

ASPIRATION, ADAPTATION, AND INVOCATION:
A PIDGINIZATION-BASED MODEL OF TRANSITION WITHIN THE BUILT
ENVIRONMENT OF NORTHWEST COAST TOWNS

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Aspiration, Adaptation And Invocation: A Pidginization-Based Model Of Transition

Within The Built Environment Of Northwest Coast Towns

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the Built Environment of Northwest Coast Towns**

Abstract

In recent years, within Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, traditional resource industries have experienced downturns, while metropolitan populations have increased markedly. The readily accessible portion of this region's resource hinterland has simultaneously become a recreational hinterland. Thus, in order to persist, many towns of the hinterland have rapidly converted to a tourism-based economy. One of the most striking physical manifestations of this trend is the modification of townscapes, in order to make towns more appealing to tourists. Thus, the built environments of these towns are being modified for expressive purposes.

While many authors have addressed the expressive use of the built environment, few of the existing models are appropriate for application to townscapes within dynamic social contexts. I therefore propose a model derived from studies of linguistic pidginization. Pidgin languages emerge during periods of increased inter-group contact, providing an intersubjective means of communication. These languages exhibit regular features, which reflect the particular limitations of a new and spontaneously generated language: elements from each language are fused together and simplified, in order to facilitate basic exchanges of ideas, while pre-existing terms exhibit semantic 'drift,' in which groups

apply old terms to heretofore unknown objects and concepts.

Analyzing historical events on the Northwest coast, I argue that the recent creation of tourist-oriented townscapes within pre-existing communities reflects a process analogous to linguistic pidginization, wherein builders attempt to balance adaptive and inertial socio-economic pressures. Utilizing historical and contemporary photographs of the towns of the Northwest coast, I demonstrate that the built environments of these towns exhibit changes analogous to the structural changes within a pidginized language. Thus, elements which assist tourists in navigation and the recognition of commercial establishments, such as signs, have exhibited 'simplification,' adapted for visibility and broad intelligibility. The use of other features has rapidly 'drifted,' as in the case of vernacular residential architecture which has been utilized in unprecedented tourist-oriented commercial applications. And many features have exhibited 'fusion,' as with new commercial structures which combine local vernacular architecture with elements from external architectural traditions.

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Chapter One

Introduction: A Region in Transition

1.1: The emerging Northwestern region¹

Northwestern North America is currently experiencing profound changes. During the 1980s and 1990s, the metropolitan areas of the Willamette Valley, Puget Sound and the Strait of Georgia have exhibited some of the highest proportional rates of urban population growth within the United States and Canada. This development has been fueled by many factors, including the successes of local 'clean' industries, in such sectors as electronics, communications and finance, the growing Pacific Rim orientation of the global economy, and, arguably, a widely held perception that the region is rich in amenities, conditioning decisions regarding residential location and the placement of increasingly 'footloose' industries. (Ullmann, 1954; U.S. Bancorp, 1993; Schwantes, 1989, p.347; Whitelaw and Niemi, 1989)

Simultaneously, much of the traditionally resource-oriented hinterland of the Northwest is experiencing a period of profound

¹ The definition of regional boundaries is an inherently problematic, albeit vital component of any discussion of regional character, as many scholars have suggested. (Murphy, 1991) In the discussion of 'the Northwest region,' I attempt to aggregate the experiences of western Oregon, western Washington and coastal British Columbia, although a broader interpretation of the region, including northern California and southeastern Alaska, for example, would be coherent with the arguments as presented. The aggregation of both Canadian and American examples is cautiously accepted as valid, owing to parallel social and economic histories on either side of the border. As Evenden and Turbeville suggest, "no matter how separate or similar the national experiences...the essential unity of the region can never be completely denied." (Evenden and Turbeville, 1992, p.56)

I use the terms "Northwest" and "Northwest coast" with a recognition that, from the Canadian perspective, much of the region discussed is in that country's Southwest. However, the term "Northwest coast" is the conventional designation for this region in academic writing on both sides of the border, in such fields as anthropology, history, and biology. Thus all references to the "Northwest coast" should be understood to suggest the northern Pacific coast littoral of the United States and the whole of the Pacific coast littoral of Canada.

decay. Resource towns flounder or disband, as their industries succumb to the localized, short-term exhaustion of timber supplies, the long-term exhaustion of accessible mineral sources, and the potentially long-term depletion of fish stocks, as well as the industrial restructuring, process automation, and more stringent environmental controls which are currently reshaping these primary industries. Fluctuations in the market for such goods as construction materials have also had a bearing upon the contemporary condition of the resource hinterland, contributing to the traditional booms and busts of the region, though the bulk of the factors cited here reflect long-term technological, economic, and cultural adjustments which may not soon be reversed. (U.S. Bancorp, 1993; Schwantes, 1989; Whitelaw and Niemi, 1989; Barber, 1978) So profound is the resulting intra-regional dichotomy, that authors commonly speak of the existence of 'two Northwests,' one vital, cosmopolitan and urban, the other isolated and moribund. (Schwantes, 1989, p.347; papers in Evenden, 1978) Still, the hinterland has not uniformly declined.

Tourism and other forms of amenity-oriented development have infused many of hinterland communities with new life. Some have suggested that "a[n outdoor] recreation culture dominates life in the Northwest," (Gastil, 1975, p.268) and that the "concept of enhancing the quality of life" permeates daily life in this region. (Garreau, 1981, p.251) To be sure, this regional concern with outdoor recreation would seem to be part of the 'recreation culture' which has emerged throughout the developed world since the end of the Second World War. This trend also corresponds to the recent public concern regarding ecological stability and environmental quality. (Bell, 1973, p.127; Whitelaw and Niemi, 1989; Helm, 1991, Grenier, et al., forthcoming). Thus, the region's recreational and environmental orientation is enhanced, as the region becomes a magnet for the increasingly amenity-seeking North American public. (Schwantes, 1989; Ullman, 1954)

The Northwest's hinterland is an integral part of this process. As Carlos Schwantes suggests,

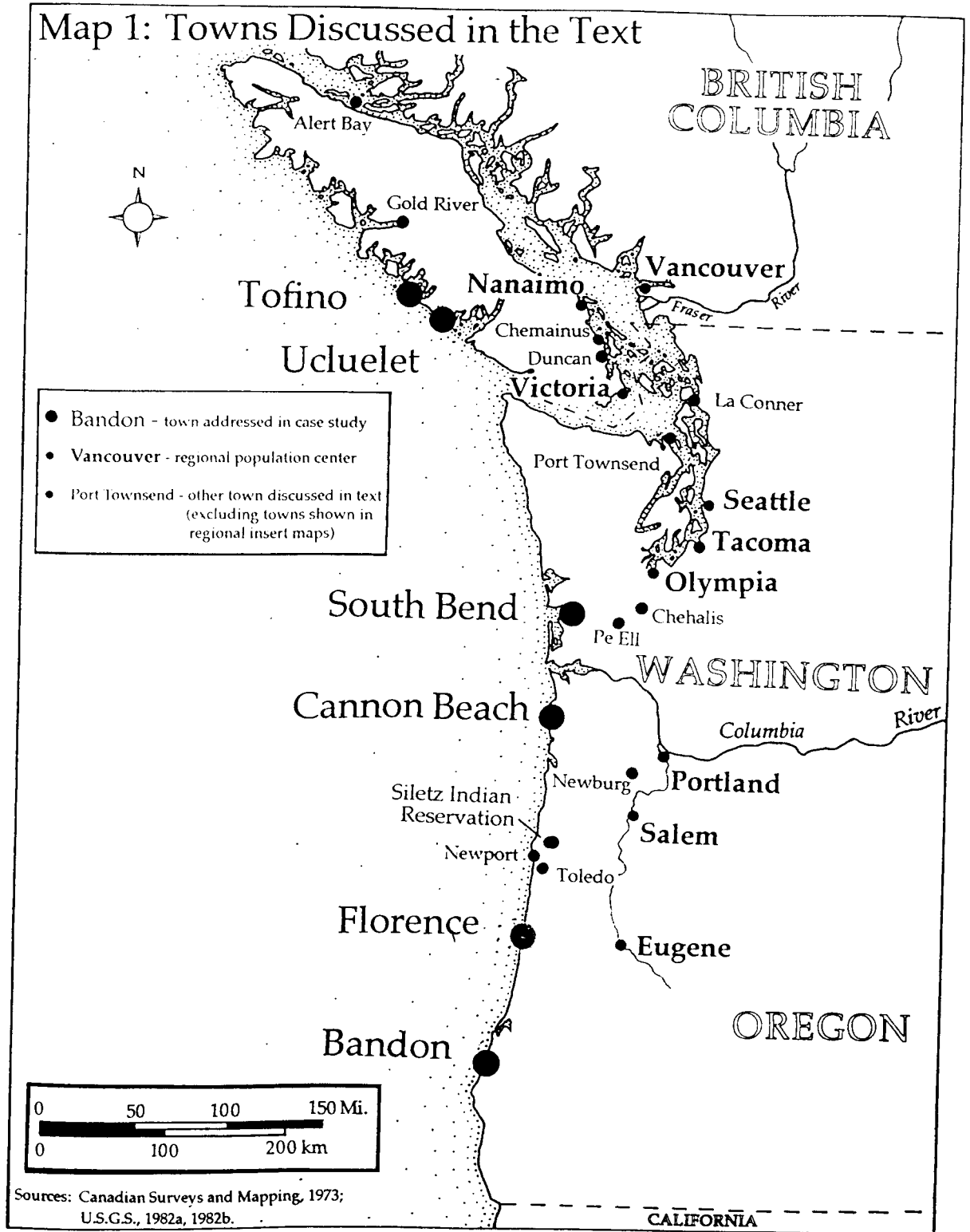
"the juxtaposition of metropolitan trend-setter and hinterland is, in fact, the defining quality of life in the modern Northwest. The accessibility of the hinterland from metropolitan centers remains the key feature of what residents regard as a desirable life-style." (Schwantes, 1989, p.383, emphasis in original)

Thus, the influx of metropolitan populations has been accompanied by a striking increase in the recreational demands on the region, facilitating an expansion of the metropolitan 'urban field' into once isolated places. (cf. Coppack, 1988a, 1988b) Many of the hinterland communities have attempted to capitalize on this trend, abandoning attempts to promote additional industrial growth, and instead reshaping the community to service the recreational needs of the itinerant metropolitan masses.

Cities on the inland reaches of navigable tidal waterways within the Northwest, such as Vancouver, Seattle, Portland, have become the centers of the metropolitan Northwest. However, much of the outer coast, along the Pacific littoral, has remained part of the region's hinterland, and has historically been a zone of small towns, primarily dependent upon timber harvesting and fishing, and less commonly on mining or agriculture. (Map 1, p.4) This littoral zone is characterized by coastal mountains, small beaches separated by headlands, and - north of the Strait of Juan de Fuca - glacially-carved inlets. The land is covered with dense forests of Sitka Spruce (*Picea sitchensis*) and Western Hemlock (*Tsuga heterophylla*). This coast experiences far more precipitation than the metropolitan areas of the region, and is known internationally for its abundant wildlife. During the summers the rains cease, and this 'raincoast' is visited by growing numbers of tourists during this dry season. It is this amenity-rich coastline that I address in this thesis.

'The tourist gaze' has lately been turned toward the Northwest coast littoral and the results have been profound. (Urry, 1990) (see Graph 1, Appendix) Towns of the coastal hinterland which have cultivated local amenities in a way intelligible to the metropolitan population have continued to grow at or above regional averages, while experiencing abrupt social and economic adjustment.

Map 1: Towns Discussed in the Text



Formerly home to numerous small towns, each vying with the other to promote development, the Northwest coast has recently witnessed the emergence of a new type of boomtown, one in which 'progress,' paradoxically, comes to those places giving the impression of stalled progress and historicity. Traditionally home to isolated communities, dependent on the harvesting of natural resources, the Northwest coast has recently witnessed the growth of a new type of resource town, dependent upon the 'cultivation' of natural amenities for an exogenous audience.²

Historically, the natural environment of the Northwest coast was "revered as a source of aesthetic pleasure and outdoor recreation," while being simultaneously "exploited and abused to provide profits and jobs." (Schwantes, 1989, p.368) This duality came to produce serious tension within the region only during the late 20th century.³ Now the region experiences an 'identity crisis' as proponents of these two uses of the same resources contest for social, economic, and political hegemony within the context of a growing scarcity of resources and employment opportunities, making the traditionally resource-dependent Northwest coast "a region at a major crossroads in its history." (Schwantes, 1989, p.369)

Residents of the coastal hinterland now acknowledge that,

²It may be that the mere increase in communication and transportation linkages between metropolitan centers and the former resource hinterland has magnified the trend toward a regionally-based concern with environmental amenity. Because of such linkages, the external diseconomies of traditional resource exploitation are increasingly experienced by a population with no direct stake in the production processes of local primary and secondary industries.

³See Glacken, 1956b for a concise discussion of a conceptual duality inherent within 20th century resource interpretation. Glacken's work stresses a fundamental dichotomy between two broad streams of contemporary Western thought, one being an extractive view of the environment, concerned with the more efficient utilization of natural resources, and the other being concerned with the recognition and protection of 'the delicate and fragile balance of nature.' (Glacken, 1956b) This interpretation appears to correspond with Schwantes' regionally-delimited discussion. (1989)

regardless of the outcome of these conflicts, tourism is a growth industry within the contemporary Northwest, and natural resource extraction is not. The widely accessible segments of the Northwest coast, conforming to a trend prevalent throughout the region, have thus taken a decisive turn, and are now clearly becoming part of an exclusively recreational hinterland, a host landscape to the plethora of recent regional immigrants. If these communities are to persist, they have no choice but to enter this most recent phase of townscape development.

1.2: Changing townscapes of the Northwest coastal hinterland

The emergence of recreational towns within a hinterland of former resource towns creates a unique pattern of physical traces on the landscape. The Northwest coast could be said to be experiencing a morphogenetic shift - a rapid change in social and economic pressures, resulting in a change in the ways in which the landscapes of an area are modified by human action. (Conzen, 1960; Vance 1977) Historically, such morphogenetic changes have often correlated with changes in local or regional patterns of resource use, resulting in distinctive 'morphogenetic phases.' (Conzen, 1960; Carter, 1968, 1970)

Resource-era Northwest coast settlement has historically been characterized by isolated, highly nucleated mill towns and villages, with homes and businesses clustered around a waterfront workplace. Increasingly, around the older, resource-oriented settlements, amenity towns emerge, composed of tourist facilities and second homes. In these towns, homes and businesses are increasingly dispersed in order to facilitate access to scenery, and other coastal amenities. Resource town main streets and workers' quarters are frequently refurbished and remodeled, giving the towns a romanticized rusticity which has as much to do with responsive marketing as it does with historical continuity. While amenity-oriented towns are not entirely new to this coast, they now appear to be emerging as the dominant form of settlement.

Within these towns, the restructuring of the built environment - the composite of town layout, buildings, and other human-

constructed landscape features within a settlement - has followed certain regular patterns, which provide us with a glimpse of the relationship between host communities and the growing throngs of guests. (cf. V.L. Smith, 1977) Older, industrial-era architectural styles have been reproduced to serve entirely new, service-sector functions. Local vernacular house styles have been fused with previously uncommon styles of architecture, originating in the coastal resorts of New England and the Maritimes, within new residential developments and retail districts. (cf. Poole, 1992; McMath, 1974a, 1974b) Signs have proliferated within these towns, bearing images which are natural, nautical, historical, or Northwest coast Native American in theme. Flags, wind socks, benches, and densely planted, colorful flowers are placed near entryways. These and other modifications appear with remarkable consistency along the entire Northwest coast, most extending beyond the confines of the present study area - the Pacific littoral of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia's Vancouver Island - into the increasingly tourism-dependent towns of northern California, northern coastal British Columbia, and southeastern Alaska.

The change of physical appearance within these communities can be striking. Clearly, these changes represent a response of residents, proprietors, town boosters, and developers to changing economic prospects and social pressures affecting the Northwest coast. And, further, these changes represent attempts to use built form - the buildings, architectural embellishments, and other human-constructed landscape features within a town - for expressive purposes: to encourage passers-by to enter new shops, to act as a mnemonic to potentially disoriented visitors, to provide a discrete town 'image' to visitors as a means of town promotion, to assert local identity in the face of change. (cf. Nuñez, 1977, Goffman, 1959) This represents a use of the built environment for expressive purposes, in which elements of the landscape are modified to elicit particular responses from others. Such modifications of the region's built landscapes provides a valuable opportunity to evaluate existing theories regarding the use of the built environment for expressive purposes.

The expressive use of the built environment has been discussed extensively in the past, within a variety of schools of analysis, such as semiotics, the 'symbolic' approach, and the 'nonverbal' approach. (e.g. Eco, 1976; Goodsell, 1988; Rapoport, 1990) Few of the proposed models, however, effectively address the sort of dynamic cases that one sees on the Northwest coast. Most are predicated upon the presence of particular 'meanings,' semiotic, symbolic or otherwise, within built elements; every object is taken to be a sign of something else. Thus, a shingled shack on the Northwest coast might be said by some scholars of the communicative function of the built environment to mean 'quaint, approachable business.' This reveals the unstated assumption that the communicative value of built features somehow exists independently of the communicative context, and is thus static.

The communicative function of several built elements on the Northwest coast is in a state of flux. One could argue that shingled shacks 'mean' something very different today than they 'meant' at various times in the past. While all communicative uses of built features are dynamic, in all places, at all times, the rapid shift in the morphogenetic pressures on the Northwest Coast highlights the transitory nature of the relationship. In addition, much of the literature regarding the communicative use of the built environment is ambiguous regarding the means by which communicative actions are manifested in the environment, with authors seeking to 'decode' built messages without thinking about the factors which originally conditioned the 'encoding' of built features. (cf. Rapoport, 1988, 1990) There are features which are manipulated for communicative purposes, and accordingly there are communicative motives which can be inferred from the landscape. In addition, there are facts which can be inferred from the landscape, which have little to do with communicative motives or intentions. The interpretation of built form without a consideration of the origins of the built forms results in the blurring of the distinction between these contrasting phenomena.

A model which addresses these shortcomings must be constructed, if one is to understand the nature of the current

changes within the towns of the Northwest coast. Wagner (1972, 1974) has proposed a model which accounts for communication as a factor which conditions the character of cultural landscapes. Indeed, the adaptation of such a model for use in a morphogenetic analysis of the communicative use of the built environment may provide the basis for a stronger understanding of dynamic places.

1.3: Pidginization as a source of an alternative hypothesis

To understand the changes in built form on the Northwest coast and elsewhere, a model is required which addresses temporal variations in the dynamic between social and economic pressures, and individuals who participate in the modification of the townscape. I contend that the process of linguistic pidginization provides the basis for such a model of townscape change. Fundamental to this suggestion is a recognition that the built environment has communicative capacity and value, and that this value conditions the character of built form as the result of expressive interaction between builders and observers. Further, it is recognized that this interlocutory process varies over time and space, conditioned by spatially differentiated learned behaviors and the broader context of social and economic interaction. Theories of pidginization have provided the social sciences with one of the most comprehensive discussions of changing systems of communication within such broader contexts, (Holm, 1988; Haugen, 1972) and thus provide a logical point of departure for the analysis of changes in the evocative use of built forms during periods of rapid socio-economic change. The appeal of borrowing from pidginization theory lies not in some hypothesized tidy correlation between the media of contact languages and changing townscapes, but rather in the fact that scholars of pidgin languages have sought to understand and articulate the factors and mechanisms which condition changing expressive systems within socially dynamic and pluralistic contexts.

