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Children's perception of racial urban boundaries: a case study in Baton Rouge

Aspasia Xypolia

Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College

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CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF RACIAL URBAN BOUNDARIES:
A CASE STUDY IN BATON ROUGE

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
In partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of
Master of Landscape Architecture

in

The School of Landscape Architecture

by
Aspasia Xypolia
B.Sc. Agricultural University of Athens, 1999
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to all the people who aspire to see the world beyond boundaries.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the urban landscape of Baton Rouge through the eyes of the children. It seeks to understand the affect that planning and design decisions have on the lives of the children and the way that children perceive their urban environment.

By examining the way others have studied the urban space I develop my own approach of exploring cities and understanding the urban life. Originally, I conduct informal observations in the study area and I generate my questions relating to the spatiality of the children. Secondly, I research to find possible design and planning decisions that may explain or justify the construction of the urban landscape as it is presented today, and specifically the presence of the urban boundaries. At the end, through children's drawings and their words, I explore the way children understand the urban boundaries and the way these boundaries influence their spatiality. The evaluation of children's perception of their urban environment stresses the importance that planning and design decisions and emphasizes designers' power, through their work, in other people's lives.

I. INTRODUCTION

The First Impression

I arrived in the United States almost three years ago from Greece to study something called landscape architecture but at the time, I had no clue what it was about. I still remember the funny guy from Cyprus named Savvas, whom the ISO (International Services Office) had contacted and informed about my arrival, and had been asked to come and pick me up from the New Orleans airport. He picked me up from the airport at around 10:30 p.m., and we went straight to Bourbon Street to meet the rest of his friends (another guy from Cyprus, one more from Syria, two girls from the United States, and a girl with Brazilian origins who had grown up here) who were hanging out for the night. At the time, it never occurred to me that this first impression in New Orleans would serve as the seed of an idea that would become the subject of my thesis.

I come from a country with a total population of around ten million people. We all look pretty much the same, eat the same kind of food, listen to the same music, dance in the same tempo, laugh and cry for the same things. When my classmates at LSU started asking me what a typical Greek looks like or what a typical Greek does in a given situation, I had absolutely no problem giving them the most detailed, some times funny other times sarcastic, descriptions. When I go back home, my Greek friends ask me the same questions. What does a typical American look like or what does a typical American do in a given situation? The difference is that there is no absolute answer. Since I have met and made friends with a lot of American people, I realize that there is no such thing as a *typical* American person. People in the United States look different, they have

different cultures, they believe in different religions, they have different music tastes, different accents, humor, customs, color... etc.

Landscape Architecture

In our first design class we started dealing with the terms place, site, area, and finally space. We started to learn how to study, evaluate, and create a space in terms of its three-dimensional qualities. At that point, the term space became equivalent with the term volume. At the same time, we were exposed to different aspects/spectrums/fields that landscape architecture deals with, includes, and considers. What became clear was that design, for anybody that aspires to do it, is a very personal process that requires each one of us to take a position and confront it in our own way.

In Webster's New World Dictionary the term "space" can mean either "The boundless expanse within which all things are contained" [or] "Room for something". In both cases, the term space takes its meaning from its ability to *contain*. Eventually the term "space" evolved to include not only its three-dimensional qualities but also the two-dimensional distribution of people's activities that happen in it or do not happen in it, because of it. Thus, I have recognized the designer's power as a decision-making person in other people's lives, and I elevated design to a political act.

The term space can be used to include all different scales. From the smallest one, the space that is created under the canopy of a tree, because of a row of trees, because of different design elements in a garden, a yard, or a park, to larger ones, such as urban spaces or regional ones. After three years, still fascinated with the diversity of people who live in the United States, and constitute a country that can claim to be multicultural, I

am interested in exploring how the urban space has been formed to possibly contain/include all this human pluralism.

Baton Rouge

A couple of day and night strolls in the downtown area of Baton Rouge were enough to make me realize that all the human diversity that originally fascinated me about the U.S. had been transformed into a number of different uninformed/homogeneous groups that had formed their own space and were sitting next to each other in the urban landscape. People tend to live in the same neighborhood where other people of the same color and economic condition live, too.

The urban landscape of Baton Rouge is highly racially segregated. As somebody who aspires to become a landscape architect, I am interested in exploring how it became segregated. I am also curious to understand in what way segregation affects the lives of the people, and especially of the children, who live in the segregated neighborhoods.

Literature Review

Since my interest in the construction of the urban landscape became an important aspect of my thesis research, I will explore Henri Lefebvre's theory of THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE and interpret it to understand the urban space. I will look at UNESCO's study GROWING UP IN AN URBANIZED WORLD that sought to understand the urban environment from children's perspective, and Kevin Lynch's study GROWING UP IN CITIES that was the first study that focused on children's population. I will also look at Kevin Lynch and Allan Jacobs' theories of reading the urban landscape that have as a common reference the examination between the city environment and the urban life of the citizens but are based on different approaches.

Problem Statement

Designers through their work become decision-making people of other people's lives. Designers create spaces and we cannot but recognize that spaces because either there are or there are not occupied have an immediate affect on people's lives that are either *invited/ included* or not, in them. Design does not only control the acts that will happen but it is also dictated by social, political, cultural, social and ideological beliefs. Because of this dual process spaces are created as the outcomes of a cultural, social and ideological context. At the same time, they refer back to it either to reassure it or to question it. Remembering back my first night in the U.S. that I spent in New Orleans, I question how the urban landscape of Baton Rouge has been formed to host all the human diversity that fascinated me about the U.S. from the very beginning.

In this thesis I explore the racially segregated urban space in a section of the city of Baton Rouge and I question how it affects the spatiality of the children; That is: where do they feel free to go and where they do not, what do they consider to be the image of their neighborhoods, and how do kids perceive the urban space and particularly the limits of their neighborhoods. By answering these questions we may have a better understanding of how and in what way design decisions impact people's lives. The findings of this research may be used as a tool for creating a more efficient and socially sensitive design of the urban landscape.

Scope

The case study area includes a section of Government Street and specifically the part between the Mississippi River levee and Eugene Street. Originally, I will identify the urban boundaries along the street from personal observations. Afterwards, I will map

the ethnicity data in four census blocks north and in four census blocks south of Government Street.

The children, who I will interview, live in the case study area and attend the 4th and 5th grades of public schools. As a result, the study sample may be socially biased. On the other hand, this study sample will include the children who are the most acquainted with this part of the city, since they live and go to school in the same area. The study sample will include both boys and girls and the interviews will be scheduled through the schools.

In Polk Elementary the interviews will be contacted at school. In Dufrocq Elementary the survey will be distributed to the children in the classrooms. They will take it at home to complete it, and they will be asked to bring it back to school the next day. In both cases, I will have the chance to meet with them and thank them in advance for participating and helping me to complete my research. A letter for their parents will be given to them along with the survey, asking for their parents' permission to let their child participate in the research. In both schools the Principals and the teachers will be the coordinators between the children and me. The survey will have to be anonymous, and the exact address of the children will not be revealed.

Objectives

This thesis seeks to understand and emphasize the importance of design and planning decisions by exploring their affect in the construction of the urban landscape and the everyday acts that are related with the spare time, hanging out and playing of the kids.

I will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What are the physical qualities of these racial urban boundaries?
2. What are the characteristics of the areas within the boundaries, and what are the differences between the areas that the boundaries separate?
3. How do kids perceive their neighborhoods? Do they recognize the boundaries that define their neighborhoods? Do they cross or not these boundaries when they play, hang out, or define their own area? How do children identify, if they do at all, these boundaries?

Method

1. Conduct informal observations to identify where edges/boundaries exist along the street.
2. Map the distribution of the ethnicity through census data, for the case study area. Use this information to identify the racial urban boundaries.
3. Research the evolution of the urban landscape of Baton Rouge and try to explore if design and planning decisions questioned or challenged the presence of those boundaries.
4. Interview the children who live in the case study area and attend the 4th and 5th grades of the public schools, in order to examine how they perceive these racial urban boundaries.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Prologue

Cities are the most complex, diverse, intriguing, conflicting yet harmonious settings that humans have created. Looking at cities and trying to trace and understand the urban life that takes place in them is definitely a multidimensional process, which always allows for new possibilities. It is not static but rather dynamic process that does not guarantee a single and absolute answer but multiple new questions, hypotheses, explanations and meanings.

The word city derives from the Latin *civis* that means citizen. Studying and looking at cities requires drawing our attention to the way the citizens experience the urban environment. It entails defining the term citizen to include those, such as children, who are powerless in decision making. For the purpose of this research I look at cities in the way that designers and planners understand them, and I attempt to understand cities in the way children experience them. I specifically try to understand the possible relationship between the racial urban boundaries that exist in cities and the way kids perceive these boundaries.

In Webster's New World Dictionary *boundary* is "anything marking a limit" and *limit* is "the point, line etc. where something ends." Exploring what characteristics do not extend beyond the boundary line defines the context of the area that the boundary limits. Looking at the image that the children have about the urban environment they live in and specifically if they recognize those boundaries or not, reveals how urban boundaries possibly shape children's perceptions of their neighborhoods and generally their cities.

For the purpose of this thesis, I examine Kevin Lynch's and Allan Jacobs' theories of understanding cities, which have as a common reference the relationship between the built environment and the urban life as it is experienced by the citizens. However, Lynch and Jacobs, relay on different approaches in order to examine and value this relationship. I also look at two studies sponsored by UNESCO that focus on children's urban experience. These studies question how the urban environment that is shaped by the adults affects the lives of the children. Finally, I look at the French philosopher's Henri Lefebvre's theory of The Production of Space, and I interpret it to understand the urban space.

The Boundaries

The political geographer Andrew F. Burghardt examines the development and evolution of the term boundary in the landscape starting at its earliest emergence in the Bible, to the Promised Land of the Israelites, to its contemporary meaning in the United States. Burghardt identifies characteristics ascribed to the term boundary at its early historical stage based on three aspects. First he examines, huge physical features such as the Mediterranean Sea, secondly, other physical features such as rivers (the Jordan River in the case of the Promised Land) and thirdly, the lack of continuity between the area that the boundary bounds and the area that exists outside the boundary (Burghardt 214). Thus, at this point, the importance of the boundary relies mostly on its geographical nature that was clear, morphologically given and unquestionable. Burghardt though goes further and explores the construction of the European ethnic/national boundaries during the eighteen hundreds to conclude that physical features were used as boundaries only if there were located where a boundary was needed (Burghardt 219). His statement gives a

more humanly deterministic meaning to the term *boundary* that in this case implies a desire for separation or bounding of an area with specific characteristics.

Following the evolution of the term boundary from the Bible, to the early European geographies, to its application in the New World, Burghardt claims that “Boundaries may be said to have three principal purposes: to bound, to separate and to enclose” (Burghardt 226). Accordingly, there is an obvious shift that overemphasizes the importance of the character of the area that a boundary limits which becomes of great importance and justifies the existence of boundaries. Talking about the governmental areas in the contemporary cities in the United States, Burghardt admits the shift of interest in the areas versus the boundary lines per se that are not considered as important features anymore. Such as in the case of suburbs that were established to ensure the presence of preferred social standards within well defined areas, or in the case of declined central cities, Burghardt suggests that planners’ and scholars’ analysis studies of efficiency and effectiveness of those areas shifts the focus of interest from the boundary to the area included within this boundary. Yet, without underestimating the importance of the analysis of the bounded area, he argues that the line of the boundary itself is still of great importance and can be a deterministic factor in the association and life-styles of the people (Burghardt 228).

Applying the concept of boundaries in the urban environment requires drawing our attention to the nature of the lines and to their physical characteristics. In cities, the boundary lines can be built elements and not just morphological features. Thus, their presence may imply a deliberate intention for separation. Exploring what these boundary lines separate explains what are the characteristics that are probably purposely separated.

Exploring the degree of permeability of these boundaries defines the degree of separation between the areas that the boundary separates.

Looking at Cities

Allan Jacobs, in his book Looking at Cities, stresses the importance of the “first-hand experience” that cannot be replaced or dismissed by any kind of census or scientific data and any kind of maps. Being a fan of walking in cities, he considers this experience unique and irreplaceable, for it allows the observer to be immediately exposed to the environment. By walking in a city the observer can conceive more than the eye can see and can feel what it would be like living there as an attempt for greater understanding.

Jacobs, along with his students, visit an urban area. By taking a specific route, they look for clues that could possibly provide them with insightful information, such as: the street pattern, the architectural style of the buildings, the commercial or security signs, the names of the streets, the maintenance and the size of houses and yards, and the way people respond to them. These are clues that help the observers understand the urban context and the way people dwell in it. They are all elements that reveal people’s responses to the urban environment in which they live. Why would people place grilles or iron bars in their windows or security signs in their yards if they did not feel fear or if they were not taught to feel fear for certain situations? What is that indicates people’s economic status and social class if not the size and the maintenance of their houses and yards?

Still, a lot of people could argue that observations are highly subjective, personal and thus may not be reliable, accurate and accepted. Whatever one person notices as significant in a place may be completely different compared to somebody else’s findings.

Furthermore, as Allan Jacobs admits, culture, race, sex and age can affect or even direct observations (Jacobs 133-134). But by acknowledging that observations, even when they are executed by people that are trained to look critically at a place, are subjective and reveal only some of the many possible situations and realities of the urban context, makes Jacobs' approach valid however not absolute. Besides, trying to represent and capture the endless complexity of the city and the urban life through information given from a piece of map, some charts and a series of census data can be considered equally biased and incomplete as a method. The observer has the benefit and the profit to absorb messages that cannot be given from maps and seize for meanings that exist beyond the ones that the official charts allude. Besides, walking in cities and observing its elements and the people may not be enough to tell the whole story of how the urban environment emerged or how would it be like living there, but it can definitely generate questions to be explored.

On the other hand, although Jacobs mentions that there is no specific path or route that should be followed, no absolute way that a city should be experienced and no definite and particular starting and ending point, in his own observations with his students they followed a well-defined by Jacobs course where all of their clues are gathered and come from. The city though, is experienced in a more spontaneous, unintentional and less planned and conscious way by its inhabitants. The everyday experience and interaction happens in a less rigid way. People may not be seen in formal paths because they may walk through places less visible and less intended for this purpose. They may walk in high traffic boulevards that were not planned to be pedestrian. They may cross

roads without traffic lights. Children may not play in parks but possibly in less visible adjacent vacant lots, bare land, or streets.

There is a whole new layer of interaction with the urban environment that can be revealed by moving, not through the planned elements of a city, but by simply following and tracing people's movement, coming or going to work, meeting their friends, and neighbors and by seeing where children ride their bikes or play with other children. By tracing this new layer of activity that is created only by the way people inhabit, occupy, and dwell in a place, and overlay it with the planned layer, multiple new clues and possible explanations of how and why people walk or travel to specific neighborhoods or destinations can be revealed.

When I was strolling along Government Street last spring, I noticed that when some children were riding their bikes they were crossing under the area of the I-110 interstate where no paths exist. Then they disappeared in the adjacent streets. I saw a few of them playing in the middle of the road and I never met any of them in the big green shaded area in front of the Baton Rouge High School where I would expect them to be. Still though, by understanding that in order to really capture this layer of activity that the movement and the playing of the children generates I should be one of them, I validated Jacobs approach when at the same time I acknowledge its limitations for the purpose of my research exploration.

The Image of the City

From the point of view of landscape architects, urban designers and city planners there have been studies examining the relationship between the built environment and the urban life, the city form and the everyday acts. As Kevin Lynch points out, such an

analysis does not aim to the development of a “science of design.” This analysis does not intend to state the one and only way that design decisions should be taken, but rather to inspire, to enrich and to unfold innumerable new possibilities (City Sense and City Design 250).

The difference between theories that come from fields other than the design oriented ones and theories generated from those in the design field is that architects, landscape architects and urban designers generate form and not merely evaluate its impact after it is implemented. Thus, they recognize and examine closer the relationship between design decisions, built form, and their impact on public. Lynch’s theory as developed in the Image of the City suggests exactly that.

His theory is not simply an outcome of map observations or historical studies. As part of his process of understanding the relationship between built form and people’s lives and perceptions of it, Kevin Lynch included in his method interviews of a small number of long-term citizens of a city. He asked the people to draw a map of how they perceived their city (City Sense and City Design 248). Based on the evaluation of the mapped information he stressed the importance that paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks have in humans’ perception of their city. These physical elements become the medium through which people experience and identify their built environment. Although there is a bias in his method as he admits, because of the small sample of citizens that participated (City Sense and City Design 251) the elements of which he stressed the importance are evident. They exist intertwined and by complementing the one the other they define what the image of the city is for its citizens. As a result, the image of the city

emerges not as static, absolute and fixed, but it becomes open to multiple interpretations (The image of the City 85-90).

Lynch, talks about edges in the urban fabric and he defines them as “...the linear elements not considered as paths: they are usually, but not always, the boundaries between two kinds of areas. They act as lateral elements” (The Image of the City 62). Not only natural features such as rivers or hills define the edges according to Lynch but also built elements of the urban landscape. The three aspects that Lynch ascribes to the urban edges are visual prominence, continuation in form and impenetrability to cross movement (The Image of the City 62).

The people who make the design decisions generate form and produce structures out of which the urban fabric emerges. They are often major developers, major corporations, architects, landscape architects, and urban designers and planners. Their decisions are highly political driven by economic profit interests (Good City Form 97). Within this pattern the citizens, the many but less powerful in decision – making, dwell. The elements, through which Kevin Lynch concluded that people perceive their cities, are products generated by the few, intended and proposed for the many. Beyond the way people perceive the elements of the urban landscape (as paths, edges, landmarks, nodes, and districts) there is also the way they interact with them, transform, reject or adopt them, which is also a political action (Burke 226).

The children who I saw riding their bikes along Government Street, where no bike paths exist, were claiming the Street as theirs, as a place to play. The children who crossed under the Interstate I– 110 with their bikes ascribed to an empty space the characteristics of a path. The children who jumped in the fountain in the Mississippi

levee to play with the water in a hot spring afternoon claimed the fountain as theirs and transformed it temporarily to a pool. Their acts were spontaneous, temporal, and at the same time, highly political. The activities of the children were not the anticipated ones, the acts that these places/facilities were originally designed and intended for.

