

THE WORK THAT PARKS DO: URBAN ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT AND ITS
ALTERNATIVES

By

NATHANIEL JOSEPH GABRIEL

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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By NATHANIEL JOSEPH GABRIEL

Dissertation Director:

Kevin St. Martin

As cities come to be seen as both the source of and the possible solution to a variety of environmental concerns, and as hubs of economic activity, it is increasingly important to understand the shifting meanings that are applied to them, their economies, and their connection to the non-human world. In this dissertation, I examine the city as a site of environmental discourse formation, where knowledge about the environment is produced, shaped, and changed, and where notions of “nature” and “society” develop in conjunction with an emerging understanding of environmental responsibility and identity.

Through an examination of the establishment of urban parks in Philadelphia from the 19th century to the present, this project sheds light on the processes through which the urban and the natural have been and continue to be constituted. The central concern of this project is to understand how and why a particular knowledge of urban nature emerged, to uncover the techniques employed that produce and reinforce it, and to trace the positioning of subjects within urban, economic, and environmental discourses. To do this, I identify the sites in which this discourse is (re)produced, the disciplinary techniques and specific practices that produce parks as unique kinds of spaces or landscapes in the city, and the consequences of these framings for the

way cities are imagined.

I employ a range of research methods that includes text analysis, visual discourse analysis, participant observation, and focus group interviewing techniques.

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Chapter One - Introduction

If there has heretofore existed a division of opinion as to the desireableness [sic] of a great park for Philadelphia, the result of the experiment thus far made in that direction has certainly removed it. On that subject there is universal accord... [Fairmount Park has become] a suggestive and distinctive symbol of our metropolitan advancement.” (Morton McMichael, 2nd Annual Report to the Commissioners of Fairmount Park, 1872)

This report isn't really about parks. It's about cities and how to save them. If you care about cities [...] keep reading. You will see that Philadelphia's parks are an essential part of the city's economic and cultural infrastructure. (Philadelphia Parks Alliance, “How Much Value Does the City of Philadelphia Receive from its Park and Recreation System?”, 2008)

1.1 Introduction

In 1867, a union of factory owners submitted a petition to the Pennsylvania state government, in which they reported the findings of a study undertaken to establish the contributions made to the regional economy of Philadelphia by the string of factories that existed along the banks of the Schuylkill River, which runs through that city. They argued that their holdings along the river were the economic linchpin to the region's present and future prosperity, and ultimately sought to convince state representatives to rule against a bill that would establish a “watershed park” along the eastern and western banks of the river, which would mean the end of their activities there, and the demolition of their properties.

The idea of an expanded park was a common topic of discussion among civic-minded Philadelphians during that time. An ordinance bill was introduced to city council in early April 1860 to approve the act of state assembly that authorized the expansion of the park by purchasing lands on the western bank of the Schuylkill River. Those in favor

of the park put forward arguments that were typical of other pro-park movements in other cities at the time: it would protect air and water resources while providing public grounds for the working class and their children.

Those against the bill opposed the expansion of parks for a variety of reasons. The editor of the *Germantown Telegraph*, a paper published in a part of the city that only a few years before was incorporated into the city of Philadelphia, opposed it as an increase of the tax burden of the city, arguing that effective prevention of river pollution by industry could easily be addressed by imposing higher restrictions on the kinds of businesses that were allowed to operate on the river without the need for a new park. In addition, the writer argued, even if the park was established, it would do nothing to prevent industry from locating further up the river, above the proposed park boundaries, negating any possible benefits that would accrue to the city in the form of cleaner air and water.

Whatever the reasons for disagreement, they were strong enough to hold up city council's decision to approve the act of assembly, approved in April 1860. Ultimately, by 1868, the state assembly would determine that water-powered factories were not fundamental to – indeed, that they were outmoded cast-offs of – the emerging industrial urban economy. Demolition of these factories would make way for a new urban wilderness – the vast urban park known as Fairmount, which remains one of the largest urban parks in the world.

Almost a century and a half later, in 2008, at a public discussion on changes to Philadelphia's Fairmount Park System, Peter Harnik, a nationally-recognized expert on

urban park management, was in from Washington, DC to help convince Philadelphians to endorse newly-proposed changes to the park system. Speaking to an audience made up largely of individuals who feared that a greater emphasis on active recreation in parks would weaken the Park Commission's ability to protect the city's woodlands, Harnik urged those gathered to take note of other cities that had undergone similar changes, which he said would lead to increased budgets, greater oversight, and wider usage of urban parks. When one member of the audience voiced concern that a focus on active recreation could result in “wild” spaces being “loved to death”, Harnik responded that “there is no place for wilderness in the city.”

These scenes, which book-end this dissertation, represent two very different notions of urban nature. The first developed as a counter-balance to the industrial city itself and was fundamental to the formation of a discourse of the industrial economy. The second seems to have strayed significantly from the first in the intervening 140 years as the park has been framed as an appendage of the entrepreneurial city, a tool for attracting businesses and educated professionals, no longer a space of wilderness.

In this dissertation, I examine the city as a site of environmental discourse formation – where knowledge about the environment is produced, shaped, and changed, where notions of “nature” and “society” develop in conjunction with an emerging understanding of environmental responsibility and identity. As cities come to be seen as both the source of and the possible solution to a variety of environmental concerns, and as hubs of economic activity, it is increasingly important to understand the shifting meanings that are applied to cities, their economies, and their connection to the non-

human world.

1.2 Genealogy

This project begins with the now-commonplace observation that modernist environmental discourses are marked by a problematic division between nature and society. However, rather than locating that division deep within the Western tradition, I suggest that it requires constant maintenance and upkeep through everyday practice. Taking seriously the importance of diverse, seemingly insignificant, "everyday" acts in the construction and deconstruction of urban environmental discourse, this project looks past the assumption of universality in urban environmental knowledge and works toward an appreciation of difference in urban environmental management. Moreover, as my case demonstrates the centrality of urban discourses in reproducing this binary, it suggests that all environmental discourse is closely intertwined with urban discourse.

That focus suggests a methodological approach different from that associated with positivist approaches to research, in which data collection is meant to produce a dataset that is representative of some "universe" about which one wishes to make objective statements. By contrast, I employ a genealogical approach in a study of the process through which a particular understanding of the world comes about. While the term genealogy has been used in a variety of ways by a variety of scholars, I take my primary inspiration from Michel Foucault and subsequent interpretive and derivative work from Stuart Elden and Bruno Latour. In his widely-cited essay on genealogy, only one of a few places where he explicitly discussed methods, Foucault draws a clear connection between

his understanding of genealogy and Nietzsche's, which Elden describes as "a historicization of the Kantian question of conditions of possibility" (2003, pg 190).

Where Kant argued that synthetic *a priori* judgments are possible through a synthesis of experience and reason, Nietzsche replaced Kant's question - "how are synthetic *a priori* judgments possible?" - with his own - "why is belief in such judgments necessary?" In historicizing the Kantian question, Nietzsche argued that "the structures of knowledge that are taken as absolutes at a particular time are contingent, and that they must be examined historically." Similarly, Elden writes, Foucault "is exposing the metaphysical assumptions behind the systems of thought that condition their possibility" (ibid pg 201).

Thus, the practice of genealogy is unlike other 'scientific' endeavors, for

"it has nothing at all do to with a disqualification of the speculative dimension which opposes to it, in the name of some kind of scientism, the rigour of well established knowledges. It is not therefore via an empiricism that the genealogical project unfolds, nor even via a positivism in the ordinary sense of that term. What it really does is to entertain the claims of attention of local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledges against the claims of a unitary body of theory which would filter, hierarchise and order them in the name of some true knowledge and some arbitrary idea of what constitutes a science and its objects." (Foucault 1980)

In practical terms, doing genealogy means immersing oneself in the study of a particular social arrangement through an engagement with a series of texts, as a sort of tracing, a following of threads, with an overall desire to understand not simply "what happened", but to understand how the world came to be as it is, how what happened happened. In this way, I am not merely interested in producing an historical account, but, to borrow a phrase, to produce a 'history of the present'.

I proceed through the identification of what Bruno Latour might call “sites of controversy”, key moments in which new knowledges, new objects of knowledge, and new networks come into view, key sites in which that understanding is formed, represented, and reinforced, and examining the effects of that formation, representation, and reinforcement. To illustrate what I mean by "sites of controversy", I'll borrow an example from Latour's 1994 essay, "On Technical Mediation", in which he described why such sites matter, and how to use them.

Take, for instance, an overhead projector. It is a point in a sequence of action (in a lecture, say), a silent and mute intermediary, taken for granted, completely determined by its function. Now, suppose the projector breaks down. The crisis reminds us of the projector's existence. As the repairmen swarm around it, adjusting this lens, tightening that bulb, we remember that the project is made of several parts, each with its role and function and its relatively independent goals. Whereas a moment before, the projector scarcely existed, now even its parts have individual existence, each its own "black box". In an instant, our "projector" grew from being composed of zero parts to one to many. (pg 36)

In this example, the crisis or controversy over the failure of the projector makes its work and the work of its parts visible. As human actants are mobilized in its service, we become aware of the capacity of non-humans to move us in new and unanticipated directions. The functioning of the projector becomes visible as a "matter of concern", to use another Latourian phrase, of the network that produces knowledge through the mechanism of the lecture. Had the projector continued to function as it was supposed to, it would be more difficult, if not impossible, to examine the work that it performed, or to understand why it matters.

In order to describe the work that has occurred in the formation of parks and park discourse, I unearth evidence that points to similar sites of controversy and their related matters of concern. I examine a variety of textual material - photographs, government reports, and spatial practices that are produced in the wake of these controversies, both verbal and non-verbal narratives through which a knowledge of parks is articulated. Examining those texts enables a reconstruction of a genealogy of the urban park and the effects of park knowledge in the world – a record of the kinds of relationships between humans and the environment that are made possible and other kinds that it makes invisible, how it forms connections between people and places, and how it produces particular kinds of space.

Urban parks have historically been seen as one of the few sites in which urban people have an opportunity to interact with nature, making them key sites in which broader ideas about humans' role vis-a-vis the environment are formed and reproduced. Through an examination of the establishment of urban parks in Philadelphia from the 19th century to the present, this dissertation sheds light on the processes through which the urban and the natural have been and continue to be constituted. The central concern of this project, then, is to understand how and why a particular knowledge of urban nature emerged, to uncover the techniques employed that produce and reinforce it, and to trace the positioning of subjects within urban park discourse and the way urban, economic, and environmental subjects are formed. To do this, I identify the sites in which this discourse is (re)produced, the disciplinary techniques and specific practices that produce parks as

unique kinds of spaces or landscapes in the city, and the consequences of these framings for the way cities are imagined.

At the same time, my approach also requires an examination of those sites in which the dominant view was challenged. Because I focus on a particular understanding of urban parks as reinforcing the division between humans and nature, practices that employ alternative or contradictory knowledges become important because they make visible the ways in which subjects of the dominant discourse confront these challenges. To that end, because the city becomes framed as a space of capitalist economic activity, throughout this dissertation, I describe non-capitalist economic practices, like plant collection from urban parks, as a representation of an alternative understanding of urban nature that can disrupt the dominant discourse of the city and unsettle the positionality of subjects of the dominant discourse *as* subject positions, as identities constituted through particular performances and articulations of urban nature. Using alternative economic practices in this way also provides the starting point for an attempt to imagine alternatives to the dominant way of understanding urban nature and cities through parks, in which the human and the non-human are configured as oppositional categories.

I make use of data gleaned through a variety of methods. A range of documents pertaining to the establishment and maintenance of the Fairmount Park System (including literal texts like government reports, first-person accounts, popular books, newspaper articles, newsletters, and minutes of public meetings, but also visual material, like photographs and maps), were hand-coded in order to draw out the means by which park discourse was and is reproduced. This enabled the identification of the social

arrangements that made visible or invisible a variety of forms of knowledge through the process of performing parks in a number of different sites. I provide a more detailed account of the kinds of texts used within the text of those chapters.

At the same time, the immersive experience of doing genealogy need not - indeed, should not - be limited to texts. While direct observation was of course not possible for my research on parks in the 19th century, it proved invaluable for understanding the ways park discourse was produced and contested in day-to-day practice in the 20th and 21st centuries. Thus, I also made use of participant observation and focus groups in order to trace sites of discourse formation in the 1990s and 2000s. During the course of this research, I attended numerous public meetings of the Fairmount Park Commission, the Academy of Natural Sciences, and the Philadelphia Parks Alliance, as well as other public events related to parks, like budget meetings and court proceedings. I also volunteered for six “restoration days” in 2009 in which I worked alongside other volunteers in a variety of restoration projects. In addition, in seeking direct feedback on a number of “matters of concern” that had arisen during other fieldwork, like the presence of economic activity in parks and the merging of the Fairmount Park Commission and the Department of Recreation, I held three focus groups with park users, each with about ten participants. Finally, because I have lived mere blocks away from one of Philadelphia's largest parks (Wissahickon Park) for the duration of this research, I have spent hundreds of hours wandering the park, observing its use, and engaging in occasional casual conversation with its users.

To reiterate points made earlier, this combination of methods was not chosen in order to draw conclusions that would be representative of the universe of experiences in parks. Instead, they enabled the identification of key sites in which park discourse is performed, and to trace the work that this discourse does through the performances of park subjects.

1.3 Dissertation Overview

This dissertation has three main sections. The first is made up of this chapter and the following one, in which I provide an overview of the literatures that help to frame my examination of park discourse. Primarily, I discuss the subfield of political ecology, highlighting especially its contributions to the themes explored here. I argue that, while political ecology opens up a useful line of inquiry in terms on examining environmental politics, its questions can be expanded further to include a deeper examination of the ways in which the city, as an object of knowledge, is produced and the effects this has on urban environmental politics. Inspiration for this deepening of political ecology is drawn from the diverse economies literature, which provides a framework for thinking through the process of subjectification, particularly with regard to the production of economic subjects.

The second section of this dissertation focuses on the formation of a park discourse in the nineteenth century in which people and things were situated within a discursive field of power that evoked and instilled a division between urban spaces of work and the natural space of the park. I argue that the notion of the city-as-economic-

entity emerged alongside the urban park, and that each was required for the other. I am concerned with the process by which subjects of environmental and economic discourses of the city emerged. I argue that, as parks have come to be thought, performed, and built as wild (or semi-wild) spaces, the physical juxtaposition of parks against urban space has helped to produce a knowledge of the latter as a distinctly human space, in which non-human creatures are absent (or, when present, are only there accidentally), and vice versa¹. According to this knowledge, cities have themselves been arranged foremost in the service of an economic rationality. In highlighting the contingency and precariousness of these arrangements, I attempt to give voice to some of the diverse practices that have challenged, but ultimately been erased by, the establishment and maintenance of this discourse.

However, my argument is not that this knowledge of the relationship between the city and nature, once articulated and applied broadly, came to dominate, became forceful and weighty all on its own, or was brought into being as an independent entity and propelled by internal logics and mechanisms. Instead, I seek to show that urban industrial development was not a foregone conclusion, but rather that it relied on a number of individual moments of decision in which one path was taken instead of another. These individual decisions collude in the establishment of routine disciplinary practices that produced and maintained the urban and the natural as we know them today. I show how a particular understanding of cities and of nature have developed through a set of practices

¹ The politics of wilderness conservation has long been a concern for political ecologists. Here, I extend this inquiry into the urban, arguing that in many ways it is urban discourse itself from which this binary emanates. See my discussion of political ecology in Chapter Two.

associated with the formation and use of urban parks, and how this new framing was carried forward and employed as cities, as we know them, emerged.

This history is traced by examining a set of practices in a variety of sites that brought into existence an urban configuration centered around capitalist economic production that relied to a great extent on the counterbalance of a pent-up, but accessible, space of "nature". I use the word pent-up to express a double meaning. On the one hand, nature was literally put in pens throughout the United States in the 19th century through the creation of urban (and non-urban) parks. On the other, this discursive bounding is always contingent on a complex set of performances, so that "nature" is always in danger of bursting out of its confinement, overflowing ever outward into unknown realms of possible discursive configurations of humans and non-humans, cities and parks, nature and economy.

Chapter Three begins in the 1850s and 1860s with the inception of the Fairmount Park System itself, when members of Philadelphia's elite began to call for the formation of a protected area for the maintenance of the city's watershed. It is here that the beginning of a regional discourse on urban nature *as* urban parks began. Here, I examine early maps, photographs, and newspaper articles for clues to understanding the early formation of the notion of urban nature as urban parks. My analysis of historical maps focuses on boundary-making: between the urban and the natural, between park and city, and between the human and the non-human. These maps show that the emergence of the industrial city was not an inevitable occurrence, but required a series of interventions to establish the notion of a city wholly given over to economic production. The formation of

the park became a part of this story, as it set up the park and the city as a dyad, where the industrial city was reflected through its opposite, in which no economic activity was meant to occur. I treat the urban environment not as a given or preexisting object, but as an historical artifact whose reproduction is contingent on specific and unique political, economic, and cultural conditions and produced through the enactment of management practices prescribed by a particular understanding of urban nature. Tracing the development of parks in Philadelphia through maps' mediation the activity of human beings working to produce the park and the city, makes visible the ways in which parks and nature have been discursively constructed. I end with a discussion of two maps that produced particular kinds of subjects: park users and park managers.

The materials used in this section of the project were found in the Fairmount Park Commission Archives, an extensive public resource for historical materials pertaining to the park system. Materials from the Fairmount Park archive were supplemented by archives at the University of Pennsylvania, Temple University's Urban Archive, and the City Archive of Philadelphia.

Chapter Four describes processes in the 1860s and 70s through which photography enabled the production of the space of the park and, more specifically, the production of park-using subjects. I juxtapose a set of images produced in the 1870s with a set of official reports from the Fairmount Park Guard, which describe the transgressions committed by park users during the first thirty years of the park's existence. While the set of images presents a univocal statement on the meaning of the park and its proper use, the reports suggest that much else occurred in the park, and that many citizens of

Philadelphia supported neither the monolithic vision of the park as a space of leisure, nor that of the city as the space of work. Rather, there seem to have been a variety of economic activities performed in and around the space of the park, often in the form of extractive uses of the forests contained therein.

Together, these two chapters tell a story of the establishment, in the late 19th century, of a particular relationship between the city and nature through the specific interventions of human individuals, their performances, and the parts played by non-human intermediaries.

One can also see the potential of alternative concerns to overflow dominant discursive boundaries in modern debates about urban sustainability, the meaning of urban green space and the schizophrenia of pursuing the urban industrial ideal while striving toward greener cities that better address modern-day environmental ills. Thus, in the third section of this dissertation, I pivot away from an examination of the park's and the city's distant past, and begin asking about its present, or more specifically about the last twenty years. In skipping over 100 years of history in order to examine the same kinds of processes in late 20th and early 21st century Philadelphia, I find that the legacy of the 19th century is, in many ways, still very much alive, and that the work that was required to produce the park has continued. However, this knowledge and the actors that have maintained it through the years are not, to use Bruno Latour's word, immutable. While many of the practices that produced a 19th century framing of the urban environment are still clearly visible, new ones have also begun to emerge. I demonstrate that while urban environmental practices continue to be informed by the 19th century knowledge of the

industrial city, in some places it is being reconfigured and a new kind of urban environmental knowledge has emerged. As I have stated above, my interest is not to seek the origin of this new urban environmental discourse in the sense of uncovering its essential qualities, but to trace the specific practices through which it is articulated and maintained, what role different actors play, how they rally allies to their own political projects, and what possibilities particular arrangements of this network open up. In short, I ask what are the politics of 21st century environmental practice, and what are the political consequences of this emerging urban environmental knowledge and the subjects it produces?

In Chapter Five, I write about the work that the Fairmount Park Commission and the Academy of the Natural Sciences has been engaged in between the 1990s and 2000s to improve the ecological character of the park, which is seen to have suffered following decades of disinvestment in the mid- and late-20th century. Human activity associated with the city, they argue, has continued to erode the park's ecological diversity. This framing segued into a city-wide effort to "save the park", which ultimately led to the dissolution of the Fairmount Park Commission, folding it into a new Department of Parks and Recreation. I situate these efforts within the activities of a prominent volunteer group, the Friends of the Wissahickon, and its stalwart and continuing efforts to preserve wilderness in one of the park system's largest parks, the Wissahickon. In doing so, I highlight a tension between this new knowledge of the neoliberal city, and an older but still vital knowledge of urban wilderness.

Chapter Five draws on data gleaned from a number of public documents, including publications of the Fairmount Park Commission, the Philadelphia Parks Alliance, and the Friends of the Wissahickon. It also draws on data from public meetings on park-related matters. In addition to being venues for the articulation of collectively-held values, public meetings were sites of conflict, a space for park-related debates, and where urban park discourse was most clearly mobilized in order to confront issues concerning the purpose and importance of urban parks. I attended meetings of the Philadelphia Parks Alliance, the Fairmount Park Commission, the Academy of Natural Sciences, and general meetings organized by the City of Philadelphia.

The discussion in Chapter Five of two very different views on the importance of urban parks suggests a multivocal field of activity around the meaning of the park. Thus, in Chapter Six, I draw from fieldwork I conducted with other park users to discuss the ways in which the spaces and discourses of the park continue to be contemplated, contested, and reworked, specifically through volunteer work performed by park users throughout the city. Because the enlistment of public support of urban parks in the form of volunteers is an important site where park discourse is maintained through the formation and renewal of urban park subjects, I took part in restoration training sessions and park clean-up days, where park users are taught to employ the techniques of ecosystem restoration in maintaining the park landscape. As a volunteer, I witnessed both how park commission officials communicated environmental values and how volunteers shape their own understanding of themselves vis-à-vis the work of caring for urban parks. At the same time, I explore how park volunteers frequently resisted this framing. I

supplement this discussion in Chapter Six with data gathered in semi-structured focus groups with park users in order to more deeply understand the disciplinary nature of urban park discourse and the development of urban environmental identity. Focus group discussions centered on the practices that helped to maintain or contest dominant framings of parks.

Finally, in the concluding chapter, I reflect on other possibilities for a rethinking of urban environments and identify openings for imagining alternative discourses of nature and society. Again, to quote Foucault, “a genealogy should be seen as a kind of attempt to emancipate historical knowledges from [...] subjects to render them [...] capable of opposition and of struggle against the coercion of a theoretical, unitary, formal and scientific discourse” (Foucault 1980, p 85). By paying attention to the work that is required to establish and maintain a division between people and the environment, between economic practice and natural process, new modes of political engagements come into view.

Chapter Two - Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

As I stated in the previous chapter, in this dissertation, I am concerned with the production of knowledges of both nature and of the urban, the process by which urban people become subjects of environmental and economic discourses of the city, and the process by which they come to embody, perform and reproduce these discourses. In this chapter, I lay the theoretical framework for asking how the urban park became an integral part of a discourse that separates the social from the natural, requiring humans to put distance between themselves and other living (and non-living) beings in order to reproduce the city as the core of capitalist production. By focusing specifically on the role of "the urban" as a discursive keystone of urban park discourse, this project pushes research on urban environments further in the direction that I believe it now needs to go, toward a general project of understanding the production of knowledge of both nature *and* the urban.

I draw to a large extent on Michel Foucault's work on the operation and effects of power/knowledge, on governmentality as "a way or system of thinking about the nature of the practice of government (who can govern; what governing is; what or who is governed)" (Gordon 1991, p 3), and on the formation of subjects. This set of ideas informs my engagement with a number of strands of geographic thought, which I discuss in the following order: urban political ecology provides a backdrop against which to set my own inquiry into the politics of the urban environment; diverse economies helps to

complicate a somewhat impoverished treatment of urban economic discourse found in political ecology; the literature on the production and governance of urban space provides a set of questions that aid in my interrogation of the formation and reproduction of urban environments; finally, I engage with, and challenge, work on the public sphere and public space as it relates to urban parks.

2.2 Power/Knowledge

The theoretical starting point for this work is an understanding of power as an omni-present, omni-directional force, “never localised [sic] here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth...[but] employed and exercised through a net-like organization” of actors (Foucault 1980, pg 98). Power, then, is not a property or capacity possessed by certain privileged or powerful individuals or structures. Instead, “individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation” (ibid). It is through these networks of acts and actors that power is produced. Yet, to end there would leave us with an impoverished view of power. Power operates alongside the operation of knowledge; indeed, the two are part of the same process. As actors exert influence upon one another and themselves, particular forms of knowledge about the world, its inhabitants, and their capacities, are produced. Conversely, the forms of knowledge that inform actors' actions constitute power by defining the world in which power can operate. As Foucault puts it, “the practices by which individuals [are] led to focus their attention

on themselves, to decipher, recognize, and acknowledge themselves as subjects.... allows them to discover the truth of their being" (Foucault 1990, pg 5). Thus, power/knowledge is fundamentally about ontology – it shapes what is “known” to exist – or rather, so as not to confuse this with some idea of power/knowledge as a limiting force, it produces particular configurations of knowledge about the nature of the world. If we understand the term “theory” as configuration of knowledge about how the world works, then it is fair to say that power/knowledge produces theories – about the self, about the economy, about health, about cities. The idea is not that by becoming aware of the relationship between power and knowledge that we might somehow isolate them from each other, and pursue some “true” knowledge outside of relations of power. Rather, it makes an epistemological assumption that knowledge can't exist without power. The relations of power that infuse interactions between actors is precisely the way – and the only way – that we come to know things.

I want to dwell on this last point for a moment, and be clear about how I use these ideas. There are at least two ways of understanding Foucault's work in this area. The first might be called a “rainy-day” reading of Foucault. Here, I'm adapting a phrase from Nigel Thrift, who has written that, in his first reading of Foucault as a graduate student, it “always seemed to be raining in Foucault country” (2007). That is to say that Foucault's work can be and is often read as being about the limitations on and control of subjects. His work on disciplinary institutions, for example, might be understood as a way of understanding the constraints laid upon subjects of particular discourses, who are themselves victims of the disciplinary nature of power/knowledge. If power is

everywhere, then discipline is everywhere, and we are left with a world in which we are constantly, inescapably imprisoned by the boundaries set by discourse, knowledge, and power, a rainy interpretation indeed. A second, and to me a more politically potent, interpretation of Foucault's contributions is that power/knowledge is not simply disciplinary in this sense, but is *productive* of particular kinds of knowledge, and therefore of particular configurations of the world. The point of Foucault's work is not that the world is hopelessly circumscribed, but that knowledge about the world is necessarily partial, situated, and contingent on the set of historical circumstances in which we find ourselves. It is precisely this contingency and partiality that makes it possible to bring different worlds into being. Colin Gordon points out that Foucault made an effort in his later work to clarify some of what might be called the “rainy” misinterpretations of his arguments in *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault 1977).

Paraphrasing an essay from 1982, Gordon writes that “power is only power (rather than mere physical force or violence) when addressed to individuals who are free to act in one way or another. Power is defined as 'actions on others' actions': that is, it presupposes rather than annuls their capacity as agents; it acts upon, and through, an open set of practical and ethical possibilities” (Gordon 1991). Thus, while the disciplinary technology of the prison, or patriarchy, or racism, to name just some examples, are produced through the flows of power/knowledge, the same is true of human rights, feminism, and anticolonialism. Each of these *could* be read for the ways they limit individuals from acting. On the other hand, each can also be read for the kinds of behavior and ways of thinking they make possible.

2.3 Political Ecology

Here, I integrate these insights from Foucault and others with concerns allied to that loosely-bound body of work known as political ecology. Typically characterized as “combin[ing] the interests of ecology with a broadly defined political economy”, political ecology was originally formulated as a means of understanding environmental change by accounting for the role of power in the decisions of “land managers,” which Blaikie and Brookfield defined broadly to include a variety of actors whose activities influence the conditions and development of the non-human world (Blaikie and Brookfield 1987). While Blaikie and Brookfield did not frame their work in terms of power/knowledge, their work is clearly amenable to Foucauldian concerns. Indeed, within a decade or so of the publication of their foundational work on land degradation, some in political ecology began to broaden out from an initial focus on a structural Marxian analysis of human/environment interactions to incorporate a number of “post-structural” insights, including those relating to the relationship between knowledge and power. What emerged was a poststructural political ecology that theorized environmental conditions as produced through horizontal power relations, produced by but also productive of the process of knowledge generation (Demeritt 2002). Put another way, this new political ecology was interested in the ways that “the environment” becomes known, articulated, formed, and ultimately contested through relations of power/knowledge. Clearly, the tendency toward such a theorization can be found in some form even as far back as Blaikie and Brookfield's desire to think differently about land degradation, and poststructural political

ecology owes its origins at least in part to this desire to develop a mode of analysis that treated the meaning of degradation as fluid and diverse rather than static and universal. Yet, there are distinct differences between the way Blaikie and Brookfield described their approach and between what Demeritt calls "discursive constructionism" (2002). Most importantly, Blaikie and Brookfield were firmly grounded in the ontological assumptions of (structural) Marxist political economy. How the environment and its problems are produced was understood largely through a structurally-defined notion of class relations.

In an early effort to reconcile these seemingly divergent theoretical positions, Arturo Escobar's "anti-essentialist" political ecology takes into consideration the cultural/discursive dimensions of nature as a social/political construction while acknowledging a pre-discursive, biological dimension to something called "nature" (1999), suggesting a set of questions that enables the interrogation of environmental discourse as a prerequisite for understanding social struggles over the environment. Retaining in some ways political ecology's traditional Marxian outlook as a starting point, Escobar examines environmental discourse in capitalist formation as it shifts from a "modern" form that treats nature as an external source of raw materials to a "postmodern" form that treats nature as simply another component of the capitalist process in need of "sustainable" management in order to allow capital accumulation to continue. Thus capitalism in whatever form, Escobar argues, requires a particular environmental imaginary in order to perpetuate itself. A post-structural political ecology, for Escobar, is one that does not fail to appreciate the importance of discursive approaches to political ecological studies, but sees such an approach as an important tool both for understanding and for engaging in

social struggle organized around nature and the environment (1996).

Going a step further, Braun and Wainwright (2001) problematize the very notion of knowledge about nature, and suggest that the ways we come to know it can have profound material consequences. They argue that nature and the environment do not preexist the analysis, but are produced through it. Knowledge and “truth”, that is, come about through analytical practice, a consequence of the process of knowledge production, through which particular ways of knowing are embodied in the practices and performances of subjects.

Many of Michel Foucault’s further theorizations of the relationship between power and knowledge have proved especially useful in developing this broader notion of environmental politics in political ecology. In particular, both his genealogical method (1984) and his concept of governmentality (1991) provide important analytical tools in Agrawal’s *Environmentality* (2004), which explicitly engages the latter in accounting for the emergence of village-level management of forests following shifts in the techniques of governance used by the British colonial government in India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Agrawal’s account, the environmental subject positions of villagers who began as hostile resisters to British control shift through the production of new forms of knowledge that ascribe a particular set of cultural values to the non-human landscape. Over the course of a decade, these villages come to participate in a community-based forest conservation bureaucracy, having internalized (and modified) institutional discourses of forest management and taken on the responsibilities of self-governing managers.

Paul Robbins also employs Foucault's notion of subject formation within the larger governmentality frame in similar ways in *Lawn People* (2007). Robbins argues that the American lawn, or rather the assemblage of actors and acts that constitute it, collude in the formation of "lawn people", whose interactions with land resources in cities and suburbs are shaped by a moral framework in which particular kinds of subjects are produced by the "needs" of the lawn. As this assemblage of actors converges, Robbins writes, "the subject comes to recognize herself as a subject and responds accordingly...the subject must be 'hailed', named, recognized... interpellated." The notion of self-governance expressed in both of these works is central to Foucault's understanding of the creation of subjects through "technologies of the self" (1991b). The formation of subjects comes about because a unique set of events leading to the creation of a discourse of lawn care or colonial forestry. Thus, rather than treating the historical development of discourse as inevitable or "natural", Robbins and Agrawal recognize that particular knowledges of and interactions with nature are made possible by a complex network of political, cultural, and historical conditions and activities. They make clear the utility of focusing on questions of discourse and subjectivity in order to reveal how particular bodies of knowledge shape what is possible and what is not possible relative to "the environment" and, importantly, how discourse and subjectivity can have material effects on resource users, managers, and the resources themselves.

These questions have been successively applied to concerns beyond those associated with nature and the environment. Wainwright has argued (2005) for the need to interrogate the production of knowledge about the so-called First and Third Worlds as

sites for a political ecological analysis. Schroeder et al., in their review of First World political ecology (2006) also question the developmentalist narrative that produces a knowledge of the First and Third Worlds, which Massey (2005) describes as an effort to universalize space, to make every place the same, only located at different points in time (or in this case, on different points along a developmentalist arc). In my own project, I employ this interrogation of knowledge to ask the same questions of the “urban”.

Urban environments have become an increasingly important focus for both academics and in the broader environmental movement as cities have come to be identified as important structural components of global economic processes (Braun 2005, Keil 2003, Feng et al 2005). The same logic that enabled a shift toward the First World has also enabled political ecology's successful move into an examination of urban environments. For some, broadening out to include the urban is justified because the forces that lead to uneven development are as active in cities as they are elsewhere (Brownlow 2006; c.f. Schroeder et al. 2006). Erik Swyngedouw (1997) and Mark Pelling (1999) have both echoed this argument. Pelling's work on urban hazards demonstrates that the themes addressed by political ecology have as much traction in the examination of urban hazards as they do in the rural Third World, while Swyngedouw's work on the Ecuadoran waterscape clearly demonstrates the close connection between the conditions of the natural environment and process of urbanization. Similarly, Heynen, Swyngedouw, and Kaika's edited volume *In the Nature of Cities*, brings together work on urban political ecology that seeks to develop a unified theoretical perspective of the spatiality of nature produced through capitalist relations at the urban scale (2006). For Heynen and his

colleagues, urban political ecology emphasizes the consequences of "metabolic" capitalist processes on the distribution of and access to urban nature to address the development of urban environments, and the injustice that results (Heynen 2003, Heynen et al 2006, Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003). Privileging the *urban* in political ecology thus often begins from the assumption that the urban is the "significant scale at which to explore the production of nature" (Braun 2005, paraphrasing Keil and Desfor 2004). However, this view could be further expanded to examine the effects that discourses of "the urban" can have on the way the environment is imagined and constructed.

This different kind of urban political ecology begins with the widely acknowledged idea elsewhere in political ecology that natural resource management relies on powerful, and often unacknowledged, assumptions that determine how resources are defined, how they can be appropriately used, and who are appropriate users (Neumann 1992, Scott 1998, Robbins 1998, Robbins 2000, Bassett 2000, Mitchell 2002; St. Martin 2006). An examination of such assumptions is a necessary component of any critical engagement with environmental management, and must take as its starting point the insight that environmental discourse in resource management, by definition, shapes both the collective imagining and the material reality of the resource in question through the construction of particular types of landscapes, subjects, and practices.

A small but growing body of work has begun to make some inroads in applying these themes to urban environments. For example, in addition to analyzing urban parks in the context of urban capitalist development, Brownlow's work also traces the production of knowledge of the urban environment as a space of fear or danger, which conflicts with

other (including scientific) bodies of knowledge of the same environments (2006). Gandy frames his work on the "urban pastoral" as historical analysis of the formation of discourses of "nature" in the city (though it stops short of an examination of the role of "the urban" itself in these discourses). Finally, Robbins' *Lawn People* (2007) is squarely focused on questions of (sub-)urban environmental discourse and, specifically, subject formation; his target, however, is not to interrogate the urban (or the suburban) itself so much as it is an effort to expand what we know about (sub)urban environmental discourses and, more specifically to develop a better understanding of the ability of non-human actors to call human beings into action on their behalf. Indeed, while this work breaks ground on important and insufficiently examined dimensions of urban environmental politics, discourses of the urban remain obscure. By contrast, a (post-structural) urban political ecology views economies as diverse sets of practices, and seeks to reveal the multiplicity of actors that collude in producing what is called "the city". It seeks to understand the ways in which the notion of the urban has been positioned to make visible or invisible any number of potential modes of interaction between the human and the non-human, and to enable the creation or imagining of one kind of urban environment instead of another.

The community economies literature, and the work of J.K Gibson-Graham specifically, offers a great deal both theoretically and in terms of developing political and ethical approaches to the recognition of multiple subject positions in the management of and interaction with the urban environment. Their critique of capitalist discourse suggests

that, rather than theorizing the production of urban environments as the result of a single hegemonic discourse, one might examine the multiplicity of forces at work there. In addition, it also offers a theoretical strategy that is easily adapted to include the study of *environmental*, as well as economic, discourse.

