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Contesting the Commemorative Narrative:
Planning for Richmond's Cultural Landscape

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Urban and Regional Planning at Virginia Commonwealth University.

by

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May 2018

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Abstract

CONTESTING THE COMMEMORATIVE NARRATIVE:
PLANNING FOR RICHMOND'S CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

By Hannah M. Cameron, M.U.R.P.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Urban and Regional Planning at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2018.

Major Director: Kathryn Howell, PhD, Assistant Professor,
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Abstract: New Orleans, Baltimore, and Charlottesville are reevaluating the presence of Confederate statues in their built environment. Known as the Capital of the Confederacy, Richmond's cultural landscape is visible through the connection of two historical spaces, Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom. Both serve as a powerful case study for how the commemorative narrative of these spaces is contested today and how barriers that exist influence urban planning processes and outcomes.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Richmond's cultural landscape is visible between the connection of two historical sites, Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom. Both serve as a powerful case study for how the meaning of these spaces is contested today and how barriers that exist influence urban planning.

Background & Case Study Introduction

Today's contestation of historical spaces along Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom in Richmond, Virginia began as the Capital of the Confederacy coped with losing the Civil War, rebuilding their economy, and creating a new identity that formed into a dualist decision to commemorate one story over one truth (Silver, 1984). In 1890, the first decision culminated as a community effort to commemorate the memory of Confederate leader, Robert E. Lee (Edwards, Howard, & Prawl, 1992). With land west of downtown Richmond donated by the Allen family, construction of the Lee Monument led to the design of Monument Avenue and subsequent suburban development surrounding Confederate statues (Edwards et al., 1992). This community action to commemorate and erect the Lee Monument would ignite the Lost Cause narrative in Richmond (Edwards et al., 1992).

The second decision resulted from an economic shift in Richmond as an aftermath of the Emancipation Proclamation and Reconstruction Era in the South (Edwards et al., 1992). Prior to the Civil War, a major contributor to Richmond's

economy involved the domestic slave trade industry which included commodity goods, jails, auction houses, and enslaved Africans (Laird, 2010). The landscape for slave trade activities and containment of enslaved Africans is centered in the Shockoe Bottom neighborhood (Laird, 2010). After the Civil War and into the Reconstruction Era, the City of Richmond developed and grew their manufacturing industries, including tobacco, flour, and iron (Edwards et al., 1992). In 1892, just two years after erecting the Lee Monument, land in Shockoe Bottom once owned by well-known slave trader Robert Lumpkin would be sold to John Chamblin and James H. Scott to establish Richmond Iron Works (Laird, 2010). This attempt to cover up the epicenter for slave trade activities and commemorate the Robert E. Lee Monument happened in tandem with an evolving oral history, known as the Lost Cause, that would shape southern memory for the next century (Laird, 2010).

Today, another movement is unfolding which questions the contestation of both spaces in Richmond's historical landscape. Beginning in the 1990s with establishment of the Richmond City Council Slave Trail Commission, both the locality and passionate community groups developed several plans to commemorate the historical significance of Richmond's role in slave trade (Laird, 2010). Recently, the City of Richmond procured SmithGroup, LLC, an architecture firm from Washington, D.C., to memorialize the history of slave trade at the Robert Lumpkin's Jail site (City of Richmond, 2017).

Also, occurring simultaneously, many cities in the United States including New Orleans, Baltimore, and Charlottesville are removing Confederate statues from their urban spaces and the public realm (Oliver, 2017). In reaction to this shift, Richmond's Mayor Levar Stoney formed the Monument Avenue Commission to create open

dialogue around this evolving issue of whether to remove or reevaluate the cultural significance of the Monuments today (Monument Avenue Commission, 2017).

Significance of Research

Both places in Richmond's urban landscape hold significance in the city's history and cultural narrative. The emotional memory derived from one's connection to place, in this case Shockoe Bottom and Monument Avenue, developed a contested discourse around each location today (Altman & Low, 1992). The spatial connection to symbolic objects of the Lost Cause narrative on Monument Avenue and the slave trade sites of Shockoe Bottom, are impacting the cultural landscape in Richmond. The synchronistic timing of efforts from the community and City of Richmond to address societal concerns surrounding each space, draws on questions of who holds agency in determining the outcomes. This research explores the phenomenon surrounding the contested narrative around both historical spaces and the impacts of commemoration in public spaces within spatially segregated southern cities today.

Road Map

Using a framework developed by sociologist, Henri Lefebrve, my thesis research utilizes a series of qualitative and quantitative methods to analyze how contested spaces in Richmond are impacting the city's cultural landscape (Lefebrve, 1991). A thorough literature review reveals themes related to commemoration and collective memory, race and landscape, as well as connection to place and urban spaces. As the dialogue surrounding each public space holds both past and present significance; analyzing historical documents, newspapers, and current news articles assist in framing the discussion surrounding today's issues. Similarly, observing the spaces today and

attending community meetings that discuss their significance both demonstrates how the spaces are used and sheds light on the behaviors and perspectives of those who hold agency to the contested dialogue. My research methodology also includes conducting interviews with key informants and administering a survey to the Richmond community. Following the methodology section, I present key findings and frame this case study in the context of theories surrounding the following topics: the impact of the Lost Cause and historical narratives around slavery, spatial segregation of these narratives, and the role of urban planners in the commemorative process.

Key findings in my thesis research show that Richmond is a southern city defined by two narratives that demonstrate how the meaning and perspectives of these historical sites are contested today. Secondly, these combined narratives created visible and invisible veils over the interpreted meaning of the spaces and their connection. Lastly, there are barriers in the planning process that hinder the ability to engage the community in these conversations and achieve hopeful outcomes.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

Current literature describes historical influences of public spaces and reasoning behind commemoration and contested narratives in the United States (Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009). Additionally, the literature presents ways in which the contested narratives derived from racial segregation in cities and discriminatory planning practices that shaped today's public realm (Massey & Denton, 1993).

Commemoration and Collective Memory

The creation of narratives resulted from historically significant events and convened to the public by those who held power (Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009). A narrative is formed by an ongoing discourse surrounding memories which take place in the built environment and are translated through lived experience (Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009). Throughout history, narratives are interpreted both spatially and visually in the public realm; Museums and monuments are two ways this occurred (Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009). Methods for using commemoration to describe historical narratives become contested when suppressed communities voice their own interpretation of history and memory (Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009). The competing narratives of communities today build contestation against the previous narratives that dominated the public spaces through representation of their memory (Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009).

Political actors used commemoration to achieve two outcomes (Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009). One outcome includes political leaders enforcing their memory and interpretation of historical events as a means to influence power, especially when

commemorating the outcomes of war and conflict (Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009). The second involves bringing economic vitality in the form of tourism to impoverished communities as commemorating their history will bring a sense of identity and ownership (Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009). Commemoration of one narrative over another, represented a clear definition of a dominant narrative within the built environment (Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009). These competing narratives led to contested perceptions of memorials and public spaces (Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009).

Many of today's memorials, monuments, and commemorative symbols are attributed to the City Beautiful Movement in the late 1880s which originated with the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (Hall, 2014). The "White City" created by visionary planner, Daniel Burnham, brought neoclassical architecture to industrialized cities in hopes of changing the city's identity, improving living conditions, and preventing diseases within urban neighborhoods of the working class (Hall, 2014; Hines, 2009). While the City Beautiful Movement strived to create an identity for industrialized cities through the interpretative lens of elite communities, it also removed many neighborhoods, particularly in communities of color (Hall, 2014).

This ideology of urban design and restoring social order is visible in commemoration efforts of the Lost Cause narrative (Hall, 2014). In American history, a collective narrative emerged about the Civil War from stories of white southerners during the Post-Civil War and Reconstruction Era (Towns, 2012). In an effort to reclaim power and identity, southerners created an oral history and told stories of the South's role in the Civil War, known as the Lost Cause (Towns, 2012). The Lost Cause ideology formed a narrative of the South's loss in the Civil War and the heroic military

leaders who fought during the war (Edwards et al., 1992). The Lost Cause shaped southern culture, media, education systems, and created discriminatory Jim Crow laws into the 20th century (Towns, 2012). Symbols of this collective narrative are visible today in Richmond with the Confederate statutes erected to commemorate the story of their heroes (Edwards et al., 1992).

Since the Civil War, the way we commemorate with monuments and statues shifted as well as those who are memorialized. A notable example, the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C. symbolizes the shift from memorializing war heroes to those who were victimized and perished as result of the conflict (Senie, 1992). Differing views on designing the war memorial led to contestation surrounding the space's symbolism and interpretation (Senie, 1992). Architect, Maya Lin, designed the space to show mirrored, black walls listing the names of those who were lost or died in battle (Senie, 1992). The memorial design intended for visitors to experience solitude in remembrance of the Vietnam War (Senie, 1992). Some contested perspectives suggested the black walls symbolized a negative cogitation and the tragedy of losing the war (Senie, 1992). The contested narratives that emerged from the Vietnam War Memorial's design symbolize the powerful impact of the space in American culture during that time (Senie, 1992).

Many of these symbolic objects used to commemorate a collective memory are time bound and constantly evolving based on changes to the urban form (Mellon, 2008). This commemorative effort culminates into monuments and memorials dedicated to a community's collective memory and vision (Mellon, 2008). A collective memory is cross generational and influences future decisions and opinions on communities and planning

efforts (Tighe & Opelt, 2016). The memory and experience one holds in commemorative spaces reverberates within the community and creates a narrative discourse surrounding the built environment.

Power, Space, and Race

The barriers of public spaces resulted from the implementation of segregationist planning practices and discriminatory policies that disadvantaged many African American neighborhoods in the United States (Schein, 2006). These practices created disinvestment and poverty within black communities and produced spatial constraints on residents hoping to buy homes or move (Schein, 2006). Racial segregation in the urban landscape is still visible today in American cities and impacts who holds power and agency in commemoration of history in public spaces (Schein, 2006).

The racial divide in landscape continued in southern states during the Reconstruction era in a Post-Civil War, Emancipated South with the presence of Jim Crow laws (Schein, 2006). Discriminatory land practices evolved from sharecropping to housing and property ownership with the Homestead Act of 1862 which provided land to white populations while omitting the opportunity from African Americans (Lipsitz, 2011). Across the United States, this practice of systematic racism continued through establishing the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) in the 1930s (Massey & Denton, 1993). This program used redlining systems to drive out investments and concentrate poverty in many African American neighborhoods (Massey & Denton, 1993). Redlining practices are visible in Richmond's landscape as well and created disinvestment and future social inequity for historically African American neighborhoods (University of Richmond Digital Scholarship Lab, 2017). These discriminatory housing

practices were also used in the creation of suburban development around Monument Avenue as the properties instilled racial covenants (Edwards et al., 1992).

Redlining practices also shaped policies of the Federal Housing Act of 1934 (Massey & Denton, 1993). After World War II, as many veterans returned to the United States, the Federal Housing Act and the Veteran Administration provided homeownership mortgages to returning veterans (Massey & Denton, 1993). Again, these housing opportunities and loans discriminated against African Americans (Massey & Denton, 1993). Both land use and housing programs established a system of racial discrimination in property ownership and restricted future opportunities for African Americans in the United Stations (Lipsitz, 2011). Creation of racial segregation in landscape is also reflected in social inequities of urban neighborhoods today (Schein, 2006).

The induction of other Jim Crow laws in southern cities would again perpetuate a social and spatial divide among white and black communities in public spaces (Schein, 2006). Richard Schein describes the racial divide in urban landscapes as the “White Black Binary” (2006, p. 4). In planning practices today, Sandercock describes how overcoming these social and spatial divides creates issues in planning efforts (Sandercock, 2000). She theorizes how fear historically powered planning decisions, stating “The attempted solutions have been twofold: both exclusion – spatial segregation, keeping certain bodies out of certain areas; and moral reform” (Sandercock, 2000, p. 209). The outcomes of these practices created division in public spaces and suppressed the cultural landscape of African American communities (Schein, 2006).