Kevin Lynch also argues that characteristics of temporal arts such as music can be ascribed to city design as well. The difference is that a city is generated over a longer period of time than a piece of music and it can never been said that it is complete. It is also continuously altered through time and thus it lacks unbrokenness and consecutiveness (The Image of the City 1). Besides, the composer of a piece of music is clearly identified and personalized. In the design of a city the *composers*, the agents, are multiple and impersonal such as financial institutions, major corporations, large developers, and major federal agencies. Everybody knows that Vivaldi composed *The four seasons* but nobody can give the name of one person who composed the city of Baton Rouge. A city is also developed in “long spans of time” (The image of the City 1). Consequently, the temporal character of its composition does not convey only the contemporary rhythms of life, but it is rather an amalgam of old and new rhythms, conflicting and symphonic at the same time. In the same way though, that an audience responds to a piece of music, the public, even though less homogeneous than a music audience, responds to the design of a city; either by following the already established temporal character of the city or by seeking to develop a new rhythm, and either by performing in the formed urban space and becoming part of it or by producing a different stage in its periphery (Holston 48).

The urban environment can be studied as a composition of built structures, in the exact same way that an object of art can be studied. By looking at the way that the urban environment is inhabited the concept of space emerges. A path according to Kevin Lynch is the medium through which people move, interact, and become familiar with the city. At the same time, a path can become a space of socialization or alienation. It can exist as a connector or as a divider between specific structures with the rest of the urban fabric.

Cities, like all built environments, arise in a specific political, cultural and ideological context. This pluralistic context does influence the form a city takes on. At the same time, the form of a city can become the reason of social and cultural change. The edges that Kevin Lynch talks about may be constructed intentionally, to separate two areas, or they may appear as a result of differences that pre-existed between those areas. Subsequently, their formation is not innocent. It emerges in a social, cultural and political context and it is reproduced, transformed, and shaped inside and because of this context.

The edges that I identified by personal observations along Government Street separate areas with different social and ethnical characteristics. If they emerged as a result of these social and ethnical differences that pre-existed or if the edges produced these differences is not easy to explain. To answer this question would require a thorough examination of the historical, political, cultural and ideological context in which they emerged and evolved through time. Their presence though is unavoidable and something that can be questioned is how these urban edges influence the image that the

children who live close to these edges have for their city. That may explain how the presence of those edges can mold and influence the *culture* of tomorrow.

Children's Perception

Growing up in Cities was a study in the 1970's that was sponsored by UNESCO and that focused on how children perceive and use their environment. The study included children who lived in different environments in Argentina, Australia, Mexico, and Poland. The Argentina and Australia areas were characterized by single-family houses, which were built by the government for low-income or moderate-income families in the 1950s. Two out of the four areas in Poland referred to large apartment house projects and the other two referred to overcrowded, prewar flats, at the edge of the city center. Both the areas in Mexico are described as largely self-built housing settlements, just 16 km north of Mexico City. For the purpose of the study groups of twenty children, thirteen to fourteen years old, all living in the same locality, were interviewed and were asked to make drawings of the areas they lived in. Their opinion of their surroundings was evaluated through these drawings and through interviews. The children came mainly from relatively stable settlements of farmers, the working class or the lower middle class.

Although the study includes children who came from diverse cultural, social and environmental backgrounds and who have different age and sex, that makes any kind of comparative studies difficult, the similarities that were found in the way the children responded may indicate the possibility of some degree of consistency in the way children understand and use their world (Growing up in Cities 12). Some of these similarities were grouped in the following categories:

1. **The use of unprogrammed space**, which refers to the way children interact and use the streets, the courtyards and the apartment staircases. Children talked in their interviews about the streets, the courtyards and their personal room, and much less about the natural open spaces or the sports facilities. Exception to this rule were the children who lived in Toluca, Mexico, who did not mention the streets a lot when talking about their activities. The reason may have been according to Lynch the overwhelming amount of traffic that runs through their neighborhood, the bad condition of the side walks and the unfriendly adjacent fences (Growing up in Cities 15). The way children perceive the street and the degree into which they associate themselves with it is of great importance, since streets become places where children declare their independence from their families and they test society by themselves (Growing up in Cities 13).
2. **Time budgets** indicated that due to the rigidity of the weekday school schedule only 5-10% of their week day was unprogrammed and that time was spent on the streets, in their rooms and at their friends' houses. During the weekends, the unprogrammed time rose to 30-35% and was spent again on the streets, in their rooms and in visits or outings (Growing up in Cities 21).
3. **The range of action** according to this study was determined by personal fear, dangerous traffic, lack of spatial knowledge, and the cost of public transportation, rather than distance (Growing up in Cities 23). According

to Kevin Lynch a way to improve kids lives is to provide them the opportunity to move easier through their cities by providing them with easy access.

4. **Boredom and engagement** was experienced differently from the children who lived in the center city and the children who lived outside of it. The first ones were hungry for outdoor places in which they could play and the second ones were attracted to the excitement of the center city and were always waiting for something to happen. In both cases children's expectations were determined by adult possibilities (Growing up in Cities 25). The only exception was the Polish village children who referred to their house, garden and farmyard as places that they felt were "their own" possibly because they shared the management of those places and thus they felt connected with the place and the community (Growing up in Cities 25).
5. **Wastelands** sometimes were causing fear to children who were afraid of abandoned houses because they associated them with drunks and robbers. Other times wastelands were causing fascination because they were perceived as places that someone could be alone and act independently (Growing up in Cities 27-28).
6. **The Image of locality** is according to the study very much dependent to the sense of community that either exists or not in a place. Children who lived in areas with a strong sense of community drew more elaborate maps of their place, were better oriented, aware of their surroundings, and they

identified in their drawings community facilities such as the church and the school. Thus, “physical and social identities seem to reinforce each other” (Growing up in Cities 30). In other cases, where the sense of community was not strong, the children either would not or could not draw a map, even when their place was small with well-defined distinct edges.

Although the study can be further filtered, to refer to specific cultures and specific environments, it can be used as a useful guideline to examine how children understand their environment. Its value relies on the fact that it examines through the children’s use, image and spatiality, their living environment (Growing up in Cities 81). If we accept that in the process of designing or re-designing cities the most important aspect is to understand the people whom we are referring to, children’s population should be of great concern. Children are part of the population that is influenced a great deal by the environment when at the same time has no control in the process of its formation. Examining the relationship between the children’s drawings and the actual physical conditions can become a tool to explain the symbolic meaning that these elements have for the children and furthermore the way they shape the image the children have for their neighborhoods.

The Growing Up in an Urbanizing World study was a follow-up of the Growing up in Cities study sponsored again by UNESCO. Through words, drawings, photographs, and neighborhood tours, 10-15 years old children expressed their opinions about their living environment. The study started in 1996, was completed in 1998, and included eight cities all over the world. The children who participated in this study lived in one of

the following cities: Buenos Aires in Argentina, Melbourne in Australia, Northampton in the United Kingdom, Bangalore in India, Trondheim in Norway, Warsaw in Poland, Johannesburg in South Africa, and Oakland California, in the United States. The areas that the children were coming from were low-income or mixed-income urban districts and the reason for focusing on children experiencing urban poverty was the realization that these children were more dependent on their immediate environment than the ones that come from middle-income or high-income areas (Chawla 219).

Although, once again, the children who participated in the survey came from different cultural backgrounds there are cross-cultural similarities in their responses to the sources of satisfaction or alienation that are quite similar to Kevin Lynch's findings (Chawla 226). The children expressed satisfaction or alienation for their environment based on the following:

Table 2.1: Sources of Satisfaction and Alienation (Growing up in an Urbanising World 221-225)

SOURCES OF SATISFACTION	SOURCES OF ALIENATION
Safety and freedom of movement	Stigma and social exclusion
Social integration	Boredom
A variety of interesting activity settings	Fear of harassment and crime
Peer gathering places	Racial tensions
Cohesive community identity	Heavy traffic
Green areas	Uncollected trash and litter
Provision of basic needs	Lack of basic services
Secure tenure	Sense of political powerless

The results of Growing Up in Cities in the 1970's and the results of the Growing Up in an Urbanizing World in the 1990's were summarized in this second study to describe a list of child-generated indicators of a good place in which to grow up or of indicators of an alienating place.

Some of those factors are included in the following list:

Positive Indicators:

1. **Cohesive community identity:** The community has clear geographic boundaries and a positive identity that is expressed through activities like art and festivals.
2. **Peer gathering places:** There are safe and accessible places where friends can meet.
3. **Varied activity settings:** Children can shop, explore, play sports and follow up other personal interests in the environment.
4. **Safe green spaces:** Safe, clean green spaces with trees, whether formal or wild, extensive or small, are highly valued when available.
5. **Secure tenure:** Family members have legal rights over the properties they inhabit either through ownership or secure rental agreements.

Negative Indicators:

1. **Heavy traffic:** The streets are taken over by dangerous traffic.
2. **Lack of gathering places:** Children lack places where they can safely meet and play with friends.
3. **Lack of varied activity settings:** The environment is barren and isolating, with lack of interesting places to visit and things to do.
4. **Stigma:** Residents feel stigmatized for living in a place associated with poverty and discrimination.
5. **Insecure tenure:** Children, like their parents, suffer anxiety from the fear of eviction that discourages them to envision or to try to achieve better living conditions.

The motive for this study was the acknowledgement that “adults may know how to create community environments that promote health and safety, but children and youth are the experts on what fosters or fractures their personal sense of well-being” (Chawla 221). Looking at the way children valued their living environment draws our attention to their awareness of the social context in which they live and the way they see it been interpreted in the physical environment. Their responses refer to indicators that describe a *sociophysical* environment (Chawla 229).

For the purpose of my research I will look at the characteristics through which the children who live in the case study area describe their sociophysical environment. I will question if there are possible connections between those characteristics and the presence of the physical/racial boundaries.

Concepts on the Production of Space

Lefebvre’s theory of The Production of Space emphasizes the importance of its production or the modes of its production rather than the final product that cannot be evaluated and studied separately (Lefebvre 33). He argues against the absolutism of the term *space* and he proposes a conceptual triad as a new way of exploring its’ meaning.

Spatial practice, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In term of social space, and of each member of a given society’s relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific degree of *performance*.

Representations of space, which are tied to the relations of production and to the ‘order’ which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to ‘frontal’ relations.

Representational space, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also as art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces), (Lefebvre 33).

Applying his theory in the urban space we can identify in the spatial practices the planning and design decisions that created it, having always in mind that they were made in a specific historical, political, economical, cultural and social context. The spatial practice includes the intentions of the planners, designers, developers, and all of those who make decisions that influence directly the form of the city. The spatial practice can also refer to the acts of the citizens, which may or may not be the intended ones. The acts of the citizens may be different that the ones that the urban space was designed for and can be evaluated only empirically through the lived experience in a place (Lefebvre 38).

The representations of space refer to the way designers and planners understand and study the urban space. A map depicting demographic data or topographic information represents characteristics of a city on a piece of paper readable and useful to urban planners. The representation of space is the way that all those in the design field understand the *reality* of a city (Lefebvre 38). Citizens, for example, are aware of the economical status of the neighborhood they live in through the lived experience and not because they saw a map depicting the socio-economical characteristics.

On the contrary, the representational space refers to the way that the citizens understand the *reality* of a city. The representational space of a city places on top of the physical elements that compose it a symbolic meaning (Lefebvre 39). It is the image of the city as the citizens conceive it or as some artists draw it. The representational space stresses the importance of the mental image of an element versus the element itself. In contrast with the representations of space that refers to scientific unquestionable data, the representational space is open to any possible interpretation and because of that it can be used to question the acts of the designers and the urban planners.

The physical form and the established urban fabric compose what Edward W. Soja driven by Lefebvre's theory defines as *Firstspace*: "The directly- experienced world of empirically measurable and mappable phenomena" (Soja 17). By looking at cities as *firstspaces* only, "we automatically allow for the reification of everyday life that is considered as simply a result of social and historical forces. In this manner everyday life is considered predictable and passively receptive." (Soja 18) According to Soja, the layer of the historical development of a city, along with the examination of social relationships and norms that exist within it should not be underestimated but should not also be enough to explain the pluralism and spontaneity of everyday acts.

Humans' perception of their built environment, as demonstrated by Kevin Lynch, may be generated from the physical elements that constitute it but extends beyond them. It becomes equivalent what Soja defines as *Secondspace* or *conceived* space. In contrast to the *Firstspace* the *Secondspace* is "more concerned with images and representations of spatiality" (Soja 18). The elements that Kevin Lynch defines as edges for example can be conceived as barriers, as limits, or they may be reformed in people's perception and

become entrances, welcoming doors, or spaces of interaction. Paths, the preliminary elements for movement in the city, can be conceived as places of interaction between the inhabitants of a place, or they can become dead spaces that do not support the acts for which they were originally planned.

By focusing on the interplay between the concept of *Firstspace* and the concept of *Secondspace* the “spatiality of human life becomes passive” (Soja 19). Edward W. Soja argues that “two terms are never enough to deal with the real and imagined world” (Soja 20) and he suggests that we should seek for “a third possibility that works to break down the categorically closed logic of the ‘either-or’ in favor of a different, more flexible and expansive logic of the ‘both-and-also’ ” (Soja 20). Accepting and adopting the concept of the *Thirdspace* Soja stresses the importance and the need for “a continuous expansion of knowledge formation, a radical openness that enables us to see beyond what is presently known, to explore ‘other spaces’, that are both similar and significantly different from the real-and-imagined spaces we already recognize” (Soja 21). Through the conceptualization of the *Thirdspace* he attempts to emphasize and embrace the lived, the everyday, and the habit of being. The *thirdspace* is at the same time “a distinct way of looking at, interpreting, and acting to change the spatiality of human life; an integral, if often neglected part of the trialectis of spatiality, inherently no better or worse than *Firstspace* or *Secondspace* approaches to geographical knowledge; the most encompassing spatial perspective, comparable in scope to the richest forms of the historical and sociological imaginations; a strategic meeting place for fostering collective political action against all forms of human oppression; a starting point for new and different explorations that can move beyond the ‘third-term’ in a constant search for other

spaces; and still more to come” (Soja 21-22). Therefore, the conceptualization of the *Thirdspace*, or the *Othring*, challenges the way we look at things, the way we perceive them, and especially the way we seek to understand the spatiality of human life, which is the distribution of people’s acts in a space. The *thirdspace* as introduced by Soja, suggests that space can be created merely by the everyday acts of the people that live in a place and because of those acts. The acts per se and not the presence of structures define what Soja calls *thirdspace*. Soja introduces the concept of the *Thirdspace* to acknowledge the importance of citizens’ acts and to ascribe to these acts political meaning and power.

By bringing the concept of the *Thirdspace* in the way we seek to understand the city and the urban life requires drawing our attention to the everyday, to “that which remains after one has eliminated all specialized activities.” (Harris 3) It asks to search for the nameless that “its anonymity derives from its undated and apparently insignificant quality.” (Harris 3) It urges us to look for the small, mundane everyday acts; the spaces that are produced because people hang out, walk, meet each other, the spaces they create, or the spaces that are eliminated because of the absence of those everyday acts. Since “everyday life embodies at once the most dire experiences of oppression and the strongest potentialities for transformation,” (McLeod 32) it cannot be perceived as innocent, but rather as highly political.

The act of planning and design should not mean to impose, determine and decide but rather to respect, to embrace and to provide space for the multiple complexities of the everyday to unfold. For this to happen we should draw our attention to the lived experience that is “more important than physical form in defining the city,” (Crawford

10) and that unfolds the stories of the many rather than the few (Crawford 11). We should seize to understand what kind of spaces the everyday performance generates (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 24). Looking at cities and trying to understand the urban life is neither a simple nor a linear process. Above all it requires an understanding of both forms and acts, objects and subjects, lived experiences and raw materials, creations and productions.

Approach

Looking at the way children use the urban environment, their movement in the city, where they play and hang out defines their spatial acts. Mapping on a piece of paper the ethnicity distribution of the city, or the social characteristics of different areas, reveals a representation of the urban space. This way of looking at a city, through the representation of specific characteristics on a map, is the way that all those in the design field can generate and understand. It is the way that designers and planners can describe the reality of a city. Looking at the way children draw an image of their city defines the representational space. The mental image that children have of their cities reveals what they consider to be the reality of the environment they live in. The representational space is the way kids draw the reality of their cities.

A series of questions that arise is how far or how close the three spaces exist the one from the other and in to what degree do they overlap? Do the acts of the planners lead to the production of such a strong representation of space that influence dramatically the representational space, or is this mental image always different from the representation of space? To what extent are the spatial acts of the children different from the intended ones?

In order to develop my own approach and explore my thesis question I will use Allan Jacobs's approach of looking at cities, not to give answers and explain everything through my observations, since I understand the limitations of his method for my study, but rather to generate my questions. I will define the urban boundaries based on my observations and the characteristics that Andrew F. Burkhart ascribes to them, and I will question if they have also the characteristics of the edges that Kevin Lynch describes, in order to have an understanding of the physical environment. Then, I will study the representations of space, as introduced by Henri Lefebvre, through the generation of maps that include demographic information from the census data. Finally, using as a reference the previous studies about children's perceptions of their living environments I will try to explore the representational space of the children, and examine if the presence of the urban boundaries and the established representations of space possibly affect it.

III. EXPLORING THE URBAN BOUNDARIES

Site Impressions

Before I start collecting any kind of information about the case study area, I thought that I should get an impression of the site myself, without any previous knowledge of it that may direct my observations. I walked up and down along Government Street from the Mississippi levee to Eugene Street many times, mainly mornings and afternoons. I never stayed late in the afternoon after the sun had set. Often, the Mississippi levee became a pleasant final destination where I rested and hung out along with a bunch of other people and some children who seemed to be especially attracted to this area.

The most fascinating thing about the children was that they were using the levee in their own spontaneous and unpredictable way. Most of them were riding their bikes up and down the main path where some adults were exercising. Others were strolling with their parents, but most of them were there to play with their friends. A group of eight to ten boys, of about ten or eleven years old, were on the levee almost every time I was there. Sometimes, they were bringing with them their swimming suits and after changing their cloths behind a small wall next to the fountain they were jumping in the water. The fountain was turning temporarily to a swimming pool. Their voices were loud enough to make everybody aware of their presence. The game had to end every time when the volume of their voices was annoying some of the adults. Other times, a family was there to take a family picture in front of the fountain, and the presence of the children in the fountain was not considered appropriate. Their acts were spontaneous and vivid enough

to make me look for them the whole time I walked along Government Street, since I associated their presence with excitement and definitely a new way of looking at the urban landscape.