Gibson-Graham's recognition of the interplay of capitalist practice and economic discourse in the production of “the economy” undermines the notion of an inevitable or ontologically-given economic totality. It emphasizes a desire to recognize the historical contingency of capitalist discourse as well as the diversity of other economic practices, asking what other economic forms are possible, and implies a kind of research project intent on documenting the existence of non-capitalist economic forms (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2006). This framework rejects the capitalocentrism of structural Marxism, clearing space in the landscape of economic experience for diverse practices and subjectivities beyond the standard vision of capital as the driving force in society.

St. Martin's work on fisheries management in North America represents a valuable bridge between post-structural political ecology and the community economies literature. His work focuses on the role of environmental science in the erasure of local knowledges and subjectivities based on community identity, simultaneously challenging that dominant framework and actively cultivating alternative subjectivities through a critical examination of environmental knowledge and an engagement with individual fishermen. In a similar way, confronting the teleology of classical Marxism furthers the study of modern urban economies, since it is in cities that the totalizing forces of capitalism are seen to be most prevalent not only by classical Marxists and most scholars

of urban economies, but also in everyday knowledges about the nature of the cities and the people who dwell in them (c.f. St. Martin 2007).

2.4 Governing Urban Space and Urban Subjects

We are left with the question of how to theorize (self-)governance in the urban environment, since my goal is to understand how a particular form of urban environmental subject is formed and is maintained. Implicit in this question is the relationship between institutions and individuals, how subjects participate in the management of parks, how the park as an object informed the behavior of subjects, and how to think about these relationships spatially; that is, how the space of the park, and the associations between people and things in the production of the park, influenced the constitution of each.

A number of theoretical interventions provide direction for such an investigation. In tracing the development of urbanism through urban planning, Paul Rabinow urges an analytical strategy in which 'disciplinary components' of urban space become seen as 'part of a shifting field of power and knowledge in which we can see the gradual self-formation of a class, a nation or a civilization' (2003; see also Heathcott 2003). Similarly, Osbourne and Rose trace the effects of a range of political and governmental techniques in producing an urban space for the regulation and modulation of individual behavior (Osbourne and Rose 1999; Osbourne and Rose 2004; see also Crampton and Elden 2006; Huxley 2006). Through this theorization, they develop an understanding of the city of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a space of governance, a 'way of

diagramming human existence, human conduct, [and] human subjectivity...in the name of government' (Osbourne and Rose 1999: 737). Focusing on the production of urban subjects, Huxley demonstrates the importance of 'operative rationales', which 'mobiliz[e] certain "truths" of causal relations in and between spaces, environmental bodies, and compartments' (2006). Thus, while none of this work explicitly addresses the production of *economic* knowledge of the city, its emphasis on the forms of governance that are associated with the production of urban space provides a starting point for thinking through a micropolitics of urban economic and environmental discourse, where the establishment of urban parks can be situated within a field of power relations that enabled the formation of distinctly urban and non-urban spaces, in which the meaning of those spaces can be read through a moral system that was intertwined with the proper functioning of a capitalist economy and in the process brings about the urban subject. In tracing the formation and operation of this field of power, the techniques of government associated with urban governance become not simply a form of violence committed against an unwilling urban populace, but productive of urban subjects, who in turn reproduce park discourse through the establishment of particular forms of knowledge about cities, nature, and people (Foucault 1980, Huxley 2007). Furthermore, theorizing urban governance in this way illuminates not only the knowledges that are produced through it, but also the knowledges that are unmade by it. Taking care not to exclude subjugated knowledge from the narrative frame allows an accounting not only of what is lost in the process of discourse formation, as Foucault points out, but also what possibilities exist for new forms of knowledge in the future (Foucault 1980, Gibson-

Graham 2006).

2.5 Conclusion

A political ecology of the urban is not necessary merely because the urban (human) and natural (non-human) are actually intertwined as socionature, or to use an oft-quoted passage from David Harvey, that “there is nothing unnatural about New York City” (1996). Whether New York is natural or not, whatever it might mean to *be* natural, isn't what's at stake. What is at stake is how we arrive at a knowledge of cities, nature, and urban nature. I suggest that what is needed is a focus on discourse and subjectivity in urban political ecology that might reveal openings for difference, diversity, and new potentials for resource management in cities (Gibson-Graham 2006; see also Grove 2009).

I employ this approach to accomplish two specific goals. First, in tracing the formation of an industrial urban economy in Philadelphia, and identifying alternative economic practices that persisted in the city, I begin to unravel the notion of a capitalist totality and its supposedly singular role in producing urban environments. This allows me to ask what other forces, discourses, practices, and actors, in addition to those associated with capitalist discourse, are active in constituting urban environments. My project begins with the now commonplace observation that modernist environmental discourses are marked by a problematic division between nature and society (Latour 1993, Heynen et al 2006). But by taking seriously the importance of diverse, seemingly insignificant acts in the construction and deconstruction of economic and environmental discourses, it

looks past the assumption of a dominant urban economy and asks what possibilities are opened up by examining difference in the city environment.

West and Brockington have argued that as parks proliferate, 'protected areas are coming to form a way of *thinking* about the world, of *viewing* the world, and of *acting on* the world' (West and Brockington 2006, emphasis in original). This dissertation reveals, by paying attention to the practices that establish the boundary between nature and the city, the origins not only of our notions of 'nature', which has been done quite effectively elsewhere, but of the city (see for example Braun and Castree 2001, Latour 1993). Further, by drawing attention to non-capitalist economic strategies and the practices that obscure them, a fundamental but often overlooked connection between discourses of environment and discourses of economy is made visible, and the city itself becomes visible as a site from which the binary distinction between nature and society emanates. Thus, tracing the specific technologies that call into being urban subjects who 'think, view, and act' in particular ways vis-a-vis parks illuminates the co-production of environmental and urban knowledges, and the origins of a discourse of the capitalist city itself.

Chapter Three - Territorializing Urban Space: the production, division, and reconfiguration of natures and economies

It only requires a glance at the map or a visit to the ground to convince any one how important it is to secure this piece of land, to make [Fairmount Park] all that it should be — a most eligible and beautiful tract with boundaries free from objectionable features....” (Anonymous, “Lemon Hill”, *Daily Reporter*, November 16, 1854)

3.1 Introduction

The role of capitalism in the formation of cities has been a central concern for urban theorists for decades. Much of that work derives from Henri Lefebvre, who understood urban society as being dominated by processes of capitalist economic production (2003). Drawing from Lefebvre, David Harvey's widely influential work, to the extent that it focuses on urban questions, describes the city as the site of convergence of labor, capital, and class struggle (1982, 1997). More recently, Neil Brenner has argued that "critical urban theory" is by definition an engagement with the "restless, creative destruction of capitalist development", a way of illustrating and challenging the "dominant institutional arrangements, practices, and ideologies" that together bring the capitalist city into being and, by extension, lead to the urbanization of the entire planet (Brenner 2009, p 198). While theorization of the urban along these lines has been profoundly effective for making visible a host of social problems associated with capitalist practices in cities, including the injustices of uneven economic development, this theorization tends to define urban problems in such a way that makes it impossible to imagine a world outside of capitalism, so that the state, the public sphere, and even

aesthetics, are seen as emerging entirely from capitalist relations. Consequently, it forecloses on the possibility of forms of political action that aren't oriented around resistance to capitalism writ large (Thrift 2006).

On the other hand, shifting the focus toward economic *practices* provides a way forward for understanding the prevalence of capitalist practices in the formation of urban spaces without unnecessarily limiting our ability to think beyond the notion of the city as a wholly capitalist space. Amin and Thrift, for example, approach urbanism in a way that is "not interested in systems, which so often imply that there is an immanent logic underlying urban life, but in the numerous systematizing networks [...] which give provisional ordering to urban life" (2002, citing Latour 1988). In this way, urban-ness is not seen as a fixed set of relations driven by underlying forces, but as a series of moments full of possibility, in which networks of actors arrange themselves, often in new and unpredictable ways, in the making and remaking of cities. Thus, while urban practices are at times disciplined by a few well-placed constituents of these networks, urban practices always threaten to spill over from that "disciplinary envelope" (ibid pg 4). With respect to economic practices, this argument is buttressed by economists and geographers interested in the performative nature of economic practice, who argue that economies are by no means monolithic or internally consistent, but require vast collections of actors to bring them into being (see for example MacKenzie et al 2007). In a similar vein, Gibson-Graham urges us to consider what must be done for urban space to be reproduced through the everyday practices of economic subjects (1996). They also recognize, with Roelvink, that a focus on economic subjects, as valuable as it is for understanding how cities and

urban processes emerge as such, is only part of the story. Thus, they have begun to articulate a desire to incorporate the more-than-human in such accounts (Gibson-Graham 2010, Gibson-Graham and Roelvink 2010). Farias (2011), along with Bender (2010), as well as McFarlane (2011), have taken a similar approach, and have begun to apply what some have termed "assemblage thinking" to urban spaces, interrogating cities' formation as the consequence of "networked" social relations between a host of human and non-human actors, where non-human constituents of cities are more than the backdrop or landscape through which humans move, but actors that mediate urban relations and can change their trajectory.

In this chapter, I engage with the notion of the city as capitalist space, but I wish to move away from explanations oriented around an examination of structural forces that produce it. Instead, I dwell on the specific actors that come together to produce urban space as such. I am especially interested in this process of realignment of networks through which economically heterogeneous "urban" spaces are realigned into a more regularized capitalist space. I do this by tracing the way urban space came to be enacted in the nineteenth century as the domain of industrial economic production. Through a close examination of cartographic practices in the nineteenth century, I show how the industrial city was not the natural, inevitable outgrowth of capitalist urban development, but that maps performed a vital function in helping to accomplish the complicated work of bringing the capitalist city into view by "drawing together" (Latour 1986) cartographers, city managers, and ordinary citizens into that project. In this way, maps helped to produce urban spaces *as* urban by enabling the apprehension the city as an

economic object, and by organizing the everyday practices that constituted it around a set of assumptions about what cities looked like, how they worked, and what happened in them.

To illustrate these points, I focus on two stages in what ultimately was a twenty-year project in the mid-1800s that made possible the formation of the industrial city as we have come to know it. The first stage was the consolidation of the city of Philadelphia that brought under a single political, cultural, and economic banner the disparate governing bodies that once surrounded the city's colonial core. In preparation for consolidation, the extension of the industrial city into more and more distant lands was enabled by the efforts of cartographers who worked to create maps of the region as a populated, gridded expanse, a homogenous economic entity. I also discuss a second set of events, associated with the establishment of Fairmount Park by the Pennsylvania State Assembly, which enclosed an explicitly non-urban space at the center of the newly consolidated city, naturalizing the oppositional relationship between the urban and the natural, making visible a clear division between two categories of space and, consequently, two categories of behavior for urban subjects. In both cases, cartographic representation of the city of Philadelphia played an active role in shaping urban space by enabling a shift away from an economy based on water-power, which comprised dispersed sites of agrarian and artisanal production along waterways, toward a coal-based economy, which lent itself to more standardized industrial production, greater concentration of human populations, and the naturalization of an industrial working class. These cases also help to illuminate the contingency of such processes on the participation

of particular kinds of urban subjects, the selection and mobilization of certain facts over others, and the ultimate reshaping of spaces according to new logics of organization.

Yet, even after more diverse economic practices associated with water power and agrarian production began to wane in cities and industrial practices took their places, the dominance of industrial capitalism continued to face challenges, and required new cartographic interventions to maintain its hold. Used daily by city officials, maps played a key role in the production of urban space, urban work, and the urban worker by mediating the relationship between workers, managers, and the material components of the urban landscape. In this way, maps inscribed "urban" characteristics upon the landscape as well as upon the bodies of people living in it.

To examine the set of actors that came together to produce Philadelphia as an industrial city, I trace these effects through an analysis of maps produced in the mid-1800s, examining the circumstances that led to their production and the social context in which they were used. I draw on government documents, newspapers, and other popular writing from the 1850s to the 1890s in order to place these cartographic interventions in a larger framework of social activity.

3.2 Analytics of Cartographic Practice

Drawing from, but going beyond an approach to maps that interrogates them for the underlying ideological statements they contain, recent writing on the social and political nature of maps work has begun to ask not after maps' hidden messages, but after the activities that maps, as particular kinds of actors, engage in (Crampton 2009, 2010,

Kitchen and Dodge 2007, Pickles 2004). Thinking of the map as “not a representation of the world but an inscription that does (or sometimes does not do) work in the world,” John Pickles, for example, wants to “begin to think about the production of space and the social lives of maps as embedded practices of complex overdetermination” (2004, p 67). Investigations of this kind conceptualize map-makers, map users, and landscapes to be mapped – as well as physical inscriptions on paper – as participants in larger mapping assemblages that together produce the world, even as they are themselves produced through these relationships. This is not a human-centered vision of the world in which only humans possess agency, but one in which non-living things like maps possess “the capacity ... not only to impede or block the will and designs of humans but also to act as quasi agents or forces with trajectories, propensities, or tendencies of their own” (Bennett 2010, pg viii). In Latour's terms, maps are “mediators” rather than “intermediaries”, actors that are capable of changing the flow of power through them rather than objects through which power flows unhindered (Latour 2005, pg 9). From this perspective, maps are no longer seen as inert, nor even as stable components of a discursive formation, but active matter that at times enables human designs and at others contests them; in other words, they are things that do things.

In this spirit, Kitchen and Dodge argue for a critique of the ontological basis of mapping. Inscriptions on paper or other media, they argue, are not ontologically secure – they possess no essence as a map, but are only brought into being as maps through their participation in mapping assemblages, which are made up of other human and non-human actors (2007). Their argument is partially in response to Bruno Latour's writing

about the map as an “immutable mobile”, the idea that maps record information in one place that can then be carried elsewhere and put to use. Latour argues that it is the movement from one context to another that makes the map powerful; the information stays the same (1986). Kitchen and Dodge contend that when maps are transported from one place to another, the information they were meant to record doesn't remain intact; instead, that information is contingent on a number of other actors existing in the place where it was produced, some of which follow the map in its journey, and others of which do not. For this reason, Kitchen and Dodge urge us not to think about maps as the object of analysis, but about mapping, in which the production and use of inscriptions on the page, or in the sand, or elsewhere, produce maps as such, and that the effect of a map on the world isn't prefigured in advance. Rather, the use of maps is a creative act - it requires interrogation of the map by the user, a “response” by the map, a referral and comparison to the surrounding landscape. Mapping is an iterative process whose outcome can not be foreseen, but emerges through the process of “mapping” – the performance of the mapping endeavor by a network of intertwined actants. The relative fixity produced in mapping assemblages, then, is always precarious, not only because it requires continual reperformance and reproduction by human beings, but also because it requires the contributions of diverse non-human actors whose role is always beyond our capacity to predict or control.

In this sense, both map and mapper might be said to be exerting influence on the world around them, to be “territorializing” space. Especially relevant here is Deleuze and Guattari's notion of territorialization as an attempt to shape the chaos of the world

according to one's needs and interests. Their view suggests that all interactions between actors (of the human and the non-human varieties) are struggles for territory (1987, cited in Pickles 2006). In this way, "mappings" can be understood as assemblage becomings in which both humans and non-humans act on their own behalf in shaping space according to the "trajectories, propensities, or tendencies" that Bennet describes (ibid). Thinking in these terms allows us to consider the ways that maps have enabled the territorialization of the city and the formation of distinctly urban and non-urban spaces, in which the meaning of those spaces can be read through a moral system that was intertwined with the proper functioning of a capitalist economy. But it also requires us to ask how maps themselves territorialize space, or how maps shape the space around them.

To that end, in this chapter I demonstrate that the creation of "the city" could not have happened without maps, nor without the cartographers, public officials, and citizens who engaged with them. In this sense, maps (and mappings) were, to borrow a concept from John Pickles, "ob-scene": they "[directed] attention towards a particular scene, to a particular rendering of a scene" (2006, emphasis in original). Cartographers achieved this scene-rendering by enrolling maps in their projects as they assembled particular facts about the spaces they sought to represent. Though in some cases little remains to tell us about the specific activities that engaged cartographers, it is clear that, through their work, they produced truths about the city as a particular kind of economic form, with an essential and inevitable tendency toward spatial, economic, and technological growth, development, and expansion. At the same time, my argument is not that the vision of the city that maps represented was itself solely responsible for urban expansion; rather, each

was necessary for the other. In the case presented here, I describe the efforts of cartographers to assemble facts about the city, but it is important to note that this story is as much about accidental shifts as it is about conscious attempts at strategic representation.

In addition to the maps shown in the appendix, I use data gathered from materials housed in formal archives, drawing the annual reports of the Fairmount Park Commission secondary accounts of the economic development of Philadelphia, and first person accounts, like Eli K. Price's book on Philadelphia's consolidation. In this way, I seek not merely to understand their “context”, but to construct an account of the formation of an urban assemblage in which maps participated.

3.3 Mapping the City

Map historian Jefferson Moak claimed that “Philadelphia is one of the few cities in the world to have been mapped before it existed” (Moak 1976). In fact, mapping a city in advance of its expansion has been a fairly common practice for thousands of years. Rose-Redwood's “genealogy of the grid” cites examples dating as far back as the Indus Valley in the third millennium B.C.E., though not all grids served the same purpose (2008). To some extent, Philadelphia's grid fits what Marcuse called a “laissez-faire” plan, in which “the open grid is laid out with a view towards expansion and reduplication ... [where] the open gridiron is an initial step towards plotting an unknown and perhaps unlimited area capable of indefinite expansion”, as opposed to a pre-capitalist grid plan that focuses inward and binds a city according to specific boundaries (1987, pg 290-291,

cited in Rose-Redwood 2008). Thus, in some respects, the story of Philadelphia's industrialization was a fairly common one. At the same time, while Marcuse's observation is helpful for situating Philadelphia into a larger historical framework of urban planning, it would be a mistake to assume that the commonality of the map grid is an indication that a universal process was occurring in multiple places at the same time. Rather, in order for industrialization to happen, maps had to do the actual work of drawing together specific actors, whose effects were contingent on the ongoing reformation particular networks.

Maps have played a central role in helping to establish Philadelphia as a particular kind of city since its earliest days. In the passage quoted above, Moak was referring to the fact that, prior to its establishment, Philadelphia's founder, William Penn, distributed a map of the land granted to him by King Charles II of England in 1681, which depicted a hypothetical grid of well-ordered streets between two rivers, and served as a promotional tool in the sale of land to potential settlers (Figure 3.1). The map seems to reveal a flat and easily settled landscape, ideal for habitation by a dense human population; numbered parcels of the planned city assisted buyers in identifying and choosing their purchases, but the landscape it was meant to reveal proved elusive at first. The land, it turned out, was not as uniform as the map suggested; because of Philadelphia's situation between two rivers, many lots couldn't be settled at first because the land was too saturated. Streams flowed directly through others. In addition, some of the land was already occupied by claimants who pre-dated the Penn land grant and, not surprisingly, resisted occupation by Penn's customers (Corcoran 1992). Yet eventually, Penn's map helped to redirect

settlement according to his own interests, away from low-density farmland toward a more orderly and denser political and economic center. The streets depicted on the map would eventually serve as the plan for the early colonial city.

Thus, while it's clear from the historical record that Penn's map did not predate settlement in what would eventually become the city of Philadelphia, it did make possible a particular spatiality of settlement. Its use in Europe as a promotional tool helped to entice wealthy would-be settlers to invest in the new land, enabling settlers to imagine the city as a city, complete with public squares, tree-lined streets, and single-family lots. While the map helped shape the future developmental trajectory of the site that would be Philadelphia, this new "city" was not meant to be altogether separate from the surrounding country-side. Purchasing land from Penn entitled the buyer not only to a city lot, but also to an expanse of land further out, which the buyer could farm himself or rent out to others.

The best land was that adjacent to waterways since, from Penn's time until the early 1800s, water was the best and most reliable source of energy for the various mills that would be built there. (The abundance and extent of these waterways in the region can be glimpsed in Penn's map, one of the reasons he chose this site for his city). Waterways also proved important for tanneries, dye-production, and other manufacturing processes that required easily-accessible waste outlets. Because of this reliance on water power, the machinery of production was distributed thinly across the landscape, where suitable areas could be found for this form of power generation (Adams et al 1991). Consequently, throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, Philadelphia's economic

landscape was dominated by small-scale production practices, much of it artisanal, and much of it integrated with agrarian practices in the surrounding pre-industrial "countryside" (Richardson 1982). But in the early 1800s, with the invention of the steam engine and the rise of coal power, water power was no longer the only reliable means of producing energy (Wainwright 1982). The discovery at the end of the eighteenth century of vast deposits of anthracite coal in Pennsylvania quickly led to an abundance of this (relatively) cheap energy source in Philadelphia, and production was no longer limited by the availability of fast-flowing water, or more expensive bituminous coal from Europe (Geffen 1982). Yet, these conditions weren't sufficient to bring about a widespread shift from a diverse economic landscape associated with waterpower and agrarian production to one dominated by industrial production. In order for that to happen, a new geographic understanding of the landscape was required.

In Philadelphia, an Act of Consolidation of the Pennsylvania State Assembly in 1854 politically united Penn's original outlay of the city of Philadelphia with surrounding boroughs and townships, increasing the city's territory from about 2 square miles to 122 square miles (shown in Figure 3.2). Consolidation helped to reestablish the center of the city as the economic core of the region, the site from which economic power would emanate, a positioning reflected in the 1854 map of the consolidated city, where central districts are assigned lower numbers, locating them as core districts even though their settlement did not necessarily predate that of others further away (Figure 3.2). The act was viewed as an effort to make sense of and exert control over unruly spaces and practices in the region, often framed in political terms: street fights between rival

volunteer fire companies, frequent riots, and corrupt local police forces were common in the 1840s and 50s just outside of the city (Geffen 1982). In addition, it was also to be an antidote to a disjointed and dispersed governing structure and unwieldy tax-collection system (McCarthy 1986). The state's need to produce “legible” spaces for effective control through the deployment of cartographic knowledge has been discussed at length in the geographic literature, so it should come as no surprise that cartographic depiction of the city was of enormous importance both in facilitating this unification and aiding in its comprehension (e.g. Scott 1998, Harley 2001, Craib 2004). Yet, underlying these more immediate concerns was the perceived need to bring the region into better economic order.

Eli K. Price, a prominent Philadelphia lawyer and one of the consolidation bill's most vocal proponents, was elected state senator with the express purpose of seeing the passage of the bill through the State's approval process (Price 1873, Geffen 1982). Price wrote twenty years after the successful passage of the consolidation bill that, "The growing disparity [in population growth], between the City of two square miles and the residue of the County, is apparent from the [census data on] populations; and every year it would increase by the conversion of dwellings into warehouses and stores, within the former" (price 1873, pg 12). Price saw the city's slower population growth as a consequence of haphazard economic development in the region, compared to the rest of Philadelphia County. The waning economic power of the city, as measured by census data related to population and economic output, particularly vis-a-vis New York City's more rapid growth, caused a great deal of anxiety to many, who were "met by the woeful fact

of our being only the third city [after New York and Chicago], and that we were continuing to lose ground" (Rush 1853, quoted in Price 1873, pg 31). This sentiment was also frequently expressed in newspaper editorials at the time, in which the economic growth of Philadelphia was unfavorably (and self-consciously) compared to that of New York City (North American and US Gazette 1853a). For Price and others, then, uniting the city with the other 28 boroughs and townships that surrounded it was a straightforward solution to an enormous economic problem; consolidation would make the dispersed but thriving regional economy more "easily comprehended" by the city's inhabitants and their government (North American and US Gazette 1853b). In Price's words, "the expansion of the limits of the city [would] accelerate her commercial, manufacturing, and social prosperity..." (Price 1873, pg 27).

The consolidation map signaled a shift in the way the city was represented, and displays a much different picture from that found in maps of the previous two centuries, which tended to situate it within a vast, sparsely-settled, rural landscape, as can be seen in Figures 3.3 through 3.6 (dated 1687, 1753, 1802, and 1843, respectively). By contrast, the consolidation map operated on an entirely different set of assumptions about the space of the city. In order to maintain a consistent tone in depicting the city, the consolidation map imposed a veil of silence about a number of more nuanced features of the city's landscape. No effort, for example, was made to include the creeks, forests or other "natural" features encompassed by the city other than the Schuylkill River (to the west) and Delaware River (to the east), though these features were prominent both in the minds and in the everyday practices of the people who lived near them. In addition to the

various waterways along which much of the region's settlements were found, topographical features of the landscape were also omitted, including a prominent hill called Fairmount, which had been featured in maps of the region for the past two centuries, as were forested areas, both of which would later re-emerge to great effect. The map does, however, include six railroad rights-of-way, a fact that was consistent with the economic vision the map was meant to convey. The purpose of the consolidation map was straight-forward: to communicate the new conceptualization of the city as a single, homogenous, orderly economic entity, informed by Price's vision that Philadelphia and its environs were inevitably linked, and that they were "one community and should be one city" (Price 1873, pg 64).

This configuration of the spaces of human and non-human nature, and subsequent discursive representations of the city, had clear implications for the development of urban space and its place in the public imaginary, but the consolidation map was only part of a more extensive cartographic practice that helped to produce this new economic vision. In preparation for consolidation, the city employed cartographer Joseph Fox in 1853 to produce maps that extended the city's original gridded street plan into the northern and western portions of Philadelphia County, in order to "make a good city plan out of the numerous small villages which had grown up independently" (Ashmead 1884, pg 562). The project was subsequently expanded to include the entirety of Philadelphia County, which would become the new boundary of the consolidated city. Fox was joined early in the project by the surveyor Samuel Smedley (who later became the city surveyor for Philadelphia from 1872 to 1894). The results of that project were published in 1862 as

Smedley's Atlas of Philadelphia, for which Figure 3.7 is the index map at the front of the book.

The atlas itself was something of an innovation. Cadastral wall maps were the common format for city maps from the late 1700s to the 1850s, but atlases rose in prominence in mid-century as fire insurance companies desired greater detail to keep track of insurance claims, and a single map of sufficient detail would be too large to use, carry, and store (Moak 1976). Smedley was quick to make use of this format for publishing his detailed maps of Philadelphia, which aided city government in managing the newly-enlarged city more effectively. Drawing inspiration from Penn's desire for a grid of regularly-spaced streets, Smedley's atlas paints a picture of an inevitable, if not yet fully realized, urban totality, casting future urban development in line with a particular vision of economic development: one more amenable to an industrial imaginary in which the means of production and the worker population were densely-settled and orderly.

The index to Smedley's Atlas (Figure 3.7) depicts most of the city as fully urbanized space, with the street grid spreading out into the western side of the Schuylkill river, north into the “Liberties” (districts that, prior to consolidation, were free of many of the legal constraints imposed by the Philadelphia city government), and south to the wharves, broken only by the occasional river, stream, or eventually by the city's outer limits. Yet, with the exception of a narrow strip directly adjacent to the Schuylkill River along which factory works and mills were located, its western bank was made up largely of unpopulated “country estates” in the possession of wealthy landowners or farmers, not

regularly-spaced, paved roads, as the map seems to suggest. The same is true to the north and south of the city center, also visible in Figure 3.7. A map that preceded consolidation by only a few years (Figure 3.6) suggests the opposite: the soon-to-be-consolidated lands were relatively sparsely populated and “undeveloped” compared to the two-square-mile expanse of the old city limits. An accompanying chart (Figure 3.6, top left) reflects the fact that most settlement in the region was localized around Penn's originally-planned lots. The point was later discussed in the writings of Henry Leffman, a physician and amateur historian who wrote extensively on varied subjects related to Philadelphia in the nineteenth century. Leffman wrote, in a paper that was part first-hand account, part-historical analysis, that at the time of consolidation and for decades afterward, much of the new city was still “lying fallow” (Leffman 1908) and urbanized spaces “were separated by extensive intervals of open country often under cultivation” (ibid 36).

By emphasizing one set of qualities of the city (its recent spatial expansion, the increasing prevalence of factory work) and ignoring others (the value of woodlands adjacent to urban space, the importance of water power to some economic practices), Smedley's grid communicated a new truth about the city as constantly growing, defined primarily by the dominance of human beings, and by industrial economic activity (McCarthy 1986). Imposing this view changed the way Philadelphians imagined their city, as the sentiment remained a driving force in later developments, as can be seen in a newspaper editorial that appeared ten years later: “The rapid growth of Philadelphia makes it probable that in fifty years the basin of the Schuylkill will be as a lake in the centre... of the population” (Philadelphia Public Ledger 1867, 6-18).

Smedley's Atlas remained one of the most important cartographic references for surveyors, cartographers, and the city employees through the 19th and early 20th centuries (Moak 1976). And yet, despite its importance, the city did not emerge in exactly the way Smedley's Atlas suggested that it would. While this story of inevitable expansion persisted, and helped to inform future developments in the territorialization of urban space, the atlas would provide the foundation not only for the fixing of a particular kind of urban space and practice, but that of nature as well, through its subsequent use in the mapping of Fairmount Park.

3.4 Establishment of Fairmount Park

“One of the commonest objects of complaint in Philadelphia is that we have 'no drives.' A pretty fair average country lies around us [...] and yet for really pleasant, picturesque drives, we are worse provided than we should be. [...] It is apparent enough that twenty or thirty years hence, West Philadelphia will be a closely built part of the city, full of palatial edifices — a true West End. Persons living there will then be well pleased to have a Park near them.” (September 14, 1859. *Evening Bulletin*. “Land Wanted”)

As Smedley's cartographic vision of the city came to dominate, the arguments in favor of establishing a large park in Philadelphia gained momentum, driven by the perception of inevitable urban expansion into the countryside, a growing fear that the joys of rural life would be lost in the transition, and increasing anxiety about the failing quality of the hydrological and atmospheric systems on which human settlements relied. Undergirding these fears, and the natural resource and urban economic policies that they informed, were the host of practices that helped to territorialize the city and its hinterland

and produced distinctly separate spaces to be managed according to different rules.

In some respects the framing of the landscape of Philadelphia as wholly urban was short-lived, at least in some places, as Philadelphians clamored for the institution of a new park in the late 1860s. Smedley was among them; after a European tour in the mid-1860s, Smedley became convinced that the city needed a large public park, and became active in attempts to secure land for the purpose. Enjoying some success in that regard (he was instrumental in securing land known as the Lansdowne estate), the City employed Smedley to conduct the first surveys of the park (Ashmeade 1884). The acquisition of the Lansdowne estate spurred activity in securing land for parks in Philadelphia so that, following the American Civil War, little more than a decade after the consolidation of the city, the Pennsylvania state assembly again intervened in the city's development in 1868, authorizing what at the time was and continued to be for decades the largest urban park in the world. Now, however, non-urban land was an exception to the rule: Smedley and other city cartographers depicted the newly-minted Fairmount Park as a counterweight to urban development, while assumptions about the inevitability of urban growth implicit in the hypothetical street grid were carried over into a new map of the park (Figure 3.8). While the grid remains intact, it has been written out of the space of the park itself. Lands that were depicted as a monotonous extension of the urban core a few years previous were replaced with the faint green haze of comparatively empty park land. The map's title, "Farms and Lots Embraced Within the Limits of Fairmount Park As Appropriated for Public Use By Act of Assembly" highlights its role in defining the claims laid out by the state in the formation of the park, as well as the landscape the park

was replacing.

The 1868 park map had an explicitly political purpose: in depicting the boundaries of the park, it identified privately-held lands that would be appropriated by the city using eminent domain. Many copies of this map survive that bear pen marks that were probably those of key land negotiators (most notably Eli K. Price) for damages incurred through the appropriation of land (Armstrong, personal communication). Not coincidentally, Price not only played a central role in the consolidation of the city, but also in the establishment of the park; he oversaw the purchase of park lands, aided in the drawing up of associated legal documents, and served as the chairman for the Fairmount Park Commission from its foundation in 1867 until 1884 (Special Collections 2010).

While negotiations over land purchases by the city were never recorded, it's clear that the map, in the most basic of ways, provided a reference for situating land parcels within the larger context of the city. Thus it becomes especially relevant that the map subtly produced the park boundary as a decisive line between the city and a perceived wilderness, representing urban spaces as the domain of human beings by preserving the street grid beyond the confines of the park, while erasing any roads, factories, homes, and other built structures encompassed within the park.

Through this depiction, the map minimized the importance of more than ninety factories employing over nine thousand workers that bordered the banks of the Schuylkill River, which were eventually demolished or left to crumble once park lands were acquired. The importance of this de-emphasis was not lost on the men who owned those factories who, in response to the Assembly's decision to allow the appropriation of lands

for a park in 1868, banded together in drafting a counter proposal for the land in question, as I explained in my introduction (Schofield 1868). In an attempt to reverse the now-dominant view of the urban economy as one based on coal power, their proposal argued to the Pennsylvania State Assembly that access to water remained central to many economic endeavors in the region. They also pointed out that their workers and factories represented an important market for rural producers in the region, while their own output was central to commerce in Philadelphia. In doing so, they offered up a vision of the city, ultimately unsuccessful, in which water-power was essential to future development.

Eventually, the arguments in favor of establishing a large park won out, perhaps because they were nearly always framed as efforts not to build, but to preserve and make accessible the wild landscape of the park, to which water-based industries were seen as a threat. As the editor of one area newspaper wrote, “Within ten or fifteen minutes' walk of the centre [sic] of wealth and fashion, a river [the Schuylkill] of unobstructed flow winds with romantic grace through a landscape of glorious hills, forests of primeval trees, soft glades, and rocks rugged as any that skirt the wildest sea....There is absolute rusticity – that great tranquility which leads the soul to happy contemplation of the glories of God's creation” (The Press 1860). Strikingly, even though these are the same lands that had been previously treated as inevitably and essentially urban, the discourse of the industrial city is mobilized here to preserve them as “wild” spaces.

A closer examination of two sections of the city bear out some finer points that are obscured in this urban/wild framing. First, despite the degree of urbanization suggested in Smedley's map (figure 3.7), the north-western portion of the park (figure 3.8) was

forested land at the time that both maps were produced, free from the dense pattern of construction that characterized the city's historical core. Among other landmarks, a place called Robert's Hollow is located here, an area of the park that proved to be literally intractable in subsequent mapping efforts. A second example demonstrates the reverse: the area of the park in the south-east bank of the Schuylkill "was already so much occupied by buildings" that earlier park plans only included "a narrow strip, bordering the river," so as not to upset this already-settled part of the city (Philadelphia Evening Journal, 1859). In fact, the 1868 park boundaries extended well into the built-up section of this part of the city. Consequently, establishing the park as depicted required a great deal of demolition, perhaps most notably a neighborhood called Flat-Iron, one of the poorest in the city, considered to be hopelessly riddled with crime and poverty. Included in one small section were "a steam grist mill, a rolling mill and foundry, with some shabby houses used as dwellings, stables, shops, and taverns" (Philadelphia Inquirer, 1864). Once the park was established, and the Flat-Iron neighborhood acquired, its houses and shops were demolished and its people displaced to other parts of the city in the name of nature preservation (Fairmount Park Commission 2010).

Thus, while the ostensible purpose of the 1868 map was to aid in identifying property lines in the process of land appropriation by the state rather than to show what existed on the ground, one of its effects was to highlight the contrast between the imagined spaces of the city and the imagined spaces of nature, and to reify these spaces by the cartographic filling in of city space, the emptying out of park space, and the literal bold-facing of the line between the two. The boundary between park land and the rest of

the city underscored a discursive shift that designated otherwise productive forest and farm land as space no longer suited to economic activity but appropriate for leisure use, while land located outside the park boundaries was now presumed to develop according to Smedley's and others' economic imaginations – that is, in ways that were amenable to industrial development.

At the same time, these effects were never entirely complete, nor did this framing of the city dominate it totally. I've already mentioned the factory owners who opposed the establishment of the park for business reasons. In addition, throughout the period of park establishment in Philadelphia, letter-writers complained that the park would only serve the wealthy at the expense of the working class, who the park was often said to serve, or that it would lay an unnecessary tax burden on the public. Others, after the park was established, complained about the roads that were closed in the laying out of the park, suggesting that its closing burdened the business interests in the city (Daily Pennsylvanian 1857, Germantown Telegraph, 1860, Germantown Chronicle 1873).

