While Marshall portrays mid-twentieth-century public housing as a dreamy paradise, in contrast, Roth jolts us awake and directly into the present day with an artistic interpretation of the socio-ecological trauma of urban renewal. Via the exploratory *Portal*, viewers become temporary “insiders” – a position that allows them to appreciate the actions of some tenants striving to preserve community landmarks against the threat of urban renewal.

Through an analysis of the social turmoil caused by the impending demolition of a community landmark within Cabrini-Green, I argue that public housing should be recognized as more than simply bricks and mortar. For some, social clubs, beauty parlors, ball-courts, and mom-and-pop stores serve as sites of what I call usable memory: Places where residents reminisce about

their deeply rooted past, utilizing this historical attachment to place to unite and prevent the uprooting of community landmarks in the future.⁷ Today, this community is rising up to defend their turf. Taken together, the *Garden Project's* nostalgic pathways and *Cabrini Green Forest's* mythic underground portal provide interesting models through which to consider not only the history of socio-spatial interconnections in the projects, but also as vehicles through which outsiders can appreciate insiders' attachment to place.

Pathways

Kerry James Marshall's journey began the day he was born in a public housing project in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1955. It was against this backdrop that Marshall spent his formative years as a witness to some of the Civil Rights era's most pivotal moments. Inspired by this experience, Marshall became an artist, moving to Chicago in 1987 where he has lived and worked to great international success ever since. The nerve center of this artistic achievement is a tiny studio overlooking the recently demolished Stateway Gardens housing project on Chicago's South Side. From this vantage point, Marshall has witnessed a period of public housing history recently defined as a "dysfunctional mess."⁸ Chronic underfunding has meant that basic systems – elevators, roofs, building heat, trash collection – regularly failed, while budgetary turmoil during the 1990s left the CHA in managerial disarray. Concentrations of poverty reached acute levels, and in 1995 Henry Cisneros, secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, reported to congress that CHA projects comprised eleven of the fifteen poorest communities in the nation. The experience of being a participant in and, later, a front-row spectator to some of the twentieth-century's most appalling examples of racial discrimination presented for Marshall "a real sense of continuity and awareness of the problems of the existence of black people in America."⁹ For Marshall, the key problem is the issue of misrepresentation – too often residents are seen as a direct reflection of their failed living environment.

A chance experience on Chicago's Dan Ryan expressway on his way to work during the early 1990s led Marshall to channel this interest in the ill-treatment of public housing into the *Garden Project*, the artist's most critically acclaimed series of works to date:

So I'm getting off the expressway everyday and I see this sign, WELCOME TO WENTWORTH GARDENS. I look around Chicago and I see that there are three other housing projects called 'gardens'--Stateway Gardens, Rockwell Gardens, Altgeld Gardens. I started the project as a way of contrasting the popular notion of what a garden

is supposed to be with the popular notion of what we understand housing projects to be.¹⁰

Contrary to “popular notions,” the projects are literally (in terms of community beautification projects) and metaphorically (in terms of rhizomatic community interconnections) gardens. Having spent his formative years in public housing, Marshall possesses a wealth of memories that bear witness to a sense of community and individual responsibility to the maintenance of one’s surroundings. The artist has spoken of how, at the age of eight, he was granted access to collectively owned garden tools, which he used to tend the family’s yard. Life in the projects, Marshall insists, “wasn’t different than being in a house, except we paid less rent.”¹¹ Yet, Marshall’s glossy paintings are in no way rose-tinted autobiographical accounts that nostalgically crave a return to more innocent times. Rather, the manicured lawns and pastoral splendor of Marshall’s paintings complicate dominant media-based “popular notions” of the projects as dangerous, alienated, socially fragmented environments.

The artist deconstructs this one-dimensional framing by never letting the viewer forget that this painted portrayal is an investigation, not a recreation, of the real place. By rendering the projects’ inhabitants against a cardboard cutout utopia filled with powder-puff clouds and gilded with synthetic summer sunbursts, Marshall calls attention to the falseness of our narrow image of them. The artist depicts a place at once mythic and unambiguous, in order to complicate how we “see” public housing. Painted between 1994 and 1997, *C.H.I.A.*, *Better Homes Better Gardens*, *Many Mansions*, *Untitled (Altgeld Gardens)*, *Watts 1963*, *Our Town*, and *Past Times*, speak directly to the artist’s desire to re-imagine the history of Chicago’s public housing in the American visual imagination - as places that lived up to their pastoral names:

What I wanted to show in those paintings is that whatever you think about the projects, they’re that and more. If you think they’re full of hopelessness and despair, you’re wrong. There are actually a lot of opportunities to experience pleasure in the projects. There are people whose idealism hasn’t been completely eradicated just because they’re in the projects. A lot of people who live in the projects have a Disney-esque view of the world, *in spite of* everything that’s going on there...And the bluebirds and happiness, the sun shining so bright- all of those things are a fantasy of happiness. A fantasy of happiness that’s not necessarily an impossibility.¹²

Many Mansions (Figure 1), for example, depicts Stateway Gardens (1955-2007) during its formative years. Brightly colored baskets containing stuffed toys welcome arrivals to the new high-rise housing complex, while the slender outlines of a swing and climbing frame scatter the meticulously manicured gardens. Centre stage within this vision, three men tend the soil, fashioning a

flower monogram, “SG,” to define the fertile land on which they stand. Above them in large stenciled letters, Marshall emblazons “IL 2-22” – the official designation of the public housing site in the State of Illinois – across the looming high-rise buildings in the distance. This organic symbiosis between gardens and high-rises contests “popular notions” which, as Marshall points out, tend to exclusively associate gardens with bucolic golden-hued country settings and public housing with alienating, concrete high-rise architectural monstrosities.¹³ By presenting the actions of residents working on or *in* place, *Many Mansions* transfigures this city/nature dichotomy and recognizes an immersion and interconnectedness between people and place, and subject and object. In other words, the artist re-imagines public housing as what Yi-Fu Tuan terms a “middle landscape.”¹⁴ Elaborating on this concept, he writes, “Between the big artificial city at one extreme and wild nature at the other, humans have created ‘middle landscapes’ that, at various times and in different parts of the world, have been acclaimed the model human habitat...They show how humans can escape nature’s rawness without moving so far from it as to appear to deny roots in the organic world.”¹⁵ *Many Mansions*’s three central figures attest to this reading, reproducing the sentiments of many residents who testify to the importance of the cultivation of flowers within community spaces in the formation of neighborhood consciousness.

