Using Radical Public History Tours to Reframe Urban Crime

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The law is, and always has been, a tool or technique to enforce norms and distribute resources, often unequally, rather than being merely an abstract and neutral code of behavior. For public historians engaged in critical projects about the law, state-sponsored laws can be tools for violence and displacement just as easily as they can protect citizens from harm or empower them (beyond the practices of regimes explicitly defined as authoritarian).[1] As public historians and teachers, we struggle to communicate this multivalent understanding of the law with students and the public at large. Challenging students and the public to think in complex ways about the definition and meaning of "crime," for example, may well require scholars to reach beyond the traditional venues of the classroom or the written word.

This article posits that public history tours are unique and underutilized tools for reframing the multiple meanings and associations that derive from those activities deemed as "criminal" before the law. In urban settings, public history tours allow participants to see with their own eyes how the seemingly abstract structure of the law has shaped lived experience and the built environment and continues to structure urban inequality. As historian Kevin Murphy has argued, tours that challenge participants' normative expectations have "enormous potential . . . for engaging public audiences."[2] We agree with Murphy that public history tours offer an especially powerful pedagogical tool for reshaping how people think about structural factors that have shaped the world they see. Tours also make excellent platforms for student research projects, allowing students at all levels to work col-

Radical History Review
Issue 113 (Spring 2012) DOI 10.1215/01636545-1505002
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laboratively and create public scholarship that reaches audiences beyond the classroom. Ideally, radical public history tours that show how the law is employed in the unequal distribution of resources should join the host of other radical tours already created by public historians of class, race, gender, sexuality, and citizenship.[3]

Our discussion and proposals are based on our firsthand experience as public historians and scholars who work and teach in New York City and the St. Louis region. Rebecca Amato, currently a PhD student at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, previously worked for the Lower East Side Tenement Museum and has extensive experience with heritage tourism in New York City. Jeffrey Manuel is an assistant professor at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, where he works with community history projects in East St. Louis, Illinois, and nearby industrial suburbs. Certainly, New York City and East St. Louis are not illustrative of all American cities, let alone other urban areas around the globe. For example, politicians' and developers' use of the law to shape urban racial segregation had a unique historical trajectory in the St. Louis metropolitan area.[4] Similarly, the tensions over gentrification may be more specific to certain parts of New York City than to others and may also contrast with their expression in older Northeastern industrial metropolises.[5] We draw from our knowledge of New York and East St. Louis with the hope that our experiences offer insights into the possibilities and challenges of creating radical walking tours that dare participants to rethink the meaning of activities and behaviors that have been identified as criminal in urban settings.

In this article, we begin by discussing our experiences with tours of urban crime in two cities. Amato notes how sensationalist crime tours in New York have obscured more challenging legal histories of gentrification and the property laws that allow for the displacement of poor immigrants and people of color in urban neighborhoods. Manuel then describes how certain crimes, notably crimes committed by corporations, are covered up in the more rare examples of tours in East St. Louis, and suggests how tours could be used to reveal the ways in which corporations and governments use the law to harm people and the environment. While we encourage any readers planning radical tours to take into account the histories and contexts of crime specific to their cities, in the final section we offer concrete suggestions for college instructors to make use of this teaching tool, the reach of which would extend well beyond the classroom. These suggestions are only a starting point, of course, but we hope they will spur readers to develop their own radical tours that endeavor to reframe the meanings and effects attributed to crime in urban settings.

Manhattan's Lower East Side

In the 1891 book *Week in New York*, written by the naturalist and author Ernest Ingersoll, visitors to New York City were warned that the London pastime of slum-

ming in the "narrow and intricate streets, the blind alleys, hidden courtyards and murder-inviting places along the lower Thames and in Whitechapel" would be less thrilling in New York because its slums "had little to show."[6] Still, for those committed to slumming, Ingersoll suggested that tourists, "leave at home your silk hat, diamond studs and kid gloves, and your watch, too, if it is a valuable one; don't exhibit a roll of bills when you pay for your occasional glass of beer or cigar; don't be too inquisitive; and don't allow yourself to be enticed into any back-yards, or dark doorways, nor up and down any stairways, by man or woman."[7] Once readied for the outing, tourists were encouraged to take a nighttime ramble through the city's Lower East Side, finally ending with a cup of coffee and a visit to a music hall.[8]

