
Population and Environmental Psychology Bulletin

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THE FUTURE OF THE DIVISION

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FEATURE ARTICLES

Presidential Address

Blood and Soil

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*We know we belong to the land
And the land we belong to is grand*

The basic credo of Blut und Boden—blood and soil—has perhaps never been more simply stated than in this lyric by Oscar Hammerstein II for the musical Oklahoma!, nor has it been emotionalized better than in Richard Rogers' tune for it, nor spectacularized better than through the choreography of Agnes de Mille.

*We know we belong to the land
And the land we belong to is grand*

The tune and the words—and possibly even visual images?—are “running through your head” right now—aren't they? How did I conjure up these images just with words? What feelings - do you have as you monitor these images while listening to me?

So—It's May 31st 1943, or let's pretend that it is, —so, Okay— It's May 31st 1943, and it's Oklahoma!'s opening night: WWII, bombings, fire bombs, the first atomic chain reaction, race riots in Detroit and Manhattan—we're in the opening night crowd of spiffy Manhattanites viewing this musical play glorifying the Sooners' clever, Rhett Butlerish chicanery in theft of land from the Indians and first and foremost one from another; the Sooners' struggles to hold on to their stolen land; and all this just as the US takes its first tentative steps toward invading its motherland by the landing of GI's in Sicily.

Imagine all those luscious draft-proofed dance boys on stage; no show girls in this musical—show boys only—the sheer genius of a conspicuous overconsumption of chorus boys in that city so bereft of young men and oversupplied with young women.

See, hear, taste and smell Agnes de Mille's choreography—the leaps and bounds, twists and turns, the floor-hugging gyrations punctuated by air-bound flights of

NEWSLETTER NEWS

PEPB is an unrefereed forum for sharing news, ideas and opinions in population and environmental psychology. Opinions are those of the authors and do not reflect the official policy of Division 34 unless explicitly stated.

Call for Submissions

PEPB Winter 2003

Unthemed

Submissions Due: January 15th, 2003

Unless strong objections are raised, this issue brings to a close two themes that have occupied much of the PEPB space over the last year, the future of the division and the future of the WTC site. Results from the straw poll about the future of the division are presented in two forms within, summary statistics and respondents' comments. Although there is no clear mandate regarding the future of the division in these results, more than half of those polled are unhappy with the way things are and would prefer that the division be reformulated to focus on environmental psychology.

Regarding the future of this newsletter, I would prefer to fill it with material from the membership, so please send brief research reports, commentary and announcements, as well as suggestions for future themes, books to review, etc., to Russ Parsons: rparsons@uiuc.edu

those glorious young men dressed all in leather—we're part of an excited and titillated audience—white, well to do cosmopolites—women, old men, and those younger men exempted from the draft, soldiers and sailors on leave or on home duty, proudly sitting there in their uniforms... audience, actors, orchestra, stagehands, tech people, lighting men, costumiers, directors, wardrobe mistresses, dressers, valets, doormen, and we, conjured there by my word magic: we're all united in the mystery of being there at the creation, at the opening, at the original public performance of an H-I-T, a HIT. Above all, we the members of that 40s audience form a unity of enthusiastic and conspicuous consumers of this wartime spectacle; we listen and we are enchanted into another world, we are here while the other young men are there, on the front, bleeding, while other women are raped, while other Jews, gays and gypsies are being gassed, while Dresden is being fire bombed, while old men are dying in the ruins of bombed out buildings, while people perish as tall buildings crumble to dust; we are here, in the audience, in Manhattan, in the safety of the American Homeland. We are enjoying our homeland security. In our imaginations we are all Nordic-stock guys, on the make in Oklahoma!

...And indeed it is the start of a five year and nine month run—not closing till February of '49, just in time for the establishment of NATO. Oklahoma! O-K!

We know we belong to the land.

In a literal fashion this statement would be appropriate to a chorus of self-aware serfs: persons who cannot be detached from the land—in the feudal system of serfdom, the Lord, the owner of the land, owns the land indeed but does not own the serfs who in their own turn belong to the land. The serfs, the “souls” who inhabit, work, and die on the land cannot be removed or alienated from it¹.

Unlike American agricultural slaves of the past, the serfs of the past could not be “sold down the river”—in fact, unlike slaves, serfs were not owned by their Lord at all. The duty of serfs was to work the land. A fair comparison might be to American poor white trash or ex-slave black sharecroppers who could not free themselves from debt and who were thus bound to the land that they worked from generation to generation. With the coming of the dust bowl, with the bankruptcy of their owners, these American “serfs” were then set free, to populate California, and the industrial North and Midwest, to turn from peasant to proletarian, doing factory or service work, shortly before the opening night of Oklahoma! in 1943.

Even more interesting in retrospect is the condition of American Indians on or off reservations: the rez offering one type of uprootedness, indeed from modernity and its discontents—the off rez life, another—uprootedness from the attachment to land, tribe, clan and family. Oklahoma!'s First Night. May 31st 1943. The internment of the Japanese Americans is complete—a forced relocation program echoing back to forced relocations of numerous Indian tribes for

example; some even say an American attempt at ethnic cleansing.

In our willing suspension of disbelief, then, as 1943 white-only first-nighters, we are picturing, hearing, touching, kinesthetizing, smelling, and tasting these chorus boys as Oklahoman “serfs”. In the imagination of those of us attending the opening of the “folk opera” (shades of Porgy and Bess here?) Oklahoma!, in our imagination as we place ourselves in the shoes of those first nighters there, the 40's New York dance boys metamorphose into sons of the soil, attached to the land: the complete and total antithesis of the dramatized characters, of ourselves, and of the actual dance boys—deracinated cosmopolites all of them and all of us—and as they, in imagination also we, derive the specific titillation of this drama from that very tension—between artistic verisimilitude and war time urban reality. So, even as we sit *here*, bombs are falling, bullets are flying, and propaganda barrages fill cyberspace; *other* young men are bleeding, *other* women are being raped, *other* old men perish as tall buildings collapse, the “war on terrorism” rages, and, and we are safe here at the convention center—we, performer, audience, you and I, derive a specific titillation from that tension between artistic verisimilitude and war time urban reality.

In short: Oklahoma! and its lyrics, score, and choreography built and build a magical bridge from the dust bowl to an OZ hovering over a mythical peacetime Kansas, a bridge to a place over the rainbow, where the humans and the land form a bond: a unity between home-land, heimat, and the sons of the soil—those who belong to the land (in implicit contradistinction to those to whom the land belongs).

One of the multiple ironies of this situation is that at the very same moment of May 31st 1943, the Waffen SS, and a large portion of the propagandized German populus, derived ITS inspiration from the concept of Blut und Boden, blood and soil, and from the romanticizing of the Nordic Peasant as the ideal and the epitome of the Superman—the Nordic hero who belongs to the soil—land and people forming a blood compact, a blood covenant, an interbleeding, a blood-brother-hood; the mystical union, the mystical marriage of race, nation, culture and land: the promised land indeed: WE BELONG TO THE LAND². Or, at least, we imagine that we belonged to the land.

In imagination we perceive, we participate in an allegory in which the blood of the peasant is shed in and on the motherland—and that blood deriving its nautical salinity from the symbiosis between the kernel planted in the mother land—the new plant, the son, sprouting in and from that soil, springing from the soil, and above all, being rooted in that ancestral Nordic soil—the motherland—the peasant Siegfried-hero of the bullring overcoming the mystery of the center of the labyrinth itself, that dark father-bull, molding a new clay creature: mud, water, soil, sunlight and straw. In turn, to give those metallic salts back to the motherland by a heroic death for and in the soil herself; the glory of being the willing victim, of giving one's life for something greater than him self—finally to

¹ This is not the place for an extended exegesis of the complex history and laws of serfdom—the picture presented here is correct, in general.

² See, for example, R. Walther Darré, *Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse* [The peasantry as the life-spring of the Nordic race], München and Berlin, J. S. Lehmanns Verlag, 1940.

shed one's blood and to re-commingle with The Mother... To become a Star.

The manifest destiny of America can be tied to the vigorous and masculine Oklahoma!esque land acquisition and for that matter, the land speculation, conjured up by Rogers, Hammerstein and De Mille in us, the first nighters. Our manifest destiny, the manifest destiny of us, the US, is bound up with issues around becoming a major land power while using "virgin-mother" land to build and profit from a New World. It is perhaps paradoxical that our Westward Ho! land ethic was accompanied by early, thorough, and radical restructuring first toward a mercantile, then an industrial, and finally a postindustrial socio-political system. In fact from early in our history we have aspired and succeeded in and succumbed to being both a land and a sea power (and in time, an air, space, and cyberspace power).

One of the ways in which this paradox has been made to work has been to foster a continuous tension between a relentless reality of uprootedness and an equally relentless Foster-world of My Old Kentucky Home, Old Black Joe—and all of those Stephen Foster favorite melodies—all of us indeed Foster children of migration and of the soil—Oklahoma!-ns, or Okies in fact. At its most simplistic level I suppose this tension is merely the old saw about the irresolvable conflicts between the Jeffersonian slaveholder, hemmings-ing and hawings-ing liberal patrician landowning salt of the earth independent householder tradition and the Hamiltonian go-go bastard, son-of-a-bitch little immigrant New Yorker financier-speculator cosmopolite merchant tradition. This is the tension we now inhabit in the nostalgically parodied grotesquery of suburban Tolkien-Shire-landscapes as Jeffersonian icons hiding a nightmare, a night terror, of Mordoresque caricatures of Hamiltonian land speculation turned into urban dystopia.

I spent the six weeks from 11 June to 23 July in Budapest with my five daughters. I am a native of Budapest—I fled that place on December 26th 1948—crossing the border to Austria in the trunk of a '47 Plymouth with my mother and my middle brother as trunk-companions. This summer's trip was my very first return to Budapest—after an absence of 54 years.

One purpose of that trip was an attempted reunion with soil and an introduction or re-introduction of blood into it. It: Hungary—my birth mother—returning to her with my girls—myself, a foster child of the United States, searching for my Roots in Eastern European jungles...

Aptly, we arrived and departed on Lufthansa, a magic carpet flight, over night, over Greenland, Denver to Frankfurt, a long layover, and then a peasant-class hop to Budapest. Come fly with me then, Wendy, Michael, John!; first right and straight on 'till morning! tomorrow—to Neverland, where you never grow old—to Budapest. I will be your tour guide. I will speak English to you. (I hope to get a cut from the taxi-driver later.)

Budapest is just yet another frontier town; it is no different from other Eastern European frontier towns. The nineteenth-century city almost obliterated the previous layers—Roman, medieval, Turkish. The nineteenth-century city makes the most of its gorgeous geographic location—the broad Danube, the hills of the Western (Buda) side, the vast expanse of plain to the Eastern (Pest) side; and the quaint folded and tucked in pieces of Óbuda (old Buda) to the North-West. The city center and the "better" Buda hills have historically

been the dwelling and workplace of the "top" five or ten percent of the population—the middle class—as well as those "above" them. These places would make you think that you were in a bargain basement Paris or Vienna: Broad avenues, public buildings, churches, and statuary. An architecture where solid structural brick, many many courses deep shelters cool tucked-in courtyards; four, five or six storeys tall, very urban, very dense. Inside and out the brick is clad in stucco-made-to-look-like-stone, or in some cases, an exterior layer of non-structural stone. On top, pitched roofs of red tile or slate where washerwomen of old would hang the sheltered, indoor billowing clouds of laundry. Beneath, the cellar, little "garden level" windows, the wood and coal for winter and the family warren-place of the souls who cleaned and kept up the house—and during the siege, in the winter of 44-45—the dwelling place of the displaced apartment dwellers—us—our cellar, a refuge, an OZZIAN Kansan tornado shelter and root cellar.