From the CHA’s early years in the 1950s to as recently as the late 1980s, flower competitions were fundamental to the creation of social solidarity within Chicago’s public housing (Figures 3 and 4). Elizabeth Wood, who presided as the Authority’s Executive Director between 1934 and 1954, initiated the competitions as a way for residents to take ownership of their land, and to feel a sense of permanence and responsibility for their living environment. Not simply a way of beautifying the neighborhood, the contests became a means of developing social networks. Henry and Elouise Messiah who lived in Dearborn Homes from 1950 until 1954 remember, “The flower shows brought tenants from various housing sites around the city together.”¹⁶ Beyond the flower competitions, community efforts ranged from organizing informal social gatherings with neighbors, to providing neighborly support such as information sharing, errand running, and child care, to organizing more formal resident-initiated service programs including reading and study groups, fire-prevention and education programs, and organized sporting activities (Figure 5). Recently, Mindy Fullilove has termed this kind of integrated, multi-dimensional social network - the near environment within which we find food, shelter, safety, and companionship - a “mazeway.” Fullilove writes:

We love the mazeway in which we are rooted, for it is not simply the buildings that make us safe and secure, but, more complexly, our knowledge of the “scene” that makes

us so. We all have our little part to play, carefully synchronized with that of all the other players: we are rooted in that, our piece of the world-as-stage.¹⁷

Through the efforts of the community mazeway and events like the flower competitions, residents transform empty physical space into symbolically significant places that reinforces and reproduces the values of its inhabitants. In other words, place becomes a fusion of spatial perceptions and social relationships: As Relph writes, “The existential crux of place experience is to be on the path—to belong to and identify with the place.”¹⁸ To be on the same “pathway” as our neighbor, or to employ Fullilove’s analogous term, “mazeway,” constitutes knowledge of a physical environment as much as it comprises a group’s lived experience. Marshall’s *Garden Project* bears witness to this socio-spatial dynamic through the compositional motif of a pathway.

Similarly, *Our Town*, *Pastimes* and *Better Homes Better Gardens* feature roads that cut through Marshall’s neighborhood, virtually spilling out onto the spectator’s lap. The path in *Better Homes Better Gardens* emerges from a steep vanishing point in the background, escaping into the lower foreground amongst the domestic detritus of a summer croquet game (Figure 6). Marshall’s dense compositional trail engages the viewer unswervingly, inviting the spectator to walk through the space alongside two teenage lovebirds. White speech-puffs hang like halcyon harbingers above their heads, recalling the oral testimonies of housing project residents who say that this is where they found their “place.” Frank Reed, a long-term resident of Cabrini-Green remembers: “Looking back, I realized that I grew up in a neighborhood. Our Cabrini row houses were a community” (Figure 7).¹⁹ Furthermore, the muddy brown disc of the flowerbed on the left hand side of the painting deliberately echoes, in terms of both scale and theme, the dark circular shadow underneath the two figures on the opposite side of the canvas. Marshall’s “mirroring” technique speaks not only to the “rooting” of Reed within his lived environment (as user, creator, and product of this place), but also - through the inclusion of the flowerbed “W” monogram - a sense of spatial belonging and territoriality. Marshall’s painting symbolizes the most profound level of place experience or what Relph terms “existential insideness,” a state in which place is entrenched in one’s daily reality. This condition elicits a sense of absolute identity with a place, of appreciating unreservedly “this is where you belong.”²⁰ Yet, somewhat paradoxically, this sense of belonging or “rootedness” does not necessitate stasis. Lips sealed and eyes alert, the couple in *Better Homes Better Gardens* head out into the world, helped by the careful addition of a garden hose in the bottom right foreground, which acts like a hook beckoning them along.

Indeed, whether crossing a street, standing outside a building waiting for a ride, congregating at a back yard gathering, or just gazing at their children from the kitchen window, the figures in

Marshall's works appear to be on their way somewhere. Like the pathway in *Better Homes Better Gardens*, the road in *Our Town* connects the image to the spectator's own community or "our town," indicating that this neighborhood is not as isolated as we are led to believe (Figure 8). Amidst decorative curlicues of festive ribbons and bluebirds of happiness, a mother wishes her children off into the day. The thought bubble from the young girl's head connects with the chocolate box home like a dream, her gaze pointing out of the frame of the canvas and into the world outside of the projects.

From an experiential perspective, the front door, or rather the home behind the front door, comes to signify the epicenter of human place experience (Figure 9). According to Relph, the home is "the foundation of our identity as individuals and as members of a community, the dwelling-place of being."²¹ It is the "central reference point of human existence," as well as "the point of departure from which we orient ourselves and take possession of the world."²² As the girl in *Our Town* departs from this metaphorical starting block, she echoes the lived experience of ex-public housing resident Gwendolyn Duncan Alexander, one of the first people to move into Mother Cabrini Homes in 1943. Alexander recalls an inherent sense of mobility in the projects: "Cabrini was ideal because I was free to go anywhere I wanted."²³ Residents achieved this sense of freedom – albeit contained freedom -- via the points of social contact encountered along the community mazeway. Maude Davis who moved into Altgeld Gardens in 1949 remembers: "You felt free to go into your neighbor's house, free to ask your neighbor for anything, because they were always sharing and giving...We freely shared toys, whatever we had. Altgeld is where I learned to ride a bike. And it was on someone else's bike."²⁴ As an analytic device, the speed connoted by the motion of Marshall's bike suggests that orientation in public housing is constructed out of the order of the body *in situ*, negotiating urban pathway structures and integrated community networks. Marshall's forked road motif gestures not only towards the reality of being free to explore the supportive mazeway of one's near environment, but also to the paradox of this spatial situation. Despite their "immersion" in place, some residents were free to experience the world "outside" the projects.

