Reading Place, Reading Landscape: A Consideration of City as Text and Geography

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The fundamental concepts employed by City as Text™ (CAT)—the established experiential learning practice in honors education—and the discipline of geography, specifically the landscape tradition within human geography, share much in common. The overlaps offer CAT practitioners additional intellectual support from a source outside of honors while the differences suggest opportunities for incorporating new material into CAT programs. While CAT and the landscape tradition share the general concepts of professional orientations grounded in place, of close attention to place, and of place as a text to be read, the landscape tradition offers specific terminology to support and build on these shared concepts: landscape as unwitting autobiography, landscape as an act of will, landscape in a continuous process of becoming, landscape as power, and object orientation vs. people orientation. Since readers of JNCHC are far more likely to be familiar with CAT than with the landscape tradition, the Appendix offers an annotated list of key texts in human geography’s tradition of landscape scholarship that may have immediate use and resonance for those working in CAT programs.
Both CAT and geography work with place, be it an urban neighborhood, big-city downtown, suburb, college campus, rural village, state road, hog farm, national park, river watershed, or glacier (see, for example, Allen; Hart; Harvey; Knox; Machonis; Marcus and Reynolds; Muller; Ochs, “Campus as Text” and “You’re Not Typical”; Ostrander; Raitz). CAT and geography, though, work with place for different reasons. For CAT practitioners, place facilitates creative pedagogy. The idea for CAT emerged in the 1970s among a group of honors educators, headed by Bernice Braid, who were inspired by and participants in an overarching critique of the largely passive instruction delivered in college and university classrooms (Braid, “History” 3). Standard academic settings limited student development by making learning a repetitive act, reducing opportunities for student creativity or reflection. Braid and her colleagues responded with the CAT seminars that are one component of Honors Semesters, where students from different universities leave their home institutions to spend a semester in a new place, enrolled in five interrelated courses connected by a site-specific theme. CAT is the “integrative seminar” that anchors three courses from different disciplines and a “Directed Research” course (Braid, “Honors Semesters” 20; National Collegiate Honors Council). A CAT seminar asks students to step out of the classroom and sets them exploring a particular place and the people in it. Successive explorations act as “street laboratories” (Braid, “Honors Semesters” 14) that not only anchor but guide a course’s content. CAT is fluid, organic; students tack back and forth between what they are seeing and hearing in place and a wide array of readings from interdisciplinary academic essays to fiction to newspaper articles (Braid, “Honors Semesters 20). Classroom discussion and reflective writing generate new questions and new explorations. Over the course of a semester, students construct their own frameworks of understanding and meaning, generating knowledge about a particular place as well as themselves by exploring how their perspectives, biases, and feelings affect what they see and the process of learning (see Braid and Long; Machonis; Long).

For geographers, place is a subject of analysis for scholarly research. Geography is, in fact, the study of places and has been since the 1800s when it was established as a formal university discipline in Western Europe. Geographic research on place is diverse, ranging from work that focuses on natural processes such as landform creation and landform evolution—the physical branch of geography—to work that focuses on the organization and
distribution of human activities such as politics, the economy, and religious beliefs, the human branch of geography. Particularly important to a discussion of CAT are those human geographers who focus on landscape, a term closely aligned with place. This scholarship traces its origins to the work of Carl Sauer, a University of California, Berkeley, professor whose career spanned the early 1920s to the 1960s. Sauer was interested in analyzing the relationships between people and their environment to understand how physical and human factors intertwine to produce distinct material effects at both local and regional scales (see Sauer, “Morphology” and “Education”). While the scholarship of physical geographers and other human geographers could also have practical use in CAT programs, Sauer’s concept of the landscape tradition, which emphasized the process of human place creation, seems especially relevant to CAT.