More than a century later, visitors to New York can view the same area where danger and "dark doorways" had once cast a pall over the city by participating in one of several heritage tours — even concluding with a cup of (now fair-trade) coffee as their predecessors once had. The difference between what tourists see today and what they saw in the 1890s, however, is vast. In what was once an enduring slum with attendant crime, poverty, and desperation, Manhattan's Lower East Side is now a high-priced, high-energy playground for the young, leisured class. Poverty, public housing, shady dealings, and criminal behavior still exist, of course, but these details are overshadowed by the glamour of the newly gentrified neighborhood. Historic sites like the Lower East Side Tenement Museum and the Eldridge Street Synagogue zealously try to preserve the area's immigrant past, while also highlighting the historical poverty and grit that make the area appealing to new residents and visitors. "People come here because they want to experience a historic 'authenticity,'" writes sociologist Sharon Zukin, "and these neighborhoods offer a toolkit of places and products to do so."[9]

Small wonder, then, that tours like the Lower East Side History Project's "The Mafia," "The Bowery," and "The Jewish Mob" often sell out and receive high praise from local and national newspapers. The *New York Times* has even suggested that these tours are "motivated by a desire to preserve the memory" of the Lower East Side as it rapidly and ineluctably transforms into a consumer's paradise.[10] These tours are captivating and enthusiastic, but they also un-self-consciously replicate the slumming tours of the past. Like slummers of yesteryear, patrons of today's Lower East Side History Project tours can look at the headquarters of the "Five Points Gang" and view a copy of the Black Hand's threatening note to a store owner. They can see the Hell's Angels clubhouse and hear family stories about criminal superstars of the Jewish Mob. Visitors do learn of the poverty and job discrimination that led many into lives of crime. But the tours fail to address how and why crime seems to have disappeared on today's Lower East Side, and why sites that once hosted Mafia conclaves are now high-priced restaurants and boutiques.[11] By neglecting to tell how the neighborhood has been transformed through gentrification, the tours

risk offering an incomplete and ultimately celebratory story. Crime appears to have receded into a distant past, and with it has gone danger, poverty, and discrimination.

Sensational crime tours like these miss the opportunity to use the current built environment—particularly one that has changed so dramatically—as a teaching tool. To present gentrification as simply "part of the cycle," as Lower East Side History Project founder Eric Ferrara puts it on his tours, naturalizes both poverty and wealth, as if public policy, capital accumulation, and deindustrialization were products of divine, rather than human, will.[12] Thus, power becomes invisible and the legal mechanisms that sustain it are cast as neutral and legitimate.

Because the Lower East Side has a remarkable history of resistance to structures of power—capitalism, law enforcement, gender and sexual normativity, among others—it is an ideal neighborhood for an alternative crime tour that casts gentrification and property development in terms of questionable legal practices. In such a tour, visitors could see actual sites of contestation, many of which buckle under the strain of legal battles to this day. One of these is the Rainbow Co-op at 274 East Seventh Street. Occupied by squatters in the 1980s after the building had been abandoned by both its owner and the City of New York, the Rainbow Co-op—once a burned-out, floorless tenement—is now a multimillion-dollar East Village property. After its initial abandonment, squatters installed drywall, secured utilities, created a plumbing infrastructure, and poured concrete.[13] While the residents of similar squats were forcibly evicted in the 1990s as part of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's neoliberal policy of privatizing as much city-owned real estate as possible, eleven buildings were preserved while litigation to fight the evictions festered in the courts. By 2002, remaining residents—now called "homesteaders" by the city—were given the option to bring their buildings up to code within one year and then to legally purchase the property for one dollar. Yet the cost of upgrades, even with loan assistance from the nonprofit Urban Homesteading Assistance Board (UHAB), proved prohibitively expensive and time-consuming for residents. As of 2009, the Rainbow Co-op tenants were back in court, requesting additional financial assistance and renegotiation of the terms of the UHAB contract, which would have capped the resale of apartments at far below market rate and undervalued the sweat equity the squatters had put into the building.[14] Rainbow Co-op, now a well-maintained tenement that blends seamlessly with surrounding buildings, belies its litigious past. Yet it demonstrates how political agendas often determine how and when laws are applied, particularly in the service of upholding the sanctity of private property. In this case, the city's legal abandonment of its property in the late 1970s and 1980s exacerbated crisis conditions in an already impoverished Lower East Side, while criminal squatting eventually produced a high-priced cooperative building. This is a "crime story" of property relations that tour-goers can witness with their own eyes.