A pidgin - a term usually reserved for discussions of linguistic expression - refers to a simplified, composite language, which facilitates communication between people who speak different

maternal languages. When interaction occurs among people who lack mutually intelligible systems of communication, speakers will use a pidgin,

"to make themselves more readily understood, and no longer try to speak as they do within their own group...By definition the resulting pidgin is restricted to a very limited domain such as trade, and it is no one's native language." (Holm, 1988, p.5)

At the very root of the hybridizing process of pidginization is a tradeoff between attempts to utilize what is familiar (i.e. one's own language or dialect), and the utilization of what is unfamiliar, but needed for interaction (i.e. a different language or dialect).

Pidgin languages exhibit certain structural regularities, which reflect the spontaneous generation of a new language from the elements of pre-existing languages. Linguistic elements, such as syntax, phonemes, and indicators of tense, are 'simplified' so as to facilitate a basic exchange of ideas among people who are not native speakers of the language; thus, a pidgin emerges, in part, to minimize confusion. Likewise, the lexicon tends to be constrained to terms which reflect the functional basis for inter-group interaction, and thus pidgins have often been referred to as 'trade languages.' The uses of particular terms 'drift,' as a group will apply pre-existing terms to formerly unfamiliar objects and concepts. And elements from each language, including lexicon, syntax, and phonemes, are 'fused' together: each group, attempting to minimize the amount of effort associated with second language learning, nonetheless comes to learn elements of the other group's language as a means of accommodating the like linguistic requirements of the other group during the course of several rounds of interaction.

I contend that, within the context of increasing social heterogeneity, townscapes are manipulated to communicate to a wider and more diverse audience, in a way which is structurally similar to the process of linguistic pidginization. Further, I contend that a model of built communication based in linguistic

pidginization can provide a more appropriate model for these cases than existing theories. 'Pidginization' within the built environment is analogous to the blurring that necessarily occurs at abrupt and externally-influenced contact points between morphogenetic phases, wherein the occupants of the former phase are not wholly displaced. (cf. Carter, 1990; Olien and Olien, 1982; Mikesell, 1976; Edgerton, 1971; Whittlesey, 1931; Sauer, 1925, 1967) 'Pidginized features' within the built environment are thus those elements which continue to be reproduced during transitional periods and subsequent morphogenetic phases, often in unprecedented combinations with previously external traditions of vernacular building.

On the Northwest coast, we currently see changes within vernacular architecture, particularly within commercial settings, which display evidence of pressures analogous to those which shape a pidgin language. Currently, this coast is being exposed to an unprecedented degree of contact with the 'outside world' after a long period of relative insularity. And, as a result, there is evidence of 'simplification': in order to facilitate navigation by newly arrived tourists, for example, signs and mnemonic cues are made more visible and more broadly intersubjective. There is also evidence of 'drift': the expressive values of particular vernacular houses or tribal carvings have changed, for example, as they are used for unprecedented, tourist-oriented commercial functions. And there is evidence of 'fusion': for example, new tourist-oriented commercial buildings on the Canadian portion of this coast sometimes exhibit combinations of longhouse and urban commercial influences, while on the U.S. coast we often see combinations of New England coastal resort architecture and local vernacular styles, both suggesting a balance between imperatives for continuity and change within the expressive use of built form on this coast.

Viewing vernacular landscapes such as those found on the Northwest coast as an expression of a 'pidginization' of built elements will clarify the process by which these places have changed during intensified phases of tourism-dependence. Social

pluralistic contexts, as found on the Northwest coast, condition contemporary North American landscapes, generally, though this situation is by no means without precedent or parallel in other periods and places. A brief discussion of the literature regarding pidginization and historical uses of pidginized communication, presented in this thesis, indicates potential applications of the concept of pidginization in the interpretation of the contemporary built landscapes both along the Northwest coast, specifically, and within North America generally.

CHAPTER TWO

Ghosts in the Machine: The Ontological Foundations of the Literature Regarding the Communicative Use of the Built Environment⁴

2.1: The concern with meaning and authenticity

Most authors who address the cultural role of built form suggest that built elements have a communicative function, and act as communicative media. But while there is widespread agreement on this point, there would seem to be little agreement on the nature of the messages communicated through the built environment. The literature on the topic tends to draw models of symbolic interaction largely intact from such fields as linguistics, sociology, anthropology, and psychology. Still, despite the multiplicity of model origins and the resulting differences of detail, the epistemological foundations of each successive model have been remarkably similar. No model has maintained hegemony for long, and new models of the communicative role of the built environment are proposed frequently. (e.g. Peirce, 1932; Ruesch and Kees, 1956; Hall, 1966; Eco, 1968; Wagner, 1974; Tuan, 1976; Bonta, 1979; Cosgrove, 1983; Jencks, 1987; Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988; Rapoport, 1988, 1990; Jackson, 1989) In this respect, this thesis perhaps represents a continuation of this general quest.

The problems within the literature regarding the built environment as communicative medium can be attributed, in part, to what Sayer has called "chaotic conceptions," a tendency found within academic discourse to "arbitrarily divide the indivisible and/or lump together the unrelated and the inessential, thereby 'carving up' the object of study with little regard for its structure and form." (1984, p.127) This is not to say that the corpus of past work on the subject can be dismissed. On the

⁴This chapter provides a broad overview of general trends within the literature on the expressive use of the built environment. It provides a theoretical prelude to the more detailed discussion of specific schools of analysis found in Chapter Three. Representative citations are provided as examples of the general trends described here, while more detailed citations are provided in Chapter Three.

contrary, by making rather basic adjustments in the stated conceptualizations of built forms and communication, and employing operative terms with greater specificity, we can glean much from what has come before, and discern the basis for past disagreements. Accordingly, by identifying the apparent strengths and weaknesses within the proposed approaches of other schools of landscape interpretation, I hope to establish the criteria for an improved alternative hypothesis. And thus, I hope to illuminate potential avenues of investigation of the communicative significance of the built environment within the context of the socially and economically dynamic Northwest coast.

Perhaps the most problematic point within the literature regarding the communicative function of the built environment is the widely held assumption that the built environment holds 'meaning,' be it symbolic or semiotic, connotative or denotative. (e.g. Eco, 1968; Jencks, 1969, 1980b; Norburg-Schultz, 1974; Krampen, 1979; Bonta, 1980; Rowntree and Conkey, 1980; Groat, 1982; Relph, 1987; Goodsell, 1988; Rapoport, 1988, 1990; Jackson, 1989; Nasar, 1989) Everything in the environment is taken to be a sign or symbol of something else by these scholars, and thus the landscape is assumed to be a collection of 'meaningful' elements, rather than simply a complex of physical elements which are variously and continuously interpreted by individuals. As a result, authors seeking to understand the 'meaning' of the built environment ultimately tend to see whatever meaning they hope to see: if everything is taken as a sign or symbol of something else, of that one thing which the element 'means,' there is nothing preventing us from seeing every built thing as a representation of class conflict (e.g. Harvey, 1987), gender inequality (e.g. Spain, 1992), a particular ideology (e.g. Sitwell, 1990), racial discord (e.g. Jackson, 1989), a particular cosmology (e.g. Wheatley, 1971), and so forth. As Clifford Geertz suggests, "the woods are full of eager interpreters." (1983, p.21)

Inherently, these positions contradict one another; certainly, if each school claims an objective and exclusive view of this 'meaning' in the built environment, they cannot all be entirely

correct. Imbued with a faith in the presence of such meaning, these scholars are forever 'psychoanalyzing' the landscape, looking for the message hidden behind every element. (e.g. Jackson, 1989; Davis, 1990) In the process, they tend to project their own notions onto the landscape, and are thus led astray from the task of understanding the social role of built form. Many scholars have thus sought to understand the meaning of communicative expressions without considering in detail the *context* of the communicative act. These authors thus seek to 'decode' built messages without directing focussed attention to the factors which conditioned the 'encoding' of built features. Thus authors tend to *corporealize* meaning, to provide 'meaning' with an ontological status that is independent of context, in what is depicted as an almost physical manifestation of the author's thoughts. Clearly, objects are corporeal; meaning is not.

Nor is meaning an intrinsic property of landscapes. The object of study is largely corporeal, but the supposed relationship between object, meaning and consciousness cannot be clearly verified. Indeed, this point has been a fundamental concern of the emerging 'postmodern' school of landscape analysis (e.g. Dear, 1986), though such authors as Michael Curry have asserted that such ideas are the product of an older lineage, with roots in the work of such thinkers as Ludwig Wittgenstein and Erving Goffman. (Curry, 1989, 1991; Wittgenstein, 1953; Goffman, 1959) Ultimately, cultural landscapes are composed of matter, purposefully modified, but nonetheless existing as particulars, objects rather than subjects. In essence, interpreters of the landscape observe a material chaos onto which they impose conceptual order. The transitory nature of the relationship between the physical and evocative properties of landscape features is suggested by the extent to which similar elements are used for different purposes within different cultures.⁵ (Ruesch and Kees, 1956, p.148;

⁵Indeed, some authors have attempted to define culture broadly as a term which encompasses the general patterns in the ways by which a people determine appropriate responses to particulars, the corporeal elements of our world. (Bruner, 1983; cf. Handler and Linnekin, 1984; Ryle, 1963b; Wittgenstein, 1953; Skinner, 1957;

Rapoport, 1969)

An architect may attempt to tell us something through a particular design, but only if we have like experiences in relation to a particular design element can we be receptive to messages which approximate any intended messages. If we merely read examples of architectural criticism, it becomes quite clear that frequently, even within a small circle of like-minded practitioners, great chasms exist between the intended messages and the received messages of a particular landscape modification. (Bonta, 1979, pp.12-26; cf. Nasar, 1989; J.A. Moore, 1983; Groat, 1982; Groat and Canter, 1979)

Other authors have sought to identify universal regularities of landscape meaning. Some have based this search on assumptions about perceptual similarities, resulting from common biological traits which reflect our mutual evolutionary history. (Alexander, 1979; Hall, 1961, 1966; cf. Appleyard, 1979) Though there are undeniable regularities of environmental perception which give rise to analogous patterns of landscape response, and certain "timeless ways of building," much of our ability to grasp the expected responses to built elements is learned, both through personal explorations of our environment and through the intelligibly communicated experiences of others. (cf. Alexander, 1979) Built landscapes are shaped to conform roughly to the acknowledged needs of human physiognomy, but the ways in which this has been accomplished are markedly heterogeneous, reflecting great variability in human knowledge, motive, and experience.

When observing the landscape, one tends to attribute 'meaning' to certain elements of the landscape, conditioned by the context of personal encounters with these physical elements, including observed and socially reinforced uses of landscape imagery and the social function of particular public places. (cf. Trilling, 1973, p.94; Foote, 1983) Further, elements of the landscape are assigned 'meaning' only as segments of a larger complex of events and elements with particular juxtapositions. The specific

Goffman, 1959)

interpretations that one attributes to objects are thus the result of innumerable coincidences in space and time. Landscape features may thus conceivably connote certain broad categories of some 'meaning' to wide audiences, but cannot be proven to symbolically denote anything. (Rowbotham, 1992; Curry, 1989; Wagner, forthcoming; Wittgenstein, 1953) Clearly, certain landscapes, seemingly rich in imputed symbolic imagery, may incite vehement responses - pride, dread, awe - in the initiated while being mere noise - visual, auditory, tactile - to the uninitiated. One may bring a busload of American tourists to the Wailing Wall, but may have profound difficulty in making them wail. The world is everywhere deeply meaningful, everywhere profoundly meaningless.

So how may geographers discuss expressive uses of the landscape without employing the concept of meaning? Ludwig Wittgenstein provides us with some options. When encountering a similar question in the study of philosophy, Wittgenstein argued that when assuming that any corporeal thing can possess 'meaning,' scholars have then accepted a variety of logical fallacies, which happen to be analogous to the contending assertions of geographers and architects. Wittgenstein asserted that communication has evolved within particular contexts, and the concept of an autonomous, corporeal 'meaning' is nonsensical when discussing a contextually-defined, interactive process; thus when we claim to have grasped the essence of a meaningful object, we "are merely noting a convention," (1983, I, sec.74; cf. Kelly, 1955)

To alleviate the problems associated with the concept of meaning, Wittgenstein suggested that we should abandon the search for any meaning within communicative elements, and that we should instead seek merely to understand the ways in which evocative elements are used within particular contexts. (1953) Unlike 'meaning,' the use of an element is verifiable through empirical analysis, and is rooted within a particular context. As a result some scholars have begun to recognize the value of Wittgenstein's ideas for geographic scholarship, attempting to bypass many of the problems associated with the mentalism which has characterized past

landscape analyses.⁶(Curry, 1989, 1991; Rowbotham, 1992; Wagner, forthcoming)

Nonetheless, most contemporary authors still build their scholarship on the shaky foundation of 'meaning,' and a variety of corollary hypotheses. Foremost among these corollaries is the axiom of authenticity. Many authors have come to equate some hypothesized, initial meaning of a built element with its true meaning; the original meaning is thus held as being 'authentic,' while subsequent uses of that element are viewed as 'inauthentic,' and implicitly devoid of substantive meaning. (e.g. Relph, 1987) Thus, if a vernacular element is employed for commercial purposes, a process which has been widely referred to as 'commodification,' the resulting form is viewed as being stripped of its meaning, a form which blurs the boundaries "between fiction and reality, location and imagination, history and invention, until they are no longer distinguishable." (Relph, 1987, p.189) Still, earlier phases of inventive change are viewed as having little detrimental effect on the meaningfulness of built features.

Significantly for my thesis, many authors have viewed tourism as a key factor in the 'commodification' of cultural features, which encourages profit-seeking participants to compromise their customs for the satisfaction of the voyeuristic visitor, resulting in 'inauthentic' cultural displays. (e.g. Urry, 1990; McKay, 1988; Relph, 1987; Lew, 1989; Greenwood, 1977; MacCannell, 1973) Though this literature has illuminated some valuable points regarding change in tourist settings, the philosophical underpinnings of the literature have been effectively challenged by authors who assert

⁶The psychology literature has drawn similar conclusions regarding the limitations of the concept of 'meaning.' Many authors within experimental psychology have likewise recommended that rather than seeking meaning in objects or events, we can more effectively seek to define groups of individuals who respond to particular objects and events within a discrete and predictable range. Such groups are viewed as being defined by their spatial, temporal, and historical context, and thus responses cannot be assumed to be identical for groups remote in space, time, and experience, though such similarities do occur as a result of biological and historical similarities. (see Kelly, 1955; Bannister and Mair, 1968; cf. Skinner, 1957)

that tourism merely adds a "further element in the staging process," which is integrated into the pre-existing framework of social and economic motivations, but which "does not dominate it nor determine its outcome." (Bendix, 1989, p.143; Handler and Linnekin, 1984; Smith, 1983; Miller, 1974; cf. Wittgenstein, 1953, Goffman, 1959; Rowbotham, 1992. Wagner, forthcoming)

The concern with tradition and authenticity has been extrapolated by some authors into a dualistic schism between traditional or vernacular elements, which are generally viewed as authentic and meaningful, and contemporary elements which are generally viewed as inauthentic and meaningless. (Alexander, 1964; Relph, 1976, 1987; Rapoport, 1990) Pre-literate peoples are thus viewed as creators and residents of a simple but meaningful built environment, a viewpoint which is itself simplistic and questionable. No doubt, the minds of modern urban dwellers are as likely as the minds of other folk to conceive their surroundings as somehow meaningful; what appears to be lacking today is the high degree of consensus that one might expect in the smaller, more cohesive, and more isolated communities of the hypothesized past. (cf. Rapoport, 1969, 1990)

This scholastic concern with authenticity, and the associated complex of assertions which follows from it, appears to be among the most consistent threads which connect the contending schools of landscape analysis. Indeed, on this point, there is agreement between the traditional semioticians (e.g. Gottdiener, 1986), the phenomenologists (e.g. Relph, 1987), the 'nonverbalists' (e.g. Rapoport, 1990), the Marxists (e.g. Harvey, 1987), the symbolic interactionists (e.g. Alexander, 1964), and others. And yet, if we were to imagine a wholly 'authentic' tourist landscape in a place which was once industrial, what would it look like? If we equated authenticity with the absence of borrowing from past, seemingly incongruent historical phases, we would be imagining a very sterile environment, indeed - an anomalous, functionally-defined landscape without local precedents, lacking the impress or continuity of local history. It is therefore not surprising that during a period of profound social and economic discontinuity,

"Americans have not merely tolerated the [appropriation of artifacts from past periods] with grudging good humor...They have loved it." (Orvell, 1989, p.xxiii) Postmodern landscapes, conceived in this manner, are congruent with past periods of vernacular landscape development during transformational cultural periods.

Lionel Trilling has explored many of the problems of the concept of authenticity, which he views as a measure of the extent to which objects conform to "what they appear to be or are claimed to be," and thus are worthy of the value attributed to them. (1973, p.93) Trilling recognizes that the ideas which the term reflects have some utility, but are generally ill conceived and poorly articulated:

"That the word has become part of the moral slang of our day points to the peculiar nature of our fallen condition, our anxiety over the credibility of existence and of individual existences... authenticity is implicitly a polemical concept, fulfilling its nature by dealing aggressively with received and habitual opinion, aesthetic...social, and political..." (1973, pp.93-94)

'Authenticity' thus suggests a concreteness of character, but is a largely amorphous construct. Indeed, "traditionalization" - the continual fusion and appropriation of previously unrelated elements into a seemingly 'traditional' complex of cultural features - appears to be the rule, rather than the exception. (Hymes, 1975; Smith, 1982; Handler and Linnekin, 1984; Bendix, 1989; Blackman, 1973)

Accordingly, it would be nonsensical to call a communicative element 'inauthentic' following its adoption into a hybridized canon. If a man were to use the term 'country' in his speech, for example, we would not accuse him of inauthenticity because this term was not used in English until its appropriation from French following the Norman conquest; only if he were to claim otherwise, would we accuse him of inaccuracy, reasonable ignorance, or deception. As Handler and Linnekin suggest,

"The origin of cultural practices is largely irrelevant to the experience-of tradition; authenticity is always defined in the present. It is not pastness or givenness that defines something as traditional. Rather, the latter is a... symbolic designation; an assigned meaning rather than an objective quality."
(1984. p.286)

Similarly, recognizing that the past is subject to perpetual reinterpretation, some authors have recently asserted that "the past, even the personally experienced past, does not stay fixed enough to provide a secure base" for the elucidation of what is 'authentic.' (Kolb, 1990, p.114) Thus, claims of inauthenticity within a communicative system - be it a language or a built landscape - can only cloud more important issues. And yet, such claims are frequently made by those who purport to 'read' the landscape, and much of the criticism of the concept as presented in this thesis has yet to be explicitly articulated within the geographic literature.

When the 'appropriation' of a culture's artifacts for new uses does occur, of course, it is not a wholly unproblematic process, as elements which were previously used to establish identity and status are thereby reshuffled, with frequently unpredictable results. The appeal of using a particular vernacular form as a means of expressing a distinctive identity may ostensibly decline, for example, as the form is increasingly used in commercial architecture to appeal to acknowledged outsiders, potentially leaving its originators with little that is truly proprietary. (cf. Nuñez, 1977; Graber, 1974; Rothstein, 1976) And residents' 'senses of place' may be eroded, as the built environment is manipulated beyond the realm of personal familiarity, while being adapted to perform an unfamiliar range of tasks for burgeoning, unfamiliar crowds of people. (cf. Lew, 1989; Pizam, 1978) As a result, some scholars have asserted that all decisions regarding appropriation must be tempered by a clearly articulated (and usually radical) political position which acknowledges these potential repercussions. (Langan, 1992, pp.43-50) No doubt, much of this concern is justified.