ATTENTION TO PLACE

CAT practitioners and landscape geographers attend to place. Attention means concentration on and receptivity to a subject—in this case, place—and such focus requires effort, attention being a limited human resource. The opposite of attention, intentional or unintentional neglect, works to obscure and render invisible. Place, by its commonness and familiarity, gets easily taken for granted and slips into the background of awareness, creating an asymmetry in that what surrounds us most (our built environment) is what we notice least. As geographer Peirce Lewis notes, “For most Americans, ordinary man-made landscape is something to be looked at, but seldom thought about” (11). CAT and landscape geography work to bring the mundane elements of place to the forefront of awareness for the purpose of accessing the content and quantity of meaning embedded in our surroundings.

PLACE AS TEXT

CAT practitioners and landscape geographers approach place as a text that can be read (see Braid and Long; Lewis). To say that places are texts does not merely articulate an interesting metaphor; it means that the diverse elements of place—structures, objects, people’s daily routines, environmental context—form repositories of coded information that can be retrieved. However, the retrieval, the reading of place, requires a fundamentally different practice than reading traditional printed media. One typically sits down to read a book; one opens it, moves one’s eyes over its words line by line, page
after page, and when one is done, closes it and stows it away. Reading place requires one to go there, to move around in it, using not just sight but all the senses. There is no standard way to read a place, no predetermined structure; both CAT practitioners and landscape geographers aim to address this unappreciated form of illiteracy. The quantity of new material (everything that surrounds you), combined with the effort required to learn a new form of reading and the nontraditional location of the texts, is precisely what, for CAT, augments the sometimes sterile and sedated classroom routine and what, for landscape geographers, carves out a methodological niche in academia.

**LANDSCAPE AS OUR UNWITTING AUTOBIOGRAPHY**

If place can be read like a text, the next question is what kind of text it is. For CAT practitioners, place is a living, working, primary document, a direct, unmediated, and unfiltered source of information about people, their lives, and their experiences (Braid, “Age” 26; see also Daniel). Landscape geographers clarify this idea, viewing place as a specific type of primary document, as described by Peirce Lewis in a canonical reading: “Our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form” (12) through its design, arrangement, and function. This idea appears in the CAT literature, as Low suggests in her description of a specific CAT experience crafted for faculty at the University of Baltimore, Coppin State University, and Bowie State University: faculty were instructed to identify the “social values” reflected in the architecture of buildings and their renovations (Low 30), a reading of tangible, fundamental principles.

An autobiography is a self-authored record of one’s life, a firsthand account of events and one’s reactions to those events. A central goal of most authors is to communicate along the way their convictions and beliefs, to give the reader a sense of who they are, their identity and character. Lewis distinguishes between these consciously written texts and landscapes, which he calls “unwitting” autobiographies. Most of our ordinary, run-of-the-mill landscapes reveal us unintentionally since gas stations, strip malls, and parking garages, for example, are not typically constructed and arranged for the purpose of conveying a message about our culture. As a result, “the landscape is liable to be more truthful than most autobiographies because we are less self-conscious about how we describe ourselves” (Lewis 12). Given the frequent gaps between what we say we value and what we have done, the built environment can provide confessions of what might not be admitted in speech.
LANDSCAPE AS AN ACT OF WILL

Other geographers felt that Lewis advised a static reading of the landscape as a finished printed page, a looking back at what was already done, and they wanted to emphasize the forces producing landscape, to discern the live impetus at work. Don Mitchell argues that any given landscape is “actively made: it is a physical intervention into the world and thus is not so much our ‘unwitting autobiography’ (as Lewis put it) as an act of will” (34). Every landscape—every structure and object—exists for a reason as a purposeful investment of resources, time, energy, money, and thought. Mitchell illustrates his point by describing through a Marxist lens the basic roles played by landscape in capitalism. In the CAT literature, Carvajal has a similar conceptualization of place. He draws on a tradition of cultural materialism within anthropology and views CAT as a “structured exploration of a sociocultural system” (36). To explore a place is to explore infrastructure (physical resources and features), human use of infrastructure through work and reproduction, and the behavioral and mental patterns that emerge from these interactions. Place is created as people attempt to satisfy their needs.