Concepts of the just city theory address questions of power and agency in future planning for disadvantaged communities (Fainstein, 2016). While the ideals perpetuate positive outcomes for communities who were previous met with injustice, the just city theory brings to light methods for engaging communities and call for using democratic means in future planning decisions (Fainstein, 2016). Acknowledging unjust outcomes of past planning practices builds hope for future planning efforts through a multicultural lens (Fainstein, 2016). The multicultural aspects of urban planning now and in the future only heightens the issues of segregated communities in cites today (Sandercock, 1998). The diversity of communities provides another challenge for planners to navigate in creating spaces and landscapes for people to share (Sandercock, 2000).

Discriminatory policies and segregating planning practices divided American cities and placed race in landscape (Schein, 2006). The spatial division within urban spaces also creates challenges of power and agency for communities of color and their connection to places and public spaces. The racial spatialization in cities is visible today in the landscape and created barriers of engaging these previously marginalized communities in urban planning efforts (Sandercock, 2000).

Connection to Place and Public Space

Analyzing the spatial and social connection of a community to spaces, places, and land is explored in the literature through the lenses of daily social interactions and commemorating spaces of historical significance. Public spaces in the built environment hold meaning for communities and influence how they interact and their connection to the place or "place attachment" (Altman & Low, 1992, p. 165). Low describes this concept as, "…place attachment is more than an emotional and cognitive

experience, and includes cultural beliefs and practices that link people to place" (Altman & Low, 1992, p. 165). Through conducting observations of a plaza in San Jose, Costa Rica, Low assessed that changes to the plaza design and built environment over time reflected how the meaning of the place changed (Altman & Low, 1992). For older generations who used the plaza for socializing and other activities, showed signs of grief as the vegetation and symbolic objects were removed from this public space (Altman & Low, 1992). Similarly, over time an increase of traffic congestion and crime in the plaza changed the social dynamics for people who had long used the space (Altman & Low, 1992). Low also describe how people developed an emotional connection to the space through memories (Altman & Low, 1992). Low demonstrates the linkage between community culture to a place and degradation of a place, both of which are apparent in the demolition of African American neighborhoods during a planning intervention known as Urban Renewal (Altman & Low, 1992; Lipsitz, 2007).

The Urban Renewal program, created by the federal government in the early 1900s, sought to improve the identity of cities through removal of blighted African American neighborhoods (Hall, 2015). The impacts of Urban Renewal are echoed in both the loss of place and residents as well as disrupting communities and social constructs of African American neighborhoods (Fullilove, 2001). As Fullilove discusses how Urban Renewal contributed to both physical and social disconnects for black communities, stating "Instead of becoming stronger and more competent in politics, the communities became weaker and more heavily affected by negative forces, such as substance abuse and crime" (2001, p. 78). An example of an urban renewal project in Asheville, North Carolina demonstrated the lack of community engagement in

construction of new housing and the removal of homes and businesses as a result (Tighe & Opelt, 2016). The destructive outcomes of Urban Renewal are reverberated in African American communities today (Fullilove, 2001).

Another urban planning intervention which distributed communities in an effort to renovate public housing during the 1990s includes the HOPE VI program (Jones & Popke, 2010). In study of a HOPE VI project in Seattle, Washington, assessed community members who chose to move or stay during the housing reconstruction process and how this decision coincides with a connection to place (Kliet & Manzo, 2006). Comparably, Jones and Popke debate how this urban revitalization program emphasis on improving living conditions and economic means for communities could be further understood through theorist Henri Lefebvre's interpretation of spatial social interactions (Jones & Popke, 2010; Lefebvre, 1991). A community's connection to public spaces in the built environment itself and social interactions are described by sociologist, Henri Lefebvre as "the social production of space" (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre's framework delineates the social uses and interactions of public spaces into three elements; the built environment from the perspective of planners and architects, the meaning and symbolism produced from the space, and the daily social interactions and space uses for the community (Lefebvre, 1991). This framework is useful in planning practice as a method for urban spaces and building agency for different communities.

Agency in public spaces is observable through social interactions and community expression (Mitchell, 2003). The "Right to the City" suggests the evolution of a city's identity occurs within the public spaces of the urban environment and demonstrates

insurgent planning theory (Mitchell, 2003; Sandercock, 1998). Mitchell discerns that "Public space is, in this sense, the space of justice" (2003, p. 235). However, today the private sector maintains many public spaces, essentially controlling who holds power and agency to use the space (Mitchell, 2003). Placemaking is another urban planning practice that traditionally uses improved design features of public spaces and streets in an effort to revitalize downtown districts (Montgomery, 2016). Unfortunately, this planning strategy defines who can use the space and in turn leads to contestation and gentrification (Montgomery, 2016).

The social interactions in public spaces and emotional connections to place are challenged by changes to the neighborhood driven by new residents and economic growth (White, 2015). This power dynamic is illustrated in a public space located in Harlem, where previous residents struggle to maintain their agency as their neighborhood is impacted by gentrification (White, 2015). White studied how African American residents in Harlem declared their right to public space in Marcus Garvey Park by playing drums causing a group of new white residents to complain (2015). This spatial use of protest in the public space shows how previous residents demonstrated their agency and opposed gentrification in their neighborhood (White, 2015). Again, public spaces in cities become contested when competing memories and narratives struggle to maintain power in gentrifying communities (White, 2015).

The contestation of spaces in cities also develops in the discovery of historically significant sites that were once suppressed or invisible. A case study in Manhattan, New York reveal insurgent planning efforts led by passionate community groups which transpired after unearthing of an African Burial Ground (Rocke, 2015). Local community

groups advocated for commemorating this sacred space and constructing a memorial (Rocke, 2015). The Manhattan African Burial Ground serves as an example of insurgent planning as the process began with efforts of grassroots community groups and questioned the ownership and agency of the space (Miraftab, 2016). This motion to commemorate led by the community demonstrates the power dynamics of grassroots methods in insurgent planning practices (Sandercock, 1998). Sandercock claims that these "insurgent planning histories" which previously excluded the voices of communities, must be recognized in planning practices today (1998, p. 27).

Commemorating sacred spaces and historical sites previously invisible in the built environment will impact the role of planners in communities. The spatial connection of people to place is apparent in many urban spaces through community, cultural symbolism, and memory. In the context of urban planning, the dynamics of power and agency over the space are constrained by barriers created by past planning practices.

The current literature surrounding commemoration and collective memory, meaning of place, and the barriers of power in landscape revealed opportunities for further research. By using contested spaces in Richmond as a case study, this research explores the ways historical narratives of the Lost Cause and slavery are contested in public spaces today. The analysis also builds on the evolving discourse surrounding ways in which cities commemorate historical truths of previously suppressed communities. Current planning theories also present an opportunity for further research on the barriers that influence power to commemorate invisible histories of African American communities and how planning outcomes could mitigate these

challenges. Lefebvre's framework on the social interactions of space do not address what Lipsitz defines as "spatialization of race" (Lefebvre, 1991; Lipsitz 2007, pg.16). Applying his framework in this research brings context to how urban spaces segregate communities (Lefebvre, 1991). Using Richmond as a case study also builds an understanding on the role of planners in determining the process and outcomes for contested monuments and future efforts to commemorate in public spaces. Specifically, I investigated the following research questions:

Chapter 3 Methodology

Research Questions & Methodology

To analyze how contested spaces in Richmond are impacting the city's cultural landscape, I used quantitative and qualitative methodology in the context of selecting a collective case study (Stake, 1995). Lefebvre's model for analyzing "the production of space" serves as a framework for assessing the built environment as seen by planners and political actors, interpreting the symbolism of both spaces, and the daily uses and social interactions in the spaces (Lefebrve, 1991, p.37). Using Lefebvre's model, research questions relating to the perspectives behind contesting each space, the spatial and social interactions occurring within and around the spaces, and the barriers of power today is analyzed through content analysis, conducting direct observations, surveys, and semi-structured interviews (Lefebrve, 1991). The resulting findings are then confirmed through the process of triangulation (Stake, 1995). Additionally, I interpreted survey results by using GIS mapping and comparing to other historical geographic data.

Since moving to Richmond, I developed a passion for this city's history and the ways in which the landscape and memories were shaped by urban planning decisions. As a graduate student in the Master of Urban and Regional Planning program at Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU), I worked with a local organization on community engagement efforts in Richmond's public spaces. This organization and

other connections serve as gatekeepers and allow me to build relationships with other community groups in accomplishing my thesis research.

Applying Lefebvre's framework to shape qualitative and quantitative methods for this research, I explored the urban planning phenomenon surrounding the following research questions (Lefebvre, 1991):

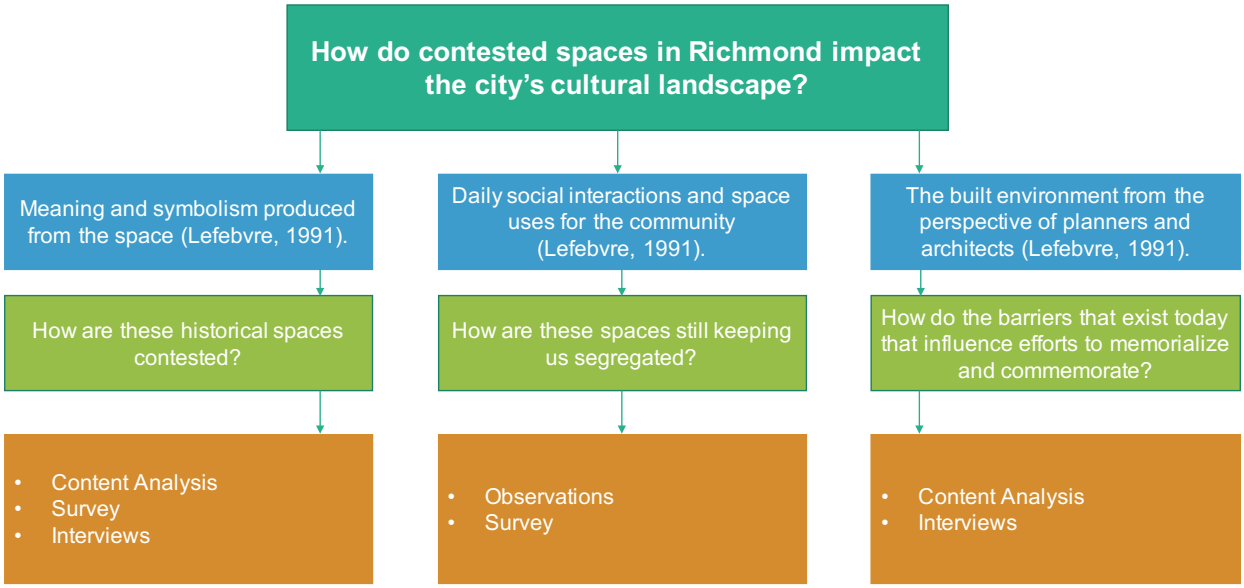


Figure 1: Research Questions and Methodology Diagram

(Graphic designed by author) (Lefebvre, 1991)

Contested Historical Spaces

To understand the contestation of each space and reasoning behind commemoration in the context of today, I conducted content analysis, administered a survey, and conducted interviews. Content analysis involved analyzing historical documents and newspapers as well as current news articles. I also conducted semi-structured interviews with key informants professionally involved in historical sites of

Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and coded to ensure anonymous responses in this thesis research.

In this research, I surveyed residents and visitors who interacted in other historical sites and public spaces of Richmond to gain spatial knowledge of what spaces people are tied to. In order to reach a wide range of Richmonders, I also conducted surveys, as seen in Appendix A, at historical sites, public spaces, and local festivals. I used random selection and approached every third person in these public spaces and attending events.