3.5 Constituting the Urban Subject

As the spaces of work and leisure became increasingly naturalized by the formation of Fairmount Park, members of the working class became placed as inhabitants of the city and the 'urban' subject emerged. While a variety of interventions converged in the framing of urban subject positions, some are more useful than others in terms of understanding how, exactly, a knowledge of the urban subject comes about through cartography. While most of the maps I've referenced up to this point were funded and

published by the city government for use in management of the city, they were included in annual reports of the Park Commission or the city councils, which were available for purchase in book shops. Meanwhile, the purchase of maps themselves from their publishers became increasingly common in the 1860s and 70s with improvements in lithography (Brückner 2010). Though printing technology in the 1860s prevented the maps from being reproduced in newspapers, they were written about in numerous editorials that appeared there. Thus, government maps, however narrow their initial purpose, circulated widely. Nevertheless, maps produced explicitly for public consumption do a different kind of work.

The map shown as Figure 3.9 was published around 1872, just a few years after the park's establishment and was clearly meant to speak directly to Philadelphians and tourists about the virtues of the park. The text that surrounds the central image of the map tells a history of the park that serves just as well as a history of the city. Referring to Philadelphia's expanding park system as a kind of accessory to adorn the body of the growing city, it suggests that “the garments that fit the child and filled its mind, might not do for the full-grown man”. That is, a larger park was needed. As seen in maps from decades earlier, the threat of a growing city proved to be a concern on everyone's mind. Fear and distaste for the city plays a prominent role in the story told in the margins of the map. The urbanite is invited to enjoy a “healthful and ennobling...repast” from the “great and noisy city” and to partake in “a feast of natural beauties” in the new park.

Direct references to the city are only markers pointing toward more subtle statements about the relationship between the city and the park. Among other details, the

document highlights notable attractions for its visitors, among them the variety of historical homes and mansions, many of which were occupied right up to the time of purchase of the land by the city. Other lots had until recently been working farms, as the title "Farms and Lots" of the 1868 map implies (see Figure 3.8). Nevertheless, these homes and farms, situated among groves of trees and hidden streams, are here presented not as viable alternatives to urban life, but as evidence of a distant, pre-industrial past, linked to various prominent figures associated with a long-gone agrarian economy. For example, it explains that "Belmont mansion [...] occupied for thirty-eight years by [Richard Peters] [...] a lifelong friend of Washington [...] has more memories of the olden days associated with it [...] than any other other residence in or around Philadelphia." "Sweet Briar Mansion," it continues, was "formerly home of 'Farmer Breck'" who was "the link connecting the Revolutionary period with the present." Likewise, practices associated with the park that might otherwise have offered alternatives to factory work are instead presented as collective reminiscences of a world that has all but disappeared. The bottom panel of the map, for example, describes the annual Nutting Day event, where an estimated sixty thousand people, roughly one-sixth of the city's population, gathered together in Autumn to reap the harvest of the park's chestnut, walnut, and hazelnut trees, a generations-old practice whose popularity clearly had not waned as the city grew, but now was being framed as a quaint ritual primarily for the enjoyment of children (Fairmount Park Commission 1870; I discuss Nutting Day in more detail in the next chapter). Together, these elements depict the unfolding of a pre-ordained urban history, the development of modern economies through stages of succession. The city is

no longer a child, but a full grown man, where the childish practices common to an earlier period have been made obsolete by emerging modes of (industrial) production. The map led park goers to visit the park not as a way to resist urban growth, but as a way to endure it through a remembrance of the past and as an opportunity to repair the injuries caused by the industrial city to their bodies and minds. Park visitors, it seems, were meant to carry this map into the park with them, to situate their experiences inside and outside of the park as part of the story of modern urban development.

The strength of this framing is evident in a letter written by a factory worker to a prominent Philadelphia paper, who suggested that discussions about a new park presented a perfect opportunity to revisit “Sunday travel” debates, which referred to a law that prevented travel by carriage on that day:

“There can be no more appropriate time to resume agitation of this issue than the present. The workingmen are justified in saying 'Before you ask for our money to construct your Park, satisfy us that you do not intend to exclude us from the enjoyment of its benefits. We are shut up in our shops six days of the week...[workers were still agitating for a mandated 60-hour workweek]. We cannot afford to lose a day, or part of a day, out of the six devoted to toil. Sunday is the only day we have to be with our families, and the only opportunity we will have to take our wives and children to the Park. Some of us live miles away from the banks of the Schuylkill, and if compelled to walk thither, would be too tired to appreciate the attractions of the scenery, or to walk over the spacious grounds. Give us the cheap conveyance to the Park on Sunday, then, or in making the improvements, you will be robbing the poor for the pleasure of the rich.’” (Philadelphia Evening Journal 1860)

The division between the space of the city and the space of the park was now clear: the former had become the space of work and commerce, while the latter had become the

space of leisure and relaxation.

3.6 Constituting a Space of Nature

The role of maps as components of wider mapping assemblages, in which the production of maps requires interactions between humans and other non-human actors in territorializing spaces by producing particular representations of the world is nowhere more visible than in the process through which a topographical map of Fairmount Park was produced. While the topographical project was undertaken as a wholly scientific project that was meant to produce a perfectly accurate and complete depiction of the park's contours, its underlying function was to use a grid system to map out rises and falls in the physical landscape that would help identify the most striking views in the park, so that roads and paths could be constructed that would lead visitors directly to them. This duty fell on a man named John C. Cresson, Chief Engineer for the Fairmount Park Commission, who recruited Samuel Smedley as part of his team (who was now the Surveyor General for Philadelphia following the success of his earlier work). In the Commission's first annual report to the city councils, Cresson outlined the following objectives:

"The primary requisite for popular recreation is an expanse of greensward... adorned by trees and shrubbery... shaded and secluded spots in sufficient number to present ample opportunity for the enjoyments of the quiet retirement, doubly grateful to those who temporarily escape from the din of crowded City streets... as well as suitable arrangements to facilitate the enjoyment of fine views of the park and the surrounding scenery.... Easy access to these works of art and beauties of nature must be provided, requiring roads and walks skilfully [sic] designed....

"For accomplishing this successfully, and without needless expense, an indispensable prerequisite is a minute instrumental

measurement showing the exact position of all permanent objects, and the altitude of every portion of the surface." (Fairmount Park Commission 1869, 33-34)

Cresson's job, then, was to collect and display the park's menagerie of non-human constituents, to recruit a variety of non-humans – trees, stones, water, hills, and river valleys – in his efforts to describe the park as a wild space. Part of the work that he and his team performed was the enumeration and identification of every tree, shrub, and vine in the park, and he took seriously the task of showing the positions of all of these objects. In total, Cresson's team counted and mapped three hundred thousand such objects.

Yet, even as he pursued the project of imposing a Cartesian grid on woods, pastures, and hills, the project proved to be more difficult than Cresson had originally thought, starting with the language of the State Assembly bill that established the park in the first place, in which the legal boundaries of the park were defined. The problem was that, while most boundaries were defined according to existing streets, in two cases the boundary was less clear. Both "the Wissahickon" and "Robert's Hollow" were to mark different sections in the northern part of the park, but neither of these were discrete locations; rather, they were traditionally-defined descriptors of vague land forms. Cresson's efforts to "define accurately the position of every tree, and rock, and stream" through "minute instrumental measurement" offered no help in determining the extent of these areas (Cresson 1870, 28). Ultimately, Cresson abandoned his instruments and sought to determine the locations of these places using a set of lines that "preserve[d] the beauty of the scenery" of the Wissahickon and Robert's Hollow (Cresson 1869, 39). Establishing these boundaries required a different kind of negotiation with the landscape

to be mapped. While the surveyor's instruments still proved useful for measuring elevation, which helped establish lines-of-sight for future park visitors, Cresson and his team also had to use different tools of observation, their eyes, emotions, and sense of beauty, rather than their instruments, in order to apprehend a picturesque view, a complete scene, a beautiful landscape, which changed the plane on which they interacted with the other constituents of the park. In order to locate these sites, they now had to interact with hills and valleys not as points marked in a grid, but as positions from which to see. They shifted their position from objective observers to occupants of the park. Because these determinations would delimit the extent of the park, and thus the ground to be protected from future development, the risk for Cresson and his team, in determining the extent of the landscape's beauty, was to fail to protect it from the encroachment of the city. Ultimately, lines were established in both cases that simply marked the highest point of the ridges on either side of creek and valley, a compromise that, perhaps for Cresson, reconciled the need for objective measurement and the preservation of beautiful scenery.

Despite his difficulties, Cresson's map (Figure 3.10) was successful in presenting the park as something that already existed, and merely had to be acquired by the city. It lent support to the truth-claims of a city/nature binary by constraining the kinds of behavior appropriate in each, and effected a translation of physical space to a series of contour lines, demonstrating the existence of the park, constituting it as a “natural” landscape through a representation of objectively identifiable hills and river valleys. While such an accounting might indeed have been possible in many other places in the city where non-human life flourished, documenting their existence in the park,

accompanied by the previously-established grid-space of the city elsewhere, solidified the division of the space of the city and the space of the park.

3.7 Conclusion

As Rob Kitchen and Martin Dodge have argued that inscriptions on paper (or wherever else maps might be inscribed) are not ontologically secure – they possess no essence as a map, but are only brought into being through their participation in mapping assemblages, which are made up of other human and non-human actors (2007).

In this chapter, I have argued that these are processes whose outcomes can not be foreseen, but emerge through "mapping", the performance of the mapping endeavor by a network of interrelated actants. The relative fixity produced in mapping assemblages, then, is always precarious, because it requires continual reperformance and reproduction each time a map is made, modified, or used. But what are the political consequences of such an argument, particularly when it is extended beyond maps to include all forms of knowledge-making?

In the case of Philadelphia, a variety of interventions were responsible for producing a foundation on which future urban development could be enacted and pursued. Each of the interventions discussed here – consolidation of the disparate governments surrounding the city's colonial core, the establishment of Fairmount Park through the legal apparatus of the state assembly, the calling into being of the urban subject through the park, and the bifurcation of urban spaces from natural ones – was made possible only through the contributions of actors associated with the production and

use of maps. Naturalizing the relationship between the city and the park made possible the extension of urban economic relations into more and more distant lands and through it, reframing and transforming much of the landscape of Philadelphia from an agrarian one, in which a diverse set of economic practices thrived, to an urban one, in which coal-dependent, factory-oriented industrial practices were privileged over all others.

This is a much different story of urbanization from the one that is often told. From this view, the emergence of the industrial city was anything but an inevitable and logical outcome of capitalist logics. To whatever extent the variety of subsistence and agrarian economic activities that were commonplace in cities well into the 19th century disappeared, they cannot be explained away as the collateral damage of the forward march of capitalism. It is precisely this explanation that frames the city as an essential site of (capitalist) economic activity, informed in part by teleological notions of economic development.

In the next chapter, I examine another means by which this knowledge of the urban environment is produced, not from the distant and abstract view of the cartographer, but through a direct reference to the constituents of parks in photography.

Chapter Four - The Work that Parks Do: Towards an Urban Environmentalism

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I emphasize the 'micropolitics' of the urban environment as an emergent discursive construction, exploring the articulation of an ontology of the capitalist city and of the urban environment that is founded on the erasure of economic difference within them (Foucault 1979, Gibson-Graham 1996). In doing so, I treat the urban park as part of a web of power relations that collude in a discursive framing of the city that situates labor and laborers within a nature/society imaginary, helps to produce a knowledge of the city as wholly capitalist (social) space through the reification of the park as a non-economic (natural) space, and produces urban subjects who embody and reproduce those spaces (Latour 1993; Castree and Braun 2001). Extending Arun Agrawal's notion of 'environmentality', a term that he uses to describe the process through which individuals become self-disciplining environmental subjects, I pursue these questions through an examination of the instruments of government that were implicated in the formation of a discourse of the capitalist city through the establishment of urban parks in the 1800s (2005). Finally, I employ strategies drawn from the diverse economies literature to elucidate how a discourse of urban parks became implicated in the production of the capitalist city by collapsing a diverse economic landscape into a one-dimensional capitalist one (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2006). Beginning from these theoretical starting points, I examine three such governmental techniques: the production of park space as distant, and conceptually separate, from urban space; the production of

park subjects who could only temporarily inhabit the space of the park for purposes of leisure; and finally, the erasure of non-capitalist economic activity within woodlands adjacent to urban spaces.

To explore ways in which this new knowledge of the city was produced, I use documentary evidence related to the establishment of Fairmount Park in Philadelphia in the late nineteenth century. I begin the discussion with a description of a set of photographs of Fairmount Park that were widely distributed in the 1870s, taken just after the park's establishment in 1868. My account of the effects that these photographs produced is of course not the only possible reading of them, since their meaning is intertwined with larger, intractable webs of significance. It would be impossible to trace the significance of any photograph in its entirety, much less a collection of them produced nearly 150 years ago. Yet, a reasonable account can be woven together using indirect evidence of the role these images played in the formation of knowledge among park users. Via a visual discourse analysis that entails a close examination of the images, identification of common themes, and an excavation of the social and cultural context in which they were produced and consumed, I examine these images as agents in the production of a knowledge of urban nature (c.f. Rose 2007). In this way, the images help describe the process by which both nature and the city came to be defined as separate but intertwined domains through the representation and concretization of the urban park as a particular kind of social space.

Next, I discuss a series of annual reports filed by the captain of the Fairmount Park Guard during the first thirty-five years of the park's existence, which report on

crime, indiscretion, and deviance in the park, and demonstrate that the capitalist vision of the city, with all that it entails regarding the disciplining of bodies through the policing of the urban park, was still a work-in-progress at least up to the 1890s. The efforts by the guard to enforce a particular set of practices inadvertently highlight a variety of alternative visions that persisted long after the formal establishment of the park, attest to the incompleteness of the city/park division suggested in the photographs, and show that that division required continual renewal through the performances of park-using and park-managing subjects. In short, the guards' efforts became entangled in the same web of power that produced governable and clearly-defined, if contested, objects of knowledge in the city and the urban park.

4.2 Producing a New Knowledge of the City

The establishment of urban parks in the 1800s entailed an acknowledgment of the dominance of an industrial economy and the perceived disappearance of wilderness, ultimately permitting the erasure of non-capitalist economic practices in urban centers, such as the gathering of fruits, nuts, and other plant materials for food and medicine. A number of theoretical interventions enable an understanding of how this was achieved. Paul Rabinow urges an analytical strategy in which 'disciplinary components' of urban space are seen as 'part of a shifting field of power and knowledge in which we can see the gradual self-formation of a class, a nation or a civilization' (2003). Drawing on Michel Foucault's writings on governmentality, Thomas Osbourne and Nikolas Rose trace the effects of a range of political and governmental techniques in producing an urban space

for the regulation and modulation of individual behavior (Osbourne and Rose 1999; Osbourne and Rose 2004; see also Crampton and Elden 2006; Huxley 2006). Through this theorization, they develop an understanding of the city of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a space of governance, a “way of diagramming human existence, human conduct, [and] human subjectivity...in the name of government” (Osbourne and Rose 1999: 737). Focusing on the production of urban subjects, Huxley demonstrates the importance of “operative rationales”, which “mobiliz[e] certain ‘truths’ of causal relations in and between spaces, environmental, bodies, and comportments” (2006). Thus, while none of this work explicitly addresses the production of economic knowledge of the city, their emphasis on urban governmentalities provides a starting point for thinking through a micropolitics of urban economic discourse. Through this lens, the establishment of urban parks can be situated within a field of power relations that enabled the formation of distinctly urban and non-urban spaces, in which the meaning of those spaces can be read through a moral system that was intertwined with the proper functioning of a capitalist economy and ultimately produced the urban park subject. In tracing the formation and operation of this field of power, the techniques of government associated with urban park formation become not simply as a form of violence committed against an unwilling urban populace, but as productive of park subjects, who in turn reproduce park discourse through the establishment of particular forms of knowledge about cities, nature, and people (Foucault 1980, Huxley 2007). Furthermore, theorizing parks in this way illuminates not only the knowledges that are produced through environmental governance, but also the

knowledges that are unmade by it. Taking care not to exclude subjugated knowledge from the narrative frame allows an accounting not only of what is lost in the process of discourse formation, as Michel Foucault points out (1980) but also what possibilities exist for new forms of knowledge in the future (Gibson-Graham 2006).

In establishing how to combine the framework for analyzing urban space described above with an examination of environmental discourse, I will briefly revisit the arguments I made in Chapter Two. Robbins has argued that the American lawn, or rather the assemblage of actors and acts that constitute it, come together in the formation of 'lawn people', whose interaction with land resources in cities and suburbs is shaped by a moral framework in which particular kinds of subjects are produced by the 'needs' of the lawn. (Robbins 2007). Through this assemblage of actors and acts, 'the subject comes to recognize herself as a subject and responds accordingly...the subject must be "hailed", named, recognized... interpellated.' Arun Agrawal's Northern Indian case depicts the process through which villagers' positions as environmental subjects have shifted through the production of new forms of knowledge that ascribe a particular set of cultural values to the non-human landscape, towards a community-based forest conservation bureaucracy (Agrawal 2005). Finally, with specific reference to parks, West and Brockington argue that as parks within and outside of cities proliferate, 'protected areas are coming to form a way of thinking about the world, of viewing the world, and of acting on the world' (West and Brockington 2006, emphasis in original). Thus, by paying attention to the practices that establish the boundary between nature and the city, I reveal, at least partially, the origins not only of our notions of 'nature', and the city, but also the

production of the urban park subject (see for example Castree and Braun 2002, Latour 1993).

Using this approach, I read the dominance of capitalist practices in cities not as inevitable or inherent, but produced and maintained through everyday practices. As an entry point into understanding how a discourse of capitalist urbanism emerged, I draw from work in the diverse economies literature, which posits that the perceived totality of capitalist economic processes are a function of capitalist discourse; material and discursive practices are required in order for capitalism and capitalist-oriented social structures to remain dominant (Gibson-Graham 1996). Within this literature, the disappearance of non-capitalist practices is often understood as the result of capitalist narratives that frame such practices as redundant and obsolete within a capitalist economic system, while capitalism's dominance is attained through the perpetuation of teleological narratives of development (Emery and Pierce 2005). By drawing attention to non-capitalist economic strategies and the practices that obscure them, a fundamental but often overlooked connection between discourses of environment and discourses of economy is made visible. Thus, tracing the specific technologies that call into being urban subjects illuminates the co-production of environmental and urban knowledges, and the origins of a discourse of the capitalist city itself.

4.3 Visuality and the Production of the Urban Park

The mid-nineteenth century was an era of rapid industrialization, and saw the establishment of a number of large urban parks in major American cities. The urban park,

opposite an emerging discourse of the industrial city, was a new kind of nature that, however proximate to the city, was characterized by an absence of people and, more to the point, a distance from economic activity. In Philadelphia, one of the most economically and politically important American cities in the mid-nineteenth century, the centerpieces of a pre-industrial narrative of urban development of a generation before, the water-powered mills and wire bridges spanning the Schuylkill river, were now cast aside in favor of this new vision of urban development. The urban park came into being as an old vision of the city (as a hub of shipping and trade) was fading, and a new vision of the city (as the bustling metropolis and the site of industrial production) was emerging.

The development of a rhetorical foundation that justified the establishment of urban parks is a topic discussed frequently by park scholars, who provide a broad historical picture of the urban parks movement and the role of cemeteries and private gardens as precursors to the urban park that emerged in the early 1800s (e.g. Schuyler 1986). Newspaper commentary from the mid nineteenth century goes further to make clear the perceived relationship between the park and the city. For one writer, parks offered an opportunity to “get a breath of God's pure air, or enjoy the grateful shade and sweet aroma of woods...[urban people] can be transported in a few minutes from the heat, and dust, and noise of a great city—its disagreeable sights, and smells, and sounds—into a rural scene of surprising loveliness, amid green fields, and purling brooks, and the waving forest, and flowering shrubbery...” (Philadelphia Evening Journal 1859). Another writes in that Philadelphians “need, and must have some rest of business and labor...they have a place not surpassed anywhere for this object” (Trenton Daily Gazette 1875). These

are only two examples -- such sentiments were common in newspapers and other outlets from the 1850s into the 1870s, but they are silent about the specific, everyday acts that constituted the park.

In Philadelphia, the Lemon Hill estate held and still holds special significance in the formation of urban parks. Its significance derives in large part from the way it symbolizes the juxtaposition of urban nature against the capitalist city. Throughout much of the mid-1800s, the Lemon Hill estate was highly valued by those seeking to establish a new park because of the views it offered of the city and of the Schuylkill River (Geffen 1982). According to one writer, 'It only requires a glance at the map or a visit to the ground to convince any one how important it is to secure this piece of land, to make Lemon Hill as it should be—a most eligible and beautiful tract with boundaries free from objectionable features' (Daily Reporter 1854). In the 1850s, however, to the dismay of many, the German tenants of the Lemon Hill property ran a popular beer-garden, a purpose that park enthusiasts saw as an affront to the grace and natural beauty of the site: they saw the operation of such an establishment as fundamentally in opposition to preservation of its natural character. One commentator notes that respectable citizens 'had for many years watched with great solicitude the destruction of...a spot incomparably well adapted to the purposes' of an urban park" (Philadelphia Daily Ledger 1856). In describing the destruction, local historian Charles Keyser wrote that 'the tenants settled like incubi upon the spot...the shrubbery [was] destroyed...they erected great ice houses of stone and when these fell into ruin, they left the ruins and erected others in their places' (Keyser and Cochran 1886: 7). Such framings of the Lemon Hill beer-garden

proved effective, and soon the sentiment prevailed – the city declined to renew the tenants' lease on the Lemon Hill property, expelled the proprietors of the beer-garden, and eventually incorporated the site into the first iteration of Fairmount Park. The tenants were evicted, and the land was declared public property, leading Keyser to triumphantly proclaim that, 'nature [was] restored....its verdure grows for the eyes of the little child ignorant of the means of [private] property, and for the old man who has long outlived the hope of acquiring it' (ibid.: 11). With that statement, it became clear that establishing a park at the Lemon Hill estate set it out of bounds for economic uses of any kind, reinforcing the idea of nature as an essentially non-human – and non-economic – realm, maligning commerce in places of refuge. Though the struggle continued elsewhere during the first decades of the park's existence, for example where activity from taverns operating near park boundaries spilled onto park lands, the land occupied by the Lemon Hill estate became the keystone of the larger park that was established in 1868 with the acquisition of thousands of acres, including lands previously occupied by factories and country estates along the Schuylkill River. It remains, not incidentally, central to the history of the park as it is told today, a reminder of the binary at the heart of park discourse. But the story of Lemon Hill serves merely as a starting point for understanding the formation of a discourse on urban parks. It still tells us little about how, and by what means, this framing took hold and how it acted on urban people. Much of that work was done through the use of photography as a promotional tool.

As a technology of visual communication, the photograph can play a powerful role in fixing meaning and lending the illusion of objectivity and permanence of the

objects depicted (Rose 2007, Tagg 1988, 2009). That is, photographs seem to represent things as they 'really' are, obscuring their partiality and crafted nature as representations of the world. The view of photography as objective representation can be traced at least as far back as the writings of Henry Fox Talbot, inventor of the first technique for producing photographic negatives. In the first book to contain photographs reproduced from negatives, Talbot suggested that the practice of photography allowed its practitioner to make objective records of nature's 'artistry', that the photograph is 'obtained by the mere action of Light upon sensitive paper', and that the practice of photography was to be praised 'both for completeness of detail and correctness of perspective' (Talbot 1844). This claim of photographic objectivity, of course, belies the role of the photographer in arranging the composition of the image and of choosing what to photograph, among a host of other considerations. The imagined objectivity of the photograph dissolves once one begins to examine the choices made in the process of photograph-making, as well as the larger social context in which the images were produced (Rose 2007). Furthermore, the photograph, once produced, becomes inserted into a web of power relations that define what can be said meaningfully about the world (Tagg 2009). In this light, photographs can no longer be seen as straightforward repositories of objective knowledge about the world, as Talbot would have it, but as works that are productive of some kinds of knowledges and destructive of others. In the words of one scholar, 'Photography operates in disciplinary discourses to arrest, isolate, and instantiate the body in relation to the axes of time and space; it enables the decipherment, delineation, and analysis of the body's surface' (Lalvani 1996: 33, citing Butler 1990).

Accounting for the effect of photographic technologies in producing subjects takes on special significance in the case of urban parks in the 1800s, since the era of industrialization and park development was also a time of rapid innovation in photography. A number of new technologies arose during the 1850s, 60s, and 70s that increased the reach and effectiveness of photographic practices in this regard. The collodion process, which improved on Talbot's earlier work to reproduce images from negatives, significantly reduced the cost and difficulty of reproduction, so that photographers found themselves capable of producing cheap, high quality copies of their work for the first time. Prior to the 1870s, most photographic practice involved one-off creations suitable only for family portraits or artistic exhibition. Competing technologies included the Daguerreotypes and Talbot's own process, the Talbotype. The former could not be reproduced at all, while the latter employed fragile and coarse-grained paper negatives, which produced low-resolution images. By contrast, the collodion process used glass negatives, which were both more durable and produced much crisper images than the Talbotype. The unprecedented scale at which photographs could be produced and distributed enabled a degree of fidelity and consistency that was not possible previously.

Taking advantage of these new developments, James Cremer, a prominent photographer active in Philadelphia in the 1870s, published an extensive set of photographs of Fairmount Park shortly after its establishment, which would then become widely distributed in Philadelphia and beyond. While the exact number of photos in the collection isn't known, about 150 unique images were consulted for the purposes of this research, which I divide into four categories according to different ways that the park and

park users are depicted. Each category is roughly equally represented in the collection, and three of them have direct bearing on the present discussion. Images from the first category show wide views of various landscapes in the park. Shots of the park's tree canopy, rivers and streams, and long views of open fields predominate. Most of these are taken from a distance, enframing a solitary man or woman so that his or her presence is dwarfed by the larger scene. (Figure 4.1 is an example.) The next category depicts people, solitary or in pairs, at a medium distance, in contemplation. Such scenes are near paths, benches, bridges, or other man-made features of the park. (Figures 4.2 and 4.3 are examples of these). Third, many images show solitary individuals (usually men) up close, in intimate interaction with their environment. (Figure 4.4 is an example.) The last type of photograph, not included in my discussion, depicts park visitors in groups, sitting in fields or on benches, or occasionally in front of historical buildings. What sets these pictures apart from the others is that the people in them are posing for the shot, looking directly into the camera. These photographs are not included because they are closer to portraits than didactic depictions of park behavior.

The images were highly popular in Philadelphia and won Cremer a gold medal in an annual competition at the Franklin Institute, at the time one of the most prestigious scientific institutions in the world (Stereoworld 1979). Artistically speaking, Cremer employed the new technology of photography in similar ways that the old technology of painting had been employed in previous decades. Cremer's depictions of landscapes and natural scenes reflected trends found in the work of early nineteenth-century landscape painters collectively known as the Hudson River School (for comparison, see especially

Kornhauser 2003, O'Toole 2005). Their work, meant primarily for urban audiences, included scenes from the American Frontier and scenes of Native American ways of life; it has been argued that they represented the beliefs of adherents to this school that “nature had religious, therapeutic, and/or didactic values” (p. 2, Driscoll 1981). The grandiosity of the landscape featured in Figure 4.1, compared with the small size of the man in it, suggest that Cremer's work was informed by similar sentiments as those of the Hudson River School about how one was meant to think of oneself within the context of one's natural surroundings. While Cremer himself left little explicit indication that he subscribed to such views, it was not uncommon to find such views among urban park advocates (see Geffen 1982).

There are, however, significant differences between Cremer's work and that of the Hudson River School painters. Even though the river that lent its name to the movement was within reach of some of the wealthier members of the audience of Hudson School painters, the workers and their families who comprised much of that audience had little hope of traveling far from their immediate urban environs (indeed, this was one of the arguments made in favor of establishing urban parks in the 1850s and 60s). Furthermore, many Hudson School painters strove to paint nature in its ideal form, and it was not assumed that the landscapes they depicted would ever be visited by its audience (Novak 2007). Indeed, in the pursuit of an ideal depiction of nature, many Hudson School painters often compiled features from multiple landscapes in their paintings, making such a visit impossible (Driscoll 1981). By contrast, while Cremer's work enjoyed national distribution, its primary audience was the people of Philadelphia and visitors to that city,

and his work depicted scenes that could be – indeed, were meant to be – visited by his audience. Cremer's work was meant to entice people into the park by depicting nearby locales. Thus, while Cremer's work no doubt contained some of the same signals as Hudson School painting in his collection, the idealization of rural scenery so typical of Hudson river art was only one dimension of Cremer's photographic works. By combining the set of values associated with the Hudson River School (and the Romantic movement more broadly) with the qualities attributed to the emerging technology of photography, Cremer's images were more than innocent efforts of documentation of the new park; they were political acts that had profound effects in establishing the meaning and identity of the park and the people in it.

In this section of the paper, I highlight three of these effects (in a later section I will address a number of other, more minor points): first, they produced a knowledge of the spaces of the park and the city as opposing realms, where the park was a space of trees, rivers, and clean air, while the city was a space of work. Second, the images plotted the park/city coupling within a teleological understanding of urban development, where the rise of a particular set of economic practices rendered another set obsolete. Finally, they delineated the bounds of appropriate behavior inside and outside the space of the park, and provided an ethical framing for how to use the park. In framing what could be meaningfully said about the relationship between the park and the city in these ways, Cremer provided a narrative for a citizenry that until then lacked a coherent understanding of urban parks. The increasing novelty and ubiquity of photographs allowed Cremer's view to spread in a way it couldn't have a generation before. His work

was sold all over the United States in much the same way that postcards are sold today, and its distribution cut across society, finding its way into the homes of both the rich and the poor, and ultimately enabling a coherent discourse of urban parks to emerge.

This was accomplished by depicting a park that was within, but conceptually beyond, the space of the city; spaces of nature were to be enjoyed from a distance. Figure 4.1 expresses a common theme in Cremer's work: it shows a male park visitor dwarfed by the immensity of the landscape that surrounds him. In this example, the distance between the man and the park is achieved by the positioning of the photographer himself -- it is taken from a high vantage point, and the emphasis is on the breadth of the landscape. The man is anonymous. Photographs like this one are explicit references to the 'natural' constituents of the park - its hills, rivers, and forests -- and render the presence of humans as a temporary interruption. The stance of the visitor is precisely that, the stance of someone who only temporarily inhabits the space. Figure 4.1 suggests a park that isn't a place to dwell in, but a place to be gazed upon. This can also be seen in examples such as Figures 4.5-4.9. Each of these depicts people, usually solitary, in the midst of expansive wilderness landscapes. To a lesser extent, Figures 4.10-4.13 produce a similar effect, though in each of these the park visitors have taken advantage of the technologies that made the park visible as such in the first place: roads, bridges, and fenced-in look-outs.

This point is made even more clearly on the reverse side of Cremer's photos, which included a copy of a short, three-paragraph essay that describes the new park, entitled "Fairmount Park and Water Works, Philadelphia". Cremer writes:

"the city has purchased the ground on either side of the Shuylkill River...and have [sic] dedicated it as a Public Park and Pleasure Ground, in that way controlling

[sic] the banks of the streams [to prevent pollution by industry]. As a Park, it is the largest in the world, containing nearly 3,000 acres. For natural beauty, it is unsurpassed, and has every variety of scenery—cascades, green and wooded islands, meadows, uplands, lawns, rocky ravines, hist hill-summits and open fields.”

This description, coupled with the numerous scenes like the one in Figure 4.1 suggests that, for Cremer, the park is made up of scenery of a particular variety, distinct from the urban landscape.

In the photographs, meaning is produced as much by what is omitted as by what is included. Cremer's collection omits the rough, in-progress character of many areas in the newly-established park. Despite the presence of factories, mills, and roadways on park lands into the early twentieth century, none of these is represented in the photographs despite their place as mainstays of Philadelphia's economy only a few years before. Excluding from Cremer's visual narrative the factories that operated along the banks of the Schuylkill River up until the establishment of Fairmount Park helped shape the way the park and the urban economy could be understood. In providing no place in his story of the park for these industrial sites, Cremer underscored a particular reading of the park as preserve -- a holdout against the encroaching city. Maintaining such an image of the urban economy meant looking past the conscious decision that concentrated industry away from the park. To make room for the factories in his interpretation would have meant adopting a different view of the land's history, and a vision for economic development that placed industry not in the heart of the city, but situated among the “wilderness”. Finally, in reinforcing the park's conceptual distance from the city, the bulk of the 'panoramic' photographs in the collection are taken from the east side of the river

looking west - that is, looking away from the city of Philadelphia. Again, just as factories on park lands were omitted, so were views of the city itself, so that urban life is nearly absent from the pictures. Where the city does occasionally figure in, it's shown as a thing in the distance, as in Figures 4.2-4.7. In fact, it is still commonly said about Fairmount Park that a person can wander the park and forget that he or she is in a city of millions, a sentiment that was fundamental to Cremer's interpretation of it.

The photographs don't merely establish the conceptual distance between the park and the city. They also, as I stated above, plot the urban park/industrial city pairing along a trajectory of urban development as the logical successor to an era when urban economic practices were more tightly woven with their rural counterparts. To that effect, many of the photos depict 'rural' scenes -- for example, a man resting against an old wooden fence that borders a pasture or field (Figure 4.8). Figures 4.9-4.18 are further examples of the role of the "rural" in the collection. The influence of this notion of 'rurality' in park design is well documented both in the academic literature on parks as well as the writings of park designers themselves (Young 1995, Olmsted 1997). While examples of this type of scenery are a staple in the Fairmount Park photo collection, Cremer's accompanying essay again provides interpretive guidance. It includes a list of prominent homes that exist on park lands, recently occupied but no longer inhabited, acquired at the same time as the lands occupied by river-side industrial sites. In this case, however, the homes were not omitted, but nor were they cast as viable dwellings. Instead, Cremer described them as throwbacks to a distant past characterized by rural ways of living. For Cremer, these houses represented a romanticized way of life that was more intertwined with nature than

the world he occupied; for him, as for many of his contemporaries, the old ways could now only be apprehended through the backward glance of history.

Finally, producing the park as distant from, but intertwined with the city, Cremer's photos established guidelines for ethical behavior of visitors to the park. Like Robbins' lawn people, park subjects were called into being through Cremer's depiction of the urban park, beckoning city dwellers to enter the park, to explore, sit, read, and think among the natural resources it contained. So, while the park was meant to be visited, those who visited it could never be anything more than transient occupants. The images implied an invitation -- visitors needed to be invited into the park since, according to the new knowledge of urban nature, they weren't already there. Many of the photos depict individuals engaged in a variety of activities to which the park was meant to lend itself; for example, Figure 4.19 depicts a man climbing up a cliff face. Others show men leaning over boulders to gaze into streams, or looking out over fields and forests (Figures 4.20-4.29). These maintained the park as an exotic site of exploration while providing a behavioral template for park subjects to emulate. Fundamentally, Cremer was describing the park as a place of leisure rather than one of work, reflected in the fact that all of the people in his photographs were members of the middle or upper classes, all well-dressed members of genteel society, and in that way served to reinforce the conceptualization of the city as a space of work.

As above, this subset of photographs is also notable for its omissions, in this case the exclusion of people engaged in economic activities. Factories, as mentioned earlier, were left out of the park imagination, but so too were other economic practices, such as

gathering of the abundant fruits and nuts, felling of timber for construction materials (which was commonplace not long before the park's establishment - see Contosta and Franklin 2006), collection of firewood, removal of ice from the river for use in cellars, and many others. It is with these omissions in mind that I turn to the Fairmount Park Guard, an institution that formed alongside the park itself, in whose annual reports evidence of these activities is preserved.