There are sections of twentieth-century buildings too, here the stucco covers a steel-and-concrete balloon. The historic working-class, proletarian neighborhoods form a grim but not visually or aesthetically discontinuous ribbon around the city center—these are what used to be called the "outer towns," "settlements" or "suburbs"—a concept with a very different meaning here, on the frontier, from that in North America.

The aesthetic pleasure of historic Budapest derives from multiple tensions. There is the tension between urban settlement and geographic location (nature and the city). There is the tension hidden between structure (brick or steel and concrete) and adornment or ornamentation (stucco). There is the tension inherent in the hierarchies of occupation between the classes by neighborhood (generally given by district-number, as in Paris). In middle-class and upper class neighborhoods there are also the internal tensions within the houses: the tensions are between the folks in the cellar and in the attic and the folks in the apartments. Within apartments it is the tension between the maids' room(s) and those of the "family". Within the rooms...

The "Communist-Socialist" era, that is the 40 years from 1949 to 1989³ neglected but did not erase or demolish the Bourgeois Budapest it had inherited (as for example the Hapsburgs demolished Turkish-Ottoman Budapest) but, rather, the "Communist-Socialist" era built a "workers'" city surrounding the historic core. These "Communist-Socialist" era buildings form an anti-bourgeois-aesthetical insulation zone between the "outer cities" of historical Budapest and the countryside that surrounds it.

Since the 90's a further-out ring of Western-style suburbs have swallowed up entire villages, insulating these Stalin-cities from the countryside—a partially successful attempt to outflank the "Communist-Socialist" era.

³ A convenient oversimplification. There was at the minimum the "Stalinist" period from 1949 to 1953. Post-Stalinism from 1953 to 1956. The revolt of 1956 and its repressive aftermath through the sixties. The easing of repression and the coming into being of a socialist state in uneasy alliance with a Soviet Union in decline until 1989. In a sense these were distinct regimes—but for our purposes they can be lumped together for a useful generalization.

As the treasure of the period of Hungary's "greatness"—from the 1840's until the end of WW I—flowed into historic Budapest, so did the scant treasures of the "Communist-Socialist" era flow into this insulating band: the architecture is clearly reminiscent of the Weimar-era "Siedlungen" or their latter-day offspring in public housing projects and office buildings in America, England, Western Europe, Hong-Kong, Singapore, Tokyo, Chicago and everywhere. Derided and lambasted by social scientists, aesthetes, town planners, popularizers and critics in the mass media since at least the 1970's, such housing would now be torn down in many richer countries than the Eastern European Frontierlands.

These buildings feature groups of utterly unadorned, outward-facing concrete blocks, floating on the ground—without cellars—and directly touching the sky—flat roofs—no place for the laundry or the heating fuel nor for the social outcasts who tended these things. It was LeCorbusier's utopian dream of a healthy, sunshine-filled city where equity and equality would reign. As in America, the actual OZ, the dream become reality, is more Kansan than Emerald. In Hungary and other Frontierlands these buildings remain; in the US they are being torn down to be replaced⁴, I suppose by "lofts" (ornamented concrete and steel cages) or perhaps medium to high density "new urbanist" kitsch, that is to say, nostalgically ornamented wood-and-paper ticky-tacky.

The "Communist-Socialist" era buildings of Budapest provide a constant reminder of the tension between the self-censored immediate past and the present. They are the reminders of what the dream-censor now does not let people actually see—the world of the past regime. They continue to provide a contrast to the still visible signs of neglect—from crumbling stucco, to discolored buildings—of the old city. In their turn now, they are beginning to decay quickly as the older parts of the central city are being cleaned up and renovated. The death rattle of the socialist-era Budapest, is, I suppose the clip-clop of the horses' hooves of the tourist-bearing konflisok the nostalgically resurrected hansom cabs one is now beginning to see again—they have returned, perhaps transmuted from pumpkins—shades of childhood memories of the early forties...

Of all of the things that I saw it is this dialog of buildings that bears direct witness to the 40 years of Hungary's suppressed history. Everywhere you look: at the statuary, on the inscriptions of memorial tablets that adorn buildings (these abound in Budapest), at the street names, in museums, in bookstores, at the movies or the movie-rental stores, in the programs of theaters, on the radio or television—it is as if those 40 years never happened—the reminder, the memory, is the architecture—the not yet erased buildings from that "Communist-Socialist" era—and the not yet fully repaired buildings from the time of "Hungary's greatness"—or greater Hungary.

I do not wish to sugarcoat the horrors and the terror of the 40 years of Communist-Socialist rule in Hungary. Yet, with regard to these mute architectonic memorials to the

"Communist-Socialist" era, what is amazing is to see the stark beauty of these geometric compositions. Derelict, unloved, shoved aside, at the margin... but!, looked at as massive shadow casters it would be hard to find their peer; looked at as expressing an architectural ideal of pure functionality, they surpass their more famous Miesian pseudo-unornamented foreign cousins; looked at as expressions of an egalitarian ideal, in their context, they state an uncompetitive ethic with great force; looked at as low cost housing, it would be difficult to find their equal⁵. Of course, as in any artistic medium, there is a wide variation in quality between different building clusters—but—in a way that is the point isn't it: what these "socialist-workers" buildings try to—but cannot hide—is that they are artistic creations: and that behind them stand the shades of an artistic-political elite who neither worked nor lived there, but who programmed and continues to program the lives and perceptions of those who did and do live there—artists whose commitment was not really to sameness but to difference. So, these "socialist" creations deny their own premise: they are not socialist-realist, but in reality, bourgeois-art-works. And yet again, the aesthetic espoused by these buildings and their Bourgeois confrères is not at all the same, nor, seemingly, a mere variant of one another...

If, in a conventional sense, the "Communist-Socialist" era apartment blocks are irremediably and unredeemably ugly, then from a high-culture perspective, the outermost, Western-style upper-middle-class drive-in-McDonald-ed and Office-Depot-ed outer suburbs that are arising to hem them in are even worse: an execrable offal of imported-out, tasteless, conspicuous overconsumption. The villas of the newly enriched, ape "style"—created and custom built for the owner by architects who know better but get paid for catering to the tastes of second-hand consumers of "gracious living" publications.

The blood-and-soil tensions of Hungary, my motherland, with its constant erasures of its own history, form an interesting continuity and contrast to the blood-and-soil tensions of the USA, my adopted homeland, my foster home, with its unending discontinuity between imagined roots and actual rootlessness. The blinking time-travel-ship of the Hungarian state severs one's roots as effectively as does moving every five years to another cute and homey place sever whatever roots may in fact exist. There is the continuity. However the discontinuity arises with the frequency and the quantity of blood shed directly on the soil; Hungary is I think "objectively," still far more of a bulling than the US.

But, flying outside of the outer ring of the western-style suburbs of Budapest just for a second, there is the Hungarian countryside. Villages. In Hungary the abolition of serfdom—begun at the end of the eighteenth century, was not completed until the 1848 revolution, or later—just a hundred years before I left; just fifty years before my mother was born. Within the memory of my great grandmother, the numerical majority of Hungarians were serfs⁶. The numerical majority of Hungarians are great grandchildren or great-great grandchildren

⁴ Thanks, in no small part, to the rhetorical "research" of "environmental psychologists" who have found such tall buildings "unhealthy". Oddly, the "lofts" replacing them are "healthy"...

⁵ Architecturally speaking, far superior in these respects to public housing in Chicago.

⁶ Somewhat of a convenient overgeneralization: but basically true.

of serfs. The creation of an urban proletariat—the basis of industrialization, urbanization, and urbanity—was the gradual “freeing” of the serfs, climaxed by the Hungarian revolution of 1848. The creation of the urban middle class was, in its own turn, largely a product of the Austro-Hungarian state’s conscious policy of encouraging Jews to assimilate and urbanize⁷. (Reminiscent of the American South.) The urban Jewry formed an insulating band between the Hungarian aristocracy and the urban proletariat and the rural peasantry.⁸

“We know we belong to the land” was not just a fantasy in Hungary. In the period of great immigration, during America’s greatest period of industrialization, let’s say from 1875 to the beginning of WW I, millions of Hungarian peasants and proletarians immigrated into the US. More millions came from other Eastern European countries, which were also very late in abolishing serfdom (Russia being the last). A great proportion of these immigrants were ex-serfs or their children—people with direct memories of what it means to belong to the land. It is odd, but America, my foster-mom-land, resembles my birth-mother-land in its selective suppression of memory: in America, how many people remember who their great-great-grandmother was? That she may have been an Eastern European serf? Where did she come from? The Melting Pot is in fact an alchemical vessel for the dissolving of real memories and the fabrication of artificial memories: it is that peasant-ancestor, or the person of color in the pot who is most likely melted down—forgotten—as the family name drifts slowly to an Anglicized version. In Hungary how many remember who in the family collaborated with which oppressive previous government? Who remembers how the family came by its present possessions? Who remembers what the name of the great-great grandparents was? In fact the enjoyment of the present moment rests largely on the dynamic between suppressed and acknowledged history: here as there.

In 1943 the government in Hungary was agonizing over its mistaken alliance with Germany and Italy. In exchange for the “return” of lands taken away from the Kingdom of Hungary after WW I, under the banner of “the self-determination of peoples,” Hungary had allied itself, yet again, with the losing side. The checkerboard of nationalities or of ethnic groups that is the real situation of any “national state” provides an opportunity to great powers and ruling classes to exploit the issues around blood and soil: whose blood? Whose soil? So, in Hungary, as in Germany, as in the US, the slogans surrounding the concept of “we belong to the land, and the land we belong to is grand” were in 1943 first and foremost in peoples’ minds as targets of the rhetoric of popular fictions—and of the rhetorical power of image-laden speech.

And now, a return flight to Denver: In the fall of 2001, that is last fall, I taught a course for our professional architectural program graduate students on the Denver campus. The title of the course was: Blood and Soil: The Psychohistory of the American Home. The assigned readings were: *Gone*

With the Wind; The Wind Done Gone, and the law text *Slavery and the Law*.

Briefly, the thesis of the course was that American slavery was fairly unique or at least rare in history in several respects: among these are the features that slavery was defined in terms of race, that slaves could not free or emancipate themselves (by saving money for example), and that slaves could be bought and sold separately from one another from an extremely early age (you did not have to bundle mother or father or child for a sale—each could be sold separately). The history of the American Law of Slavery is also fairly distinct in many respects, among these distinctive features none is more important than the continual legalistic gyrations around the question of when something black-skinned that appears to be a human being is to be treated as a thing and when it’s to be treated as a person. Finally, incidentally or not, the end of slavery in America came about at the end of an extraordinarily bloody civil war between two governments—commonly the American Civil War is regarded as the first modern war.

I spent fourteen weeks showing that the secret of every American home is its psychological parentage on *The Plantation*. Tara. The ghosts that haunt every American home derive from Tara and its fictional—and suppressed inhabitants, neighbors, and urban satellites. Tara—won in a card game by an uprooted Irishman—and inhabited by souls, white and black and brown and red, who could be and were bought and sold separately or in lots—is the icon of a pretense of attachment to the soil in the face of the Atlantan reality of war, famine, rape, looting, pillaging, blockade running—and the sale of young women to the highest bidder—and their resistance through feminist consciousness.