2.2: The search for linguistic rules in the landscape

Both built form and languages represent expressive media, which are conditioned by certain functional requirements, and tend to adjust and aggregate 'expressions' over time. Often, like the built landscape, languages themselves have been referred to and studied as 'artifacts' of changing contexts of expression. (Haugen, 1972, pp.265-86; Lowenthal, 1979)

Much of the difficulty with existing linguistic models of the expressive use of built form rests not only in a tendency to employ various concepts of 'meanings' which have a poorly articulated, partially autonomous relationship with the particulars, but also in a tendency to reify the concept of linguistic structure. Scholars who have employed linguistic analogies within landscape studies have employed a simplistic, outdated view of languages. This view of languages is extrapolated so that the communicative use of the built environment is presented as comprising corporeal meanings, and as having a static and rule-guided structure. (Holm, 1988, p.2-7) Semioticians often take the presence of 'syntax' as a given in the landscape, and then attempt to force their creations into this preconceived mold. Practitioners of 'symbolic' analysis seek to establish an interpretation of meanings based upon presumed linguistic rules of interaction, and have likewise attempted to find the hidden structural logic behind particular inter-relationships.

As many authors have claimed, the search for such laws within communicative systems is based upon a series of misconceptions. The 'rules' of language do not possess integrity, but are rather an imposed or perceived logic, a fact which gave rise to the 'Ordinary Language' school of linguistic philosophy. (Caton, 1963; Wittgenstein, 1953) When we attempt to impose linguistic 'rules' on any communicative medium, we are suffering from the "bewitchment of our intelligence by means of language;" when we impose any order on our knowledge of the use of a language, we would be better served to seek "an order with a particular end in view...one out of many possible orders..not *the* order." (Wittgenstein, 1953, pp.47, 51, italics in original) And, as the linguist Einar Haugen

has suggested,

"The concept of a language as a rigid, monolithic structure is false, even if it has proved to be a useful fiction in the development of linguistics. It is the simplification that is necessary at a certain stage of a science, but which can now be replaced by more sophisticated models." (1972, p.335)

Arguably, students of built form are also at a stage in their analysis of the built environment at which they can discard the past search for evidence of rigid rules of linguistic structure and 'meaning' in the built environment.

The widespread attempt to extrapolate linguistic rules onto built form may have its roots in the fact that scholars hope to find an intact, widely known 'metanarrative' through the use of a communication model, 'lumping together' such factors as emotive responses to place, or motifs which must be present if a built element is to provide the corporeal function of shelter. Returning to a linguistic example, one can recognize that an individual may like the sound of a particular word, that one can only speak within a given range of sound, and that there is a universal repertoire of involuntary gestures and grunts which are used in human expression. One does not, however, attempt to consistently incorporate these facts when seeking to explain the development and use of a particular language. Perhaps the shortcomings in linguistic models of the expressive use of built form lies in the fact that those who create these models simply lack training in linguistics.

To articulate a linguistic model of the built environment, scholars should direct their attention to contemporary linguistic thought, rather than relying on models which were long ago found wanting. In response to rule-based linguistic models, linguist John Holm provides an alternative definition of language as "an individual's set of habits for communicating that have largely been determined by his or her social experience, guided by an innate ability to decipher and learn the language habits of other humans." Thus, if there are 'rules' to a language, it is because we imposed

them onto the language, after noting certain regularities within expressive behavior. (Wittgenstein, 1953; Ryle, 1963a)

Similarly, Haugen suggests that, because of the history of importations, substitutions, and functional change found behind all languages:

"even the pure [language] systems are intermediate between the past and future of their own language and intermediate between their neighbors on all sides. They just happened to get frozen for a time, either by governmental or by literary fiat." (Haugen, 1972, p.336)

Models of languages as static, homogeneous entities, as they are explained in schoolbooks, have been found to be wholly inadequate for linguistic analysis, and much of the progress in modern linguistics has been a result of linguists' abandonment of such models in favor of models which recognize the complex, dynamic, and at times, chaotic character of languages. (Holm, 1988, p.2; Haugen, 1972) Adopting such a view, without any pretensions toward independently functioning 'rules,' or reliance upon an unverifiable concept of 'meaning,' may allow scholars to redeem the field of landscape communication analysis, based still upon linguistic analogies.

Thus, in this quest for a more sophisticated linguistic analogy, we must critically review our assumptions about language, and recognize that, like built form, languages have emerged as a result of certain highly contextualized, functional needs, and are not autonomous entities, independent of their context, as they have commonly been described. For example, cosmological concerns have clearly affected the form of the built environment, and this is among the most popular topics among authors who analyze built forms; a comprehensive bibliography of this work would constitute a monumental study in its own right. (for example Rapoport, 1969, 1990; Mumford, 1961; Tuan, 1974; Raglan, 1964; Wheatley, 1971; Ohnuki-Tierney, 1972; Ghosh and Mago, 1974; Doxtater, 1981; MacDonald, 1983) But few authors venture to delve deeply into the issue of why, exactly, a people would choose to explicitly represent their cosmological *weltbild* within their built creations.

Similarly, while summarizing the literature regarding the impress of gender inequities onto the urban landscape, drawn from a variety of theoretical schools, Bondi suggests that the authors of these works "assume that architecture and urban design express changing and contested notions of femininity and masculinity rather than exploring how ideas about gender are inscribed on urban landscapes." (1992, pp.163-64, italics in original) Here too, authors have sought to discuss the landscape as something independent of context; they will commonly adhere to a particular logical communicative structure, rather than viewing the landscape as the product of a series of creative decisions which serve particular functions, within a given context. Clearly, there is a specific context to every decision regarding the creation of the built environment, in which the built creation has played a physically and socially functional role.(c.f Carter, 1970)

Still, regardless of the school of architectural analysis to which they subscribe, many scholars are quick to point out exactly how the structures in question reflect the cosmology or ideology of the day, but most fail to discuss the question of *why* this might be the case. This deficiency, then, must be remedied, if contemporary scholars are to create a model of the communicative use of the built environment which does not rely explicitly or implicitly upon static conceptualizations of 'meaning' which exist independent of context. Thus, as J.B. Jackson has suggested, if we want to truly understand American landscapes, we must concern ourselves with changes which are "fragmentary and pragmatic." (1984, p.70)

2.3: An alternative view: built landscapes as interactive expression

The modification of the built environment, by means of design, construction, or otherwise, is a social act. A landscape is "a concrete, three-dimensional shared reality," and does not include "our private world, our private microcosm."(Jackson, 1984, p.5) The built landscape is a public space, open to public view and comment. Accordingly, modifications of the built environment are conspicuous. When leaving an imprint upon the built landscape,

individuals are necessarily self-conscious actors, and are generally attentive to how others might interpret their actions. Specifically, individuals seek particular responses to their actions, and infuse their creations with elements which are of expressive value within this context, directed at themselves and others. These exclamatory purposes influence the design and execution of modifications of the built environment. (Goffman, 1959; Wagner, 1972; Baumeister, 1982; Rowbotham, 1992)

Further, the act of modifying the built environment usually requires the participation of groups, rather than lone individuals. The labor requirements of modification have, in most circumstances, required some degree of social organization and interaction, and increasingly, the specialization of tasks associated with built modifications has demanded that individuals from a variety of occupations interact. This assures that, in every stage of landscape modification, individuals are under the scrutiny of a jury of their peers, a jury with particular ideas about how built landscapes should be ordered, whose favorable response is needed if the project is to continue. (Baumeister, 1982; Rapoport, 1969)

Individuals are therefore held accountable for the built forms that they create, as dweller, builder or architect. Much like other forms of learned public display, such as art, mode of dress, or language, the modification of the built environment is subject to dynamic, socially defined conventions of behavior. The degree of adherence to these patterns can bring prestige, acceptance or shame to the acknowledged authors. One's neighbors, family, friends, employers and colleagues provide the controls on landscape modification behavior before, during and after the impress of thought and will onto the land. 'No man is an island', and no discussion of personal taste can be viably extracted from such contextual bounds. (Rowbotham, 1992; Jackson, 1984, pp.11-13; Rapoport, 1969; Goffman, 1959; Edgerton, 1971; Baumeister, 1982; Wagner, forthcoming) Thus, when we look at the built environment, we are looking at the physical manifestation of a tremendous number of decisions, each one made within a context, which, despite periods of relative continuity, is forever in flux. (Handler and

Linnekin, 1984; cf. Carter, 1968, 1970, 1990)

The impress of communicative motives upon decisions to create or manipulate features of the built environment is not, however, limited exclusively to cases of building. The division of townscape analysis into the categories of town plan, structures and use (or exterior embellishments) is of much value here (Conzen, 1960, 1988). Harold Carter (1970) and others have expanded these levels of resolution to a decision-making model, in which it is acknowledged that each of these components of the urban fabric reflects a complex of functionally-differentiated, contextually-bound decisions. Thus we can say that the layout of a community is a product of one type of decision, while the construction of buildings represents another type of decision, each being bound by the communicative needs of the time. Thus, even settlement morphology can also be viewed as a communicative medium, since with each decision to divide land we are, in part, communicating something about ourselves and the place to a potential land buyer, a potential employer of land buyers, peers, or a vigilant god.⁷(Carter, 1970, 1990) The fundamental result of such a

⁷This point is often ignored in the literature on the expressive use of the built environment. Authors - particularly architectural theorists - such as Rapoport (1990) have suggested that morphology is of less expressive value than other components of the built environment, such as building styles and exterior architectural embellishments. These authors thus equate expressive value with the rate of built response to shifts in communicative context. I contend that morphology differs from these other components, primarily as a result of the slower rate at which they are created, and the spatially discrete manner in which morphological units generally accumulate. (cf. the papers in Conzen, 1960) For a discussion of plan response to promotional requirements see the volumes edited by Artibise (1981) and Foster (1983).

Many authors have suggested that North American townscapes are conditioned, in part, by successive, adaptive marketing strategies, in which the town plan, as well as the town's hinterland and location are promoted as a vehicle for the sales of local land. Indeed, after a seemingly exhaustive analysis of American town planning, John Reps claimed that "to some extent an element of speculation was present in almost every venture in American town planning," noting that even early American religious colonies sought to profit from the proceeds of ambitious land sales programs. (Reps, 1965, p.349) This assertion is echoed within the Canadian literature on town development, much of which stresses the

perspective is the awareness that, at each of these levels of resolution, "urban landscapes embody not only the efforts and aspirations of the people occupying them now, but also those of their predecessors." (Whitehand, 1988b, p.294)

Regularities of built form clearly change over time, led not only by wholly 'functional' adjustments, but also, in part, by cycles of fashion, in which minor deviations from the norm by an owner, builder or designer may bring closer approximations of desired responses, such as prestige or commercial success, within a particular context. (Jackson, 1984; Lewis, 1975, 1979) The rate of change appears to correlate with the degree of contact between disparate groups, and many of these deviations are adapted from innovations made by people remote in time and space. (Rapoport, 1990) Experimental deviations redefine the norm, as they are mimicked by others who seek to replicate the responses achieved by the initiator. (Wagner, 1988, and forthcoming)

We can consider a simple model of such an interaction, one that starts with a new storefront display being created by a merchant. If it appears to attract customers more effectively, other merchants will see this and perhaps replicate elements of the display. With the fruits of his enhanced status, the now-wealthy merchant can afford to have a new type of house built. If others hear praise of this new house, and come to associate it with the merchant's high social standing, they may begin to reproduce elements of the house when constructing their own houses, in order to elicit the same responses. (Edgerton, 1971) There is a feedback loop of sorts, wherein public responses to built forms - or arguably, *perceived* public responses - constrain the subsequent reproduction of these forms. (cf. Skinner, 1957) Simply put, this is the metaphor of 'keeping up with the Joneses.' If we follow the history of residential structures, commercial façades or yard maintenance within a given community, we can repeatedly witness

impact of separate, and at times competing aims of individual, corporate and governmental actors within the context of rapid and highly adaptive townsites speculation, development and promotion in the Canadian West. (Gilpin, 1983)

evidence of this gradual evolution of form through multiple cycles of experimental innovation, adaptation and imitation. (Relph, 1987; Jackson, 1984, pp.115-23; Mumford, 1961; McAlester and McAlester, 1991; Wagner, 1974, 1988, forthcoming) Nowhere in this interaction could an element of the built environment be said to have a particular, verifiable meaning, but throughout the process the built forms would exhibit a dynamic pattern of usage.

Major deviations from accepted regularities of built landscape modification may bring confusion or criticism, as do radical forms of deviation within most other modes of public display. As Lewis suggests of houses,

"Most people avoid building eccentric houses for the same reason they avoid eccentricity in haircuts, clothing styles, speech patterns and religion; each is such a basic expression of unspoken cultural values that deviations from accepted standards are taken as evidence of unstable personality and dubious character, and invite unfavorable comment from one's neighbors." (1975, p.1)

Few have the capacity to grasp appropriate responses to unfamiliar built environments; there is no collective history of interaction with reference to these new forms, and there is a disconcerting lack of consensus. To gain acceptance, an innovation must recognizably cohere with the learned diagnostic characteristics of a 'house,' a 'church,' a 'cemetery.' Indeed, within a given context, "total novelty is meaningless" and, by necessity, built environments are shaped by evolutionary, rather than revolutionary change. (Wagner, 1972; Lewis, 1975, 1979; Mikesell, 1976; Jackson, 1984, pp.67-68; Blackman, 1973)

Accordingly, authors such as Papademetriou (1980) suggest that professional designers can gain prestige by emulating vernacular built features which are ubiquitous and long-lived. These features have, in essence, been tested, manipulated according to public response, found to have potential expressive value within a given context, and incorporated into the emergent system of architectural expression.

Yet this property of landscape development is not restricted

to the evolution of vernacular architecture; even national capitals appear to be the result of an evolution in which the builders watch the success of other national capitals and other monumental designs in achieving certain goals, and then simply emulate those features which appear to work, adjusting the design for the context at hand. Thus, to cite one example, the design of Abuja, Nigeria was adapted for Nigerian conditions from Washington D.C., a city which has a lineage which can be traced from the experimental use of various designed elements in Western European communities, which in turn owe much to Roman town planning. (Vale, 1992, pp.56-67, 134-47; Vance, 1990; Mumford, 1961, pp.386-91; Goodsell, 1988)

Similarly, within socially complex or pluralistic contexts, the builder of public spaces which require patronage, such as shops, religious institutions, or places of entertainment, will only succeed if the built confines of this function are readily recognized by its users. (cf. Laumann, 1973) If these places do not cohere with known forms of built landscape arrangement, do not provide unambiguous cues, and thus do not incite the desired response from patrons, the places will frequently fail at their intended purpose. Thus shop designs are carefully manipulated to fit within certain parameters of the familiar. (Scott-Brown, 1980; Papademetriou, 1980; Nicholson, 1946; Parnes, 1948; Mang and Mang, 1981; Mun, 1981; Michell, 1986; cf. Doxater, 1981, Cezar, 1983) Only if the public can readily learn and accept the new use of a particular architectural feature will such major deviations survive this sort of selective pressure.

The built landscape is thus an expressive medium, infused with elements learned and reconstituted, subject to regularities which evolve through sequences of minor imitative or innovative deviations. The particulars of this medium are limited by the availability of materials and the requirements of human physiognomy. As many authors have recognized, the evolution and use of architectural features are not unlike those of a written language, a durable means of expression, created with an initial, contextually-defined message, which can be subsequently interpreted in a variety of ways. The very durability of these expressive

creations allows us to grasp the incorporeal and transitory relationship between particular and use, within these modes of expression. Humans are forever realigning the mediums and the messages. The novelty of the Elizabethan English of Shakespeare or the appearance of the medieval house, for example, well illustrates this 'migration of meaning;' both express the aspirations of the time, analogous to our own, in ways which are now frequently misinterpreted, due to similar realignments of usage. (cf. Rosenthal, 1984)

CHAPTER THREE

Gestures, Words and Meaning: An Overview and Critique of Contending Theories of Communication in the Built Environment

3.1: The literature regarding communication and built form

As much of the literature regarding the communicative use of the built environment exhibits a high degree of internal conceptual correlation and semantic borrowing, the identification of discrete 'schools' of analysis is not a wholly unproblematic task. Authors commonly propose categorical divisions of the literature, delineated on the basis of a variety of criteria; I shall loosely adhere to the framework proposed by Amos Rapoport, in his uniquely broad survey of this literature. (1990, pp.36-53) Rapoport, basing his categorical delineation upon each school's adopted model of the communication process, identifies three primary theoretical perspectives which address the communicative function of the built environment: the semiotic school, the nonverbal school, and an eclectic assortment of approaches which he refers to as 'symbolic,' which ostensibly includes phenomenological, radical structuralist, and certain anthropogeographical forms of analysis. (cf. Johnston, 1987)

I will discuss the semiotic and nonverbal schools in particular depth, as they are perhaps the most widely known outside of geography, and yet the least understood among landscape geographers. I will also provide an overview of the 'symbolic' approaches, and will briefly discuss other schools of thought which do not fit easily into this framework, but which have some bearing upon communication studies, including the Berkeley school of cultural geography, and the Conzenian morphogenetic school.

3.2: The semiotic approach

The semiotic school asserts that the built environment functions as a system of signs, subject to the same basic internal structure as a language. The conceptualization of language which has guided the semiotic school represents a logical atomist view of communication, in which each element acts as a sign with a

referent, a particular meaning which can be detected if one understands the language.

The literature of the semiotic school is characterized by many parallel paths of investigation which do not always exhibit theoretical or methodological coherence. The semiotic approach has been the most favored method of analysis in architectural circles since the early 1970s, though few practicing architects fully acknowledge or employ the bulk of semiotic theory. (Broadbent, 1980)

Though semiotic analysis has its roots in classical linguistic theory, a distinctive field of semiotics did not emerge until the early twentieth century. Much of the work from the first half of the century provided experimental semiotic investigations of the built environment, rooted in a phenomenological analysis of built form (in spirit, if not in academic lineage) which has permeated semiotic analysis to this day. (Eco, 1980) Indeed, much of the work of the semiotic school could be viewed as a hybridized branch of phenomenological analysis, which has been attached to a more clearly articulated body of methodological assertions derived from linguistic theory, in order to facilitate design applications.