The survey results were kept anonymous and used in the final analysis and GIS Mapping indicating where visitors and residents hold memory in public spaces and historical areas of Richmond.

Spatial Segregation Today

During my research, I conducted direct observations and administered the survey previously discussed to understand how each historical space segregates Richmond communities today. The direct observations were conducted in spaces surrounding the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue and historical sites in Shockoe Bottom as well as sites that commemorate Richmond's connection to slavery. Some of these historical sites include the Richmond Slave Trail, the Canal Walk, Lumpkin's Jail site, and the African Burial Ground (Venture Richmond, 2017; Sacred Ground Reclamation Project, 2017). I also conducted observations at community meetings held by the Monument Avenue Commission and the City of Richmond Lumpkin's Jail Site project. Survey results and observations build an understanding on how these historical spaces

are segregating communities in Richmond and ways the spaces influence social interactions.

Barriers surrounding Commemoration

To fully analyze the barriers that exist today in efforts to commemorate and the power dynamics which key informants subscribe to in this process, I conducted semi-structured interviews with key informants professionally involved in the Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom historical sites. Interviews conducted with each stakeholder provided context to the power in decision making around commemoration, the anticipated outcomes, and barriers for various groups involved. Again, all interviews were recorded, transcribed, and coded to ensure anonymous responses.

Content analysis of City of Richmond planning documents and reports will also contribute to the evolving dialogue of historical significance in Shockoe Bottom and Monument Avenue. Assessing the reasoning and timing of reasons behind commemorative efforts in each space will assist in formulizing the current debates around how their contested in Richmond and other cities.

Triangulation

In this research, I triangulated interview and observation results to validate and allow for further confirmation on findings (Stake, 1995). Throughout the course of this case study research, I utilized triangulation as a means to validation in various phases and to understand reoccurring themes which address my research questions. (Stake, 1995).

Limitations in Research

In conducting my thesis research, there are limitations to executing my methodology in Richmond communities. June Manning Thomas argues that diversity in the planning profession holds significance in engaging communities of color (Thomas, 2016). As I am a white woman in the planning field, this will limit and impact my ability to gather research within minority communities of Richmond. Sandercock also discusses that in order to overcome the injustices of past planning practices, planners must engage diverse communities throughout the process (Sandercock, 2000).

Case Study Selection

Current debates surrounding two contested spaces in Richmond, Virginia, historically Capital of the Confederacy, serve as a significant case study for researching the impacts of commemoration in public spaces today. The current movement to commemorate the history of slave trade in Shockoe Bottom and discussions surrounding removal of Confederate statues on Monument Avenue serve as powerful case study on the contestation of commemorative spaces.

During the mid 1800s, an area of Richmond known as Mayo's Addition served as the center for the city's largest industry, domestic slave trade (Laird, 2010). The cultivation of the slave trade industry resulted from the prohibition on importing enslaved Africans in 1808, the rich plantation economy in surrounding areas, and the intersect of multiple modes of transportation (Laird, 2010). Richmond's presence in this industry was second to that of New Orleans (Laird, 2010). During the height of domestic slave trade, approximately 300,000 enslaved Africans passed through Richmond amounting to about $3.5 million in generated export revenue (Laird, 2010). As the slave trade

industry represented a large portion of Richmond's economy during this time, many businesses and services industries provided supportive activities (Chen & Collins, 2008). One of the well-known slave traders, Robert Lumpkin, owned a slave jail, which is where enslaved Africans were held prior to being sold at an auction house, located in the center of what is known today as Shockoe Bottom (Laird, 2010). In the late 1800s, after the Civil War and Emancipation, a portion of Lumpkin's land sold to John Chamblin and James H. Scott who would use the property to develop Richmond Iron Works in 1892 (Laird, 2010).

Concurrently in 1890, an effort to commemorate the memory of Confederate leaders transpired as powerful community leaders in Richmond, along with support from the Governor of Virginia Fitzhugh Lee, the Robert E. Lee Monument (Edwards et al., 1992). The surrounding land west of downtown Richmond allocated by the William C. Allen Family for the Lee Monument space, is known today as Monument Avenue (Edwards et al., 1992). This exchange from the Allen Family also came with conditions for the municipality to design an avenue, improve infrastructure, provide amenities such as electricity and pumping, all in the creation of a new suburban development (Edwards et al., 1992). In the late 1880s C.P.E. Burgwyn, a city engineer, designed the construction for a tree lined avenue with sidewalks and a median (Edwards et al., 1992). The suburban development attracted wealthy white residents of Richmond to build their homes on Monument Avenue (Edwards et al., 1992).

The emerging group of white elites were active members of Richmond's Chamber of Commerce, City Council, and other social groups (Edwards et al., 1992). This community, which included many men who were veterans of the Confederacy,

sought to commemorate their Confederate leaders in memory of the Lost Cause (Edwards et al., 1992). Erecting the Robert E. Lee Monument symbolized imprinting the Lost Cause narrative on Richmond's landscape (Edwards et al., 1992). Over 100,000 southerners attended the memorial event and many volunteered to haul pieces of the statue from the train station to Lee Circle (Edwards et al., 1992). As more homes were constructed along the avenue, more Confederate statues were erected (Edwards et al., 1992). Notably, Jefferson Davis and General J.E.B Stuart in 1907 and Stonewall Jackson in 1919 (Edwards et al., 1992).

Current Planning efforts

Over time the historically significant spaces in Shockoe Bottom were covered with soil and during Urban Renewal, the highway system would be constructed through downtown and forgotten in Richmond's cultural landscape (Silver, 1984). In 1998, the Richmond City Council Slave Trail Commission formed in an effort to commemorate the city's history of slavery (Richmond City Council Slave Trail Commission, 2017). Since then the Slave Trail Commission and passionate community groups have fought to protect and memorialize historical places in Shockoe Bottom from large scale development (Richmond City Council Slave Trail Commission, 2017; Sacred Ground Reclamation Project, 2017). These places include the Lumpkin's jail site, the African Burial Ground, and the site of a slave rebel named Gabriel Prosser[1] execution (The Center for Design Engagement, 2017).

[1] Gabriel Prosser of the Prosser Plantation in Henrico County planned a rebellion with a group on enslaved Africans in Richmond, Virginia. Two members of the rebellion revealed the group's plans and many were either sold or sentenced to death. Gabriel was executed on October 10, 1880 at the site of the African Burial Ground, adjacent to Broad Street in Shockoe Bottom. (Sacred Ground Historical Reclamation Project, 2018)

In 2006, the Richmond City Council Slave Trail Commission procured the services of the James River Institute for Archelogy, Inc. to conduct archeological research on the Lumpkin's Jail area of Shockoe Bottom (Laird, 2010). Currently, the City of Richmond tasked the SmithGroupJJR an architecture firm from Washington, D.C., and other design firms to develop a concept design plan for the Lumpkin's Jail Site (City of Richmond, 2017). This project, currently in process, held various stakeholder and community meetings in 2017, however, the plans do not include the African Burial Ground (City of Richmond, 2017). A community group called, Sacred Ground Reclamation Project, also created a community proposal for Shockoe Bottom in 2016 which calls for a memorial park rather than museum (The Center for Design Engagement, 2016). The local efforts to commemorate Richmond's history of slave trade are occurring in parallel to discussions surrounding Confederate statues on Monument Avenue

The Confederate statues which were erected in the early 1990s, still stand on Monument Avenue today (Edwards et al., 1992). Other cities, including New Orleans, Baltimore, and Charlottesville, removed their Confederate statues from their public spaces (Oliver, 2017). In the summer of 2017, New Orleans removed four of their Confederate Statues in response to the massacre which occurred in 2015 at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal, Charleston, SC and was linked to Confederate ideology (Cobb, 2017). This movement led Richmond's Mayor Levar Stoney to establish the Monument Avenue Commission in 2017 to reevaluate the context and potentially remove the statues along the avenue (Monument Avenue Commission, 2017).

The case selection of Shockoe Bottom and Monument Avenue question how each contested space impacts Richmond's cultural landscape today. As both spaces evolved in parallel, their contestation is connected both by landscape and by memory. The phenomenon unfolding in Richmond serves as a case study for this research to explore commemorating in public spaces today.

Conclusion

The contested narratives surrounding historical spaces in Richmond, Virginia serve as a powerful case study for my thesis research. Conducting interviews, administering a survey, and content analysis builds context to how the narrative is contested and how barriers impact efforts to commemorate today. Observing social interactions and uses of each historical space will also speak to how these spaces are keeping communities segregated today. As competing narratives surrounding our history continue to shape the built environment, planners will play a significance role in this process of commemoration.

Chapter 4 Findings

My thesis research matriculated into three key findings, which demonstrate the impacts of Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom as contested spaces in Richmond's cultural landscape. First, Richmond is a southern city defined by two narratives that shaped how the meaning and perspectives of each historical site is contested today. Second, the two narratives coupled together created visible and invisible veils over the meaning of the spaces and their connection. Lastly, there are key barriers that exist today which influence the planning process and the ability to achieve hopeful outcomes.

4.1 A Southern City Defined by Two Narratives

Key themes presented in content analysis and key informant interviews demonstrate how the surrounding perceptions and meaning of Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom symbolize two narratives which shape the city's identity in the past, present, and future. This key finding reflects Lefebvre's theory as it brings context to the meaning and symbolism produced from the space (Lefebvre, 1991). Richmond's role as the Capital of the Confederacy and a predominant center for domestic slave trade, coupled with a legacy of the Lost Cause, idealized this notion of the Civil War into an ongoing narrative of Richmond's identity (Edwards et al., 1992; Laird, 2010).

Secondly, as many southern cities rivaled for economic prosperity during the Reconstruction era, Richmond strived to attract a new class of wealthy, white southerners and produce spaces for heavy industrialization and growth for emerging markets (Silver, 1984). Overtime, this motivation for large-scale economic development

has been the driving force in Richmond's identity (Silver, 1984). The influences of land use and development also spatially define motivations for historical site creation and tourism development (Rose Center for Public Leadership, 2018).

The historical spaces of Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom are contested today based on the rooted stories, memories, and historical truths from the Civil War and slavery in Richmond, Virginia. This southern urban city, once the Capital of the Confederacy, grew and prospered economically after the Civil War and continues to evolve today (Silver, 1984). Each economy focused and historically driven narrative, fuels how both spaces are contested today and by whom. Contemporary Richmond is a growing, thriving city that is attracting new residents of different demographics from all over the United States (City of Richmond, 2017). These individuals bring another lens to the discourse of what these spaces mean today. They are contested because competing narratives are compromising and shift the meaning of the spaces.

Lost Cause & Slavery – Post Civil War Era to the City Beautiful Movement

The historical spaces surrounding Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom hold great significance in shaping the economic and social aspects of Richmond's urban landscape. Key findings in the content analysis of planning documents and current and historical newspapers demonstrate how social perspectives shaped each space and highlights the ways economically driven planning strategies either illuminated or suppressed the historical narratives of each.

Monument Avenue was originally constructed in the early 1900s with construction of the Robert E. Lee Monument just west of downtown Richmond, formed into a suburban development with a tree lined boulevard (Edwards et al., 1992). With

continuous residential development and the introduction of the streetcar in areas of Richmond, Monument Avenue quickly became the symbol of new wealth in a Post-Civil War South (Edwards et al., 1992). In the early 1900s, Monument Avenue symbolized power and economic prosperity with white residents who lived there and the continuous commemorative dialogue around erecting Confederate statues gave motion to the Lost Cause (Edwards et al., 1992). Designed as a boulevard by planners of the City Beautiful era, Monument Avenue would be known for architecture and symbols of public art (Edwards et al., 1992).