The adolescent figure in *Untitled: Altgeld Gardens* is in a similar state of motion to other characters in the *Garden Project* series (Figure 10). Resting on his hands and knees on a purple blanket, he faces the viewer and seems to be in transition between reclining and rising. To one side a white chimney seeps threatening blood-red stains onto a sundial with the letters AFDC (Aid to Families and Dependent Children). Like the forked road in *Our Town*, the crossroads behind Marshall's figure seems to imply the variety of socio-spatial options available to him: to choose a path that leads to a

life of crime and bloodshed or to choose a more original option. Located at a line of demarcation between Altgeld Gardens and the viewer, the teenager is therefore a gatekeeper between the worlds of past and present, life and death, housing project and the world outside. Listening to a radio that blares, “Our day will come and we’ll have everything,” Marshall’s figure has already made his choice. Specifically, the figure’s posture of predestination corresponds with the painter’s own experience as a former resident of public housing. In numerous interviews over the years Marshall has described how, as a child, he pleaded with his mother to let him stay late after school to leaf through his teacher’s prized scrapbook, which contained colorful postcards from exotic lands far away. When asked about what influence these early experiences in public housing had on his career, the artist responded, “it seemed like there were signposts all over the place saying, “Artists this way...” Everywhere I went I met the perfect person to get me to the next level.”²⁵

Marshall’s successful career has taken him one step further than his teacher. His art has been included in many exhibitions including the 1997 *Documenta X*, the 1999/2000 Carnegie International, and the 2003 Venice Biennale. Marshall is not alone in his success. Award-winning singer and actor Jennifer Hudson, jazz musicians Curtis Mayfield and Jerry Butler, boxing champion Pernell Whitaker, and Governor of Massachusetts Deval Patrick, all spent their formative years as residents of Robert Taylor Homes on Chicago’s South Side. President Obama recently nominated U.S. Circuit Judge and ex-public housing resident, Sonia Sotomayor, for a seat on the Supreme Court. Describing her childhood in a recent article for the *New York Times*, Sotomayor identified the Bronxdale Housing project as the “launching pad” for her success.²⁶ Obama, too, named the judge’s “extraordinary journey” in life as one of the main reasons for choosing her as a nominee.²⁷ Drawing strength from the Bronxdale Housing project community maze, Sotomayor is a success *because of* rather than in *spite of* her public housing roots.

Marshall’s survivalist agenda extends to the most critically celebrated of the *Garden Project* series, *Many Mansions* (Figure 1). The painting borrows from the powerful X-based composition of *Raft of the Medusa* (1819) by the French Romantic painter Theodore Géricault (Figure 11). Géricault’s painting depicts the Algerian immigrant survivors of the ship *Medusa*, which floundered off the west coast of Senegal in 1816. Specifically, the painting captures a moment recounted by one of the survivors when, prior to their rescue, the passengers tried to signal to a ship on the horizon. It disappeared, and in the words of one of the surviving crewmembers, “From the delirium of joy, we fell into profound despondency [sic] and grief.”²⁸ The ship, the *Argus*, reappeared two hours later and rescued those who remained. This incident was the result of mismanagement and became a liberal

cause célèbre in France when the survivors were able to tell their stories. In his compositional selection, the artist acknowledges that during the mid to late twentieth-century public housing was “abandoned” by housing authorities across the country. Despite initially improving people’s lives by providing subsidized housing for low income urban families, over time these ideals were distorted by the implementation of repressive housing policies, underfunding and mismanagement. By the late 1960s, Mayor Richard Daley had withdrawn crucial services like police patrols and routine building maintenance from Chicago’s public housing, which resulted in the neglect of elevator repairs, the vandalism of lobbies and corridors, and the use of stairwells as garbage dumps. By 1975, President Nixon placed a moratorium on public housing construction, which expanded waitlists for tenancy at existing, deteriorating developments. Ten years later, President Reagan reduced federal funding for public housing maintenance, rehabilitation, and construction from \$35 billion to \$7 billion annually. Many residents also insist that the CHA stopped screening tenants by the 1970s, which increased the presence of ex-convicts, gang members, and drug users. Cabrini-Green resident Wanda Hopkins recalls: “I think they just gave up on us.”²⁹

By choosing to base his composition on a painting where the main protagonists *survive* institutional neglect, however, Marshall re-imagines public housing as a place of endurance and hope. Raised on the shoulders of his comrades, the central black protagonist in *Raft of the Medusa* extends his arm out of the canvas (and on to survival) via a light-filled diagonal axis, which stretches from lower left of the canvas up to the horizon in the top right. When applied to the historical context of *Many Mansions*, Marshall’s artistic reference not only implies that survival in the projects is utterly dependent upon a supportive group dynamic, but also that this group is led by a determination to break-through ascribed framing devices. By breaching the painting’s metaphorical “frame” of expectations, the “survivors” of *Many Mansions* demand that we look beyond the narrative of neglect and despair most often ascribed to public housing’s history: to re-imagine the projects as a place of perseverance. Indeed, “In spite” of shared hardships and political abandonment, over the years, many residents survived life in the projects by developing resilient bonds of community and networks of mutual support. Far from damaging the community infrastructure, obstacles actually solidified and enhanced place-based bonds; To put it spatially, the higher up the buildings go, the deeper the bond of the community within. Marshall pursues this idea with the least known and yet most intriguing of his works, *Past Times* (Figure 12).