Creative application of the law as an aid to private development was also at play at another Lower East Side site, 81 East Third Street, where the city made zoning exceptions that violated building codes but favored developers. Colloquially known as the "Half Dorm," the site was contested by community activists because its developers dubiously used the "community facility" clause of the city's zoning resolution to build in excess of the area's low-rise height regulations. (The clause allows for high-rise development as long as buildings are slated for community use.) Through a series of alleged backroom deals, Buildings Department extensions, and deceptive permit filings, 81 East Third Street was completed in 2005 at a whopping thirteen stories, at least six stories higher than the surrounding tenements.[15] In retrospective adherence to the law, the developers finally (and ironically) enticed New York Law School into occupying the site as a dormitory, thus satisfying the terms of the community facility clause.[16] Community leaders such as the grassroots Committee for Zoning Inaction charged that the city failed to enforce zoning laws meant to protect the neighborhood from excessive development. The city, in return, went on to approve similar plans for development in subsequent years. These included: 605 East Ninth Street, the former home of advocacy and arts organization CHARAS/El Bohio; 120 East Twelfth Street, site of St. Ann's Episcopal Church and now a New York University dormitory; and 47 East Third Street, once a rent-regulated, twenty-five-unit apartment building, now a single-family mansion.[17]

Though legal, the city's behavior is difficult for Lower East Side residents to judge as just. Some have called the city's "implicit endorsement" of these projects "disheartening," while others have labeled such dealings "foul smelling at [their] heart."[18] One cannot help but see these tall, modern structures amid squat, nineteenth-century tenements and wonder what processes led to such a distorted cityscape. Tour guides have a chance to tell this story in a way that explains gentrification as a legal and political battle over city spaces, rather than a natural cycle against which neither residents nor city officials have control.

Crime tours like those offered by the Lower East Side History Project do have their place, but the narrative of "dangerous slums" is hardly new or instructive. In the case of the Lower East Side, it is, in fact, quite stale after more than a century of use. If legal structures both shape and are shaped by politics, then what counts or does not count as criminal is worth critiquing. In a neighborhood that is as noted for its political history as it is for its celebrity criminals, it is not difficult to find landmarks of the struggle to make the law socially just and equitable for all. A "crime tour" that openly questions how gentrification is legally coded and links these landmarks together could not only call the law into question, but could turn curious tourists into possible agitators.

East St. Louis, Illinois

East St. Louis, Illinois, offers a dramatically different setting for considering the relationship between crime, urban space, and public history. It also illustrates a common but contrasting approach to presenting crime in public history venues, namely ignoring it or attempting to cover it up. A tour of the city illustrates how this dynamic operates in East St. Louis today. In spring 2010, Manuel joined a small group of faculty and staff at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville on a tour of East St. Louis with local poet and emeritus faculty member Eugene Redmond. The tour, which also involved narration from East St. Louis historian Andrew Thiesing, drove between the city's widely dispersed sites and then disembarked to explore several especially significant buildings. This tour has since been repeated several times during special events. Redmond grew up in East St. Louis and spent time with many of the African American artists and musicians who passed through the city. He described nightclubs where patrons heard Chuck Berry inventing rock and roll. The tour also visited Miles Davis's boyhood home and stopped at the small museum that honors dancer Katherine Dunham. Redmond's narration emphasized the tenacity and triumph of the city's African American community, which persevered through persecution and segregation to create lasting cultural achievements. Although it was not the focus, the tour also acknowledged East St. Louis's history of blight, job loss, white flight, and disinvestment. Driving through neighborhoods of small working-class houses, one white woman on the tour matter-of-factly mentioned that the tour had just passed the house in which she was raised. She now lived in a suburb and had not been back to the city in years. Many of the historical buildings in East St. Louis are long since gone, making it difficult to imagine how the city appeared when it was filled with eighty thousand residents and numerous businesses. Today the city's population has declined by more than 50 percent.[19]

Crime was not the focus of Redmond's tour, but it was an unspoken presence throughout the tour. There was a shaky border between the legal and illegal in the city's nightclubs, which rented rooms by the hour to teenage couples and were called "the killing floor" in echoes of the enormous slaughterhouses just north of the city, and perhaps hinting at the crimes occurring behind closed doors. More importantly, crime is actively present in today's East St. Louis, and this reality has become perhaps the central fact of how the city is defined. East St. Louis is notorious nationwide for its high crime rates, although the lurid statistics rarely discuss the structural issues of corruption, racism, deindustrialization, and pollution as crucial factors. Whether a public history tour emphasizes crime or not, many tour participants will likely be thinking about crime as they tour East St. Louis. Instead of hiding crime's presence, it should be brought to the forefront and interpreted.