In short: *Oklahoma!* and its lyrics, score, and choreography builds a magical bridge from the dust bowl to an OZ hovering over a mythical peacetime Kansas, a bridge to a place over the rainbow, where the humans and the land form a bond: a unity between home-land, heimat, and the sons of the soil—those who belong to the land (in implicit contradistinction to those to whom the land belongs). To go there re-experience your half-buried memories of *The Film*...

Underlying the common thread between Hungary, Greater Germany and the United States can be found three levels of basic concept on which the stories around blood and soil congeal: the concept of eugenics, the concept of race and nation, and the concept of the national state.

The science of eugenics proposes that social control is required to enforce the Darwinian principle of survival of the fittest. A natural extension of social Darwinism, it brings to bear the forces of society to decrease the birthrates and the survival rates of the unfit and to increase the birthrates and the survival rates of the fit. From ill-disguised attempts to reduce the rate of “teen pregnancies” (read birthing by the unfit) to the mechanisms of “health insurance” much of health-related policies of this moment in the here and now are parties to and direct descendents of the principles of eugenics.

The gap between the science of eugenics and the principles of “blood and soil” is filled by the science of race, nationhood, and ethnicity. The concepts of “blood and soil” as we inherit them from 1943 are thinly disguised, or then, still undisguised, cover stories for ethnic cleansing and genocide.

⁷ Another factor: immigration of Germans.

⁸ Incidentally, villages while also not unbuilt, they got their share of conspicuously “Communist-Socialist” housing as well as the cities. There are just about no classic “villages” left in Hungary: a tremendous visual and social contrast to let us say neighboring Austria or Slovenia.

Perhaps the easiest way to understand this outlandish connection is to review in our minds the basic thesis of *The Passing of the Great Race or the Racial Basis of European History* by Madison Grant, Chairman, New York Zoological Society; Trustee, American Museum, of Natural History; Councilor, American Geographical Society. First published in 1916, just before American participation in the First War, this scientific study had as its aim the ethnic cleansing of America from the plague of lesser races: Negroes, Orientals, American Indians, European Alpines and Mediterraneans who were polluting the purity of the American Native Nordics, the Nordics who have made this, and Northern Europe, great countries. While he was not in favor of killing present inhabitants of the US, he was certainly openly espousing sterilization of non-Nordics, which could bring about an ethnic purity and a return of the proper inhabitants of the American Soil to their rightful place within a generation or two.

In his preface to *The Passing of the Great Race or the Racial Basis of European History*, Henry Fairfield Osborn, Research Professor of Zoology at Columbia University lays out the basic connections I have been looking at:

The moral tendency of the heredity interpretation of history is for our day and generation and is in strong accord with the true spirit of the modern eugenics movement in relation to patriotism, namely, the conservation and multiplication for our country of the best spiritual, moral, intellectual and physical forces of heredity; thus only will the integrity of our institutions be maintained in the future. These divine forces are more or less sporadically distributed in all races, some of them are found in what we call the lowest races, some are scattered widely throughout humanity, but they are certainly more widely and uniformly distributed in some races than others.

Thus conservation of that race which has given us the true spirit of Americanism is not a matter either of racial pride or racial prejudice; it is a matter of love of country, of a true statement, which is based upon knowledge and the lessons of history rather than upon sentimentalism, which is fostered by ignorance. If I were asked: What is the greatest danger, which threatens the American republic to-day? I would certainly reply: The gradual dying out among our people of those hereditary traits through which the principles of our religious, political and social foundations were laid down and their insidious replacement by traits of less noble character.

Just to give you the context, the race-science of the early twentieth century split the races of men threefold into Caucasians, Mongoloids, and Negroes (with separate lines of descent from different great apes) and then also split the Caucasian race threefold into Nordics, Alpines and Mediterraneans: although their lines of descent are unclear. Grant and Osborn are speaking here of the Nordic race and its natural attachment to North American soil. They are romanticizing the Nordic Peasant, as the ideal and the epitome of the Superman, the peasantry as the life-spring of the Nordic race, the Nordic hero who belongs to the soil—land and people forming a blood compact, a blood covenant, an interbleeding, a sutured attached twin, a blood-brother-hood; the mystical union, the mystical marriage of race, nation, culture and land: the promised land indeed: WE BELONG TO THE LAND...Or, at least, we imagine that we belonged to the land.

The idea of a nation-state unites under one concept, language, nation, people and land. So, when we say, hey, yippee-ya-yo kayeh, all we are saying is that We know we belong to the land, And the land we belong to is grand. In fact, the concept of the “self determination of peoples” has underlying it the assumption of a unity between people, folk, and land. Even without the concept of a Herrenvolk, a master race, or of a Great Race there is an implication that a “people” form a coherent geographic or geopolitical unit, which then can have autonomy to be managed for its best purposes. In the evolution of the European nation states through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this principle formed the mythological basis for the unification of regions and localities under one banner⁹.

It is in the inevitable circumstance when two or more groups of individuals make a blood-claim upon the same piece of land that real trouble begins. Historically these are the circumstances where ethnic cleansing (e.g. eugenics), or in the worst case, genocide seems to become a ready-made solution. I cannot even begin to count the cases of ethnic cleansing and genocide that have occurred within my lifetime, but any familiar list would be laden with its own political baggage...

In effect, we have been examining the rhetoric surrounding the concept of blood and soil, and indeed the terror of that rhetoric and the rhetoric of that terror. We have found that in our world the uses of the concepts surrounding blood and soil are inherently contaminated with ways of exploiting and terrorizing people with the rhetoric that is by now woven into its fabric, folded into its structure, bonded into its makeup, sutured into its carnal presence. Indeed the very uses of descriptive and imaginative language that constitute this paper are equally contaminated with seeming descriptive detail that actually serves a rhetorical purpose. The very makeup of language, with its capacity to do as well as to refer makes any rhetorical description of language as purely descriptive either a Wunschtraum, a Freudian wish-dream, an attempt to vault up or balloon above the rainbow, or else a cross or double cross of the audience and of the self.

To say that language can or should, or in its elemental form does simply refer is either self-deception, deception, or both.

Yet, we have the capacity of taking the role of some mythical farm-boys whose attachment to the land is organic—my very words are beginning to stir those images in us. As I spoke these words, in our imagination, we have become blue boys of the land, as I speak, we metamorphose into sons of the soil, attached to the land: the complete and total antithesis of ourselves, and of the actual living television-watching, Wheaties-eating, tractor-riding farmers—deracinated cosmopolites all of them and all of us—and as they, in imagination also we, derive the specific titillation of the drama of our lives from the tension between image and reality, from

⁹ Think, for example, of the concept of a “German” nation, (a nineteenth century work of creative fiction) which, at times was meant to include all native speakers of German (with the exception of the Swiss Germans and the German-speaking non-white Colonials). Or, think of attempts of nation-building an American race around the ideal of the WASP American Native. Or, think of the concept of a “Jewish State”.

that very tension—between artistic verisimilitude and war-time urban reality of being civilians during the war on terror. After all no one is drafted now—it's the all volunteer Army isn't it—those young men and women who are being killed in Afghanistan or who are being readied for the slaughter in Iraq, really asked for it didn't they, by joining up.

So, even as we sit here, bombs are falling, bullets are flying, and propaganda barrages fill cyberspace; *other* young men are bleeding, *other* women are being raped, old men perish as tall buildings collapse, the “war on terrorism” rages on around us, but we are safe here at the convention center—we, performer, audience, you and I, derive a specific titillation from that tension between artistic verisimilitude and war-time urban reality.

It is unlikely that we will have said much about the psychology of the peasants, those creatures who arose out of the first agricultural revolution which indeed tied people to the land—serfdom or not. We are deracinated cosmopolites; we are Americans, a people whose inherent psychology is the suspension between image and reality. Where would we have to go to find this psychology of the uncontaminated peasant in its pure state?

Perhaps our task is to find out that there is no such place: No Oz. And that *that* discovery is not equal to cynicism or neo-Darwinism or Machiavellianism. That in fact morality depends upon giving up the illusion of objectivity; giving up on the goal of the restoration of a pre-contact universe.

Remembering Erv Zube

Compiled by

Paul H. Gobster

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Ervin H. Zube, a leader among environment-behavior researchers for his work in landscape perception and assessment, died earlier this year from complications of Alzheimer's disease. With disciplinary ties to landscape architecture, geography, and natural resource management, Erv enriched the field of environmental psychology with his deep feeling for the everyday landscape; with his studied focus on people's perceptions, experiences, and values in landscape; and with his profound understanding of how landscape-human interactions played out in the realms of design, management, and public policy. While his presence will be greatly missed, his contributions will continue to help inform and advance our field for many years to come.

In a recent paper (Gobster, Palmer, & Crystal, 2002), we examined the significance and impact of Erv Zube's scholarly career in environment-behavior studies, highlighting his contributions in the areas of landscape perception research, synthesis, translating research to policy and action, and

teaching. We were assisted in this endeavor by nearly two dozen of his colleagues from throughout his career, who replied to our request for thoughts about Erv's significant contributions. But while we asked for comments on Zube the scholar, many people found it difficult to separate those thoughts from their feelings and experiences about Zube the person. Thus as a complement to our more formal tribute to Erv, we share here some of the heartfelt remembrances from a few of the many colleagues and friends whose lives Erv touched.

Kenneth Brooks, Department of Landscape Architecture, Kansas State University:

Erv was and will remain a treasure to many of us. I will remember him as a mentor whose advice helped me choose my career path and in whose encouragement I found validation for my scholarly efforts. I will also remember him as a leader who spoke eloquently and passionately to encourage us academic landscape architects to pursue rigorous research and scholarship as a means for expanding and developing our discipline and profession. Finally as a friend I will remember our visits and conversations over the years. Our landscape of place and concept is a healthier and more inspiring one for his contributions as one of its stewards.

Mark Francis, Department of Landscape Architecture, University of California-Davis:

It's difficult to separate Erv's own scholarly contributions from his many efforts to support many young academics and researchers. As an undergraduate student at Berkeley in 1971, I first met Erv when a few of us students were invited to drive up to Portland to attend the ASLA annual meeting with several faculty members. During a break between sessions, Erv invited some of us to join him for an impromptu lunch in a downtown park. I was immediately impressed with his openness and curiosity. Our lunch quickly became a lively seminar where numerous issues and ideas were explored. It was the beginning of a long conversation with him over the years on the social meaning of designed and natural landscapes. For me, I will miss his warm and generous style and his gentle nudging to go farther and deeper in one's work.

Charles Harris, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University:

I have known and admired Erv since the Fall of 1958, when we both first came to Harvard to pursue different yet equally essential and complementary connections in the Graduate School of Design. Over the succeeding years, I wrote several letters of recommendation for Erv as he rapidly moved up his career ladder. Each one reaffirmed what I saw in him from that one year he was here in our graduate program. Since then, nothing has ever surprised me about what he wanted to do or eventually did. As some wise person once observed and I believe it applies to Erv, "FRIENDS LOVE THE PERSON YOU WERE AND THE ONE YOU'VE BECOME."