After erecting the Lee Monument, homes were not built on Monument Avenue until the early 1900s (Edwards et al., 1992). During this time, Richmond sought to expand and attract a new, white population to bring wealth and prosperity to this southern city (Silver, 1984). Many white Richmonders at the time placed Monument Avenue as the center for stimulating the economy (Silver, 1984). The Richmond Dispatch dated January 11, 1903, described the infrastructure the City of Richmond invested along Monument Avenue including water, sewer, and electricity (Richmond Dispatch, 1903). The newspaper states, “Such booming of prices has led many investors and speculators into the field, but the growth is healthy, for the reason that Richmond is congested in nearly every quarter on account of the abundant lack of city improvements…” (Richmond Dispatch, 1903, p. 27). Monument Avenue and other suburbs continued to develop around Richmond’s downtown area with connectivity through the streetcar which provided accessibility to the business city center (Silver, 1984). Richmond’s new identity strived to create economic growth while also laying the groundwork for spatial segregation of uses and communities of color (Silver, 1984).

Into the 1900s, Monument Avenue remained an example of wealth, architecture, and public art for the Richmond community, planners, and designers (Driggs, 1997). In 1997, the avenue received recognition as a National Historic Landmark which included the residences and monuments along the famous boulevard (Driggs, 1997). Again, Monument Avenue received recognition in 2007 from the American Planning Association as one of the "10 Great Streets of America" (American Planning Association, 2017).

Since the Antebellum Period, perspectives of Shockoe Bottom were influenced by transportation, natural disasters, and the city's economy (Chen & Collins, 2008). In contrast, to the commemorative suburban development of Monument Avenue, Shockoe Bottom served as the center for industrialization and manufacturing including slave trade in the mid 1800s (Edwards et al., 1992; Laird, 2010). Richmond's domestic slave trade industry proved to be the city's most significant industry amounting to $3.5 million in revenue during the 1850s (Laird, 2010). After the Civil War, in an Emancipated South, the Shockoe Bottom area held many industrial, manufacturing uses and became known for "tough saloons, gambling houses…" (Chen & Collins, 2008, p. 13). Towards the end of the 19th century the land previously owned by slave trader Robert Lumpkin industrialized as Richmond Iron Works (Laird, 2010).

After the Civil War in an emancipated Richmond, Shockoe Bottom became a freed black community (Brown & Kimball, 1995). Many freed slaves worked in the factories of Shockoe Bottom as well as in the homes of wealthy Richmonders (Brown & Kimball, 1995). Unfortunately, the constant flooding in Shockoe Bottom threatened the living conditions for this African American community (Richmond Planet, 1917). The

disastrous effects of flooding caused many freed slaves to leave their homes in Shockoe Bottom (Richmond Planet, 1917). Many white Richmonders viewed the deteriorating housing conditions in Shockoe Bottom as a danger to the health of other communities, especially their neighborhoods (Richmond Times-Dispatch, 1918).

An article in the Richmond Times-Dispatch on March 27, 1918, describes the threats of such living conditions and diseases such as tuberculosis in Shockoe Bottom (Richmond Times- Dispatch, 1918). The article also cites Mr. J Hoge Ricks, Justice of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, stating “Shockoe is a disgrace to Richmond” (Richmond Times-Dispatch, 1918, p. 4). While conditions were apparently dangerous and deplorable in Shockoe Bottom for both black and white communities of Richmond, the City of Richmond did not take ownership (Richmond Times-Dispatch, 1916).

The societal perspectives of Shockoe Bottom during this time hold a striking contrast to the neoclassical Confederate statues constructed on Monument Avenue (Richmond Times-Dispatch, 1916; Edgar et al., 1992). This social contrast reflects the City Beautiful movement which occurred across the United States as many cities sought to remove deteriorating housing and replacing with parks, boulevards, and monuments (Hall, 2014). For Richmond, the City Beautiful movement also created a new identity and spatial order from the Post-Civil War era (Silver, 1984).

Economically Driven, Rethinking Urban spaces for a New Identity

Since the early 1900s, Richmond continues to reinvent itself as a southern city through economically driven urban planning strategies to rebrand and attract residents (Silver, 1984). Such strategies impacted Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom and changed the perceptions and meaning of each space in terms of the economy and land uses.

Another urban planning concept would again uphold economic progress and remove slums in the name of improving Richmond's identity and future (Silver, 1984). In 1946, planner Harland Bartholomew developed a Master Plan for Richmond which emphasized economic growth in the city center and eliminating deteriorating structures in neighborhoods (Silver, 1984). In 1955, the goals of Bartholomew's Master Plan would drive city planning decision makers to construct the Richmond Petersburg Turnpike through Shockoe Bottom over streets which were previously the center for slave trade activities including the Lumpkin's Jail Site and African Burial Ground, forever burying the memory of Richmond's past (Silver, 1984; Chen & Collins, 2008).

In 2008, efforts led by the City of Richmond and the local historians resulted in the discovery of historic sites linked to slave trade in Shockoe Bottom including the Lumpkin's Jail site and the nearby African burial ground (Lumpkin's Jail Site Project, 2017). As proposed development of a baseball stadium threated the preservation of these historic sites, community leaders organized against such projects in Shockoe Bottom (Richmond Free Press, 2016). In 2015, the Sacred Ground Reclamation Project developed a proposal for historic sites in Shockoe Bottom and called for transforming the spaces surrounding Lumpkin's Jail and the African Burial Ground into a memorial

park (The Center for Design Engagement, 2016). The City of Richmond responded to the community groups proposal and procured the SmithGroupJJR in 2016, to create a design plan for the Lumpkin's Jail site (Lumpkin's Jail Site Project, 2017).

Since discovery and unearthing of historic slave trade sites in Shockoe Bottom, the City of Richmond developed a revitalization strategy for bringing economic vitality to the neighborhood while also addressing the area's zoning challenges (City of Richmond, 2011). The redevelopment plan, developed in 2011, outlined a vision for the neighborhood as a place for a diverse art community (City of Richmond, 2011). To supplement this economic identity in revitalizing Shockoe Bottom, the plan recommends constructing the Main Street Train shed, completed in 2017; redeveloping the 17th Street Market; and building a museum that recognizes the city's slave trade history (City of Richmond, 2011). These various development efforts contributed to the area's overall goal of becoming a destination for locals and tourists (City of Richmond, 2011). This revitalization plan for Shockoe Bottom offers many recommendations for creating economic growth while preserving the community's historical spaces (City of Richmond, 2011).

Changing perceptions of the Confederate statues and Monument Avenue are apparent in a recent planning document focused on a public art strategy for the City of Richmond (City of Richmond, 2017). The planning document describes Richmond's culture in the context of the Lost Cause narrative by stating, "Richmond is a highly cultivated Southern city that is traditionally steeped in culture born during the Civil War when it was the 'Capital of the Confederacy'. Yet, this moniker no longer defines the city. It has moved beyond a storied, antebellum past and its Civil War roots to emerge

as a progressive, creative, and diverse municipality" (City of Richmond, 2017, p. 16). Richmond's public art plan, drafted in March 2017, acknowledges the historical symbolism of the Lost Cause present on Monument Avenue today, however, denotes the Confederate statues as representative of the city's identity today (City of Richmond, 2017).

In August 2017, Charlottesville shifted perceptions of Monument Avenue and the presence of Confederate statues (Oliver, 2017). In reaction to the Charlottesville event and a movement occurring in southern cities to remove Confederate statues, Mayor Levar Stoney established the Monument Avenue Commission in August 2017 (Monument Avenue Commission, 2017). Since establishment, the commission held one open, public forum centered around developing context for the Confederate statues (Monument Avenue Commission, 2017).

In 2018, conversations regarding the future for Shockoe Bottom shifted from revitalization to reconciliation with the City of Richmond joined other cities across the United States as a member of the Daniel Rose Fellowship (Rose Center for Public Leadership, 2018). The fellowship program collectively works to create strategies and recommendations for locality urban planning challenges primarily focused on land use (Rose Center for Public Leadership, 2018). The final presentation spoke to preserving Shockoe Bottom's historical sites while creating social equity opportunities by supporting small businesses and partnering with universities in Richmond (Rose Center for Public Leadership, 2018). An overall theme of the Rose Center's recommendations involved reconciling the history of slave trade in Shockoe Bottom by building a museum

and memorializing the spaces surrounding the African Burial Ground (Rose Center for Public Leadership, 2018).

The two narratives that emerged from content analysis findings demonstrate urban planning strategy parallels between Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom. Cyclical impacts of the Lost Cause and slavery narratives influence motivations to economic prosper and reimage the city's identity.

Motivations and Perceptions behind Richmond's Contested Spaces Today

The constraints of both narratives are illustrated today in the contested discourse surrounding commemorative historical sites of Shockoe Bottom and Monument Avenue. Key informants described various motivations surrounding commemorative narratives of each space and how their perceptions and meaning are contested today. Key informant's connection to each historic site is displayed in Table 1. Themes from interviews describe a significant link between perceptions and contested meanings of the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue and narratives of the Lost Cause and slavery here in Richmond.

Table 1: Key Informant Involvement in Historic Sites

Key Informant involvement in Historic Sites	
Monument Avenue	5
Shockoe Bottom	5

The difference in perceptions of the historical spaces on Monument Avenue also reflects changes initiated by the City and Mayor Levar Stoney to shift the commemorative dialogue from "contextualizing" to "removing" the statues. Interviewees commented that this shift in perception on a locality level occurred after the events of Charlottesville in August 2017 soon after the Monument Avenue Commission held their

first public meeting. Again, this binary perspective of either contextualizing or removing the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue builds on how these spaces are contested today.

The key informants also demonstrated the various lines of interpretation for "contextualizing" or "removing" the Confederate statues which culminated into three themes. One theme speaks to the notion that these are symbols of racism. According to key informant interviews, this perception is tied to the thinking that as a result of the Monument Avenue Commission, the statues should be removed. One interviewee commented, "The only removing arguments I've heard is remove them all. No remove this one but keep that one but just remove them all and take them somewhere".

In contrast to those who perceive the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue as symbols of racism and would like them removed, interviewees also described a perspective that these statues are connect to their heritage and seen as Confederate heroes. An interviewee commented, "I think for those who have been steeped or raised and inculcated with Confederate history, it means, it really comes down to identity and holding on to that identity and that heritage". For many people, the meaning of Monument Avenue and the statues is closely tied to ancestry and heritage as well as significantly representative of the Lost Cause narrative in Richmond.

Lastly, key informants described a third group who represents contextualizing the Confederate statues. Interviewees commented that this perception involves "adding context and additions to Monument Avenue". Similar to this third group, key informants described that a large group of Richmonders are largely underrepresented in this

dialogue who seem disinterested and hesitant to become involved in the Monument Avenue Commission conversations.

Most key informants also stated that these viewpoints do not follow any demographic patterns, stating “I don’t know if it’s surprising maybe a little bit, to hear white people say ‘we need to think about moving them, we need to be more inclusive’”. While in contradiction, another interviewee commented, “I think older, wealthier, white people especially those that live on Monument Avenue, I’ve noticed a lot [of] signs. I don’t know they say save our monuments or something like that”. An observation made by a key informant regarding the view point of African Americans stated, “leave them alone, we’ve got other things to think about”. Findings demonstrate that while the meaning and interpretation of the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue overall demonstrate trends, the demographics of groups involved in the conversations are varied.

Today’s dialogue led by the Monument Avenue Commission illustrates the Lost Cause and slavery narrative here in Richmond. My findings from key informant interviews suggest that while there are clear lines of perception and meaning in this dialogue, there are also diverse viewpoints concerning removing, contextualizing, and not changing the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue. The reasoning behind these perceptions again demonstrates how the historical spaces are contested today.

Motivations to commemorate the historic slave trade sites in Shockoe Bottom ignited with an effort led by the City of Richmond to establish the Richmond City Council Slave Trail Commission in the 1990s (Lumpkin’s Jail Site Project, 2017). My research findings from key informant interviews demonstrate the motivations for commemorating

this part of Richmond's history and how these efforts contributed to an evolving discourse around the meaning of the spaces in Shockoe Bottom.