Urban boosters and city officials are understandably worried about drawing attention to negative aspects of their communities. There is some evidence, however, that directly embracing difficult criminal histories is a productive way of

moving forward economically and culturally. The National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis, located in the former Lorraine Motel where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in 1968, offers an example. Former director Juanita Moore claims that the museum was instrumental in helping to revitalize the inner city neighborhood. "The entire area where the Lorraine Motel is located became very economically depressed once the assassination took place," Moore notes. "It became a place of drugs, prostitution, and crime, so people did not want to come into the area." But the successful museum is now touted as one of Memphis's major attractions. More importantly, Moore argues that embracing the history of King's assassination has allowed many in the city to move beyond "guilt or shame" surrounding the assassination.[20]

Conversely, ignoring crime in public histories of urban neighborhoods may have negative consequences. By refusing to address crime and criminality, tough cities such as East St. Louis risk disconnecting their historical narratives from the reality that visitors see in the city. In his recent analysis of public history in St. Louis's Old North neighborhood, Andrew Hurley notes that developers and community members often put intense pressure on public historians to ignore or downplay crime in urban neighborhoods since they worry about reinforcing existing stereotypes. But Hurley argues that public historians need not shy away from crime. Honest and critical interpretations of past criminality are both historically accurate and helpful in contextualizing present criminality as part of a longer historical trajectory that has always involved violence and illegality.[21]

Could these insights be applied to East St. Louis? Although the city currently has few heritage sites, there are intriguing potentials for developing critical interpretations of crime and history. One possibility would be to use public history tours to reframe what crime means in East St. Louis and other cities struggling with white flight, deindustrialization, and disinvestment. Instead of framing crime solely as individual actions by criminals, such tours would be excellent vehicles to demonstrate that East St. Louis's history is inseparable from crime on an institutional and structural level. As political scientist Andrew Theising argues, East St. Louis was created partly so that businesses could do things that were illegal or heavily regulated on the Missouri side of the Mississippi River. East St. Louis's municipal government was often a puppet of powerful corporate interests who wished to pollute and to control labor. Although East St. Louis was not a true company town, it nonetheless allowed industrial corporations to determine what was legal and illegal in the city. Since the city was premised on corporations' desire to avoid regulation, individual criminality soon followed corporate crimes. Prostitution, political corruption, gambling, and gang activity accompanied the pollution and labor abuse.[22] Given this history, East St. Louis highlights how corporate interests have warped the law in industrial cities. Rather than seeing the law as a bright shining line that criminals choose to cross, institutional and structural histories of the city suggest

that the law was one tool among many used to maintain desperately unequal power relations in the city.

From this historical background, public history tours of East St. Louis could challenge audiences to consider which categories of action count as crime and which do not. Threats to an individual's personal safety, such as murder and assault, are the primary focus when people discuss crime in East St. Louis. But why not include threats that come from the unequal distribution of resources? A criminal history of industrial pollution would be one example. East St. Louis's aluminum smelters and glass factories left a toxic legacy that affects more people than the carjacker or the thug in the night. Residents of the region are more likely to get cancer from air pollution than almost anyone else in the United States.[23] For all the challenges of telling public histories of crime, doing so through dialogic tours offers intriguing possibilities for creatively and collectively rethinking our definitions of crime.

Suggestions for Incorporating Radical Tours of Crime into Existing Courses

To conclude, we offer four suggestions for incorporating radical public history tours into college courses. Our suggestions are not meant to be comprehensive. We offer them as an invitation for readers to develop their own tours that challenge and compel students and the public to reconsider the law's role in shaping history.