Mitchell’s emphasis on acts of will highlights relations and relationships. Activity demands negotiated interaction with other people’s resources and needs. This contact can be mutually beneficial or, as Mitchell emphasizes, have unequal effects. Landscapes, therefore, can be sites of agreement or sites of struggle (see Mitchell 34).

LANDSCAPE AS A CONTINUOUS PROCESS OF BECOMING

Building on the idea of observing action and working intentions in the landscape, Richard Schein notes that landscapes “are always in the process of ‘becoming’” (“Place” 662). One never gets to the last page of a landscape autobiography, which has no conclusion, no ending, both physically and ideologically. First, landscapes are always prone to material modifications such as additions or demolition because they are constantly subjected to interaction, evaluation, and engineering for new uses. Second, the landscape does not stand for fixed, unyielding values because the landscape is “implicated in the ongoing formulation of social life” (Schein, “Place” 662; see also Schein, “Normative” 217). Beliefs and convictions unfold as we interact with and modify the built environment.

Physical becoming is readily observable; one can literally see that places are “not static but growing, decaying, and rebuilding,” as Strikwerda commented
about his Faculty Institute experience in Miami and the Everglades (103). Physical as well as ideological becoming is also implicit in Carvajal’s discussion of place: as humans use infrastructure, as they work and reproduce, as needs change, place does as well. To understand and explain these processes, landscape geographers focus on “geographical connectivity”; a landscape develops and evolves in one location, but that landscape is “an articulated moment in networks that stretch across space” (Schein, “Place” 662).

**LANDSCAPE AS POWER**

Another major theorization of place, succinctly summarized by Mitchell, is “Landscape is power” (43). Landscape is influence and control. Geographers break down this idea in three ways. First, landscape is power in a physical sense: it quite literally “determines what can and cannot be done” (Mitchell 43) and where we can and cannot go. Its sheer physical presence tells us what to do. Second, landscape is power in a normative sense; it makes our relationships and interactions seem natural, normal (see Schein, “Place” 676). The landscapes we interact with every day—gas stations, strip malls, parking garages, parks, homes—are simply there as backdrop to the daily routine. As James and Nancy Duncan note, “If by being so tangible, so natural, so familiar, the landscape is unquestioned, then such concrete evidence about how society is organized can easily become seen as evidence of how it should, or *must* be organized” (123). Because the landscape materializes values, ideas, aspirations, fears, and convictions, it works to reproduce these as truth simply by being. The physicality of the built environment as unquestioned reality—the way things are—acts as ideological inertia, making it difficult to conceive of alternative ways of being. Third, landscape is power because it does work; it is a medium of action. Through its physicality and normativity, landscape accomplishes all sorts of tasks and puts in motion all sorts of processes. It makes some people very wealthy and marginalizes others; it includes and excludes; it both provides and limits opportunities. The landscape not only reflects inequality or separation, as Lewis would say, but makes it happen. Closely tied to this last theorization of power is the idea that landscape “signals the shape and possibility of [social] justice” (Mitchell 46) by telling us where we are and how long we have to go in achieving goals of equality, opportunity, inclusion, and freedom.

CAT practitioners are attuned to power and social justice as strongly evidenced in the guiding instructions given to participants throughout a
semester. Braid offers a compact summary: “We have always asked people
to look at the surface, then beneath, to ask ‘What is it like to live here? For
whom?’” (“Founder’s” 6). “For whom” marks a path toward considering the
uneven distribution of resources, rights, wealth, influence, and control. Spe-
cific questions include:

- “Does everybody seem to belong? Do some people seem lost or out
  of place? Why? Who talks to whom? In what ways is social interaction
  encouraged or discouraged? What feeling do you get about people as
  you watch them? Are they stressed, purposeful, interested, lonely? Try
  to identify why you get these feelings about people.” (Long xi)

- Talk to people; find out “what matters to them in their daily lives, what
  they need, what they enjoy, what bothers them, what they appreciate.”
  (Long xi)

From these instructions come intense insights. For example, participants in
Faculty Institutes (a condensed version of semester-long CAT seminars for
instructors) have heard painful stories of isolation and abandonment in the
Lower Ninth Ward after Hurricane Katrina flooded New Orleans (Allen) and
have spoken to people beginning to be priced out of their neighborhood in
Miami Beach (Ochs, “You’re Not Typical”): power at work.