While initial efforts to commemorate the history of slave trade in Richmond began at the locality level, a grassroots movement contributed to the research and discovery of these historic sites (The Center for Design Engagement, 2017). Key informant interviews demonstrate these two levels of motivations behind commemorating historical sites and ultimately how meaning of the spaces led to contestation over spatial uses and interpretation in Shockoe Bottom and the larger Richmond community. Key informant interviews discussed that the two perceptions of the historic sites emerged surrounding either a museum or memorial park focused on the physical structures of commemoration and future uses. The discovery of the historic slave trade sites began with excavation of the Lumpkin's Jail site in Shockoe Bottom in 2008 (Laird, 2010). Also during this time, local historians discovered another historically significant site, the African Burial Ground located adjacent to Lumpkin's Jail. An interviewee described these sites as, "a spring board for discussion about broader topics such as race and history and how do we commemorate this going forward".

With discovery of the historical spaces, tension arose in the commemorative dialogue as the city's competing narrative rooted in economic progression strived to redevelop the Shockoe Bottom neighborhood. Another theme from key informant interviews discussed how commemorative efforts for the sites shifted after plans for a baseball stadium were proposed in Shockoe Bottom in close proximity to the Lumpkin's Jail site and African Burial Ground.

The two perceptions regarding commemoration and community uses evolved into “two factions”, as a key informant described, which illuminated the contested narratives of these historical spaces in Shockoe Bottom. As proposals for the baseball stadium dissolved, differing perceptions on a vision for the space remains, however, the meaning and intent is a common thread between the two. One key informant stated, “Right now, there is a kind of unanimity that the sites are very important to Richmond now. It has been embraced by our Mayor as such that he has taken it to this national level, applying for this fellowship, the Rose Center Fellowship…acknowledge that this is a significant part of the history of the city and its development”.

Today’s common thread in commemorating the historic spaces in Shockoe Bottom stems from an overarching theme from key informant interviews which speaks to creating a physical space for reflection in commemorating this part of Richmond’s history. The contestation over the spatial uses and meaning of the sites in Shockoe Bottom also reflects Lipsitz’s “the Black spatial imaginary” as these spaces serve as a community asset and provide an opportunity for commemorating African American history in Richmond (Lipsitz, 2011, p. 52). As a southern city, Richmond’s dueling narratives continue to compete leading to today’s contestation over the meaning of each space in Shockoe Bottom and Monument Avenue.

4.2 Visible and Invisible Spaces – Richmond's Spatial Awareness

Another key finding in my thesis research stems from Lefebvre's theory and speaks to the social interactions and spatial uses occurring today surrounding the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue and the historical slave trade sites in Shockoe Bottom (Lefebvre, 1991). This finding reveals today's connection to past segregation laws and policies which created a visible and invisible veil over the meaning of each space (Lipsitz, 2007).

A theme from key informant interviews and survey results, demonstrated a lack of awareness and understanding of the past and present connection between Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom. This finding again supports the pragmatic appearance of how these spaces are perceived as visible and invisible and through this notion continue to segregate Richmond. The lasting impacts of Jim Crow laws and discriminatory urban planning policies created disinvestments and segregated communities in Richmond (Silver, 1984). Today's "spatialization of race" within city boundaries is visible in the following map, seen in Figure 2, depicting Black and White populations with greater than 50 percent population by census tracts (Lipsitz, 2011).

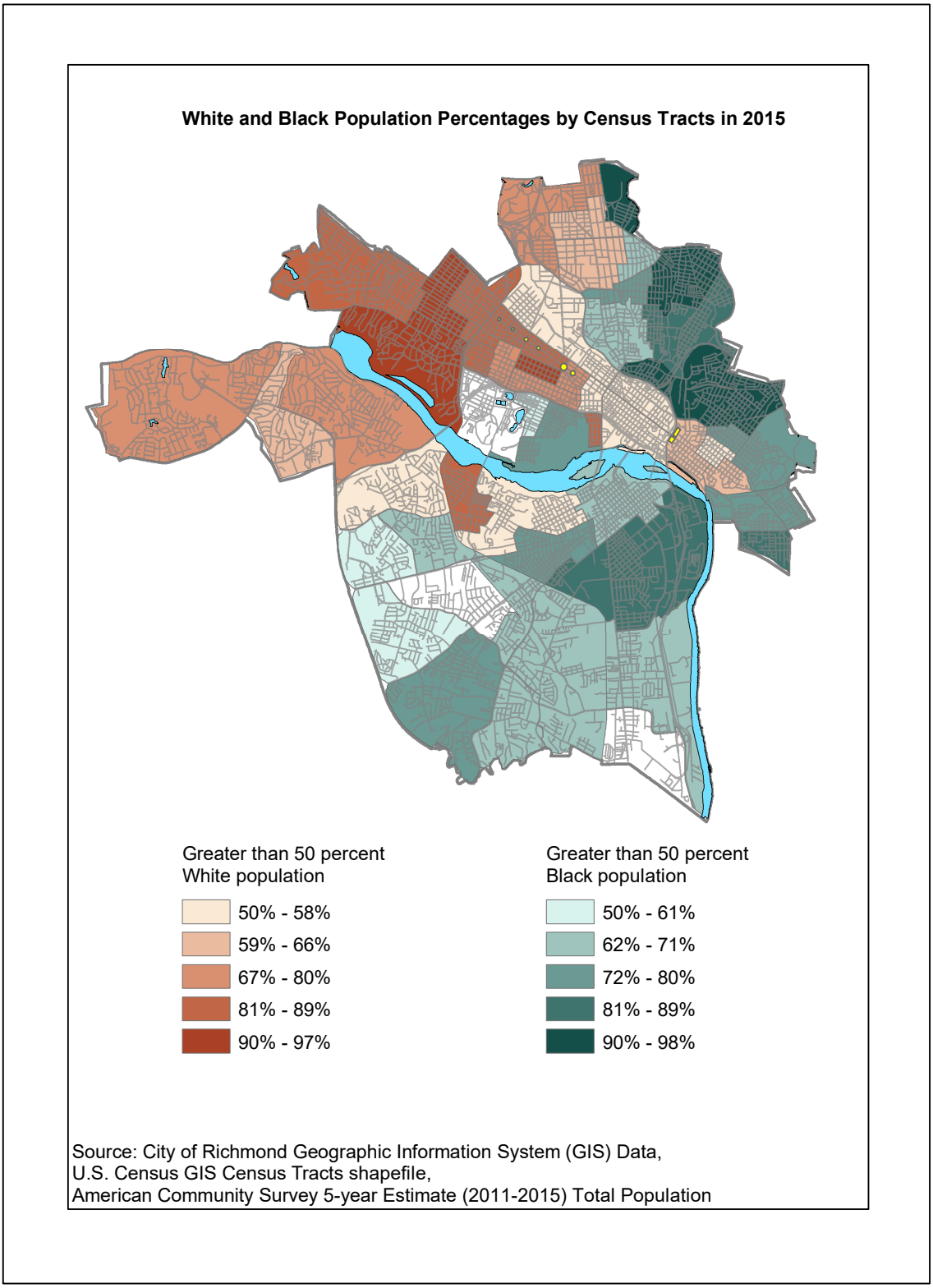


Figure 2: White and Black Population Percentages by Census Tracts in 2015

(Map created by author using Arc GIS mapping software)

Spatial Unveiling – Visible and Invisible Spaces

A theme from key informant interviews suggests that many local Richmonders and visitors are unaware of the significance of historic slave trade sites in Shockoe Bottom and meaning of the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue. My observations of the ways in which the Richmond community uses the spaces surrounding the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue and historic sites in Shockoe Bottom demonstrate how each are visible and invisible. Survey results I collected again support the notion that many Richmond residents are aware of the visible Confederate statues on Monument Avenue but remain unaware of the invisible, commemorative sites in Shockoe Bottom.

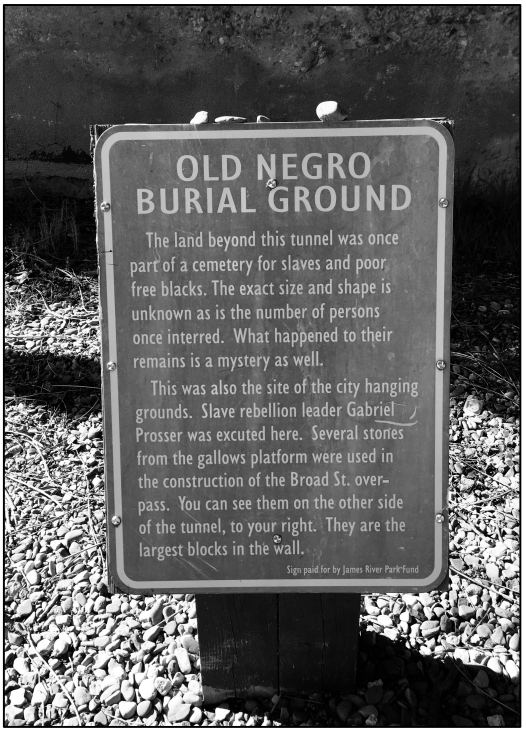
My observations along Monument Avenue from the Stonewall Jackson statue to Robert E. Lee present key themes for how the spaces are used and interactions around the Confederate statues. The design of Monument Avenue as a wide, tree-lined boulevard with wide sidewalks and a grassy median contributes to recreational uses and social interaction among neighbors living on the avenue (Edwards et al., 1992). I observed that many people used the Monument Avenue for running, walking, socializing in groups, and the majority of people who were interacting on the avenue were white local Richmonders or tourists. I also observed that Monument Avenue is a significant pathway with easy accessibility for vehicular traffic to connect to and from downtown Richmond.

People engaging around the Confederate statues included tourists taking pictures and reading the inscription on the monuments. I also observed protesters, mostly white men sitting on the steps of the Jefferson Davis monument holding signs

stating, “Protect Monument Avenue, Save our Monuments”. Some residents living along Monument Avenue also displayed this sign on their front lawns. Monument Avenue remains visible in the minds of Richmonders through observable interactions with the Confederate statues and use of the surrounding area.

In contrast to Monument Avenue, observations I conducted in Shockoe Bottom showed a lack of community presences and interaction at the commemorative historical spaces, however, interaction and activities were present around the neighborhood. The commemorative spaces, Lumpkin’s Jail site and African Burial Ground, are located behind parking lots, construction, and Richmond landmarks such as the Main Street Station.





Figures 3 and 4: Images of Historic sites and markers in Shockoe Bottom (Images taken by the author)

As the sites are located beneath the highway, I observed that Richmonders commuters have a clear sight line to the commemorative spaces. Historic signage and markers at the Lumpkin's Jail site are accompanied by stone seating. Passing through a tunnel under Broad Street to the African Burial Ground, I observed that visitors placed small stones on another marker located at the entrance of an open, sacred space under the highway. Similar to the Lumpkin's jail site, there are markers providing historical information and a seating area for reflection.

Outside the Lumpkin's Jail and African Burial Ground commemorative sites, Main Street and the Canal Walk in Shockoe Bottom present more street life and community interaction. Walking along the Canal Walk beginning in Shockoe Bottom towards Brown's Island, I observed that this path is utilized by many members of the community for passive and active recreation. Art murals are present along the Canal Walk walls and many tourists take pictures as they walk past. The bright, colorful public art is juxtaposed by homeless people camping under bridges along the canal. I observed that many tourists, locals, and families using the Canal Walk represented diverse demographics in age and race. There are a number of historical markers along the Canal Walk, one marker in particular reads, "Built at the crossroads of Indian trade routes, Richmond has always been a place where people, languages, and goods have mixed. In the 19th century, immigrants, free blacks, and industrial slaves all lived and worked in Shockoe's tobacco warehouses and residential neighborhoods" (Canal Walk plaque, 2018)

My observations of spaces around the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue and historical sites in Shockoe Bottom, showed a clear distinction between the

communities interacting in each space. While I observed that many people utilize the spaces on Monument Avenue for a variety of uses, my observations around the Shockoe Bottom commemorative sites showed minimal community uses and social interactions which provides another lens to how one space is visible over another.