In this work Marshall revives the romantic social ideologies and symbiotic human/environmental harmonies present in pastoral paintings such as Giorgione’s *Tempest* (c.1508)

and Edouard Manet's *Dejeuner sur L'Herbe* (1863). In recalling these idealized landscapes, Marshall applies the vocabulary of what Dan Graham calls an ideology of "utopian forms that constitute a better or ideal society" – a synchronization designed to unsettle viewer's expectations.³⁰ A father and son sit in a park listening to music; against an omnipresent flat blazing sun, African-American figures enjoy the stereotypically upper middle-class white pastimes of golf, croquet, boating and water-skiing, a romantic vista that disrupts any easy claim to racial essentialism. Meanwhile, a narrow pathway traverses its way from the background to the fore of the painting, its starting place and target extending beyond the canvas frame. This volumetric formation (the distinct foreground, middle ground, and background) works temporally to spatialize the generational links between the father and son, emphasizing, again, how place experiences are time-deepened. While the father listens to Smokey Robinson's "Just my Imagination" (1971), the son's radio dispenses Snoop Doggy Dogg's "Got my Mind on my Money and my Money on my Mind" (1994). As musical riffs evanesce into the air, Marshall emphasizes the important role music plays in defining not only historical periods, but also in preserving personal memories. Framed by the path motif, this spatio-temporal musical convergence of time—of then and now, father and son—signifies the sequential trail of memories provoked by the red brick high-rises in the distance. Set high on a hill like Cinderella's castle, the public housing building becomes a "memory palace," a place that functions as a visual cue, reminding the residents of their past and the past of their predecessors.³¹

Recalling Pierre Nora's definition of place as space where memory "crystallizes and secretes itself," *Past Times*, which was completed in the same year the CHA announced the *Plan for Transformation*, embodies a particular moment on the pathway of public housing history.³² At the end of the path on the lower right hand corner stands a pot containing plant-like tendrils; from the ends of each leaf dangle crisp white sheets of paper. These blank canvases seem to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in a place where, despite the destructive effects of urban renewal, a sense of historical continuity persists: How do we frame (conserve/represent) the history and, thus, memories of a place that no longer exists? In the following section I offer a partial answer to this question via a discussion of the ways in which some current residents remain connected to their old neighborhoods through efforts to conserve community landmarks. When we think about it this way, memory of the past connects to hope for the future. As Mary Gordon puts it, "There is a link between hope and memory. Remembering nothing, one cannot hope for anything. And so time means nothing."³³ The preservation of a sense of place is, then, an active moment along the pathway from memory to hope, from past to future. If Marshall's blank canvases pose questions about the

preservation of a sense of place, then the spatial re-conceptualization provided by Roth's *Portal* offers, if not a definitive answer, then an alternate way of appreciating what it means to be *dis*-placed from one's memory palace.

Portal

Each project within the *Cabrini Green Forest* series involves the German artist's interpretation of a specific threat to place: tunnels lead to clandestine hiding places, concealed rooms disclose god-forbidden secrets, and isolated houses in the woods hold fearful suspicion. These "reconstructions," as Roth calls them, have been exhibited in locations including the Museum der Bildenden Künste in Leipzig, the Kunsthaus Glarus in Switzerland, White Cube in London, Artist Space in New York, and the Dallas Museum of Art.³⁴

A central motif common to all Roth's installations is a fiberglass well (Figure 2). Just as the legendary wardrobe provoked exploratory desire in the children in C.S. Lewis' *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, so Roth's physical and mental portal invites the viewer to cross this psychic threshold to explore the geographically and temporally distant world beyond: in other words, to immerse oneself *in place*. In *Cabrini Green Forest*, the *Portal* has been breached, the mine thoroughly quarried, and Roth has resurfaced from his excavation with a vast physical archive of documentary proof of the land below ground. Through a frenzy of hand-written texts, graphite wall drawings, sculptural forms, and architectural maps, we learn that the land beneath Cabrini-Green is labyrinthine terrain reminiscent of a Grimm's Brothers landscape. Drawings depict roots weaving in and out of the foundation of the high-rise public housing buildings above like a body's interior network of veins and arteries, while faint neuron-like graphite wall drawings trail over every inch of the gallery interior, like a rash on the architecture's skin (Figure 13). Roth intersperses these visceral two-dimensional drawings with lumpen wooden sculptures, placed like petrified anatomical specimens around the gallery (Figures 14 & 15). Roth's *underground* wilderness and the trove of corporeal relics retrieved from within, succinctly illustrate the very real rhizomatic socio-spatial interconnections that exist *above ground* within Chicago's public housing neighborhoods. The artist's omission of figures reinforces the inexorable interconnections between place and dweller within public housing: In the *Portal* and *Cabrini Green Forest*, both conjoin to give way to a larger "mazeway" of place identity.

Beyond Roth's archive of mazeway memorabilia, other elements of the exhibition suggest a contested underground pathway, at odds with the world above. The organic vestiges, which one can initially read as evidence of utopian communitarianism are, upon closer inspection, bound just a little

too tight. Woven bark sculptures sprout like daggers from the gallery's whitewashed frame, leaving clumps of dirt on the floor like the casualties of a well-fought battle. In another section of the exhibition, the limbs of tree branches pierce a wall, seemingly resistant to Roth's quest to take the underground-forested path *over-ground*.

In making clear the relationship between bodily trauma and the site specificity of the Chicago housing project, Roth identifies a current conflict, which is all too real in the hearts and minds of many Cabrini-Green residents. Motivated by the racial and socioeconomic differences that have alienated the predominantly African-American population from their city neighbors since the 1970s, the CHA is razing its projects and replacing them with mixed-income accommodations. During the inception of the *Plan for Transformation* in the mid 1990s, the tenants' elected Central Advisory Council negotiated a relocation rights contract providing that all lease-compliant families had a right to return to their rehabilitated communities upon completion of the new accommodations.³⁵ Unfortunately, while over six thousand Cabrini-Green residents were moved out with a Housing Choice Voucher (which caps rent at thirty percent of income), fewer than one hundred public housing families moved back into the mixed-income community.³⁶ Instead, according to the Chicago Housing Authority Choice (CHAC), a group helping track relocated families, ninety-three percent of displaced residents have settled in communities that are majority African-American and seventy-five percent in neighborhoods that are considered struggling, high-poverty areas.³⁷

Yet, for some residents, the trauma of this move pales in comparison to the ordeal of separation from the community mazeway. Their mazeway is replaced by a trauma Fullilove refers to as "root shock":

Root shock is the traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem. It has important parallels to the psychological shock experienced by a person who, as a result of injury, suddenly loses massive amounts of fluids. Such as blow threatens the whole body's ability to function....Shock is the fight for survival after a life-threatening blow to the body's internal balance.³⁸