As the bulk of semiotics theory is derived from linguistic analysis, its application to built form represents a single branch of a larger dialogue regarding language and other cultural features. In the work from the first half of the century, much of which dealt with this whole range of semiotic analysis, the literature regarding semiotic approaches to the built environment largely asserted that the built environment had communicative capacity and value, but did not articulate a consistent statement of methodological or epistemological precepts. Still, much of the terminology from this period, influenced heavily by the ideas of Charles Peirce, was employed directly in later work, and shaped subsequent theoretical investigations. (Peirce, 1932) Buysens (1943), for example, established a distinction between 'indicators,' elements which can indicate something of the history of a place, but are not purposively manipulated, and 'signals,' those elements which are manipulated for communicative effect;

these distinctions were later accepted by some authors within the semiotic school. (Bonta, 1979; cf. Prieto, 1966)

The emergence of contemporary semiotic architectural theory can be traced to the late 1950s, when Italian architects, in particular, began to concern themselves with the "crisis of meaning" within the International Style, which many architects began to view as a "flaccid Esperanto." (Jencks, 1980, p.8) Thus the semiotic school has also been inextricably tied to the postmodern movement in architecture, as the founding fathers of contemporary semiotics sought to replace the International Style with a style that was more 'meaningful' to the public. It is no coincidence that many of the writings considered to be the classics of the postmodern movement are also viewed as being the classic expressions of semiotics theory, such as Jencks' 1977 book, The Language of Post-Modern Architecture. (cf. Jencks, 1987)

During the 1960s, academic interest in semiotics spread from its Italian source to scholars elsewhere within Western Europe and North America. Much of this diffusion was facilitated by the extensive publicity surrounding the work of such authors as Umberto Eco (e.g. 1968), Roland Barthes (e.g. 1968) and the epistemologically-related work of Claude Levi-Strauss (e.g. 1963). Most of the work of this period embraces a referential model of language, which suggests specific, denoted concepts which are attached to every built element, implying a corporeal 'meaning' which is held to inhere within the element, regardless of the viewer. Eco's La Struttura Assente: Introduzione alla Ricerca Semiologica (1968) defines much of the work of this period.⁸ In this work, Eco asserts that the built environment has a communicative function, and is manipulated to achieve particular social or economic ends. Each element in the built environment is nonetheless held to be a sign, with a conventionally denoted meaning, a particular referent which he loosely equates with the element's social function. Eco also discusses a second level of

⁸ Portions of this work have been reprinted in Broadbent, Bunt and Jencks' Signs, Symbols and Architecture (1980), and Gottdiener and Lagopoulos' The City and the Sign (1986).

meaning, the connotative, which he equates with the ideology implicit behind the use of the element. This document thus entrenched the semiotic school's concern with the uncovering of hidden 'meanings.'

During the 1970s, semiotics became quite fashionable, primarily within architectural circles; as a result of its wide adoption, there was a "loosening of thought and precision," within the semiotics literature, but also a "gaining in breadth and application." (Jencks, 1980a, p.8) Authors proposed new vocabularies for semiotic analysis in almost every major work of the period, often without a clear connection to the vocabulary found within the pre-existing literature. As a result, there were a number of volumes published during the late 1970s and early 1980s which sought to define and reassert the fundamental tenets of semiotic theory. (e.g. Bonta, 1979; Krampen, 1979; Broadbent, Bunt and Jencks, 1980)

During the late 1960s and the 1970s much of the Italian influence persisted within the literature, and the English-language semiotics journals and compilation volumes have frequently featured translations of works from Italy and other continental European countries since this time. (cf. Broadbent, Bunt and Jencks, 1980; Gottdiener and Lagopoulos, 1986) Further, at this time many of the theoretical details of semiotics were addressed and clarified within the works of such authors as Eco (1972, 1976), Bonta (1980), Jencks (1972, 1977), Prieto (1975) and Norberg-Schultze (1971, 1974).

The work of Peter Jencks, such as his aforementioned The Language of Post-Modern Architecture, may be taken to represent of the general trends within the literature of this period. In this work, Jencks contemplated recent empirical trends within 'high-style' architecture from the semiotic perspective. (1977) Jencks extrapolates the referential model of landscape communication more broadly, searching for a linguistic analogy of the communicative use of the built environment which includes 'metaphors,' 'words,' 'semantics,' and 'syntax.' Like most semioticians from this period and later, Jencks' model suggests that every object holds a

particular meaning. Further, as in the bulk of the work of this period, Jencks blurs Buysens' distinction between 'indicators' and 'signals,' within the interpretation of the built environment. Thus, according to this model, road signs could be held to communicate in the same way as the incidental smells of an urban place, or the addition of Neo-Georgian features on a postmodern façade could be held to communicate in the same way as the addition of a new bomb crater. (Jencks, 1977, 1980b)

Jencks equates the linguistic 'metaphor' with an evocative architectural feature, which he differentiates in classes of iconic and decorated forms. (1977; cf. Venturi, et al., 1972) Jencks defines the 'words' of architecture as "known units of meaning" within built forms; a word is thus a metaphor which has been employed for a regular use, and in each case, these words (e.g. columns) are claimed to mean something in particular. (cf. Eco, 1972) Different socio-economic classes, it is suggested, hold preferences for different messages, and thus order the 'words' in their environment differently. (1977, pp.60-72) Jencks equates 'syntax' with the structural relationships, down to the level of foundations and structural beams, which are necessary for buildings to be physically and socially functional. (1977, pp.72-3) Further, Jencks equates 'semantics' with stylistic regularities which correlate with particular functions at particular periods. (1977, pp.73-85; cf. Gandelonas and Morton, 1980)

Jencks' work is also representative of the semioticists' position toward changing traditions of built form, a point of particular relevance for this thesis. Jencks, of course, directly discusses changing physical patterns of expressive architectural features within post-modern architecture; indeed, this is a difficult topic to avoid when discussing the postmodern movement. While Jencks does not develop the point, he points to the fact that 'neologisms' will become established as 'signs,' or, in other words, that some evocative innovations, fusions or borrowings will eventually be worked into regular patterns of usage within emerging complexes of built display. (1977, pp.40-60) While Jencks acknowledges some 'hybridization' of expression within formal

architecture (1977, p.90), and suggests that the postmodern movement represents a sort of 'new hybrid language' (1977, p.72), he still refers to all previous 'languages' of architecture as if they have been discrete entities, which lack congruity or an inheritance of forms from one period to the next, save in cases of self-conscious revivalism. (1977, see pp.75, 87) He thus views postmodernism as something quite distinct from past architectural phases, in both process and character.

While semiotics has influenced much of the current work on communication and built form, and has often been seen as inseparable from discussions of such communication, much of the influence was "thinly spread," with students of architecture often taking away only pieces of the semiotic vocabulary without a detailed understanding of semiotic theory. (Jencks, 1980a, p.9) The result appears to have been an additional blurring of the borders between semiotics and other studies of communication and built form. In particular, the vocabulary of semiotics has proliferated, while its accompanying theoretical underpinnings have not; in effect, semiotics terminology has experienced semantic drift as the terms come to be employed in a variety of new uses. For example, such contemporary work as Lawrence Vale's analysis of capital designs as "symbols of the state" (1992, p.3) employs occasional references to such semiotic concepts as built 'metaphors' and their emergent meanings, without any reference to the theoretical framework of semiotics. Semiotics vocabulary has also been extensively appropriated by radical schools of landscape analysis (Bondi, 1992), as well as by architectural phenomenologists such as Harbison (1991), who have, in essence, rejected the various theoretical frameworks of the semiotics school, and returned to its epistemological roots.

There have been occasional attempts by the 'old guard' of the semiotics school to remedy this situation, with publications such as Gottdiener and Lagopoulos' The City and the Sign (1986), which attempts to distill and promote an orthodox semiotics tradition, and provides a lengthy glossary of how the vocabulary of semiotics ought to be employed. But, of course, the usage of any expressive

element is perpetually in flux, and these attempts to maintain the integrity of a semiotics tradition thus far appear to have been unsuccessful, as traditional semiotics is absorbed by other schools of landscape analysis. This is not to suggest that semiotics theory wholly lacks academic merit. Indeed, the widespread recognition on the part of architects that the built environment has a clearly communicative function may be attributed in large part to the work of the semioticists. Accordingly, the semiotic school has inspired much valuable analysis of the built environment which might not have been performed otherwise: the subjective requirements of people within the built environment have been explored in greater depth, and scholars have accumulated a rich corpus of empirical studies of expressive built forms.

Semiotics has provided a vocabulary, albeit an inconsistently used vocabulary, which allows architects and others to interpret and discuss the built environment and establish a dialogue regarding a particular class of design problems; our landscapes may be the richer as a result. Postmodern architecture, both high-style and vernacular, appears to have been, in part, a product of debates within the semiotic school. A dialogue continues regarding the quality of the built environment beyond merely functional concerns. And there is, apparently, an emerging recognition of the dichotomy between the evocative motifs which bring status to the architect, and those which are appropriate for the users of the built environment. (e.g Bonta, 1979 pp.11-26) The lessons of semiotics have led some authors to suggest that architects should ideally humble themselves and explore the expressive systems of the common folk who must use their creations, approaching the affected community like 'an anthropologist, or at least a good journalist.' (Jencks 1977, p.97) By any measure, greater accommodations to public need, and the emergence of humble architects can only be construed as positive results.

3.2.1: Critique of the semiotic model

There are, however, many problems which can be identified within the semiotic approach. The bulk of these problems can be

traced to the fact that the semioticians have adopted a logical atomist model of language which assumes regular relationships of 'meaning' behind each built element. This leads semioticians to engage in the peculiar business of looking for the 'meaning' of particular built expressions, without considering the social context of the expressive act; by most linguist's standards, this would be viewed as a wholly nonsensical approach to communication. For example, those authors who have sought evidence of such linguistic elements as metaphors, words, syntax and semantics in the built environment, such as Jencks (1977), and Gandelsonas and Morton (1980), are, at best, providing poetic analogies, but lack any substantive basis for a modelled comparison. There has been no clearly articulated model of such linguistically-derived patterns within the built environment, and clearly, no consensus has emerged regarding the way in which these patterns are physically expressed.

Indeed, the difficulties associated with the concept of 'meaning' have been consistently identified within the semiotics literature. Many authors have acknowledged that denotative meaning is a problematic feature of their models, and pay lipservice to a connotative conception of meaning, but still, they have returned to denotative models within their empirical analyses. The use of the concept of 'meaning' behind built features thus appears to pose insurmountable epistemological problems for the semiotic school. Thus, scholars who have questioned the value of denotative models have still claimed, for example, that a cathedral *means* "belief in the Christian faith," and a garden shed *means* "commitment to self sufficiency." (Broadbent, 1980, p.2) Yet Broadbent professes to have "shocked many of the semiologists," when suggesting that there may be more than one interpretation of the meaning of an architectural feature, despite these other authors' professed acceptance of the critique of denotative meaning. (1980, p.2)

Further, while tracing the changing motifs of the architecture of capital cities, Jencks suggests that 'the relation of form to meaning is mostly conventional,' though he suggests that particular motifs *mean* 'power' without instead seeking to identify the

possibility of other interpretations. (1977, p.77) Jencks speaks of varying types of meaning inhering in the built environment, such as 'natural' meaning (pp.75,77), suggesting some 'meanings' which are consistent over time and between cultures, as well as 'intentional' and 'unintentional' meanings (pp.15,46,77) and 'opposing' meanings which, he suggests, are present within fused postmodern architecture. Jencks also speaks of groups who "share preferences of meaning" which is associated with "class-based taste cultures." (p.63) 'Meaning' is thus corporealized, and becomes something distinct from the minds of the viewers within Jencks' analysis; meaning becomes a tangible element with an independent existence.

Each semiotacist author espouses certain interpretations of the meaning of built features. These interpretations will, of course, vary, and thus substantive disagreements represent the only constant within the semiotacists' hypothesized vocabulary of the 'built language.' Authors' highly personalized responses to the built environment are accorded reified status, as they are projected onto the object of analysis, rather than accepted as the product of a single mind. The architect may experience a sense of validation in the process, but this may come at the expense of the accuracy, or at very least, the flexibility of the interpretation of architectural features.

Authors who have been influenced by semiotics have ignored many of the associated words of caution presented within the semiotic dialogue. Significantly, among semiotacists and their allies, distinctions are rarely made between 'indicative' and 'expressive' elements. (cf. Buysens, 1943) Harbison, for example, claims to identify varying degrees of innocence which inhere within gardens, and degrees of willfulness which inhere within monuments; Harbison also discusses ruins as being 'filled with messages,' no different from built forms which are being actively manipulated. (1991, pp.99-130)

This faith in the presence of 'meaning' in all architectural features is, in part, perpetuated by the fact that a small school of semiotacist designers have sought to code particular messages

into their built work, messages which are then interpreted by other semioticians. It is thus an internal means of expression which, despite its insularity, still lacks a high degree of intersubjectivity within this group of practitioners. (Bonta, 1979) The 'metaphors' of which Jencks speaks, for example, are largely inside jokes and references, part of the dialogue of the modern professionals, but of little value in a broader discussion of change in vernacular forms. Buildings which connote castles or suggest flight are interesting but rare expressions of a profession with dialogues and motivations which have diverged from those of the public at large. (Jencks, 1977 pp.46-47, 96-102; cf. Bonta, 1979) Though vernacular landscapes appear to have become an increasingly fashionable object of study within the recent, post-semiotics literature, the concern with the esoteric persists, with, for example, triangular buildings which are viewed as denoting a 'spearhead flying toward the future' still providing a basis of discussion. (Vale, 1992, p.173)

Thus semiotics can be viewed as less a descriptive or explanatory form of analysis for the student of the built environment, than (as with much of the architectural literature) a metaphor with certain limited prescriptive applications. Associated with this cloistering of the semiotics literature, many authors have complained that semiotics terminology has reached an unacceptable and unnecessary degree of complexity. In spite of the lack of internal agreement regarding the use of such terminology, this degree of complexity frequently precludes the use of semiotic theory by the designers for whom it was initially conceptualized. (Rapoport, 1990, pp.37-38) In addition, the social functions of communication within the built environment, such as the acquisition of status or wealth, and the complex spatial and historical context of such functions, are largely ignored, as most of the built and theoretical creations of the semiotics school develop within the isolated dialogue of the 'high-style' architects.

The deep-rooted crisis of 'meaning' within semiotic analysis is compounded when semioticians attempt to grapple with the

perpetual change in the use of particular built elements, and thus, if left unmodified, tends to confound investigations of dynamic places. Central to this problem is the fact that the *particulars* of a language, those tangible elements with which we communicate such as words or built embellishments, are in a perpetually transient relationship with their use as the circumstances of their usage change, resulting in an aforementioned 'migration of meaning.' (cf. Rosenthal, 1984)

However, semioticians have not uniformly ignored the issue of changing relationships between particulars and use, though these attempts have clearly been difficult to reconcile with the corpus of semiotics literature, with its fundamental presumptions of corporeal meaning existing within the built environment. Eco (1968), for example, attempted to resolve this problem by distinguishing between 'primary' meanings- those the designer intended to communicate- and 'secondary' meanings- those which appear at a later time, without the influence of the designer. Bonta suggests, however, that this distinction merely compounds the problem of landscape analysis, as there is no means for empirical investigation of these phases of meaning, particularly that of the intended meanings. (1979, p.226) As a result, the distinctions made by Eco have not been incorporated into analyses of changing built environments.

Despite the obvious problems associated with the elucidation of intentional meaning, semioticians generally focus upon intention. Bonta himself chooses to classify architectural features according to "whether or not they have been intentionally produced to communicate, and whether or not they are believed by the interpreter to have been produced for that purpose." (1979, p.28) While such intention is a potentially important consideration, its clear identification is elusive, as Bonta suggests later in the volume; simply put, there is no way in which we can ever be certain of the intention of an individual, regardless of whether or not that individual has provided testimony regarding his or her purported intentions. At best, we can attempt to identify potential motives for a given action, within the

context at hand. (Rowbotham, 1992)

Consequently, as a result of many of the identified shortcomings, many authors have drifted from the confines of semiotics, or have condemned the school outright, echoing Rapoport's suggestion, that, because it is "essentially unusable and is almost impossible to understand," the semiotic approach "is stagnating," and "seems to be an exemplar of... a degenerating research program." (1990, p.229)

3.3: The nonverbal approach

Partly as a response to many of the apparent shortcomings of the semiotics school, an alternative paradigm has been proposed, that of the nonverbal approach to understanding the built environment. With roots in the literature of semiotics, psychology and ethology, the nonverbal hypothesis has served as an alternative, but not wholly incompatible source of inspiration for many students of the communicative use of the built environment. The nonverbal school has produced a small but influential body of literature, best known for the work of Ruesch and Kees (1956), and Rapoport (1990) as well as the affiliated work of Hall (1961, 1966). The nonverbal school, most basically, asserts that the process of expression through built means is analogous to the process involved in human nonverbal communication, and can therefore be 'read,' as one might 'read' human gestures.

Though the nonverbal school has represented an independent lineage since the 1950s, much of the nonverbal hypothesis has been resuscitated as an alternative to semiotics within the more recent work of architectural theorist Amos Rapoport. Nonverbalists such as Edward T. Hall and Rapoport are now commonly viewed as the founding fathers of the modern study of the relationship between built form and culture within architectural circles, and they have been explicitly referred to as such in a variety of contexts. (e.g. Saile, 1986, pp.1-2)

The widely acknowledged founding document of the nonverbal school is Nonverbal Communication: Notes on the Visual Perception of Human Relations (1956), by psychiatrists Jurgen Ruesch and

Weldon Kees. This work is, as the title suggests, a collection of notes on potential applications of nonverbal communications theory, not a particularly developed field at the time of publication, to a broad range of phenomena, the common thread being that all of these phenomena are perceived by primarily visual means. While most of the speculations are rooted in the symbolic psychoanalysis of the 1950s, the applications are extended to the interpretation of built forms. Although no single, substantive methodological or theoretical statement can be derived from the work, a proposed vocabulary of nonverbal analysis is adapted from psychology and linguistics. Central to Ruesch and Kees' discussion is the assertion that "objects may be intentionally shaped as symbols, or they may come to be looked upon as symbols," and thus built forms become part of an "object language," which, it is presumed, is merely another manifestation of human nonverbal communication. (1956, pp.190-91)

Ruesch and Kees' discussion of change in the built environment, while emphasizing the importance of inter-group contact, is limited to the assertion that the smaller group will tend to assimilate the traditions of the dominant group, with occasional forms of resistance, such as the introduction of Chinese motifs into the North American urban vernacular within the Chinatowns of American cities. (1956, p.114)

During the 1960s, the work of Edward Hall furthered the study of nonverbal communication by relating a broad range of speculations regarding nonverbal display and material culture to the literature of anthropology and psychology. (1961, 1966) Though he was not necessarily representative of the 'nonverbal school,' Hall had a discernible impact upon the literature of this school. His approach to proxemic behaviors, human spatial preferences, and material culture as a mode of display was still exploratory and eclectic, inspiring more original research than it contained. And, much of this subsequent work was cloistered within the psychological literature, contributing little to the ongoing dialogue regarding the nonverbal approach which was being conducted within the fields of architecture and geography.

During the 1960s and 1970s, many psychologists and linguists entered into the emerging dialogue regarding nonverbal communication. As a fledgling field, nonverbal communication theory was experimentally applied to a variety of situations, from communication among primates to human material culture, with very mixed results. In this context, Ruesch and Kees' application of nonverbal communication theory to the built environment went unchallenged, and volumes were published which presented built form as being no different from human gesture. (e.g. Leathers, 1976; Weitz, 1979) On the basis of the fact that built form was understood to be communicative, but was not, obviously, a spoken form of communication, built examples were included without comment on the rationale for, or problems of such extrapolations. Thus created objects - built forms - were held to be equivalent to a largely involuntary behavior - nonverbal communication - without any attempt to bridge obvious conceptual gaps between the two phenomena.