Fig 3.1: Children playing in the levee fountain



Fig 3.2: Family picture in front of the levee fountain

Walking instead of driving on the street turned out to be a unique experience because of the slower pace of my movement. Walking provided the chance for a closer and more intense interaction and exposure to the street. Most of the time I chose to take

the public bus. I reached Government Street by the *Purple line No44*, of the regular bus schedule, as an additional effort to get to know the area better than a distant automobile observer. The terminal of the bus is located on 22nd Street between Government and Florida Streets. It was very obvious that my presence in the bus was not unnoticeable since most of the times I was the only white passenger, and everybody was more than willing to help me find the bus stop I was looking for, recognizing that I could not be a resident in the area.

The section of Government Street I was strolling was approximately 1.2 miles. When I was walking along the north side of Government Street from the intersection of Government and 22nd Street towards the Mississippi levee, I noticed that a lot of abandoned and decayed buildings were facing the Street. Iron chains on the doors and cheap wood nailed on the windows portrayed an unwelcoming and vacant image. The very first times walking along this section of the Street was uncomfortable for me, since rarely met other people. The vacant buildings along with the huge, empty of activity lots of land around the railroad tracks and the Entergy building gave a haunted, almost frozen in time character to the Street. Children, although rarely appearing from the adjacent streets riding their bikes, were an amusing surprise.



Fig 3.3: Child riding his bike along Government Street

Although I was aware that I was walking towards the Mississippi levee, what I was seeing in front of me was not the levee itself but the massive structure of the interstate I-110. I was aware that I was moving towards the east because of the sequence of countdown numbers that were ascribed to the names of the streets that I was passing and the image of the Interstate. From the 22nd Street, to the 15th Street, to the 12th Street not much was changing in the surroundings but the fact that I was approaching the interstate and I was becoming nervous of how to cross under its structure in order to reach my destination. Walking under the interstate was never a pleasant experience since I had to be very careful, run fast, and cross an area that obviously was not meant to be for pedestrian use. A couple of times I saw a few children crossing under the structure of the interstate coming from the opposite direction, with the difference that they seemed more comfortable doing it than me and less scared than I was.



Fig 3.4: Children after crossing under the interstate I-110

After crossing the interstate I was entering a different urban setting than the one I had left behind the structure of the interstate. It was not only the names of the adjacent streets that had changed from numbers to saints' names, but also the condition of the buildings. The buildings that were facing the street were pretty well maintained and most of them had well maintained yards as well. The iron bars on the windows, if existent, were not very noticeable. Instead the security signs on the front yards or in front of the window screens were in sight. I still rarely met people on the street but the presence of the McDonalds building, the antique shops and the attorney's offices were a reassurance that there are people around, even if not noticeable on the street.

It became clear to me that the structure of the interstate was separating two different urban conditions. It was not only the fact that it was uneasy to cross under it as a pedestrian but also the differences between the two areas adjacent to the interstate that intrigued me. The questions that emerged were: What exactly was the interstate separating? Was this separation intentional and if yes for what reasons? Where all these children that I saw around, and all the other ones that I never met, aware of this separation?

Other times, arriving on the 22nd Street Bus Terminal and walking towards Government Street I was crossing it and kept walking along the south side of it. The names of the adjacent streets had changed on the south side of Government. I noticed that 21st Street had turned to Camellia Street and 19th Street had turned to Park Boulevard on the south side of Government Street. But it was not only the names that had changed on the south side of the Street but also the condition of the buildings. Well-maintained houses, with nice yards, without chains on the doors, but with security signs in the yards,

were introducing me to the neighborhood of people with a higher economical status. It was not difficult to cross the street and walk on the south side of Government Street but every time I was moving from the north to the south side of it or vice versa, the image of the street itself was different. A couple of wooden, ornamental columns on the south side of Government Street were stating the name of Garden District. Crossing Government Street was not as overwhelming as crossing under the structure of the interstate, but still it was something I had to be careful in doing. There are a few traffic lights along the street, but since it is a four lanes boulevard of high density and pretty high-speed traffic, without any traffic islands, crossing the street was not too comfortable.

In contrast with the structure of the interstate itself that was a massive built element defining a boundary or an edge in the urban environment, in this case a section of Government Street itself was an edge. It was functioning as a lateral element separating two different urban conditions. I still did not meet anybody on the street and I never met any of the residences of these houses. I did not see any children coming from the streets that meet Government Street on the south side and I rarely saw a few coming from the north side of it. The question was again the same: How aware were the children that this part of Government Street separates two areas with different characteristics?

What exactly were those different characteristics?

The Physical Qualities of the Boundaries

I looked at both the Interstate I-110 and Government Street in terms of their physical prominence, their continuation in form and the impenetrability to cross movement of the boundaries per se.

Table 3.1: The Physical Qualities of the Urban Boundaries

	Government Street	Interstate I-110
Visual prominence	Yes	Yes
Continuation in form	Yes	Yes
Impenetrability to cross movement	Some	Some
Visual continuity of the areas the boundary separates	Yes	Yes

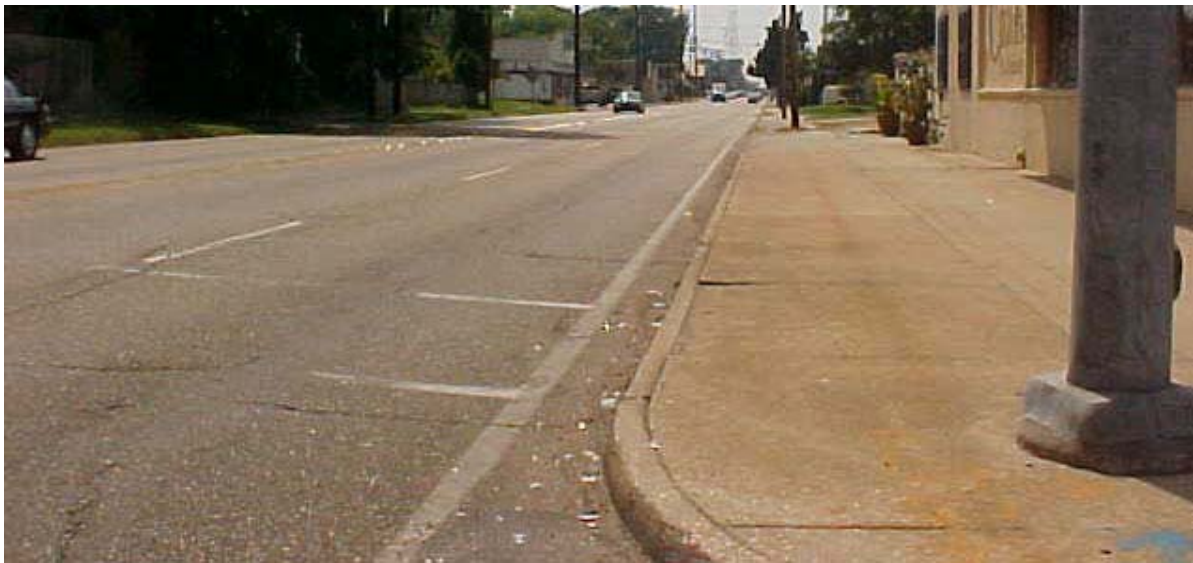


Figure 3.5: Government Street



Figure 3.6: Interstate I-110

Although both Government Street and the interstate I-110 are different physical elements, they share similar qualities. In both cases they function as lateral elements that separate areas with different characteristics. It is not only the different characteristics of the areas that are on each side of the boundary but the physical qualities of the boundary line itself that made me aware of their existence. This observation made me wonder if their presence was alluding to the intentional separation of the areas adjacent to the boundary lines.

The Representation of the Urban Space Along Government Street Today

From the observations I conducted, I concluded that the urban boundaries were separating areas where people from different economical classes live. I used the demographic information from the census data of 2000 and I mapped the distribution of the ethnicity along Government Street, and specifically four blocks north and south of it, in the level of the census block. The following map represents the ratio of the Black population/Total Population divided in four natural breaks.



Figure 3.7: Distribution of black population along Government Street based on the 2000 census data.

What becomes obvious is that the section of Government Street between 18th Street and St. Rose Avenue functions also as a racial boundary. It is a line that marks a limit that bounds a specific racial context. The range of the ethnicity population per block for the area on the north of Government Street is from 80.1% to 100% black. In the area south of Government Street the range of the ethnicity population per block is from 0% to 19.4% black.

In the case of the Interstate I-110 and specifically in the area on the east of the interstate the range of the ethnicity population per block is again from 80.1% to 100% black. In the area in the west side of the interstate and specifically in most of the blocks after East Street, the ratio of the ethnicity population is either from 0% to 19.4% black or from 19.41% to 50% black. Specifically, in 22 out of the 38 blocks that have housing units the ratio of the ethnicity is predominately white (0%-19.4% black). In 4 blocks out of the 36 blocks the ratio of the ethnicity is 19.4%-50% black. In 7 blocks the ratio of the ethnicity is 50.1%-80% black and in 5 blocks, all of them in the south side of Government Street, the ratio of the ethnicity is from 80.1% to 100% black.

In both cases the boundaries that I identified when walking along Government Street based on the maintenance of the houses, the presence or absence of iron bars and security signs, and the names of the streets, are also racial boundaries. They can be drawn as simply a line that separates groups of people with different color. In the case of the Garden District area the line can be drawn along Government Street. In the case of the I-110 the line can be drawn on the East Blvd rather than on the top of the interstate, which is included in a predominantly black neighborhood. Something that I did not conclude from the observations but can be seen in the distribution of the ethnicity map is

that another racial line, although not that obvious, exists along Government Street in the section between the levee and East Blvd.

Based again on information from the census 2000, I mapped the ratio of Unit owned/Total number of units, per ethnicity for the study area. The two following maps represent the ratio of Black owners/Total Black units and the ratio of White owners/Total White units, in the level of the block divided in four equal intervals.

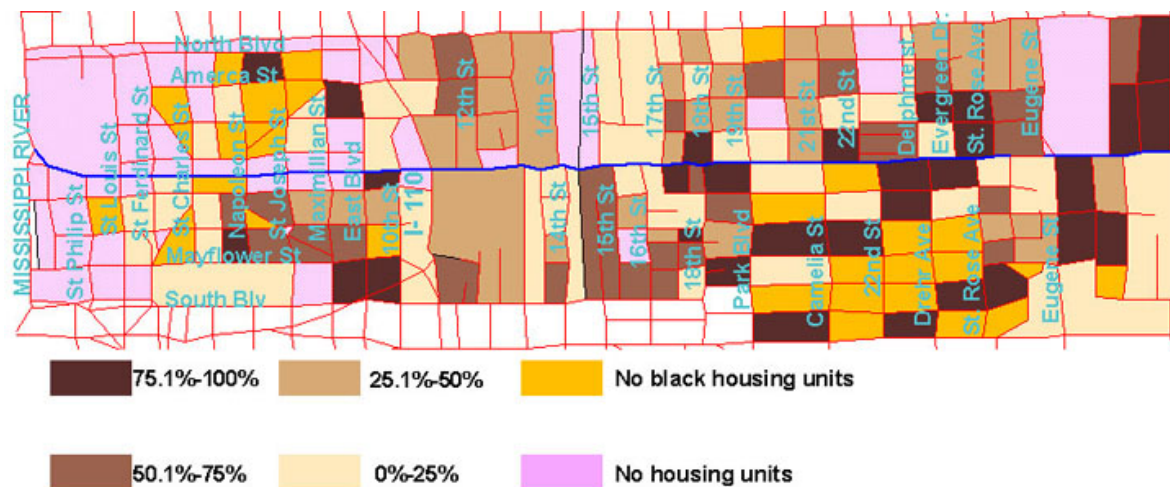


Figure 3.8: Ratio of Owners/Total number of units, for the black population

In the case of the Garden District area, in 12 out of the 28 blocks there are no black units at all. In 10 out of the remaining 16 blocks that have at least one black unit, the percentage of the black people that own their residence is from 75.1% to 100%. That shows that the black people that live in the Garden district area, are coming predominantly from a higher social class. In the area on the south and west of the Garden District area, although the majority of the population is black, the ratio Black owners/Total black units is quite low, and considerably lower than in the case of the Garden District area.

The Interstate 110

Between 1960 and 1970 industries grew in areas outside but near Baton Rouge Parish (especially in the South) so employment was provided outside but near Baton Rouge, too. As a result Baton Rouge started to decline as a center of manufacturing employment. The shift indicated an interest in trade, services and government for the East Baton Rouge Parish (Comprehensive Plan for Baton Rouge June 1972). The interstate system was identified as one of the reasons for the decline of the downtown area because it provided the opportunity for people to move out into the outlying perimeter of the parish and still have easy and quick access to the city (Taylor 8). That had as a result a decrease in the population that lived in the city and an increase in the number of the vacant houses.

Table 3.2: Employment opportunities in the Downtown Baton Rouge in 1960 and 1970 (Data from the Comprehensive Plan for Baton Rouge June 1976).

1960	1970
Manufacturing (petrochemical products)	Government
Wholesale and retail	Wholesale and retail
Government	Manufacturing (petrochemical products)

On February 28th of 1999, Elizabeth Wright published an article in the *Baton Rouge Sunday Advocate* named “Divided by Highway”, where she was criticizing the highway system and how it affected the downtown of post-World War II Baton Rouge. According to information she obtained from the highway department the construction of the interstate I-110 started in 1961 and was completed in 1984. The total cost alone was \$59 million (Wright 59-K). As part of her research she interviewed among others the retired LSU Vice Chancellor Huel Perkins who grew up on Europe Street. As Mr. Perkins said “The interstate’s construction was a double-edge sword.” Although he

considered the interstate to be a “progress” he admitted that it “...unraveled the cozy familiarity of a neighborhood where homeowners, from skilled laborers to professionals, knew each other in some cases for generation” (Wright, 59-K).

What becomes obvious is that the construction of the interstate I-110 happened under the spectrum of economical development and aimed to satisfy the transportation needs that were related to this development when at the same time sacrificed the quality of life of the people living in the neighborhoods immediately affected by its construction. The interstate I-110 became a physical urban boundary on the top of the already established social and racial boundaries. The decision of its exact location can be further examined. Future studies can question why the location of the interstate reaffirmed an already established racial and social separation.

The 1960's

In the 1970 a report was contacted by the Urban Studies Center of Tulane University of New Orleans for the City Parish Planning commission of Baton Rouge, in order to examine the distribution of Social blight in the landscape of Baton Rouge. The indicators that were used to measure what was called social blight were: welfare, adult crime, juvenile delinquency, illegitimacy, school dropouts, venereal disease, infant mortality, and tuberculosis. Data were gathered for the year of 1963 and 1968 in order to examine the spatial consistency of the social problems through time.

The areas were rated in four categories, from light to high social blight, based on the quartile position of each of the eight blight characteristics/eight (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 96-98, v1). The report concluded that there was not only a persistency in the spatial distribution of social blight but at the same time the high social

blight areas were concentrated in the center of the city (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 95, v1). The following maps are a reproduction of the social blight summary maps of 1963 and 1968. As it can be seen the whole area that I study falls under the last category, which includes areas with the highest degree of social blight, in 1963 as well as in 1968.

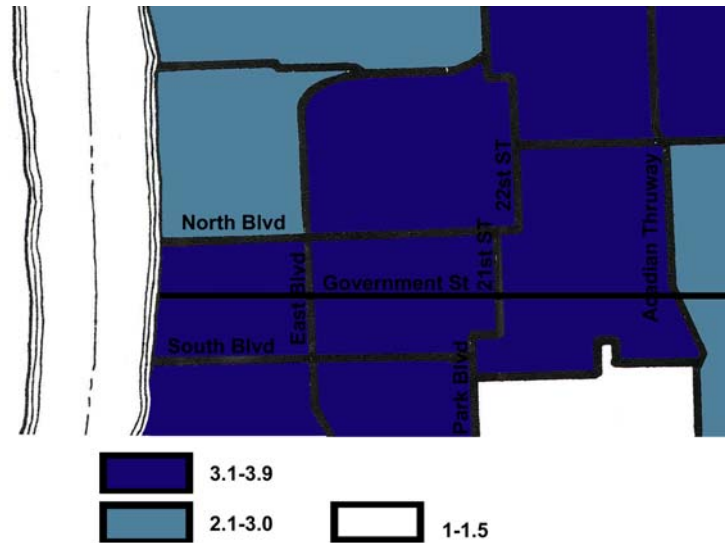


Figure 3. 10: Distribution of Social Blight in 1963 (Social Aspects of Community Renewal v1).

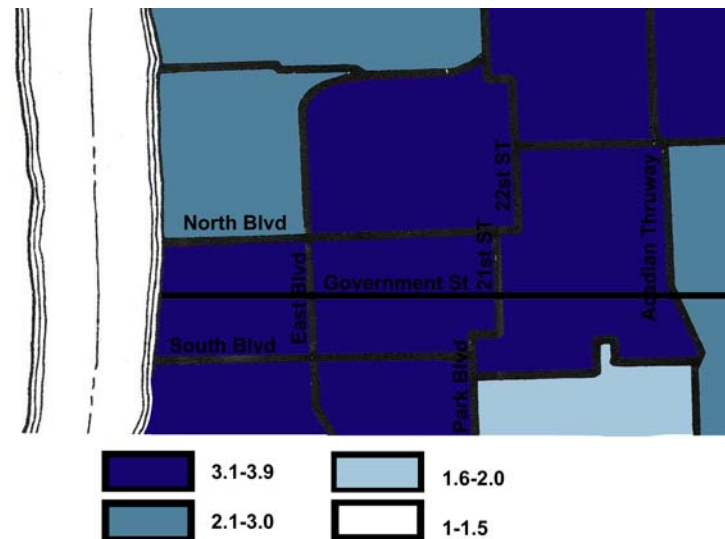


Figure 3. 11: Distribution of Social Blight in 1968 (Social Aspects of Community Renewal v1).

The same report includes a social analysis of the population based on the census information of 1960, in order to identify socially homogeneous tracts and group them in to social areas (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 164, v1). Information was gathered for 46 census tracks based on the following:

1. Median Family Income.
2. Percentage of Non-White.
3. An education Ratio: the number of persons who had completed no more than grade school per 1000 persons 25 years old and over.
4. An occupation Ratio: the total number of craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers; operatives and kindred workers, except mine; and service workers per 1000 employed persons.