Nicholas Dines, Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, University of Massachusetts-Amherst:

He was dedicated to raising the level of inquiry from a craft to that of an intellectual discipline. . His ideas met great resistance within mainstream academic and practice circles, but he was an inspiration for a generation of students and colleagues. He was a natural mentor and encouraged many to pursue advanced degrees in related fields (i.e., Jim Palmer). Erv believed in asking blunt questions that challenged the efficacy of normative design standards and practices and believed that the legacy of landscape architecture deserved more than the mere self-expression of the designer. He strove to develop justificatory theory upon which to both propose design recommendations and also to evaluate them.

Irwin Altman, Department of Psychology, University of Utah:

Erv Zube was a superb scholar, colleague, critic, and supporter of others. As a human being, Erv was equally first rate. He respected a range of opinions, treated everyone--from the most junior to the most senior colleagues--in a gracious and civil fashion. He respected others' ideas whether or not he agreed with them, and allowed a wide range of voices to be heard.

Gary Evans, Department of Design and Environmental Analysis, Cornell University:

I think a very special talent Erv had was helping others to figure out their own agendas and then challenging and supporting them to get on with what they had set out for themselves. Erv was clear, direct, and incredibly supportive in this regard throughout my career, beginning with when I first worked with him as an RA in the Institute for Man and Environment at U Mass. It's something I aspire to do with my students--I learned from a master mentor.

Jay Appleton, Department of Geography, University of Hull and a founder of the Landscape Research Group:

Erv was the ideal ambassador for promoting contact between the community of landscape scholars in the USA and the rest of the world. He owed his unique position in the Landscape Movement to the depth of his understanding of his subject, the breadth of his personal contacts and his skill as a communicator, but most of all to his outgoing and infectious enthusiasm and energy. It is for the warmth of his personality as much as for his prodigious contribution to his chosen field of work that Erv Zube will be fondly remembered and sorely missed, not least by his fellow-members in the Landscape Research Group.

Kenneth Craik, Department of Psychology, University of California-Berkeley:

I first met Erv Zube in 1970 at Clark University where he was a doctoral student in geography and I was a senior postdoctoral fellow in psychology and geography. Over the years I had the pleasure of working with him on a number

of efforts, particularly on the development of perceived environmental quality indicators. I always looked forward to any kind of encounter with Erv, whether social or professional. Any project undertaken with Erv was sure to be a lively intellectual adventure. He was outgoing and engaging, a charming and considerate person. He took pleasure in life and his breath of interests assured him of many sources of pleasure. He was a delightful collaborator. Indeed, as I recall, 'delightful' was one of Erv's favorite words: his eyebrows would be raised, his hands slightly extended, his pronunciation stretched to savor the word as well as the experience being thus appraised: "Delightful." And one can say with confidence that Erv had ample occasions to use that word.

David Simcox, Department of Recreation and Parks Management, California State University, Chico:

Erv was someone who could communicate easily with a wide range of people. He did not come into research on human perceptions by accident. He had both an intellectual and theoretical understanding of perception and an intuitive feel for people and their practical understanding of landscapes. I remember being out in the field talking with farmers and ranchers, local government officials, or just people in a small community. Erv related to and was interested in everyone. They liked him because he talked about things that mattered to them. It was very logical for Erv to do the kind of work that he did. He was just made that way.

Christina Kennedy, Department of Arid Land Studies, Northern Arizona University:

Erv was one of the most honest, enthusiastic, and positive people I have known. He loved his work. Two sayings of his always stick with me. He always told students "There is no freedom without responsibility." I pass that thought on to my students. He also often said to me that we "academics" were the last of the leisure class, that we had the opportunity to take time to think about important issues and ideas – that we were truly fortunate. I think these thoughts reflect much about who Erv was. You can't separate his professional life from who he was as a human. The latter is reflected in everything he did. Integrity, depth of thought, a search for solutions, and a positive, constructive viewpoint were/are always there.

William Stewart, Department of Leisure Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign:

Erv served as a member of both my masters and doctorate committees at the University of Arizona during the 1980s. His passion for understanding ways in which everyday people thought about landscapes, coupled with appreciation for whatever their perspectives, have been an inspiration for my own teaching and research. At a time when many were searching for universal principles of landscape perception, Erv tempered such claims by explaining the influence of social and cultural forces on landscape meanings. He planted the seeds for a general

education course I now teach entitled "nature and American culture" which develops the histories of dominant and marginalized ideologies in values toward nature within American society, and leads to concepts of community-based conservation. Erv Zube has left a powerful lasting imprint.

Reference

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**The Future of Division 34:
Straw Poll Results I**

Russ Parsons
University of Illinois

Those readers subscribed to the Division 34 listserve may recall receiving an invitation several months ago to participate in a brief survey about the future of the Division. The poll was conducted at the behest of incoming Division President, Larry Severy, as a follow up to his article in the last PEPB issue discussing the relative merits of continuing the "marriage" between the population and environmental psychology branches of Division 34. We asked six questions:

1. Do you plan to attend APA next year in Toronto?
2. Do you think Division 34 should:
 - Remain as is
 - Be renamed (but keep branches together)
 - Change to "Psychology of Reproductive Health & Population Issues"
 - Change to "Environmental Psychology"
 - Be dissolved
3. APA membership
4. Primary training
5. Major research interests
6. Further

Fifty-four people responded to the survey, which was circulated via email to the Division 34 listserve. Over 95% of the respondents were members of both APA and Division 34, and reported that their primary training was in psychology. Eighty percent of the 45 people who indicated a major area of research had an environmental focus, and 20% focused on population issues. Somewhat more respondents plan not to attend the APA conference next year (43%) than do (30%), though a sizeable minority has not decided yet (26%).

Question number 2, which concerned the future of the Division, asked respondents to indicate both whether the Division should stay together and to decide upon the name of the Division. If we ignore the naming issue for the moment and collapse across items in question 2, the respondents slightly favored divorce (53%) over maintaining the union (45%), and one person voted to dissolve Division 34 altogether. Among those who would maintain the union, there is a tendency to prefer keeping the name of the division as it is, while most of

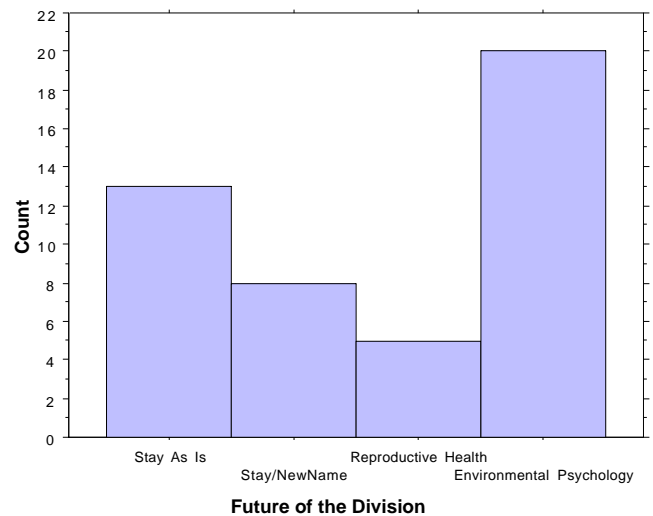


Figure 1. Number of respondents voting to Maintain vs. Sever the Population and Environmental branches of the Division (1st vs. 2nd pair of bars), and naming preferences within each group.

those who favor divorce would rename the Division "Environmental Psychology" (Figure 1). Preferences for the future of the Division are further muddled by an apparent relationship to reported research interests.¹ Respondents with a research focus on population issues were equally likely to vote for maintaining the union as for divorce (Figure 2), whereas nearly two-thirds of those with environmental research interests favored divorce (Figure 3).

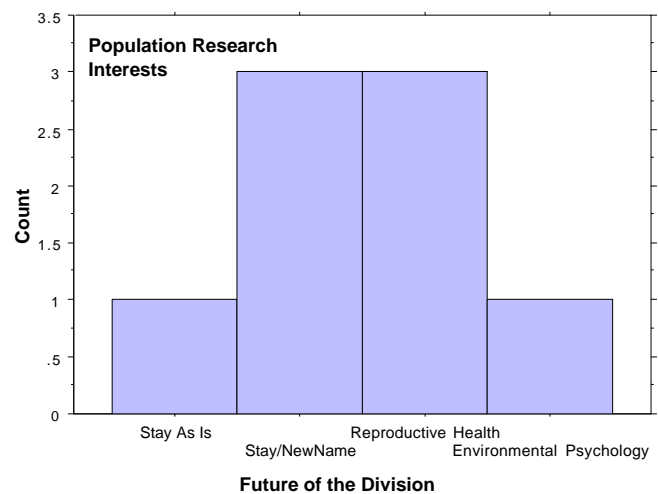


Figure 2. Number of respondents with population research interests who voted to Maintain vs. Sever the Population and Environmental branches of the Division (1st vs. 2nd pair of bars), and naming preferences within each group.

¹ All of the relationships among observed cell frequencies in this survey must be regarded as "apparent" only, because small numbers in the expected cell frequencies preclude X^2 analysis.

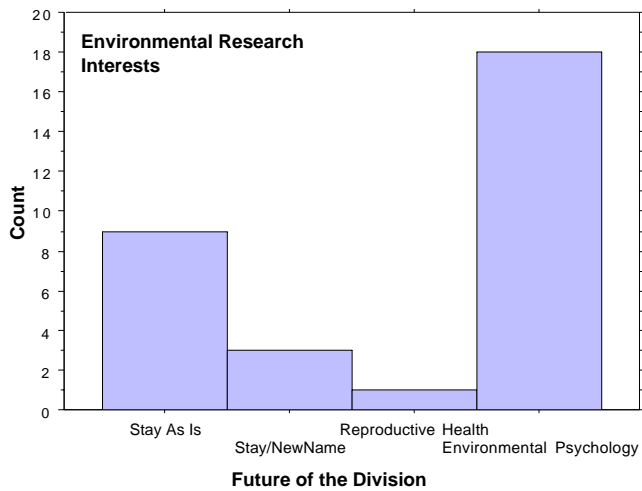


Figure 3. Number of respondents with environmental research interests who voted to Maintain vs. Sever the Population and Environmental branches of the Division (1st vs. 2nd pair of bars), and naming preferences within each group.

Finally, there is also an interesting apparent distinction between those who will and will not attend APA next year. Those who will attend APA would not like to see the Division reorganized to focus solely on population issues (Figure 4), while those who will not attend (or are unsure about attendance) would prefer that the Division focus exclusively on environmental psychology (Figure 5).

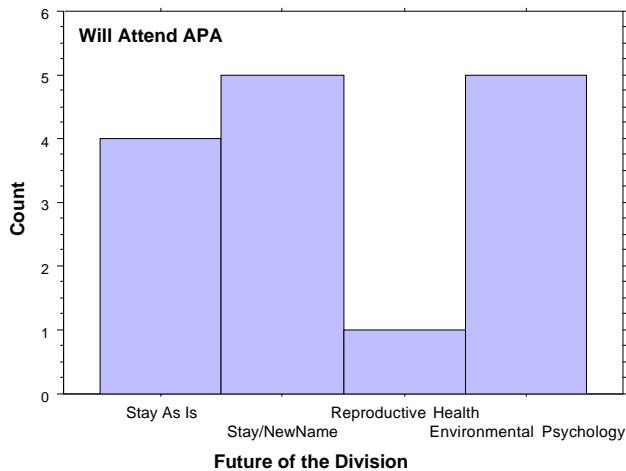


Figure 4. Preferences for the future of the Division of those respondents who plan to attend APA next year.