The nonverbal approach was applied at this time to planning issues by such authors as Becker (1976), who sought to encourage planners to be attentive to the communicative value of the built environment, especially when planning for the disadvantaged. Without suggesting any particular methodology for approaching built forms, Becker encouraged planners to look for 'environmental messages,' including cues of status and identity within urban vernacular landscapes, and to be cognizant of these messages when manipulating the landscape. (pp.1-13)

Rapoport, however, was the first scholar to assert that nonverbal analysis should be recognized as a distinct school, which was to replace semiotics. He most fundamentally asserts that the built environment holds meaning, which directly or indirectly influences human behavior. Identifying failings of pre-existing theories of landscape interpretation, and drawing on empirical evidence from a broad spectrum of cultural contexts, Rapoport proposes that the 'meaning' of the built environment can be understood in terms of existing nonverbal communication theory. Thus, as an intuitive process, the reading of human nonverbal cues

is to be simply extrapolated to the built environment, providing a pseudo-phenomenological methodology which can be employed by a wide range of design professionals. While Rapoport does not advance a particular methodology, one may infer that he advocates a phenomenologically-grounded observation of the built environment; he encourages direct observation, followed by a highly personalized "intuitive 'creative leap' once one has saturated oneself in the information" available regarding the place in question. (Rapoport, 1990, p.123, 1988)

Adopting Hall's distinctions between fixed-feature elements (e.g. streets and buildings), semi-fixed-feature (e.g. façade embellishments), and nonfixed-feature elements (i.e. human occupants), Rapoport discusses the communicative value of each element type, concluding that the less fixed the element, the more expressive. (Hall, 1966; Rapoport, 1990, pp.87-101) In this respect, Rapoport perpetuates the nonverbal school's assertion that human nonverbal cues and built features are merely different expressions of the same process. Interestingly, beyond this use of Hall's work, Rapoport opts to ignore most of the theory from other nonverbal communication studies, suggesting that this would merely complicate the extrapolation of a model for the built environment; as a result, Rapoport appears to have perpetuated many of the epistemological problems associated with the early years of nonverbal communication studies, which were long ago addressed and resolved within the psychological and anthropological literature. (Rapoport, 1990, p.87)

While Rapoport does discuss the interactive social function of built cues, which he divides into such categories as mnemonic cues and indicators of social position, the focus of the work is upon "users' meanings," the "meaning" of the built environment to the observer, a term which encompasses all possible personal responses to built forms, and thus includes what Buysens would refer to as both 'indicators' and 'signals' in the same analysis without distinction. (Buysens, 1943) Rapoport does, however, address the issue of change in the built environment associated with increased social complexity or interaction, suggesting that

the need to communicate in such contexts will generally result in an increased need for clear, redundant cues to act as mnemonic guides to human behavior. (1990, pp.149-52)

Still, in a number of cases, Rapoport suggests that one cannot understand the meaning of the built environment without a knowledge of the initial 'meanings' held by the builder. (e.g. 1990, p.27) In this respect, Rapoport's critique of other schools of landscape analysis does not significantly deviate from the epistemological and ontological frameworks of these other schools. Meaning is held to have an independent corporeal existence. Indeed, at one point in Rapoport's analysis, meaning appears to exist in the mind of the observer and the uncovering of builders' 'intentions' is pivotal to the analysis, whereas at another point, meaning appears to exist as an inherent feature of a built element. True to the origins of the nonverbal school, Rapoport attempts to 'psychoanalyze' these meanings, based upon the physical elements of the built landscape.

During the 1980s, authors from disciplines which do not traditionally concern themselves with the built environment appear to have found the nonverbal approach to be a simple and useful tool for interdisciplinary analysis of the communicative use of built forms. For example, political scientist Charles Goodsell has employed the nonverbal literature in his analysis of the architectural expression of political power. (1988) Rapoport cites this book as an intellectual heir of the nonverbal approach, though Goodsell's analysis is not confined to this approach. (Rapoport, 1990, p.229; Goodsell, 1984, 1988) Indeed, within most applications of the nonverbal literature, the work of nonverbalists has come to be integrated with the work of other schools, particularly the semiotic school, as in the cases of the work of Cherulnik, and Wilderman (1986), Goodsell (1988), Groat (1982), Nasar (1989), Sadalla, Vershere, and Burroughs (1987), and Saile (1986). However, very few authors have explicitly adopted the nonverbal model *in toto*.

Interestingly, as mainstream nonverbal communication studies have become more sophisticated within the literature of psychology and anthropology, most scholars within this field have rapidly

abandoned the inclusion of material culture in their analysis, and from the 1980s to the present material objects have been "either ignored or explicitly rejected" as appropriate foci of nonverbal communications analysis. (Rapoport, 1990, p.229) It is now widely accepted that material culture and human gesture are two very different media, requiring different approaches to their understanding.

This has not, however, lessened Rapoport's desire to establish an autonomous nonverbal school of built landscape analysis. Responding to criticism and a general lack of momentum toward the goal of an independent school of analysis, Rapoport continues to publish material defending and refining the nonverbal hypothesis. Significantly, Rapoport attempts to overcome the problems of his 1982 volume. In 1988, and again in 1990, he suggested that "the term 'meaning' is too global," and that he regretted his lack of distinction between categories of meaning in his earlier work. (1988, p.325; 1990, p.220) He proposed that instead of speaking of meaning, in general, he should divide his discussion into three levels of meaning. These levels of meaning are delineated as follows:

- a) "High-level" meanings related to cosmologies, cultural schemata, world views, philosophical systems, the sacred, etc...
- b) "Middle-level" meanings, those communicating identity status, wealth, power, etc., i.e., the *latent* rather than the *instrumental* aspects of activities and behavior...
- c) "Lower-level," everyday and instrumental meanings: mnemonic cues for identifying the uses for which settings are intended and hence the social situations, expected behavior, privacy, accessibility, penetration gradients, seating arrangements, movement, etc., which enable users to behave and act appropriately and predictably, making co-action possible..." (Rapoport, 1988, p.325)

Rapoport still implies that such meanings have a corporeal existence. For example, while he asserts that the people of a place may not be aware of the meanings of that place, these

meanings still inhere within the built landscape. (1988, p.328-29; cf. Jackson, 1984, p.26) Elsewhere within the same text, these meanings appear to be conceived wholly as the mental constructs of the observer. (1988, p.330 ff.) While not clarifying this problem of the meaning of 'meaning' within his analysis, Rapoport concludes that "in studying any built environment one needs to assume that all three levels [of meaning] may be present." (1988, p.333)

As with semiotics, there have been a number of positive outcomes from the nonverbal approach. It has advanced the recognition on the part of architects that the built environment has a clearly communicative function. (cf. Becker, 1976, pp.129-37) And the nonverbal school, with its relatively simple methodology, has encouraged investigation of the communicative properties of the built environment, particularly its emotive uses, by scholars and designers. Indeed, the nonverbalists' assertion that architects should investigate users' rather than designers' preferences will likely influence design for the better.

Though this concern with 'users' meanings' was most clearly articulated by Rapoport, other nonverbal authors have likewise sought to address this issue. Becker, for example, suggests that, as changes occur in the needs and characteristics of a population, specifically a disadvantaged population, the evocative elements of the built environment must also change, if that population is to be accommodated. Further, he stressed that the built features which are used to acquire status within design circles are not necessarily those which match the needs of the people for whom the design is intended, and suggests that this situation be pragmatically addressed.

In addition, the field of proxemics, the study of needs and variation in 'personal space,' and the behavioral implications of the juxtaposition between individuals and objects has been an important source of ideas for designers. Authors such as Sommer (1969) and Hall (1961, 1966) have introduced discussions of built form from the proxemics literature with some success, with an emphasis upon the design implications of spatial preferences. Though often discussed by scholars of built nonverbal

communication, proxemics is tangential to the object of mainstream nonverbal communication studies; further, proxemics is not generally presented as a communicative medium, though some scholars, most of them not of the 'nonverbal' school, have suggested potential communicative uses of proxemic variables within the built environment. (Davis, 1990)

3.3.1: Critique of the nonverbal model

While I accept the nonverbal school's general criticism of the existing literature (particularly that of Rapoport), I should like to venture that this proposed alternative hypothesis falls short on a variety of grounds. Most notably, the nonverbal school's analysis depends entirely upon the corporealization of presumed meanings, much like other schools of analysis. Most authors, such as Ruesch and Kees (1956) and Becker (1976) have merely taken the presence of 'meaning' as a given, while Rapoport's work has often involved an attempt to articulate and expound the ontological and epistemological positions which this concern with 'meaning' implies. (1988, 1990)

Issues of 'meaning' have been problematic throughout the history of the nonverbal school, beginning with Ruesch and Kees. (1956) As meaning is taken as a given, a variety of meanings is projected onto the physical objects of study, and thus a broad range of potential explanations is wholly ignored. Thus, a single interpretation of every built element is presented; for example, bare exterior walls are claimed to be terse announcements of a terse identity, while they could indicate any number of historical events or expressive behaviors, and may not, in themselves, be indicative of any expressive behavior. (Ruesch and Kees, 1956, p.130)

While Ruesch and Kees' discussion of meaning is amorphous, Becker cursorily attempts to articulate the epistemological position of meaning, suggesting that there are three general levels of meaning: 'symbolic' (e.g. a piece of ground means 'homeland'), 'activity-oriented' (e.g. a piece of ground means 'pathway'), and 'concrete' (e.g. a piece of ground means 'a piece of ground').

Becker contends that, the more 'concrete' the meaning, the greater the number of individuals who share these meanings. (1976, pp.9-12)

Rapoport, however, in his attempt to explicate the nonverbal tradition, goes so far as to explicitly deny that meaning is a social construct. He bases this on a high correlation of interpretive responses in certain studies of communication and built form, which he interprets as proof of meaning as an autonomous, corporeal feature of built landscapes. (1990, p.230) Rapoport does not, however, mention that these studies focussed upon the architectural interpretations expressed by members of individual, homogeneous communities, such as particular suburban developments. (Sadalla, et.al., 1987) Sadalla, Vershere and Burroughs, themselves, on whose work Rapoport largely bases this assertion, explicitly deny the validity of such conceptualizations of 'meaning.' They conclude their own work as follows:

"What is generalizable from this present study? It is apparent that the form of houses varies between different geographical regions and between different historical periods. With but few exceptions (White, 1980), the categories used to describe self, personality, and social identity also vary. The particular linkages between identity descriptors and house form found in the present study should thus not be expected to occur in different geographical regions, different cultures, or different historical periods. What should be generalizable, if the theoretical orientation underpinning this study is valid, is the finding that *houses are employed in self-presentational performances and function to symbolize and display the self.*" (1987, p.586, emphases added)

Thus, the literature does not appear to support Rapoport's conclusions, either implicitly or explicitly.

Despite this assertion that meaning has an autonomous existence, Rapoport confuses this point by speaking, for example, of the dichotomy between "designers'" and "users'" meanings (1990, pp.221,232-34), and the need to 'know the code' which guided the builder of a given element in order to understand the element's meaning. These assertions suggest that 'meaning' is corporeal, depicted as being a byproduct of the builder's mind alone in some cases, while being depicted in others as a byproduct of the minds

of both builder and user. (1990, pp.124, 176)

As a result of an incautious application of the concept of 'meaning,' the use of the term becomes an ambiguous presupposition, upon which the bulk of the analysis is based.⁹ True to much of the literature on built form, Rapoport's faith in the presence of meaning facilitates the projection of the author's personalized interpretations onto the object of study. And as suggested, the use of the concept varies widely; Rapoport (1990) uses the term in such diverse ways as shown below:

"in the case of India, it has been shown that all traditional environments are basically related to *meaning* that...is sacred *meaning*." (p.27)

"One may suggest that an important component of the associational realm is precisely the *meaning* the environment has for people, how these *meanings* are construed and what these *meanings* communicate." (p.25)

"conflicts can easily arise in pluralistic contexts when settings may elicit different *meanings* and behaviors- or where particular groups may reject *meanings* that they in fact fully understand." (p.64)

"Since all behavior occurs in some context, and that context is based on *meaning*, it follows that people behave differently in different contexts by decoding the available cues for their *meaning*." (p.69)

"Clothing generally has been used to communicate identity and has clear *meaning*... Like built environments, dress has many purposes, one of which is to communicate status (*meaning*); other purposes include self-beautification and magico-religious requirements (both involving *meaning*)...Fashion communicates *meaning* by color, line, shape, texture, decoration, value, and so on..." (p.71) (Rapoport 1990, all emphasis added)

Rapoport (1990) goes on to discuss the 'negative meanings' of

⁹ To emphasize this point, I counted of the number of times the term 'meaning' was used within the revised, 1990 edition of Rapoport's The Meaning of the Built Environment; I identified references to the built environment 'meaning' something, or holding 'meaning' no fewer than 681 times in roughly 175 pages of text (221 pages of text minus 46 pages of graphics, etc.), averaging almost four such statements per page.

unkempt places (p.98), the 'meanings' of animal sounds (p.101), and meaning as the 'latent functions' of objects. (p.112)

Meaning is broadly and variably equated with the initial context of a built form (an 'authentic' meaning), affective responses to that built element, and so forth; it is also suggested that if the 'code' of the built environment is not shared or understood, the environment simply does not communicate. (1990, p.57) Further, Rapoport suggests that the built environment of preliterate peoples possessed denotative meaning, while contemporary, complex societies "build elements which have only connotative meaning, perpetuating yet another common misconception associated with this persistent category of faith. (1990, p.84) The complex of assertions presented in Rapoport's work is internally contradictory, most likely as a result of an ambiguous conceptualization of meaning, a criticism which was levelled at the work by some scholars, including Rapoport's own students. (Rapoport, 1990, p.220)

As mentioned, Rapoport responded to such criticism by proposing a framework which hypothesized the existence of 'high,' 'middle,' and 'low' meanings. (1988, 1990) Still, the problems associated with his use of 'meaning' are not resolved; for example, it is suggested that, while 'high-level meanings' may be present in the built environment as a result of the impress of cosmology upon the initial construction, nobody may currently realize that they are present. (Rapoport, 1988) Again, the meaning of 'meaning' is ambiguous and corporealized; it appears to exist independently of communicative context and partially independently of the human mind. Rather than looking high and low for meaning, Rapoport may have been better served by the complete abandonment of the concept.

Beyond this 'crisis of meaning,' perhaps the most fundamental flaw within the nonverbal school's logic lies at the very foundations of the nonverbal approach. Given that the built environment has communicative value, and the built environment is not a spoken medium, it is assumed by the nonverbalists that the built environment is merely an extension of all other forms of nonverbal communication. As Rapoport claims, "Since environments

apparently provide cues for behavior but do not do it verbally, it follows that they must represent a form of nonverbal behavior." (1982/1990, p.50) But, clearly, this does not follow. To be sure, we cannot simply project models of any communication process, intact, onto any other communicative medium. And clearly, there are a number of significant problems associated with the projection of nonverbal theory onto built forms.

The persisting elements within the built environment are continuously reinterpreted by successive generations of viewers, as each new generation projects its own experiences, ideas and values onto the physical elements of a place. The particulars and the usage of these features are perpetually in flux. (Lowenthal, 1976, 1979; Lowenthal and Prince, 1965; Claval, 1992; cf. Hymes, 1975; Smith, 1982; Handler and Linnekin, 1984; Bendix, 1989) While the nonverbalists have applied nonverbal models of communication to the built environment without modification, the elements of nonverbal gestures which are commonly studied by mainstream nonverbal theorists can last as little as 1/100 of a second, while seldom lasting more than a few seconds. (Birdwhistell, 1970; Harrison, 1984, pp.323-26)

Similarly, nonverbal interpretations tend to discuss all elements in the built environment as if their 'meanings' were isolated from temporal context, and immune to subsequent reevaluation; the integrity of their interpretations is thus compromised. To provide one example, the photographic evidence of 'meaning' in the built environment provided in Ruesch and Kees' seminal work (1956) indicates the problems associated with the assumption of such fixed, decontextualized meanings. If we look at these photos, we find that several of the explanatory captions, designed to provide a nomenclature of built cues, are disputable because the common uses of particular built elements have changed in the rather brief period since the publication of the work. Thus their 'indicators of prosperity' would now more commonly suggest antiquated, and potentially impoverished places, and their 'indicators of stylish commercial invitation,' such as neon textual signs, would now be more commonly viewed as nostalgic kitsch,

because of changes in the communicative function of these elements since 1956. (pp.109-13, 115-16, 119-21, 130)

In an attempt to remedy this problem, Hall and Rapoport have relied on discussions of 'fixed,' 'semi-fixed,' 'non-fixed' elements. As suggested, this never progresses beyond the level of metaphor in Rapoport's analysis, where, in a rather forced attempt to maintain the nonverbal hypothesis, he equates fixed-feature facial elements (e.g. facial bone structure) with settlement morphology, and equates non-fixed-feature elements (e.g. facial gestures) with the movements of people in the urban fabric. (1990, pp.88-101; cf. Ekman, 1978) Similarly, Rapoport claims that the spacing between homes is a personalized nonverbal message regarding the attitude taken toward one's neighbors, without acknowledging the role of historic land partitioning, and the different, temporally-differentiated, contextually-grounded actors, motives, and constraints which likely lie behind the decision to create the town plan and the decision to build the house. (1990, pp.134-6) Thus, the different resolutions of display behavior are wholly ignored, being subsumed within the monolithic conceptualization of meaning.

Most authors accept that each act of built display conditions the context of each subsequent act of built display. Some forms of display, such as townsite land partitioning, have a particularly significant impact upon all subsequent display behaviors.¹⁰ (cf. Conzen, 1960, 1988; Carter, 1970, 1990; Sauer, 1967a; Gilpin, 1981) This nonetheless disagrees with Rapoport's assertion that 'fixed' elements, like bone structure, are essentially noncommunicative. (1990, pp.88-101)

The nonverbal model also lends little clarity to the issue of the intersubjectivity of the communicative properties of the built

¹⁰ This point has been systematically analyzed by scholars in the Conzenian and Berkeley schools of landscape analysis, who provide temporally-defined levels of resolution which more closely adhere to the empirical evidence than the extrapolated model of degrees of fixation drawn from human nonverbal gesturing. The Conzenian school has been particularly attentive to disparate rates of built feature change. (see Conzen, 1960, 1988; Carter, 1970; Sauer, 1967a)

environment. The literature on nonverbal communication lacks consensus on the point of intersubjectivity, and the issue appears to be subject to continuing debate. Authors' arguments range from the assertion that nonverbal communication is a pan-culturally intelligible form of expression, commonly understood and largely unchanging, (Eibl-Eibesfeld, 1970, 1979) to the assertion that nonverbal communication is wholly bound to a given culture, and is hence as intra-culturally intersubjective as any verbal language. (Birdwhistell, 1970; Efron, 1972; Ekman, 1978) Most authors choose an intermediate position, leaning toward the former. The degree to which nonverbal communication is viewed as culturally-bound appears to correlate neatly with the type of behavior being analyzed. Generally, the more complex the behavior considered, the greater the claims of cultural specificity.

Still, most simple forms of nonverbal behavior are accepted as being connotatively expressive across cultures, having their roots more in biological, rather than an exclusively cultural evolution. (cf. Eibl-Eibesfeld, 1970, 1979; Bickerton, 1981) Thus, an uncritical application of nonverbal models to built form suggests that the latter is also inter-culturally intersubjective; though the extent to which this is the case is unclear, this assertion contradicts the hypothesized cultural specificity of vernacular built expression, as put forward by many authors, ironically including Rapoport himself, within his earlier works. (Rapoport, 1969)

In addition, the nonverbal approach, while articulating hypothesized 'meanings' does not attempt to articulate the functional or social foundations for the use of built elements. Like semioticists, the nonverbalists take the illogical position of discussing the meaning of gestures, while largely ignoring the context of the expression; and significantly, the dynamic between builder and 'audience' is never clearly articulated. For example, consistent with their psychoanalytic approach, Ruesch and Kees tend to view built elements as merely being symbolically denotative of the philosophical positions of their creators, rather than having a use within the context of particular social and pecuniary

pressures:

"A gigantic metal frankfurter, a woebegone entranceway... emerge as declarations of various ways of regarding the world. These declarations are almost as intelligible as though those responsible had chalked their philosophies of life on signs, walls and windows..." (1956, p.117)

Likewise, rather than acknowledge the pronounced need to indicate entrances of public facilities in pluralistic societies, Rapoport merely explains the accentuation of entrances by claiming that there is an innate human understanding of the 'meaning' of the front of structures, rooted in human physiological differentiation of front and back. (1990, pp.131-32) Arguably, this type of search for the innate 'meaning' of objects can be traced up the psychoanalytic lineage back to Freud, himself.