Each census track was ranked comparatively to the rest of them based on income, education and occupation. The track with the highest median income was ranked first in the index. The track with the smallest education ratio was ranked first, and the track with the smallest occupation ratio was ranked first in the index (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 165, v1). The following table includes the rank order for the tracks 14, 15, and 16, of the census 1960, where the area that I study is included.

Table 3.3: Rank Order comparatively to the 46 census tracks.

CENSUS TRACK	INCOME	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION
14	32	15	30
15	38	39	40
16	29	16	22

It seems people who where the least educated lived in the census track 15, which at the same time had the highest number of blue-collar employees and the lowest ratio of family income out of the three census tracks. The same report provides the ethnicity

information from the census 1960, which is indicated in the following table for the same census tracks.

Table 3.4: Percentage of Non-White Population, 1960.

CENSUS TRACK	% NON-WHITE
14	11.8
15	64.7
16	26

In the map that was generated from this information, the areas of the census tracks 14 and 16 were falling under the same category. The area of the census track 15 was falling under the lowest category. What is interesting is that each social category is divided into two subcategories based on the percentage of the non-white population to generate the final map that defines the social areas of Baton Rouge in 1960. That can be a clue that people's color was considered a factor to define the so-called socially homogeneous areas in 1960's. The following map shows the spatial distribution of these six categories in the landscape of Baton Rouge.

The same report includes an analysis of the spatial distribution of the physical blight in the area of Baton Rouge. The physical blight was measured through: the condition of housing (sound, deteriorating, and dilapidated), median house value, median rental value. The following map shows the spatial distribution of physical blight based on four categories: lowest physical blight, low physical blight, high physical blight and highest physical blight. As it can be see census track 14 is characterized with the lowest, census track 16 with low, and census track 15 with high physical blight.

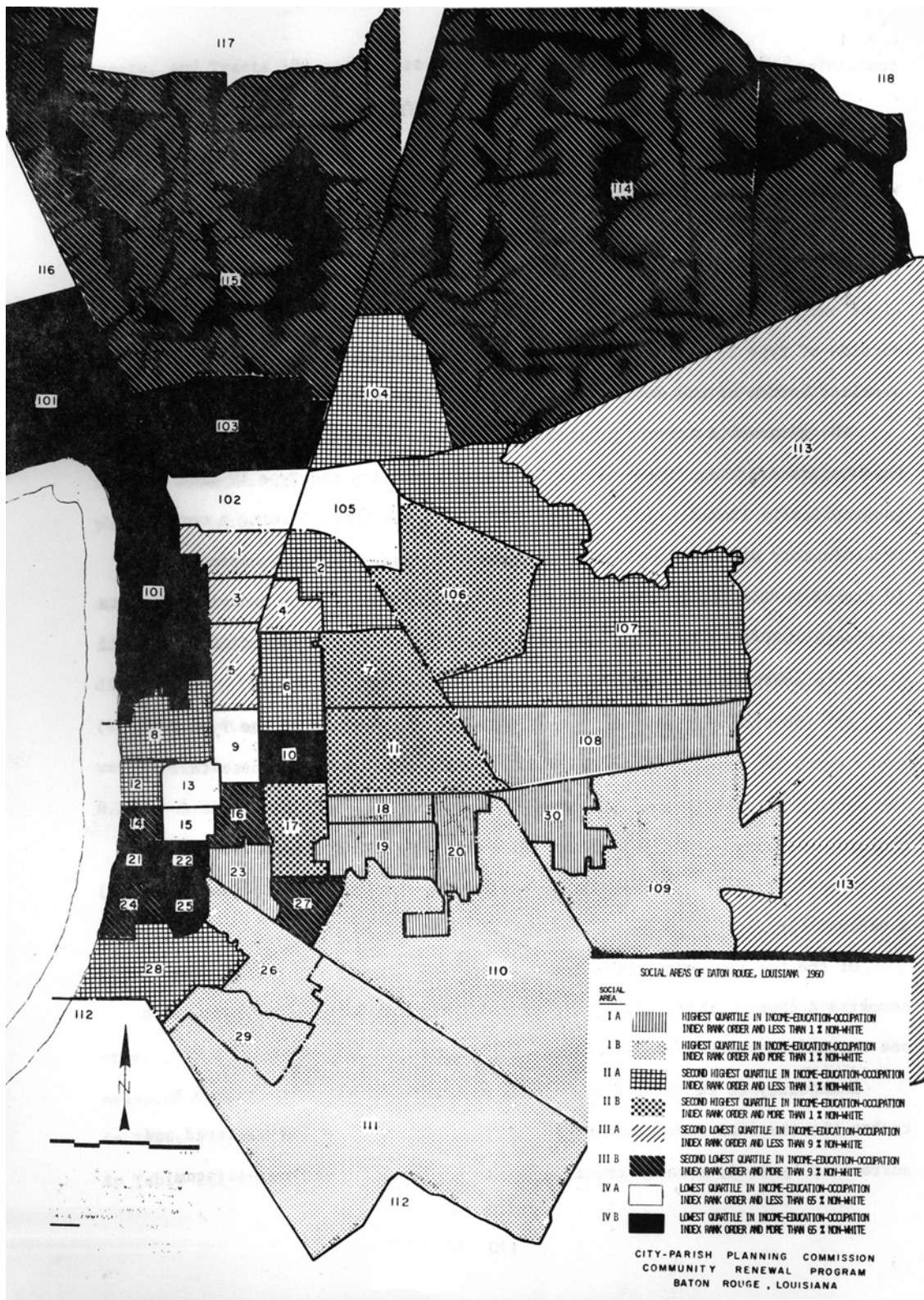


Figure 3.12: Social Areas of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1960 (Social Aspects of Community Renewal v1).

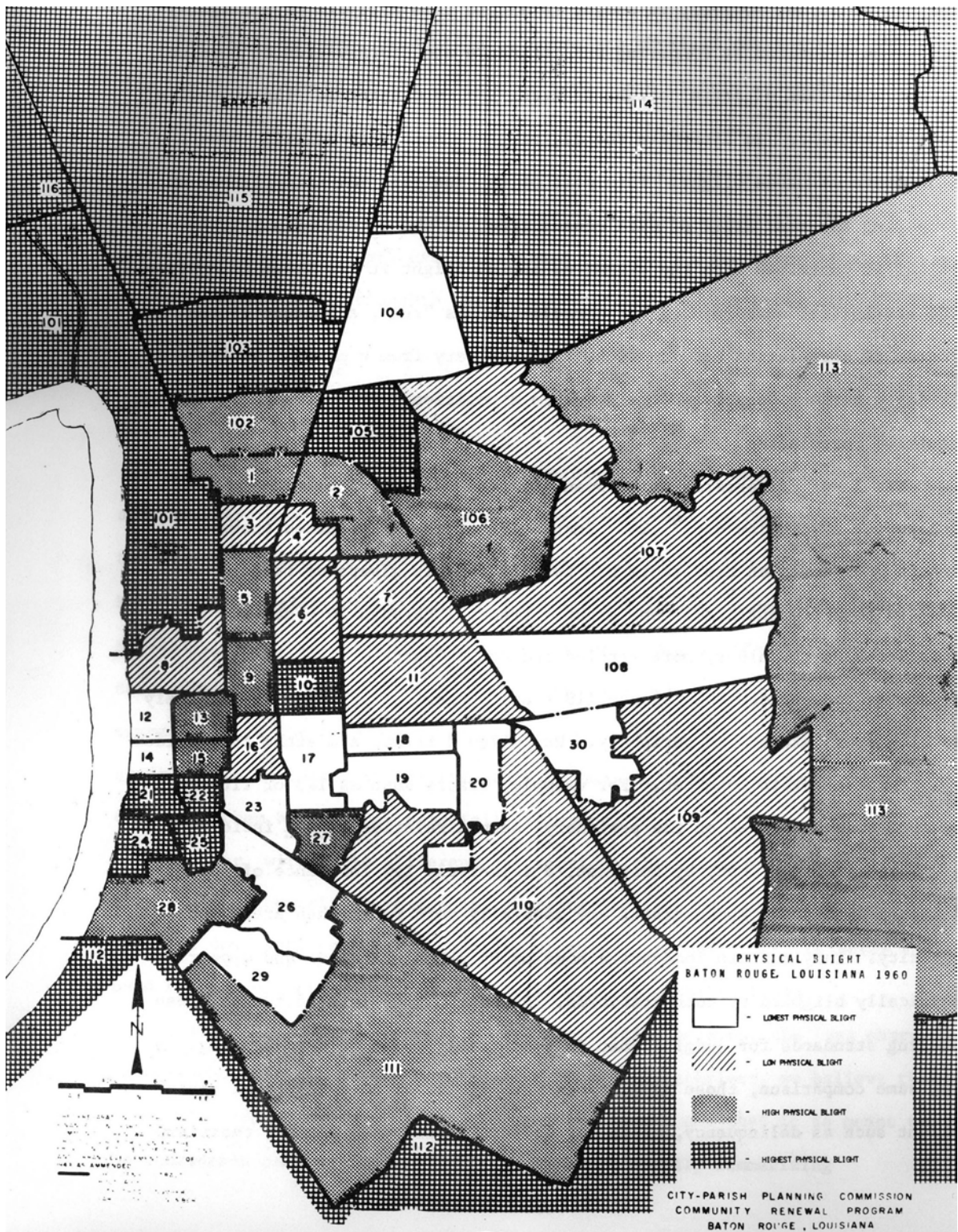


Figure 3.13: Physical Blight Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1960 (Social Aspects of Community Renewal v1).

Although there is no map depicting social areas in 1969 in the report, there is an attempt to compare the 1969 social blight map with the 1960 social areas map. Even though, it is referred in the report that it should be inquired how close the two classifications could be compared, there are rather some bold conclusions made out of this comparison: “ Five tracks that were considered to be in the lowest category in the 1969, were classified in the second lowest category in 1960: 1, 5, **14**, **16**, and 24. These tracks generally fill in the areas that adjoin the worst sections of the city as noted above. The distinctive feature of these later tracks compared with those that are clearly the worst, is that they contain a somewhat lower proportion of nonwhite residents. Where the tracks that were classified lowest in both 1960 and 1969 were distinguished by having 50 percent and higher non-white residents, these five tracks that were slightly better off in 1960 than in 1969, generally contain lower proportions of non-whites. Yet, our current estimates indicate that there has been an increase in the nonwhite population in most of these tracks, and along with it there has been an accompanying change in the social conditions within the track. For example, census track 14, which was classified in the second lowest socio-economic category in 1960, had a non-white population of some 12%. By our estimates this proportion has doubled by 1969, and at the same time, the extend of social blight has become marked. We would conclude, therefore that social conditions in this and similar tracks have deteriorated during the past nine years” (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 187-188,v1). Assuming that the phrase *this and similar tracks*, refers to the tracks where the non-white population increased between 1960 and 1969, it is stated that there is a connection between the non-white population and the social blight. How much statements like this shape the public opinion and generate

trends can be further questioned. At the same time phrases like this, with racial connotations, betray, that racial issues were at hand at least up to 1960 in Baton Rouge.

Growth and (Sub)-urban Development

During the 19th century the economy of Baton Rouge was based primarily on agriculture. Many plantations were located along the Mississippi River at that time. The Standard Oil Company opened a refinery in Baton Rouge in 1908, and generated hopes for the economic growth of Baton Rouge (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 4, v2). More petrochemical industries followed and this industrial development influenced significantly the landscape of Baton Rouge. The highly automated industries required the service of professionals, who preferred a living environment away from the industries, where blue-collar employees lived (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 4, v2).

In 1918 Southern University that was characterized as an “all Negro University” was moved to North Baton Rouge, and in 1925 Louisiana State University moved to its present campus (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 7, v2). Again the faculty and staff, looked for places of certain housing and living standards, where at the same time services were brought in the areas next the campuses to fulfill the needs of the students’ population (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 7, v2).

In 1847 the erection of the State Capitol in the Downtown area of Baton Rouge was decided. Other state buildings followed and many employees, services, and businesses were supported. That created the need for living areas and services for a relatively large population (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 7, v2).

Besides the economical, educational, and governmental factors, there were geographic factors that influenced the evolution of the landscape of Baton Rouge. First

the Mississippi River, that did not only serve as a Port for Baton Rouge (officially opened in 1916) and influence the economical growth of the city, but also functioning as a physical barrier, limited the growth of the city to the east. Second, the poor drainage that generated fear since the first homes and business were built on the bluff near the River. Although the suburban areas can be characterized as low-level areas, prone to floods, in the 1940's and 1950's expansion ignored this factor. Later the need for a sufficient drainage system became evident. Third, the relatively flat and easily accessible area eastwards from the Mississippi River, after the development of a drainage system and the construction of roads, gave the opportunity for growth (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 8-9, v2).

These physical, economical, industrial and governmental factors shaped the landscape of Baton Rouge and influenced the settlement patterns. Since there are no census data before 1960, in order to identify places where ethnic and other groups concentrated, research had to rely on the 1960's demographic information. Since it is mentioned that Negroes constituted the largest distinct sub-class, with a population of 30% of the total population, Tulane University's research attempted to identify where the population of the black people concentrated and why. Specifically, the question that was raised was the following: To what extent the Negroes residential patterns were the result of "natural" ecological processes or the result of discriminatory practices? (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 8-9, v2).

The South Baton Rouge Negro District

Three Negro areas were identified for the metropolitan area of Baton Rouge. One of them, which was also the oldest one, was also known as the *South Baton Rouge Negro*

District (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 13, v2). By the 1960's it expanded into an "S" shape and was defined from the Nicholson Drive area adjacent to L.S.U., beyond Highland Road, northward along East Boulevard to the North Boulevard area (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 13, v2). Part of the case study area is included in what was called the *South Baton Rouge Negro District* in 1960's. In the same report the area defined from 18th and Government streets to the south and east was described as upper middle-class type of neighborhood, something that in the 1960's automatically meant white neighborhood. That indicates that the racial edges today are the same with the racial edges in 1960's for the case study area. The presence of a high population of black people in the *South Baton Rouge Negro District* was explained to be appropriate since it was the closest place where the first black people in Baton Rouge, who provided the domestic and unskilled services, could find a place to live. Besides, the poor drainage in this area probably acquired at a lower cost (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 13, v2).

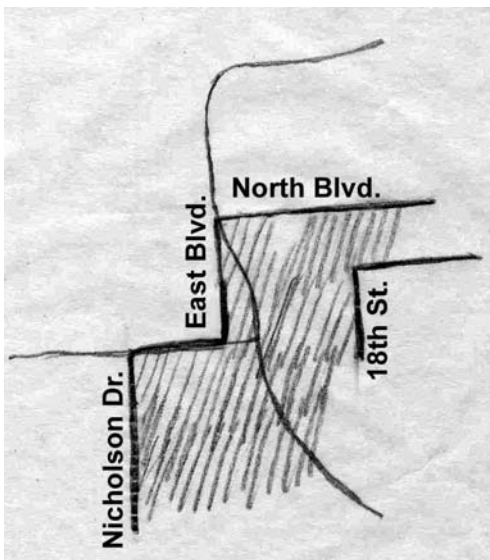


Fig 3.14: The South Baton Rouge Negro District

Although in *South Baton Rouge Negro District*, as well as in the other two of the black areas that are described in the report the presence of a high percentage of black people is considered the fact of social and economical reasons, the segregated nature of those places can be explained through patterns of race relations (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 14, v2). In Tulane's report it is argued that these racial patterns are the outcome of laws excluding Negroes from specific subdivisions (even though these laws were not active in 1960), and the outcome of customs (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 14, v2).

The following table shows information included in the Social Aspects of Community Renewal report for the census tracks 14, 15, 16 and for the year of 1960.

Table 3.5: Demographic information, 1960 (Social Aspects of Community Renewal 14, v1).

Census Track	White	Black	Other	Total	% White	% Black	Median Family Income
14	2273	306	4	2583	87,99%	11.84%	5,187
15	2165	3966	2	6133	35,30%	64,66%	3,581
16	4139	1456	1	5596	73,96%	26,02%	5,798

It is easy to see that track 15 which was included in the *South Baton Rouge Negro District* had the lowest Median Family Income and the highest percentage of black people. In the forty years that have past between 1960 and 2000 the racial distribution of the population has not changed significantly.

The following map shows the census track limits for the census tracks 14, 15, and 16 as given from the census data 2000. As it can be seen the limits of these tracks have not changed since 1960, which makes comparative analysis easier.

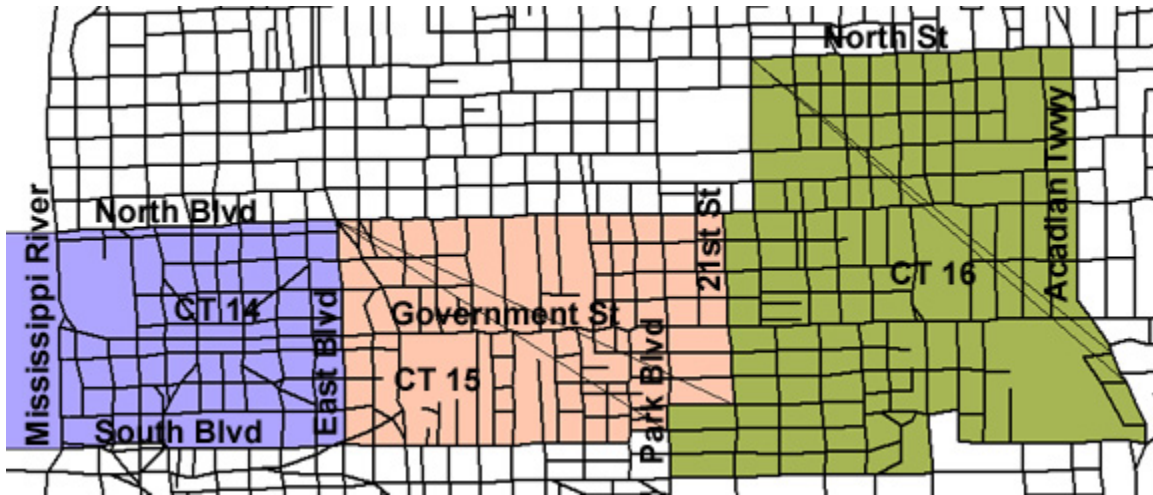


Fig 3.5: Census tracks boundaries, 2000.

The following table shows demographic information for these tracks taken from the census data 2000.

Table 3.6: Census data, 2000.