Overall, though there is no mandate regarding the future of the Division in these data, it is clear that more than half of the respondents are dissatisfied with the marriage of population and environmental psychology. And, among those who are dissatisfied, there is a clear preference to reformulate Division 34 as one devoted to environmental psychology. Of course, the representativeness of this sample (roughly 18% of the Division

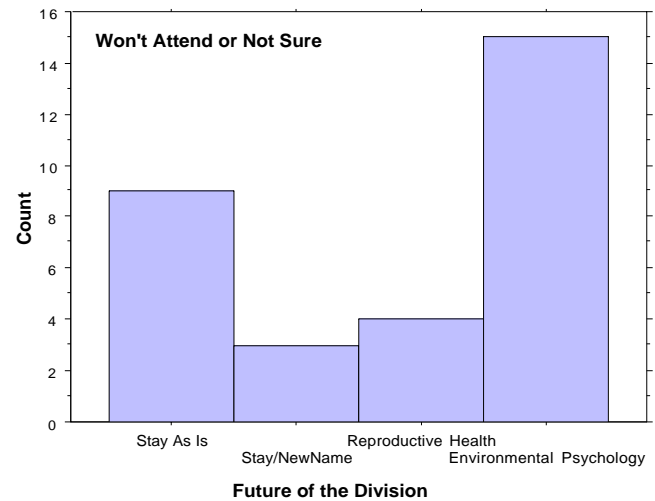


Figure 5. Preferences for the future of the Division of those respondents who either do not plan to attend or are unsure about attendance at next year's APA conference.

34 membership responded) is an open question, so a note (if not a whole symphony's worth) of caution is appropriate. In the "Straw Poll II" article that follows, I have reprinted some of the comments these respondents included as part of the email survey. Whether the comments aid or impede interpretation of these data, I leave to the reader to decide. The raw data from this survey (with all respondents' comments) are available on the Division's web site: <http://web.uvic.ca/~apadiv34>.

Whither and Wither Division 34?

Jim Rotton
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I suspect that attendance was down at last year's APA for reasons that have nothing to do with either the future of environmental psychology or the viability of Division 34. A lot of people are reluctant to fly since 9/11, and some of us who would have liked to have gone to APA last year are employed at universities where travel funds were cut because of (a) 9/11 aftereffects, (b) the Bush administration, (c) corporate scandals, or (d) all of the above. Thus, I am reluctant to draw conclusions about the Division's future based on how many people showed up in Chicago, and I question the wisdom of linking plans to attend next year to the broader question of what (if anything) we should call ourselves.

I will, instead, speculate about the drop from 600 to fewer than 300 members that Severy mentioned in the Spring, 2002, newsletter. That drop appears to reflect a long-term trend. Before I speculate, I should of course acknowledge that it might be more useful to survey the 300 people no longer with us. Why did they drop out of the division?

I suspect that a survey of the people who are no longer division members would reveal that a good number of them are social psychologists who entered the field when Altman (1976)

proposed a marriage between social and environmental psychology. Take a look at the environmental topics that Altman described as of interest to social psychologists: privacy, territoriality, personal space, and crowding. Now, take a look at how coverage of these topics has declined in social textbooks since Altman's article. Jones (1985) pointed out that textbooks provide a pretty good picture of what social psychologists are thinking and doing. Anybody who has any doubt about these trends has only to compare a textbook published 30 years ago with a current edition. Textbooks published 30 years ago devoted entire chapters to environmental topics. I have one of those old books on my shelf. (Wife: "Can't you throw *anything* out?) In addition to topics like personal space and crowding, its environmental chapter has sections on the effects of noise, cold, air pollution, and other stressors on social behavior. These are the issues that attracted me to the environmental psychology. I've got the most recent edition of the same book on my shelf at school. (For some reason, students expect me to own and read the books I ask them to purchase.) None of the topics I've mentioned appears in the index of the recent edition.

The fact of the matter is that very few social psychologists are researching or writing about the topics that led pioneers like Altman, Sommer, and Proshansky to identify environmental psychology as a separate and unique discipline. As Jones (1985) observed, social psychology is subject to fads. (Others have cynically observed that the field has more than a few "Zeitgeist shysters"—people who abandon one research topic in order to pursue another, more popular one, depending on what they perceive to be the Zeitgeist.) I suspect that a survey of former members would reveal that a good number are social psychologists who have "moved on" and are doing research on other more topical issues. And why have they moved on? Why are they pursuing other (non-environmental) topics? The answer is probably the one that Willie Sutton is believed to have given when he was asked why he robbed banks: "Because that's where the money is."

It's easy to quote surveys that prove that environmental concern is high and environmental consciousness is widespread. Unfortunately, such concern is rarely translated into the funding that necessary for doing research. Thus, as I look around to find colleagues who used to do research in our field (and who gained considerable prominence), I find that some have returned to the folds of social psychology, and others have gone into Health or Industrial /Organization Psychology. That appears to be where the money is.

This note (or rant, if you like) is prompted by a conversation with a colleague who has gained prominence for doing research on one of the topics that used to be described in social textbooks. She observed that the government wasn't willing to fund research in her area. The only thing that saved her grant from being buried in Washington's funding bureaucracy was a Congressman's intervention. After awhile, our conversation turned to a really prominent colleague who has also been unsuccessful in obtaining funding for research on environmental topics. (I've had more cheerful conversations.)

Maybe I'm being overly pessimistic. Maybe there are other reasons why 300 individuals have left our division. Perhaps we should follow the lead of organizations that conduct

"exit interviews" to find out why individuals have chosen to leave. Rather than speculate amongst ourselves, it might be more profitable to survey people who are no longer members.

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The Future of Division 34: Straw Poll Results II

Editor's Note: This selection of comments from the Division 34 straw poll (described above) is reprinted without author attributions, in part because some respondents preferred it that way and in part because many others did not give information regarding their professional affiliations.

The previous issue of PEPB described controversy over what division 34 should be, as well as whether it should remain a division of the APA. A connection to APA is, I think, as useful for division 34 as for other divisions, for whatever that might mean. (E.g., political clout and connections.) I prefer smaller conferences and societies, but still find enough of interest to attend and be a member of APA as well. The small membership of div. 34 is not necessarily a problem, if it is small and enthusiastic, but it sounds like it might be (becoming) small and apathetic.

In a way, the future of division 34 reflects not just the question of whether the division is useful (and what it is) but also whether the field is useful (and what it is). I don't know what current members of div. 34 want, but I do know a collection of people who might be a division 34 constituency: psychologists interested in environmental issues (some of whom might call themselves conservation psychologists). Joe Reser correctly described the importance of, and growing interest in, this topic and its need for a home and a way to define itself to the public. I propose this need should be answered by more clearly articulating the relevance of environmental issues to the division, and by renaming it in a way that reflects this.

Why are not more conservation psychologists not division 34 members? The name is offputting. People I talked to were not enthusiastic about joining a "population and environment" division, feeling that it didn't signify to them what they were interested in.

I am not suggesting the division should only represent these interests. It should include the rest of environmental psychology as well. I don't know about the population component. Div. 34 could be divided; I don't know what proportion of the membership is population people, how many are psychologists, and whether they feel they get more from div. 34 than they would from div. 37 or 38.

Diversity of interests within an organization is good, and population and environment could stick together. As

several people have argued, population and environment are theoretically compatible (although this doesn't address the extent to which their interests overlap in practice). But a name should be found that would appeal more to those interested in conservation. Some suggested in the last PEPB issue were "psychology of sustainable communities" or "environmental psychology and sustainability". I would suggest "environmental and conservation psychology". The actual decision should be based on a poll, but it would be a good idea to survey potential as well as actual members (e.g., via the conservation psych listserv) if the hope is to attract new members.

As someone who started out in Experimental/Mathematical Psychology and then left the field because of its unwillingness to accept research on topics around design and design decision making, I've watched at least four separate professional organizations here in the USA pursue the same environmental psychology research related agenda over the past 30 years. These are: the APA Div 34, Environmental Design Research Association (EDRA), the Technical Group on Environmental Design of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society (TGED-HFES), and the Society for Human Ecology (SHE). Then there are a number of minor societies focused on special classes of theories or phenomena, like the Society for Ecological Psychology, the Human Performance in Extreme Environments Society, the one on Spatial Cognition over in Geography, etc. Each has its limited membership, and each sort of sputters along due to its association with a larger group where the special relationships between people and environment are not well appreciated. Time to get some of these together into a larger organization to achieve a sustaining critical mass. I really don't care much where it is, but I think that EDRA is ripe for a re-invention and is probably the one that is the closest 'center' to them all. So, let's all close our individual shops where we can, and join EDRA and revitalize it. We can keep the original society namesake as a 'network' in EDRA if we'd like, to aid the transition. I think we'd have a much more successful and impactful time exploring the general relationships between people and designed or natural environments if we weren't 'stovepiped' so well in our originating disciplines.

I suspect that many people who would have interests in common with the division may no longer be APA members or never have joined. One way to revitalize the division may be to create additional roles for productive involvement as suggested by manning theory. People could be asked (individually and specifically) to serve on and chair committees to accomplish useful work, the newsletter could have specific individuals responsible for specific sections, there could be separate committees for nominations of officers, fellowship committee, publication committee, membership committee and so forth. Additional awards could be created (e.g., early career, sustained contributions, best article in 200x, best book in 200x, best dissertation in 200x) generating a need for award committees as well as helping people feel connected because

they serve on committees or earn awards. The awards need not cost anything more than a little certificate paper and gold foil seals. Only if we find we cannot get people to play these roles should we consider disbanding the division.

I have noticed that the attendance at division 34 sessions at the convention is lower than I would have expected for certain presentations. This may discourage people from offering their best reports in the division's program. Perhaps communicating to members that special efforts will be made to get other divisions to co-sponsor our sessions (and then following up on that) would help. Maybe a new function of the program committee could be to identify sessions or papers for which press releases should be prepared for use by the APA media activity associated with the convention and then prepare (or ask authors to prepare) the press releases. Perhaps the division could have a PR committee that identifies 2 or 3 journal articles or books to highlight with press releases and work with the APA media office to get them out. (Creating a new committee and new member roles.) Activities like this may have the potential of adding some dazzle to the division.

I think it is a mistake to focus on the convention as the principal activity of the Division. Information exchange through the newsletter and e-mail is, I think, very valuable and should be continued, even emphasized as the principal membership benefit. Most people will be unable to attend the convention in any given year; it's expensive and there is a lot of competition for events to attend. We all benefit from the diversity of member perspectives, but that diversity makes convention planning difficult and decreases the likelihood of attendance. The existence of these more focused meetings doesn't invalidate the forum that Division 34 provides for more broad-ranging discussions of what are, after all, inter-related phenomena and complex problems.

However in addition I'd like to say that I am personally tired of this type of discussion, not only in Division 34 but in almost every other association and interest group to which I belong. It can too easily become whiny, of the "you don't do enough for me" type, when what is needed are committed and creative, forward-looking people to share their ideas in a collegial way. There is no "they" who can make this work; there is only an "us."