Just as the body has systems to maintain its internal equilibrium, so, too, the public housing resident has ways to maintain the external balance between herself and the world. The erasure of one's socio-spatial infrastructure represents the fragmentation of some of the essential components of residents' group identity leading Fullilove to refer to urban renewal as "an amputation by the city of its own flesh."³⁹ For example, Seward Park, which is located in the shadows of the Cabrini-Green high-rises, has undergone a recent facelift. While the park once provided a space within which to exercise and meet up with friends, in 2005 the Chicago Parks Department privatized the space, implementing fees

to access the sports facilities, thereby rendering access prohibitive to most Cabrini-Green tenants. Resident Jason Smith laments the loss of this space, “Those (basketball) courts brought the community together...All of this thrown out for condos.”⁴⁰ Meanwhile, a *Blockbuster*, *Starbucks*, and the grocery store *Dominicks* replaced a New City YMCA and, “When Blockbuster and Starbucks arrive,” says resident Deidre Brewster, “You *know* the writing is on the wall.”⁴¹ For Brewster and many other Cabrini-Green residents, this writing spelled the erasure of their homes, their surrounding neighborhood, and their lives as they once knew them.

Some tenants have not reacted passively to recent changes, however. In fact, many residents have made concerted efforts to act as caretakers of community landmarks and to maintain and renew place identity within public housing. Displaced residents remain connected to their old neighborhoods by returning to attend public housing building reunions, commonly referred to as “Old School” parties, while children who have established trusting relationships with teachers and friends commute for miles to attend schools around their old projects. Faced with the demolition of his home, lifelong Cabrini-Green resident and Heneghan Wrecking Co. demolition worker, Kenneth Hammond, maintains his attachment to his childhood home by preserving pieces of its architecture and offering them to others for comfort (Figure 16).⁴² This activity exemplifies Fullilove’s assertion that the relationship between home and dweller is like that of “Siamese twins, conjoined to the locations of our daily life such that our emotions flow through places, just as blood flows through two interdependent people.”⁴³ This fusion of subject (Hammond) and object (home) illustrates the all-enveloping nature of insider platial experience. Imbued with sounds, smells, and feelings of moments shared, Hammond’s life is recorded on the walls of his former home, insinuated into the space by life. In the chapter “Intimate Experiences of Place,” Tuan argues that this profound relationship with place is a multi-sensorial experience, which involves “our whole being, all our senses.”⁴⁴ Hammond’s collection of architectural remnants is, therefore, a physical embodiment of human attachment to place - a synthesis of subject and object to such a degree that they each constitute a meaningful part of the other.

Roth’s physical archive of remnants signal an absence caused by the disorientation of root shock but, moreover, the desire of some residents to attach themselves to the material dimensions of their past. Roth employs the gallery’s whitewashed walls as a planar frame upon which to stage this sensorial mental tussle. Dangling precariously like the central pulse of a metronome, the walls proffer woven roots and twigs as if inviting the viewer to take hold of physical elements of this place. Rendered as permeable membranes, the walls become a corporeal frame within which to reflect the

resilience of a community striving to "hang on." As if drawn by a powerful centrifugal force, the jutting limbs of tree branches pierce the porous crust of the wall like fingernails pushed deep into pale flesh. The branches symbolize the platial rooting of public housing, and, in turn, bear witness to the efforts of residents who utilize the position of their home or business as a territorial tactic in defiance of the *Plan for Transformation*. Indeed, while most community landmarks in Cabrini-Green have succumbed to the influx of homogenous chain stores, some, like the owners of Strangers Home church, are determined to remain rooted and preserve their existence against the threat of an external force.

Squeezed amongst the new mixed-income developments, Strangers Homes church has stood as an anchor of attachment to the residents of Cabrini-Green for over sixty years (Figure 17). In 2008 the church was put up for sale, sparking a concerted effort on the part of the Chicago Public Art Group to preserve its architecture for the surrounding community. The graying, weathered mural, which decorates its exterior walls, symbolizes this attachment to place. Entitled *All of Mankind: Unity of the Human Race* (1972), the mural by acclaimed muralist William Walker, comprises a pantheon of political martyrs and heroes lost to atrocities and violence. Framed by circling doves, names including Martin Luther King Jr. and Medgar Evers appear under the heading "We Mourn Our Loss." Already famous for his work on other Chicago-based murals such as the South Side's *The Wall of Respect* (1967) and Cabrini-Green's *Peace and Salvation* (1970), in 1972 Walker was invited to represent the "love and unity" of Cabrini-Green on the side of one's of its most important community symbols, the church.⁴⁵ The fact that the mural has remained untarnished by graffiti in thirty-five years is testament to the high esteem with which the surrounding community regards it. The mural is a textual marker of place, connecting current Cabrini-Green to its vanishing past.

This mediation between past, present, and future extends to Walker's compositional choices. The lack of foreshortening in the mural removes depth and therefore temporality, thereby situating the past – specifically, residents' memories of the past – firmly in the present (Figure 18).⁴⁶ This is a formal manifestation of what Marianne Hirsch has termed "postmemory," described as the relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic experiences that preceded their births.⁴⁷ Moreover, Walker illustrates what Hirsch terms "written-in" memory: "The writing...is both written in *memory*, out of one's memory, and *written-in* memory, a memory inscribed on the skin of the image itself, as a tattoo might be."⁴⁸ The names "written-into" the mural relate to the persistence of the church as a locus of collective social memory. Presented on the same flattened plane, the names of greats from the civil rights era are entombed, like artifacts of usable memory, in the here and now,

as if to symbolize the tumultuous times in which the mural was painted and to inspire ongoing political mobilization.