This question of innate 'meaning' illuminates another problem which is not addressed within the nonverbal hypothesis, namely the distinction between 'informative' and 'communicative' displays, a distinction, analogous to Buysse's (1943) distinctions between indicators and signals. This distinction has, in fact, been made within the mainstream nonverbal communication literature since the distinction was made by Ekman and Friesen in 1969. This distinction is drawn between 'communicative' behavior, that which is clearly used to communicate, and 'informative' behavior, that which is not manipulated for communicative purposes, but from which one can nonetheless infer information. This distinction is particularly valuable for built communication studies, in that it allows for distinctions between those elements of the built environment which have been reshaped by change in the context of display, and those which have been reshaped by other morphogenetic pressures. The distinction was drawn within linguistics, in part, as a response to the ambiguity of such authors as Ruesch and Kees who included such features as facial deformities in discussion of communicative expression (1956, pp.169-71) The continuing tendency among nonverbalists to ignore this distinction likely reflects a philosophical inheritance from semiotics, particularly the semiotic

assertion that every object is a sign; and like semiotics, this blurred distinction would lead us to believe that the addition of new bomb craters and new façades are fundamentally equivalent types of communicative gestures. Both of these schools can attribute this tendency to their phenomenological roots, in which personally 'decoding' the built environment is addressed, while a consideration of the interaction between 'encoder' and 'decoder' is largely neglected.

Many of these problems, no doubt, emanate from the nonverbal school's tendency to shun the theoretical foundations of the studies of human nonverbal behavior. (Bedford, 1984) Recognizing the extent to which nonverbal models have been widely and casually applied to dissimilar phenomena such as architecture and human gesture, communications researcher Randall Harrison asserts that "undoubtedly, the poor 'nonverbal' label is overworked and deserves more careful specification, if not outright retirement." (1984, p.328) Many others suggest that, though nonverbal communications research is "often sadly atheoretical," it "may yet enlighten us about the basic problems of human communication." (Wolfgang, 1984, p.6) No doubt, though 'sadly atheoretical,' and epistemologically contorted, the value of the nonverbal approach may likewise lie in the fact that it has encouraged many to consider the basic problems of communication through built means.

3.4: Morphogenetic forms of analysis

The schools of thought which have addressed the communicative use of the built environment, beyond the semiotic and nonverbal schools, represent an eclectic range of writing, from such fields as geography, architecture, anthropology, literature, and history. In most - perhaps all - of these cases, the writing on this topic has not been the central concern of the scholars involved, but has instead represented a sub-field in which they have participated as a part of their research program. The symbolic schools may be included in this general statement; however, I shall first briefly discuss two other traditions which cannot easily be included under the 'symbolic' heading, the Berkeley school of cultural geography,

which shaped post-War North American cultural geography, and the smaller Conzenian school of morphogenetic analysis in Britain; the former has been the foundation for a number of schools of thought that will be discussed in the 'symbolic' literature section.

As both of these schools, in their initial form, encouraged the investigation of the built landscape through the correlation of particular genetic pressures with particular built elements, I have referred to these schools as 'morphogenetic,' though this term is more commonly associated with the Conzenian school. Both schools derived their initial inspiration from the turn-of-the-century German tradition of landscape analysis, including Ratzel's ideas regarding '*Anthropogeographie*,' the eclectic study of human-environmental relationships, and Schlüter's morphological approach to the development of the cultural landscape, which he viewed as the product of settlement patterns, land use, and lines of communication. (Mathewson, forthcoming; Whitehand, 1981; Entrikin, 1984; West, et al., 1990) The resulting forms of analysis are epistemologically related, although they have diverged considerably on methodological grounds. A combination of these two approaches informs this thesis.

Personally influenced by German anthropogeography, Carl Sauer defined an approach to landscape analysis in his 1925 publication, '*The Morphology of Landscape*,' in which he set an agenda for research in cultural geography that has conditioned most of the landscape analysis conducted by North American cultural geographers since this time. (Sauer, 1967a; see Mathewson, forthcoming; Entrikin, 1984) Sauer encouraged a morphogenetic approach, wherein one sought to illuminate the ways in which culturally-conditioned actors had shaped the 'cultural landscape' from the raw materials of the 'natural landscape.' He postulated different levels of resolution within the complex interplay of cultural factors, natural elements, and landscape forms. The resulting complex morphogenetic model can be understood as a 'working device' for understanding landscape processes. (Sauer, 1967a, p.326)

Unlike the members of the Conzenian school, however, Sauer and his students were influenced by American anthropology, particularly

the work of the prominent Germano-American anthropologists, Franz Boas, Robert Lowie and Alfred Kroeber. Thus, Sauer and his students accentuated the anthropological facets of anthropogeography, putting forward an evolutionary view of cultural development influenced by natural history, and basing much of their analysis upon field observation and inference loosely rooted in field ethnography. (Mathewson, forthcoming; Entrikin, 1984)

It may be argued that there has not been a consistently held, explicit statement of principles for the analysis of built communication within post-Sauerian cultural geography. Philip Wagner has provided the most articulate expressions of an interactionist communication model of landscape development, in which he addresses the use of the landscape as a means of expressing such factors as identity and status, within a finite, learned range of possible built configurations. (Wagner, 1972, 1974, and forthcoming). Others have operationalized similar principles, as in the case of Foote's analysis of patterns of color use in the urban environment. (Foote, 1983) Yet others have taken explicitly 'symbolic' approaches to landscape analysis (e.g. Rowntree and Conkey, 1980), or have embraced a phenomenological approach. (e.g. Tuan, 1977) These cases will be discussed in the following section.

Born and educated in Germany, the founder of the 'Conzenian tradition,' M.R.G. Conzen, emigrated to England, where he adapted German landscape analysis to the English landscape. In his seminal work, Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town Plan Analysis (1960), Conzen advanced a nomenclature and a methodology for analyzing the burgage cycle, with town plan, structures and land use as the units of morphogenetic analysis. Conzen postulated that each of these factors of the urban fabric fluctuated at a rate inverse to its scale, reflecting social, cultural and economic 'investment' in the larger, aggregate forms of townscape such as town plan, as contrasted with the smaller segments, such as façades, which were subject to the rapid fluctuations engendered by individualized control. (Conzen, 1960, 1988) Carter extrapolated this form of analysis to a decision-making model of built form,

wherein he suggests that each modification of the built environment - town plan, structures, land use, and exterior features - should be viewed as a contextually-grounded product of individual decisions. (1970)

Though the Conzenian school has not articulated an explicitly communication-based model of town form, factors of communication are implicit components of much of this literature. (Carter, 1970; Conzen, 1988; Whitehand, 1988; Freeman, 1990) Indeed, this work is wholly compatible with communication studies, and the potential for extrapolation of this morphogenetic literature to communication studies is clear. In particular, the levels of resolution used by the Conzenian school allow a valuable clarity of analysis when addressing complex problems in the built environment, allowing the disentangling of townscape features, which are shaped both by dynamic social responses to existing built forms as well as by dynamic, structurally unrelated social forces, leaving socially coherent physical traces upon the landscape.

3.5: The symbolic approaches

The body of literature to which Rapoport refers as 'symbolic' also represents an eclectic range of writing, one which many authors would opt to divide into additional discrete categories. (Rapoport, 1990, pp.35-48) Still, Rapoport's inclusion of these traditions- including self-proclaimed 'symbolic' analysis, as well as phenomenological, radical structuralist, and certain anthropogeographical forms of analysis- do share certain conceptual regularities which justify their inclusion under this heading. (cf. Johnston, 1986)

Simply, each of these traditions seeks to clarify the connotated meaning of particular symbolically-imbued elements in the built environment. Two of these schools, the self-proclaimed 'symbolic' and radical structuralist symbolic schools, have loose intellectual roots or parallels in the symbolic interactionist branch of sociology and anthropology- sub-fields influenced by the work of such thinkers as Emile Durkheim, George Herbert Mead and Kenneth Burke. Phenomenologists have generally been concerned with

discerning intuitive 'essences' rather than with exclusively empirical facts, as proposed in the phenomenological manifestos of Husserl. (Entrikin, 1976) These three schools are grouped together, in part because they have epistemologically similar approaches to hypothesized connotative meanings in the built environment, each seeking to determine the connotative 'meaning' of elements, on either a personal or (supposedly) public level of resolution. The concept of the 'symbol' is variously interpreted, but has certain regularities of application in these cases; in a summary of symbolic approaches to the built environment, Goodsell encapsulates these regularities as follows:

"a symbol is something that stands for something else. Unlike the sign, which directly points us to a referent, and unlike the icon, which may literally depict the referent in pictorial fashion, the symbol only suggests, indirectly and vaguely. The referent so suggested is emotionally felt, rather than rationally known; it exists beyond the confines of simple description; and it stands quite apart from the manifest message or instrumental meaning of the symbol itself. The very inarticulateness of symbols makes us interpret, not understand, their meaning." (pp.25-26)

Thus the symbolic schools are characterized by a high degree of interpretive analysis, which tends to be strongly influenced by the subjective disposition of the interpreter. Members of the various symbolic schools do not generally base their analyses upon a particular transposed model of communicative behavior (i.e. suggesting that built communication is like a language or nonverbal communication). They merely suggest, either implicitly or explicitly, that built elements loosely represent something else, and that they are manipulated for communicative purposes.

The obvious problem which inheres within the symbolic schools' positions is that little of the purported relationship between object, meaning and consciousness is verifiable. In this respect, the 'symbolic' approaches do not differ from the nonverbal and semiotic schools. Once again, there is a tendency toward searching for the 'meaning' of communicative acts without considering the

context of or basis for the communication. As Rowntree and Conkey suggest, scholars analyzing symbols assume that "environmental symbols are a given; that they are static and unchanging," and that, within such studies, "rarely is the linkage between landscape symbols and social processes examined." (1980, p.459)

A central debate within discussion of symbols is that of cultural specificity; some authors assert that symbols are largely universal, others assert that they are entirely idiosyncratic, while most theorists of symbolic interaction suggest that the answer lies somewhere in-between--that universal patterns restrict the range of potential variations in symbolic interpretation and expression. (Sperber, 1975) Indeed, this dichotomy delineates the schools of analysis included under the 'symbolic' heading. Phenomenologists, for example, tend to seek universal essences through personal investigations, while historians of architectural symbolism tend to seek hypothesized meanings of built elements among a particular people during a particular period.

Many of the more recent schools in geographic analysis of built communication are historically rooted in North American cultural geography, but lack cultural geography's evolutionary, morphogenetic approach to the landscape. Phenomenologist geographers, such as Tuan, have been loosely affiliated with cultural geography, and have derived much of their inspiration, it seems, from the inferential, inductive methodological foundations of cultural geography, which are at root, phenomenological. (Sauer, 1967a) Contemporary cultural geographers, also exploring the communicative value of landscapes, frequently have had recourse to forms of self-proclaimed 'symbolic' and radical symbolic analysis, though this work is arguably incompatible with the epistemological positions of Sauer and his students. (Entrikin, 1984 cf. Sauer, 1967a) Accordingly, recent reviews of the development of cultural geography have identified the emergence of symbolic and radical landscape sub-fields as one of the most significant trends within contemporary cultural geography. (Mathewson, forthcoming)

3.5.1: Phenomenology

Phenomenological, or 'humanistic' geographers, generally recognize the inherent subjectivity of all interpretive acts, and engage in and promote a highly subjective form of narrative analysis of the landscape. (Tuan, 1974, 1977; Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1979) As Yi-Fu Tuan suggests, the phenomenologist

"achieves an understanding of the human world by studying people's relations with nature, their geographical behavior as well as their feelings and ideas in regard to space and place."¹¹(Tuan, 1976, p.266)

Much phenomenological analysis has as its motive the discerning of 'essences,' fundamental regularities of human experience which could not be discerned without highly introspective analysis. Thus, phenomenologists attempt to discover previously unrecognized paths of investigation which will then be tested more thoroughly, "build[ing], critically, on scientific knowledge," though this secondary function has arguably been performed less by phenomenologists than by sympathizers in other sub-fields. (Tuan, 1976, p.274; Johnston, 1986) This broad experimental interpretation of landscapes contributes to the fact that the phenomenologists, particularly Tuan, are among the most frequently cited writers within the field of geography.

As phenomenological analysis has tended to emphasize personal encounters with the built environment, it has generally focussed on the 'decoding' of built features, without much clearly articulated consideration of the communicative function of the built environment, or the dynamic between 'encoder' and 'decoder.'

¹¹In much of his writing, Tuan differentiates between 'space,' personally undifferentiated location, and 'place,' locations of personal familiarity and attachment. This distinction can be viewed as fundamental to the practice of humanistic geography, in which the subjective response to 'place' has been of primary concern, particularly during the early phases of phenomenological writing in the mid- to late-1970s. (cf. Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1979) Subsequent writing has often sought to extrapolate phenomenological principles to hypothesized social, rather than merely individual, responses to place. (Seamon and Mugerauer, 1985)

Each element of the built environment is held to represent something else connotatively, though it is often not clear whether or not these representations are considered to be personal, private 'symbols.'

The phenomenological approach, as with most forms of built communications analysis, tends to view 'meaning' in a vacuum, removed from its context. Phenomenology represents a personalized form of interpretation, and thus its adherents generally accept that these 'meanings' are not necessarily entirely corporeal or intersubjective, though the foundations for this analysis involves the search for intersubjectively 'meaningful' essences. The phenomenologists have thus acknowledged limitations of the interpretive enterprise, such as the inherent subjectivity of the 'meanings' of built elements, but have nonetheless continued with the business of interpretation. Therefore, fundamentally, this practice represents a search for intersubjective 'meaning.'

The phenomenological movement in geography is paralleled in the design fields by a recent movement, which I broadly refer to as 'architectural phenomenology.' This literature does not appear to be a substantive intellectual inheritance from geography, but instead, as suggested earlier, represents the rediscovered phenomenological roots of semiotics. This movement appears to be built upon the general dissatisfaction with, divisiveness within, and intellectual inaccessibility of semiotic theory, and architectural phenomenology has been proliferating rapidly since the late 1980s. The resulting literature is generally ambiguous in its conception of the relationship of building to communication, employing semiotic terminology, an essentially phenomenological methodology, and an expressed concern with the manipulation of 'symbols.' (Harbison, 1991) The audience for this literature is the design community.

Robert Harbison, as discussed earlier, attempts to locate symbols of emotive variables within the built environment through a highly personalized interpretive process. Harbison opens his work with the assertion that "like much art, buildings often have a virtual or imaginary component...If stones are not, meanings are

perishable and mistakable, local to cultures which fade or undergo convulsive change." (1991, p.7) Although this suggests that he draws a distinction between the medium and message of built forms, based in the assumption of culturally-specific 'essences,' he neglects this distinction throughout the work, expressing his own interpretations as if they represented the one true meaning of the object of study. He thus speaks uncritically of such features as the 'innocence' of gardens, the 'willfulness' of monuments, the emotive meaning of 'fictional spaces' (e.g. those within paintings), the communicative role of ruins, and the expressions of 'harsh monotonies' within certain urban places.

There is little in the way of contextual, communicative analysis, but much personalized emotive reflection throughout much of this emergent literature. And with its phenomenological concern with 'decoding' the built environment, there is ironically little discussion of the communicative role of the landscape modifier within this designers' literature.

3.5.2 'Symbolic'

Self-proclaimed symbolic studies generally address the relationship between built forms and hypothesized symbols within a particular period and place. In this respect, this work is less prone to an ahistorical view of the 'meaning' of built forms, but seeks to discern 'meanings' within a particular context. Self-proclaimed scholars of symbolic analyses will often cite nonverbal, cultural, and somewhat less frequently, semiotic analysis within a given work, resulting in an eclectic, theoretically ambiguous overview of hypothesized built communication. (e.g. Sitwell, 1990; Rowntree and Conkey, 1980) The 'symbol' is thus not uniformly conceived within this literature. Throughout much of this work, the domain of cultural and urban geographers, historians, and architects, the term 'symbol' is used interchangeably with the concept of a 'meaningful element' as found in the semiotic and nonverbal schools.

Daniels and Cosgrove, in their pivotal volume on symbolic analysis, The Iconography of Landscape, refer to landscapes as "a

cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolizing surroundings." (1988, p.1) Within this symbolic literature, it is assumed that "symbolic functions and meanings are imparted to objects," and the "landscape is seen as a carrier and repository of symbolic meaning" (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980, p.474; Folch-Serra, 1990, footnote 2, p.257) When investigating the landscape, one might thus be tempted to ask for directions to this repository.

Since symbolic analysis is liberally employed, many authors, as in the case of semiotic analysis, have proposed theoretical distinctions which have not been widely accepted within the literature. Davies, for example, in his analysis of the evocative symbolism of trees, divides symbols into practical, which are essentially mnemonic, and ideological, which induce ideas "in the creative metaphorical capacity of the human mind." (1988, p.33)

Much of the work in the symbolic school addresses hypothesized reflections of dominant ideologies or cosmologies of a given period. Sitwell, for example, seeks symbols of cosmological and ideological concern within the contemporary built environment, emphasizing the importance of the height and centrality of buildings in his analysis of Edmonton. (1990) This work involves "interpreting the message in the landscape," rather than explicitly seeking to identify the role of the built environment as a purposively manipulated communicative medium (1990, p.181). Thus, despite a brief mention of communicative interaction rooted in the works of Wagner and Foote, symbols are viewed as culturally reflective but not contextually authored. Other attempts to discern cosmological symbols, as suggested, have likewise ignored the issue of contextualized authorship, with few exceptions. The principal search has been for the built symbolic reflection of the cosmology. (cf. Raglan, 1964; Wheatley, 1971; Ohnuki-Tierney, 1972; Ghosh and Mago, 1974; Doxtater, 1981)

Many symbolic studies take a longitudinal approach to built form, considering the built environment over the course of time, and viewing the changes as being symbolic of shifts in the national or regional *Zeitgeist*. Rowntree and Conkey, for example, seek

symbols of stress within the built landscape of Salzburg during successive waves of change. Viewing the landscape as something with "meaning" and "information-storing capacity," they suggest that when under forms of stress, communities will 'promote symbols' to facilitate the "creation of shared symbolic structures that validate, if not actually define, social claims to space and time." (1980, p.461, 459) While this suggests a somewhat particularistic approach to symbolic interaction, there are also attempts to discern universal truths, such as in the case of the claim that, "the use of symbols to delimit territory and control space is a human universal." (1980, p.461)

Other authors have sought to find symbols of power in the built environment. (Vale, 1992; Lasswell, 1979; Goodsell, 1988) These studies are analogous to the symbolic analysis of cosmology, in which features such as height and centrality are interpreted as being symbolic of concentrations of power. These studies generally do not address the relationship between the powerful and the disenfranchised, nor such practical concerns as the ability of the 'powerful' to bid for coveted land and construct large structures, but seek to explain these features in exclusively symbolic terms. (cf. Brigham, 1965; Harvey, 1987) No doubt, centrality may be associated with importance, but this link may be a 'mere noting of convention.'