I think that "Population Issues" suggests both reproductive matters and reciprocal aspects of the environment with human life. I like the broader name, with the opportunity to create sections devoted to special topics that various members of the Division might become intrigued by. It is peculiar that Div. 34 is next to the smallest in APA. It is also peculiar that Consumer Psychology should have an even smaller membership. I think that younger people are especially caught up with the matters of these Divisions and our organizational challenge is to reach out to them rather than to abandon the significance of these areas of study. I think that the Division's points of focus involve some of the most important interfaces between psychology and our culture in

general. This relationship, I believe, will become increasingly obvious and important.

I have been around long enough to remember when people used to exchange and cite papers presented at APA, but I don't think that anybody (in any division) is using APA to distribute their works any more. (I've noticed that very few reviewers and authors of textbooks cite APA papers, either.) The convention is mainly a good place to network--meet old friends, exchange ideas with people engaged in similar lines of research, and make new contacts. As an academic, who comes from the tradition of publish-or-perish (and sometimes publish-and-perish), I think that the Division would attract more members (and definitely more interest) if it backed an APA-sponsored journal.

It's my understanding that EDRA now sponsors E&B, which is one of the main outlets for people in our area, and JEP is underwritten by a publishing house. (I don't know who puts out the journal "Population and Environment," but it appears to publish only a few articles in each issue.) It might be possible to increase the quantity and quality of papers presented at APA by tying publication in a division-sponsored journal to presentation at APA; i.e., by giving APA papers preferential treatment in the review process. But then, I could be wrong.

In my opinion, we should stay together, support one another even through the throes of a sometimes uncomfortable (though seldom acrimonious) marriage, and look to the future. Why?

For Division 34 to limp along, though frustrating to those of us who have been invested in making it grow, still is serving a valuable purpose and function. One reason is that it provides a voice for both of the sub-areas of the divisions before the APA -- even if the voice is not very loud, it can be heard. A second reason: Division 34 provides a forum for those in the future to embrace and hold onto. For example, the future may hold much more activity for population and/or environmental psychologists than the past, and keeping Division 34 intact means both the organizational activity and the scholarship have a long history to draw on, rather than having to re-invent much of what we've done in the past. A third reason: Despite difficulties, many of us can point to significant high points in the Division's history (and Jim Richards' historical article can be consulted for encouraging support for that position) -- more will, undoubtedly, be in our future.

As a former Treasurer of the Division, I am aware of the declining numbers. However, I have also felt that perhaps polling leading faculty in the fields of population or environmental psychology, may suggest the seed of the problem. How many faculty members encourage their promising students to present papers or become involved in Division 34 activities?

Unless there is much more information dissemination and encouragement of students to go into environmental psych, and unless there is a better attempt to communicate what the field is about other than just another branch of the "save the environment" movement, I don't think it has a future.

One option for Division 34 would be to re-organize along the lines of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, but focusing on current environmental and population concerns. Publish monographs on research that applies to current environmental problems and questions (like SPSSI's Journal of Social Issues).

BOOK REVIEW

Japan-U.S. Environment-Behavior Research

Review of: Wapner, S., Demick, J., Yamamoto, T. & Takahashi, T. (Eds.) (1997). *Handbook of Japan-United States environment-behavior research: Toward a transactional approach*. New York : Plenum Press, 456 p.

Reviewed by William Stewart, Department of Leisure Studies, University of Illinois.

The *Handbook of Japan-United States Environment-Behavior Research: Toward a Transactional Approach* (referred to as the *Handbook*) is characterized by the editors as being part of a dialogue that started in the late 1970s. This particular *Handbook* was fashioned from the Fourth Japan-United States Seminar on Environment-Behavior Research that took place at Clark University during August, 1995. Contained in the appendix are the lists of participants from the seminars that have alternately met in Japan and the U.S. These lists read like a "who's who" in environment-behavior (E-B) research over the past 20 years within both Japan and the U.S. My first introduction to this seminar was during graduate school at the University of Arizona when I observed the second of these seminars in October, 1985. Since then I have spent a year in Japan on a Fulbright Award conducting research from my adopted field of Leisure Studies. My window into E-B research is colored by my own research agenda related to humans and outdoor environments, particularly the development of parks and open space.

E-B research has traditionally had a strong international or cross-cultural core to its research agenda. In the search for relationships between human beings and their environments, several researchers from anthropology, architecture, landscape architecture, psychology, sociology, urban planning, and behavioral geography have included cultural factors as worthy of examination. The *Handbook* is a meaningful example of the breadth of environment-behavior research and represents a positive contribution to address questions of cultural differences. Not that each of the 29 chapters involves a cross-cultural study between Japan and the United States, in fact, most of the chapters do not and some of

the chapters discuss cultures beyond the two of the title. However in general most of the chapters provide detail about cultural contexts from which one could potentially develop explanation and understanding.

The *Handbook* is divided into six separate sections based upon the “person-in-environment process” most applicable to the paper’s topic. The section titles, which may not be the most expressive of content, are: physical aspects of the person, psychological aspects of the person, sociocultural aspects of the person, physical aspects of the environment, interpersonal aspects of the environment, and sociocultural aspects of the environment. The research presented includes several papers related to home environments addressing housing stereotypes, the elderly and home design, urban renewal, and housing restoration from natural disasters. Other topics covered are related to community environments and include urban tree preferences, visitor experiences in gardens, school design, community values for riparian areas, public space as art, and urbanization. The collection of chapters reflects an interesting balance between research with a design emphasis, and research with an emphasis on understanding. An important goal of environment-behavior research is to provide practical insight to improving relations between humans and our environments. Such practical insight has both design and behavioral dimensions that shape advances in a field that juggles claims of being both applied and wholistic.

An interesting part of the *Handbook* is related to the use of Japanese words to represent ideas unique to Japanese people. There are several chapters written by Japanese researchers who could not find an appropriate English-language term for the ideas. The use of Japanese terms provided insight to my own cultural constraints in thinking about humans and our environments. For example, Takeshi Suzuki from the Department of Architecture at the University of Tokyo centers his research on various modes of being within urban public space. One of his several modes is *iawaseru* (translated something like “happy to be present”) that characterizes a sense of community and public comfort fostered by the design of public space at plazas, parks, cafes, or train stations. Another of Suzuki’s modes is *tatazumu* that suggests someone is “standing still” and doing nothing in particular, perhaps just resting while standing. There is clearly a socio-cultural context to understanding *iawaseru* and *tatazumu* that provokes me to think critically of the public spaces in my own community and the “modes of being” fostered for an American culture.

There is a seventh and final section to the *Handbook* labeled “future theoretical and empirical directions for E-B research” and contains seven distinct perspectives (written as chapters) by the following scholars: Daniel Stokols, Kunio Funahashi, George Rand, Kenneth Craik, Susan Saegert, Amos Rapoport, and Irwin Altman. Whereas the first three-quarters the *Handbook* are self-contained studies of distinct person-in-environment contexts, the final section provides commentary about the whole of E-B research. Due to its implications for the totality of future E-B research, it was the most provocative to read and could easily function as a starting point for a seminar discussion. If the first six sections appear to lack a vision or collective sense of direction, the final section represents a diversity of future perspectives, and hence a collective struggle to chart a vision for E-B research. Most of the seven appreciate

the enormous diversity of approaches to E-B research and suggest fruitful directions for inquiry. Stokols discusses global and culturally specific factors that shape directions for E-B researchers, what he refers to as the “ecology of theory development.” He foresees a strengthening of connections between theories in environmental psychology and fields related to architecture, urban design, and planning. Although his essay is largely focused on past trends in E-B research, he points towards greater integration of cultural contexts as an “exciting direction” for E-B research of the 21st century. Like Stokols, Funahashi traces the past and provides a glimpse of the future at the end of his essay. Within his comparison of differences between “architectural planning research” and E-B research, he highlights the work of three Japanese “schools.”

Also in the final section, Rand argues that E-B issues are best understood in relation to culture. He criticizes early environmental psychology as being “culturally disengaged” and calls for a “culturally based environmental psychology.” Craik proclaims that “environmental psychology has now attained paradigmatic status *in its own right*” but his brief chapter (about four pages of text) does not fully explain his position or his vision. Of the final essays, Saegert’s was the most carefully developed and comprehensible in its vision for the future. She discussed advancement of knowledge in the context of “creation of narrative,” and argued that E-B narratives need to appreciate “situatedness” and pay attention to “levels of analysis.” Through her discussion, she embraced the many philosophical approaches and goals of E-B research, yet still articulated a coherent vision for research inclusive of its breadth. Where others championed progress, Saegert admitted ignorance and felt it was an important step in the advancement of knowledge.

Rapoport also provided a comprehensible vision for the future, and one that would appear to contradict aspects of Saegert’s vision. Framing E-B research as an “*accumulation of material but is not cumulative*,” Rapoport characterized both the problems and possible solutions related to E-B research becoming a “new discipline.” He explicitly listed the “attributes of a good theory” within the traditions of positivistic psychology, and clearly hoped for a unified theory for E-B studies. Altman closes the final section by arguing that the “status of a “field” or “discipline” is ultimately less important than understanding who we are, why we do what we do, and the connections or gaps between scholars and practitioners adopting diverse perspectives.” Embracing methodological pluralism in E-B research, Altman calls for a “full and open disclosure” within our research of “fundamental philosophical, theoretical, and epistemological assumptions.” By appreciating the many ways of knowing and being sensitive to articulating the assumptions of research, only then will we be able to improve our work and make connections with the work of others.

Like any published proceedings, there is much more to a conference than the individual presentations. Within the editors’ introduction and the final commentary section, flashes of the conference dialogue hinted of contexts from which this volume emerged. The text is invariably well-written, carefully copy edited, and the figures and photographs are professionally reprinted in high quality formats. Such attention to editorial details is unusual for conference proceedings. Clearly a lot of human energy was brought to bear on compiling and

meticulously editing the generally thoughtful papers of this volume.

Like any handbook, this *Handbook* should be used as a reference for a specific study or topical area of interest. It would not be something to read from cover-to-cover. In particular, studies related to housing for older adults are well-represented in this volume and would be of interest to a variety of scholars who identify with the topic. The final quarter on "future directions" functions as readings to include in a graduate seminar on environmental psychology, E-B research, or closely-related field. The final quarter reflects the collective spirit, values, and tensions of a field struggling to define its boundaries and own sense of itself. If there is anything clear from the *Handbook*, the contributing authors are committed to improving environmental design and furthering the understanding of relationships between people and environments.

APA BUSINESS

American Psychological Association Council of Representatives Meeting August 20 and 25, 2002

Recently APA Council confirmed Norman B. Anderson, Ph. D., as Executive Vice President/Chief Executive Officer of the American Psychology Association. Dr. Anderson is Professor of Health and Social Behavior at the Harvard University School of Public Health, where his interests are in the areas of mass media approaches to public health and in health disparities. He is widely known as the first Associate Director of the National Institutes of Health for Behavioral and Social Sciences Research. As the founding Director of the office of Behavioral and Social Sciences Research, he was charged with facilitating behavioral and social sciences research across all of the Institutes and Centers of the National Institutes of Health. Under his purview was behavioral and social research in such areas as cancer, heart disease, mental health, diabetes, aging, oral health, and many others. Dr. Anderson is a Fellow of the American Psychological Association, the American Psychological Society, the Society of Behavioral Medicine, and the Academy of Behavioral Medicine Research, and is a past president of the Society of Behavioral Medicine. He serves on the Advisory Committee for the Advertising Council in New York, on the Advisory Council for the National Institute on Drug Abuse at NIH, and on the editorial board of the *Journal of Health Psychology*. He currently chairs the National Academy of Sciences panel on the Future of Research on Race, Ethnicity, and Health in Later Life, and is Editor-in-Chief of the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of Health and Behavior*. In brief comments to Council he noted that we need to grow APA in terms of membership and the financial base; we need to increase the impact of psychology in the world today; we need to prepare psychology for a diverse society; and we need to have good working conditions for APA employees.