OBJECT-ORIENTATION VS. PEOPLE-ORIENTATION

The guiding instructions cited above suggest that CAT practice leans
towards the social aspects of place, focusing participants’ attention on
observing human behavior—people in place, how people use place—and
encouraging participants to ask directly what is on people’s minds. Land-
scape geography complements CAT practice by leaning its questions toward
objects, focusing a great deal of scholarship on directly questioning the built
environment itself. The approach can take different angles, which I distill
into three categories: the past, connections, and function. Each category is
a landscape geographer’s way of saying “if you want to understand the built
environment, you must understand this.”

- You must understand the past. History matters. The present scene is
  largely composed of structures and objects not of our own making.
  We have inherited what surrounds us from people in the past, both
long ago and relatively recently. This past shapes contemporary life
both physically and ideologically. There is a caveat to this principle, however: the present scene also hides the past. As Mitchell says, “Sometimes it is the erasure of history that matters the most.” (42)

- **You must understand connections.** Most landscapes are not only the assemblage of materials from other places but are physically connected to other places through transportation, communication, and public utility infrastructure: everything from roads to airports, telephone wires to internet cables, sewer pipes to electric transmission lines. Most landscapes are connected to other places through financial, political, legal, and cultural networks. Always be aware, however, that these connections are often obscured, “anything but self-evident.” (Mitchell 33)

- **You must understand function; how a landscape works, both mechanically and socially.** First, think of any given landscape as a machine. It consists of component parts (buildings, roads, landscaping, light fixtures, garbage cans, benches, etc.) working together to accomplish a task or produce an output, and this machine requires inputs and regular maintenance. Second, the mechanical function of every landscape can be put to diverse social, economic, political, legal, aesthetic, emotional, and ideological purposes. Landscapes, for example, provide basic needs and services; generate profits (or losses); provide jobs; divide or exclude with force (fences, walls, locks) or with subtlety (signage, cost); and provide the space and means to bring people together for work, leisure, consumption, protest, celebration, remembrance.

Each category suggests object-centric questions that guide landscape geography scholarship, both in the field and in archives, libraries, and interviews. Table 1 offers a distilled sample resembling the observation prompts found in CAT instructions. The questions found in the left-hand column focus on firsthand observations, which often lead to the broader, research-based queries of the right-hand column. The landscape geographer’s approach to place encourages not just looking and listening, but measuring, probing, kneeling down, peeking under, lifting, walking behind, figuring out. It asks the observer to consider both this place in relation to others—the visible and invisible, the past and present—and how relationships and identities unfold in and through the built environment.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Landscape Geography’s Object-Centered Questions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Past: History Matters</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Firsthand Observations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How old are these structures and objects?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How were they made? With what technologies?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How has this structure or object been cared for?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Has it been added to or modified in any way?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recycled or reused?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or has it been preserved in its original form?</td>
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<tr>
<td>How do newer structures repeat, imitate, and/or reference styles and materials from the past?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can you see any traces of the past in the scene before you?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Research-Based Questions</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who labored to make, construct, assemble these structures and objects? Under what conditions?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who financed their production?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who owned, leased, and/or used these structures and objects? With what intent?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What role do these objects and structures play in peoples’ memories and identity?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Connections: Connections Matter, both Material &amp; Intangible</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Firsthand Observations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What objects and structures (or portions of these objects and structures) have been imported from somewhere else? Is their origin obvious or marked in any way?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Research-Based Questions</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who designed these objects and structures?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who made them? Under what conditions?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who purchased them or brought them to this location? At what cost?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who installed them? Under what conditions?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who benefited (and benefits) from these connections? Was, or is, anyone harmed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which objects and structures shape local identity and memory? Which reflect local identity and memory?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What transportation and communication infrastructure do you see? What systems of water distribution? Food distribution? Consumer goods distribution? Waste disposal?</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Who has access? Who does not?</td>
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<tr>
<td>How are they regulated?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How are they connected to other places?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do they play a role in the identity and memory of this place?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What evidence do you see of visitors? Temporary and permanent migrants?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do they shape the look and functionality of this landscape?</td>
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<tr>
<td>How is their presence regulated by laws, custom, culture?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Function: How the Landscape Works Mechanically**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Firsthand Observations</strong></th>
<th><strong>Research-Based Questions</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Note the arrangement, number, materials, textures, color, size, and shape of the structures and objects you see, everything from buildings to garbage cans, landscaping to utility poles, seating to manhole covers.</td>
<td>What technologies, machines, time, investments, and people are required to maintain these structures and objects?</td>
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<tr>
<td>How do they relate?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>How do the fronts, interiors, and backs of buildings compare?</td>
<td>Have resources been removed from this place? If so, which ones, by whom, and for what reasons?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do these structures and objects work, mechanically? Is, for example, the seating movable or fixed? How does a garbage can open to gain access to the trash bag?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contrasting the orientation of CAT and landscape geographers is not meant to imply that the former ignores objects and the latter ignores people. Like landscape geography, CAT instructs participants to map what they see—the types and mix of buildings, points of interest, centers of activity, transportation routes—and to observe the detail of what has been mapped, everything from architectural styles to signage, advertising to color, landscaping to decoration. Like CAT, landscape geography recognizes the importance of not just looking but asking and listening in the form of casual conversations, formal interviews, and being both participant and observer. The individual strengths of the two methodologies, however, stand out, which is what makes the integration of CAT with landscape geography theory and practice so compelling, providing the opportunity to expand what it means to attend to place and read more from this dynamic, three-dimensional text.