4.4 Erasing Economic Difference in the Park

'The matter of clubbing trees [to obtain fruits and nuts] has become a serious one....Many of the best as well as the lowest class of citizens seem to be of the opinion that they have a right to club trees [in the park] and take any fruit they can obtain....There are many fruit trees in isolated places *that are of no benefit* and had better be cut down.' (Louis Chasteau, Annual Report of the Fairmount Park Guard, 1878, emphasis added)

The same act of state assembly that authorized the formation of the park instituted the Fairmount Park Guard and charged its employees with policing the newly acquired grounds. To ensure compliance with the moral code defined by park discourse, the captain of the park guard, Louis Chasteau, submitted annual reports of his and his subordinates' efforts to police Fairmount Park. These reports span a twenty-seven-year period beginning just after the formal establishment of the park, from 1872 to 1899. These reports document, perhaps inadvertently, the efforts of the park guard to overwrite one set of practices associated with 'pre-industrial' subsistence use of forests with another, associated with leisure-oriented uses of urban parks. The existence of economic activity in the park as recorded in Chasteau's reports belies the notion of a clear division between the park and the city, the establishment of which was necessary in order to successfully

bring them into being.

This section highlights two important functions that the guard performed in the production and maintenance of park discourse, each of which reinforces the functions of the photographs described above. First is the role that the guard played in producing the urban park as an object of knowledge through surveillance, including the calculation of park statistics and record keeping. Second is the park guard's role as a key actor in maintaining the moral landscape of the urban park just after its establishment.

The park guard operated much like any police force, setting up guard houses at regular intervals in the park, and stationing guards in each. By encouraging the guards to move about their assigned territory frequently, their potential presence at any given moment provided security for the park's visitors and a deterrent for those intent on violating the rules and customs of the park. For example, the park guard enforced strict rules about where visitors could enter the park, and provided guidelines for where they could walk, ride horses, and drive carriages. Narrative reports make it clear that the guard's role wasn't just to ensure the safety of visitors, but also to enforce a strict moral code defined through the proper use of and behavior in the presence of nature. These included the care of children and the behavior of men and women in public, the reinforcement of gender roles, and appropriate forms of recreation.

One of the park guard captain's duties was to compile what he called "The Statistics", a set of figures that reported to the park commissioners a range of information: the number of nuisances removed ("dead dogs", "bands of gypsies"); a list of the types and numbers of offenses committed ("insulting women", "throwing stones",

"females swimming"); the number of picnics enjoyed; and the number and place of entry of visitors to the park. As others have shown, such record-keeping is an important tool for defining and bringing into being particular spaces as objects to be governed or, to use Scott's language, to make them legible to the state (1998). Like Osbourne and Rose's theorization of the production of the city as governable space, so too is the park produced as a space to be governed through the compilation of this information. While Chasteau's annual reports were consistent in producing a set of moral guidelines for using and managing parks, their purpose wasn't strictly to measure the park. The guard was often inconsistent in their recording of the events that took place in the park. Categories of data (offenses, nuisances exterminated, stray livestock found) changed frequently. This, however, is also their central point of importance: their purpose wasn't strictly to enumerate the goings-on in the park (though that was certainly one of its purposes), but to define the space of the park, to outline its contours, to distinguish it from the space of the city by describing what happened there. Similarly, a list of commandments detailing the rules of behavior in the park were posted at all park entrances, many of which outlined prohibitions regarding the curtailment of economic uses of the park. They included the following: "No person shall carry fire-arms or shoot birds in the Park...disturb the fish or water-fowl in the pool or pond, or birds in any part of the Park...cut, break, or in any wise injure or deface the trees, shrubs, plants, [or] turf...[or] take ice from the Schuylkill within the Park...." Together, these rules produced the park as an ethical landscape, describing its limits, its purpose, and the characteristics of those who cared for it. In short, they inscribed upon the body of the park, as well as the bodies of park goers, a specific and

fixed set of characteristics that seemed to flow inevitably from the conceptual bounding of park and city space.

The statistics and narrative reports produced by the park guard, as records of deviance in the park, are also useful because they illuminate a dimension of the park that has largely been forgotten, by pointing to a set of economic practices that persisted despite the park guard's best efforts to quell them. The list of offenses includes: "cutting ice" during the winter for use in cellars, or to enable fishing on the frozen river, "clubbing trees" (to collect fruit and nuts), "cutting" and "chopping trees" for firewood, "killing rabbits", "shooting at game", "pulling flowers", and "cutting sods". Collection of ferns, leaves, and medicinal plants, fishing in the river, and efforts to "botanize" (a generic term for plant collection) plagued the park guard. The narrative portion of the reports make clear that gathering fruits, nuts, herbs, mushrooms, and other plant materials from the park was common practice. The epigraph at the beginning of this section is an excerpt from a report in 1878 in which Chasteau relates the story of ejecting from the park two boys who were clubbing trees, and a subsequent visit to Chasteau's office from the boys' father, who was enraged that they should be prevented from doing so, arguing that he had moved to a house adjacent to the park so that the boys could "have the advantages of all that might be obtained" from it. Several of the reports submitted between 1872 and 1899 complain of similar activities, which suggests the existence of an alternative viewpoint for understanding the forested lands now encompassed by the park's boundaries, one that was opposed to the emerging view of urban nature associated with urban parks, particularly in its understanding of the economic uses of forested lands.

The guard captain's eventual request for permission to cut down all fruit trees in the park to prevent their exploitation, as well as the notion of the parks as a non-economic space, seems to run counter to the sentiments expressed in a yearly event called Nutting-Day, a popular holiday when thousands of school children came into the park to collect nuts from the chestnut, walnut, and hazelnut trees found there (Burley and Kidder 1876, p 430). In 1871, three years after the establishment of the park, one writer estimated that fully 1/6 of the city's population attended the event, clear evidence of the popularity and importance of gathering in urban people's lives (Keyser 1872). Further, the park commission's endorsement of the event could be read as evidence that alternative economic activities like gathering were consistent with dominant framings of the park. But Nutting Day was open only to children and their caretakers, not to working adults. It was seen by one onlooker as a commemoration "of the old times when Fair-Mount was nothing more than a wildwood." (Calkins 1871: 585). Another wrote about Nutting Day that: "To the children, it was something which, in after years, would appear a big bright slice of their childhood. It was a new song in the dusty market-place which they would learn by heart and we fancy will never forget.... Contact with God's world outside of a town is as necessary for the development of the soul of a boy as fresh air is for his body" (Keyser 1872: 116). Clearly, Nutting Day itself, not unlike the recasting of mansions scattered throughout the park, reinforced the growing hegemony of a capitalocentric interpretation of the city, relegating non-capitalist economic forms to historically-distant "wildlands" and to childhood. Chasteau's advocacy for removing nut-bearing trees to prevent tree clubbing reflects the desire to shape the park according to a

particular vision of nature in the city, erasing economic diversity and ultimately producing in the city a space of nature that was free from its troubles. In the end, while Chasteau wasn't entirely successful in removing all of the nut-bearing trees in the park (many still exist today), Nutting Day came to an abrupt end only a handful of years after it began, and the practice has been illegal in the park ever since (though of course it still continues in spite of the law).

4.5 Conclusion

In Philadelphia, as in many other cities, the establishment of parks provided a discursive frame that reinforced an emerging notion of the capitalist city. Yet, the persistence of non-capitalist practices in the park suggests that the narrow strictures of park discourse were inadequate for many who sought different relationships with park lands, relationships that were to become increasingly marginalized as the industrial city became more fully entrenched in everyday ways of knowing the city. Successful establishment and maintenance of the industrial city required the alienation of such practices and practitioners, a task well-suited to the institution of the urban park, which recast the meaning of nature found (or produced) within and nearby urban space in multiple ways. Nevertheless, it is evident from the Fairmount Park guard reports that in Philadelphia, as in many other places, people continued to resist the imposition of the urban park onto the existing landscape. In doing so, they attempted, but ultimately failed, to recast the space of the park, and by extension, of the city, according to specific economic needs not provided for in either visual representations, like Cremer's

photographs, or in disciplinary efforts, like those of the Fairmount Park Guard.

The disciplinary mechanisms that produce park space and park subjects, make it clear that the notion of the capitalist city is neither inevitable nor inescapable, but requires a host of interventions for its reproduction, in this case by park managers and park users. Rather than take for granted that parks were the products of external economic forces associated with urban development, I have sought to add to the work on the micro-politics of urban park formation by demonstrating that urban parks were themselves agents in the formation of the industrial city, to understand how the establishment and maintenance of urban parks helped bring them into being. I have done so by documenting three specific mechanisms through which this was accomplished: first was the production, through visual representation, of park space as natural (rather than social) space and distant from the space of the city and the people who inhabited it. The second was the production of urban subjectivities that reflected the opposite and complementary point – that (urban) people were inherently separate from nature and could only occupy the space of the park as outsiders. This, too, was accomplished through a close examination of photographic representations of individuals in the park, but also the activities and actions of the Fairmount Park guard, which present an obvious example of what Michel Foucault called 'biopolitics', or the disciplining of bodies in space (1990b). Finally, I presented an accounting of the erasure of economic difference within the spaces of urban parks, which can be inferred from various documentary sources, and which highlights the importance of establishing monolithic status of capitalist economic activity in the city in order to allow the capitalist city to emerge.

Yet, however dominant that discourse is or was, its existence requires continual renewal and is always partial and open to reworking. The city, whatever qualities are ascribed to it, must be understood as produced through a set of disciplinary practices and the discourses that underpin them. The space that was produced through, for example, the criminalization of plant collection on urban woodlands continues to operate in the management of urban greenspace today, while parks and other areas continue to be touted as antidotes to the evils of the capitalist city. The edification of a new kind of nature in and through a discourse of urban parks in the nineteenth century produced a spatial knowledge of the city that made possible one form of economic practice and closed off others, putting the urban park at the center of the disciplinary project that helped reproduce the notion of a monolithic capitalist industrial economy, and ultimately the conceptual divide between the city and nature with which we are faced today.

Chapter Five - Placing Neoliberalism in the Park

5.1. Introduction

In the foregoing pages, I have been concerned with the process by which urban people become subjects of environmental and economic discourses of the city. I have argued that the notion of the city-as-economic-entity emerged alongside the emergence of the urban park, and that each was required for the other. As urban people have come to imagine parks as a kind of wild (or semi-wild) space, the physical juxtaposition of parks against “urban” space has helped to produce a knowledge of the latter as a distinctly human space, in which non-human creatures are absent (or, when present, are only there accidentally). According to this knowledge, cities are arranged because of and in service to economic rationality.

In the second half of this dissertation, I shift from an examination of the park's and the city's past, and begin asking about its present, or more specifically about the 1990s and 2000s. At this time, the shifting nature of the network of actors that constitute the park and the city began to rearrange themselves, to articulate different interests and desires, linking their efforts with a host of new actors. In this chapter, I describe the events that led to the demise of the Fairmount Park Commission, a series of events that conveys the sense that what often looks like a stable, solid, and static arrangement of people and things is always in a constant state of motion, and that the illusion of stability is maintained only if particular arrangements are continually produced anew. This is a subtle, but politically important difference in how to conceptualize the formation and

maintenance of such arrangements, and indeed to intervene in them, since it helps to identify opportunities to act otherwise, to begin forming other arrangements. As a variety of new actors, including invasive species, shrinking budgets, and new forms of urban work began to present themselves, a new knowledge of the city as an environmental space, informed by but ultimately pushing beyond the 19th century knowledge of the industrial city, emerged. In doing so, it has brought into being an urban environmental subject that performs the urban environment as an extension of the capitalist city, guided by an ethic of sustainable consumption.

To reiterate points I have made earlier in this dissertation, my interest is not to seek the origin of this new environmental knowledge in the sense of eternal or essential driving forces, but to understand how it is produced and maintained, to trace its contours, to identify who and what constitutes it, to imagine what possibilities for political engagement it opens up and closes down. In short, if we accept the proposition that knowledge and power are inexorably linked, we can begin to understand what this new knowledge means for the future of the environmental city as it has come to be known, as well as its political consequences for the subjects it produces.

In 2009, the City of Philadelphia held a public meeting concerning the future of Fairmount Park, in which the city's mayor and a number of other panelists explained the importance of promoting parks as a draw for tourists interested in active restoration. During the question-and-answer session, one member of the audience stepped up to the microphone to express his fear that increased use of parks might cause increased stress, and they might be "loved to death". In response, one of the panelists, Peter Harnik, of the

Trust for Public Land in Washington, DC, explained that in his view, “There is no place for wilderness in the city.” The comment first drew unhappy murmurs from the crowd, and what I imagined was a fair amount of anger and frustration at the man who seemed so out of touch with Philadelphia's parks and Philadelphians' interest in them, for parks were still seen by many, just as they were in the nineteenth century, as sites of wilderness to which humans could escape from the city. And yet, while Harnik's statement was at first received unfavorably, the sentiment has since come to infuse a new way Philadelphia's parks have been imagined and performed in the first decade of the 21st century. In this chapter, I explore the process by which the park as a space of wilderness has been challenged and reworked by a discourse of the park as instrument of economic development.

Park users in Philadelphia have continued to perform the binary division between nature and society. Indeed, some park commissioners have seen their work, and the work of ecological restoration, as a continuation of the work that Eli K. Price and others began in the 1850s. This discourse has been carried forward especially through the practices of volunteer-driven organizations, like the Friends of the Wissahickon (FOW), which assists the city in managing its parks. Through the examination of the specific interventions of the FOW, including the mobilization of a wide base of volunteers, I argue that 19th century park discourse was able to persist precisely because the practices associated with its founding continued to be performed. “The work that parks do”, as I put it in Chapter Three, is work that is done again and again, by the people, maps, photographs, and landscapes that have constituted “the park” and the city since the 1860s and before.

My discussion in this chapter is driven by data gleaned from a variety of sources. Primarily, I draw from printed texts. This includes newsletters from organizations directly engaged in the management of parks, such as the Friends of the Wissahickon and the Philadelphia Parks Alliance, two park advocacy groups in Philadelphia; newspaper articles from the city's major newspaper, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*; and government documents, including those produced and distributed by the Fairmount Park Commission. In addition, I also carry forward some of the modes of analysis I employed in previous chapters. Maps and images, especially those that accompanied the documents described above, prove useful for making sense of the broader context in which these documents are situated. Finally, I draw on data gathered at public meetings, in which many of the struggles that characterize the day-to-day use and management of the park are fought. These include data gleaned from meetings organized by the Fairmount Park Commission and community groups that focused on the merger of the Fairmount Park Commission and the City's Department of Recreation.

5.2 The Fairmount Park Commission - Reassembling the Binary

In 1983, the Fairmount Park Commission conducted a survey of its property holdings, which it used to develop a master plan for the management of its extensive park system (now more than 9,200 acres) (Finkel 1986). The resulting master plan was the first time in decades that a set of clear goals for the park commission was articulated, establishing guidelines for the preservation, administration, and future acquisition of park lands as well as a system of categorization in which all park lands could be designated as

one of three types: recreational resources (which focused on active recreation, like ball fields and playgrounds); designed landscapes (city parks with natural components like trees, benches, fountains, mown grass lawns, and so on, but characterized as a place for human enjoyment); and natural lands, some of which were acknowledged as being in use for passive recreation, but whose primary importance was defined in terms of ecosystem services, as well as their intrinsic value as sites of urban biodiversity (ANSP 1983).

Within the latter designation, the report identified areas which were of particular ecological significance, as well as ones that were in danger of disturbance as a consequence of human activity, like increased erosion from run-off following heavy rain.

While many of the master plan's recommendations were stalled due to a lack of funding until the 1990s, the plan reestablished connections between specific components of the park and specific activities for users and managers, identifying a set of natural objects to be managed and used, and a set of human subjects to manage and use them. In these terms, the types of park landscape found in the city were placed along a continuum of contact between humans and nature. Sites for active recreation and relaxation were given over completely to human use, where the presence of non-human life was left out of the equation for managers and users and, where it was present, was almost purely accidental. In designed landscapes non-human nature was highly managed, and managed according to human needs and desires. Of the natural lands, a few sites were depicted as relatively free from the negative consequences of anthropogenic disturbance, but most were, to one degree or another, seen as being in need of repair.

While the master plan languished for more than a decade because of a lack of funding, it was given a jump-start in the late 1990s with a multi-million dollar grant by the William Penn Foundation, a Philadelphia-based non-profit organization. The grant focused on the "natural lands" designation, funding a new round of environmental assessments that would describe in greater detail the state of the natural lands held by the park commission, and establishing the Natural Lands Restoration and Environmental Education Program (NLREEP). The NLREEP's first task under the new project was to develop an "archive" of the park, a database that would catalogue all of the park's natural land holdings, divide these lands into hundreds of discrete sites, and document their quality and character, including the type and degree of disturbance at all locations in the park, as well as a list of animal and plant species that existed there. These descriptions were eventually published in 1999 in the thousand-page report *Natural Lands Restoration Master Plan* (Fairmount Park Commission 1999).

This report draws a great deal from the then-emerging scientific field known as ecosystem restoration. While it was not new for surveyors, naturalists, foresters, and lay people to talk about the park in terms of damage caused by human activity, what was new was the language of restoration science, a language that lent scientific certitude to judgments about the preference for particular types of landscapes in the park. With a turn toward ecosystem restoration, the Fairmount Park Commission's activities were now firmly grounded in an ecological science based on the notion of stages of ecological succession. Most ecosystems in Philadelphia, it explains, are somewhere in a middle stage, in recovery from intensive farming in the 18th and 19th centuries on most of the

land now encompassed by the Fairmount Park System. The application of restoration science treated human activity as a form of disturbance to native ecosystems, producing park users as alien and antagonistic entities. Interactions between people and the park are necessarily detrimental to the park (and nature), even as they are beneficial to people:

[P]eople have controlled, reshaped and destroyed these lands as a means of supporting human life for thousands of years.... [In the mid-nineteenth century, n]atural lands were the prescription for the ills of the city. People were encouraged to go to natural areas and find solace, peace and redemption in the land. This notion reflects an ancient belief that green pastures restore health and still waters restore the soul. Parks with carefully designed natural areas were planned and implemented throughout the country in hopes of saving mankind from itself. Natural lands in the Fairmount Park system were conceived through such thinking, and today a park system with natural lands is accessible to most every Philadelphian. The Fairmount Park system offers a variety of restorative opportunities for contemplation and meditation, as well as active recreation. It provides an opportunity to observe and learn about the natural world ... The natural lands are important ... for lessening the environmental impacts of a highly developed and busy city. (Fairmount Park Commission 1999 pg I-9)

In this framing, parks are still seen as places to which human beings can flee from the city. It is interesting to note the ease with which the authors transition from a description of 19th century values to the needs of today - or rather, to point out that there is no transition in this passage. For the authors of the report, the purpose of the park remains the same as it was in the 19th century, only now, it has the weight of restoration science behind it.

Because the mediation of "artificial processes" is a central managerial concern for the NLREEP, native species are seen as especially vulnerable to the destructive grasp of human hands, and should be left alone when possible. As the land designations from the 1983 report suggest, humans are to be kept separate from natural lands when their needs

come into conflict with those of nature. At the same time, since the NLREEP's goals are to encourage human use and knowledge of nature as well as the protection of the latter, human use of restoration sites is desirable, but only when it won't impede restoration goals.

The distinction and separation of nature and the city is further elaborated in the series of maps that accompanied the final restoration reports for each of the seven major watershed parks (Fairmount Park Commission 1999). In them, park land is broken up into a number of distinct types according to the process described above. In accompanying maps, there are no trails marked and few streets named (see Figure 5.1 as an example). There is no indication of how or where one might enter the park or what one might do there. Of course, these are thematic maps and aren't necessarily designed to hide these aspects of the park; they are not meant as guide maps, nor are they taken to be complete visual descriptions of all the park contains by the people who use them. Nevertheless, by carefully mapping and color-coding areas in the park according to land designations based on disturbance, the maps codified the ontological framing of restoration science, reinforcing the conceptual distance between human users of the park and the park itself.

Taking another example, the report's description of stream assessment makes clear the limits of an understanding of disturbance strictly in terms of the frequency of human interaction. The first volume of the 1999 report describes a study comparing stream health in Philadelphia to that of surrounding areas. The baseline for these determinations was taken from rural, "undeveloped" sites (p 121) which are assumed to be free of human

intervention, and thus in a "natural" state (see map, Figure 5.2). Stream-banks within the parks (and thus, within the urban boundary) are found to be at greater risk of erosion from storm water run-off. Because rural sites are taken as characteristic of normal, healthy streams, relatively independent of human influence, differences between urban and rural streams (grade of stream-banks, depth of water, etc) are reduced to the consequence of human activity associated with urbanization - the rural streams are seen as pristine, while the urban ones are not. Thus, urbanization can only be framed as a form of disturbance. Resulting recommendations are consistent with this framing: the only way to prevent further (and repair existing) damage is to mitigate the effects of urbanization, to further distance human activity from parks and streams.

The final reports for each major park in Philadelphia were produced by researchers in the field, many of them volunteers trained in a particular way of seeing by scientists in the employ of the Fairmount Park Commission and the Academy of Natural Sciences. They learned to ask particular questions of it, and to listen for particular kinds of answers. Field researchers became skilled practitioners of assembling specific kinds of facts about the park, describing it as a series of sites in various stages of succession, subject to disturbance. In their field reports, researchers' preferences for end-stage successional landscapes is clear in their descriptions. For example, one land parcel is described as having "a large woods with some good, diverse canopy" while others are described as being "scrubby" or "overrun by invasives" (Fairmount Park Commission 1999, p 838). In the reports, fragmentation of forests is cited as a major problem, since it means greater exposure to external influences (in this case, forces emanating from the

city), leading to higher mortality rates and shorter life spans of trees and other organisms. As stated in the report, "[b]ecause of the complexity of management of natural lands in an urban setting, goals for restoration need to be established to ensure common understanding and continuity of activities undertaken....The goal of restoration is to strengthen the viability of self-sustaining ecological communities containing native species appropriate to the region...." (ibid I-18).

Once the field reports, maps, and historical accounts were compiled and inserted into a larger story about the state of the park, the report's conclusions became self-evident. The park still had some way to go before it reached the end-stage of succession (if it ever would), particularly because it was subject to a variety of ongoing disturbances at the hands of human beings, or by non-natives species introduced by humans. The report reinforced and reinscribed well-worn lines of demarcation between nature and the city. It became a rallying point for other groups in the city tasked with the maintenance of Philadelphia's ecosystems. The notion of disturbance became the center around which all of the NLREEP's activities revolved, and in the following years, the everyday activities of park managers and volunteers would put to work the system of knowledge developed in the Master Plan and embodied in its description of the park.

5.3. Friends of the Wissahickon - Producing Urban Subjects and Environmental Objects

As the 1999 Restoration Master Plan makes clear, the preservation of wilderness has been a central concern for Fairmount Park since its establishment in the 1800s, and

continues to influence its management in fundamental ways. Large swaths of "natural lands" in need of protection were identified in all of the city's seven largest parks (Wissahickon, East/West Park, Pennypack, Tacony, Cobb's Creek, Poquessing, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt Park). But the role of wilderness as a management concern is most pertinent with regard to the Wissahickon, of which almost nine out of every ten acres was identified as natural land (1755 acres out of about 2000)(Fairmount Park Commission 1999, pg 613). In this section, I use the Wissahickon as a case for discussing the role of wildness in the formation of environment spaces and subjectivities in Philadelphia.

The Wissahickon stretches in a 5-mile long corridor through the northwestern neighborhoods of Philadelphia: Germantown, Mount Airy, and Chestnut Hill on its east side, and Manayunk and Roxborough on the west. As I discussed in Chapter Four, this stretch of land was featured prominently in the formation of the Fairmount Park System (and its Commission) in 1868. It is a long, narrow park that encompasses a deep gorge through which the last five miles of the Wissahickon Creek run before joining the Schuylkill River (the creek extends for an additional twelve miles upstream and outside the city limits) (see figure 5.3). The park's original purpose (as in all of the city's other large parks) was to protect waterways from pollution and development, though here, as in other places, that meant demolishing existing buildings. For the purposes of preserving water quality, the Wissahickon was an important site in the 1860s because it was a major feeder stream into the Schuylkill River, from which Philadelphians' drinking water was (and still is) taken. It is at this intersection of waterways that the Wissahickon and the rest

of the land designated as a park in 1868 join to form a single, contiguous span of park land. The Wissahickon remains one of the most visited areas of Philadelphia's parks system, in part because it is also one of the best maintained, most densely wooded, and to some minds, the most picturesque of Philadelphia's parks. In part, this is because the Wissahickon is home to one of the city's most active and influential park advocacy organizations, the eighty-year-old Friends of the Wissahickon (FOW).

Historically, the east side of the park has been populated by wealthy families, while the west has been populated by the less affluent. Since its earliest days, the FOW, based in Chestnut Hill on the northeastern edge of the park, has counted among its members a number of wealthy and politically-connected individuals, who have often been in an advantageous position in helping to shape the park, vis-a-vis the often cash-strapped Fairmount Park Commission and the less-affluent neighborhoods on the western border of the park (Contosta 1992). In that role, it has maintained a particular vision of the park, which has much in common with a nineteenth-century vision. It has done much to shape its object of interest according to these desires over the last 80 years and continues to do so (Contosta 1992; Contosta and Franklin 2010). In its own words, the goals of the FOW are to "preserv[e] the natural beauty and wilderness of the Wissahickon," a statement that is affixed to its promotional materials, its t-shirts, and its seasonal newsletter. Much of this influence is exerted through the publication of that newsletter, which is available free in coffee shops and grocery stores in the neighborhoods bordering the park. Beyond simply reading it, the newsletter is meant to function as an active document, to accompany readers into the park, either figuratively or

literally. Articles frequently feature suggestions for what to do next time the reader is in the park, or lists of animals or plants one might find there. Grainy photos challenge readers to identify more obscure and elusive sites, or to go find them hidden away in some seldom-visited corner of the park. Key to these efforts is the continuing separation of the city from the park, and the identification of a set of ethical and practical concerns of people living near the park, who often interact with it on a daily basis.

In the rest of this section, I discuss the FOW's efforts in three categories, each of which highlights different but interlocking matters of concern for the FOW: the response to natural hazards in the form of floods, historical preservation, and ecological restoration.

Floods and the Power of Water

In the summer of 2005, two momentous rainstorms (on August 1 and September 28) caused significant damage to valued features of the Wissahickon, destroying 19th century stone bridges and severely eroding stream banks. The storms sparked enormous interest among FOW members in water as a force that "must be tamed" (Spring 05, p4). Almost a full year after the storms, a new president of the FOW wrote about the struggle against the power of water as a heroic one, arguing that "we are limited in our ability to affect these forces of nature, regardless of our planning and work. Still, we persevere...." (Spring 06, p2).

Yet, while this event makes visible the view of water as an active force, the FOW's solutions to the problem, largely technological, is to become a mediator between

the city and the park. Through the construction of terrace steps to slow the speed of runoff from surrounding neighborhoods, for example, the damage done by water in this instance is framed primarily as an urban problem. "Water has destructive power," writes the FOW's executive director following the storms. "With the urbanization of Philadelphia and its immediate suburbs in the Wissahickon watershed, storm water has developed incredible destructive power" (Spring 2005). The FOW's interventions are meant, in a way, to transform urban water - which has a destructive impact on the natural order of things - into park water, which works to restore it because, in addition to its power to destroy, "[w]ater is powerfully resilient.... Despite the fact that the Wissahickon is one of the four most polluted tributaries of the Schuylkill and takes in millions of gallons of treated effluent from sewage treatment plants upstream – as well as a fair bit of waste from factories in Montgomery County [upstream from Philadelphia County] – the creek still supports geese and ducks, turtles, snakes, and fish of all kinds, from minnows to bass to trout." (Spring 05, pg 3). Through their efforts, humans can become mediators between the forces of nature and the preservation of nature. Nevertheless, its preservation efforts primarily concern human needs and desires: "A creek less picturesque than the one flowing in front of Valley Green Inn [a restaurant housed in an historical building] would be bad for business. Water in which trout are not able to survive would not bring the fishermen to the Wissahickon. Stagnant water would not be subject matter for photographers and painters who draw inspiration from the Wissahickon..." Finally, preservation of water also serves an instrumental purpose, since "fully a third of every glass, pot, or pitcher of water in northwest Philadelphia comes from the Wissahickon."

Historical Re-creation

Understanding the history of the Wissahickon Valley is essential to meeting the challenges of the park today. A thorough knowledge of the Valley's history also allows us to balance the needs of preservation and innovation that drive the Friends of the Wissahickon's work. (Maura McCarthy, President, FOW Newsletter, Spring 2011)

Interest in the historical nature of the park is central to its management and, in some ways, the FOW carries forward the work of early park proponents from the 1860s and 70s to preserve historical sites as indicators of a distant economic past. For example, one newsletter (Winter 2005) includes an article about an area of the park known as Rittenhouse town. The town was owned by the prominent Rittenhouse family, but was populated by the families who worked in the water-powered mills on Monoshone Creek, which connects to the Wissahickon a few hundred yards on. Today, only seven out of forty buildings remain; the rest were demolished by the city when it acquired the land for the park commission. In the early 1800s, the town's population supported a chapel, a hospital, a firehouse, and a school.

Early mills like those in Rittenhouse Town are treated as markers of Philadelphia's prominent economic position in the nineteenth century, reflected in plaques and other interpretive materials at the site itself. Rittenhouse Town is also celebrated for its role in the American Revolutionary War (paper was needed for, among other things, wadding in rifles). Yet, as powerful as this story of the site is, the site itself, which today serves as an access point to the rest of the park for hikers, bikers and dog-walkers, has a power of its own. The juxtaposition of carefully restored buildings and the crumbling plaster of old

walls, a preserved mill race and a gravel road that leads hikers past old wood and stone fences suggests to those who pass through it how people "used to live" - in simpler times, closer to nature, restricted by, but also respectful of, environmental limits and constraints. (See Figures 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6.) Reenactments of paper-making take place each year on the site's anniversary, but the techniques describe the work of the first settlers in the late 1600s and ignore the practices of the town when it actually was a town, home to a hundred or so workers. In recalling Rittenhouse Town's past, there is no mention of the working conditions for those workers, nor (at least at the site) is there any indication of additional buildings beyond those that remain. Indeed, to the extent that Rittenhouse Town is presented as an industrial site, it seems to have been an extremely tidy and peaceful one. As has been the case with so many other examples of economic production on what are now park lands, the story of Rittenhouse Town becomes a lesson about the power of the encroaching city and march of the industrial revolution. As one FOW member puts it, "[u]nfortunately, this vibrant community did not survive. By the late 1800s, as other energy sources were developed, Rittenhouse Town was no longer viable as an industrial village" (pg 5).

FOW newsletters commonly feature other stories about past economic endeavors that also mark the distinction between pre-urban economic practices that are said to have been commonplace in the distant past, celebrated as much for their difference as for their obsolescence, and those that it considers to be dominant today. An article from the Winter 2004 issue, tells the story of Thomas Livesy, whose home remains preserved in the park, and who produced wine from wild grapes gathered from the surrounding woods. His

practices (and the flavor of his wine) are contrasted with modern, commercial wine production today. The grapes available to him were limited, the author writes, because European grapes had not been successfully transplanted, and though his contemporaries wrote highly of his wine, it would be unrecognizable to us today. His methods, and the context in which he lived, the author implies, are lost to us. In another example, maple syrup production from trees in the park, an otherwise viable economic opportunity that the park provides, is framed as a component of a historical landscape rather than a contemporary one.

Maintaining Ecological Integrity

The Friends of the Wissahickon is, above all, a volunteer-driven organization. Much of its funding comes from its members, and most of the work it accomplishes, from trail restoration to wildlife monitoring, requires unpaid labor. Much of its newsletter each season, then, is devoted to promoting and reporting on volunteer support. Many articles feature volunteer groups who "adopt" sections of the park for restoration. One story celebrates the commitments of members of a local food cooperative, the Weaver's Way, who are focused on removing invasive species in their adopted section of the park. A Weaver's Way volunteer is quoted as saying, "We're not only concerned about the standards of our food....we're also concerned about community issues and the environment we live in" (Fall 2004, p5). Interestingly, the challenges of maintaining a park here are framed as "community issues" - issues that the residents of the neighborhoods bordering the park face collectively and therefore ought to be collectively

addressed (Fall 04). This focus on collectively-held values and collective responsibility in maintaining the park is especially visible in a set of articles relating the efforts of FOW members to repair historical monuments following the floods of 2005, in which individuals from the neighborhood are shown banding together in a time of crisis to repair damage and prevent further destruction (Spring 05). By putting on display individuals or groups with a specific set of commitments and desires, and who engage in specific practices in the park, these vignettes display the degree to which the values held by volunteers reflect an integration of the ethical stance of the FOW with its programmatic objectives and financial needs. Another article celebrates Frances Ballard, who in the 1930s was solely responsible for attracting over \$500,000 from the Works Projects Administration (WPA) to pay out-of-work immigrant stonemasons to build trails and bridges in the Wissahickon (Fall 2004). Others of a similar nature tell more contemporary stories of wealthy Philadelphians who participate in the city's voluntary easement program, in which the right to develop one's land is ceded to the city for purposes of wilderness preservation.

Because urban development in the form of new home construction is equated with a drop in water quality and an increase in environmental degradation, it is typically discussed in terms of its capacity to harm non-human nature, recognized as necessary in some cases but that should be reduced as much as possible and restricted to areas far from vulnerable park lands. A companion to the granting of easements is the effort to reshape the urban lawn into a more wildlife-friendly landscape. Frequently, the lawn and its requirements of chemical inputs is set up in opposition to the needs of birds and other

wildlife that don't restrict their movements to park lands but are framed as beings of the forests and streams that constitute the park. The solution put forward by the FOW (and indeed many organizations organized around wildlife preservation) is the conversion of lawns into more park-like landscapes: native trees and plants, water features, and indeed entire "meadows" are promoted to provide habitat for birds and amphibians.

All of these are explicit efforts to model exemplary behavior on the part of volunteers and FOW members. Indeed, the connection between the article and the reader is often reiterated in side panels giving information on how the reader can pursue similar behavior (one notable example is a sidebar about how to participate in the easement program). Other articles speak directly to readers. One, entitled "Stormwater Runoff and You", details how readers should behave with regard to runoff (disposal of hazardous materials, landscaping, and automobile care). Others encourage readers to volunteer for trail repair crews, or advertise workshops on using rain barrels to decrease their water use and help slow erosion in the park. Embedded within the larger frame of the FOW's interests and investments, these simple prescriptions help to situate the reader within the binary division of the park and the city.

The power of the FOW's framing of parks is ostensibly concerned only with park matters, but its work extends far beyond the park's formal boundaries. Frequently, concerns in the park connect seamlessly to a broader discourse on responsible environmental practice with respect to urban living through the volunteer activities it organizes, a connection it highlights frequently in its publications. Through its efforts, dramatic storms, animal migrations, and home construction become sites of ethical

decision making; "green" lawn care, environmental education, even ceding one's personal property to the state become imperative for the nature-loving city-dweller.

Without these encouragements, it would not be immediately obvious what the park is for. Just as it was in the 1870s, imposing the order that exists in the park requires a great deal of effort; vast wooded areas afford opportunities for the people who live near it beyond what the FOW's recommends. The possibility of economic pursuits, such as the grape-collecting and wine-making activities of Thomas Livesy, or the tapping of maple trees for syrup, suggests that the FOW's vision of the Wissahickon isn't the only one that's possible. Early in my research, I contacted a representative of the FOW to discuss some of the questions I had about the park, most notably the existence of what I was then calling "alternative economic practices" there. A telling moment during the conversation that followed was when I explained what I meant by the phrase "alternative economic practices". I explained how I had recently completed research on people who gathered plants for edible and medicinal uses from other parks in Philadelphia, and that I was interested in similar such unsanctioned activities in the Wissahickon. The representative assured me that no such practices occurred. I have since learned that this is not true, though it isn't clear to me why my informant claimed otherwise. Perhaps there were concerns that publicizing such practices would increase their frequency and cause further damage to ecosystems; perhaps he believed that it was true - these activities aren't always immediately visible. Whatever the case, it's clear that the FOW's framing of the park holds a certain power over the space, in which extractive, economic use of the park is harmful to its wildlife. (I will pick this theme back up in the next chapter.) The FOW,

then, plays a prominent role not only in shaping how the Wissahickon and other parks are known and used, and what shape they take physically; it is also deeply influential in how the city itself is perceived, as well as how urban people ought to conduct themselves.