The visibility and invisibility of historical spaces in Shockoe Bottom and Monument Avenue are apparent through observing how the spaces are used by the Richmond community, however, survey results and key informant interviews also demonstrate that many locals' lack awareness and understanding of the narratives which connect both sites.

When asking visitors and local residents what places to them show Richmond's history, 48 percent of survey respondents named Monument Avenue in their answer, while only 16 percent mentioned Shockoe Bottom or the Slave trail. Richmonders also mentioned a number of museums that to them represents Richmond's history such as Tredegar, Poe Museum, Holocaust Museum, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, and the Virginia Historical Society. Respondents commented that many of Richmond's parks and trails symbolize the city's history including Brown's Island, Belle Isle, Tyler T. Porterfield Pedestrian Bridge, Libby Hill Park, Chimborazo Park, and Hollywood Cemetery. By mapping surveying data, seen in Figure 5, responses for places that to survey respondents show Richmond's history again provides a perspective to the visible cultural landscape.

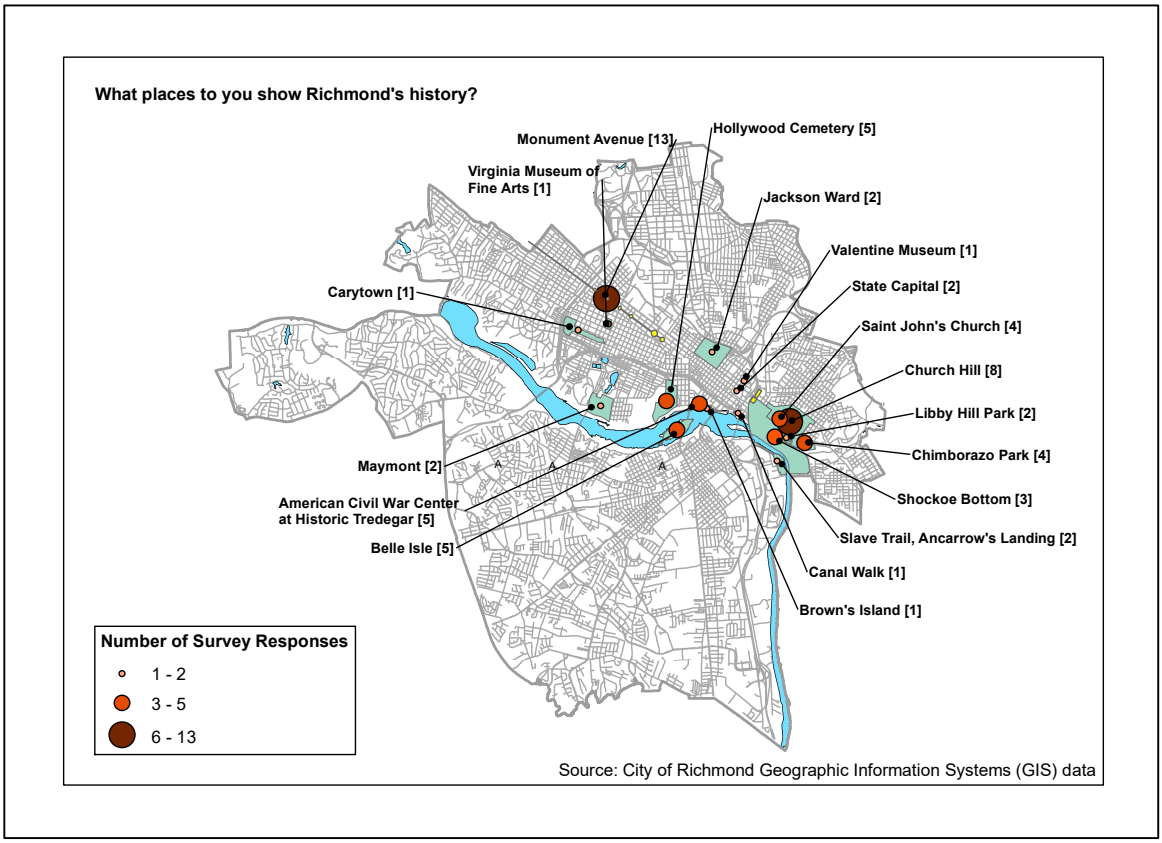


Figure 5: Survey Responses – Places that show Richmond's history

(Map created by author using Arc GIS mapping software)

The Connections – Financial, Physical, and Intellectual

My research findings show how Shockoe Bottom's historical role in domestic slave trade remains invisible to many Richmonders today. There is also an invisible interpretation on the historical narrative which erected the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue and sparked the Lost Cause narrative in Richmond during the early 1900s (Edwards et al., 1992). This discernable difference is evident through the unawareness of the Lumpkin's Jail site and African Burial Ground in comparison to the social interactions and integral routines occurring around the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue. Themes from data gathered suggest how the narratives and

landscapes are interwoven in Richmond's holistic story through financial, physical, and intellectual connections.

The connections between Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom are financial in Richmond's urban landscape with the area of Shockoe Bottom historically rooted in domestic slave trade during the mid 1800s while the city's economically prosperous community called Monument Avenue home in the early 1900s (Edgar et al., 1992; Laird, 2010). The presence of domestic slave trade as a substantial export industry in Shockoe Bottom also meant that many businesses supported the industry such as auction houses, jails, and goods and service businesses (Chen & Collins, 2008). Within this commercial district, 14th Street to 17th Street, between Main and Cary Streets, these businesses, including hotels and saloons, all served business owners linked to the slave trade industry (Chen & Collins, 2008; Laird, 2010).

After construction of the Lee Monument in 1890, a community of white, wealthy southerners built their homes on Monument Avenue into the early 1900s (Edgar et al.,1992). Residents on the avenue symbolized new southern leaders of a Post-Civil War Richmond and served on City Council and other civic organizations (Edgar et al., 1992). These residents also owned successful businesses in retail and services as well as law firms and created a vision of economic prosperity in the city (Edgar et al., 1992). The connection between both spaces is apparent in the financial motivations which created the suburban development of Monument Avenue and the domestic slave trade industry and manufacturing of Shockoe Bottom (Edgar et al., 1992; Laird, 2010).

Today, Richmond remains a segregated city and many local residents lack awareness of the historical meaning of Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom which

shows the intellectual connections through interpretation of the built environment. When describing an observation on how Richmond is spatial segregated today, an interviewee commented, “all the neighborhoods are segregated and you can tell the populations don’t intermingle accept in the workplace, maybe. Even then you could see a stratification of where white people worked versus where black people worked”. Richmond as a segregated city today is the result of many discriminatory urban planning practices throughout the 20th century (Silver, 1984).

The lack of acknowledgement and commemoration of Richmond’s role in slave trade again illuminates the invisibility of this narrative in the minds of Richmonders. During interviews, many key informants spoke to the unawareness and lack of acknowledgement of the city’s history in domestic slave trade. Today’s impacts of the Lost Cause narrative are seen as the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue are interpreted as visible Civil War heroes for many in the Richmond community.

However, as a key informant described that while Richmond served as the Capital of the Confederacy, the city also played an influential role in domestic slave trade. This connection between the two spaces and the two narratives is unseen and invisible to many in the community. The meaning behind erecting the statues on Monument Avenue and how this narrative is interwoven with the presence of historic sites in Shockoe Bottom, one interviewee explains, “…people need to consider context. Where they were mounted on Monument Avenue, which was developing during the time when white supremacy was being reasserted and in a place, that was known as the former Capital of the Confederacy. All of that together is sending strong statement. And

then when you consider the proximity to Shockoe Bottom and how that land was covered over, undeveloped for so many years…".

The interconnected narratives of Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom are also meaningful on a local and national level as each space symbolizes a place of ancestry and heritage. Many interviewees described how the physical sites linked to slavery and slave trade in Shockoe Bottom provides an opportunity for African Americans to discover their ancestry and genealogy.

Another connection (seen in Figure 6) involves the visible pathway between the two spaces on Richmond's landscape, according to one key informant, "it's practically a direct line, literally". While for many years, the lack of commemoration in Shockoe Bottom contributed to the invisibility of the narrative, one interviewee commented regarding acknowledging this historical connection, "They don't see the connection between the past and the present" and "…making it so that its harder for people to ignore would be a really good thing. And could promote making connections between and among these various situations so that we are living today". The interconnected historical spaces of Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom fuel the divisive discourse of Richmond's cultural landscape today. The visibility of Richmond's Lost Cause narrative over the city's historical role in slave trade is evident through the invisibility of Shockoe Bottom's commemorative spaces.

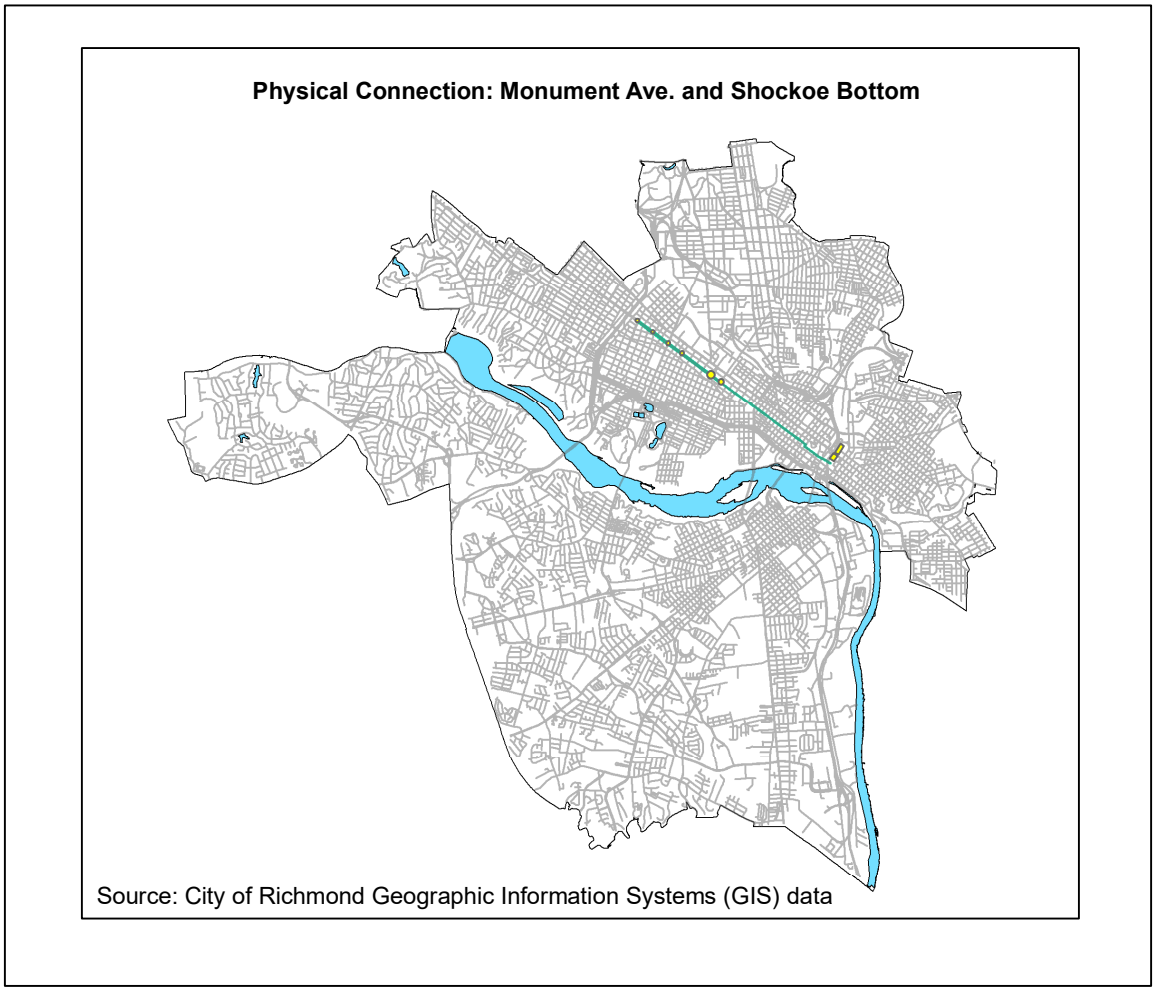


Figure 6: Connection between Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom

(Map created by author using Arc GIS mapping software)

Data collected in my thesis research shows how the historical discriminatory planning practices formed visible and invisible veils surrounding Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom (Silver, 1984). This finding is evident through my observations of the social interactions and spatial uses of both historical spaces and survey results gathered demonstrated a lack of awareness of the historical significance of Shockoe Bottom's role in domestic slave trade. The spatial interpretation of both Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom hides the connection between the two spaces.