Census Track	Total Population	Black	White	%Black	%White
14	568	234	308	41,19%	54,22%
15	2371	1966	367	82,92%	15,48%
16	3735	1952	1714	52,26%	45,89%

Although the maps presented earlier show a more detailed distribution of the population, from these tables we can see that census track 15 that had the highest percentage of black population in the 1960 has an even higher percentage in the 2000. For the tracks 14 and 16 although it seems that they have become more mixed since the 1960, the more detailed information that is provide from the previous ethnicity maps shows that there is a racial pattern within each track. For the track 16 the racial spatial segregation is more obvious than the census track 14.

The racially segregated landscape of the 1960's in Baton Rouge seems to be the outcome of social, historical, economical, physical and cultural forces. The most

interesting thing though is that not much have changed in the racial residential patterns between 1960 and 2003 in the case study area.

The Planning Districts Edges

Planning District boundary decisions were based on 1990 census tracts/blocks.

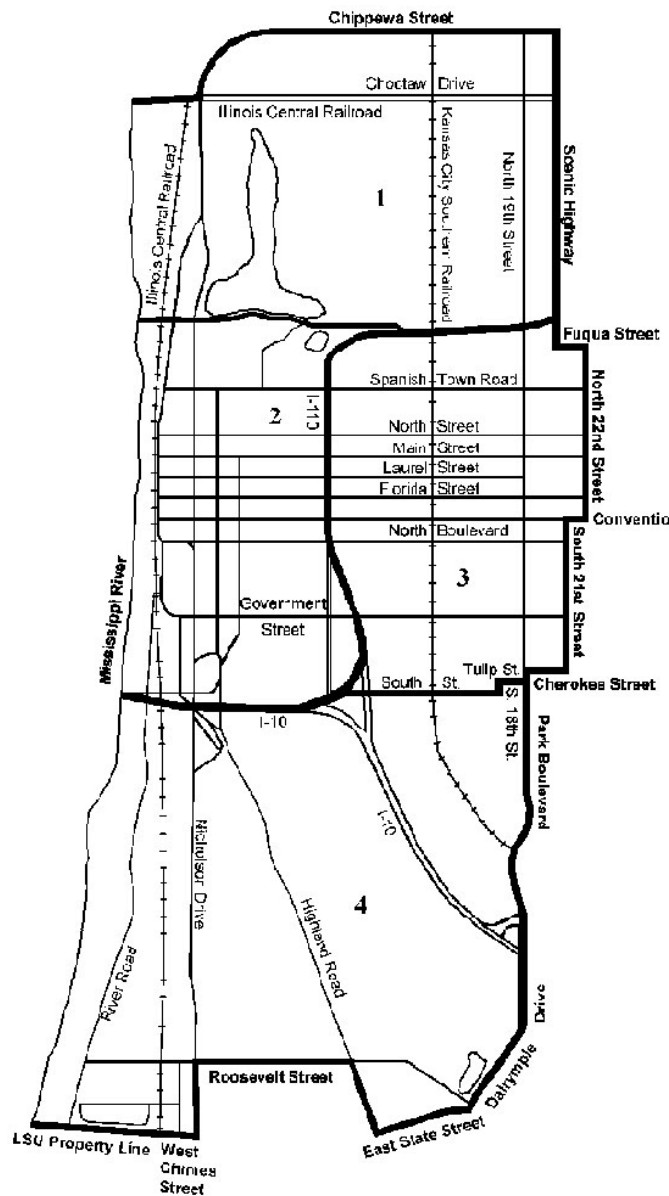


Fig 3.16: Planning District 8, 2000.



Fig 3.17: Planning District 9, 2000.

As it can be seen the edges of the sub-areas of the planning districts coincide with the racial and social boundary lines, which were identified previously. It should be further questioned why the planning district edges do not challenge but rather reaffirm the already established racial and social boundaries. Shouldn't planning and design decisions aim for cross boundary solutions?

The Planning Organizations Today

The Downtown Development District was formed in 1987 to include the area east of the I-110 and between the State Capitol and South Blvd. Although in Horizon Plan, District 8 was the area that the DDD included plus the area on the east of I-110, DDD did not include the area in their boundaries (Boo Thomas). In 1991 the Mid City Redevelopment Alliance was formed with the support of Baton Rouge General Hospital. The boundaries of Mid City were defined to be I-10 in the south, I-10 and I-110 to the west, Forest and College Drives to the east, and Choctaw Drive with its adjacent railroad right-of-way to the north. As Ms. Boo Thomas who worked in the formation of the boundaries of the Mid City explained: “I used the roads to define it because I thought that would be easier to explain out in the community. I also wanted to include better neighborhoods along with the disadvantaged neighborhoods so that we would gain their support in the process. The “roadway” boundaries eventually gave me problems because I cut through some census tracts. But we were able to gather the data we needed for our projects by going down to the smaller units in the census tracts”. As she also explained she included the area that DDD did not include in their boundaries in the boundaries of Mid City.

As it can be seen the interstate I-110 was not challenged but was rather reaffirmed as an urban boundary in the formation of DDD. Many questions arise that should be further explored, such as: Do the boundaries in the landscape become so strong that influence planning decisions? Why the planning organizations do not always seek for cross-boundaries decisions?

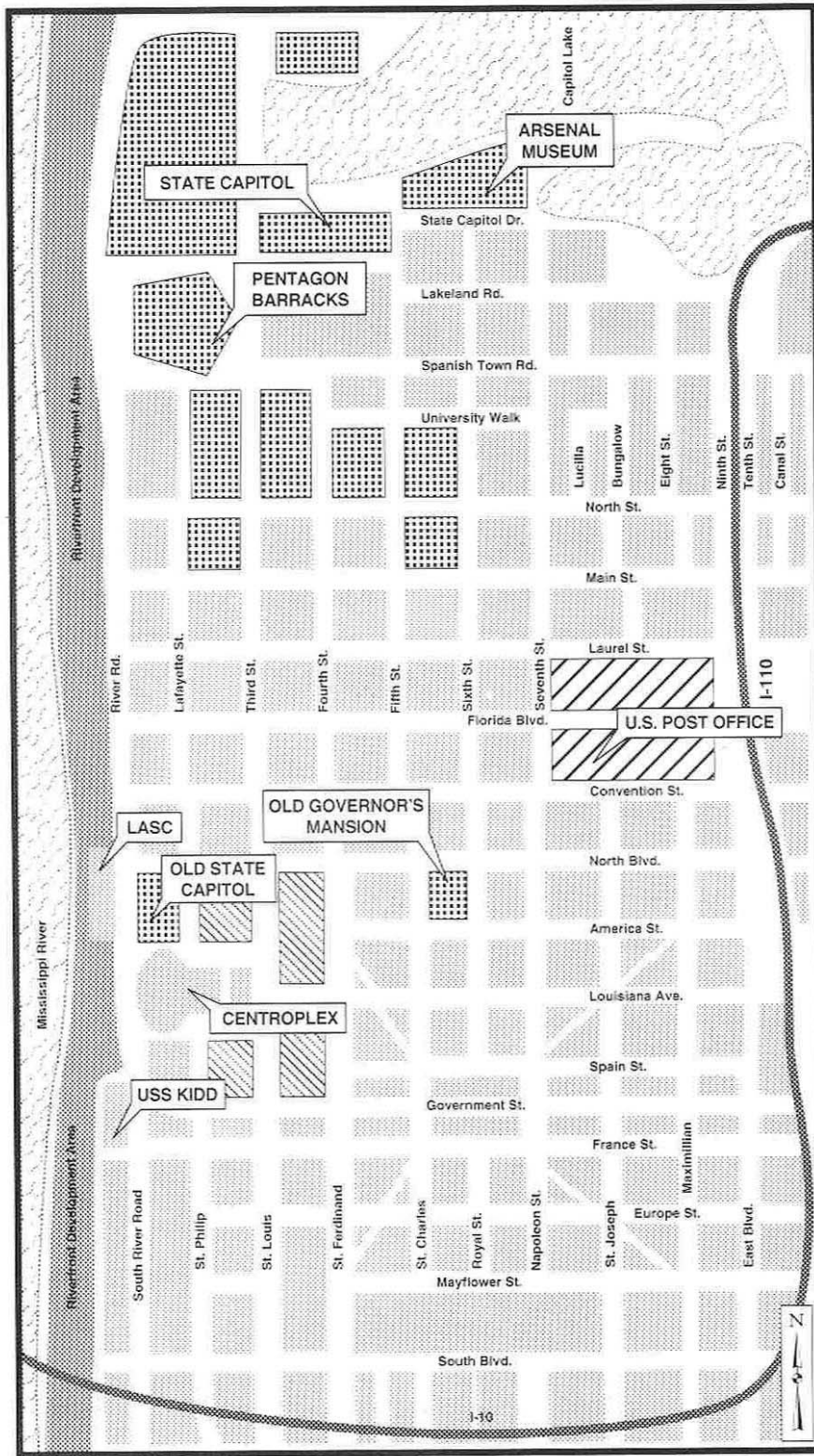


Fig 3. 18: Downtown Development District boundaries.

IV. THE REPRESENTATIONAL SPACE THROUGH CHILDRENS' DRAWINGS

Visiting the Schools

Given that the movement and the play of the kids was the most fascinating and entertaining thing for me the whole time I spent strolling along Government Street, I seek to understand their opinions of the environment they live in. Since I am not one of them, I cannot trace all of their movements, their frequency and their range. Besides, I recognize that there are so many more kids that I did not see on the streets whose opinions are equally important, and their absence from the streets can allude to different reasons and explanations. For instance, they may have gone to other places, perhaps equal or more interesting ones, than the children I observed.

In order to have a more inclusive sample I decided to conduct a survey through the public schools that the children who live in the area go. Relying on my observations I included in the research 4th and 5th graders, both boys and girls.

I formed a questionnaire similar but much more limited in length than the ones that were used in the previous studies about children. First, I tested it to a few students, 4th and 5th graders, both boys and girls, who go to the East Polk Elementary school but do not live in the case study area. From their responses I rephrased some of the questions, eliminated some others, and reformatted the graphic layout of the survey.

The final questionnaire was asking the students to draw a map showing the following: where they play, where they hang out with their friends, where they ride their bikes and where the important places and buildings are located. A “bonus question” was

included in the survey asking the children to describe with a few words their neighborhood to somebody who did not know it.

The children who live on the south side of Government Street between the Mississippi levee and East Boulevard go to Polk Elementary, which is located at 408 East Polk Street, on the south of the case study area. The Principal of the School Mr. Lee Dixon, very kindly let me conduct the survey in the school directly with the students.

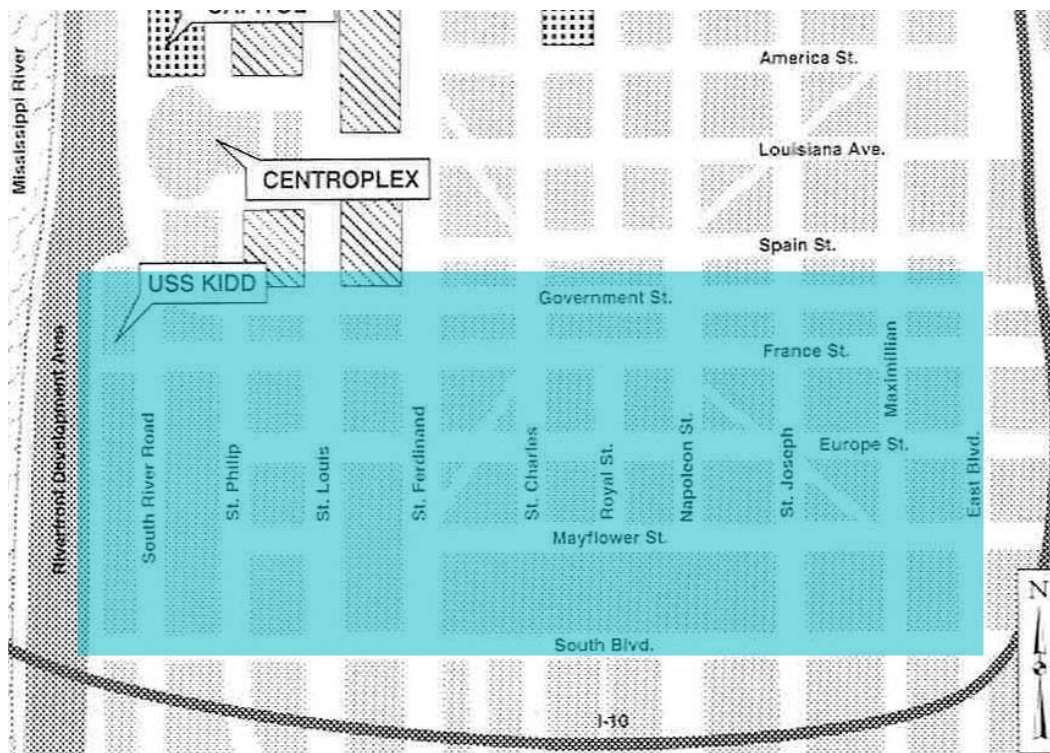


Fig 4.1: Polk Elementary students' area of residence.

The children who live in the area that is bounded between Government Street and North Boulevard, and between 10th and Eugene Street, go to Dufrocq Elementary, which is located at the 330 South 19th Street. Since the number of children who live in this part of the study area was high, and the students were distributed in different classes supervised by different teachers, I had to distribute the questionnaire to them and ask

them to complete the survey in their houses. Still, the Principle Ms. Mary Robveis was kind enough to let me go in each class individually. That gave me the chance to talk to the children and to explain them the questions. I let them know that answering the survey would be of great importance and value for me and I thanked them in advance for their time.

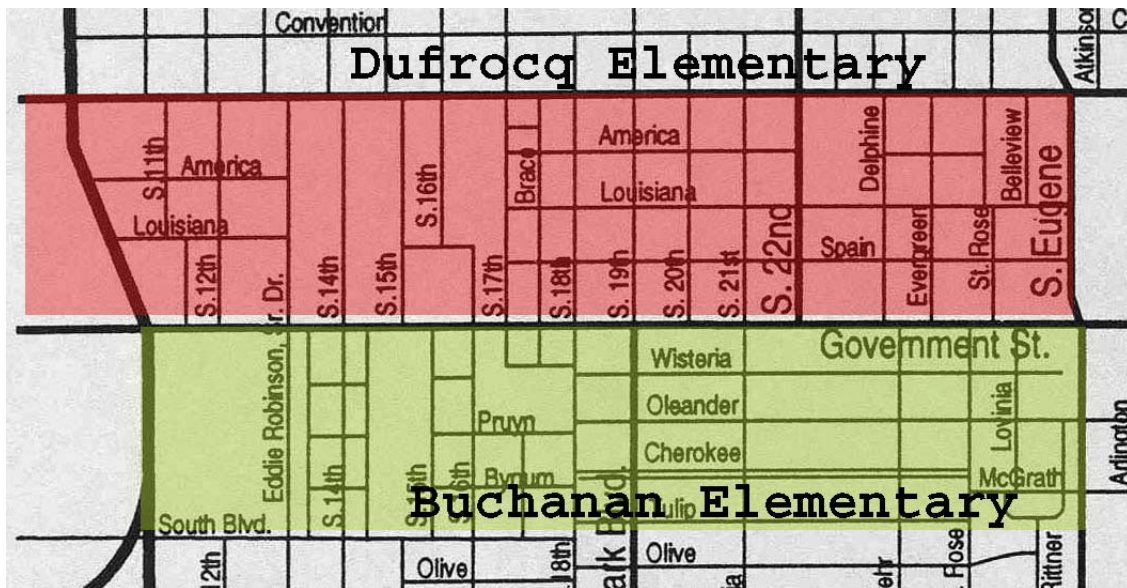


Fig 4.2: Dufrocq Elementary and Buchanan Elementary students' area of residence.

The children who live on the south side of Government Street between 10th Street and Eugene Street go to Buchanan Elementary. I still visited the classrooms and talked with the children. Since it is not permitted from any school to reveal the exact addresses of their students, I had to relay to somebody from the school to go through the records and find the names of the children who should participate. Since something like that unfortunately did not happen, and the children themselves did not label any streets in their drawings, I could not use any of their drawings. I did not find any children that live

on the north side of Government Street between the Mississippi levee and East Blvd who attend the public schools in the area.

Something that is very indicative but is also a limitation for my study is that all the children that I met in the public schools and finally turned back their questionnaires were black kids. It can be easily assumed that the white children, who live in the study area, since they come from wealthier families, go to private schools. So, black and white children who live in the study are, do not only live in separated neighborhoods but they also go to different schools.

Evaluating Their Responses

After I got back their drawings I categorized them based on the following:

1. If the children identified as their neighborhood only their houses or if they drew elements that exist beyond the limits of their houses or yards. This is something that according to Kevin Lynch's study can indicate how familiar the children are with the area in which they live. The degree of familiarity that the children develop with their neighborhoods is related with the presence or absence of places of activity where they feel welcomed and have easy access to.
2. I looked for the places and buildings that the children considered to be the important ones. Evaluating these places can reveal the image that the children have for their environment.
3. The written descriptions, in which most of the children expressed their opinions about their neighborhoods through words.

Dufrocq Elementary Students' Opinions

In Dufrocq Elementary School out of the forty-four students in which I distributed the questionnaires, twenty-two returned them back. Out of the twenty-two drawings that I gathered eleven of them, five generated from girls and six from boys, depicted maps showing streets and buildings other than their house. From the eleven children who drew only their houses five made comments about other places, although they did not draw them. There were no differences between boys' and girls' drawings and the comments in terms of the context of the drawings or the range of action they depicted through these drawings.

If it is safe to assume that the children who did not or could not draw a map of their area do not have a good knowledge of it, either because of possible lack of a sense of community or because of the absence of places of activity, it seems that half of them fall in this category. Still, since five out of the eleven children who did not draw a map referred through words to other than their houses places, it is possible that they have a greater knowledge of their neighborhood than the one that was presented through their drawings. Because of that I considered their answers in the following table that summarizes their responses.