Much like the narrative temporality embodied in the mural, Roth superimposes time *onto* place, rendering photographs, maps, and notes on the flattened plane of the gallery walls, thereby suggesting the ways in which memory can be built into the fabric of a place. Like the historical depths embodied in the trans-generational musical notes in Marshall's *Past Times* painting, so the archival remnants in Roth's exhibition, which transect and overlap with sinewy wall drawings, suggest that memories are like markers on an infinite timeline where no point is any more important than the next. In this sense, Hammond's piece of concrete and the mural are instrumental material parts of this framework that, while unimportant as singular archival artifacts, are vital when considered as part of larger historical connections to place. For what binds together the memories of public housing residents is not the fact that they are contiguous in time but, rather, that they are synchronized with a whole ensemble of physical and social structures common to the community.⁴⁹ When residents recount how "we" worked together to overcome past obstacles and "we" achieved unexpected successes, they reinforce this sense of historical connectivity. This community collectivism corresponds with David Harvey's assertion that, "Community activism can be a very important moment in more general mobilization. In this context we have to think about the construction of community not as an end in itself but as a moment in a process."⁵⁰ For instance, in its black and white state, Roth's photograph of a Chicago railroad tunnel indicates Cabrini-Green's relationship to a wider historical story (Figure 19). While the names on the mural call to mind a sequential trail of memories, the photograph invites the viewer to imagine the volumetric formation of the history surrounding the housing project. As an analytic device, the speed connoted by the motion of train as well as its position on a track, or path, suggests that this story is ongoing process, not a onetime event.

In sharing this story within the public forum of the Donald Young gallery, Roth's exhibition serves to highlight a particular historical moment on this path, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense of memory being torn. Laid out on pedestals and hung at eye view as opposed to the gallery standard sixty-two inches, the exhibitions objects demand close analysis. Yet, the maps are un-coded, photographs dateless, and drawings so faint they are barely comprehensible. For Roth, delicate contour lines, traces of habitation and hints suffice; the rest he leaves for the viewer to fill in. Digging through the relics, the artist suggests paths through which the enlightenment *can* be found if you choose to look hard enough. In this sense, Roth's

Cabrini Green Forest, like Walker's mural and Marshall's *Garden Project* series, makes an urgent call for the social topography of Chicago's public housing and its history to be deciphered and recognized as a valuable cultural asset.

This conversational theme extends to the experience offered by Roth's centerpiece, *Portal*. Paradoxically, the aerial perspective at which the viewer approaches the well seems to deny any potential dialogue. The birds-eye-view is, of course, metaphorically associated with a surveying gaze and a comprehensive yet reductive overview of place. In Roth's installation, however, the bird's-eye-view is a locus of questions rather than definitive answers. Through its reflection, the *Portal* collapses and fuses the distance between the body of the spectator and the water's surface, thus perspective loses its stance and we view and enter Roth's underground world at the same time. Roth's dissolution of space symbolizes the breaking down of distance and objectivity, and represents the possibility of subverting the conventional paradigm of Chicago's public housing space. In other words, the outsider *deconstructs* the social and ideological differences separating public housing from the rest of the city, in turn creating an extended space of enlightenment. Finding themselves in this unlimited space of socio-spatial illumination, the viewer transcends "outsider" status and acquires what Relph terms "empathetic insideness" - a chance to meet the moment of feeling and seeing that residents like Maurice T. Edwards, introduced at the start of this essay, know firsthand.⁵¹

Edwards' rally cry for the preservation of his home highlights the need for open portals of communication between residents and the CHA. By asking the viewer to recognize public housing as a site of social interconnections - to recall Edwards: "it is a part of us" -- Roth generates a dialogue absent throughout its history and during the planning stages of the urban renewal initiative. For example, Mayor Daley proclaimed that Cabrini residents viewpoints will be heard throughout the entire decision making process only *after* announcing the *Plan for Transformation*. As Richard Wheelock, of the Legal Assistance Foundation of Chicago states, "The best of Cabrini Green has been totally ignored. The community that exists there has not been involved or taken into account in the planning process."⁵² Resident Deverra Beverly confirms this feeling of exclusion: "Transformation can work as long as they get input from those that live here. I have a problem when *outsiders* don't make sure those who live here have input. To them it's a job. With us, it's more than a job."⁵³ In other words, residents should have been *actively involved* in the design of the *Plan* instead of having the plan forced upon them.

Cabrini Green Forest offers no definitive answer to these problems as such, rather through a series of pathways of contemplation it provides an alternative way of seeing and appreciating the

social interconnections that exist and have always existed within Chicago's public housing community. The *Portal* proposes a reality "through the looking glass" inviting dialogical intervention and awareness of one's own positionality within the process of urban renewal. In this sense, Roth's topographic fictions offer public housing resident and vicarious gallery go-er alike the chance of a new beginning. In depicting Chicago's public housing as a multi-layered landscape, Marshall's *Garden Project* series and Roth's *Cabrini Green Forest* invite non-public housing residents to re-imagine housing projects as sites of spatial contiguity and place-based identity, and to recognize its endangered social institutions as places worthy of preservation. By taking us on a transcendental journey from outside to inside, Marshall and Roth challenge the myth oft propagated on mixed-income accommodation billboard advertisements that "A COMMUNITY IS COMING SOON". Rather, Marshall and Roth establish that: A COMMUNITY IS HERE. In fact, as Edwards states, *it is a part of us*.

Figures

Fig 1. Kerry James Marshall, *Many Mansions*, 1995.

Courtesy of the artist and Jack Shainman Gallery, NY.

Fig 2. Daniel Roth, *Cabrini Green Forest (Portal)*, 2004. Courtesy Meyer Riegger.

*Trumbull Park Homes Residents. 1951
Children residents of the Trumbull Park Homes and their leader eagerly perfect
a gardening project*

Fig 3. CHA Archives, Trumbull Park, 1951. Courtesy of the CHA.
Fig 4. CHA Archives, Cabrini-Green, 1981. Courtesy of the CHA.

Fig 5. CHA Archives. The 8th Annual Al Carter Black Olympics, Cabrini-Green, September 1984.
More than 930 contestants took part in the Olympics which included a double dutch jump rope
contest, relays and races, softball, and a tumbling team. Courtesy of the CHA.

Couple out for a walk at Ida B. Wells Homes. 1950

Fig 6. Kerry James Marshall, *Better Homes Better Gardens*, 1994.

Courtesy of the artist and Jack Shainman Gallery, NY.

Fig 7. Image from the Chicago Historical Society of Ida. B. Wells Homes in Chicago.
Courtesy of the CHA.

Children on front steps of their unit, Altgeld Gardens. Circa 1940s.

Fig 8. Kerry James Marshall, *Our Town*, 1995. Courtesy of the artist and Jack Shainman Gallery, NY.

Fig 9. Children on front steps of their home, Altgeld Gardens, c.1940s. Courtesy of the CHA.