5.4. The End of the Fairmount Park Commission

At the end of the 1990s, press releases, newspaper editorials, and government reports began to articulate a new knowledge of the urban park. While these efforts drew heavily from the differentiation of the park from the city that the FOW and others promote, the park was increasingly framed as a tool for economic development, a vital component of the economic fabric of the entrepreneurial city. This new vision no longer framed the park as a bucolic site for re-attuning oneself to nature's rhythms or reconnecting with the prehuman world. Rather, the park was framed as a financial asset, one that could contribute to the city's economic base by becoming financially self-supporting and "reap[ing] dividends" from the services it provides (Shields 2008). In this framing, the park not an exceptional space outside the economy of the city, but an integral part of it. While this subtle difference has never been acknowledged even in the debates over the future of the park, it became visible just under the surface in a time of crisis, after a decade or more of struggle in city council, through a bill that would effectively abolish the Fairmount Park Commission as an independent body, and merge it with the Department of Recreation. Introduced in 2005, the bill took more than four years to work its way through city council and the public forum, was reworked and repackaged for the voting public, and eventually succeeded in a city-wide referendum in November

2009. During that time, arguments in favor of the bill and against were refined by their respective proponents and, while on their face they took the form of debates over government accountability, redundancy, land protection, and funding problems, competing visions of the purpose and meaning of nature and the city informed these claims.

The emergence of this new discourse was possible precisely because the debate over the park was never framed as one in which the ontological status of the park was at stake, so that the taken-for-granted needs of the post-industrial, neoliberal city could co-exist with the desire for the park as a separate space of nature without the consequences of this shift ever being addressed directly. Nearly always present was the notion of the park as a pre-human site of nature. The benefits of accessible natural or wild lands are frequently cited alongside even the clearest examples of the park as a component of the entrepreneurial city. Indeed, in this framing, the nature of parks as non-human spaces is precisely what makes them vital components of the entrepreneurial city.

In July 2004, the Fairmount Park Commission released what was meant to be a comprehensive strategic plan for the entire park system, called "A Bridge to the Future". The plan pre-dated the introduction of the bill that would merge the park commission and the Department of Recreation by only a few months. Then-mayor John Street attached a cover letter to that plan, in which the old idea of the park as wild space is clearly discernible; he describes the park as "place of adventure and exploration ... of quiet contemplation and hidden beauty" (2004, pg 1). Images that accompany the report reflect this vision, including the cover image, taken (as many cover images of park documents

are) in the Wissahickon. In this case, the image is of a site on the Wissahickon Creek in which two bridges are visible, one a footbridge of wrought-iron and wood; the other is the Walnut Lane Bridge, built between 1906 to 1908, at the time the longest concrete bridge in the world. The image captures the sense of beauty in the park that the FOW and others hold so dear and demonstrates at once both the grandeur and the human scale of its historical structures (pg 4, executive summary; see figure 5.7). Images on the second page of the document accomplish a similar effect, though they seem to have been chosen to express the variety of scenes found in the park: two are taken from a Japanese tea house in West Fairmount Park; another is from Rittenhouse Square, one of the original squares established in Holme's map in what is now downtown Philadelphia (Figure 3.1); a fourth depicts another scene in Wissahickon Park, a barely-visible wooden covered bridge and a roaring creek, a scene that only exists during or after significant rainfall events but seems chosen for its ability to communicate the untamed nature of the park (figures 5.8, 5.9, 5.10, and 5.11).

Yet, following Street's statements, the report's primary authors make the argument that the original, nineteenth-century-era goals of the park system had been achieved: Open space had been secured, forests preserved, water resources protected. A new challenge faced the park commission, they argued, one that had to do with the governance of park lands and the recalibration of park commission goals so that they were more in line with the needs of a different kind of city than the one that existed 150 years ago; today's problems, the report claimed, resulted from "years of financial

hardship and decline" and "the need for a strategic plan to provide a framework and guidance for the Fairmount Park system" (Fairmount Park Commission 2004, pg 2).

Not long after the release of this report, in June of 2005, city council members Darrell Clarke and Blondell Reynolds Brown introduced a bill to dissolve the Fairmount Park Commission and merge its functions with the city's Department of Recreation. In response, a great deal of anger issued forth in the form of letters to area newspapers and frustrated comments at public meetings, such as the ones that prompted Harnik's statement, quoted at the beginning of this chapter. For many, the bill meant doing away with an institution that was as an intrinsic part of what made Philadelphia's parks special, in short to produce a new kind of park.

Park users weren't the only ones who opposed the merger bill. Park commissioner Robert N. C. Nix III and Commission vice president Alex BonavitaCola argued publicly against accusations made by the merger's proponents, who said that the park commission routinely made important decisions in secrecy, and used public funds irresponsibly. As many others would point out during the years that this debate raged on between 2005 and 2009, the park had been underfunded for decades, indeed was one of the worst funded park systems in the nation (Philadelphia Parks Alliance 2007). For the next four years, what ensued was a succession of reports envisioning a new future for the park system by different organizations, each bent on marshaling evidence to support its view of how the park ought to be governed. In the process of articulating these seemingly divergent stances, the park, as an object of knowledge, began to morph.

In March, 2006, less than a year after Clarke's and Reynolds' bill was introduced, the Philadelphia Parks Alliance (PPA), the largest park advocacy group in Philadelphia, articulated its own vision of the future of parks, detailed in a report entitled "Better Parks for a Better City" (PPA 2006). The report presented findings from a series of meetings on the future of the park that involved a diverse array of participants: Park users, "economic development experts", and former public officials, were all said to be involved in what the PPA described as an inclusive and comprehensive measure of public opinion. As such, the report is presented (and was largely accepted) as an accurate representation of both the desires of the city's populace and as a fair description of the park and its value to Philadelphians.

According to the report, the public ascribed four characteristics to Philadelphia's parks: 1) they were public spaces, communally held, but threatened by citizen misuse and government neglect; 2) they contribute to economic development because they "are part of Philadelphia's economic infrastructure"; 3) they are a source of beauty and inspiration; 4) as a whole, they are a unique environmental asset that is under threat because of urban expansion (ibid pg 6). The report leverages these views to critique the management of the park system, and outlines a three-pronged strategy for improving it, involving developing more accountable and "visionary" leadership, more partnerships between the public and private sectors, and increased funding, both from the city government and from donor institutions (ibid p5). This latter point aligns with other reports that advocated for a financially self-sustaining park commission – one that is able to raise enough money on its own, without government assistance. It also argued that Fairmount Park's governing

structure should be "more accountable, entrepreneurial, and collaborative" (ibid pg 6).

Thus, while the park is seen as a public good that ought to serve all citizens equally, it is not seen as a public good that ought to be paid for by the public, through taxes. By way of conclusion, the PPA also offers some predictions for the likely outcomes of its recommendations: by shifting park management toward a more entrepreneurial structure, parks could be expected to be "cleaner, greener, and safer" in the future. Movement on specific projects, like the Trail Master Plan and lighting and safety improvements in neighborhood parks would be immediate measures of success, while better alignment of park policy with efforts to protect the environment, improve neighborhoods, and grow the city's economy were longer term, but ultimately more important, eventualities. In short, as the report's title suggests, improving parks would result in "a healthier, more vibrant city" because "parks make cities livable" (ibid pg 13).

A month later, Robert Nix and the Fairmount Park Commission released their own report, agreeing to a large extent with the PPA, even supporting the dissolution of the Park Commission and replacing it with an independent Board of Trustees, "so the City of Philadelphia will feel a true sense of ownership for this unique asset" (Nix cover letter, p 1; Final Report, p 15). Not to do so, it argued, would continue to erode public trust in those who govern the park. The board would be in charge of protecting park lands from developers, but more importantly it would be charged with raising money to supplement what the city budget provides. "The new Board", Nix writes, "must be entrepreneurial." The advisory board's report elaborates that "because Fairmount Park has the ability to attract tourists and recreational enthusiasts from throughout the region, it has the

opportunity to capture outside revenues". Its entrepreneurial portfolio would include "revenue intensive zones and districts" in the park, fee-charging activities (such as ice-skating rinks), a "park improvement fund" that would levy a mandatory fee for groups using the park, people attending events, and institutions using park land, and naming rights for park structures. Its new board would be dedicated to public-private partnerships, and board members would be chosen in part on the basis of their ability to attract and raise private and public money, and their ability to manage budgets. According to the authors of the report, these organizational reforms would ultimately "encourage a more entrepreneurial mindset" among park officials; improvements in the way the park system governs itself are "part of the city's cultural and economic renaissance" (Final Report, pg 3).

On the other hand, the advisory committee frames "open space needs" as oppositional to economic development, arguing that "the role of the [Park] Commission remains vital as the City struggles to balance economic development against open space needs." (ibid pg 4) Ultimately, it argues, an organization like the park commission should remain an arbiter in park land use decisions. As an independent body, it needs to be able to mediate between the economic development decisions of the city and the land preservation mandate of the park commission.

In this way, the report argues that Fairmount Park has more in common with the Water Department than with the Recreation Department. The latter, it explains, is "a social service-oriented agency that concentrates on built recreational facilities and programming. Fairmount Park, in contrast, preserves and enhances a unique network of

watershed and neighborhood parks and historic properties." (ibid, pg 4) And yet, in a long list of duties outlined for the proposed Board of Trustees, "protection of land, water, and historic structures" is the only one that refers to this mandate. The rest refer to operational changes and the need to increase revenue (p15). The report is divided on the ontological question on what, exactly, the park is.

In the Advisory Committee's estimation, the park's ideal future would be one where access would be universal: "[e]very Philadelphian could walk from home to a trail that would connect with hundreds of miles of regional trail networks". While "[n]atural areas would remain wild", amenities, some of which exist and some which do not, would be available: "a first-class golf experience at 6 golf courses, ... driving ranges and golf centers"; "[s]ummer concerts and movie nights; [s]pring wildflower walks, summer kite festivals, fall foliage 5K runs, microbrew sampler evenings, holiday tours of decorated historic mansions"; "refreshment stands, cafes, and bike/blade/canoe/kayak/fishing equipment rentals"; "ropes courses, rip-lines, skateboarding parks, archery ranges, miniature golf courses and outdoor ice skating rinks". Finally, the park's history would come alive: deteriorated Park houses would be "restored to their former grandeur" and historic fountains, once used to water horses and people along Kelly Drive, "would flow once more". This list of amenities, though it is meant to apply to a variety of sites much more diverse than those found only in the Wissahickon or the other large watershed parks, seems to leave little room for the concerns of the Friends of the Wissahickon or other park advocates who believe that wilderness is in fact a fundamental component of urban parks.

The PPA continued to be a strong voice in the struggle to redefine the park, publishing reports throughout the period during which the park merger was an open issue. In its 2007 report "Parks in Trouble", the PPA made a strong effort to frame the park as a neglected resource. Enlisting citizen researchers, many of them school children, to identify and catalogue poor conditions in many of the city's parks, the resulting findings were presented to audiences around the city as a rallying cry to save what it said was a crumbling park system. At these meetings, there was much enthusiasm for the volunteers who conducted the study, particularly the children. After a summary of the budget problems that have plagued the park in the past three decades, various sites were presented as examples of the potential of a well-managed park system. After displaying pictures of the Wissahickon and another site, Gorgas Park, on a PowerPoint presentation, the presenter asked "wouldn't it be nice if all of the city's parks were that beautiful?" (figure 5.12) More scenes are presented as ideal landscapes, examples of "oases" in the park, contrasted with examples of "trouble" (figures 5.13 through 5.17). The approach seems to suggest that park users in Philadelphia should desire a park system in which all sites emulated the Wissahickon's wild characteristics, posing two rhetorical questions to the audience: "Why Is This Important?" and "Why Invest In Parks?" The question of investment in park resources frames parks as financial assets, directing the task of responsible management to individual citizens while, for most of the park's history, the shrinking park budget over the previous thirty years, the blame was laid squarely on the shoulders of mayors and city officials who had been directly responsible for shifting funds away from park maintenance.

The PPA then answers its own questions. Parks are important because they “help reduce crime; they improve human health and quality of life; they spur economic growth because visitors eat and buy things in parks; they manage storm run-off and reduce pollution.” In addition to the report itself, this language peppered the PPA's newsletters, email alerts, donation requests, and other publications. These efforts made clear that Fairmount Park was “in trouble” and that Philadelphians needed to think differently about how they supported parks.

Following closely on the heels of the report in 2007, the PPA issued another in 2008, much heralded in PPA publications as well as newspapers and websites, like that of the FOW. It reported on a joint project by the PPA and the Trust for Public Land (Peter Harnik's organization) to determine the monetary value of the Fairmount Park System for the city's economy. The report reflects an effort to produce the park not as a natural space that was distant from the city but one that was now an integral part of its economic machine. “This report,” it explains, “isn't really about parks. It's about cities and how to save them.” The importance of parks is defined via reference to urban life: “They improve citizens' health. They fight pollution. They attract tourists.” Through the report, the park became visible as a space that contained attractions, amenities, and opportunities for economic development. Indeed, it enabled the city's populace to view the park as a logical extension of the Department of Recreation, even as it maintained it as set of landscapes and natural spaces. Only now, these spaces didn't require distance from human activity in order to function correctly, but existed for the benefit of urban citizens. The report's title refers only to the city's “Parks and Recreation System”, rather than to

the Fairmount Park System or the Department of Recreation (which had not yet been merged into a single entity). This new framing was so successful, in fact, that only five months after the report was released, in November of 2009, years of debate ended when Philadelphians voted overwhelmingly in favor of merging the two departments.

Entrepreneurialism in park management, the increasing reliance on volunteer labor, and the shift away from state funding have in some sense ushered in, in some places, the neoliberal urban park, but I have made clear in this chapter that this happened not simply as a local expression of a larger neoliberal trend whose internal logic demands ever-increasing infiltration of new spaces. While neoliberal performances are abundant in Philadelphia, we cannot ignore the fact that a great deal of work in a number of dispersed sites is required to produce parks and cities as such, some of which reflects a form of neoliberal practice and some of which does not. I have traced the ways in which specific actors collaborate and contest one another and lay the grounds for action and mediate the actions of others, in the formation of knowledge - neoliberal or otherwise - of parks in the 21st century. Meanwhile, the formations I have pointed to in this chapter are always open to contestation, as I show in the chapter that follows.

Chapter Six - Mending Fences: Constituting the Urban Through Environmental Stewardship

6.1 Introduction

In 2009, as part of the fieldwork for this dissertation, I volunteered for a number of ecological restoration projects in Fairmount Park. At one point during that fieldwork, I found myself deep in a thicket, digging up an invasive plant called wineberry - a relative of raspberries and blackberries - and throwing it in a pile of other brush that would later be carted away and composted. I had first come to know the wineberry over the previous three summers, in Cape May, a small shore town in southern New Jersey, where I owned a trailer. Around mid-July, I would wake up early, grab a bucket, and head out to some fields nearby. On good days, I'd come home with a couple of pints of fruit. Usually, though, I ate what I picked while I was walking. As a volunteer, grasping at the base of these thorny plants, I wondered why it was that in Philadelphia, this plant is pulled out by the roots, but in Cape May, one has to wake up early or someone else will get to the berries first. Why is this plant so often reviled in some places and so valued in others? Of course, as I have made clear in previous chapters, people do actually get up early to pick berries in the city. But in this chapter, I argue that the difference has everything to do with the ways that urban subjects come to know themselves as such, and who consequently come to desire particular kinds of relationship with their parks.

In the previous chapter, I discussed a set of documents that helped to produce a knowledge of the park as a particular kind of object, and how a new knowledge emerged

in the first decade of the 21st century. In this chapter, I look more closely at the activities of park users themselves, the ways that they helped to produce what might be called an "everyday" environmental knowledge, and the ways in which a knowledge of the city as a particular kind of social space is co-constituted through an engagement with, and performance in, nature. I demonstrate how participation in environmental management can inform the ways that "urban" people conceptualize, internalize, and perform urban-ness, and how these practices of environmental stewardship, and the sites in which these practices are conducted, bring into being the assemblage of human and non-human actors that we call urban nature.

This chapter is driven by the following questions: To what extent is volunteerism like the other forms of disciplinary power that I have discussed in previous chapters and in what ways is it different, and what forms of knowledge does it produce? One might think of volunteerism as a form of what Michel Foucault called "governmentality", which Margo Huxley has defined as "discipline over bodies" and "self-formation through ethical care of the self" (2007, p 187). In this sense, volunteerism is a practice through which individuals come to know themselves as having specific characteristics vis-a-vis parks and cities. In Philadelphia, the prevalence of volunteerism reflects, to some extent, the devolution of control by the state, and a reframing of the role of the citizen in the management of urban nature, but I resist the tendency to connect in any simple way the adoption of volunteerism in Philadelphia with the encroachment of neoliberal logics into the management of urban nature, which would miss the importance of the activities of volunteers who bring urban natures - neoliberal or otherwise - into being. Just as Alec

Brownlow has found volunteerism in Philadelphia to be as a fertile site of political potential for resisting dominant framings of urban parks (2006, 2007), in this chapter, I emphasize the means by which the logic that informs environmental restoration in Philadelphia is transferred from one place to another, taken up by various individuals or contested by them, and transformed in the process.

In this final case, I am interested examining the ways that the role of individuals and collectives, the meaning of economies and ecologies, the conflict between history and the present shift as the logics that inform the management and use of urban parks are toyed with or displaced altogether by volunteers. I demonstrate that it is *through* the process of transferring and reproducing (and challenging) these logics that urban identity and the meaning of urban nature emerge, reproduced moment by moment. The contingent nature of this process means that these logics are always subject to change - indeed by nature they must change, as these actors struggle to define their relationships to the city and to nature. Paying close attention to the controversies that arise as restoration volunteers enact their relationships with urban parks enables us to see how environmental management is intertwined with urban identity, and how the ways that people come to know urban nature often spills out of the discursive envelopes of restoration, urban economic development, and the separation between humans and nature.

Volunteer participation in environmental management, especially in ecological restoration, informs the ways that "urban" people conceptualize, internalize, and perform urban-ness. To borrow phrasing from Michel Foucault, volunteerism "[brings] into play...a certain relationship that allows [volunteers] to discover...the truth of their

being." (Vol II, pg 5.) In other words, through their participation, volunteers learn to recognize themselves as subjects embedded in a landscape in which nature is an alien entity that is entirely separate from the city. In doing so, however, volunteers confront their desire to repair the city/nature interface with an equally-powerful desire to rethink the nature of that interface. This struggle provides a window through which we can see some of the ways that urban subjects come into being. Indeed, for Bruno Latour, these struggles are an inevitable part of the formation of groups since, if there is no work, there is no group. These contests are the very processes by which beings - be they individuals, collectives, or networks - come into being (2007). By observing the controversies that arise in the performance of environmental management, we can appreciate the multivalent nature of subjectivity and the possibility, indeed perhaps the necessity, of subjects to inhabit multiple and contradictory positions vis-a-vis the environment, the city, and their intersection. To illustrate this point, in this final chapter, I discuss how volunteers participate in - and challenge - the practice of ecological restoration in urban parks in Philadelphia.

As a set of disciplinary practices, volunteerism harnesses human activity for its own dissemination; the very mechanism by which it self-propagates is the process by which subjects internalize specific categories of knowledge and act accordingly. While all disciplinary modes are only powerful to the extent that they are able to recruit other actors to take them up, volunteerism makes this relationship explicit. Volunteers are actively recruited, named as active participants in the production of knowledge. And yet, the politics of environmental management are often obscured. In the view of many of its

practitioners, environmental management is only political downstream; the production of a scientific knowledge of ecological restoration, for example, can be divorced from politics in the minds of its practitioners; politics only enter into the equation as these principles become implemented by volunteers.

This way of understanding the formation of subjects is in direct opposition to the very foundations of restoration science and practice. Volunteers aren't seen as equal members in the production of knowledge. This is not just an observation of the professionalization or the privileging of expertise in restoration. That is, the knowledge they produce is often seen as given - preexisting human awareness of it. As I showed in the previous chapter, ecological restoration, as it is described in park documents, leaves little room for volunteers to toy with the theoretical framing on which it is based. It is founded on a notion of scientific knowledge that doesn't provide for epistemological critique. Ecological distress, the presence or absence of species, and other characteristics of the park, were fixed, unchangeable, subject to scientific proofs. The political dimensions of these claims, according to this model, only exist downstream, can be entirely divorced both from the record of environmental conditions and, if done carefully, in the implementation of restoration work. And yet, the political nature of ecological restoration, including the ways that power is intertwined with the formation of ecological knowledge, are readily apparent, once one starts looking at it in practice, where volunteers often actively challenge it.

I draw from two primary sources of data in this chapter. First, I conducted focus groups with park users, in which I explored their patterns of park use, as well as their

views on specific concerns, like the merger of the Fairmount Park Commission and the Department of Recreation; the gathering of plant materials from parks for food, medicine, and other practical uses; and the notion that there's no place for wilderness in the city. Second, I draw on my experiences as a participant observer with park restoration volunteers, during which I worked alongside other volunteers on a variety of restoration projects. Finally, I draw on data gleaned from public meetings, in which issues confronting park management were discussed publicly, including concerns over a shrinking park budget, and debate over the merging of the park commission and the department of recreation.

6.2 Park Subjects

In focus groups, it became clear that, for some people, the notion of a "park" is a very particular kind of landscape, and with it comes a specific set of ethical guidelines. One participant explained that he considers the Wissahickon to be a "real" park. For him, other places, like Rittenhouse Square, one of the public squares downtown, were something else. "I think of those other places as...properties, or something like that. City properties, but not parks." This opinion was reflected in comments by other focus group participants, as well. One participant drew a distinction between what she specified as "city parks" and the Wissahickon. Different people described this distinction in different ways. One participant said that it had to do with the type of trails found in different places. The Wissahickon has "rugged" trails, as opposed to the paved trails one could find in "city parks". Others said it was a matter of access. A city park was one that could be

accessed easily. Much of the Wissahickon, on the other hand, was described as remote, difficult to get to, out of the way. “You have to make an effort to get down to it... Kitchen’s Lane [a popular entrance to the park] is a tough turn, Valley Green is impossible to find unless you know it.” In the words of another, “What blows my mind is how underused [the Wissahickon] is. People are not taking advantage of it. But the second thing that blows my mind - and I’m thrilled about it - is that I can actually take a walk and maybe see nobody [...] That’s a big thing for me. I will not go into the park at high time. [...] I take the dog Monday through Friday during the day and then weekends I don’t mind going in [when there are a lot of people].” One even said that the Wissahickon was a “private park” that belongs, in a *de facto* sense, to nearby residents. “Thank god it’s limited access, because it’s heavily over-used, if you think about it in terms of preserving what’s already there.”

This mention of preservation was far from unique. This notion of the park implied a certain set of practices in terms of protection from human activity. One participant, whose work involves what she called “outdoor programming” says that part of her job is to educate children about proper use of urban nature, a category that for her includes urban parks. She says that she works hard to teach people to “leave no trace”, and that she believes that parks are misused because of a lack of this knowledge. For her, nature is a specific thing that has particular needs that can be understood objectively and, once known, can be provided for. Once people are educated about those needs, they will know how to interact with it properly. Another participant says she is baffled by people who litter or otherwise “abuse” parks. Her confusion, she says, stems from the fact that people

are obviously in the park because they enjoy it. Why, then, would they misuse something they enjoy? For her, valuing the park implies stewardship of the park.

Volunteering in restoration projects is one way that park users come to know parks in this way. The work of restoration, as it is practiced in Philadelphia, performs three general functions: to maintain the boundaries between the park and the city; to mediate the effects of the city as it encroached on the park; and to direct human use of parks as a way to prevent the need for restoration in the future. Each of these principles worked to reproduce the distinction between the space of the park, where human beings were only passing visitors, and the space of the city. As I worked with and spoke to park users, I saw how these principles were both reproduced through the practice of park use and restoration. At the same time, each of these goals was challenged in some way by restoration volunteers, in effect working to redefine the underlying principle of a separation between the park and the city.

In the handful of restoration projects I took part in, the procedure was much the same. Volunteers, who were often part of a corporate or neighborhood group, would arrive at the park, usually early in the morning, where they would find park employees waiting for them with a collection of tools: picks, shovels, shears, saws, gloves, and trash bags. The park employees would give a short description of the section of the park we were in, tell something about its history, and then lay out a plan for what they hoped to accomplish for the day. Often, they would explain to volunteers that there was too much work at the site to accomplish in a single day, and not expect a major transformation to occur after only a few hours of work. Instead, volunteers should focus on smaller goals -

to mark out a section of the larger project that they wanted to complete. Smaller projects were abundant. There were trees to be cut down, weeds to be removed, vines to be untangled and pulled out, and seeds to be planted. By marking out a small section, an individual or small group could leave at the end of the day having accomplished something, having improved the park in some small way. They could remove all of the vines that were "choking" a stand of native trees, or could cut down a copse of *Ailanthus* saplings.

Frequently, a primary goal was to rework the landscape so that wooded areas could be better distinguished from trails and lawns by clearing vines from overgrown sections of the park. The practice of removing vines and invasive trees often prompted discussions among volunteers about their entanglements with non-human nature. When one woman was startled by a rustling in the branches above her head, three women, all coworkers, were prompted, as they pulled up invasive plants, to discuss other such experiences at their homes and in their backyards. As she found herself knee-deep in thorny undergrowth, one volunteer told about seeing an opossum in her hedgerow at home and how she is always afraid of walking past it, for fear that the animal might attack her. Another told of an entire neighborhood that was terrorized by raccoons who rifled through trash during the night and left it scattered in the street in the morning. These stories, though somewhat common to the suburban experience, were given new life as their telling coincided with the work of restoration. Volunteers described their work as establishing lines of sight through wooded areas as an effort to prevent animals from encroaching into human spaces, and to prevent humans from hiding in the park,

presumably for illicit purposes (c.f. Brownlow 2006). Overgrown areas have often provided sites for dumping trash and engaging in a variety of illegal activities unseen. In the words of one volunteer, restoration was important because “people weren’t using the park [...] the way we wanted them to.” The same could be said about the plants and animals in the park.

Entrances to the park also played an important role in establishing this kind of differentiation between urban spaces and park spaces. At one volunteer day, park officials celebrated an arched entryway that had been built with a local firm's financial assistance. Organizers explained that that part of the park had been historically neglected by the city, and that it was threatened by many of the ways people living nearby currently used the park. By building the archway, and by engaging in restoration activity nearby, they were making visible visitors' passage from the city into the park. These kinds of archways are common sights at many park entrances, particularly those that are near densely-populated neighborhoods.

6.3 Ambivalence

Other times, this distinction wasn’t so clear. In order to spark a conversation in focus groups about the boundaries between people and the park, I asked participants about their opinions on Peter Harnik’s statement that there is no place for wilderness in the city. When one participant responded immediately that she thought of the Wissahickon as wilderness, another immediately jumped in. “The Wissahickon is definitely not wilderness. Have you ever even been in the woods?” For him, while the

Wissahickon was different from many city spaces, it was not wholly removed from it. Other participants also thought in terms of degrees of wilderness. While the Wissahickon was no “city park” like the public squares downtown, it was also not completely wild, either. Another participant described the nearby John Heinz Wildlife Refuge as a “true wilderness”, one to which human access has been prohibited completely. In his words, “it’s not a park for human beings, it’s not even like Wissahickon park...” For him, “it’s a question of who [or what] has priority.” With regard to the general question about wilderness in the city, another participant said that while she doesn’t expect to find wilderness in the city, it would be “wonderful to find it” there. For her, the city is separate from wilderness, but she didn’t see any reason why it couldn’t exist there. On the question of park management, one participant said that he was pleased that the Fairmount Park Commission “worries about the land much more than it does about the user.” This participant saw the land and users as conflicting interests, and that the land ought to be protected from human interference.

On the subject of restoration, one participant asked why the Fairmount Park Commission was involved in restoring the estate of a 19th century banker. She was especially concerned about the conflict between historical preservation and ecological restoration, unsure that the two could be reconciled. Another participant, who was familiar with the site, explained that it was a “trash heap” a decade ago, and that it is only because of the Commission’s efforts that the site is in good condition now. Finally, one participant suggested that we be careful about the kinds of assumptions we make. He explained how, as a child, forest health was defined as the degree to which it was free of

human intervention, but that later in his life, there was a shift toward a managed approach for keeping forests healthy.

In part due to the perceived difficulty of reestablishing native ecosystems, volunteers on a project in which they were allowed to determine appropriate measures for restoration had decided on a restoration strategy that was based around the total removal of all plant life in a field of low-lying grass. The spot had been marked by another volunteer some days earlier. Areas to focus on had been mown. Volunteers (including myself) subsequently used shovels to dig up the soil and remove any plant matter - native or non-native - by the roots. Later in the day, once the whole area had been dug up in this way, volunteers spread a seed mix of native wildflowers. During this process, I overheard employees of the park commission who were standing by express deep concern over this strategy. "We would *never* do things like this," one said. When I asked her what she meant, she explained that the strategy was likely to result in erosion, and that it was unlikely that it would have the desired effect of ridding the area of invasive species, since seeds and deep roots were probably still present in the soil, despite our efforts. It wasn't clear that the wildflowers would be able to populate the field before invasive plants would invade the area from outside.

A similar sentiment was expressed at another volunteer event, in which park employees had identified, using blue spray paint, a stand of invasive trees to be removed. The job was eagerly taken up by a few men from a group of office workers. As the men began sawing at the trees, another volunteer stood back and watched, saying to no one in particular, "I bet that's the first time we've cut a tree down in this project," alluding to the

fact that the project up to that point had been focused on planting new trees. Other expressed reluctance to cut down any trees, invasive or not. As the day wore on, and the stand of trees dwindled, others stepped in to contest the wisdom of cutting them all down at once. A debate arose among park employees, the men cutting the trees down, and other volunteers who wanted to keep some of the trees that had been marked. Meanwhile, the men cutting down the trees had identified additional ones that they thought should go. In the end, there were wins on all sides. Some trees that had not originally been marked for removal were taken down, while others that had were left alive. This moment of contestation is enlightening because it not only highlights the various matters of concern of volunteers, but also the fact that the meaning of restoration is not always fixed or easily discernible.

Some organizations are actively trying to harness this ambivalence to move toward a critical engagement with restoration by implementing a set of guidelines that emphasize “local values”, ideas and desires held by park users that can't necessarily be anticipated by experts. One project I was involved in was an experimental collaboration between the park commission and a non-profit organization that desired to engage neighborhoods who had community investment in local parks. One of that organization's concerns was that community members be free to establish their own guidelines about what was important to them in their parks, and to determine how they were to achieve those goals. Thus, while it sometimes objected to the techniques that the volunteers employed, it was committed to defending the neighbors' ability to determine what kind of

park they wanted, and to pursue the kinds of restoration activities they deemed necessary. In this regard, the neighborhood group had enormous leeway.

Restoration volunteers, it turns out, are often keenly aware of the stakes of adopting any framing of urban nature uncritically. During one focus group, participants discussed the challenges faced by the conflicts between ecological restoration and historical preservation. In that case, participants were involved in restoring a site that encompassed an 18th century estate, whose original inhabitant was a famous horticulturalist and importer of exotic plants. In a debate about what kinds of work needed to be done where, participants were especially concerned with whether fidelity to historical accuracy in restoring the gardens, which would include introducing some non-native species, took precedence over the desire to restore the park to what others saw as its "native" ecological state.

Any attempt to reestablish his original gardens, one volunteer observed, would constitute a serious challenge to ongoing attempts to control invasive species in the park. Here, then, arose a conflict between historical preservation and ecological restoration. Which, the volunteer asked, was more important? How should they resolve this conflict? What was especially interesting, in this context, was that there was very little attempt by the park commission to intervene in the struggle to establish any kind of expertise in the resolution of the problem. This debate, to my knowledge, has not been settled at the time of writing.

The competing matters of concern in parks were most visible in the context of gathering. This imposition of order caused friction and uncertainty among some park

users. Many of the people I interviewed expressed some ambivalence about how parks should be properly used. One research participant expressed guilt about her decision to remove stones from the park for use as wedding decorations, though ultimately she determined it was a permissible way to honor the role of the park in her life. Others, who were unaware of the presence of edible plants, like mulberries, in the park, expressed a great deal of interest when introduced to the idea. Even among the restoration crew with whom I was engaged in removing wineberry vines, there was a great deal of disagreement as to the wisdom of this approach. For example, one man said that the presence of the berry was one of the things that made the park meaningful to him. While a few participants held firm to the view that humans should remain separate from the park, many park users actively pursued a different relationship with the park. In another focus group, I asked participants about their opinions about gathering in the park. Their immediate response was that it was a violation not only of park rules but also of the integrity of the ecosystems found in the park, reflecting a view that predominates among park managers, perhaps reflected most clearly in a 2006 letter to the Philadelphia Inquirer, in which Nancy Goldenberg, a one-time Program Administrator at the Fairmount Park Commission, argued that

“This sense of materialistic privilege is something we all must work harder to change. The notion that a public park is ‘mine for the taking’ must be turned into a commitment to respect the resources with which nature has blessed all of us for our collective enjoyment. Even fallen twigs and seeds provide habitat and food for forest dwellers.” (2006)

Yet, as my conversation with focus group participants continued, and I explained my research further, including my reasons for being interested in this kind of activity, the

conversation began to change. The shift began with one of the participants asking, "Well, what about kindling? I mean, I've seen people collecting kindling along the edge of the park by my house. I've even done it myself. I don't see how that hurts the park." Another asked about mushrooms, which they argued weren't affected by over-harvesting, since mushrooms don't propagate like plants do. Another admitted guiltily to transplanting a plant growing in the park to their garden at home. One by one, people around the table began to identify a variety of activities, some of which they felt were a violation of the spirit of the park, some of which were not, in which park users derived benefit from the park by extracting parts of it.

In another focus group, participants were more immediately open to the idea of gathering. One participant knew individuals who harvested mushrooms, for example, and others did not see a conflict between gathering and restoration, especially where berries were concerned, which "would be eaten by birds anyway". Another participant pointed out that while harvesting abundant nuts and berries was unlikely to cause any damage to ecosystems, harvesting holly branches in the winter was probably more destructive. However, this comment prompted another participant to ask where she could find holly branches in the park, because she didn't know they grew there, and would like to harvest them. One member argued that gathering should be curtailed in all cases since, in his words, "one person gathering isn't a problem. An entire city gathering is another story." For others, collecting downed trees and branches for firewood caused confusion. Even after most of the participants said that they were aware of the practice, one member of the group simply couldn't believe that gathering wood for fires from the park was a common

practice. Finally, one participant explained that he was more concerned with what people brought into the park than what they took out of it.

6.4 Carpenter's Woods

Carpenter's Woods, contiguous with the Wissahickon but often treated as separate from it, provides another case for thinking about this question of negotiation in environmental stewardship, volunteerism, and subjectivity. On the surface, many of the same kinds of pressures effect the use and management there as in other parts of the park. The map in figure 6.1 shows how the Woods juts out of the main body of the Wissahickon, and is surrounded on four sides by residential streets. However, since the two are contiguous, if only barely, there is a close connection between the activities of the Friends of Carpenter's Woods (FOCW) and those of the FOW. A number of restoration projects are underway to protect wetlands, remove invasive trees, and plant native seeds in Carpenter's Woods, and the FOCW is a dedicated group of people who actively promote and participate in these projects, which makes it a component of the larger project to restore the Fairmount Park System ecologically. At the same time, Carpenter's Woods also has a strong base of users whose interests do not always coincide with those of the FOCW.

Like much of the Wissahickon, there is almost no buffer between Carpenter's Woods and the neighborhood that surrounds it. Thick underbrush prevents casual entry in most places around its perimeter, but there are three maintained paths that serve as entryways into the Woods. Near each of the three main entrances are wooden community

boards on which visitors can post messages to other visitors in the park (Figure 6.2). New messages are posted by park users on this board on a regular basis. Often, notices ask for information on missing dogs, or report found items in the park (for anyone who might have lost them). Always present is a sign with the park's rules and regulations, another urging neighbors not to dump yard waste, and a third asking visitors not to remove animal, plant, or mineral materials from the site. Other official notices appear from time to time, including warnings that Animal Control makes random visits to the park to ticket dog owners who walk their dogs without a leash. Finally, there is a loose-leaf binder and a pencil, with which visitors can write about their experiences and impressions of the park.