4.3 Planning Process & Outcomes for Commemorating an Urban landscape

Richmond's competing narratives surrounding Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom developed contested perspectives over each space and barriers that exist amplified this divisive conversation and influence the urban planning process and outcomes. This third finding reflects Lefebvre's framework as it assesses the built environment from the perspective of planners and architects (Lefebvre, 1991). Lastly, my research findings expose the challenges which stemmed from initial community engagement efforts in the planning process to address the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue and commemorative spaces in Shockoe Bottom. These barriers include timeline for inaction or action, economic and legal frameworks, and engaging the community in reaching a consensus. Despite these barriers, key informants advocated the uniqueness of Richmond's landscape in asserting a holistic narrative.

Engaging the community – The roots of contestation discourse

Today's contested discourse surrounding Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom both began with motivation from the City of Richmond as well as the local community. Within each discourse, contestation and distrust resulted in part to the difference in perspective from planners, architects, and the community on the built environment.

After excavation of the Lumpkin's Jail site and discovery of the African Burial Ground in 2008, development of land surrounding both spaces became a foreseeable threat with a proposal for a baseball stadium led by Mayor Dwight Jones in 2013 (Hazard & Martz, 2013; Lumpkin's Jail Site Project, 2017). As various members of the community opposed the baseball stadium proposal in Shockoe Bottom, the

conversations around commemorating these historical sites became contested as the community interpreted the space differently than that of the locality (Hazard & Martz, 2013).

Key informant interviews spoke to the difference in interpretation of the space and the roots for contestation in Shockoe Bottom. One interviewee described this change in dialogue as, “while the Lumpkin’s Jail site was important but that alone was not going to be enough of an effort to memorialize, commemorate what happened in Shockoe Bottom”. Again, key informants collectively confirmed that while “…the baseball stadium came and went but left a lot of fear of the impact of the development”. This difference in visioning of the commemorative sites in Shockoe Bottom resurfaced at the first public meeting held by the SmithGroupJJR regarding the Lumpkin’s Jail Site project in March 2017 (Lumpkin’s Jail Site Project, 2017).

At the public meeting, members of the community called for truth and reconciliation and a wider interpretation of the historical sites that would not be centered strictly around a jail (Lumpkin’s Jail Site Project, 2017). Many Richmonders voiced the need for more educational opportunities, partnerships with minority owned businesses, and a larger locality role for preservation strategies in Shockoe Bottom (Lumpkin’s Jail Site Project, 2017). Key informant interviews suggest that overall the community response in commemorative efforts of Shockoe Bottom’s sites lacks sufficiency in the broader Richmond community.

In the summer of 2017, many southern cities removed Confederate statues from their public realm (Oliver, 2017). In response, Mayor Levar Stoney proactively established the Monument Avenue Commission to bring awareness to the impact of

their legacy as figures of the Lost Cause narrative (Oliver, 2017). Once assembled, engagement efforts led by the commission began as subcommittee meetings with the first public meeting held on August 9, 2017 just days before the protests in Charlottesville led by Pro-Confederate supports which tragically ended in the death of a woman and two police officers (Lineberry, 2018; Monument Avenue Commission, 2017). Many key informants interviewed described how the direction from Mayor Stoney shifted from conversations on contextualizing to discussions on removing the statues after the Charlottesville events.

With this in mind, the Monument Avenue Commission opened the dialogue in smaller group forums with local organizations to provide their input (Monument Avenue Commission, 2017). Key informants commented that all meetings with the Monument Avenue Commission members must be open to the public and this requirement "has not really been appealing to some of these groups" which impacted levels of engagement from local community groups and the general public.

On March 2, 2018, the Richmond Peace Education Center organized a small group forum and facilitated a panel discussion with members of the organization and two Monument Avenue Commission members (Observation, 2018). The organization advocated for removal of the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue and discussed the importance of Richmond's entire Civil War narrative, especially the city's role in slave trade (Observation, 2018). During the panel discussion with committee members, the organization members asked a question regarding who holds power in this decision-making process on removal of the statues (Observation, 2018). A Monument Avenue Commission member explained that much of the power is held with the community and

their voting decisions, as there are currently laws in place which protect the Confederate statues (Observation, 2018).

Many key informants concur that the Richmond community response around engagement efforts regarding both commemorative spaces is insufficient and there is a lack of participation from “the middle, the indifferent”, a mid-majority of residents who are not involved or perceived as uninterested in these conversations.

Influential Barriers to the Commemorative Discourse – Time, Economic and Legal Frameworks, and Community Consensus

Engaging the Richmond community in these commemorative conversations is a foreseeable challenge for efforts led by the Monument Avenue Commission and in Shockoe Bottom. Another theme which emerged from key informant interviews includes the influential barriers, such as time, economic and legal frameworks, and reaching a community consensus, that also place constraints on this evolving dialogue in Richmond’s cultural landscape.

Time – Action or Inaction

A barrier expressed by key informants involves the timeline for reaching a solution and taking action in the current commemorative dialogues. Regarding commemorative sites in Shockoe Bottom, interviewees stressed that conflict over the ballpark proposal hindered the timeline. One key informant commented, “with so much time passing people are starting to forget about it. Time has passed and it’s not at the forefront of people’s minds anymore”.

Comparably, key informants suggested that a lengthy timeline could result in inaction and again negatively impact engagement from the Richmond community. Also, the perception that inaction could result from today's conversations as it occurred in the past with the City of Richmond's design plan for Monument Avenue in the 1965 (Richmond City Planning Commission, 1965). The plan outlines suggestions for location and design of more Civil War and Confederate statues along Monument Avenue into Henrico County (Richmond City Planning Commission, 1965). Overall, time is a continuous barrier for the planning process in commemorative dialogues.

Economic and Legal Frameworks

Another barrier that influences the commemorative discourse surrounding Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom pertains to the economic, land use, and legal frameworks in the decision-making aspects of this process. One element of conversations regarding the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue expressed by a key informant includes, "tourism, big moneymaker, people come from all over the world to see the statues. And actually, they are works of art. If you were to move them how would that impact our economy". Similarly, key informants also explained that other southern cities such as New Orleans and Baltimore who removed Confederate statues from their public spaces lack a comparable legal framework which is in place in Virginia and protects the monuments. As an interviewee stated, "Other places are acting more assertively but they also don't have state laws preventing them from doing so. It's complicated in that sense but I think that it will be interesting to see what happens in two years with the next significant election with the House of Delegates".

An element of the legislative frameworks in place is Va. Code § 15.2-1812 which explicitly restricts a municipality's power to construct statues and hinders any removal of monuments, including Confederate statues (Lineberry, 2018). In 2017, Payne v. City of Charlottesville, initiated by a group of Confederate supporters against the City of Charlottesville over the locality's decision to transfer the Robert E. Lee statue (Lineberry, 2018). Another element to this barrier includes Dillon Rule which signifies that Virginian localities must obtain authority from the General Assembly on all legislative actions (Lineberry, 2018). Both legal elements place foreseeable barriers to any considerations to change or remove the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue.

Comparable to the legislative barriers which impact future decisions regarding Confederate statues on Monument Avenue, economic barriers in Shockoe Bottom resulted from constant influence in land use and economic development that ultimately created today's contested dialogue (Rose Center for Public Leadership, 2018). In 2018, the Rose Center for Public Leadership developed a presentation and strategy for addressing these barriers in Shockoe Bottom (Rose Center for Public Leadership, 2018). Some of the barriers identified speak to ways in which land use and future visioning of development are highly contested by the community's key stakeholders (Rose Center for Public Leadership, 2018). The lack of accessibility and infrastructure also constrain the neighborhood's ability to create spaces and thrive economically (Rose Center for Public Leadership, 2018). However, these barriers to economic development in Shockoe Bottom stem from a lack of cohesive identity and the contested dialogue

over commemorating the area's historical spaces (Rose Center for Public Leadership, 2018).

Community Consensus

Finding a common vision and community consensus is a shared significant barrier expressed during key informant interviews which impacts the process and decision-making of the Monument Avenue Commission. As a key informant commented when considering the various challenges in this process, "Competing notions of history, it's going to be hard to get. I don't know what level of consensus will be needed to make any changes". Key findings demonstrated a number of barriers that influence the process for commemorative discussions in Shockoe Bottom and Monument Avenue.

Hopeful Outcomes of the Process – a Holistic Narrative, The Richmond Paradigm

In reaching a common vision and community consensus, key informant interviews revealed themes for hopeful outcomes as a result of both processes. The outcomes presented depict commemorative efforts in Shockoe Bottom as a counter narrative and balancing the landscape in Richmond. In discussing the current contested discourse, interviewees also described Richmond as a paradigm and opportunity for telling a true, holistic narrative through altering the spatial uses and building awareness in the community and educational institutions.

The dualistic timing of the contested dialogue in Richmond presents historical sites in Shockoe Bottom as a counter to the Lost Cause narrative which erected the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue and balances Richmond's cultural landscape today. However, key informants noted that for many Richmonders, the

narratives between the two sites remain disconnected and promoting the history of slave trade in Shockoe Bottom does not impact decisions made regarding the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue. As a key informant commented, “I can’t help but think this is very much separate but equal. And not wanting to change the narrative at all that is very consistent on Monument Avenue”. The thinking that both commemorative spaces will continue to function separately without interweaving the narratives disrupts hopeful outcomes voiced by key informants.

Another key theme which emerged from key informant interviews explores how outcomes of this collective process could shift the uses of both historical spaces and build awareness of the holistic narrative in Richmond’s cultural landscape. In this way, the interconnected narrative between Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom could serve as a paradigm for contested commemorative spaces. As one key informant described a hopeful outcome, “…people feel this commission gives them the opportunity to voice what they would like to see happen and also people are coming to understand or already know that Richmond can be a model. And even though this is a contentious subject, its ripe for looking at the monuments in a more creative way and a more holistic way”.

Outcomes voiced by key informants describe the interconnected spaces of Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom as a “unique opportunity” to covey the historical truth and entire narrative of Richmond. Interviewees envisioned the outcomes of this process in the future uses of both spaces. Imaging the spaces of Shockoe Bottom, one key informant mentioned, “the memorialization of the burial ground area as sort of that contemplative area”. The hopeful outcome of creating different spatial uses

around the historical sites to also involve the significance of the space for the community. A key informant echoed this notion when describing the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue, “How you can engage people and change the meaning of how people use the public space and there could be temporary or more permanent things set up near or around them to do that”. The spatial uses of the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue could play a role in showcasing Richmond as a paradigm in the interconnected discourse with Monument Avenue. The use of public art in these spaces again could serve as a tool for telling the complete narrative. As a key informant explained, “…it would give artists around the world an opportunity to contribute to changing history, that we’re not just static, stagnate, and stuck in place. But that we are willing to look at change and are willing to explore how art can play a part in that”.