Fig 10. Kerry James Marshall, *Untitled (Altgeld Gardens)*, 1995.
Courtesy of the artist and Jack Shainman Gallery, NY.
Fig 11. Theodore Gericault, *Raft of the Medusa*, 1818-1819.

Fig 12. Kerry James Marshall, *Past Times*, 1994.
Courtesy of the artist and Jack Shainman Gallery, NY.

Fig 13. *Cabrini Green Forest (Bender-Rieger)*, 2004, Wall drawing of the Correctional Facility: dimensions variable. Courtesy Meyer Riegger.

Fig 14. Daniel Roth, 2004. Courtesy Meyer Riegger.

Fig 15. Daniel Roth, 2004. Courtesy Meyer Riegger.

Fig 16. Cabrini-Green, 2006.

Fig 17. Strangers Home Missionary Baptist church, Cabrini-Green, 1975. Courtesy James Prigoff.
Fig 18. Detail of the Strangers Home church. Courtesy Chicago Public Art Group.

Fig 19. *Cabrini-Green Forest*, detail, Black and White photograph 37 x 48.5 inches.
Courtesy Meyer Riegger.

Notes

- ¹ A version of this article originally appeared online and in print in *Proteus*. Reprinted with permission.
- ² Maurice T. Edwards, "Letters to the Editor," *The Chicago Reporter*, March 2006.
- ³ Edward Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*, (California: Centennial, 1997), xi.
- ⁴ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).
- ⁵ Sudhir Venkatesh & Isil Celimli, "Tearing Down the Community," *Shelterforce Online*, Issue: 138, November/December 2004.
- ⁶ Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, (London: Pion, 1976), 141.
- ⁷ This term is in many ways derived from "usable past," coined by Van Wyk Brooks. Both terms offer a way to codify one's forbearers and to construct a cultural identity in the face of disruption or chaos. "On Creating a Usable Past," *Dial* 64, 1918: 338
- ⁸ D. Bradford Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster: The Unravelling of Chicago Public Housing*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 5
- ⁹ Kerry James Marshall, *Kerry James Marshall*, (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 2000), 20
- ¹⁰ Lisa Kennedy, *The Village Voice*, New York, Vol. 40, no. 41 (Oct 10, 1995): 86
- ¹¹ Anne Keegan, "An Artist's Vision," *Chicago Tribune: Tempo*, November 28, 1995, Section 5.
- ¹² Calvin Reid, "Kerry James Marshall," *Bomb*, No. 62 (Winter 1998): 41
- ¹³ For example, Daniel Coyle, author of *Hardball*, a book chronicling the fortunes of a Cabrini-Green-based baseball team during the early 1990s, emphasizes the environment's physical harshness in his description of subsidized housing project: "From afar, each building appears to have been formed out of a single gargantuan brick and shoved end long into the earth. The only signs of life come from the windows, many of which display shades, greenery, or in a few cases, lace curtains. Many others, however, are burned out, empty, hollow." Daniel Coyle, *Hardball: A Season in the Projects*, (New York: Putnam's, 1993), 23.
- ¹⁴ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Escapism*, (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 25.
- ¹⁵ Tuan, 2000: 24-5
- ¹⁶ J.S. Fuerst, *When Public Housing Was Paradise: Building Community in Chicago*, (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 92.
- ¹⁷ Mindy Thompson Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It*, (Ballantine Books: New York, 2004), 19.
- ¹⁸ Relph, 14
- ¹⁹ Ed Marciniak, *Reclaiming the Inner City: Chicago's Near North Revitalization Confronts Cabrini-Green*, (Washington D.C.: National Center for Urban Affairs, 1986), 90.
- ²⁰ Relph, 1976: 55
- ²¹ Relph, 1976: 39
- ²² Relph, 1976: 20, 40
- ²³ Fuerst, 212
- ²⁴ Fuerst, 137
- ²⁵ Reid: 42
- ²⁶ Lizette Alvarez & Michael Wilson, "Up and Out of New York's Projects," *The New York Times*, May 29 2009.
- ²⁷ Richard Lacayo, "Sonia Sotomayor: A Justice Like No Other," *Time*, May 28, 2009.
- ²⁸ Christine Riding, "The Raft of the Medusa in Britain," in Patrick Noon and Stephen Bann, *Crossing the Channel: British and French Painting in the Age of Romanticism*. (London: Tate Publishing, 1993), 77
- ²⁹ David T. Whitaker, *Cabrini Green In Words and Pictures*, (USA: LPC Group, 2000), 121
- ³⁰ Dan Graham, *Rock My Religion*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1994), xvi.
- ³¹ In 1596 Matteo Ricci devised the technique of the "memory palace." It is a mnemonic link system based on places and the architecture in places that allows a person the means of committing large quantities of information to memory. Francis A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966).
- ³² Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7.
- ³³ Mary Gordon, "My Mother is Speaking from the Desert," *The New York Times*, April 9, 1995: 47.
- ³⁴ Otto Berchem, "Underground Connections," *Metropolis Magazine*, No.3 June/July, 2008:
<http://www.metropolism.com/magazine/2008-no3/daniel-roth-interview/> (accessed in 9 February 2011).