The Sightings Book, as one contributor refers it, is in some way a record of the concerns of a certain group of users on that park. On the surface, it is simply a place to record sightings of birds or other wildlife and doesn't get used very often. On the other hand, the book provides a window into understanding some of the concerns of the people who visit the park. Three themes emerge in the pages of the sightings book: an interest in the presence of birds and other wildlife; an interest in the presence of plants; and the conflict between dogs and wildlife, especially birds. As the first two of these categories suggest, the book is used primarily as a way of recording, for the use of the larger community, what kinds of living things are present in the park, but each carries with it its own set of concerns. Birds account for the most commonly sighted wildlife, which is not surprising considering the site's designation as a bird sanctuary by the National Audubon Society. Indeed, the most common contributor to the book (identifiable because of the

distinct handwriting) may also be the log's originator, since his or her entries are featured earliest. Descriptions of species typically include location of the sighting, time of day, and other such details that would be useful for tracking bird populations. However, there are also a number of "sightings" of other wildlife, including toads, caterpillars, and foxes. A key difference between the two categories is that bird entries frequently feature long lists of species identified on a particular visit, where the purpose seems to be simply to document the kinds of birds that inhabit the site, while non-bird sightings typically feature specific behaviors - toads mating, foxes hunting - or especially rare or surprising findings (a large, brightly-colored caterpillar). The former helps to produce a knowledge of the park as a bird sanctuary. In the latter case, especially from an ecological restoration perspective, the park becomes a space of discovery of non-human nature, an ecological space in which non-human species are both separate from, and interesting to, human beings.

Another category of sightings, in which visitors identify various plants found in the park, seem at first to be complimentary to the first two. However, on closer inspection, all of the plants identified are edible, which may present a challenge to the other living beings that inhabit the park, and also implies a violation of the rules and regulations posted at the community board, in which the removal of plants, animals, or minerals from the site is specifically prohibited. Examples of edible plants and fungi identified include pin cherries and oyster mushrooms. The entries also invariably include specific information for where to find them in the park, information about the time of year that they are abundant, and even hand-drawn pictures to aid identification. While

mushroom and berry harvesting aren't necessarily in opposition to ecological concerns (since many people who gather wild plants believe they can be harvested in a way that doesn't negatively impact wildlife), many proponents of restoration and wildlife preservation, like Nancy Goldenberg, see the two as being in direct conflict. Additionally, the conflict between wildlife preservation and the use of parks for food arises in the many attempts to eradicate invasive species in the park. Even as I write this, the Friends of Carpenter's Woods is planning a special day for the removal of garlic mustard, an invasive plant which, as the name suggests, is a staple among wild plant gatherers (see, for example, the Philadelphia-based site wildfoodies.org). New fliers have begun appearing on the park's bulletin boards proclaiming that "Garlic Mustard **MUST DIE!**" (Emphasis is in original.) While there seems to be no strong opposition among users of Carpenter's Woods to the project, the FOCW's desire to remove garlic mustard from the park highlights the potential for conflict among various types of park users.

The conflict between human use and wildlife preservation is also visible in the relationship between dog walkers and birders. Dog-walking is a key use of the park. At nearly any time of day, any day of the week, a visitor to the park will encounter dogs and their owners. All community boards have signs encouraging dog owners to pick up dog waste (for ecological as well as aesthetic concerns), and dedicated trash cans for the purpose. The conflict arises because, due to the size of the Woods, many dog owners like to let their dogs off the leash to run. One entry in the sightings book reports playfully that Nellie (the author's dog) chased a groundhog, "a nice big fat one", up a tree. In response, another contributor wrote about seeing "dogs off-leash [...] tearing through undergrowth

[while a] bad owner pays no attention to the dog espec. [sic] when he pooped in the middle of woods (off trail)". This entry, unlike most, is signed by the writer, and highlights the concerns that some have about the impact of dogs on wildlife. Additionally, in the comments section of a recent online article on restoration in Carpenter's Woods, one commenter highlights both his ambivalence regarding restoration and his frustration with dog owners:

I am very concerned with the efforts at 'restoration' in Carpenter's wood [sic] that appear to be anything but restorative. In a campaign to eradicate invasives, the appearance of the woods, especially in the area near Greene and Mt Pleasant, is to say the least, dismal. Large trees have been removed and replaced with "whips", bearily [sic] large enough to be visible and apparently doomed because of neglect. The result is a forest that looks under attack. [...]

The destruction of the meadow because of it's [sic] use as a dog walking space was sad enough but now the woods are suffering from too much attention. The intentions are good but the process is flawed. I am especially concerned by the news that herbicides will be used this summer to attack the invasives. It's ironic that in an effort to "protect" the environment, it's "protectors" appear to be subjecting it to abuse. It will be another 20 years before these areas once again appear untouched and that is regrettable. Could there have been a less radical approach to restoring Carpenter's wood that would have considered issues of aesthetics and habitat restoration? I think so." (Carpenter 2011)

In focus groups, it became clear that, for many park users, dogs are powerful mediators that draw a connection between the park and the people who love it. One participant explained that, before she and her husband moved to the neighborhood, they would drive about fifteen miles from another part of the city so that they could let their dogs run free in the park. Eventually, they got tired of the drive, and moved to the neighborhood to be closer to the park. Now that they are in the park almost everyday, they said they are “basically a part of it”. Another agreed: “The dogs brought us in. I keep dogs just so I make sure I go to the park. Sometimes I wouldn’t get up in the morning to go. [...] But

you know, I want to be in the park. I love the park.” In the words of another, “We enjoy the park and want to be there, but we might not be there as often if it weren’t for the dogs.” But dogs were not only the mediators between people and the park, but between one park user and another. “One of the things that appeals to me is socializing in the park. You get to know a lot of people, you just run into everybody. But it’s funny. You know the dog’s name before you know the people’s names.” In this way, dogs seem necessary to bring people together with and in the park in some cases, and to drive them apart, as with the case of birders and dog-walkers. Without dogs and other mediators, humans would be unable to connect so intimately with park spaces.

6.5 Conclusion

The practices associated with ecological restoration reproduce the notion of the park as a non-human, non-economic, non-urban space. The extent to which it is natural is the extent to which it is free of human influence. We can see this division in the park commission's efforts to encourage volunteers to remove weeds that are threatening the ecological integrity of the park but are economically useful. It is visible in the connections between discussions of ecological restoration and the park as a space of wilderness, and the distinction some park users draw between “city parks” and others like the Wissahickon. We can see it in the framing of ecological degradation as a consequence of urban spillover effects.

At the same time, we can see that this framing is not intact in all times and in all places. It is frequently challenged, if only temporarily. These challenges arise when park

users contemplate and engage in extractive uses of park resources, in the conflicts between bird enthusiasts and dog walkers, and in the tension between historical preservation and ecological restoration.

In previous chapters, I have written about how capitalist economic discourses associated with urban form have led to the erasure of non-capitalist economic practices in the city, but the example of ecological restoration makes it clear that these practices aren't simply erased once and gone forever. The renewal of urban identity requires the continual reperformance of these discourses, so that the ever-present promise of non-capitalist practices must be rendered invisible again and again. But as we continue to grapple with understanding the formation of urban identity, we must recognize that these performances aren't inevitable, and that the knowledges that inform them are anything but fixed. Rather, new forms of urban identity, and new urban environments, are constantly brought into being by the unending experimentations and subversive performances of would-be urban environmental subjects.

Chapter Seven - Conclusion

7.1 A Politics of Possibility

In Philadelphia, there is a long, narrow channel of overgrowth that runs about a mile just north-east of downtown through an area of the city filled with warehouses and lofts, the remnants of the city's industrial heyday. Once an old railroad viaduct for the Reading Railroad that brought goods into the city, this channel of green is now a mostly-forgotten expanse of grass and trees. Its destination was once the aptly-named Reading Terminal, about which grew the Reading Terminal Market in the late 1800s, where people living in the city bought much of their food. Though the Reading Market still exists, it is no longer supplied by the Reading Railroad, which ceased functioning as a railroad in 1976. Its connection to the market was subsequently severed in order to build a freeway connecting Highway 95, which runs along the eastern edge of the city's core, to Highway 76, which runs along its western edge.

The viaduct has continued to be productive, if not for the owners of the Reading Railroad Company or farmers whose goods were shipped to the city. In the intervening years, the viaduct had become populated by a host of opportunistic plants and animals, a weedy expanse of grasses, thorny vines, and trees. When I first discovered it in 2003, I tried to find out everything I could about it by asking people I met on the streets underneath it. They explained to me that the viaduct was dangerous - years ago a man who was murdered and hung by the railings that still line the edge of one of the platforms

(which turned out to be an urban legend). To most of those who have seen it from street level, the place is a wasteland.

Moving from street level onto the viaduct through a gap in the fence enables a shift in perspective. Among the vegetation that covers the viaduct's surface grow abundant wineberries and blackberries. On one covered platform, which once served as a loading dock, a homeless man has arranged what can only be called his bedroom, complete with mattress, night stand, and bureau. Along some portions of the viaduct, a tree canopy has been formed by two fast-growing species that manage to lay down roots in the few inches of soil that have accumulated over the last 40 years: *Ailanthus* *ailanthus*, commonly known as the Tree of Heaven, and *Pawlonia*, commonly called the Princess Tree. These trees are cut down periodically by the Reading Company, which still owns the viaduct, to prevent structural damage to the concrete platforms and archways, which could present a danger to people who inhabit the streets below, but the trees grow back within a couple of years. The contrast between people who have been on top of the viaduct and those who have only seen it from below couldn't be more striking. Those who have ventured on top of it celebrate the viaduct as a place of peace and quiet in an otherwise noisy and hectic part of the city. At a recent public meeting, one such person described walking along the viaduct as a "transformative experience". They explain that it provides views of the city's skyline that can't be had anywhere else. In short, the viaduct offers a lot to the people who use it. Some of them believe it could offer a great deal more.

Following the popularity of New York City's High Line Park and Paris's Promenade Plantée, a number of individuals living near the viaduct have begun to advocate for converting the viaduct into an elevated park. According to the website of the Reading Viaduct Project, a community group intent on gaining the support of state and local governments to transform the viaduct from its current state into a city park, "the Reading Viaduct will successfully bring together economically and culturally diverse communities, generate economic development, and provide a catalyst for the redevelopment of this section of North Philadelphia." Another, called ViaductGreene described the viaduct as an "inconspicuous, intimate submersive space of mystery, [and] wild excitements." ViaductGreene envisions a future in which "its exciting, existing spontaneous vegetation" will be "carefully curated and managed with limited interventions."

In the Reading Viaduct Project's vision, an attempt to establish a park in line with the entrepreneurial urban ideal, as I described it in Chapter Five, can be seen clearly. But in comparing that project with that of ViaductGreene, ambiguities and controversies arise between conflicting desires and visions. At a recent meeting on the future of the viaduct, held as part of Academy of Natural Science's Urban Sustainability Forum, a number of other concerns were raised. Some in attendance wanted to see the viaduct established as a "wildlife habitat", while others argued that it already was one and should be left alone. Some attempted to close down possibilities that fell outside the well-worn vision of urban park discourse ("As cool as it might be to young people, [the viaduct] is still blight"), while others struggled to open them back up. In a recent article in the *Philadelphia*

Inquirer, one of the Reading Viaduct Project's founders, John Struble, is quoted as saying, "I don't think I should be the one to decide what it should be. [...] Everyone should think about it." (Saffron 2004)

The case of the Reading Viaduct, the full range of future possibilities for urban parks is clearer than in other cases, since it is still in the process of emerging as a park. In this field of possibility, the usefulness of genealogical thinking emerges. As Michel Foucault wrote in his introduction to the second volume of the *History of Sexuality*, "[Genealogy is] a philosophical exercise. The object [is] to learn to what extent the effort to think one's own history can free thought from what it silently thinks, and so enable it to think differently" (1990, pg 9). As concerned parties struggle to define the terms of their debate in determining the future of the Reading Viaduct, they would do well to consider the history, that is the genealogy, of park discourse, in order to free themselves from what they and others silently think, or rather to vocalize what they silently think and make it known as matter of concern. Genealogy makes visible the process by which knowledge comes into being, by which specific matters of concern are taken up and codified as truth, by which its alternatives are silenced in the process. Doing genealogy, therefore, opens up new political spaces of possibility.

A number of themes run through this dissertation. In the introduction, I expressed an interest in tracing the production of a mode of thought in which nature and society become two separate and distinct material categories, arguing that by tracing the means by which this binary is produced through everyday acts in and through urban parks I

could highlight the co-constitution of urban and environmental discourses. This project, I argued in Chapter Two, would become the foundation of a new way forward for urban political ecology, which to date has largely neglected the process by which knowledge of the urban is produced through environmental politics, and through which knowledge of the environment is produced through urban politics. In Chapters Three and Four, I explored the production of a new knowledge of the industrial city in the mid-1800s in Philadelphia as it coincided with the development of Fairmount Park, which at the time was the largest of its kind in the world. Through a close examination of the production of maps, the dissemination of photographs, and the policing of park spaces, I argued that this division between human beings and non-humans was literally and figuratively inscribed into the landscape of the city. In Chapters Five and Six, I highlighted the role of park management, specifically ecosystem restoration, and its relationship to changing ideas about the city in a post-industrial context. Through an analysis of government documents, and an engagement with park users in focus groups and by working alongside them as a restoration volunteer, I argued that, to a large degree, the foundation that emerged in the nineteenth century was both very much alive, and contested again and again in daily practice. In all of these contexts, I made an effort to highlight the "subjugated knowledges" that were made invisible through the constitution and management of the urban park and the modern city (Foucault 1980). As an example of these subjugated knowledges, I showed how the collection of plant materials for nutritional, medicinal, or recreational purposes remained a persistent concern throughout, despite its relative invisibility as a consequence of the way parks are performed and

managed. This approach enabled a "reading for difference" in urban environmental discourse as everyday knowledge threatens to spill over the envelope of park discourse.

7.2 Genealogy and Spaces of Politics

Still, I find myself left with the following questions: What can be done with these observations and insights? What political way forward might one take? What does this dissertation and its findings have to say, for example, to the Fairmount Park Commission, the Friends of the Wissahickon, or the Reading Viaduct Project? It may go without saying that the purpose of this study has not been to replace one truth with another. My argument has not been that what I have called "urban park discourse" is inaccurate and in need of correction; rather, park discourse is understood as a form of situated knowledge about the urban environment that is produced within specific historical circumstances and renewed through the everyday performances of urban people. Nor have I argued that we can somehow escape the interplay of power and knowledge; indeed, park discourse cannot be "corrected" because any other body of knowledge with which one might replace it would also be situated, contingent, appealing to and producing new subjective truths. On the other hand, mine is not a nihilistic stance in which, because nothing can be known objectively, any decision is as good as any other. Rather, all ways of knowing have specific consequences in terms of the kinds of worlds they make possible, and it is on the consequences of those knowledges that they can be judged.

While their purpose has changed over the last century and a half, urban parks are usually characterized as serving a specific purpose vis-à-vis the functioning of the city.

From an understanding of urban parks as filters for urban pollution to playgrounds for the wealthy to attractions for the new “creative class”, park discourse has characterized urban parks as serving auxiliary functions for the city, meanwhile separating urban people from "nature" by establishing and reinforcing the boundary between the economic operation of the city (and by extension, "society" and "culture") and ecological processes. In this framing, the city is the place of economic development, progress, and growth, while the park is the site of rejuvenation, health, and healing for the city and its populace. In conjunction, park discourse reinforces the idea of nature not as a broader category of living things that encompasses human beings, their biological needs, and their behaviors, but as an alien entity whose mysteries can only be viewed with awe and wonder from afar, or pursued, ordered, and conquered through the modernist practice of scientific study. At the same time, this discourse achieves quite a bit more than the reproduction of a simple binary. Urban park discourse categorizes nature into various forms, placing them along a continuum in which some are seen as more valuable than others because they are more free of social contamination. This supposedly inherent quality of urban nature demands attention from urban citizens, requiring protection and, where compromised, repair. It is through this discourse that urban people become alienated from a nature that is cast as a fragile substance, capable of being diminished through human activity, while humans' behavior, in particular their economic behavior, is seen as destructive, to be held at a distance from parks, except when kept within a strict set of approved guidelines that serve to keep the economic and the social out of the natural. Subjects' own interactions with parks become scrutinized through this lens of responsibility, and subjects are

disciplined (or discipline themselves) accordingly, developing a sense of individual responsibility toward nature and an internal drive to protect it. This places considerable constraints on the ways urban people are able to imagine themselves vis-à-vis the environment, ultimately limiting the degree to which human needs are able to be reconciled with those of an external nature. By examining the means by which this knowledge is produced and operates in the world, other possible modes of thought come into view, offering fresh insight into new possibilities for urban environmental management.

For example, because parks are often seen as spaces existing outside of economic activity (although, as I argued throughout, this is not always the case), recognizing diverse economic activity in city parks (and thereby denaturalizing parks as spaces that exist outside or in spite of the capitalist economy) could have at least two consequences for park users: first, because of the tendency to see parks as outside of the economy, economic uses of parks confer little claim to resources to potentially legitimate users, yet people who engage in such practices often have at least as much commitment to the integrity of urban ecosystems as other park users. Accounting for economic activity that already exists in the parks helps to undo the binary that separates humans from nature, and urban nature from the urban economy. While economic uses of the parks are sometimes seen as destructive to the ecological integrity of park ecosystems, taking notice of the long lineage and ongoing nature of such activity suggests at the very least that we need a new vision of parks in order to understand what goes on in them. Second, accounting for economic diversity in parks allows for a potentially liberating view of

urban people's participation in economic practice; that is, accounting for the diverse economies of parks tells a different story of the urban economy than the one that is usually told. No longer is "the economy" something that one needs to escape; it is one that can be liberating and exciting, creative and healing. The inevitability of daily violence that is often associated with urban economic experience (even or perhaps especially in today's economy of office parks and cubicles) begins to unravel.

As conflicts arise among interested parties in parks, for example when bird-watchers conflict with dog-walkers, both camps, in their argumentation with one another, appeal to divergent sets of knowledge in order to buttress their arguments. Neither seems willing to abandon either its knowledge base or its more basic assumptions about what parks should be or what kind of nature is appropriate in urban settings. Nevertheless, local governments often put into place what looks like a set of democratic practices that could open up this field of contestation and deliberation. For example, at recent budget meetings, the city of Philadelphia encouraged residents to participate in city-wide discussions, to voice their concerns in focus groups, to rank specific priorities for government spending. To some extent, drawing on volunteers to do restoration work in parks is also an attempt at democratizing park management, especially in the case I cited in Chapter Six, where volunteers were given the freedom to define many of the parameters in defining the priorities of restorations projects. In those examples, though, the process lacked a genealogical sensibility. While a variety of alternative matters of concern pushed their way to the fore, they could not fully emerge because certain truths were taken as given, eternal, preexisting human knowledge of them, rather than as

constructed through the daily practices of performing parks. The essence of the park, the city, and its people were fixed in participants' imagination, even as their ambivalence toward these categories threatened to undo them. Opening up a field of contestation through genealogy does not promise simply to dismantle the dominant truths and knowledge claims in which we find ourselves enmeshed. It requires us to ask what other ones we prefer, what other outcomes we wish for ourselves and our world.

Appendix A: Images for Chapter One

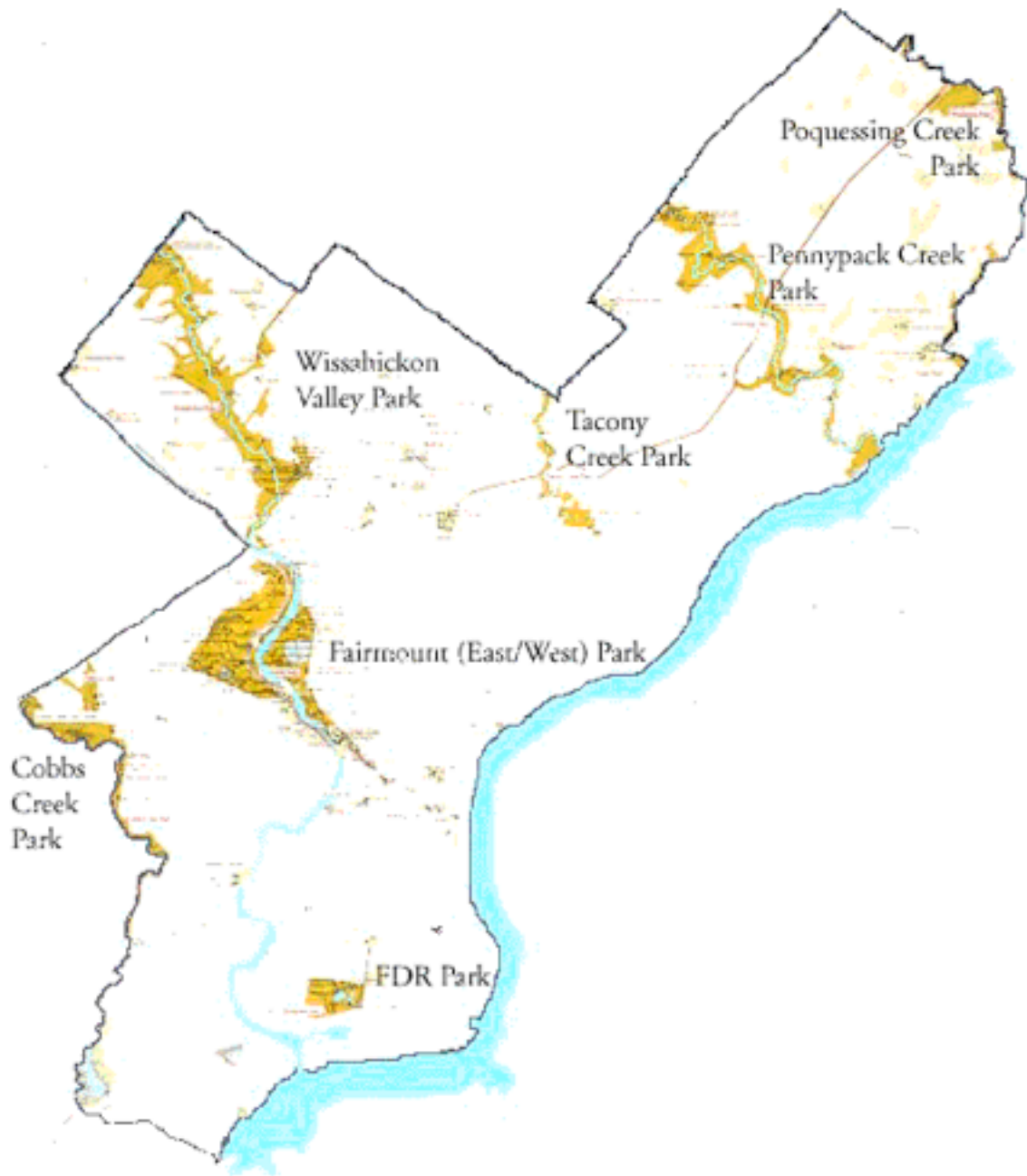


Figure 1.1 Map of Fairmount Park System

Appendix B: Images for Chapter Three

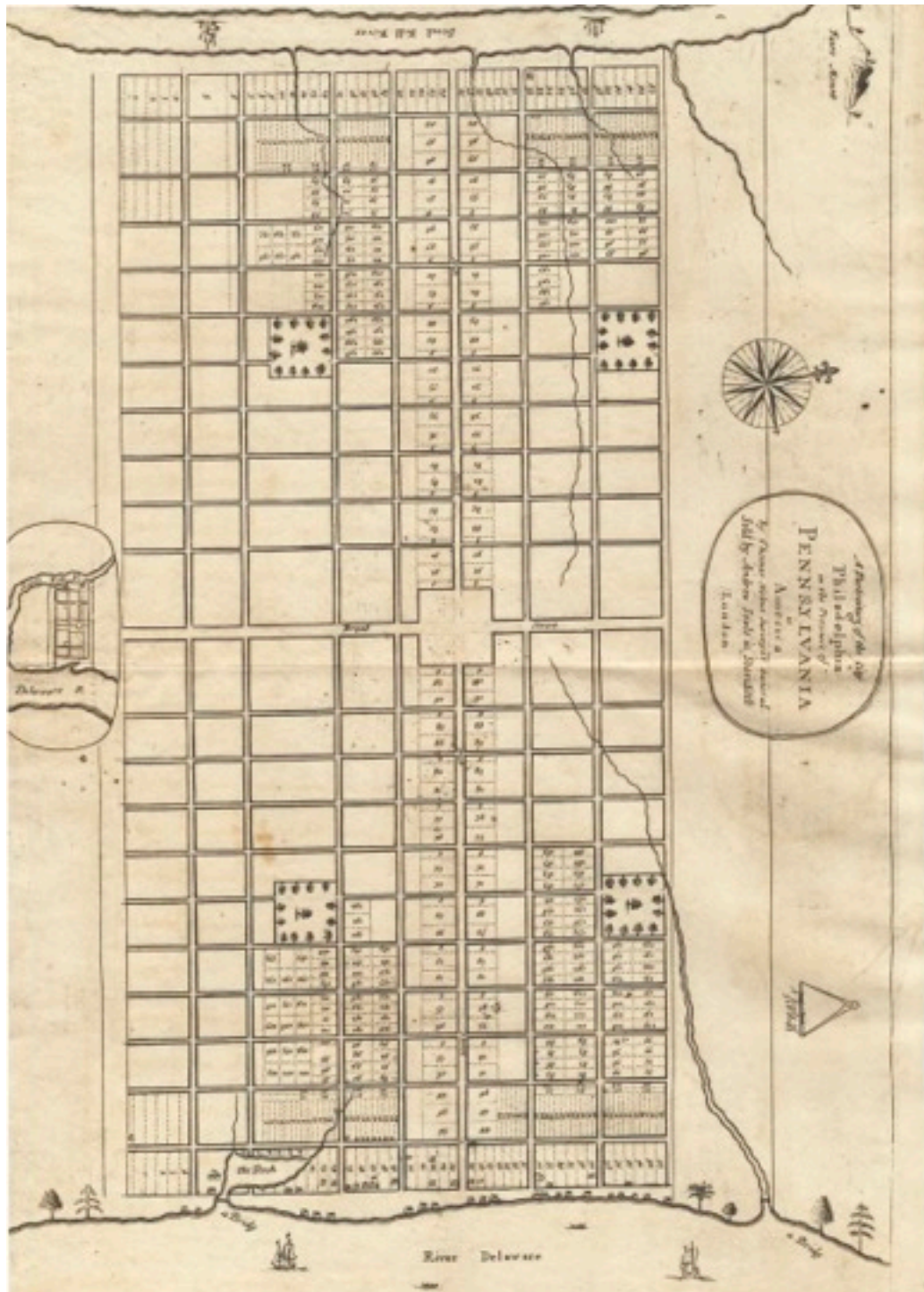


Figure 3.1 “A Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania in America” (1687)

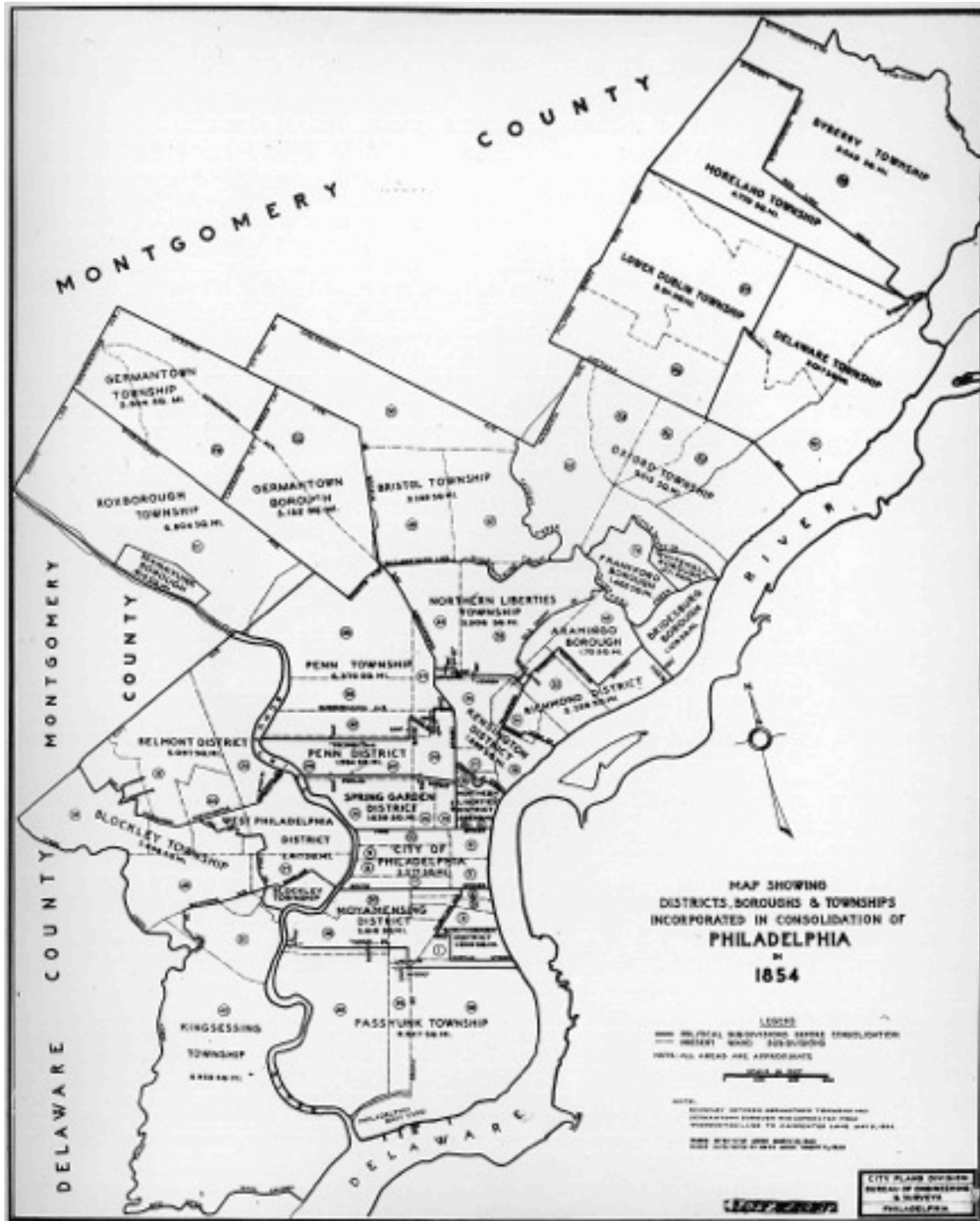


Figure 3.2 “Map Showing Districts, Boroughs & Townships Incorporated in Consolidation of Philadelphia in 1854”

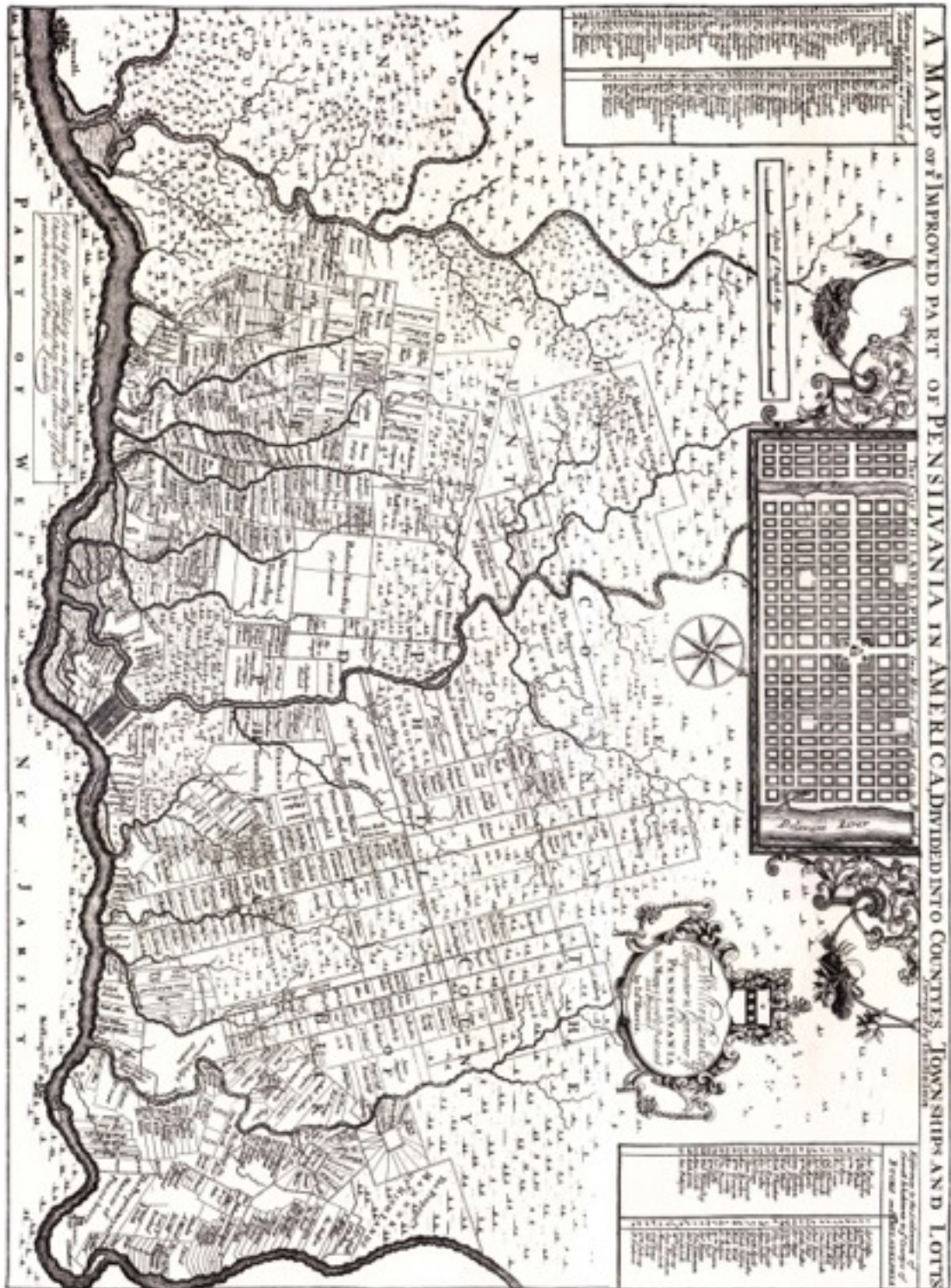


Figure 3.3 “A Mapp of the Improved Part of Pennsylvania in America, Divided into Counties, Townships, and Lotts” (1687)



Figure 3.5 “New Plan of the City and its Environs” (1802)