Another hopeful outcome of this process voiced by key informants involves raising awareness and building understanding around the historically significance in today’s American culture. This involves using Richmond’s “unique opportunity” as a forum for dialogue and acknowledgment around these historical truths in the community and in the classroom. The contested discourse of commemorative sites in Shockoe Bottom and Monument Avenue serves as a paradigm in planning for Richmond’s cultural landscape. As a key informant recognized, “One piece is the importance of finally telling the truth about the past and the could possible serve as some form of healing for some members of the community”. The most significant outcome of the Richmond paradigm is how connecting the two narratives of Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom could transpire into reconciling of the past, healing the present, and creating the future.

Chapter 7 Discussion and Conclusion

Key findings in my thesis research illustrate how the contested spaces of Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom are impacting today's cultural landscape in Richmond. My first finding describes the implications of Richmond's dual narratives revolving around the Lost Cause and slavery as well as the notion to continuously reinvent economically in order to maintain a thriving culture. Both narratives influence the perceptions of the contested spaces within Shockoe Bottom and along Monument Avenue. The second significant finding analyzes how both historical spaces are invisible and visible through a lack of awareness of the sites in Shockoe Bottom and their connection to Monument Avenue. Lastly, through identifying the barriers that influence commemorative efforts, findings reveal challenges to engaging communities in Richmond around this contested discourse in order to achieve hopeful outcomes of this planning process.

Narratives across the United States are competing against the dominate narrative placed previously in the landscape (Walkowitz & Knauer, 2009). These narratives, as described by key informants, are reflected in social movements such as the Black Lives Matter movement, gender equality, the L.G.B.T.Q. movement, and other voices from previously suppressed communities. Sandercock describes the importance of these "insurgent planning histories" as urban planners play a central role in how voices from the community will be heard and represented in the landscape (1998, p.27).

The competing narratives evolving in Richmond's cultural landscape are creating shifts in the perceptions and meaning behind the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue and historical slave trade sites in Shockoe Bottom. Key informant interviews describe the contested dialogue around contextualizing versus removal of the Confederate statues, as well as creating a museum versus a memorial space in Shockoe Bottom. The lasting impacts of the Lost Cause narrative and slavery are apparent in the varying perceptions and meaning of each space. Changing generational views and political climates also fuel the shift in interpretation behind the interconnected commemorative spaces (Mellon, 2008).

The changing in meaning behind monuments and memorials is exemplified by the Vietnam Memorial design by Maya Lin in Washington, D.C. (Senie, 1992). This reflective space revealed the lasting impacts of the Vietnam War and the social movements on the mid 20th century on American culture (Senie, 1992). Erecting Confederate statues on Monument Avenue while burying the historical slave trade sites in Shockoe Bottom, leverages one narrative over another.

The contested discourse in Richmond today raises the question of how the cultural meaning of both spaces will represent the city's identity in the future. When asking key informants what are Richmond's cultural assets, many mentioned "the river", "landscape", "arts", "history", and "the people", all of which shape the city's cultural landscape. Comparably, when asking survey respondents what two words best describe Richmond's culture, respondents stated "historical", "southern", and "traditional". However, more respondents answered, "diverse", "unique", and "evolving".

Today's dialogue around the cultural meaning of Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom demonstrates ways in which perceptions of both historical spaces are evolving.

My research findings demonstrate the visibility and invisibility present around commemorative spaces in Shockoe Bottom and along Monument Avenue which speaks to the lack of awareness and connection between the narratives in the minds of many Richmonders. In particular, the lack of awareness around the historical slave trade sites in Shockoe Bottom shows a lack of power and agency in commemorating these spaces as a part of African American history. The missing link between both contested spaces is apparent through spatial uses and interactions. Lefebvre's framework for "production of space" builds on the meaning of spaces and how the built environment connects through spatial interpretation (Lefebrve, 1991, p.37). Discriminatory planning practices created separation within communities that are manifested in Richmond's spatial segregation today (Sandercock, 1998; Silver,1984).

Lipsitz describes how segregation in African American communities across the United States occurred through the induction of Jim Crow laws which created a "spatialization of race" and division in the urban environment of cities (Lipsitz, 2007, p. 16). Visibility and invisibility of the narratives and physical space surrounding Shockoe Bottom and Monument Avenue shows the lasting implications of urban planning practices and segregation in spaces of the built environment (Lipsitz, 2007). My findings demonstrate that many key informants identified a hopeful outcome of this process as bringing awareness to the meaning of Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom and engaging the community in today's commemorative discourse.

Another significant research finding frames the planning process and outcomes for commemorating an urban landscape. The influential barriers to the commemorative discourse identifies the process for engaging the community in hopes of achieving community consensus around the contested spaces of Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom as key challenges.

Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation suggests that in both commemorative efforts to engage the community in dialogue surrounding Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom, the level of citizen participation is translated as "tokenism" in that the various efforts are in the early stages of "informing and consulting" with the community around this contested discourse (Arnstein, 1971, p.73). This is evident in my thesis research as current community engagement efforts are seen widely from key informants as insufficient and a challenge to engaging these communities who are indifferent or whose voices were previously suppressed during urban planning efforts including urban renewal projects led by the City of Richmond in the past (Silver, 1984).

My thesis research presents the influential barriers of time, economic and legal frameworks, and reaching a community consensus around commemoration in Richmond demonstrate constraints and contestation over these historical spaces. Barriers in urban planning are also described in Mitchell's "Right to the City" concept and discuss how shifts and evolutions in cities are displayed through interactions and meaning within public spaces (Mitchell, 2003). As urban planning practices intend to reach hopeful outcomes, the process for which community voice is acknowledged and is a significant collaborator in the transformation of a city's identity (Mitchell, 2003).

A significant finding in my research describes the potential outcome resulting from current commemorative discourse. It presents itself as an "unique opportunity" to create an environment where the "holistic narrative" is expressed in the public realm. Richmond's cultural landscape as a paradigm advocates for a communicative process that engages communities in an inclusive effort (Fainstein, 2016). The paradigm for Richmond's cultural landscape, as seen in Figure 7, reiterates the interwoven process for which commemorative dialogues surrounding Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom are connected.

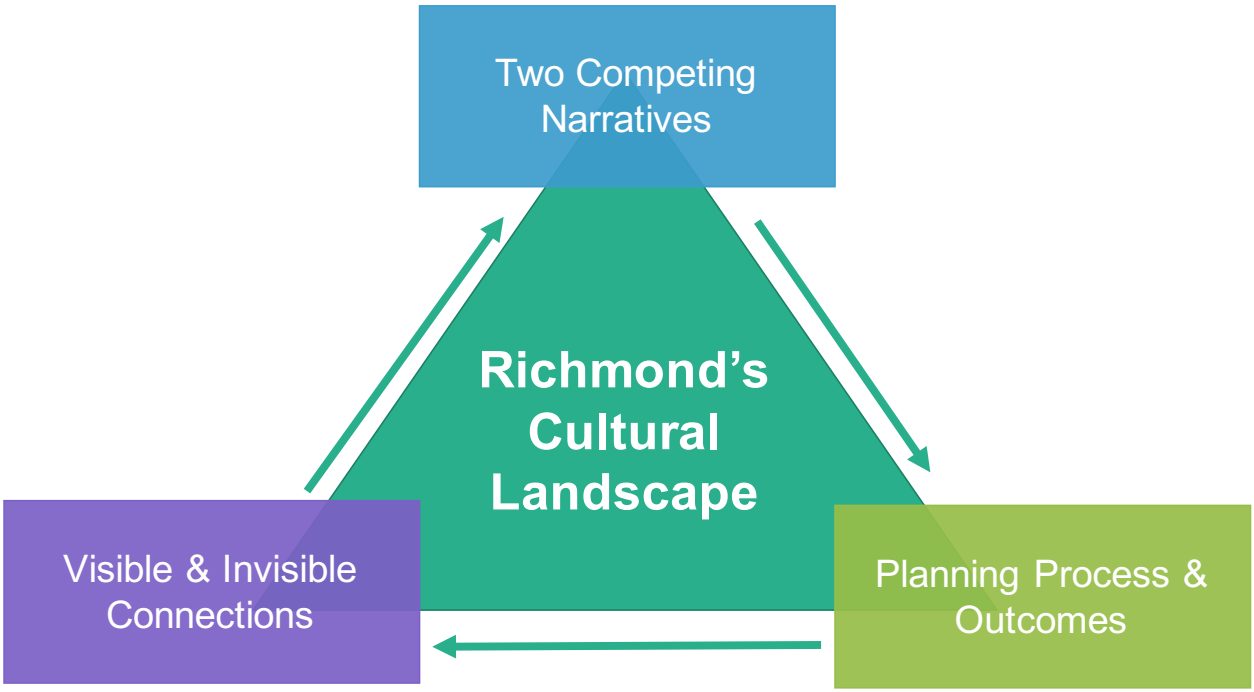


Figure 7: A paradigm for Richmond's Cultural Landscape

(Graphic created by author)

As my thesis research findings connects today's ongoing commemorative discourse in Richmond as a paradigm, engaging previously suppressed communities in the process is an influential factor in urban planning practices implemented around American cities today. Sandercock explains the significance of contested narratives further by stating, "the silence of mainstream planning historians on the issue of racism in planning has led to the systematic thematic avoidance of the ways in which planning practice as worked to reinforce racial segregation and discrimination" (1998, p. 10). This aspect of past urban planning practices adds another layer to various barriers in planning for Richmond's cultural landscape and creating a vision for the city's identity (Sandercock, 1998).

Richmond's cultural landscape continues to evolve through the city's connections from the past to the present. These varying elements of Richmond's evolving identity will drive the city's current development of the Richmond 300 Master Plan and create an opportunity for inclusive conversations around how contested commemorative narratives shape the city's identity in the future (City of Richmond, 2018).

Conclusion

The contested discourse surrounding the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue and historic sites of slave trade in Shockoe Bottom are fueled by the duality of two narratives involving the Lost Cause and slavery of Richmond during the South's Post-Civil War, Reconstruction Era as well as the continuous drive for economic prosperity as an evolving southern city (Edwards et al., 1992; Silver, 1984). Both competing narratives collectively build perceptions and meaning of commemoration along Monument Avenue and Shockoe Bottom and illuminate influential barriers to the process for planning Richmond's cultural landscape. Hopeful outcomes of reconciliation and healing hold meaning through connecting the visible and invisible spaces with holistic narrative.

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Appendix A

Historical Places of Richmond Survey:

1. What historical places have you visited in Richmond?
2. List three places that to you show Richmond's history?
3. What two words best describe Richmond's culture?
4. Give one example of something or someone you would commemorate today.

Population Demographic Questions (Using categories defined by the American Community Survey):

5. What is your zip code?
6. Please specify your ethnicity.
    a. Not Hispanic or Latino
    b. Hispanic or Latino
7. Please specify your race.
    a. White alone
    b. Black or African American alone
    c. Asian alone
    d. Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander alone
    e. Some other race alone
    f. Two or more races
8. What is your total household income?
    a. Less than $10,000
    b. $10,000 to $14,999
    c. $15,000 to $24,999
    d. $25,000 to $34,999
    e. $35,000 to $49,999
    f. $50,000 to $74,999
    g. $75,000 to $99,999
    h. $100,000 to $149,999
    i. $150,000 to $199,999
    j. $200,000 or more
9. What is your age range?
    a. 18 to 25
    b. 26 to 35
    c. 36 to 45
    d. 46 to 55
    e. 55 to 65
    f. 65 and older