Possible Tour Themes

Gentrification as Criminal History Tour

Gentrification of urban neighborhoods has spurred vigorous and occasionally violent debate in recent years. Yet the public too often learns of gentrification through the abstract language of real estate values and legal motions. We thus encourage instructors and heritage professionals to steal a page from sensationalist crime tours and develop gripping and provocative tours of how development interests use and abuse the law to drive out poor and minority residents in the name of profit. Creating a gentrification crime tour would involve several steps and would be appropriate as a collaborative class project. First, instructors should provide readings that introduce students to the basic arguments surrounding gentrification.[24] Second, since students may not be able to envision a radical gentrification walking tour, instructors should ask students to review models of the few such tours that are available online.[25]

The most important aspect of this assignment will be student research into the specific ways that the law has enabled gentrification in the neighborhood under consideration. Given the difficulty of research on gentrification, we recommend that the instructor suggest a limited number of tour sites that illustrate wider patterns of displacement and development, and assign these sites to students (or groups of students). Graduate students may be able to prepare information on an entire site by themselves, but undergraduate students should collaborate in small groups. Students will have to conduct primary source research to document the history of gen-

trification, and they should be allowed several weeks to do so. Students could begin by visiting city archives or public libraries to research newspaper and magazine coverage that may not be immediately available through their college or university. If they exist, oral history collections from the neighborhood will be especially valuable.

Although it will be difficult, students should learn as much as possible about the property's real estate history. When was the property sold and at what price? Who purchased the building? (Properties owned by real estate development companies may require yet more research into the actual owners of the company.) All of this information is publicly available (and may be online), but it will likely require trips to city hall and the title office. Finally and most importantly, students should try to hear from the people displaced by gentrification. Given the insider/outsider dynamic present in gentrification debates, in which outside interests are often perceived as trying to break up or "invade" a neighborhood, students will have to be very sensitive to how they present themselves and their work to potential community partners. A good approach might be to begin by contacting social service agencies or advocacy groups working in the neighborhood and asking if they could put students in touch with local residents for a project on gentrification. Finally, once students have gathered this rich body of research, the class can work collaboratively to develop a walking tour that asks: is gentrification a sensational crime?

Labor and the Law Tour

Cities like Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Phoenix, and New Orleans rely on undocumented immigrant labor to keep small businesses afloat and infrastructures functioning. Yet due to the risk of being discovered by US Immigration and Customs Enforcement, most undocumented workers remain invisible and their rights as workers go unprotected. As part of a unit on labor and/or immigration history, a tour that highlights the integral part undocumented labor plays in the city would both enliven these histories and bring them up to the present day.

Collaborating with organizers from unions such as the Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE), the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), workers' centers like Restaurant Opportunities Center of New York, and/or immigrant advocacy groups, as well as with workers who are active in these organizations, students could research businesses that hire undocumented workers without just compensation. Using newspaper reports, interviews with workers and organizers, site visits, and court records (if any exist), students working in small groups could create profiles of several sites within walking distance of each other that rely on undocumented labor. In presenting the tour sites to their fellow classmates and collaborators, students should convey the legal issues that exist for both the employer and the laborer, and place these issues into a broader historical context.[26]

Possible Alternative Tour Formats

Ideally, the culminating experience for any of the above research assignments will be for the students to physically lead walking tours, thereby provoking fellow classmates, or the public, with their original research findings in the actual spaces. While nothing can replace the physical experience of walking in an urban neighborhood—where tour-goers can glean additional context about the subjects at hand by using their own powers of observation—as an alternative method of developing and sharing radical walking tours of the law, instructors may wish to use online tools that allow students to design and publicize new tours quickly at little or no cost.

Online Walking Tours

Online tours and guides may be a useful alternative for teachers pressed for time or students developing tours at a distance from the neighborhood they are studying. For courses devoted to digital history and humanities more broadly, online radical tours of crime are an excellent strategy for expanding public history audiences through new technology. For students unfamiliar with the field, instructors may wish to assign chapters from Roy Rosenzweig and Dan Cohen's well-regarded *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* as a starting point.[27] Students might also engage with the emerging literature on the uses of geographic information systems (GIS) in historical research.[28] Prior to designing any online tours, instructors should ask their students to view a wide range of examples to grasp the possible directions that their own tours might take. One excellent example of a student-designed online tour is Jon van der Veen and Joy Parr's *Lostscapes: Visiting Old Iroquois*, which combines historic maps and oral histories to allow visitors to explore a town that was displaced by the Canadian government to make way for the St. Lawrence Seaway.[29] To design the tour, students will need to decide on a format. Basic options would include using existing mapping software to design the tour. Google Maps, for example, allows users to create custom maps with waypoints including text and photos. Tours could also be created with stand-alone websites and blogs. Students and instructors with minimal web design background can easily develop tours using wiki programs such as Wikitravel or unique websites using the Wordpress or Omeka platforms.[30]