Table 4.1: Dufrocq Elementary students' responses

	Map drawings	Comments	Total	% 16	% 22
Dufrocq	4	2	6	37.5	27.27
Downtown BR	1	3	4	25	18.18
Family/friends, houses	2	1	3	18.75	13.63
Park in the area	1	2	3	18.75	13.63
Church	1	0	1	6.25	4.54
Bars on the windows	1	0	1	6.25	4.54
Street pattern	1	0	1	6.25	4.54
Abandoned buildings	1	0	1	6.25	4.54

None of the children drew or mentioned any place or building located on the south side of Government Street. None of the children drew the interstate I-110 or the railroad tracks. Six out of the eleven kids (54.54%) drew simply housing units next to their house, and they made comments about the bad condition of their houses or their neighbors' houses, writing that they "need fix up". That can be an indicator of children's awareness of the poor economical condition of their area and the lack of places of activity in their area that would engage them more with their environment.

The school seems to be the activity that generates the greatest sense of community for these children. Second in their responses is rated to be the Downtown of Baton Rouge that although none of the children said that they ride their bikes to, hang out or play, they consider it as an important place. It is possible that the children are aware of places and activities that happen in Downtown, but they do not have easy access there.

Their movement and playing as it is presented in their drawings and comments seems to be limited within a few blocks around their houses, their yards and friends houses, and it does not extend beyond Government Street or the I-110. At the same time, they consider as an important place the Downtown area.

Since not the whole section of Government Street is defined as a racial boundary, it cannot be argued that color differences is the reason that keeps the children on the south side of the street. The fact that there is not enough activity to attract their attention, that there is difficulty in cross movement, or that they are restricted to move to these areas from their parents, seems more possible reasons. On the contrary, they probably consider the Downtown as an active and important place, although they do not mention to

have visited it since they just mention it without showing a street connecting it with their neighborhood.

Out of the eight children who gave a description of their neighborhood, six made negative comments about it, two positive and one neutral. The children seem to be very much aware of the social conditions and the poor quality of their physical environment. Their comments include observations of abandoned houses, cracks on the streets and social observations. As some of them wrote:

“It is junky and has a lot of drug sellers”: *boy 10 years old.*

“The roads are O.K. The neighborhood is quiet”: *boy 9 years old.*

“It looks bad!”: *girl 9 years old.*

“The cracks that are in a street need repaired”: *girl 11 years old.*

Overall, the children do not seem to identify enough activities in their neighborhood, something that is compatible with their descriptions of their neighborhoods, and my observation of the quality of the physical environment. At the same time, their movements do not extend beyond the area that does not seem to satisfy their desires. Possible reasons for that can be the parental supervision, the lack of activities for children in the adjacent areas and the lack of easy access to these areas. The street is presented as an important element in all of their drawings. The streets adjacent to their houses are defined as the place where they ride their bikes.

The children generate an image about their environment based on what is immediately around them. They do not draw the interstate in their drawings but at the same time they do not draw places beyond on the other side of it. They complain of the bad condition of the streets in their neighborhood but they do not ride their bikes in the

Garden District area, next to their neighborhood, that has well maintained roads and sidewalks. Possibly that happens because it is quite difficult for a ten and eleven year old child to cross a four lane, high-traffic road or the interstate.

Polk Elementary Students' Opinions

In Polk Elementary ten out of the ten children that live in the case study area, responded to the survey, since the principal of the school gave me the chance to conduct the research at school. Out of the ten students, five are boys and five are girls, and their drawings are similar in terms of their context. Nine out of the ten children drew buildings other than their houses, which shows that there is probably a great sense of awareness or community, and places of attraction for these children in near proximity.

Table 4.2: Polk Elementary students' responses

Places	Number of kids
McDonalds	3
Lawyer's offices	1
Vocational Technical school	1
Church	2
Gym	1
East Polk Elementary	1
South Boulevard Elementary	1
Store	1
Neighbors' houses	3
Trees	3

The drawings of the children show that they do not go far away from home to play and ride their bikes. They find places close to their homes that satisfy their needs. At the same time, they do not limit their actions in their yards or in their houses. They draw streets and refer to streets when they are asked to draw or describe their neighborhood. They did not identify as important places and buildings, the State Capitol, or other places in Downtown Baton Rouge that they do not visit.

Seven out of the ten children seemed to enjoy and to be satisfied with their neighborhoods when they describe it through words. As some of them wrote:

“It is very noisy and it’s very beautiful”: *girl 11*.

“My neighborhood is a good place, my friends and I like to play basketball”: *boy 10*.

“It is a good neighborhood”: *boy 10*.

“It is cool”: *girl 10*.

“It’s a good neighborhood”: *boy 10*.

The rest of the children answered this question by mentioning some more of the physical features of their neighborhood such as the warehouses without giving an opinion.

Still the maps that the children drew did not refer to areas further than three blocks from their houses. None of the children drew the Interstate I-110, although some of them live and play very close to it. They did not draw anything beyond the interstate, too. They also did not refer to the Mississippi River levee or any places in Downtown at all. The adjacent streets, the parking lots, and the grounds of the adjacent schools are enough to satisfy their needs. Three out of the ten children drew at least one tree next to their house, something that seems compatible with the positive image that they have for their neighborhood.

There are no findings in their responses that can allude that the racial nature of the boundaries limits the action of the children. The physical nature of those boundaries can be easily assumed that is what limits their movement and shapes the way they understand their neighborhood.

Conclusions

There is nothing in the drawings of the children or in the comments they made that refers to color differences. Since all the children that participated are black and the neighborhood on the east of the interstate I-110 is a black neighborhood, the safest assumption to be made is that the children that live on the east side of the interstate I-110 did not draw anything beyond the interstate because there are no places of attraction or because crossing the interstate is difficult for somebody their age. Besides, they identify plenty of places of activity in their neighborhood, who they have easy access to and satisfy their needs. It is interesting that they do not identify important places in Downtown. For them the important places and buildings are the ones they use.

The children who live on the north side of Government Street and the west side of the I-110 do not cross Government Street. Since there is not the whole street that functions as a racial boundary, the safest assumption to be made is that the physical qualities of the street rather than color differences limits their actions. The same can be said about the I-110, since the children are aware that there are places of activities in Downtown area, but they do not mention visiting them.

The children who live east of the I-110 and south of Government Street seem to live in an environment that does not provide them with enough places of activity, or easy access to places of activity. Not only their drawings but also their comments are critical and show a certain degree of dissatisfaction of the urban environment they live in.

Children stay within close proximity to their houses, and generate an image of the environment based on the images that they absorb from the specific social context of their neighborhood. It can be further questioned how much this social image has become

already or may become in the future something that they will associate with color differences, too. The children live in environments that adults have shaped. Their acts and perceptions are determined by these environments and are catalysts in shaping kids understanding of the world they live in.

In conclusion, the fact that physical urban boundaries coincide with social and racial boundaries is a result of the acts of adults. The planning decisions that have been made in the area have not challenged the social and racial boundaries that have persisted over time. Since the children did not mention anything about color differences when at the same time the research shows the persistence of racial patterns in the urban landscape of Baton Rouge means that color issues seem to be a concern of the adults rather than the children.

The information that can be gained from looking at the acts of the children is of different nature than the information that can be gained through their drawings. The first talks about real life activities and the second talks about the symbolic meaning of things rather than the things themselves. Their acts refer to the spatial practice, which is considered from scholars a political act. Their drawings refer to the representational space. If the representational space of the kids as it is presented through their drawings can be used to question the efficiency of the planning and design decisions, their acts can suggest new design solutions.

Future Studies

Future studies can extend to include:

- Children of different age groups
- Areas where homogenous social characteristics and different ethnicity occurs

- Areas where racial and physical boundaries do not coexist
- Areas where planning boundaries and design decisions challenged long established social and racial boundaries
- Methodological approaches that will rely more on the lived experience and the everyday acts and less in the exploration of the representational or imagined space.

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---. Comprehensive Land Use and Development Plan : City of Baton Rouge, Parish of East Baton Rouge. Wilbur Smith Associates, 1991-1992.

**Appendix A:
Letter to the Children's Parents**

Dear parents,

I am a third year graduate student in the Department of Landscape Architecture at Louisiana State University. I am currently working on my thesis, under the supervision of Prof. Bruce Sharky. My thesis is related to how children understand their urban environment. As part of my study I would like to ask some students to make a simple drawing/map and answer some questions.

I would like to ask your permission to allow your child to participate and help me complete my research. I have already provided your child with the paper for them to draw on. If you agree please sign.

The research is anonymous and the map your child draws will be used only to help me write my thesis.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Aspasia Xypolia
Tel. 225 772 2694
E-mail address: axypol1@lsu.edu

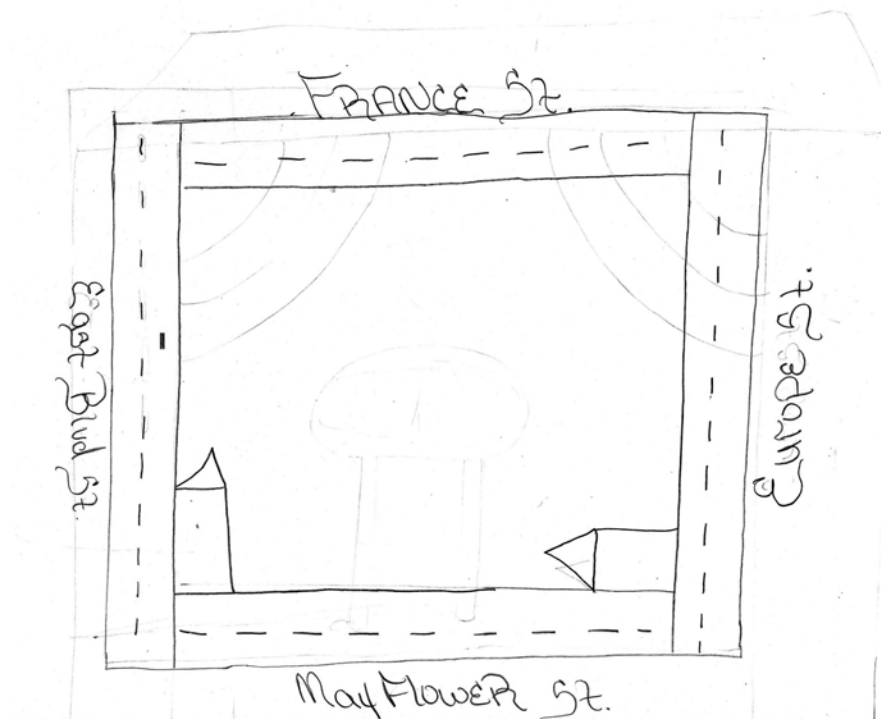
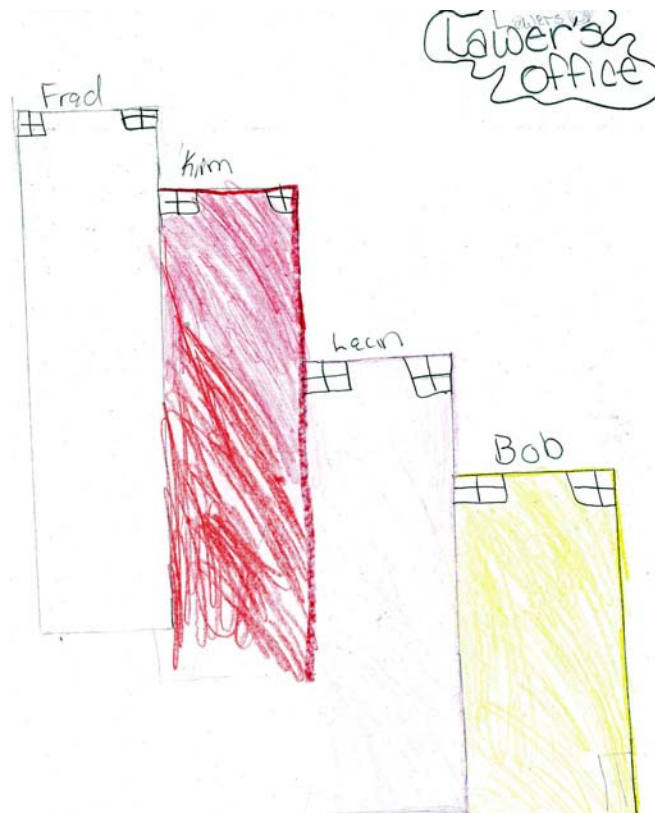
I agree to let my child fill out the questionnaire and make a map/drawing in order to provide the LSU student, Aspasia Xypolia, with the needed information for her research.

Parents name:

Signature:

Date:

**Appendix B:
Children's Drawings**





Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play?
- Where do you ride your bike?
- Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What are the important places and buildings?

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS...

How long have you lived in the house where you live today?

How old are you? 10

Are you (a) boy

b. girl

AND THE BONUS QUESTION!

How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it? It is a very quiet place.



Did you remember to label what the things that you drew on the map are?



Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play?
- Where do you ride your bike?
- Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What are the important places and buildings?

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS...

How long have you lived in the house where you live today? 10

How old are you? 10

Are you (a) boy

b. girl

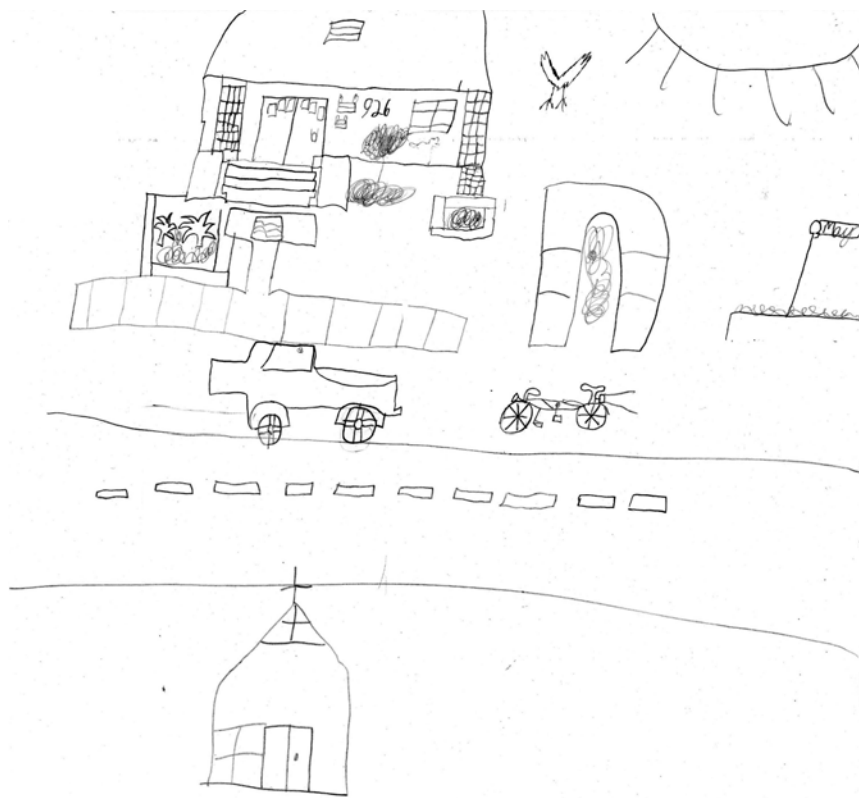
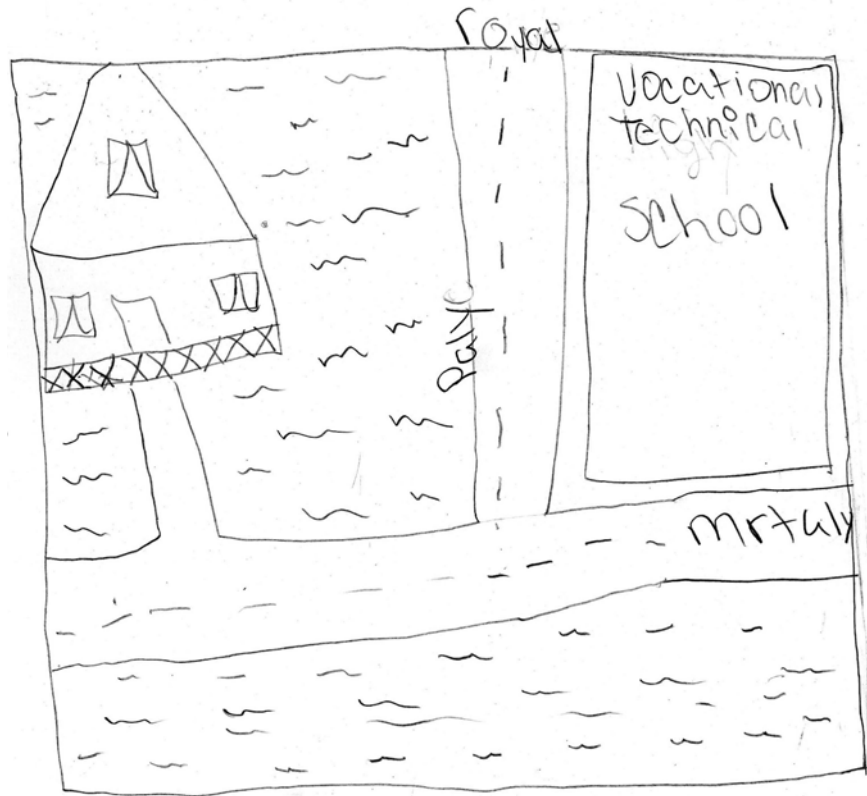
AND THE BONUS QUESTION!

How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it? It's a good neighborhood.



Did you remember to label what the things that you drew on the map are?







Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play?
- Where do you ride your bike?
- Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What are the important places and buildings?

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS...

How long have you lived in the house where you live today? 2 years

How old are you? 101

Are you a boy

b. girl

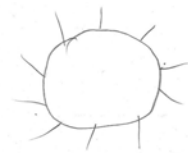
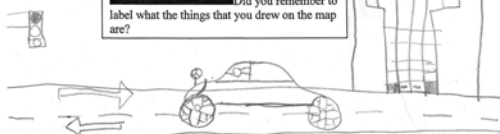
AND THE BONUS QUESTION!

How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it?

My neighborhood is a good place
my friends
and I
like to play
basketball



Did you remember to
label what the things that you drew on the map
are?



Terrace



Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play?
- Where do you ride your bike?
- Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What are the important places and buildings?

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS...