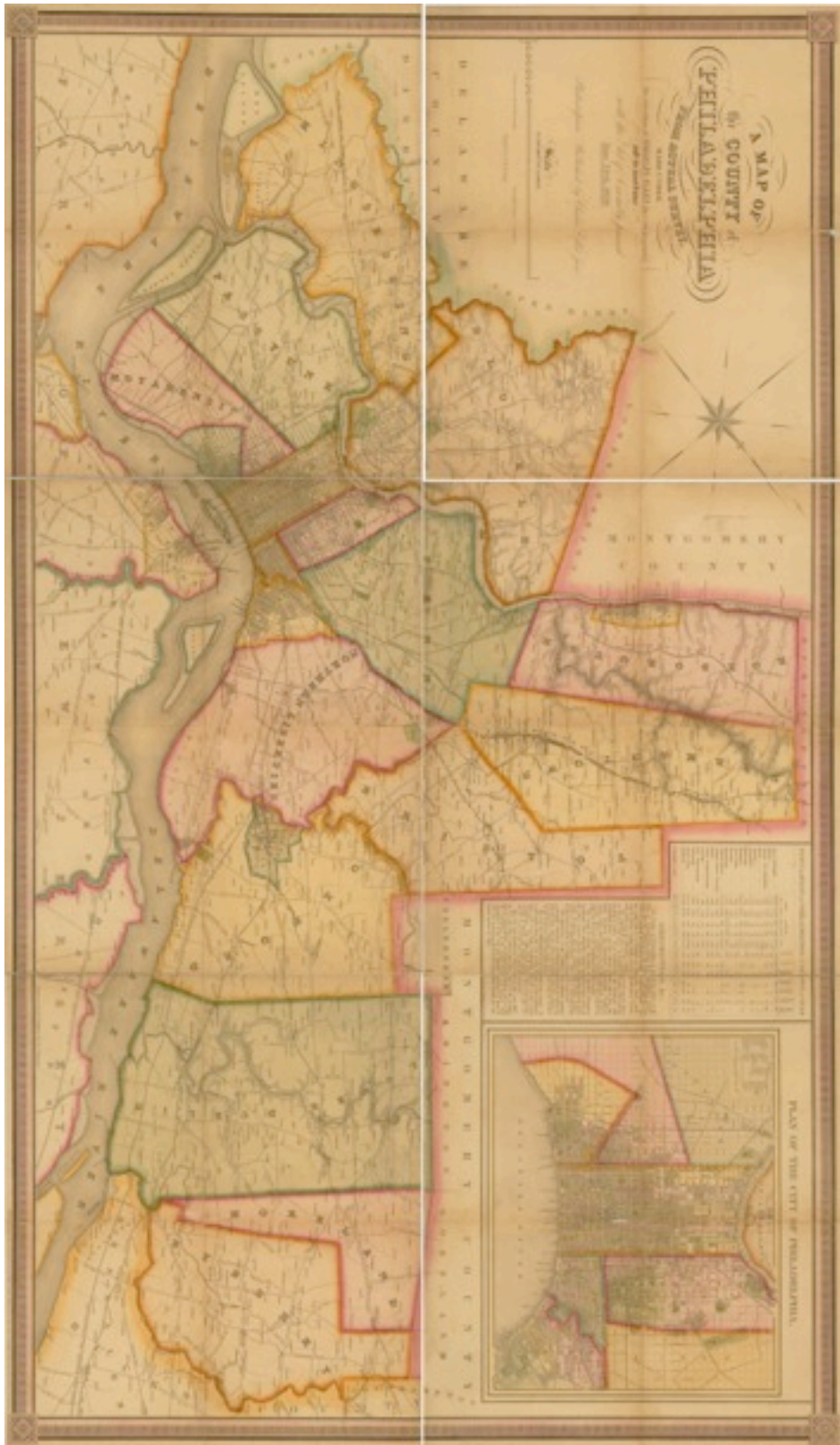


Figure 3.6 “A Map of the County of Philadelphia From Actual Survey” (1843)

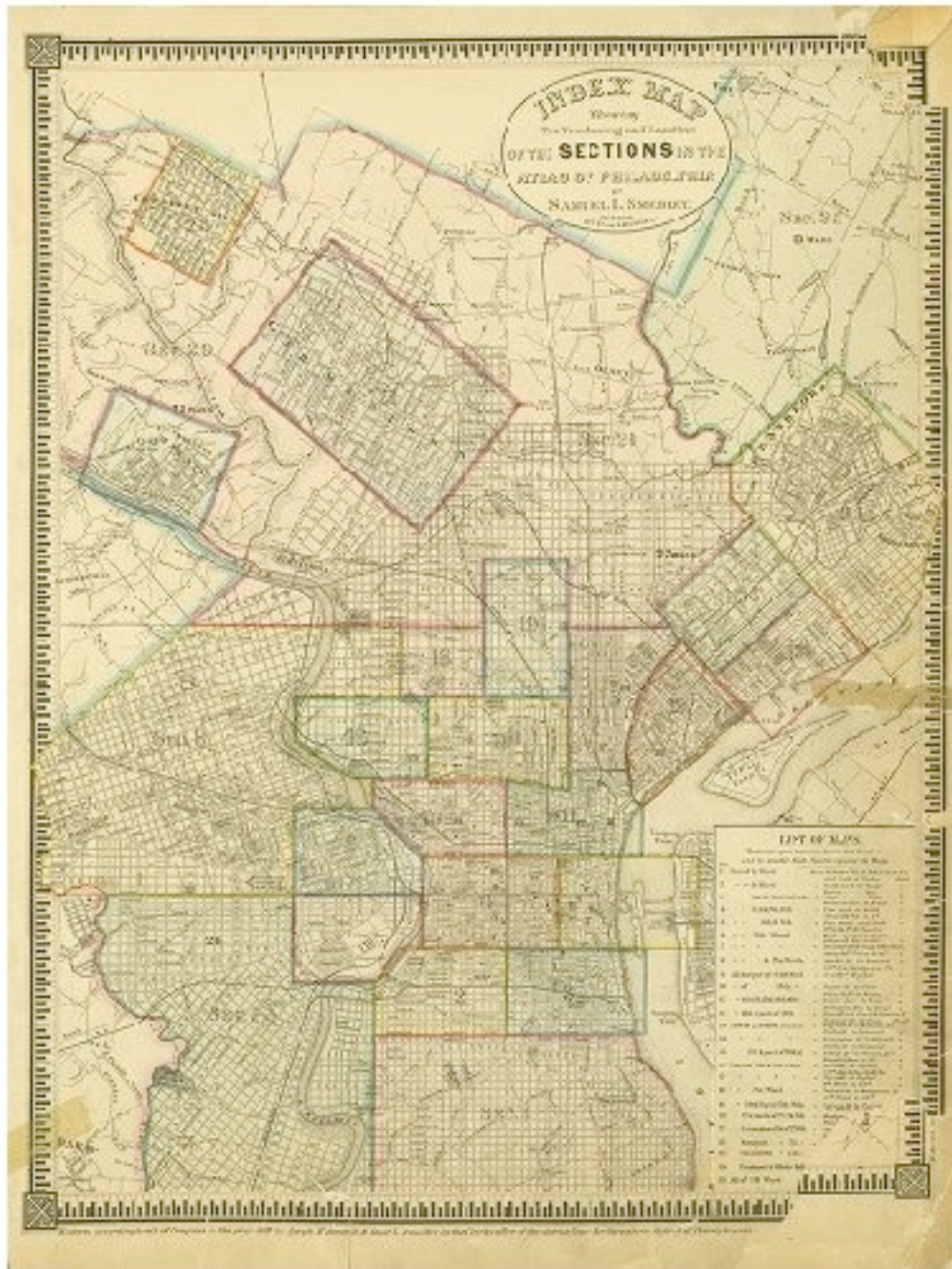


Figure 3.7 Index Map, Smedley's Atlas



Figure 3.8 “Map of Farms and Lots Embraced Within the Limits of Fairmount Park as Appropriated for Public Use By Act of Assembly” (1870)



Figure 3.9 “Map and Pictorial Guide to Fairmount Park” (1872)

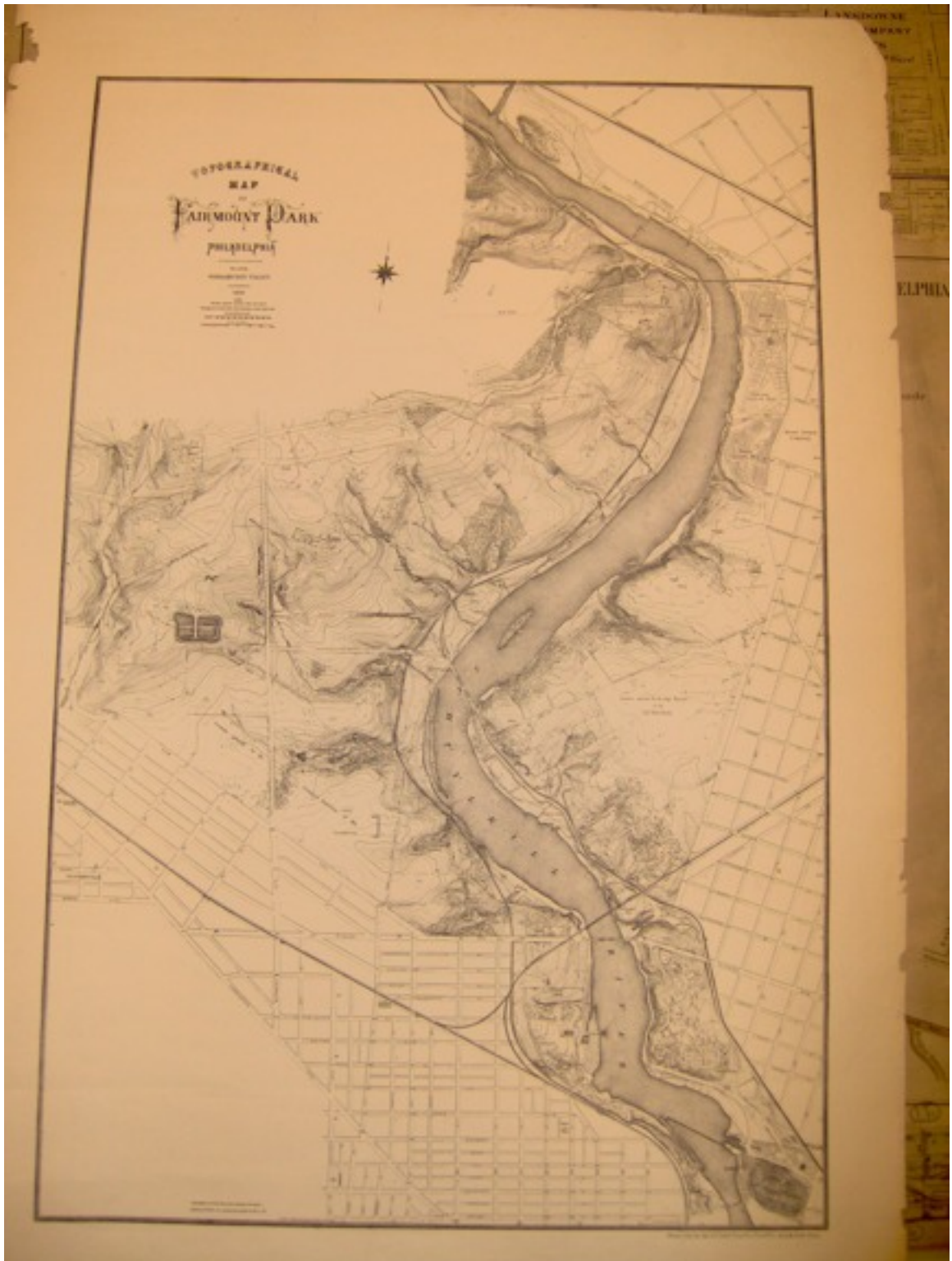
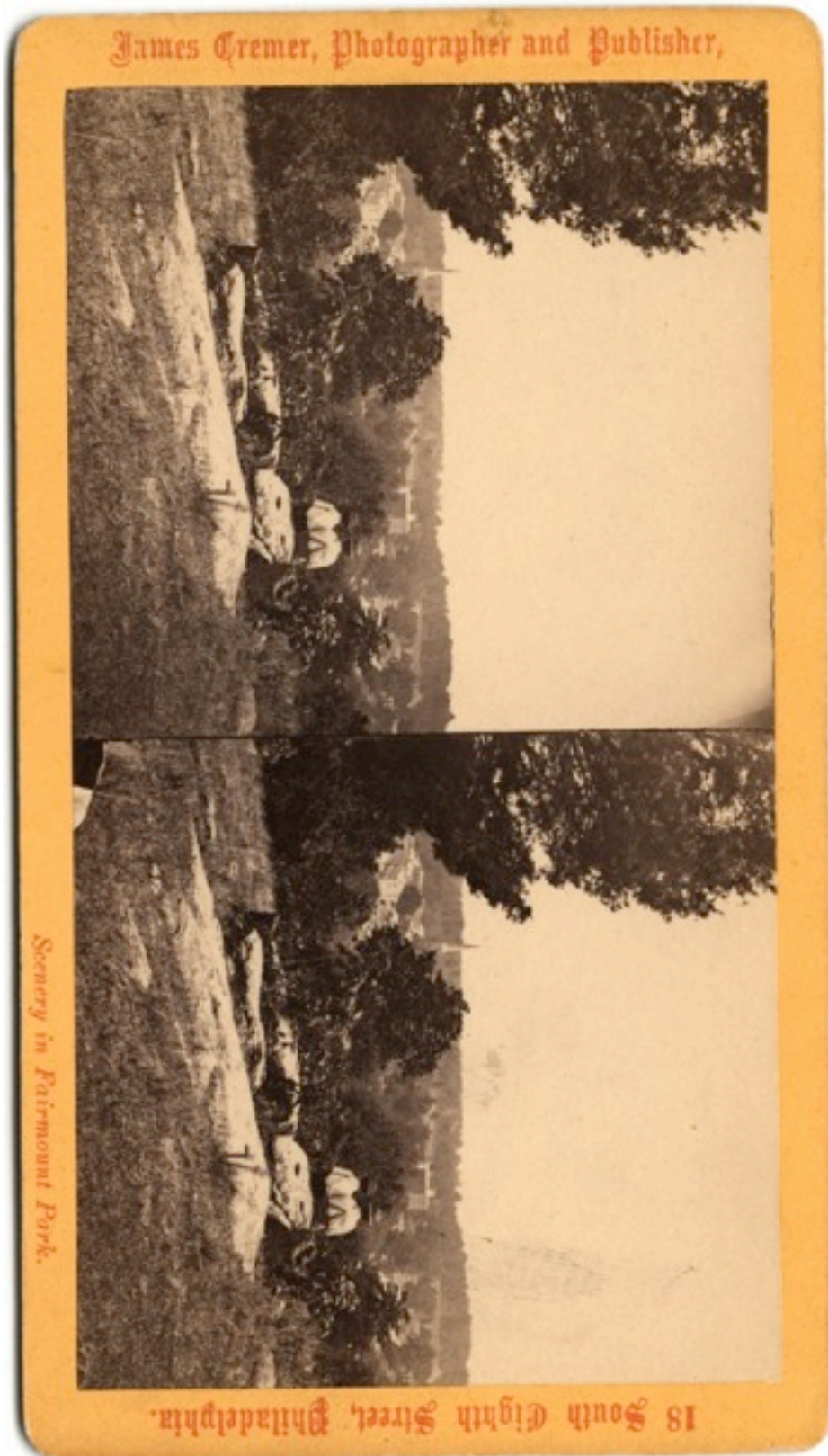


Figure 3.10 "Topographical Map of Fairmount Park, Philadelphia" (1870)

Appendix C: Images for Chapter Four



4.1 “St. Peter's Island Near Rockland”



4.2 “Falls of Schuylkill”



4.3 "The City From Lemon Hill"



4.4 “Looking Toward the City”



4.5 “View from Ormiston East Park”



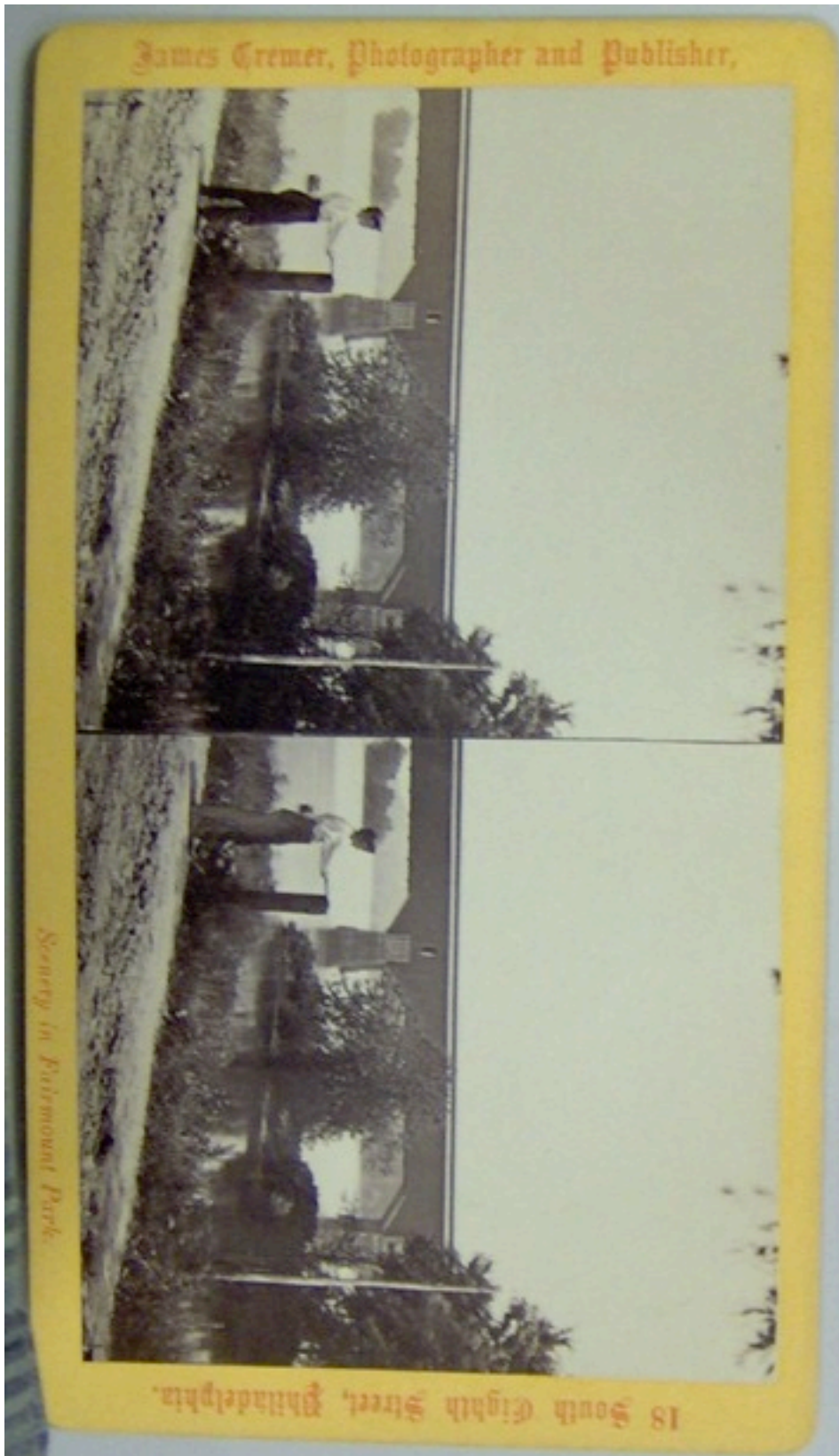
4.6 "Footpath Near Rockland, Park Offices in the Distance"



4.7 “The City from George’s Hill”



4.8 "Near the River Road, Landsdowne"



4.9 No Title



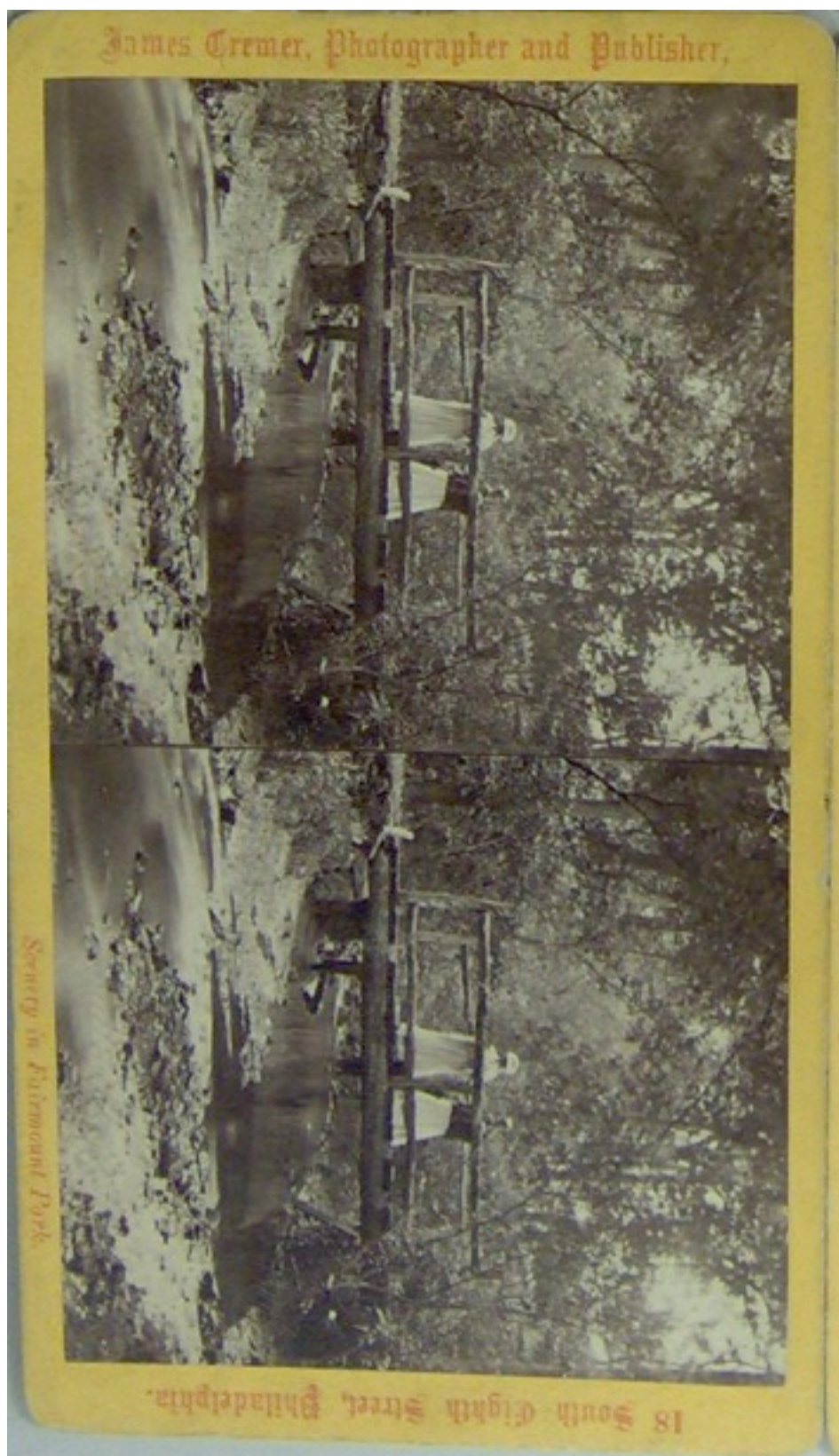
4.10 “North from River Drive”



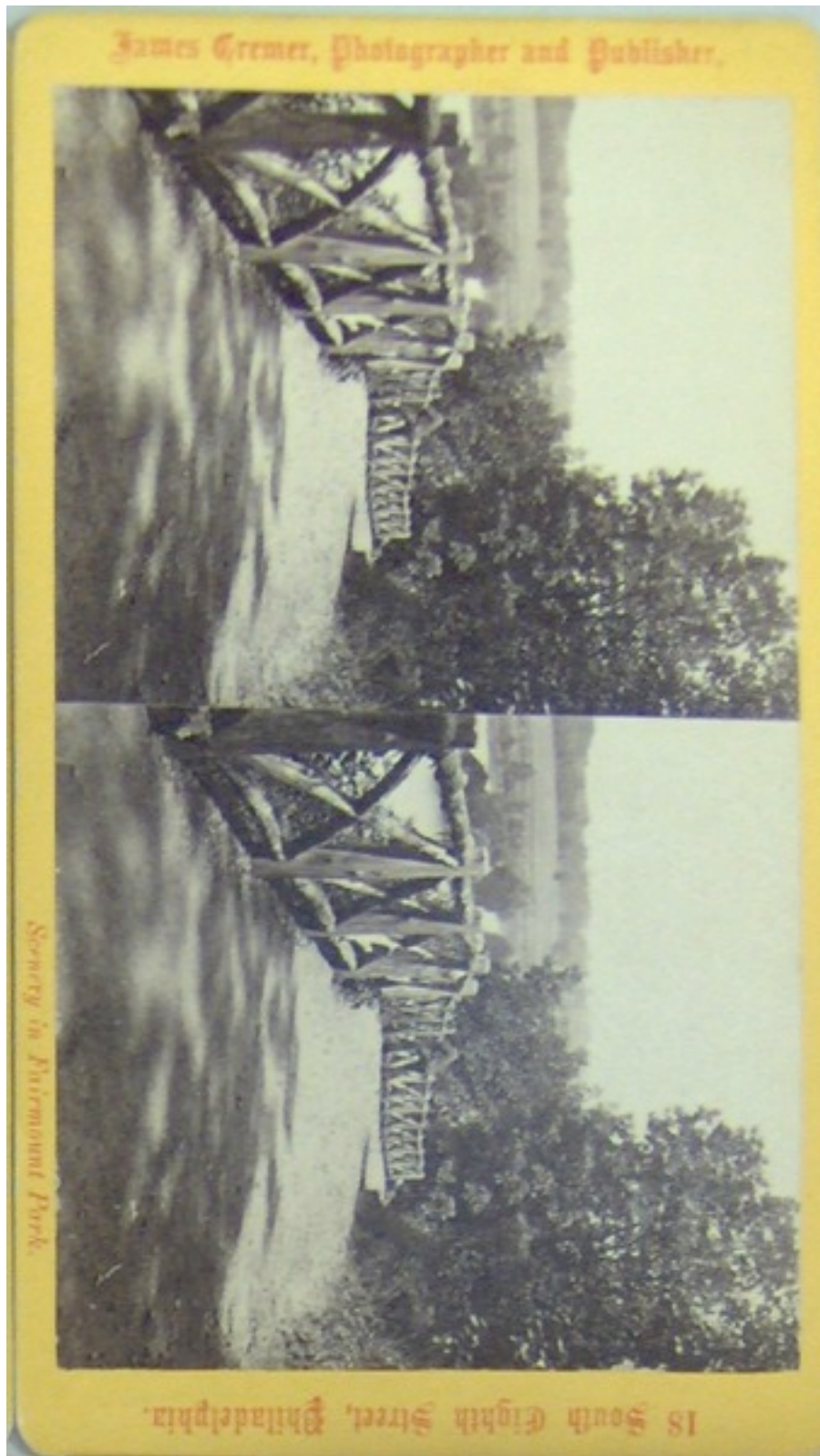
4.11 "View Near the Falls of the Wissahickon"



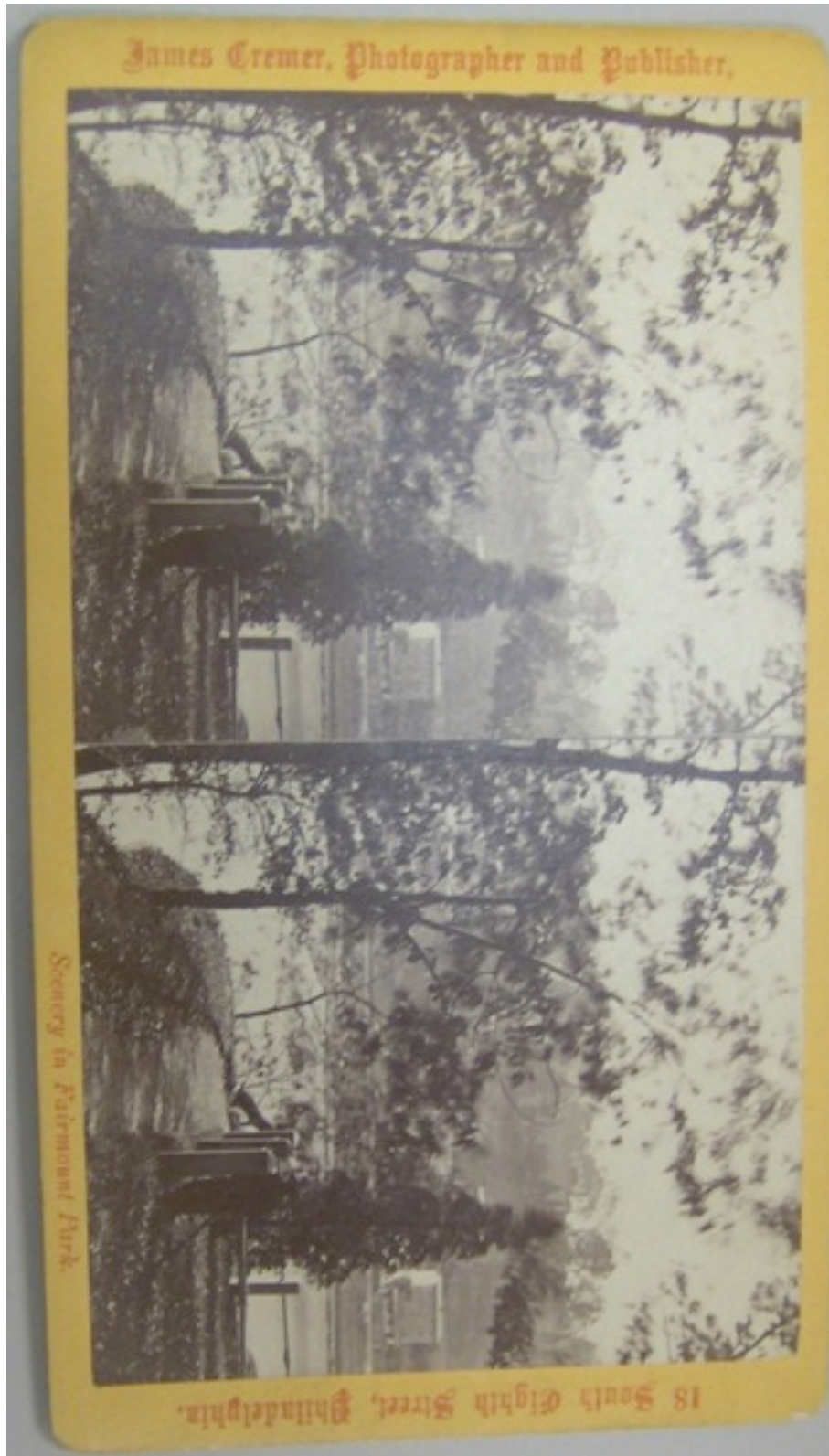
4.12 “Ormiston Glen, East Park”



4.13 No Title



4.14 No Title



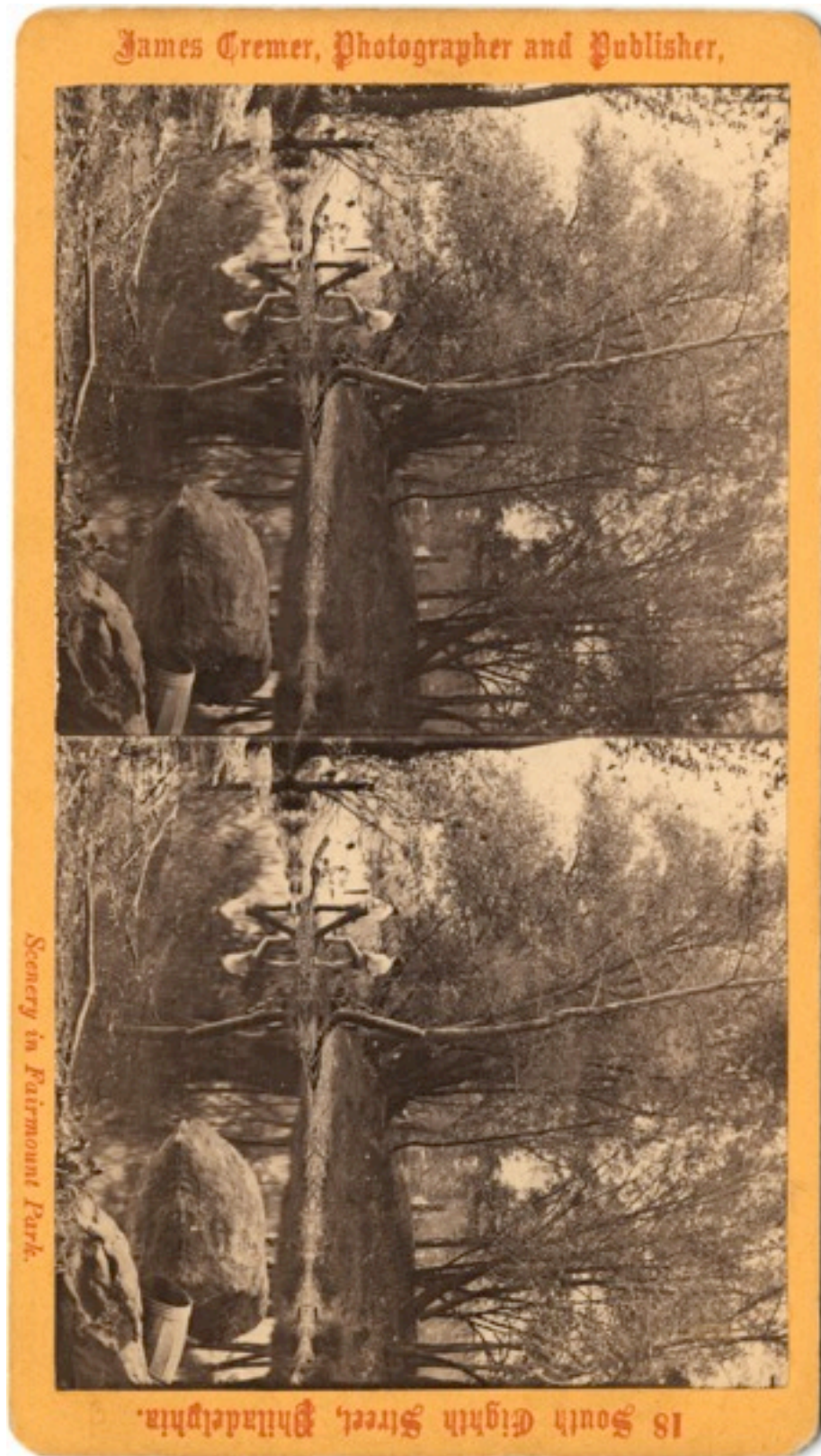
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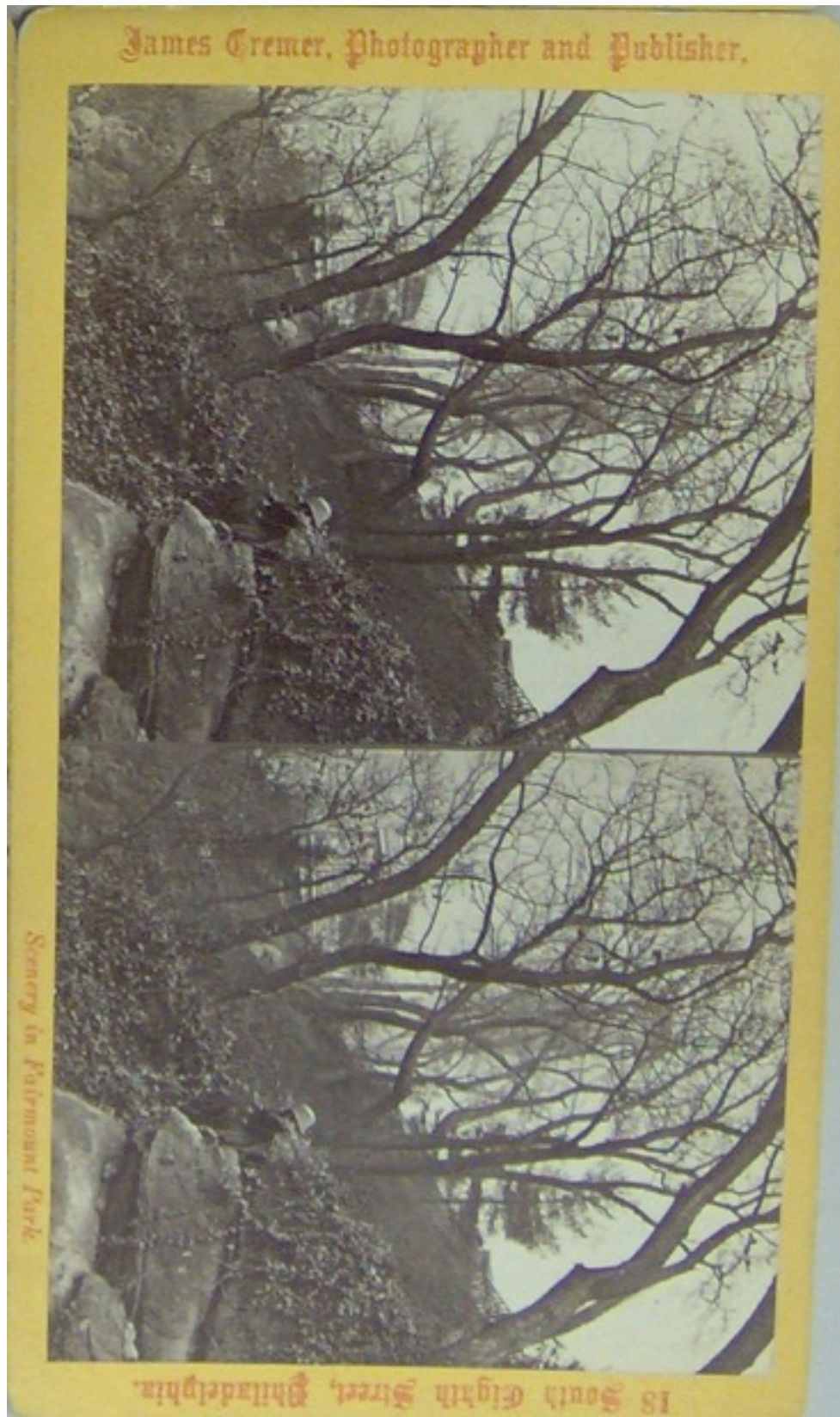
4.16 No Title