**A CONCLUDING THOUGHT**

Another less conspicuous point of connection between CAT and landscape geography is that both embrace the absence of clear answers as a condition productive to learning. CAT gets students out of the classroom silos where they are given history for fifty minutes, then political science for another fifty, then gender studies, then biology, with structured syllabi and fixed sets of expectations. The messy, varied, and dynamic attributes of place prevent access to information in the same neat, comfortable packages characteristic of classrooms. CAT values this disorienting condition that requires students to organize, figure out, and make sense for themselves (Braid, “False Positives”).

Landscape geographers, pursuing a research project focused on a particular landscape, experience their own productive form of disorientation. As Lewis notes, “Common landscapes . . . are by their nature hard to study by conventional academic means” (19). Their background status in public
attention minimizes the availability of information, a problem requiring landscape geographers to pursue obscure sources: trade journals, zoning codes, court decisions, city directories, financial reports, advertisements. This archival hunt exposes researchers to integrated observations that might not have been possible with an easier process. CAT seminars also challenge students to synthesize unconventional sources—their own observations in place, the knowledge and perspectives of people they meet along the way—with course readings and directed research projects, increasing the variety of sources drawn on.

At the same time, direct and persistent questioning of the built environment has the potential to contribute to CAT’s goal of moving students toward self-awareness. CAT asks students to view themselves as observers through reflective writing assignments, the spirit of which is captured by Braid: “what is it about how I myself observe . . . that shapes my conclusions?” (“Honors Semesters” 15), a question that requires students to step back and view their normative ways of thinking. Becoming aware of the paucity of readily available knowledge about ordinary landscapes can be a disorienting moment that also results in stepping back from comfortable assumptions. We might think we know what is going on around us, but what we do not know about a place, despite our being in it, is immense. The decisions, relationships, and values of other people physically structure what we experience; we might think we are in control of our own lives, but the forces at work outside us are also immense. Directly questioning the built environment can be a productively unsettling step in the ongoing process of critical self-reflection (see Braid and Palma de Schrynemakers). The opportunity here is for CAT participants to walk away not overwhelmed but with an awed curiosity and desire to know.