Walking Tours for Mobile Devices

Similar to web-based tours, walking tours that make use of smartphone technology are becoming increasingly popular. If the instructor or students have sufficient experience with web design and access to this technology, smartphone tours are a dynamic way to bring archival discoveries, photographs, and audio recordings to tour sites. The award-winning Cleveland Historical app for iPhone and Android is a great example to share in class.[31] The new, free Locacious app for iPhone has

also received good reviews, particularly for its well-developed New York tours.[32] These platforms give flexibility to walking tours in ways traditional ones do not. Tour-goers can visit sites alone or in groups, choose their own pathways, and add personal commentary to existing site descriptions. Because tours can be updated so easily, smartphone technologies give tour designers a chance to capture ephemeral and criminalized aspects of urban life, such as graffiti and improvisational shelters, before they are knocked down, wiped away, or otherwise made invisible.

Notes

1. See the articles on public histories of state-sponsored violence in *Public Historian* 32, no. 1 (2010). See also Charmaine McEachern, "Mapping the Memories: Politics, Place and Identity in the District Six Museum, Cape Town," *Social Identities* 4, no. 3 (1998): 499.
2. Kevin Murphy, "Walking the Queer City," *Radical History Review*, no. 62 (1995): 196. For a critique of the radical potential of walking tours, see Cathy Stanton, "Performing the Postindustrial: The Limits of Radical History in Lowell, Massachusetts," *Radical History Review*, no. 98 (2007): 81–96.
3. There are several examples of existing radical public history tours. East End Walks in London's East End offers a tour that traces the histories of labor strikes and the movement for women's suffrage that emerged from working-class neighborhoods (www.eastendwalks.com/index.html). The Labor Trail offers a map and interactive space for interpreting the working-class history of Chicago. Several historians have written about the practice and theory of creating radical public history tours. On radical labor history tours, see James R. Green, "Workers, Unions, and the Politics of Public History," *Public Historian* 11, no. 4 (1989): 11–38. On race, see James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, eds., *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory* (New York: New Press, 2006). On gender, see Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman, eds., *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); and Polly Welts Kaufman and Katharine T. Corbett, eds., *Her Past around Us: Interpreting Sites for Women's History* (Malibar, FL: Krieger, 2003). On radical walking tours in New York, see Bruce Kayton, *Radical Walking Tours of New York City*, 2nd ed. (New York: Seven Stories, 2003).
4. On the law's role in shaping racial segregation in St. Louis, see Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); and Joseph Heathcott and Máire Agnes Murphy, "Corridors of Flight, Zones of Renewal: Industry, Planning, and Policy in the Making of Metropolitan St. Louis, 1940–1980," *Journal of Urban History* 31, no. 2 (2005): 151–89.
5. For early explorations of the issue of gentrification in New York City see Sharon Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982); Neil Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (New York: Routledge, 1996); and Janet Abu-Lughod, *From Urban Village to East Village: The Battle for New York's Lower East Side* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 1995). For more recent overviews, see Christopher Mele, *Selling the Lower East Side: Culture, Real Estate, and Resistance in New York City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Sharon Zukin, *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Arlene Davila, *Barrio Dreams: Puerto Ricans, Latinos, and the Neoliberal City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