3.5.3: Radical structuralist symbolism

Radical structuralist symbolism is also an eclectic body of writing, which includes studies of symbols of power, race, and gender within the built environment. Much of this writing is informed by elaborate theoretical frameworks, as in the case of Marxist analysis, but still, radical forms of analysis include many atheoretical considerations of symbols of inequity. Much as in the case of the self-proclaimed 'symbolic' school, this literature can be represented by Duncan and Duncan's assertion that "landscapes can be seen as transformations of social and political ideologies into physical form." (1988, p.125) What differentiates this literature is the additional assumption that what is symbolized is

objectionable.

Contemporary radical analysis has its roots in a variety of past dialogues. Many of the early radical landscape studies cite the work of planning theorists who sought to unpackage symbols of inequity in the built environment. (Appleyard, 1979) Most radical analysis also has a basis in semiotics, as attested by frequent citations to Jencks (1977) and others.¹² Inheriting the semioticians' notion that 'every object is a sign' radical landscape analysts have tended to seek the meaning behind each object with only occasional consideration of how the built form came to be. When interactive display is considered, it reflects a pronouncedly top-down view of display behavior in the built environment, in which moneyed interests indicate their dominance, and dictate taste to the public. (Rubin, 1979; Harvey, 1987)

Much of the momentum of the radical structuralist symbolic school derives from a few pivotal articles by Cosgrove (1983) and Cosgrove and Jackson (1987). These scholars encouraged cultural geographers to embrace a radical agenda in their analysis of artifactual and cultural processes. Citing the supposed failings of cultural geography and potential parallels between the anthropogeographic tradition and Marxism, Cosgrove encouraged the fusion of these two traditions in a reformulated cultural geography, asserting that the "landscape both structures and is structured by symbolic power." (1983, p.10) To be sure, the influence of Cosgrove, a pivotal member of the self-proclaimed 'symbolic' school, on the dialogue regarding radical landscape analysis may have much to do with the latter school's continued acceptance of a symbolic model.

Subsequently, the radical landscape agenda has been most clearly articulated and promoted in Jackson's Maps of Meaning (1989), in which he critically reviews the work of the Berkeley school. In this work, Jackson provides descriptions of landscapes

¹²Some semioticians have also tended toward radical analysis, particularly in the literature dating from the early-1980s to the present, a trend which can be seen in the work of such authors as Lagopoulos (1983).

which, he asserts, bear the imprint of inequity in race, class, and gender relations. Still, despite pretensions of being the next phase of cultural geography, the approach taken in this literature, like most forms of radical analysis, is rooted more firmly in the literature, methodology and epistemology of semiotics, than it is in anthropogeography.

Though the neo-cultural, radical structuralist symbolic school does not adhere directly to the tenets of Marxism, it maintains the Marxist concern with dualistic and inequitable social schisms. Cultural groups, as generally conceived within this literature are not dynamic associations of individuals, but are seemingly discrete, static entities which exist in direct opposition to other discrete, static cultures, perhaps reflecting this inheritance from Marxist dialogue. (Jackson, 1989)

Many radical structuralist scholars have drawn their ideas directly from neo-Marxist theory, however, and have bypassed the pretensions toward becoming part of the new cultural geography. Harvey, for example, addresses landscape display in terms of disproportionate controls over social reproduction. (Harvey, 1987) He speaks of "the production of symbolic capital," in which elites express their "hidden power of domination" through built features, which are valued and devalued through changes in bourgeois tastes.¹³ Harvey expands this analysis to postmodern landscapes, explaining their fusion of elements as a pastiche "mobilization of spectacle," to promote the sales of commodities by builders and proprietors, who can transform the display mechanisms within the urban fabric by virtue of their disproportionate sway over the competition for placement within urban space; thus the flexible accumulation of capitalist societies has led to an "immense accumulation of spectacles." (1987, p.276)

¹³ Similarly, authors such as Rubin (1979) have focussed on the manipulation of popular taste by professional 'taste-makers' who seek to maximize corporate profits by elaborating on forms of display, giving each proprietor an advantage over the next, and thereby perpetuating the profession of display design. The term 'taste-maker' is drawn from Russel Lynes' 1954 book by the same name, which, of course, addressed this process outside of the context of the neo-Marxist literature. (Lynes, 1954)

Radical structuralist forms of landscape analysis have entered into more general social critiques, outside of the literature on built form, such as in the case of Michael Davis' 1990 study of Los Angeles, City of Quartz: Excavating the Future of Los Angeles, in which Davis seeks to bolster his analysis with an interpretation of symbols of social discord and inequity in the city's built landscape. In this analysis, the reader is presented with built evidence- from the highly functional to the highly symbolic- of surveillance behavior, bourgeois defensiveness and so forth, which complement the discussion of widening social dichotomies and discord.

Though feminist landscape analysis varies widely in the exact nature of its interpreted messages, the feminist school generally asserts that built forms function as symbolic representations of gender differentiation and inequality. Some authors, such as Mackenzie (1988) view the built environment as a product of dynamic solutions to gender conflict, with gender-differentiated socio-economic variables, such as place of work, defining much of the form of urban places. Other authors, such as Spain (1992) seek to explain many built landscapes primarily in terms of gender-differentiated spatial behavior that emanates from disparate domestic roles and power relationships, at the scale of individual homes and workplaces.

However, much feminist analysis relies on the interpretation of largely metaphorical symbols of gender within built form, with the analysis used to uncover such hypothesized features as phallic symbols within skyscrapers and womb symbols within cul-de-sacs, which are associated with the gender-differentiated functions of these places. (Bondi, 1992, p.160; Spain, 1992) Though a discussion of these trends in terms of contextualized, interactive communication would no doubt prove interesting, they have not progressed beyond this rather poetic 'decoding' of symbols.

CHAPTER FOUR

Languages of Contact, Fusion and Transition: Theories of Linguistic Pidginization

4.1: Contact languages

A model of the communicative use of the built environment within a period of rapid socio-economic change and increasing social pluralism demands a consideration of how communication systems generally respond to such conditions. Considerable attention has been devoted to analogous linguistic environments, and thus a review of these bodies of scholarship is warranted here. The bulk of this literature is found within studies of pidgin and creole languages, that sub-field of socio-linguistics which deals with language change during periods of heightened inter-group contact.

During the expansive phases of transportation and communication linkages, often as a symptom of increasing concentrations of economic or political power, we find widely divergent groups of people, with differing systems of belief, communication and technology, coming into frequent contact for the first time. In order to facilitate communication between these differing groups, and by extension, in order to avoid the chaos that would ensue without an intersubjective system of communication, a variety of inter-group languages come to be learned and adopted.

A lingua franca is one type of intersubjective language which frequently emerges, largely composed of elements from the language of a single linguistic group, such as the Swahili spoken in East Africa. Indeed, English has become a functionally-specific lingua franca within certain circles, being used by international pilots and the international business community alike. Often, however, no one language becomes preeminent, and elements of two or more languages are gradually and creatively fused together, to form a pidgin language.

These languages of contact, the lingua franca and the pidgin,

spread and evolve as trade and communication ties continue to grow. Accordingly, their use has traditionally been most prominent in places of intense human movement and interaction such as river confluences, major trade route intersections, and ports. They become the languages of public encounter, for purposes of negotiation and trade, while other languages may be used in more private realms.

When considering the communicative role of a changing built landscape on the Northwest coast, however, we confront a case in which there are minor deviations in the use and reproduction of built forms, rather than the complete imposition of an intact expressive system. Thus, pidginized languages provide a better source of comparison than do lingua francas, and most of the discussion presented here addresses the features of pidgin languages.

Simply put, pidgins are languages which have developed from elements derived from two or more original languages when the speakers of the initial (or 'parent') languages find they must interact. As functionally specific, makeshift languages, pidgins tend to be simplified composites, with, for example, smaller vocabularies and fewer inflections than the parent languages. As means of communication between disparate peoples, pidgins represent "a purely practical way of overcoming a communication problem." (Dutton, 1983, p.89) As such, pidgins are characterized by an awkward tradeoff of elements between a speaker's native language and the different language or dialect of another speaker. Ideally a speaker would choose to use the familiar language, but the need for interlocution compels the speaker to adopt portions of that which is unfamiliar.

The pidgin is thus a relatively crude form of communication. The grammar of the pidgin is much more restricted than that of a maternal language; it is characterized by highly functional terms, for use in particular applications, and leaves little room for the subtle nuance. A pidgin fulfills a particular need for communication. It is a tool. While the diversity of speakers' backgrounds assures that there is no true consensus on the meanings

of their utterances, each has a sufficiently similar understanding of the use of each phrase to permit the basic exchange of ideas, and by association, the socially functional role of the interlocution. Pidgins can thus be viewed as functionally-limited second languages. Indeed, "necessity is the mother of bilingualism." (Haugen, 1972, p.309)

Pidgins are part of a broader continuum of contact languages. (Hall, 1962) The earliest stage of an emerging pidgin, which appears when inter-group contact is new or very infrequent, is referred to as a *jargon*, a simplified, composited means of communication with no fixed vocabulary or grammar. Despite the fusion and change which characterize a pidgin, pidgins still have certain structural regularities, and a stability of individual elements, which develop once interaction increases. If a pidgin becomes the first language of a people, this language becomes a *creole*. If pidginization can be viewed as simplification and fusion of two existing linguistic systems, creolization can be viewed as the end of fusion, and the onset of increasing complexity within this simplified system, as it is adopted for everyday use within a linguistic community. (Versteegh, 1984; Hall, 1962)

Though many - and conceivably, most - languages have emerged from mixed contact languages, pidgins have often been viewed as the product of linguistic bastardization, rather than as the very common proto-languages that history has shown them to be. This view has been compounded by the fact that pidgins have often been the languages used by colonial subject peoples to address the people of the colonial power, in which elements of the languages of the two people have been fused. Thus, during the colonial era, pidgins were cited as evidence of subordinate peoples' limited intelligence, peculiar physiognomy, and inability to properly learn colonial languages. (Holm, 1988, p.22-23)

Indeed, when considering pidginized languages, we should bear in mind that, during much of its history, English was considered "a barbarous jargon, neither good French, nor pure Saxon," a fact attested to by the loss of inflectional endings, the addition of Romance lexical elements, and so forth, following the Norman

occupation of England. (Greenfield, 1830, pp.50-51)

In this chapter, I shall present the fundamental components of pidgin languages. This overview provides the foundations of the model of landscape modification within subsequent chapters.

4.2: Models and diagnostic features of pidgin languages¹⁴

Creating a diagnostic test for the presence of pidginization within a language is problematic. This is, in part, because the degree and character of pidginization is a product of a complex set of social variables; thus each case of pidginization differs somewhat from the next. In addition, all languages may have pidginized elements. As Versteegh suggests,

"our problem is that there is no control group of 'normal' languages, since every language may well hide a pidgin skeleton in the cupboards of its history which invalidates any reference to phenomena that are said to be decisive signs of pidginization/creolization."
(Versteegh, 1984, p.130)

While most authors acknowledge the difficulty of establishing diagnostic criteria to determine the extent of pidginization within

¹⁴ The dialogue regarding pidgins and creoles has a long history, internationally conducted, and at times, intractable from the more general literature regarding linguistics and anthropology. Much of the initial scholarly attention to pidgin languages was performed by scholars within colonial powers which sought to communicate with subject peoples. (Van Name, 1869-70; Gilbert, 1980; Holm, 1988, pp.24-30) During the 1930s, anthropologists - primarily American anthropologists - directed attention to the topic of pidgins, and developed the rudiments of the discipline's theoretical structure. (e.g. Jacobs, 1932; Boas, 1933; Guthrie, 1935; Sylvain, 1936; Reinecke, 1937) The period during, and immediately following World War II brought about a burst of pidgin studies, as the industrialized nations of the west established a military presence in many formerly remote colonial possessions, and encountered a plethora of creole and pidgin dialects. (Hall et al., 1943, 1962; Taylor, 1956, 1959, 1960, 1963) Several summaries of the discipline have been written in recent years, suggesting a degree of maturity within the emerging field. (Reinecke, et al. (1975), DeCamp (1977), Holm et al. (1988)) Much attention has been directed, of late, on the social and economic forces which facilitate the emergence of pidgins and creoles. (e.g. Woolford and Washabaugh, 1983)

a language, there are nonetheless certain features which consistently accompany the process of pidginization. (Woolford, 1983; Versteegh, 1984, pp.129-50; Ferguson and DuBose, 1977) Of course, many of the variables which indicate pidginization can only be detected through historical analysis. As Derek Bickerton has suggested, a true understanding of the pidginization of linguistic systems "has thus far been inhibited by an outmoded form of thinking that treats 'pidgins' as *states* or *entities* rather than processes." (1977, p.52, emphasis in original) Fundamental to all processes of pidginization is the tradeoff of the known expressive forms and unknown expressive forms which are needed to achieve particular goals. Thus pressures encouraging linguistic continuity and pressures encouraging linguistic change are forever creating a dialectic within the process of pidginization.

Clearly, the process of pidginization involves both linguistic and socio-cultural variables. As a result, there has been disagreement regarding whether pidgins should be identified primarily in terms of linguistic variation or primarily in terms of a correlation between linguistic and socio-cultural variables. Most authors tend toward the latter assertion, as language change can occur independently of pidginization, and pidginization, by definition, is not merely a linguistic phenomenon. Accordingly, following his review of the literature regarding diagnostic criteria for pidgins, Versteegh suggests that "when we wish to study the development of a pidginized variety, the analysis of linguistic features must go hand in hand with the analysis of the historical circumstances." (1984, p.44)

Accordingly, in my discussion of the diagnostic features of pidginization, I divide these features into the general categories of socio-cultural and linguistic elements. I do so with the intention of clarifying the relationship between linguistic features and historical circumstances within the dynamic process of pidginization. The socio-cultural conditions which contribute to the process of pidginization include: initial or increased contact between previously disparate interlocutors, temporally limited contact between interlocutors, functionally constrained

contact between interlocutors, and social or cultural distance between interlocutors. (see Table 1) These features can be said to be 'diagnostic,' in that they function as necessary prerequisites to the process of pidginization. In addition, the process of pidginization is modified by a number of social and economic influences, including the use of the language to establish status and identity, and the expansion of trade. Further, the use of a pidgin covaries with social characteristic variables, and there is an informal, experiential basis for learning the language. In addition, the power relationship which exists between interlocutors appears to have a significant role in the shaping of a pidgin. These factors, while not necessarily 'diagnostic,' nonetheless provide a composite of accompanying 'linguistically morphogenetic' features which can be identified during field analysis. While not exhaustive, the foregoing characteristics include the bulk of those socio-cultural factors which are consistently identified as controlling variables within the process of pidginization within the relevant literature.

The operative linguistic trends which I will discuss include: the 'fusion' of elements from two or more languages, the 'simplification' of communicative elements within the language, the 'simplification' of the communicative function of a language, and the change of the relationship between term and use (or the 'fossilization' of terms from a parent language), a process which will hereafter be referred to as 'drift.' (Table 2) While the literature regarding pidginization and creolization elaborates on these points considerably, identifying regularities of simplified inflection, for example, an extended discussion of such detail is not warranted here. The diagnostic criteria presented here do, however, summarize the basic themes of structural linguistic change found within the pidgin and creole literature.

Few authors have directly addressed this twofold foundation of pidginization studies within their diagnostic schema, and most provide a diagnostic framework which tends to blur this distinction. For example, Polomé suggests that the emergence of a creolized pidgin involves a break in the continuity of a

language, usually associated with temporally correlated breaks in the continuity of social variables, as well as a drastic reduction in the communicative complexity of a language, and "the takeover by non-native speakers under a fossilized form, i.e., without any more feedback from the base language." (Polomé, 1983, pp.126-29) Ostensibly, though this is a description of a creole, a pidgin would fit this definition, save the complete fossilization of the base language, which would still potentially provide elements for the emergent dialogue. Shifts in the usage of particular terms, drawn from the original languages, are common traits of pidginization which frequently lead to such fossilization within creolized forms. Indeed, for this reason, the social and the linguistic cannot be easily separated.

Likewise, many authors, searching for a general model of pidginization, have focussed largely on the dual linguistic factors of simplification and fusion as a primary source of evidence, while simultaneously addressing the impact of the aforementioned socio-cultural variables in the localized variability of the pidgin. Versteegh (1984) and Alleyne (1980), for example, have assessed the metamorphosis and simplification of syntax within pidginized languages (e.g. the use of redundancy and verb serialization to express complex ideas which would have been expressed in the original languages with particles, subordinate clauses, lexical items, etc.) while still presenting the information in a genre which could be accurately described as cultural history.

4.2.1 Socio-cultural functions and features

I begin with a discussion of the primarily socio-cultural features of pidgin languages. Perhaps one of the most clearly articulated sets of diagnostic criteria for the social context of pidginization is provided by Heine (1973, pp.67-68, trans. in Versteegh, p.44), who identifies these characteristics as follows:

- "1. there is a revolutionary change in the relations between groups which had hardly had any contact beforehand;
2. there is at the beginning only limited communication that is almost completely restricted to certain areas of social

life (e.g. commerce, army, taxation);

3. the encounters between members of the two groups tend to be limited in frequency as well as duration;
4. there tends to be a social and/or cultural distance between the two groups;
5. the medium of communication is almost always the spoken language and there is no educational system in which the language can be formally taught to new speakers."

While Heine's set of diagnostic criteria have been only occasionally employed within the literature of the English-speaking world, the criteria are consistent with those proposed by authors from most sectors of the academic pidgin/creolist community.

Table 1: Examples of Context and Motives Contributing to the Process of Linguistic Pidginization

Contextual framework of inter-group contact	Externally-oriented social/economic motive	Internally-oriented social/economic motive
initial or increased interaction	expand trade	establish personal status among own group
temporally limited contact	establish personal/ own group status among encountered group	establish personal identity among own group
functionally constrained interaction	establish personal/own group identity among encountered group	economic persistence during a period of accelerated change
socio-cultural distance between interlocutors		

The creation and spread of pidginized languages is facilitated by a variety of needs and goals, which can be broadly characterized as socially and economically functional. (Table 1) These needs and goals provide the foundation for the socio-cultural variables discussed here. Most basically, the pidgin fills a need for communication among those who would otherwise lack a means of interlocution. As Hall has suggested, a pidgin will emerge "whenever an emergency situation calls for communication on a minimal level of comprehension." (1962, p.152) As the pidgin emerges, each interlocutor will employ any number of variations to express a concept, until something works, until the desired response is elicited. When an expression does work, it becomes an element within this dynamic means of communication, but is replaced

if some other expression is found to be more effective. The elements are generally, though not exclusively, drawn from the parent languages of the interlocutors. (Hall, 1962; Hancock, 1980)

By learning a pidgin, those who wish to broadcast their ideas can engage a much wider audience. This fact motivated early missionaries to learn pidgins despite the stigma associated with pidgin languages among their European associates. (Stein, 1986) Indeed, such work was viewed as quite controversial in its time. Following the 1829 publication of the New Testament in creole English for residents of Suriname, the Moravian authors were soundly chastised by the editor of an Edinburgh newspaper for "putting the broken English of the Negroes... into a written and permanent form...embody[ing] their barbarous, mixed, imperfect phrase in the pages of schoolbooks." (quoted in Reinecke, 1983)

Most fundamentally, pidginized languages result from new or accelerated inter-group interaction, resulting in what Polomé calls "clear evidence of a break in continuity in language development," (1983, p.132) or what Versteegh refers to as the mass acquisition of a 'second language.' (1984, p.36) It follows that periods of expansion in transportation and communication networks are frequently at the root of the pidginization process. Increased concentrations or expansions of power are often the cause of these changes, and thus, as suggested before, the most pronounced periods of linguistic pidginization in history followed the expansion of European colonial and trade networks from the 15th to the 19th century, a period that witnessed what may have been the greatest rate of initial inter-group contact in history.