- ³⁵ Robin Snyderman and Steven D. Dailey, *Public Housing in the Public Interest: Examining the Chicago Housing Authority's Relocation Efforts*, (Chicago, Ill: Metropolitan Planning Council, 2002), 5
- ³⁶ John Bebow and Antonio Olivio, "CHA moves tenets out-but not up," *Chicago Tribune*, February 27, 2005, 1.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Fullilove, 11
- ³⁹ Fullilove, 11
- ⁴⁰ Siobhan O'Connor, "Two Tales of One City," *Good* (March/April 2008): 93
- ⁴¹ Brian Smith, "The Store in the Middle," *Chicago* (February 2004): 74
- ⁴² Kimbriell Kelly, "Rising Values," *Chicago Reporter*, (July 2005)
http://www.chicagoreporter.com/index.php/c/Cover_Stories/d/Rising_Values (accessed 9 February 2011).
- ⁴³ Fullilove: 10
- ⁴⁴ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space & Place: The Perspective of Experience*, (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 146
- ⁴⁵ Victor A. Sorell, William (Bill) Walker Oral History, Washington DC: Archives of American Art/Smithsonian Institution, 1991.
- ⁴⁶ Jon Pounds. Interview with author. Chicago Public Art Group, Chicago, IL. 24 May 2008.
- ⁴⁷ Marianne Hirsch, "Marked By Memory: Feminist Reflections on Trauma and Transmission," *Extremities: Trauma, Testimony, and Community*, Eds. Nancy K. Miller and Jason Daniel Tougaw, (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 86
- ⁴⁸ Hirsch: 86
- ⁴⁹ Paul Connerton, "Social Memory," *How Societies Remember*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 36.
- ⁵⁰ David Harvey, "Contested Cities: Social Process and Spatial Form," from Nick Jewson and Susanne MacGregor (eds), *Transforming Cities: Contested Governance and New Spatial Divisions*, (London: Routledge, 1997), 24.
- ⁵¹ Relph, 1976: 54-55
- ⁵² Kamin Blair, "Who Controls the Future of Cabrini Green?," *Architectural Record*, Vol. 185, no. 9 (1997): 65.
- ⁵³ James G. Muhammad, "Housing Museum Planned," *Metro News*, March 20-March 26, 2008, 8

Bibliography

- Alvarez, Lizette and Michael Wilson, "Up and Out of New York's Projects," *The New York Times*, May 29 2009: WE6.
- Bebow, John and Antonio Olivio, "CHA moves tenets out-but not up," *Chicago Tribune*, February 27, 2005: 1.
- Berchem, Otto. "Underground Connections," *Metropolis Magazine*, No.3 (June/July, 2008)
<http://www.metropolism.com/magazine/2008-no3/daniel-roth-interview/> (accessed on 9 February 2011).
- Brooks, Van Wyk. "On Creating a Usable Past," *Dial* 64, 1918: 338.
- Casey, Edward. *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*, California: Centennial, 1997.
- Connerton, Paul. "Social Memory," *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Coyle, Daniel. *Hardball: A Season in the Projects*, New York: Putnam's, 1993.
- Edwards, Maurice T. "Letters to the Editor," *The Chicago Reporter*, March 2006: 5.
- Fuerst, J.S. *When Public Housing Was Paradise: Building Community in Chicago*, Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- Fullilove, Mindy Thompson. *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It*, Ballantine Books: New York, 2004.
- Gordon, Mary. "My Mother is Speaking from the Desert," *Motherland: Writings by Irish American Women about Mothers and Daughters*, Ed. Caledonia Kearns, New York: W. Morrow, 1999: 103-120.
- Graham, Dan. *Rock My Religion*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1994.

- Harvey, David. "Contested Cities: Social Process and Spatial Form," from Nick Jewson & Susanne MacGregor (eds), *Transforming Cities: Contested Governance and New Spatial Divisions*, London: Routledge, 1997.
- Heidegger, Martin. *Being and Time*, New York: Harper and Row, 1962.
- Hirsch, Marianne. "Marked By Memory: Feminist Reflections on Trauma and Transmission," *Extremities: Trauma, Testimony, and Community*, Eds. Nancy K. Miller and Jason Daniel Tougaw, University of Illinois Press, 2002.
- Hunt, D. Bradford. *Blueprint for Disaster: The Unravelling of Chicago Public Housing*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Kamin. Blair. "Who Controls the Future of Cabrini Green?" *Architectural Record*, Vol. 185, Issue 9, 1997. 62-69.
- Keegan, Anne. "An Artist's Vision," *Chicago Tribune: Tempo*, November 28, 1995, Section 5: 1-2.
- Kelly, Kimbriell. "Rising Values," *Chicago Reporter*, (July 2005)
http://www.chicagoreporter.com/index.php/c/Cover_Stories/d/Rising_Values (accessed 9 February 2011).
- Kennedy, Lisa. "Flower Power: Kerry James Mardshall's Garden Project," *The Village Voice*, New York, Vol. 40, no. 41. Oct 10, 1995: 86.
- Lacayo, Richard. "Sonia Sotomayor: A Justice Like No Other," *Time*, (May 28, 2009)
<http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1901348,00.htm> (accessed 9 February 2011).
- Marciniak, Ed. *Reclaiming the Inner City: Chicago's Near North Revitalization Confronts Cabrini-Green*, Washington D.C.: National Center for Urban Affairs, 1986.
- Marshall, Kerry James. *Kerry James Marshall*, New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 2000.
- Muhammad, James G. "Housing Museum Planned," *Metro News*, March 20-March 26, 2008: 8.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*," *Representations* 26, Spring 1989: 7-25.
- O'Connor, Siobhan. "Two Tales of One City," *Good*, March/April 2008: 88-94.
- Pounds, Jon. Interview with author. Chicago Public Art Group, Chicago, IL. 24 May 2008.
- Relph, Edward. *Place and Placelessness*, London: Pion, 1976.
- Reid, Calvin. "Kerry James Marshall." *Bomb*, No. 62, Winter 1998: 40-47.
- Riding, Christine. "The Raft of the Medusa in Britain," in Patrick Noon and Stephen Bann: *Crossing the Channel: British and French Painting in the Age of Romanticism*. London: Tate Publishing, 1993: 66-94.
- Smith, Brian. "The Store in the Middle", *Chicago*, Feb 2004: 72-110.
- Snyderman, Robin and Steven D. Dailey, *Public Housing in the Public Interest: Examining the Chicago Housing Authority's Relocation Efforts*, Chicago, Ill: Metropolitan Planning Council, 2002.
- Sorell, Victor, A. William (Bill) Walker Oral History, Washington DC: Archives of American Art/Smithsonian Institution, 1991.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Escapism*, Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
 -----*Space & Place: The Perspective of Experience*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.
- Venkatesh, Sudhir and Isil Celimli, "Tearing Down the Community," *Shelterforce Online*, Issue: 138, November/December 2004: <http://www.nhi.org/online/issues/138/chicago.html> (accessed on 9 February 2011).
- Whitaker, David T. *Cabrini Green In Words and Pictures*, USA: LPC Group, 2000.
- Yates, Francis A. *The Art of Memory*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966.