President Zimbardo announced that budget adjustments in operations or governance related activities are being pursued in order to improve the financial status of the Association. The actions taken to date affect all APA activities

including governance activities, central office operations, and staffing costs. Budget adjustments in operations or governance related activities include canceling one round of board and committee meetings (2002 and 2003); canceling the 2003 Division Leadership Conference; canceling the 2002 Education Leadership Conference; reducing the Office of Communications research and development fund by 50%; increasing the convention registration fee by \$20.00; reducing brochure and newsletter printing and mailing; and increasing APA dues by \$10.00. Additional budget adjustments that may affect staff positions include voluntary staff buyouts, voluntary early retirements, voluntary reduction in time worked; and voluntary leave without pay.

On Sunday morning the Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organization Change for Psychologists were approved by council. The specific goals of these guidelines are to provide psychologists with (a) the rationale for addressing multiculturalism and diversity in education, training, research, practice, and organizational change; (b) basic information, relevant terminology, current empirical research from psychology and related disciplines, and other data that support the proposed guidelines and underscore their importance; (c) references to enhance ongoing education, training, research, practice, and organization change methodologies; and (d) paradigms that broaden the purview of psychology as a profession.

For more information on these and other issues and to view the minutes of the Council meeting, go to www.apa.org/governance.

W. Bruce Walsh, Ph. D.
Division 34, APA Council Representative

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Work, Stress, and Health: New Challenges in a Changing Workplace

March 20-22, 2003
Continuing Education Workshops on March 19, 2003
Sheraton Hotel, Toronto, Ontario

The American Psychological Association (APA), the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), and the School of Business, Queen's University, will convene the fifth interdisciplinary conference on occupational stress and health. The conference, *Work, Stress, and Health: New Challenges in a Changing Workplace*, will be held at the Sheraton Hotel, Toronto, Ontario, on March 20-22, 2003, with Continuing Education Workshops on March 19, 2003.

We invite researchers, medical and psychological health practitioners from all disciplines who are involved in research and/or practice in occupational health psychology to attend this timely conference which will feature interactive poster presentations, papers, symposia, and workshops on new research findings, policy, and prevention/intervention programs that address 16 major themes: New Work Contracts; Organizational Policies and Work Redesign; Hours of Work;

Psychosocial Factors and Health; Work, Family, and Community; Physical Safety at Work; Flexible Work Processes; Advances in Research Methodologies; Bridging From Research to Practice; Best Practices; Special Populations in the Workforce; Prevention and Intervention; Disability and Disability Management; Mass Disaster and Terrorism; Legal Issues; and Training in Occupational Health Psychology.

Requests for Registration and Information to:

Wesley B. Baker, Conference Coordinator,
American Psychological Association, 750 First Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002-4242.
Tel: 202-336-6033. Fax: 202-336-6117.
Email: wbaker@apa.org

Advance Registration (before January 15, 2003):

\$285 (attendees and presenters),
\$165 students;

Late/On-Site Registration:

\$335 (attendees and presenters),
\$200 students.

To Register On-line, Please Visit Our Website:

<http://www.apa.org/pi/work/wsh5>

New Psychological Science in the Workplace InfoNet (PSWIN)

PSWIN is an information network for psychologists interested in research applied to the workplace. This is a moderated, post-only listserv developed by APA's Science Directorate and distributed once a month to provide information in a timely fashion. It includes such information as: calls for papers; announcements of conferences or workshops; calls for nominations for awards, boards or committees; upcoming special issues of a journal; new federal reports or programs; calls for comments on federal draft documents or professional documents; or new sources of research funding. It does not include job, post-doc, or internship announcements; advertising for published books or journals; products (like tests, performance appraisal instruments) or services (consulting, research). Subscribers are encouraged to submit items. All submissions will be edited for conciseness and to ensure items are appropriate for the InfoNet. To submit information, email to dmaranto@apa.org. To subscribe or un-subscribe, go to <http://listserv.apa.org/cgi-bin/wa.exe?SUBED1=pswin&A=1>.

Subscribers can review archives at:

<http://listserv.apa.org/archives/PSWIN.html>.

Companies Are Honored for Psychologically Healthy Workplace Practices

The American Psychological Association (APA) recognized five of the nation's top companies for their admirable business practices following the September 11

terrorist attacks at this year's Institute for Health and Productivity Management's (IHPM) Conference.

Bank One Corporation, The Dow Chemical Company, Ford Motor Company working together with the United Auto Workers, Intel Corporation, and Pitney Bowes received Resilient Workplace Honors for their dedication to supporting and building resilience in their employees following the terrorist attacks, and their ongoing commitment to workplace health and well-being.

"These companies serve as an inspiration and provide a model for their efforts to maintain a psychologically healthy workplace under extremely difficult circumstances," says Russ Newman, PhD, JD, the APA's executive director for professional practice. "Let's not forget, the terrorist attacks took an economic toll as well, but these companies made an investment in their most valuable asset – their work force."

Each of the companies demonstrated support for their employees following 9/11 with policies, procedures and practices put in place to help their employees build resilience. These initiatives included continuous communications from company leadership, and informing employees of free mental health resources available to them. Through company Employee Assistance Programs (EAP) made available at company sites nationwide as well as select international sites, many employees received crisis intervention counseling immediately following the attacks. These companies also utilized their Intranet websites to provide employees with resources, from dealing with grief to how to talk about terrorism with family members, particularly children.

Beyond the September 11 attacks, the companies honored have also demonstrated a commitment to ongoing, supportive services for their employees as part of their long-term efforts to build employee resilience. These programs comprise work-life initiatives that offer programs and services to help employees manage their work and personal lives more effectively. Services may include flexible work arrangements, child and elder care, mental health resources, stress management programs, and other support services.

APA honored the companies during IHPM's Third Annual Health and Productivity Management Awards on Thursday, September 26, 2002, in Scottsdale, Arizona.

"A healthy, resilient work force lies at the heart of productive and stable business performance," said IHPM President Sean Sullivan. "These companies' efforts to safeguard employee physical and psychological health emphasize the value of employee health as a sound investment in corporate success."

The Resilient Workplace Honors program builds on the APA's Psychologically Healthy Workplace Award program, established in 1999, providing awards to businesses and organizations at the state level for business practices that foster a healthy work environment for employees. The annual program, implemented by 27 state psychological associations, highlights businesses and organizations from a variety of categories, and the judging process evaluates applicants on four criteria: employee involvement, family support, employee growth and development, and health and safety.

"These awards were established to bring attention to what's right with America's workplaces," says Lisa Osborn, PsyD, APA's director of the award program. "Many companies

are worthy of this recognition. Holding them up as an example will show more employers the tangible benefits of providing psychologically healthy workplaces.”

Numerous studies have shown that workplace stress also has a very real impact on corporate healthcare cost increases, which are accelerating for the fourth year in a row with no slowdown in sight, according to a 2001 report by Watson & Wyatt. There was a 10.3% increase overall in 2001 in corporate healthcare costs.

A report from the *Journal of Occupational Health and Medicine* shows that healthcare expenditures are nearly 50% greater for workers who report high levels of stress.

FUTURE OF THE WTC SITE

Map to Ground Zero

Philip Nobel

For perspective on the reconstruction of the World Trade Center site, look a few miles north to Columbus Circle, where the nearly-twin towers of the AOL Time Warner headquarters are going up. The commercial reuse of that midtown block, formerly occupied by the New York Coliseum, was first proposed by a prominent developer in the mid-1980s. Plans were drawn up by a celebrated architect and presented in 1985, but that scheme was scuttled by public complaint (the grandiose tower would have robbed the sun from a big chunk of Central Park). A second, more risk-averse architecture firm was hired in 1988; an early version of the buildings now rising was shown that year. They should open for business some time in 2004. So, with one client, two architects, a handful of city agencies, one or two concerned community boards, the usual clique of not-in-my-backyard activists, undisputed ownership and no on-site dead, that complex is getting built only after twenty years of high hopes and false starts. Welcome to the world of New York development. Now hurry up and wait.

Downtown, of course, the context is different. People died there in droves; money and advice are flowing in from unusual sources; progress is tied up with patriotism and no one wants to be the spoiler. But, as we have seen in the past year, despite the nature of the events that necessitate rebuilding, despite the resulting national and global convulsions, despite the well-sung heroes in the rubble and sifting through it, that exceptional construction site with the unfortunate name has been and will continue to be subject to business as usual, Manhattan style.

The driving principles of New York real estate are not only "location, location, location"—the site in question has all three— but "get it done, get it done cheap, and get it done fast," or try to. As we have been so frequently reminded, economic expedience is part of what makes the city the powerhouse that it is. Just as well established but better hidden is the local mechanism for development debate, formal and ad hoc. That rickety but effective contrivance was not swept away by the events of last September, only thrown into motion to re-emerge in caricature. There is a new menagerie of pro-design civic organizations—including "New York New Visions" (engineers, planners and architects), "Rebuild Downtown Our Town"

(planners, architects and residents) and "Team Twin Towers" (a grassroots campaign to rebuild them as they were)—and old institutions that have reinvented themselves for the occasion: the newly activist New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, for example, or the reinvigorated Regional Plan Association, which has taken the lead in counseling that crucial new entity, the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC), disbursers of the public purse.

Governor George Pataki has built himself a wonderful catbird seat from which to turn the process to his political advantage in this re-election year. He loaded the board of the LMDC, made it subsidiary to the Empire State Development Corporation (which he already controls) and left it to hash out prerogatives with the ambiguously empowered owners of the site, the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (which he oversees with Garden State Governor James McGreevey, who has so far tread lightly). Pataki is thus the arbiter of last resort for the inevitable gridlock he created by putting two cooks in the kitchen. Last winter, intemperate criticism from gubernatorial aspirant Andrew Cuomo prompted the LMDC—and then, after some confusion, the Port Authority—to issue a rushed request for proposals that resulted in the six infamous site plans unveiled in July. When the public recoiled, abetted by a rollicking press (Ada Louise Huxtable, writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, called the plans "retarded"), Pataki stepped in quickly to say the people must be heard. His dueling agencies duly announced a more open search for ideas. It was brilliant.

In the shadow of that purposeful bureaucratic clinch, the effects of which we are only beginning to see, the inflated roster of civic groups and public-space advocates is still well-primed to check and balance the process. If the financial and political stakes are bigger than usual at the World Trade Center site, so too is interested dissent; the world is watching. Architect John Belle, whose firm was bloodied by its association with that first round of designs, recently summed up the scene: "The market forces, political forces and community forces are just unbelievable," he said. "This design is in the big ocean, it's not in the goldfish bowl."

As we enter the second year of what history suggests will be at least a decade of development skirmishes, that "big ocean" may be helping to create a more measured, reflective climate for big real estate. But the laws of Mammon have not been repealed; as always, it should be expected that opponents and proponents will collaborate over time in the courtroom rulings and back-room compromises that have traditionally concatenated to shape the skyline so many hold so dear. That singular spectacle, with its very high and very low aesthetic points, is the proud product of New York's home-grown and enduring development culture. Can the new scrutiny force new qualities on a quantity-conscious town?