4.17 No Title



4.18 "View in Upper East Park"



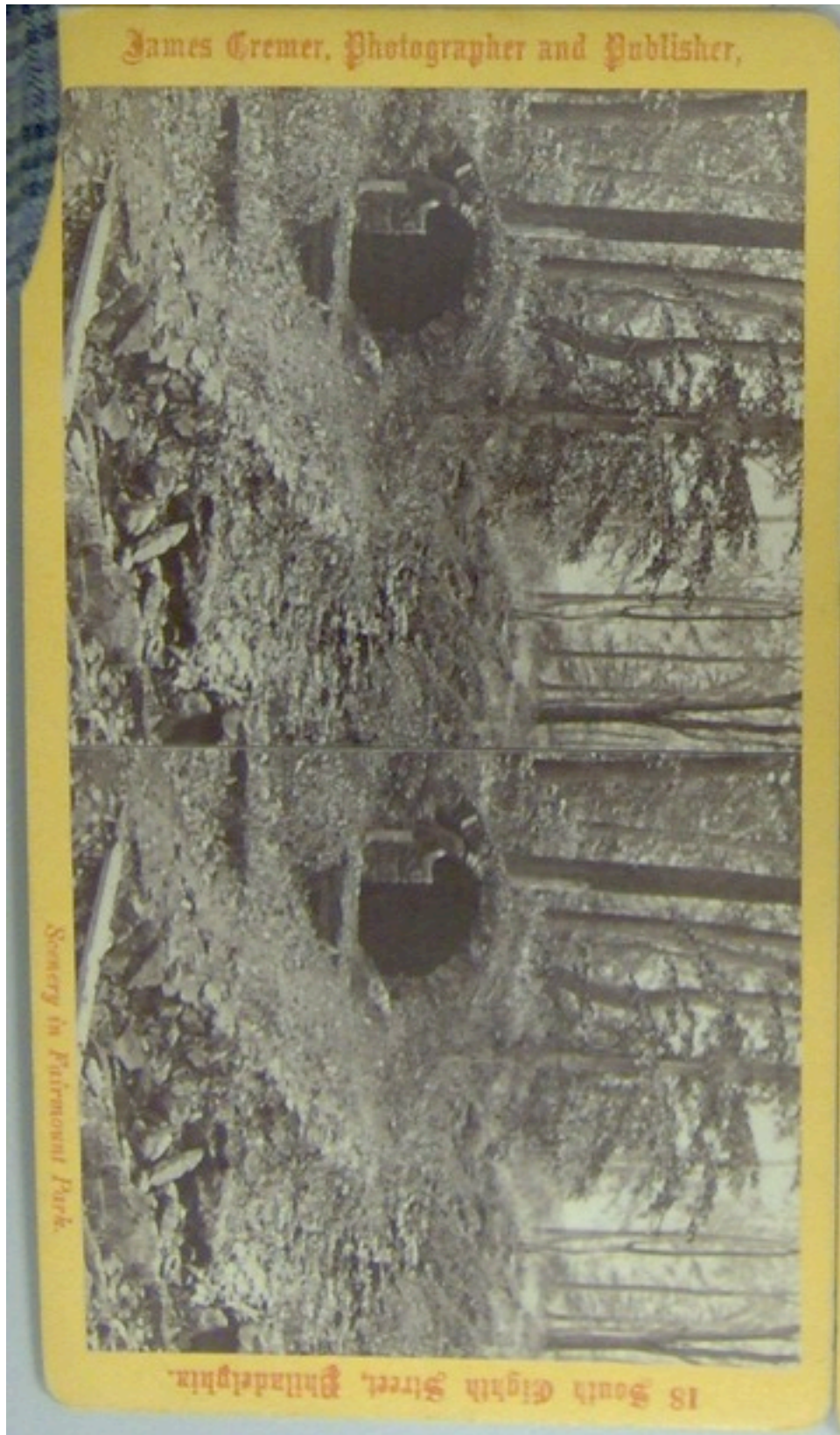
4.19 No Title



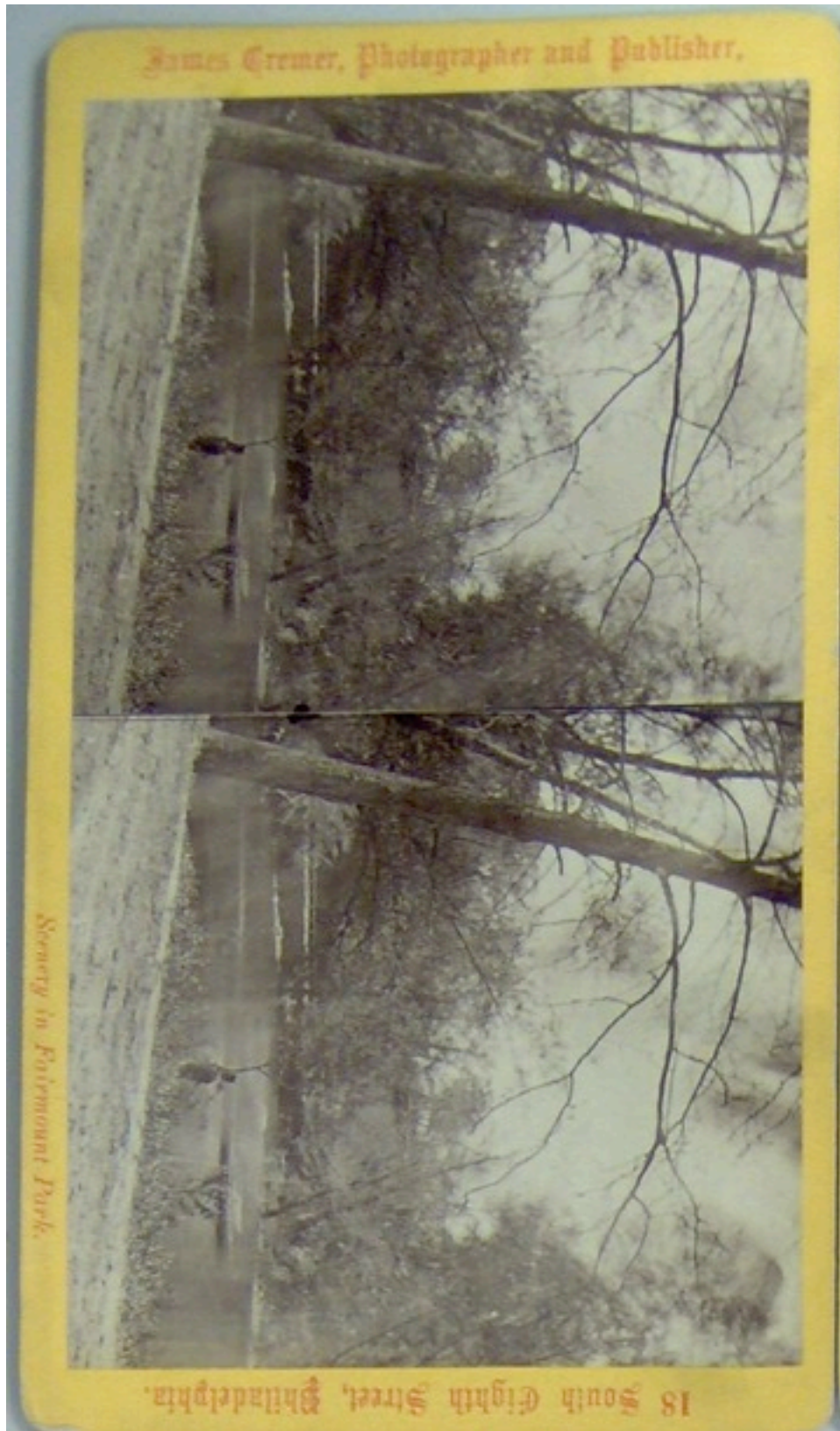
4.20 No Title



4.21 "Ormiston Run, East Park"



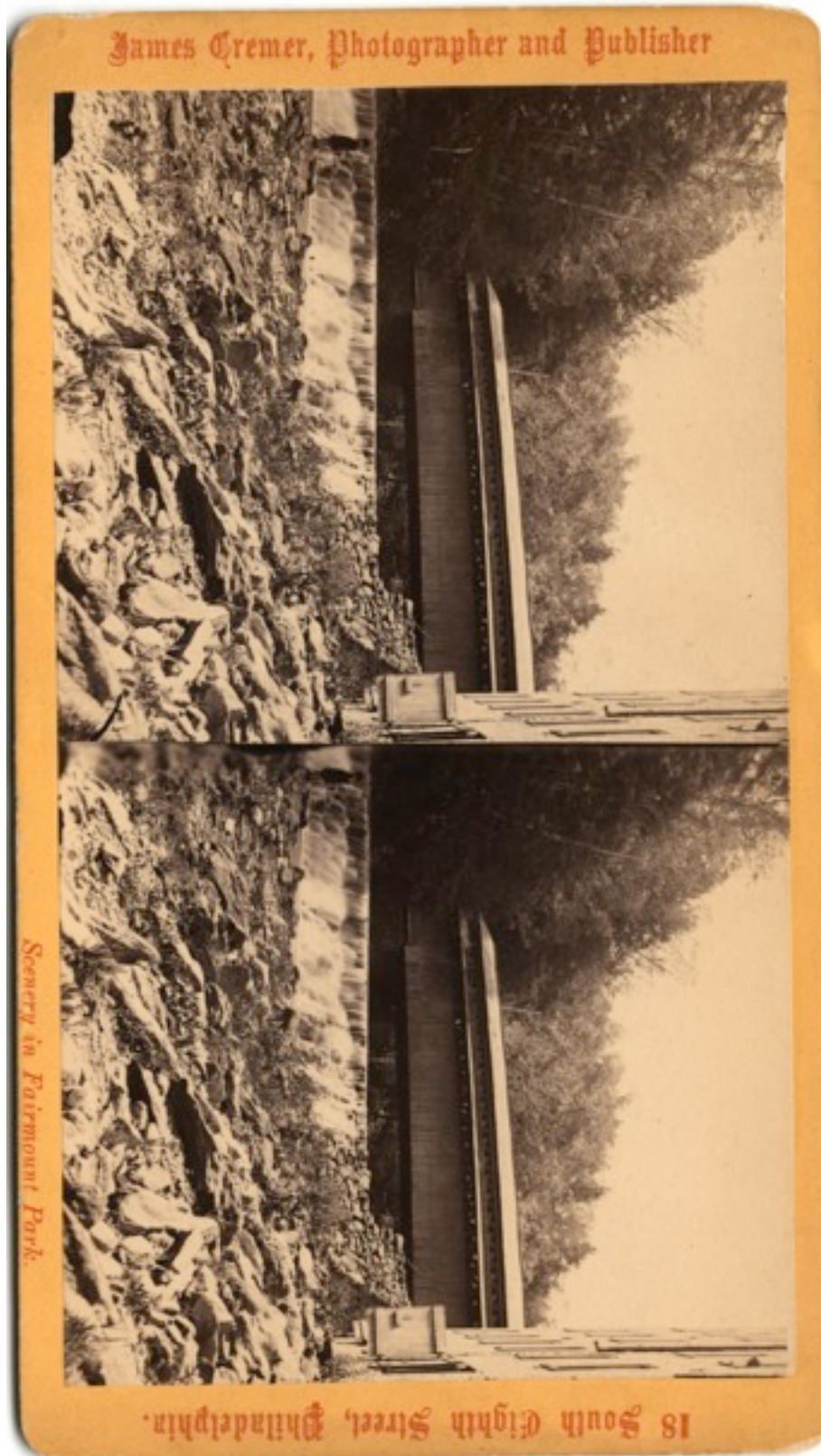
4.22 No Title



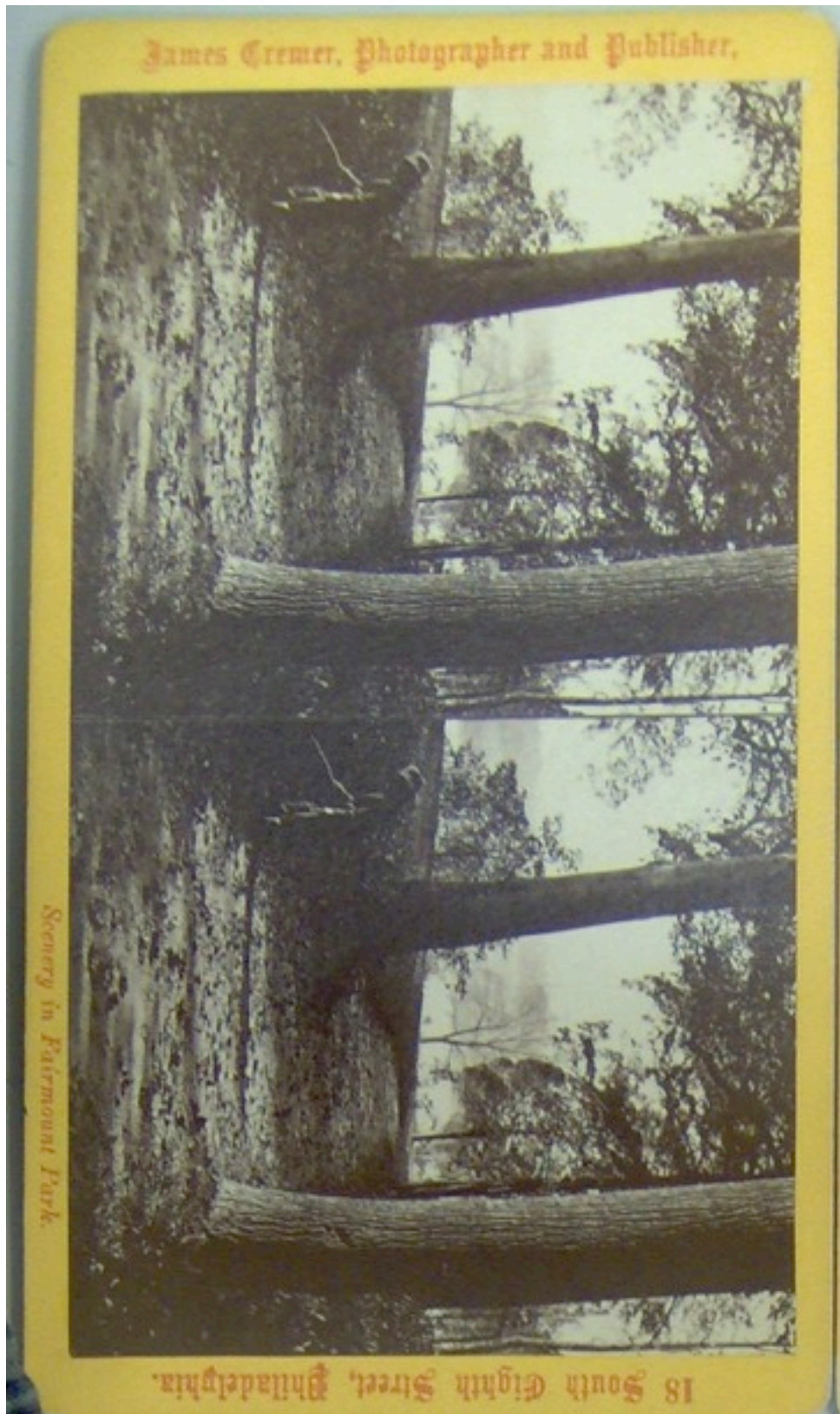
4.23 No Title



4.24 "View at Washington Retreat"



4.25 "The Wissahickon at Red Bridge"



4.26 No Title



4.27 "General View from Landsdowne"



4.28 "The Schuylkill Near Wissahickon Creek"

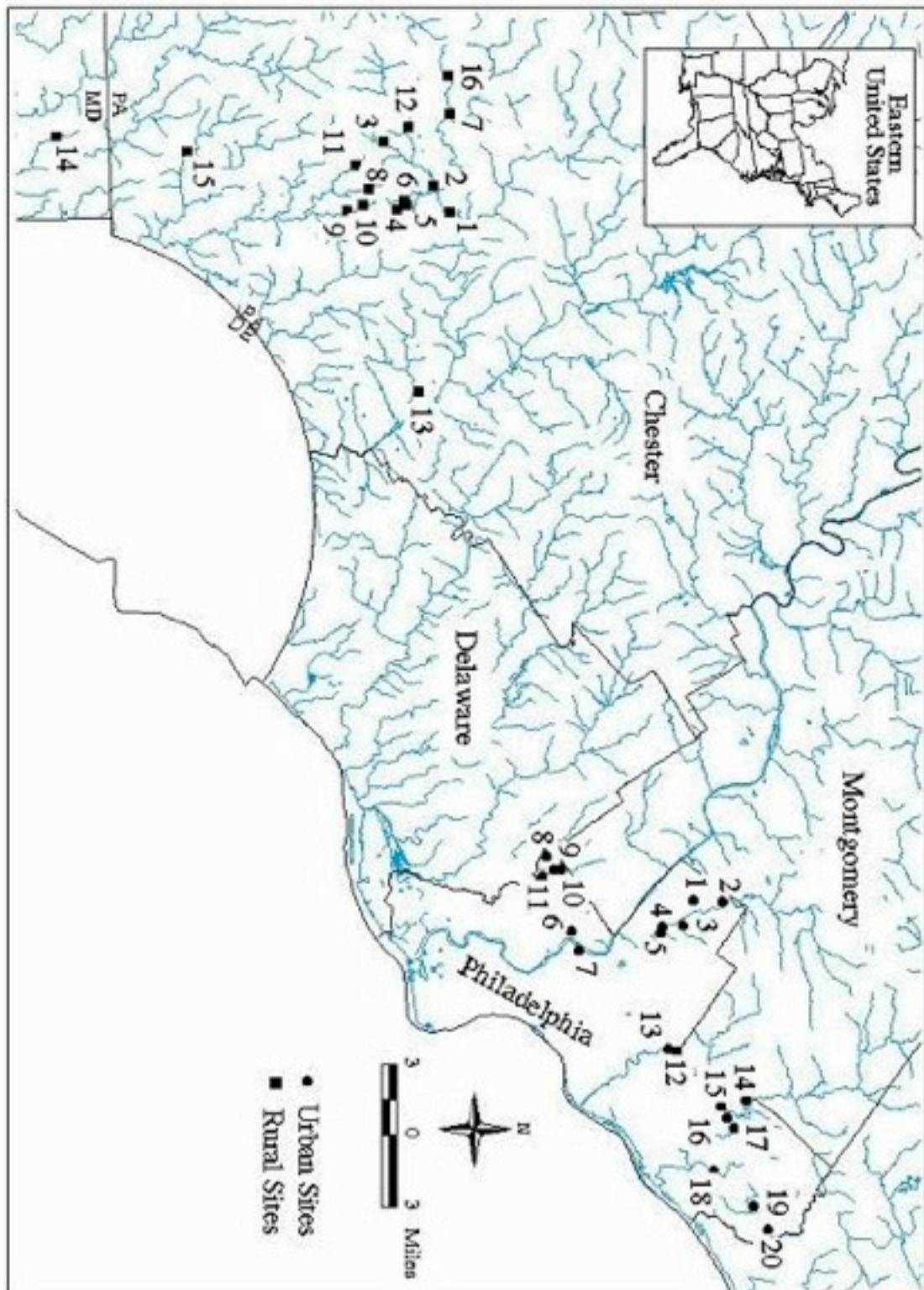


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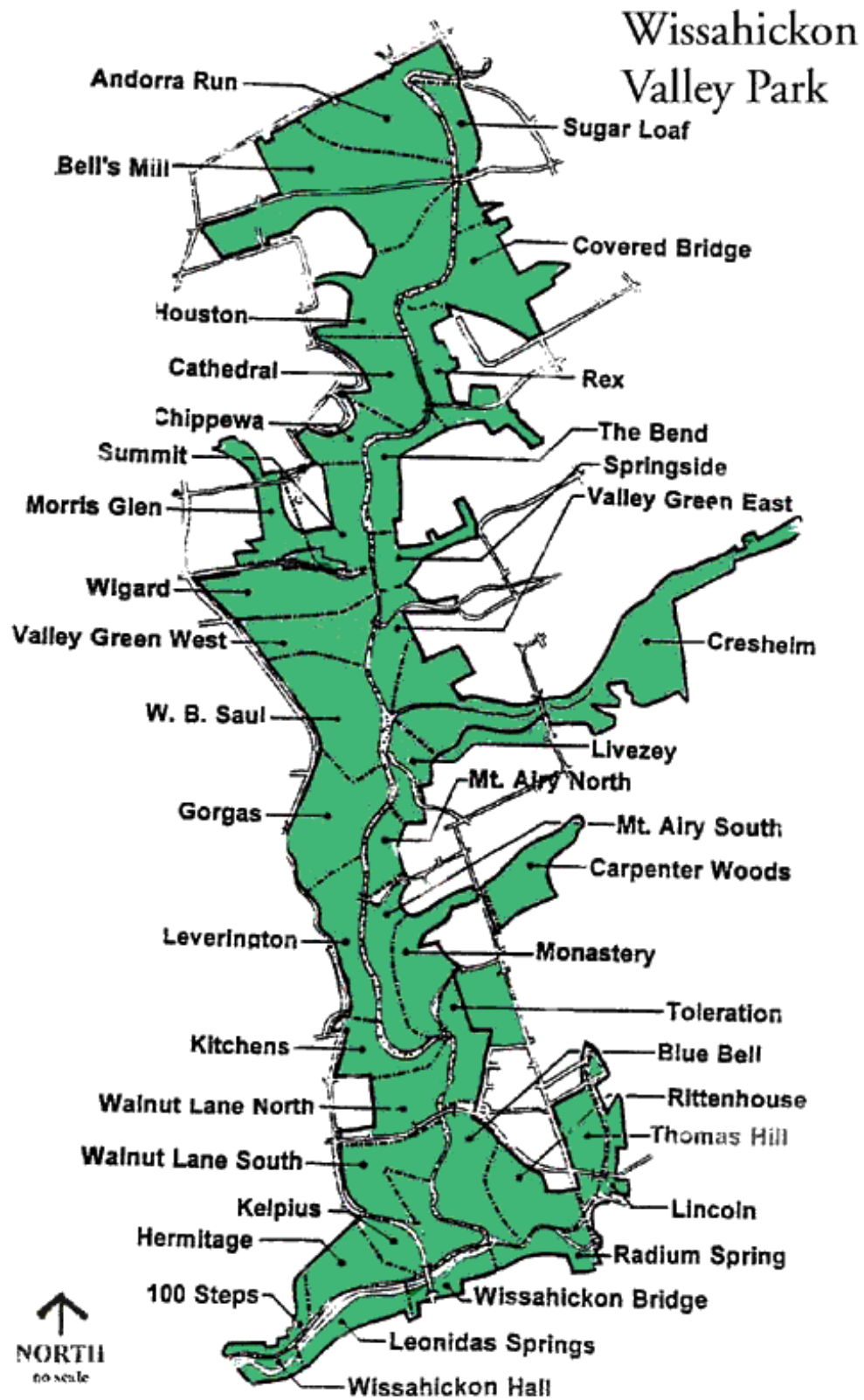
Appendix D: Images for Chapter Five



5.1 Fairmount (West) Park Vegetation Classification (Fairmount Park Commission 1999)



5.2 “Location of Detailed Study sites in the Fairmount Park system and the rural study sites used as reference streams” (Fairmount Park Commission 1999)



5.3 Map of the Wissahickon (nlreep.org)



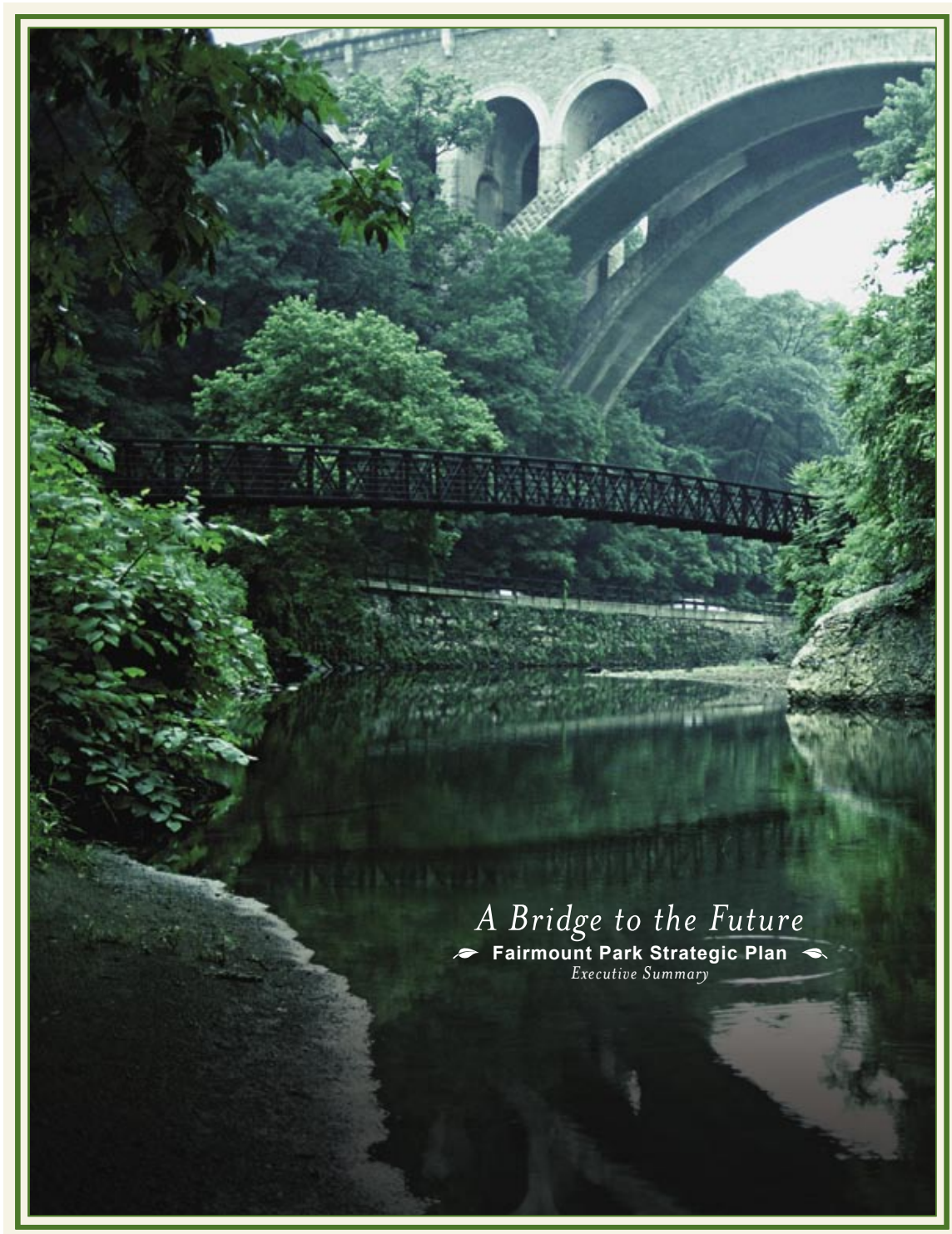
5.4 “Homestead” (Provided courtesy of Historic Rittenhouse Town)



5.5 “Creek” (Provided courtesy of Historic Rittenhouse Town)



5.6 “Paper Barn” (Provided courtesy of Historic Rittenhouse Town)



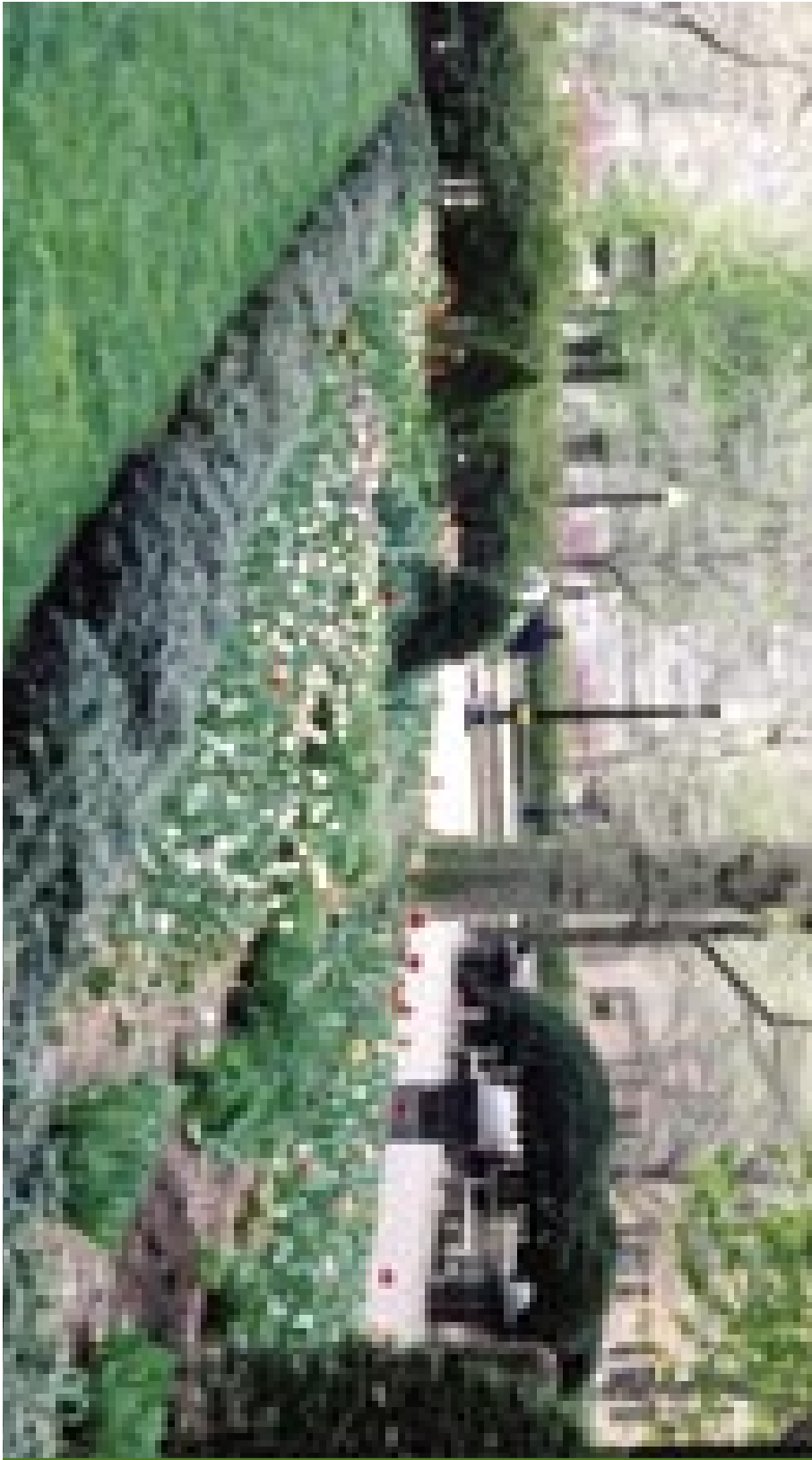
5.7 Cover page to “A Bridge to the Future” Executive Summary



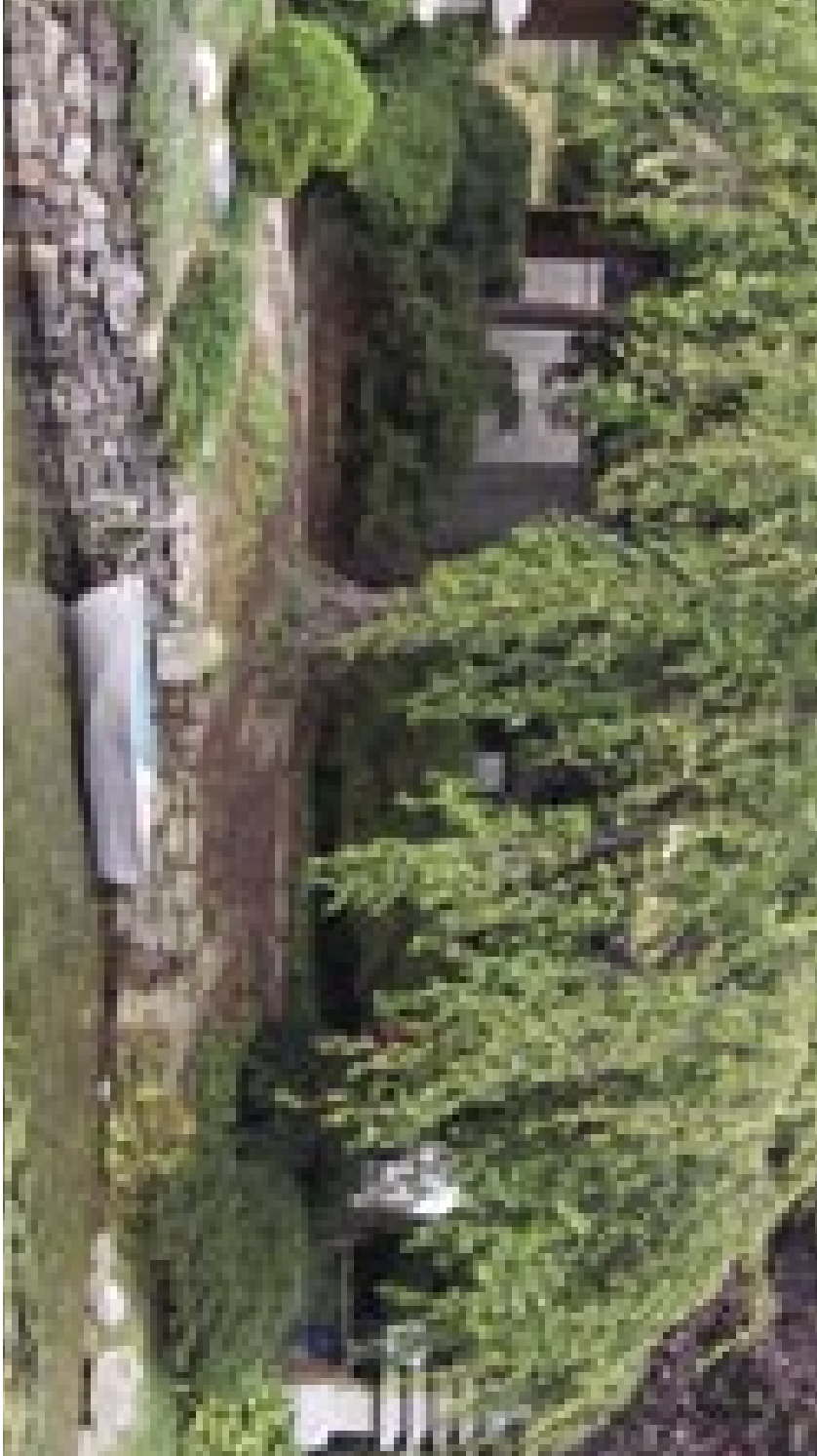
5.8 (No Title)



5.9 (No Title)



5.10 (No Title)



5.11 (No Title)



5.12 “They Should All Look Like This” (Provided courtesy of Philadelphia Parks Alliance)



5.13 “Improve Health” (Provided courtesy of Philadelphia Parks Alliance)



5.14 “Improve Quality of Life” (Provided courtesy of Philadelphia Parks Alliance)



5.15 “Why Not An Oasis?” (Provided courtesy of Philadelphia Parks Alliance)



5.16 “And Get Our Parks Back” (Provided courtesy of Philadelphia Parks Alliance)



5.17 “Great Parks = Great City” (Provided courtesy of Philadelphia Parks Alliance)

Appendix E: Images for Chapter Six



6.1 Carpenter's Woods on Google Maps



6.2 Community Board in Carpenter's Woods

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