6. Ernest Ingersoll, *Week in New York* (New York: Rand, McNally, 1891), 202.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., 216.
9. Zukin, *Naked City*, 121.
10. Colin Moynihan, "In the Changing East Village, Making a Game of Remembering the Old Times," *New York Times*, December 25, 2008.
11. The headquarters of the Five Points Gang, for example, located at 57 Great Jones Street, was later transformed into the studio of artist Jean-Michel Basquiat. As of summer 2011, the site is an exclusive Japanese restaurant called Bohemian.
12. E-mail from Eric Ferrara to Rebecca Amato, December 13, 2009.
13. Joanne Edelman, "Writing the RFP," in *Resistance: A Radical Political and Social History of the Lower East Side*, ed. Clayton Patterson (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2007), 180–83.
14. "Former Squats Are Worth Lots, But Residents Can't Cash In," *Villager*, December 31, 2009.
15. Richard Kusack, "Zoning: What is It Good For? The Committee for Zoning Inaction," in Patterson, *Resistance*, 221–26.
16. "Law School Will Lease 'Illegal' 3rd St. Half-Dorm," *Villager*, May 4–10, 2005.
17. "Behold the Economakis Dream Mansion," *EV Grieve*, June 27, 2011, evgrieve.com/2011/06/behold-economakis-dream-mansion.html (accessed August 26, 2011).
18. Joe Preston and Elizabeth Langwith, letters to the editor, *Villager*, August 16–22, 2006.
19. East St. Louis's 2010 population was 27,006, down from over 80,000 residents in the mid-twentieth century. "Census 2010: St. Clair County Passes Madison in Population; Black Population on the Rise in Both Counties," *Belleville (IL) News-Democrat*, February 15, 2011.
20. Michael Honey, "Doing Public History at the National Civil Rights Museum: A Conversation with Juanita Moore," *Public Historian* 17, no. 1 (1995): 76, 79.
21. Andrew Hurley, *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 159–60.
22. Andrew J. Theising, *Made in USA: East St. Louis; The Rise and Fall of an Industrial River Town* (St. Louis: Virginia Publishing, 2003).
23. On the environmental history of the St. Louis region, see Andrew Hurley, ed., *Common Fields: An Environmental History of St. Louis* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997), and especially Craig Colten's chapter on the Illinois suburbs.
24. For shorter readings appropriate in an undergraduate classroom, we recommend choosing excerpts from Japonica Brown-Saracino, ed., *The Gentrification Debates: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Loretta Lees, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly, eds., *The Gentrification Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Lance Freeman, *There Goes the 'Hood: Views of Gentrification from the Ground Up* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006); and Joseph Barry and John Derevlaney, eds., *Yuppies Invade My House at Dinnertime: A Tale of Brunch, Bombs, and Gentrification in an American City* (Hoboken, NJ: Big River, 1987).
25. In several cities, scholars and advocacy groups have created gentrification walking tours. Although there is no substitute for taking such a tour in person (which we recommend for classes near one of these metro areas), students should review online descriptions of the tours and discuss them in class. Examples of such tours include a tour of Baltimore's Hampden neighborhood (described in Mary Rizzo, "More Heritage, Hon? Community History and Gentrification in Baltimore," *Off the Wall*, February 12, 2011, ncphoffthewall

.blogspot.com/2011/02/more-heritage-hon-community-history-and.html); and the "Hackney Isn't Crap!" walking tour of gentrification in London's Hackney neighborhood (tour booklet available at www.lcap.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2008/12/hackney_isnt_crap_booklet_reduced_file_size.pdf).

26. Readings may be drawn from: Esther Cohen, ed., *Unseen America: Photos and Stories By Workers* (New York: Regan Books, 2005); Peter Liebhold, "Experiences from the Front Line: Presenting a Controversial Exhibition during the Culture Wars," *Public Historian* 22, no. 3 (2000): 67–84; and Studs Terkel, *Working: People Talk about What They Do All Day and How They Feel about What They Do* (New York: The New Press, 1972).
27. Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005). The book is also available online at chnm.gmu.edu/digitalhistory/.
28. Possible selections of historical GIS and digital mapping might include Anne Kelly Knowles, ed., *Past Time, Past Place: GIS for History* (Redlands, CA: ESRI Press, 2002); *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS are Changing Historical Scholarship* (Redlands, CA: ESRI Press, 2008); David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris, eds., *The Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010); and Ian Gregory and Paul Ell, *Historical GIS: Technologies, Methodologies, and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
29. Jon van der Veen and Joy Parr, *Lostscapes: Visiting Old Iroquois*, 2005, megaprojects.uwo.ca/iroquois/OldIroquois_content.html.
30. Both Wordpress and Omeka are open-source content management systems used by many historians: wordpress.org/ and omeka.org/.
31. The app is available for free at clevelandhistorical.org/.
32. There are currently several available tours through Locacious, including Reiko Hillyer's tour of Old Town, Portland, Oregon, and Kenneth T. Jackson's tour of New York City's High Line, Chelsea and Meat Market, Upper West Side, and Madison Square, www.locacious.net.