Like many, I thought the development process might be inflected beyond recognition by the presence of the victims' advocacy groups. What pol or panel could resist a plea from "the families"? Wouldn't a single hero-invoking turn at the microphone be enough to dull any designer's excess or magnate's greed? One of the past year's surprises was the degree to which that faction was ignored. The survivors' signature issue—enforcing respect for the dead by proxy through respect for the place of death—was incrementally marginalized.

Rudolph Giuliani, that once and likely future redevelopment power player, made the first significant appeal for protecting the full site nine months ago in his final speech as mayor, and again recently in an essay for *Time*. But the case for keeping the site clear of all but memorial apparatus—the logical first line of defense of its sanctity—was obviated when reconstruction quickly began on the essential transportation infrastructure there. Joining the soon-to-be-rebuilt subway tunnel and a future, temporary PATH station are the specters of transit sugar plums to come, long-championed intermodal improvements that are finding opportunity in the emptiness. More than \$4.5 billion in federal funds has already been very publicly secured for a "Downtown Grand Central" that will honeycomb the site. Several of the July plans blithely proposed a garage for idling tour buses to join that hub, which, with its inevitable shopping, will bustle under whatever haunted memorial materializes above.

With the once-sacred Pit compromised by these workaday facts in the ground, the curious abstraction of the "footprints," the offset squares of the tower outlines, has taken hold. It is a minimal position; the sacrosanct area, if delimited by the places where bodies or parts thereof were recovered, would extend many blocks beyond the obvious ruins. And there never was a plane on which those outlines were printed. The towers passed through the plaza level, remember, then opened up wide in the concourse below, to be rooted somewhere under the garage that was the scene of the 1993 bombing, and not as two neat squares. Either that whole volume is protected or we're trading in deep symbolic pastiche. So much for sacred ground at Ground Zero.

As unsatisfying as it is, the idea of "preserving" the footprints has stuck, probably for good. After percolating through committee meetings, public hearings, unsolicited and commissioned designs, web musings and letters to the editor, "recognition of the tower footprints" was listed as an official desire in the LMDC's recent tender for "innovative designs" (the results of which are scheduled to be shown in November—after the elections). And so it will go with every idea. The urban myth of the footprints is only among the first batch of managed assumptions that will pass for consensus, allowing the public and private arbiters of the site to act under the umbrella of conventional wisdom as they navigate the minefield of unconventional dispute.

Bringing the former street grid back into the World Trade Center superblock is another idea that has been elevated to premature inevitability. The restored grid made its first appearance in a September 2001 plan developed by Trade Center leaseholder Larry Silverstein (whose power at the site now hangs on the size of his payout from insurer Swiss Re). After floating through the media all year with little examination, "new street grid" was recently added to the LMDC wish list. The center's street-blocking conglomeration of plazas and towers was one of the most ridiculed urban gestures of the 1970s. The extra-critical embrace of streets-for-streets'-sake is a pendulum-swing chestnut of contemporary urbanism. Still, I suspect that the grid idea owes its easy traction to more than a love of New Urbanist theory. It's a win-win move for development, suppressing the difficult aspects of the site while maximizing its profit potential: The new streets would increase retail frontage and erase the iconic perimeter, that inconvenient

aide-memoire. (All mourners please proceed to the footprints in an orderly, fashion.)

Another unchecked assumption is that at this still very early stage, the questions at Ground Zero have architectural answers. The rush to propose elaborate, effusive structures suggests the depth of designers' faith in form, the touching belief that a building with a particular aspect, a certain flourish, a totemic shape—something as inspiring as the Twin Towers were found to be after the fact—will resolve the monumental clash of interests at the site. That faith is shared by the public, a large part of which now seems to back grand architecture—at least as such opinions have been conveyed in the press and assembled at exercises in mass-produced consensus like the "Listening to the City" forums at the South Street Seaport in February and the Javits Center in July. At that second meeting, reacting to the "six cookie-cutter losers" (Ada Louise, again), a clear majority of the 4,500 participants clicked their remote controls on cue to express a preference for architectural daring, an apparent groundswell that was noted in the summary findings—"Be bold!"—and soon thereafter became another plank in the official platform.

Hunger for great architecture has often gone hand in hand with calls to locate architecture's "best minds," the assumption being that such minds exist and might be found. But, alas, there are no messiahs coming. A culture of surfaces has left its architects poorly equipped for depth. That was made clear in January at the hyped but inconsequential "New World Trade Center" exhibition at the Max Protetch gallery in New York, a speculative romp that yielded more publicity than public service, and will be again in the world's fair curated for the *New York Times Magazine* by its conflict-courting architecture critic, to be published on September 8. (Both projects are now on display at the Venice Biennale.)

The products of these all-star outings are no different than the flood of earnest dabblers' designs that have been a charming feature of the redevelopment culture all year. Why not build a towering Statue of Justice with a memorial in her scales? Twin laser-lit space needles contrived to simulate collapse? Skyscrapers that fight back when attacked? The LMDC has received thousands of volunteered plans, and thousands more are now archived on the websites of CNN and *New York* magazine. Clever sketches, from any source, may be good for morale, but they do nothing for progress on the site. In their graphic irrelevance they show again and again that it is still not time for architecture, if architecture is understood as form alone. For a design to have meaning, for it to be grounded in something greater than whim, architects have to respond to use and need and economic limits—the lowly parameters known as a program. Otherwise, they're just making shapes.

A program, of course, is still being hashed out, mostly behind closed doors, though, as with the July debacle, it must inevitably emerge for some form of public test. It appears now that the full-bore 11-million-square-foot reconstruction put out as a first negotiating ploy by the Port Authority has been derailed by the excoriation that greeted it. There will be office space and retail space and a memorial—somewhere—that much is clear. Other components of a future program are also beginning to make inroads, attaining the same exalted status as "save the footprints," "restore the grid" and "be bold."

For many, it seems, a cultural institution is de rigueur; the idea of a Ground Zero Guggenheim has been floating around since about September 12 last year. More recently, the rejected Port Authority plan known as Memorial Square proposed an opera house (later revealed to occupy an adjacent site where an evacuated but intact residential building now stands). The ever-popular, ever-receding mirage of affordable Manhattan housing has its advocates, the mayor among them. A mention of housing got the only spontaneous applause at the first "Listening to the City" event. But, again, conventions are solidifying faster than problems are examined. Forget for a moment the anxieties of tenants at that two-time bull's-eye. How can the fiscally ruptured city explain the construction of below-market-rate apartments on what may be the most valuable undeveloped urban acreage in the world?

There is plenty of open ground nearby in TriBeCa and in the half-fallow northern end of Battery Park City, and some plans have begun to expand the field to explore those options. A similar logic is behind the two swaps that have been aired in recent months—two of the most interesting and atypical ideas yet put forward. Fred Schwartz, a New York architect, has proposed decking highway-wide West Street (owned by the state) with new commercial construction in order to ease the pressure on the World Trade Center site itself. A horse-by-committee version of that idea serves as the chassis of the new *Times* plan. The second, more important swap was cooked up by advisors to Mayor Bloomberg: New York City would in effect buy the Port Authority out of its fiefdom downtown by granting it the land it now leases under the city's two airports: sixteen acres in Manhattan traded for 5,610 in Queens. This resourceful cure-all would get the Port Authority, hamstrung by its lease obligations, out of the Ground Zero game, put it back in the role for which it was created and—advantage Bloomberg—break the state's near-monopoly on influence three blocks from City Hall.

Much more than the parade of oddball fantasies, that idea is creative design in its finest form. And it is that kind of design thinking—so thoroughly wonkish that it has been almost forgotten by the star-struck profession—that is badly needed now. In lieu of affected shapes deployed in a void of intention, the public might be better served by an ideas competition among real estate lawyers.

The first real competition, tentatively set to begin early next year, will be for the memorial. There, too, future designs are already being limited by instant conventions and facts on the ground. As the first truckloads of wreckage left the burning site in the darkest days of last September, a representative of an architect hired by the Port Authority was on hand to flag those pieces of morbid steel that were judged in passing to have aesthetic significance. Some of these pretzel-twist souvenirs appeared last month as backdrops for a policy announcement; tons more are being stored, along with a collection of crushed police and fire vehicles, for possible future use in a memorial. The very existence and veneration of these things gives momentum to the idea of a mimetic memorial that will, through the display of building parts in various states of snarl and char, dramatize the towers' final moments and honor that material calamity over the concurrent human one.

A place will also have to be found for Fritz Koenig's dented *Sphere*—the monument to world peace that was the focal

point of the Trade Center plaza and now serves as a temporary memorial in Battery Park—and for the miles of paramedics' patches, flags and signed T-shirts that are still being left at St. Paul's or the shrine of the nearest construction fence. Meanwhile, the "Tribute in Light" introduced a taste for the technological sublime to the mix, to great acclaim. It seems that for every ten citizens swept up by that spectacle, there was only a single curmudgeon, myself among them, who objected to the bombast, the disorientation of seeing the ghost towers projected from the wrong site, or the fact that in their art-historical DNA they contained the code of Albert Speer's "Cathedral of Light," shot into the Nuremberg night in 1936. A movement for a traditional sculptural memorial is also afoot. The *New York Post* gave a page last fall to a critic promoting an allegorical colossus: one amateur has proposed a sculpture garden with lifesize office workers. And then there is what might be called the project's Vietnam hangover—backing for a list of names on clean stone à la Maya Lin.

At some point, those five urges—pictorial, acquisitive, techno-triumphant, figurative and demure—will collide, in a hideous farrago, in separate-but-equal memorials (remember the bronze soldiers that share Maya Lin's corner of the Washington Mall) or—my bet—in some expanded hybrid that will link a "Museum of Heroism"—a place for relics and statues and crowds—with a memorial in the footprints erring to bent steel, epic lists and antic light shows. Below, a train station, above, space for rent; that's how it looks right now.

The memorial issue alone should delay the project long enough for the preservation of memory to have become a necessity. That pitfall has not been lost on planners. One of the last questions at the July "Listening to the City" confab asked if the LMDC should wait to finalize the site plan as the design of a memorial inches forward, or should just designate space and move on. Most, almost 80 percent, said wait. But that leading question betrayed the grand presumption that has shaped the process more than any other to date: that the memorial will be ghettoized.

How do you build anything at Ground Zero and divorce it from the fulsome culture of "9/11"? All that eventually rises from or proliferates within that big hole—the commuter trains, parking lots and shopping malls, the Starbucks and Kinkos and condos and cube farms, the whole gnarly ensemble of contemporary urbanism—will be integral to the remembrance of the event, will make up the greatest part of the "memorial experience," will be weighed against the dignity of the dead, and should be so disposed to carry that burden with grace. It is not hard to see why some would encourage a narrower standard—city here, memory there—and that position has been made public policy in the past year, as much by default as decree. With the footprints and the grid and the instant prejudice for mixed use, it shares one quiet bias: to make this project look like a regular New York job. Those who think it isn't should make it look like a regular New York fight. Ring the bell for round two.

Editor's Note: This article is reprinted (with permission) from the September 23rd issue of *The Nation*. Philip Nobel writes for *Art Forum*, the *New York Times* and *Architectural Digest*. He is trained as an architect.

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