How long have you lived in the house where you live today? 10 years

How old are you? 11

Are you a boy

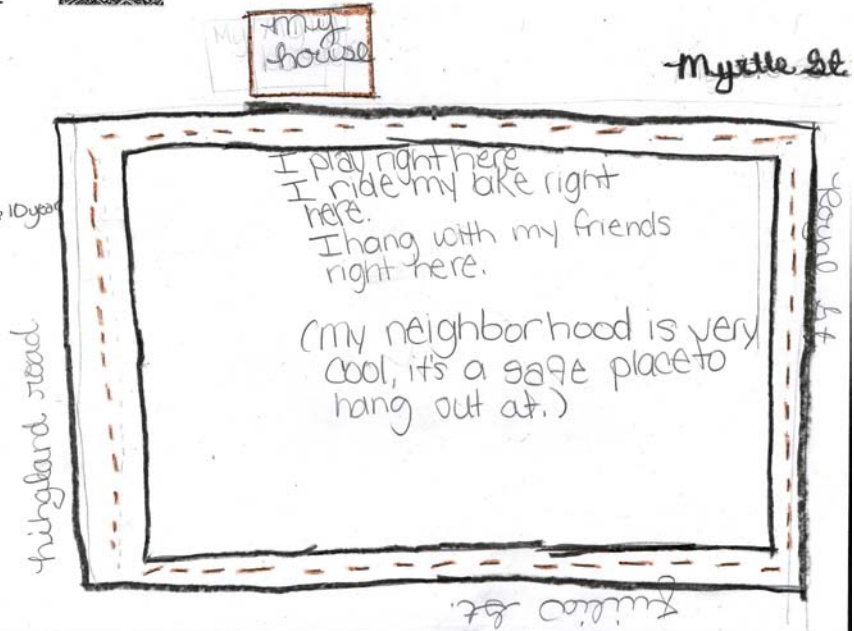
girl

AND THE BONUS QUESTION

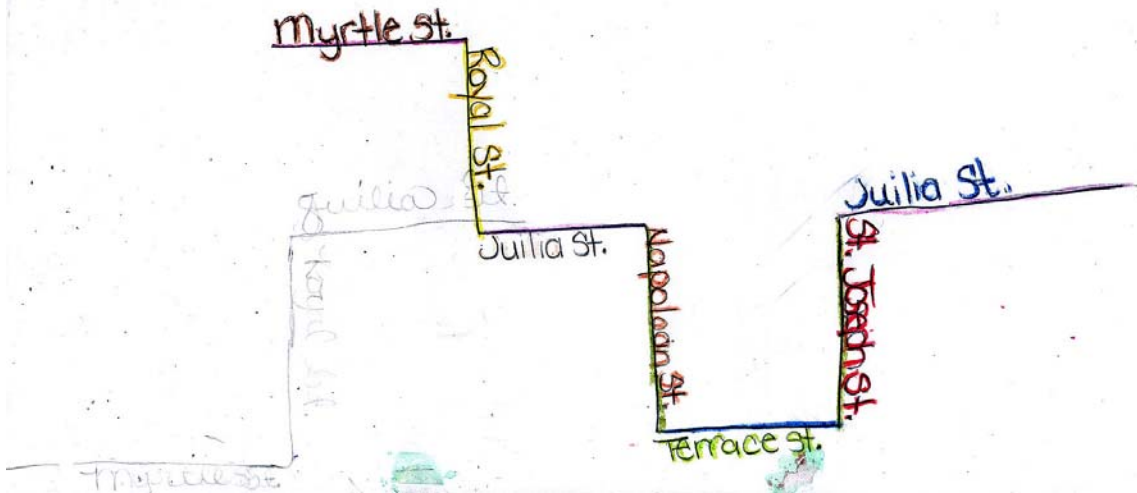
How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it?

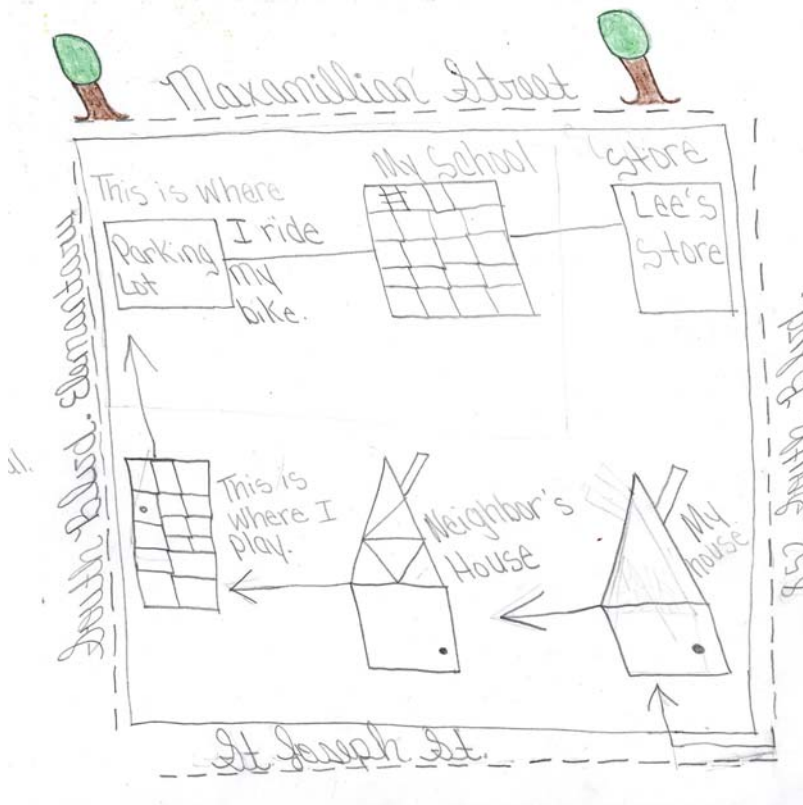


Did you remember to label what the things that you drew on the map are?



My Neighborhood





Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play?
- Where do you ride your bike?
- Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What are the important places and buildings?

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS...

How long have you lived in the house where you live today? About 3 years.

How old are you? 10 years old.

Are you a boy

☒ girl

AND THE BONUS QUESTION

How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it?



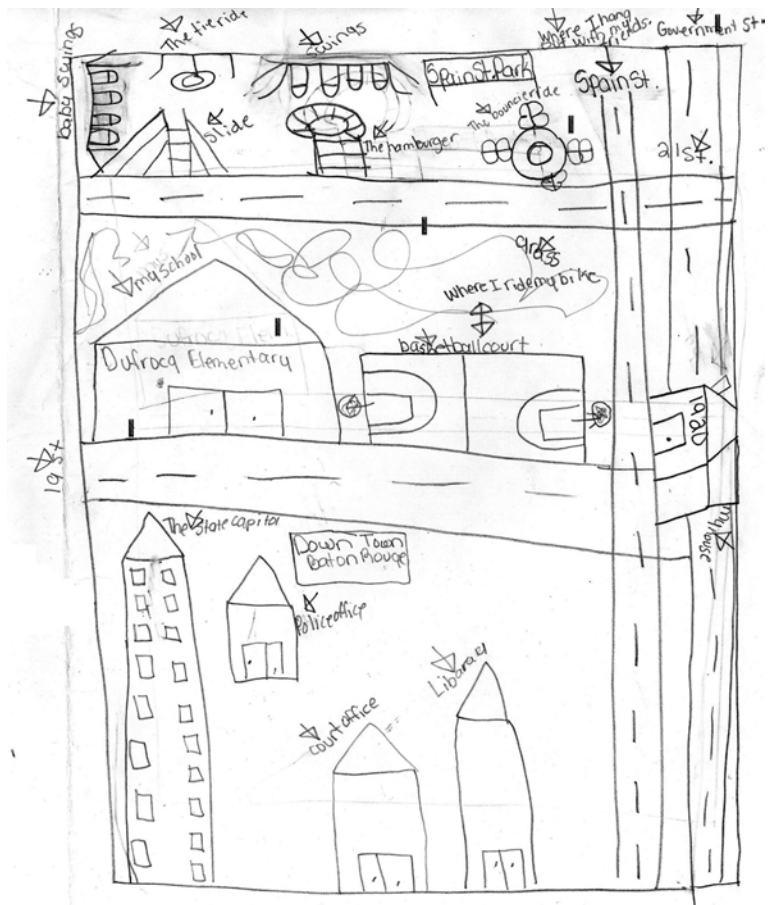
Did you remember to label what the things that you drew on the map are?

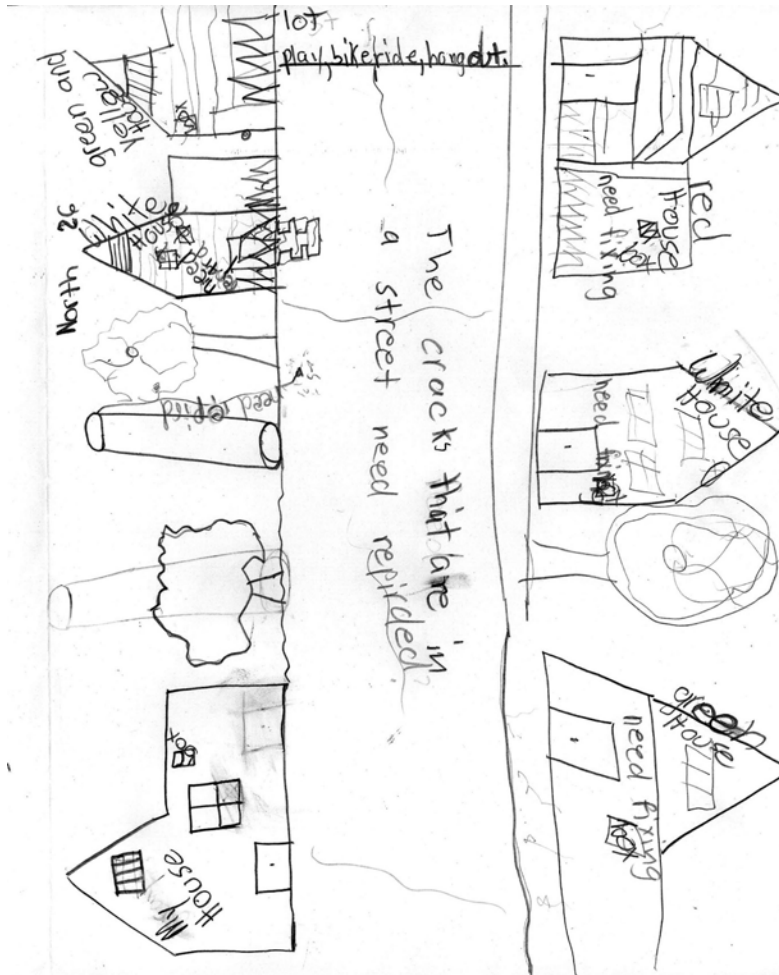
It's by Channel 2 news
It's white And it's also
by mcdonalds. The
adress is 639 Saint
Joseph St.
Ah when you come
you will see a blue
truck!!!!

mail box

stairs







Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house green
- Where do you play? back yard
- Where do you ride your bike? park
- Where do you hang out with your friends? school
- What are the important places and buildings?

A POET ASKED QUESTIONS...

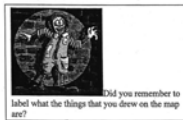
How long have you lived in the house where you live today? 12 years

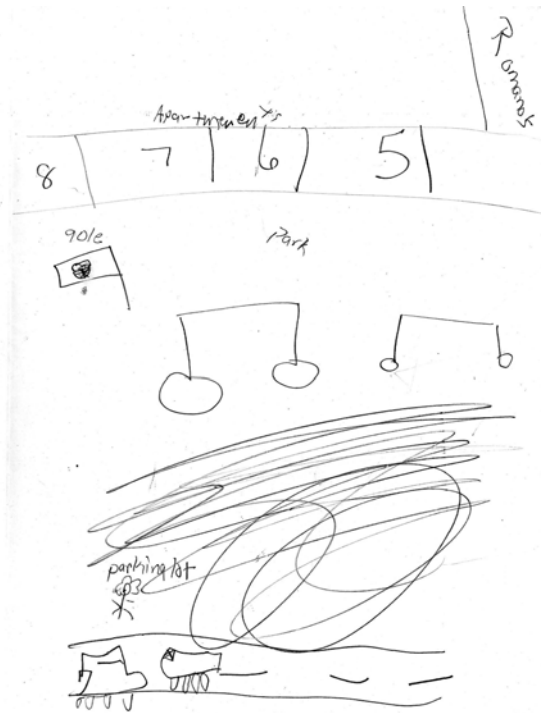
How old are you? 12 years old

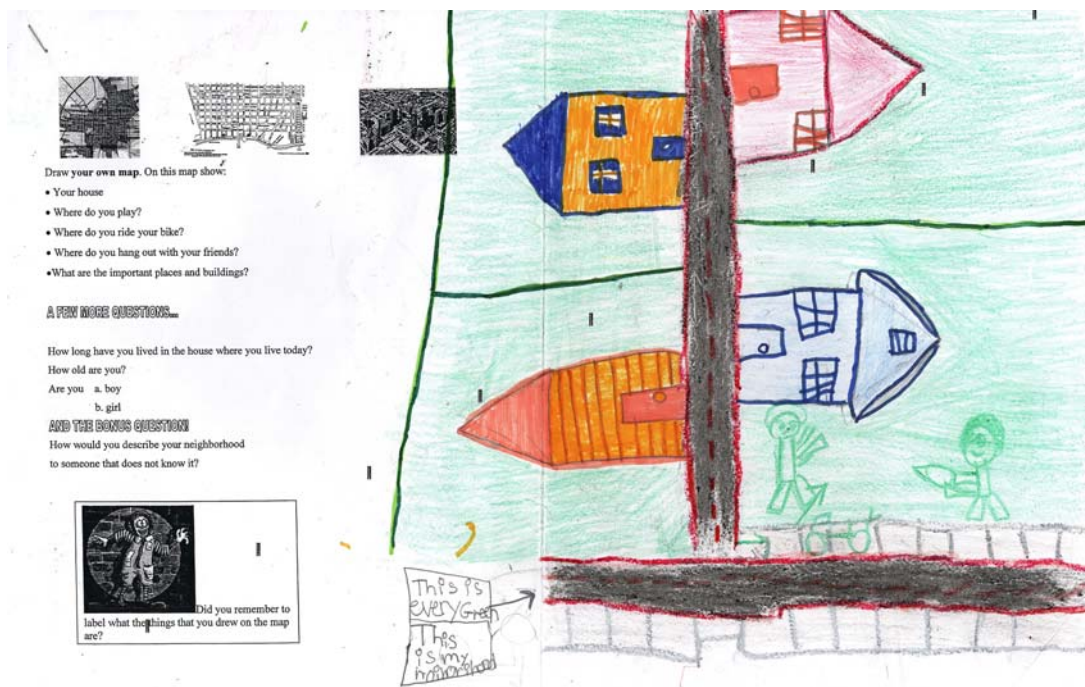
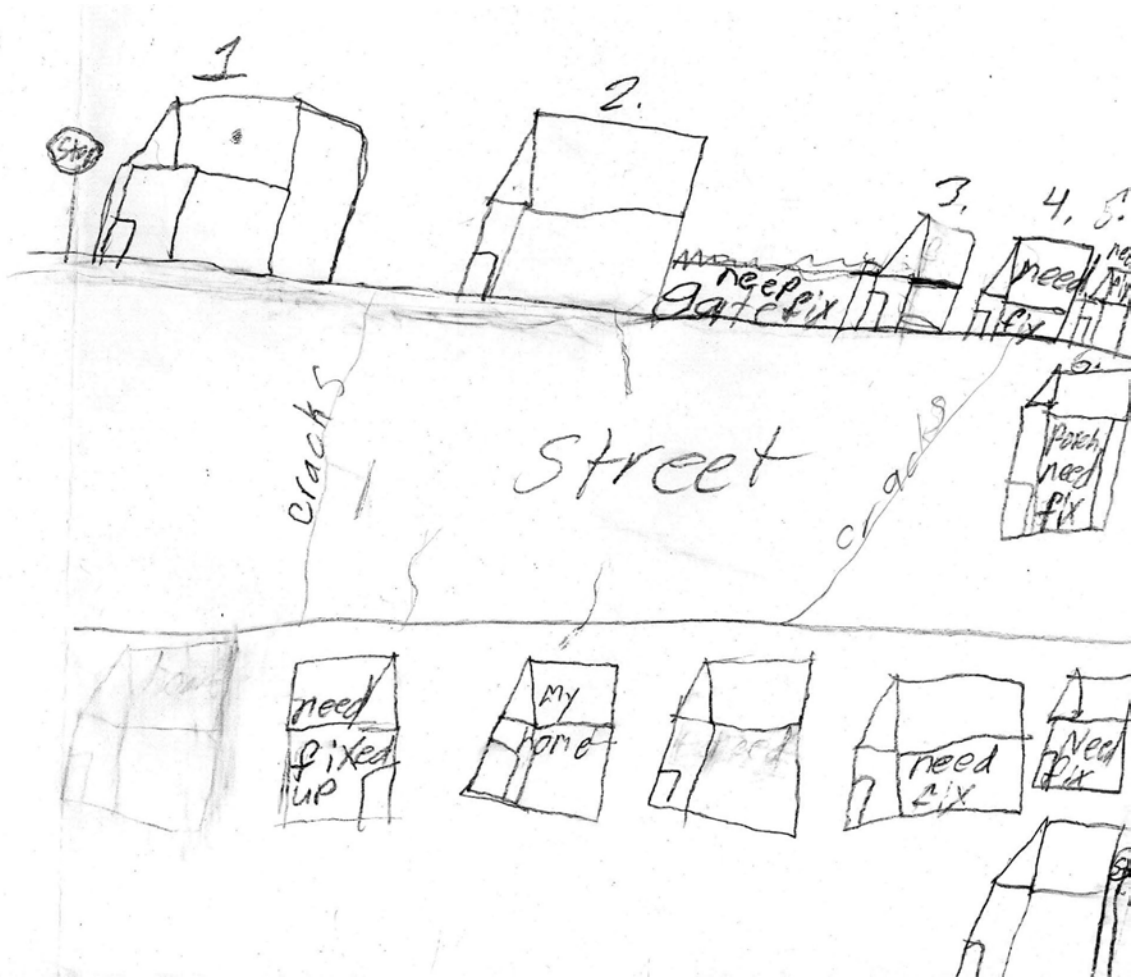
Are you a, boy (b) girl


ADD YOUR DRAWING QUESTIONS

How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it?









Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play?
- Where do you ride your bike?
- Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What are the important places and buildings?

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS...

How long have you lived in the house where you live today? 1 year


How old are you? 10


Are you a. boy b. girl

AND THE BONUS QUESTION

How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it? I would tell them where houses is on the street and where every thing is.

Did you remember to label what the things that you drew on the map are?





Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play? I play around the corners
- Where do you ride your bike? I do not have a bike
- Where do you hang out with your friends? I hang out by my house
- What are the important places and buildings? Dumbo is state capital

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS...

How long have you lived in the house where you live today? about 6 months


How old are you? 12

Are you a. boy b. girl

AND THE BONUS QUESTION

How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it?

Did you remember to label what the things that you drew on the map are?





Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play?
- Where do you ride your bike?
- Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What are the important places and buildings?

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS...

How long have you lived in the house where you live today?

How old are you? *Seven years*

Are you ☒ a. boy

☐ b. girl

AND THE BONUS QUESTION!

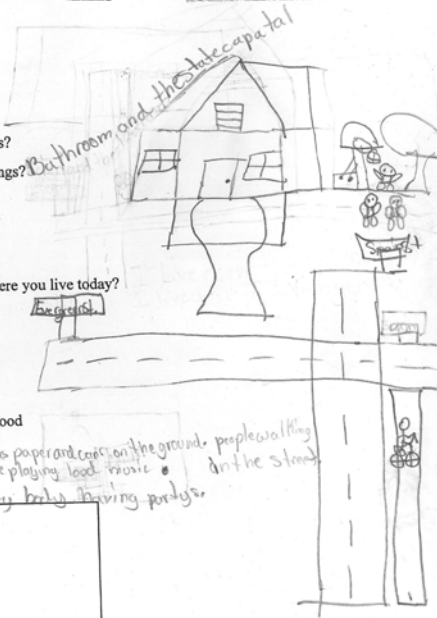
How would you describe your neighborhood

to someone that does not know it?

*It has paper and cards on the ground. people walking
People playing loud music in the street
Every body having parties.*



Did you remember to label what the things that you drew on the map are?



Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play?
- Where do you ride your bike?
- Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What are the important places and buildings?

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS...

How long have you lived in the house where you live today? *7 1/2 months*

How old are you? *9 years old*

Are you ☒ a. boy

☐ b. girl

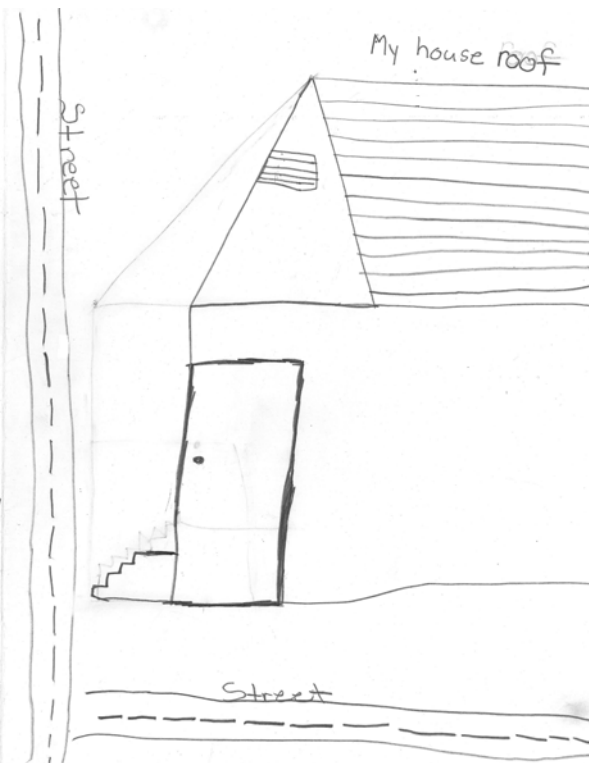
AND THE BONUS QUESTION!

How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it?

I would describe my neighborhood by labeling it.



Did you remember to label what the things that you drew on the map are?





Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play?
- Where do you ride your bike?
- Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What are the important places and buildings?

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS...

How long have you lived in the house where you live today? 5 months

How old are you? I am nine years old.

Are you a boy

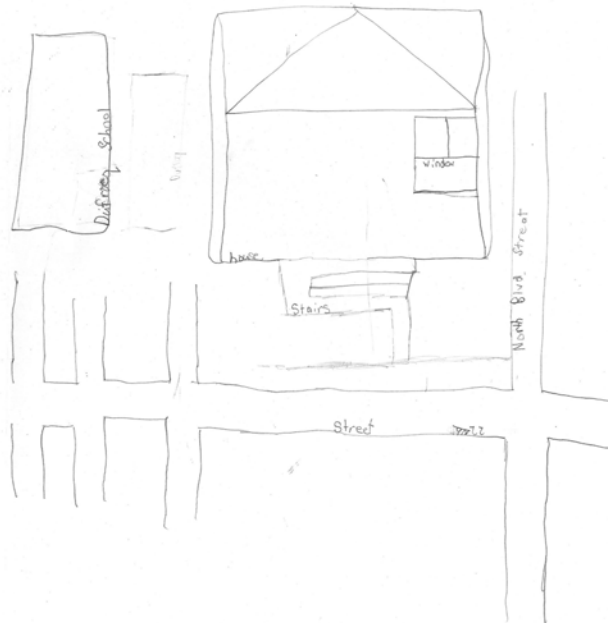
b. girl

AND THE BONUS QUESTION!

How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it? The roads are sh. The neighborhood is quiet



Did you remember to label what the things that you drew on the map are?



Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play?
- Where do you ride your bike?
- Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What are the important places and buildings?

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS...

How long have you lived in the house where you live today?

How old are you?

Are you a boy

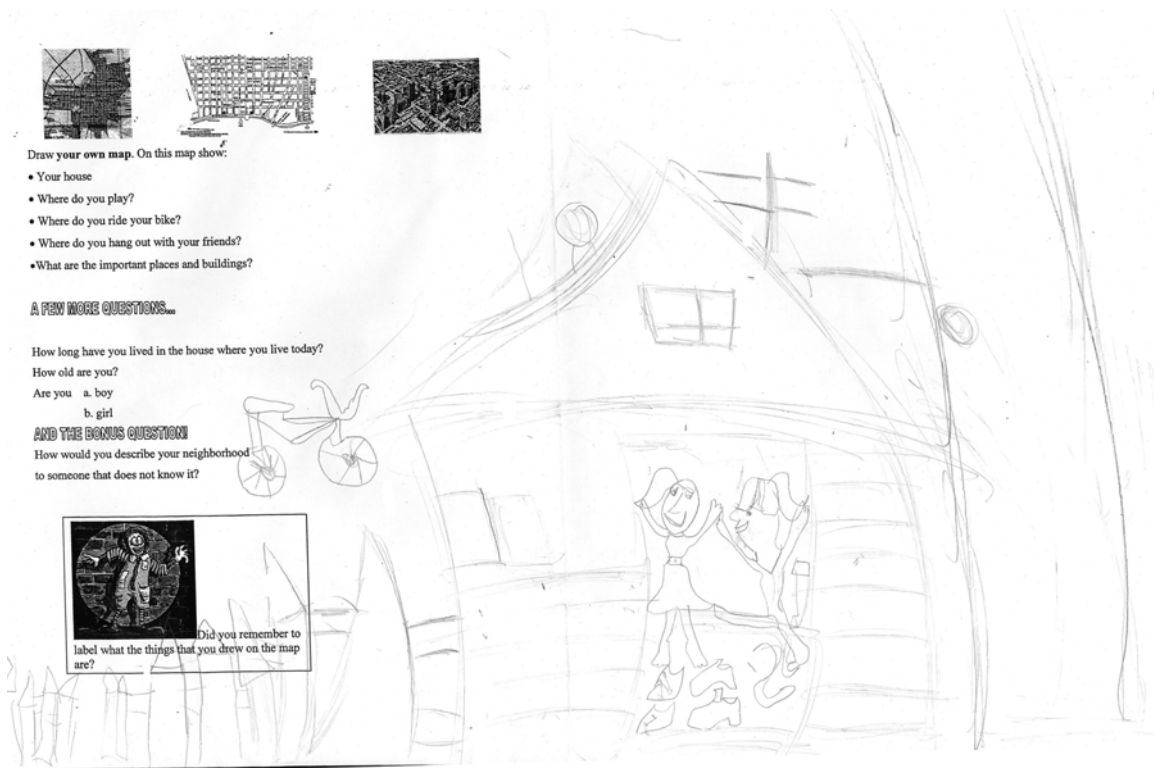
b. girl

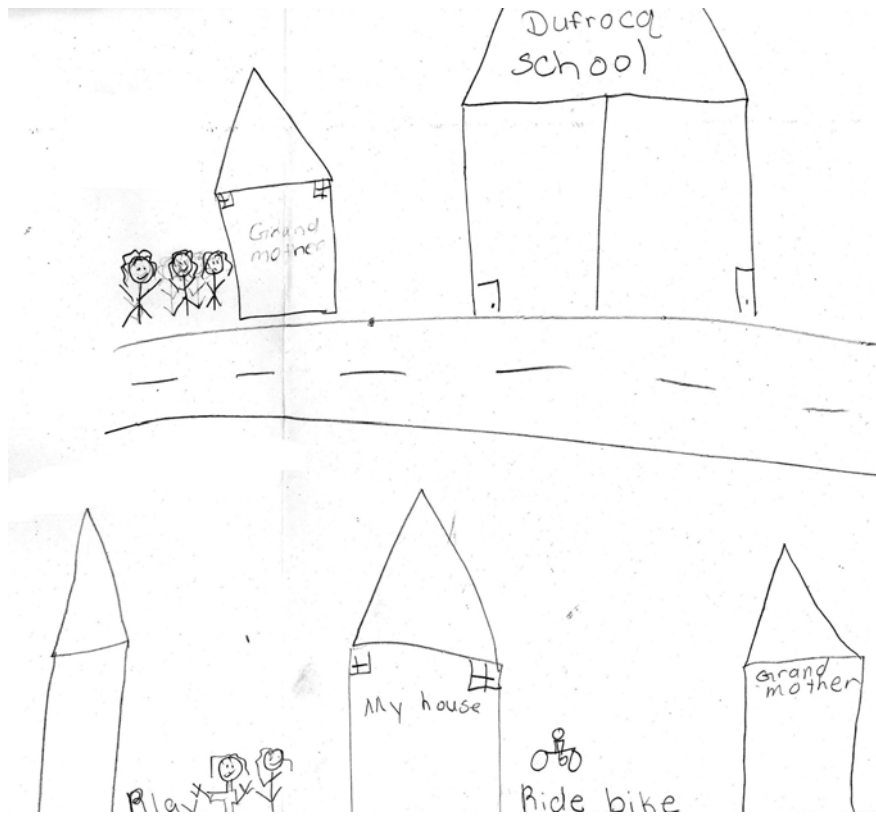
AND THE BONUS QUESTION!

How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it?



Did you remember to label what the things that you drew on the map are?





Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play?
- Where do you ride your bike?
- Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What are the important places and buildings?

A FEW MORE QUESTIONS...

How long have you lived in the house where you live today?

How old are you? 12 mths

Are you a. boy
b. girl

AND THE BONUS QUESTION

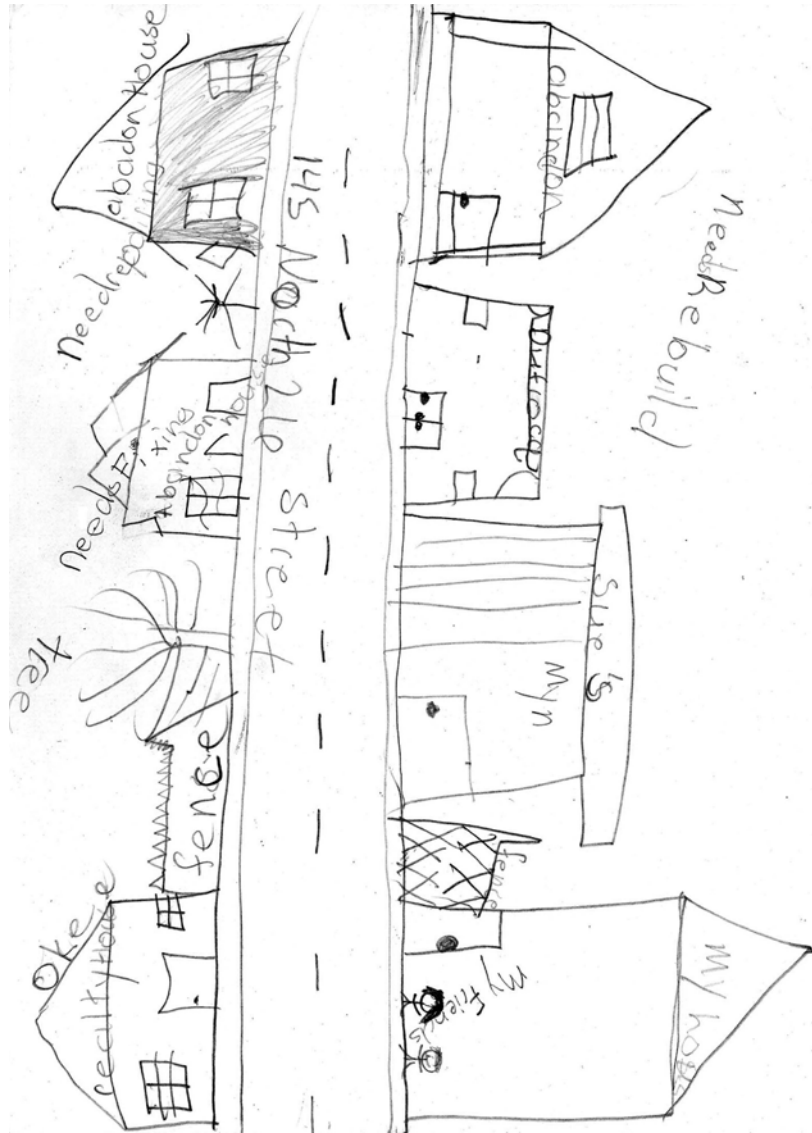
How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it?

dusty
Needs some more
work.

Did you remember to label what the things that you drew on the map are?

building
house
side-walk
road
sidewalk

Park around the corner from University gardens



Draw your own map. On this map show:

- Your house
- Where do you play?
- Where do you ride your bike?
- Where do you hang out with your friends?
- What are the important places and buildings?

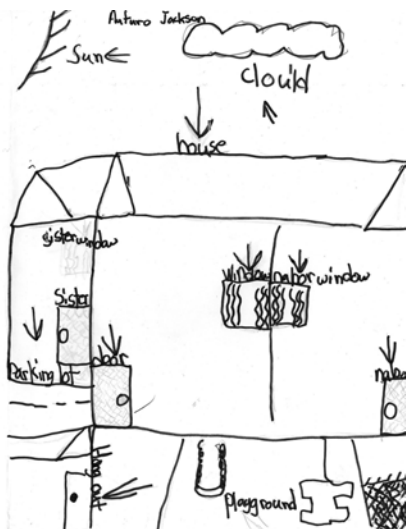
A PONY MANE GARDENING

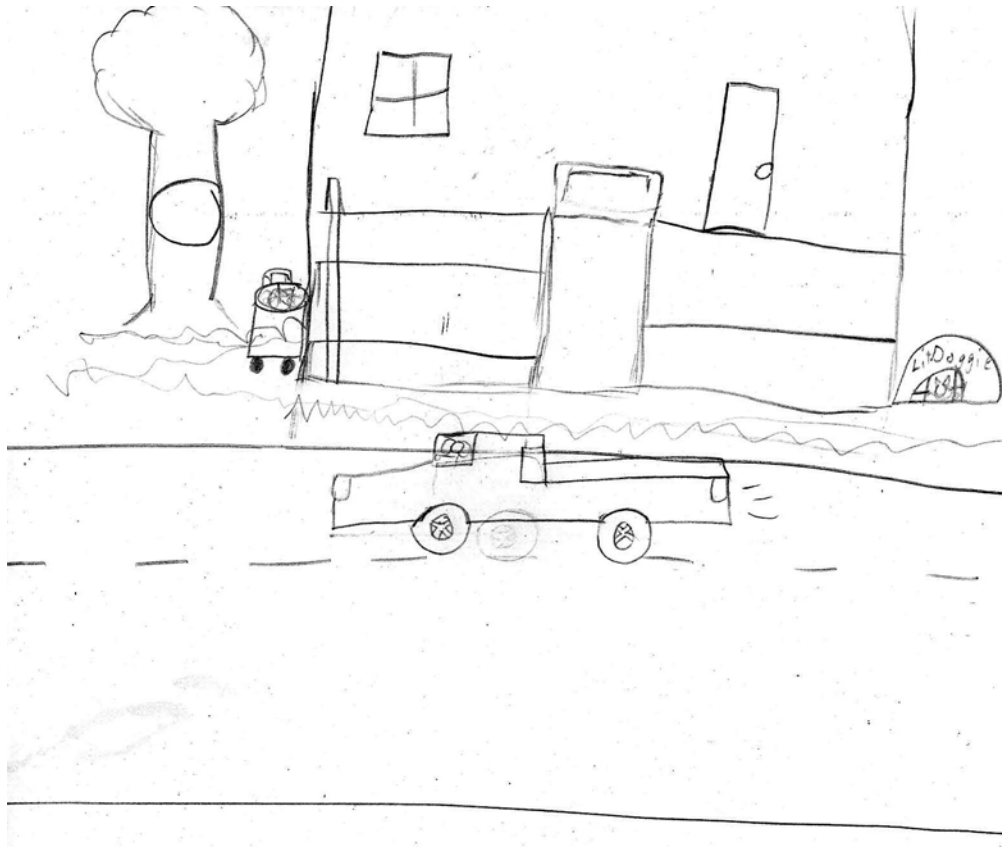
How long have you lived in the house where you live today?
How old are you?
Are you a boy or a girl?

AND YOUR DREAMS

How would you describe your neighborhood to someone that does not know it?

Did you remember to label what the things that you drew on the map are?





Appendix C:
Photographs of Government Street













VITA

Aspasia Xypolia, born in Athens, Greece, on February 6, 1976, grew up in Ligourio Argolidas, Greece. She received her bachelor of crop science in agriculture from the Agricultural University of Athens, Greece, in June 1999. In the last year of her studies she awarded a scholarship from the Foundation of State Scholarships of Greece for Diploma Thesis, in the Department of Landscape Architecture of the Technical University of Munich, Germany. It was during that time that Aspasia got fascinated with the field of landscape architecture, which deals both with the land and its people. She started the master's program in Landscape Architecture at Louisiana State University in the fall of 2000 and plans to receive her degree in August 2003.