REFERENCES


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APPENDIX

This appendix focuses on space, place, built environment, and landscape: words—ideas—that CAT practitioners and landscape geographers share but that have specific meanings and a long history of usage for landscape geographers and the wider discipline. With the annotated reading list that follows, I make no claim to representing geography as a whole or landscape geography’s canon. My references are selective, filtered through my own training and perspective as well as my personal sense of what ideas and readings are simultaneously intriguing and accessible.

Space and Place


Tuan provides a philosophical and phenomenological exploration of how people think and feel about both space and place as tangible ideas. Tuan argues, for example, that although space is abstract, empty, it also suggests movement and freedom while place is about attachment, stasis. Within this discussion he also touches on time and the ideas of home and nation.


Cresswell offers a wide-ranging, interdisciplinary history of place as a term and idea in western thought and geography, and he explains the differences between place and space and landscape. He also gets us thinking about the relationships between place and politics, mobility, globalization, sexuality, art, and the Internet, among others, and provides a helpful appendix for further reading.

Landscape & Built Environment


This is a key reading for my essay and a touchstone for cultural landscape geographers, establishing the idea of landscape as our unwitting autobiography. CAT practitioners will be interested to know that this piece was born of pedagogy. In teaching undergraduates about the geographic approach
to landscape, Lewis was often befuddled by his students’ befuddlement at being told to go outside and look, observe, and think about what they saw. So he wrote what became this essay as a guide for students.


In an update to his “Axioms” essay, Lewis stresses that students being asked to read the landscape should ideally learn two things: to attend to the mundane and to learn how to identify and date architectural styles in order to classify and order elements encountered in the landscape, link these places to larger processes. He also provides two examples of reading the landscape with students through a case study in small-town Pennsylvania.


In another key reading for my essay, Mitchell updates Peirce Lewis’s “Axioms” by drawing on work done on landscape since Lewis published his essay in 1979. His own Marxist approach comes through loud and clear, as does his critique of the limitations of Lewis’s work. But the new axioms he provides and examples he gives are clear and cogent. The influence of Mitchell on Table 1 of my essay is apparent.


Schein provides a tutorial for reading the landscape similar to Lewis’s “Monuments and Bungalows” and, along the way, provides a clear overview of how different geographers have approached landscape as well as an in-depth look at the work of Don Meinig, editor of Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes, referenced above in Lewis, "Axioms."


This article offers Schein’s theorization of landscape as “discourse materialized,” drawing on Michel Foucault, and offers an intense overview of the genealogy of landscape studies in geography. He also puts his theory to
work in a case study: analysis of Ashland Park, an early 1900s-era suburb in Lexington, KY.


This book, written by a historical landscape geographer, is geographic pedagogy for the layperson, meant to encourage people living in or passing through America’s West to look around and think about what they see. Wyckoff “translates” geographical landscape theory into lucid prose, an inspiration for my essay.


The focus is specific, but the authors also include a “field guide” for reading civil rights memorials in an appendix as a way to make a museum visit or an encounter with a monument into a richer and more critical experience. The authors are well-versed in cultural landscape theory and, like Wyckoff, are able to distill with clarity. Many of the questions they suggest for “reading” memorials have a stimulating creativity not found in the other works listed, e.g., “If this memorial could talk, what kind of accent would it have? Would everyone be able to understand it? Would it harmonize or rhapsodize? Would it speak in riddles and poetic verse or something official-sounding, like an entry from an encyclopedia?” and “If this memorial was a film, who did the authors cast in the leading role? Who plays the good guy? Who is the villain?” (103).


Stilgoe is a Harvard professor in the history of landscape development and studied under the eclectic landscape researcher J. B. Jackson, whom cultural landscape geographers claim as their own. *Outside Lies Magic* implores readers to get outside, walk, bike, and finally notice what is right in front of them, and he takes detailed observation to a new level. His style is rollicking and inspirational. *What is Landscape?* traces landscape as a word and idea but is also a call to explore.

Clay was a journalist-turned-observer of the American urban scene adopted by cultural landscape geographers. His book suggests innovative ways to approach place through concepts such as “beats”—all the regular and cyclical movements of a city—and “stacks”—the concentration of materials, ideas, and resources.