As a contact phenomenon, the location and areal extent of pidgins have historically reflected processes of diffusion, isolation, experimental innovation and restructuring of linguistic systems. (cf. Hägerstrand, 1965) Pidgin languages may be said to be innovative, but conservatively so. As deviations of usage are largely the product of inter-group encounters, the language will only drift as far as can be incorporated into the limited time of the encounter, and by definition, will not evolve beyond its own usefulness. The intensity of contact, again, has much to do with

the extent of pidgin development, and isolation from regular inter-group contact facilitated the continued existence of certain pidgins. Indeed, a pidgin can last indefinitely if the social context of its use remains relatively stable (Woolford, 1983). For example, Versteegh, when considering the influence of classical Arabic in pidgin and creole Arabic, acknowledged that, "the degree of influence differed... according to the degree of isolation from the center of Arab-Islamic culture." (1984, p.129)

Significantly, to classify pidgins and creoles by a genetic taxonomy of languages is not a simple matter. The 'family tree' analogy of linguistic relationships has been widely condemned by linguists generally, and pidgin and creole scholars specifically, as it suggests an evolution and isolation of single genotypes, rather than the wide mixing and borrowing which clearly has defined most known languages. (Le Page and Tabouret-Keeler, 1985) But, the 'family tree' model dies hard. Authors such as Versteegh (1984) encounter much reluctance when asserting that the Latin-speaking communities of Europe did not merely evolve, once isolated, into Romance-speaking communities. Had this been the case, it would follow that all people within the Roman realm had mastered High Latin as their first language, at some point in history. To understand the emergence of these languages, one must address the historical evidence of the significant creolization of Latin, which would have been a lingua franca through much of Western Europe during the recessive phases of the Empire. (pp.133-38)

Though pidginization suggests a degree of homogeneity in the aggregate as certain languages gain an expanded range of influence, this standardization is tempered by localized hybridization, and occasional resistance to linguistic adaptation. However, there are other homogenizing processes at work in pidgin languages which warrant mention here. For example, when speakers of two dialects that have emerged from at least one common parent language begin to interact frequently, there is a tendency toward 'dialect levelling' or 'koineization.' This process involves some simplification of the language, while many complex elements remain, specifically those elements which originated in the common parent

language.(Ferguson and DeBose, 1977) The result frequently involves the emergence of a single dialect, which draws a greater proportion of its elements from the common parent language than was the case in either of the languages before contact.(Blau, 1977) Further, in cases where a pidgin- or creole-speaking community comes into very frequent contact with speakers of a parent language (usually the superstrate language), 'decreolization' often occurs, in which modified elements and substrate influences are abandoned in order to more closely approximate the parent language of the encountered community.(DeCamp, 1971)

The pidgin is learned largely on an experiential, informal basis, and schools have rarely taught pidgins, save in those rare cases, mostly contemporary, in which there is a government-sanctioned program promoting the use of a nationally-used pidgin. (Ndolo, 1989) As Versteegh suggests, "schools exist in order to teach children a 'high' variety that sometimes acts as a superimposed variety for a 'vulgar' mother tongue." (1984, p.135) There are, accordingly, no linguistic 'rules' which condition changes within pidgins.

Clearly, the extent and character of a pidgin is most substantially conditioned by a variety of variables at play during its genesis. One factor which seems to condition the emergence of a pidgin is the frequency of interaction between interlocuting groups. The complexity of pidginized communication systems is generally proportional to the level of interaction of different linguistic groups. Accordingly, authors such as Hymes (1971) and Woolford (1983) have suggested that temporally or functionally limited interaction will facilitate the persistence of a pidgin language, rather than the creolization of the pidgin, as the language will not likely become the primary language of any of the interlocutors. Within the context of frequent interlocution, the limitations on the forms of expression are eased. There is, for example, little need for the language to be easily learned by the uninitiated.

The volume of interaction is similarly a function of the numbers, both absolute and relative, of interlocutors. The

numerical hegemony of one group will tend to stimulate the creation of a pidgin in which that group's parent language is more heavily represented. As the number of interlocutors increases, variability will tend to increase, while the functional specificity of the pidgin will decrease, all else being equal, owing to the increased frequency and decreased functional homogeneity of inter-group encounters. (Alleyne, 1980; Rickford, 1977, p.193)

Reinecke was among the first authors to explore the impact of frequency and volume of interaction upon the pidgin, recognizing that colonial mixed languages varied with the degree of cloistering of colonial settlement. (1937, pp.60-63) Much of this variability in the intensity of interaction can be attributed to the 'social distance' maintained between the interlocuting groups in question. (Heine, 1973) In sum, the findings of Reinecke and his academic heirs suggest that pidgins become increasingly complex, less functionally-specific, and less variable as the level of interaction increases.

This also has implications for the limits of survival of a pidgin. As suggested before, as a dynamic means of communication, pidgins will tend to eliminate those elements which simply do not elicit the desired responses. Woolford suggests that, "It is fairly clear that the factor that determines whether or not a pidgin, or any other language, will die out is simply usage; any language will become extinct if it is no longer used." (1983, p.4) Thus, if the inter-group interaction which gave rise to pidgin genesis ceases, the pidgin will generally cease to exist; if a function performed by the pidgin is no longer needed, the relevant elements of the pidgin will disappear. And if an element of the pidgin does not effectively communicate the needed information, it will be abandoned. (Reinecke, 1937; Woolford, 1983; DeCamp, 1971; Hall, 1971)

In addition, the functional basis for inter-group interaction appears to have a decisive impact upon the character and scope of the pidgin. Pidgins tend to be increasingly function-specific as the level of interaction decreases, and of course, by necessity the functional basis of communication shapes this limited lexicon. For

example, the vocabularies of pidgins tend to be restricted primarily to references to trade items and practices in cases in which the interlocutors come together largely for purposes of exchange, including those cases where their power relationships are relatively equable. Following his analysis of pidginized trade languages derived from native languages within the Gulf of Papua, Dutton concludes that,

"all in all the social conditions did not warrant the expenditure of any special effort in trying to learn the local language. All that was needed was some restricted code that was easy to learn and that fulfilled the needs of restricted communication, and this the trade languages did quite adequately."
(Dutton, 1983, p.93)

The language which Dutton (1983) describes was therefore primarily composed of terms which referred to the items of trade (e.g. pots, shells), elements which conditioned the process of trade (e.g. canoes, weather conditions), and social expressions which were necessary in trade situations (e.g. greetings, expressions of relative value).

Similarly, one of the most significant factors behind the expansion of pidgins is the securing of trade advantages. Indeed, as languages which have often emerged exclusively because of and for the functions of trade, pidgins are often distinguished from creoles, being called 'trade languages,' or 'commercial languages.' (Markey, 1982; Dutton, 1983) Those who hope to transact business with people of differing linguistic groups can, by the adoption of a pidgin (or other forms of lingua franca) expand the range of potential clients, customers and contacts. (Jacobs, 1932; Dutton, 1983)

Not surprisingly, the use of pidginized languages tends to covary with an individual's role in the community, as well as subgroup affiliations. Merchants will be more likely to speak a pidgin dialect than other individuals, for example. The pidgin is, after all, a means of communicating with those from outside one's community, and is thus a public form of expression, to be used by

that sector of the population which is engaged in such public forms of dialogue. As linguistic pioneer, Schuchardt, suggested as early as 1885, the extent and character of pidgin usage varied "within a single dialect not only according to age, but also according to sex, education, temperament, in short in the most diverse manner." (1885, p.18, quoted in Fought, 1982, p.425) This agrees with more recent findings, such as those of DeCamp (1971), in which he was able to establish a strong correlation between social variables and the extent of creole use within Jamaican communities. DeCamp's findings document an interesting, yet consistent reversal of the trends discussed here, as, at the time of his research, English was emerging as the local lingua franca, supplanting the established local creole, so that the more esteemed, male members of the community tended to speak English.

Frequently, as the language of commerce and negotiation, the pidgin has become a source of social prestige and power to the proficient speaker. (Adler, 1977) As Mülhäusler has suggested regarding Samoan pidgin, "working in Samoa was thought of as prestigious as was the language associated with the Samoan plantations," resulting in the spread of the pidgin to the home villages of Samoan plantation workers. (1983, p.74)

Such findings are common, explaining, in part, the fusion of elements of speech from dominant groups into the speech of subject peoples, as language is commonly used to determine the social position of the speaker. Such pressures have historically fostered the infusion of French into Saxon, or the infusion of Aryan languages into Dravidian. (Southworth, 1971)

Accordingly, much of the literature regarding pidgins focuses upon the role of power relationships in pidgin genesis. Significantly, power relationships tend to condition aforementioned factors such as frequency and functional bases of interaction, as well as defining hierarchies of inter-group status and identity, of which language can become a significant emblem.

The frequency and character of inter-group interaction are clearly influenced by the power relationships which define the basis for inter-group contact. This is most clearly evidenced by

the variability of pidginization under different colonial regimes, an issue which supplies the basis for Reinecke's distinction between plantation creoles, settler's creoles and trade jargons. (1937) In accordance with the general rule, the greater the spatial or social distance between colonial representatives and subject peoples, the more simplistic, variable and functionally restricted the pidgin. Indeed, in some cases, the very structure of colonial trade or corporate entities appears to have had a profound impact upon the scope and character of interaction of past interlocutors, and has thus shaped the ultimate form of the pidgin. (Clark, 1983)

Several authors have suggested that the social allegiances of a people are expressed by use and, at times, purposive manipulation of the linguistic system. It is therefore commonly suggested that language change can only be understood when issues of identity and status are considered. (Reinecke 1937; Le Page and Tabouret-Keeler 1985; Mülhäusler, 1983; Woolford and Washabaugh 1983; Adler 1977; cf. Baumeister, 1982) This, then, adds yet another dimension to the role of power relationships in the emergence of pidgins. While recorded cases of uneven power relationships are discussed here, one must acknowledge that the exact power relationships that exist between interacting groups tend to be much more complex and ambiguous than is often depicted within the literature. In particular, a seemingly dominant group may be wholly dependent upon or vulnerable to the actions of the subject group within a given setting. For example, trade may require the compliance of the subject group, or the subject group may outnumber the dominant group. (cf. Dutton, 1983, p.100)

Much of the literature on the topic revolves around the uneven borrowing of elements from the language of colonial power and colonial subject within an emerging pidgin. Holm summarizes this body of work, suggesting that, "usually those with less power (speakers of substrate languages) are more accommodating and use words from the language of those with more power (the superstrate), although the meaning, form and use of the words may be influenced by the substrate languages." (1988, p.5)

The hybridized linguistic forms do not necessarily appear to have a persisting association with the colonial power, and occasionally become associated with the local resistance to the colonial presence. Washabaugh and Greenfield, for example, suggest that African slaves on Portuguese island plantations were treated as "marginal, inferior Portuguese subjects," and that "The only option available to them, where escape was not possible, was the creation of an identity, expressed in a distinctive language that blended Portuguese lexicon with African grammatical forms and that underwent rapid and extensive language change." (1983, pp.118-119)

This process can be reversed, however, if the power relationship changes. This occurred, for example, in the case of the Indo-Portuguese creole of Sri Lanka, where the removal of Portuguese colonial power was accompanied by the increased prestige of indigenous cultural elements, and accordingly, the increase in Sinhalese and Tamil elements within this creole. (Smith, 1979) Thus the relative prestige widely associated with superstrate, substrate, and pidgin languages conditions the tradeoff among social pressures for linguistic change and continuity.

4.2.2: Linguistic features

The linguistic criteria which are commonly used to identify pidgins are primarily based upon the observation of historic processes, rather than on the mere observation of a language's contemporary form. The general process of rapid fusion and simplification of two or more parent languages to form a means of inter-group interlocution, as well as the drift of terms into unprecedented applications, defines the linguistic phenomenon of pidginization. Each of these processes reflects certain contributing motives which accompany the production and use of a new and spontaneously-generated means of expression. (Table 2, p.89)

Rickford (1977) has proposed a set of criteria for identifying creoles which is based primarily upon linguistic considerations, including evidence of simplification, admixture, divergence from other dialects, and a similarity to other known creoles. Save the

last condition, which could just as well be modified to indicate a similarity to known pidgins, this set of criteria appears to be appropriate for an analysis of pidginization.

Heine (1982, p.17), when considering the origins of an Arabic-based creole, identifies the following elements as diagnostic of pidginization:

- "1. explicit linguistic transmission tends to become more implicit [or defined by the context of interaction]
2. 'dispensable' linguistic items and rules tend to be eliminated
3. inflectional/agglutinating constructions tend to be replaced by analytical/isolating ones
4. marked forms tend to be replaced by unmarked ones;
5. context-sensitive rules [of internal linguistic structure] tend to be replaced by context-free rules."

Table 2: The Linguistic Context of Pidginization:
Examples of Contributing Motives

Combined Linguistic Solution	inertial linguistic motives	Adaptive linguistic motives
simplification of linguistic elements and functions	simplify second language learning of own group	simplify second language learning of other group
		clarity/ reduction of potential for misinterpretation
		increase chances of effective expression among a multilingual audience
drift or 'fossilization'	utilization of a known, pronounceable term in lieu of foreign phonemes	find expression for heretofore unexpressed objects and concepts
	utilization of a familiar/analogous term for a concept	
fusion	simplification of second language learning for own group	simplification of second language learning for other group
		utilization of an accrued intersubjective means of expression

Acknowledging that elements of each language are fused together, Holm suggests that interlocutors,

"co-operate to create a make-shift language to serve their needs, simplifying by dropping unnecessary complications such as inflections (e.g. *two knives* becomes *two knife*) and reducing the number of different words they use, but compensating by extending their meanings or using circumlocutions." (1988, p.5)

In empirical studies aimed at the detection of pidginization, a common and seemingly fundamental linguistic method focusses upon the search for evidence of the fusion of elements. One can frequently identify, wholly or partially, the languages of the interlocutors as they existed at the time of contact, and compare the contemporary language, searching for elements, lexical, syntactic, phonetic, which are clearly drawn from either of the hypothesized parent languages. (Southworth, 1971)

When pidginization commences between languages, there is an initially high variability of elements employed within the dialogue. This is, in large part, the result of trial and error experimentation with different linguistic elements. This variability tends to decline if inter-group contact continues at an equal or greater frequency. (R.A. Hall, 1962; cf. Heiss, 1981)

Below, I provide some specific examples of the primary diagnostic trends which accompany linguistic pidginization. These trends include the 'simplification' of linguistic elements and functions, the 'drift' of terms to new applications, and the 'fusion' of linguistic features. (Table 3, p.91)

4.2.2.1: Simplification of elements from parent languages

Pidgins frequently lack the inflectional elements found within their respective parent languages. For example, suffixal indications of tense, number and gender are commonly dropped from those elements which are borrowed from the parent languages, or are replaced by preverbal markers. Thus, Heine's aforementioned 'marked' forms are replaced by 'unmarked' forms. (1982, p.17) This simplification is commonly alleged to be symptomatic of the rigors of learning a second language, in which simplicity is a paramount

Table 3: Examples of Structural Changes Which Result From Linguistic Pidginization

Type of Structural Change	Linguistic Examples
simplification	reduction of tense, number, gender indicators
	reduction to a simple, regular grammatical system
	redundancy of terms and phrases as a means of expressing emphasis
	semantic broadening
	reduction of subtlety of message content
drift or 'fossilization'	applications of pre-existing terms to introduced objects/concepts
	application of pre-existing terms to newly encountered concepts/situations
fusion	combinations of terms from two or more languages
	combinations of terms and phonemes from one language with the syntax of another
	combination of terms from one language with suffixal systems from another
	combination of terms from one language with phonemes from another

consideration. Such simplification is also crucial for the reduction of ambiguity and confusion within the dialogue of linguistically disparate speakers. (Meijer and Muysken, 1977, pp. 34-35; Bickerton, 1981; Versteegh, 1984) (Table 2)

In general, scholars have recognized that the syntactical structures of the parent languages are simplified to basic constructions (most fundamentally, a subject-verb-object order) without elaborate grammatical constructions containing such elements as particles and subordinate clauses. Grammatical

features such as mood, and temporal-aspectual systems are frequently reduced to a single form within the pidgin, or are restructured into a simplified system. Many of the subtle conceptual distinctions which can be made in an established language are thus not made within pidgins. (Bickerton, 1980; Versteegh 1984, pp.83-106)

Frequently, however, a high level of lexical redundancy is found in pidginized languages, particularly late-stage or creolized pidgins. Terms which have analogous uses, drawn from both parent languages, will be placed in succession within the discourse, a fact which some scholars attribute to the period of second-language learning in which the familiar term would be frequently used in conjunction with the unfamiliar term. (Hancock, 1980) In addition, terms are repeated to suggest emphasis or degree; in Yoruban-based pidgins, for example, *pupo*, 'much' can become *pupopupo*, 'very much,' and *shile*, 'a shilling' can become *shile*, or 'shillings.' (Carter, 1987, p.237)

4.2.2.2: Simplification of communicative functions

The reduction of the scope of communicative functions within a pidginized language is viewed by many as one of the most significant diagnostic characteristics of a pidgin. (Polomé, 1983, p.129) One of the primary forms of linguistic simplification found within pidgins is referred to as 'semantic broadening,' or 'lexical expansion,' a process which renders the lexicon of a language less functionally-specific, thus facilitating the simplification of second-language learning, comprehension and reproduction.

Semantic broadening involves an extension of the use of a single term to a wider range of objects or concepts, including but not limited to the initial use of the term. For example, variations on the term 'tea' thus become the term used for all hot drinks, such as coffee, cocoa, and tea, within most English creoles. (Hancock, 1980)

This trend within pidgin languages cannot be easily extracted from the trend toward structural simplification. Indeed, they are merely two facets of the same process of simplification to

facilitate the learning and reproduction of the language. As mentioned, the reduction of structural complexity within the linguistic system reduces the extent to which subtle conceptual distinctions can be made within a pidgin.

The simplification of the function of elements is related in part to the functionally-constrained and temporally-limited nature of interaction. The breadth of semantic usage thus covaries with age of the pidgin and the intensity of contact. Thus scholars, such as Hall (1962), Hancock (1980), and Polomé, (1983) assert that the life cycle of pidgins is characterized by an initial phase of simplification, followed by a period of restructuring, leading to increasing complexity, particularly in cases in which the language use has stabilized sufficiently to foster creolization.

Similarly, Labov has suggested that, in the case of regular or intensified inter-group contact, there may be "a natural social pressure toward the elaboration of a pidgin in terms of increasing stylistic choice," resulting from concerns which are rooted in both the economic and social utility of pidgin usage. (Woolford, 1983, p.6) Simply put, once the interlocutors find they must frequently discuss the mundane details of everyday life, they will draw increasingly fine distinctions between classes of ideas and objects in their speech.

4.2.2.3: Drift in usage or 'fossilization'

The drift or 'fossilization' of elements, particularly lexical elements, within a language reflects a process which is broadly referred to as 'semantic change,' 'semantic shift,' or 'lexical drift.' These semantic shifts are among the most common types of semantic change within pidginized languages. In cases of semantic shift, terms from a parent language are attached to objects and concepts previously unfamiliar to the speakers of the parent language. Among the most common expressions of semantic shift are cases in which European languages became the primary lexical donor in non-European contexts, so that, for example, unfamiliar plants, animals, and events are referred to with a term referring to a known European equivalent. (Hancock, 1980) Thus, in the colonial-

era English pidgin of the Miskito coast, the jaguar became a 'tiger,' while in Guinea-Bissau the hyena became 'luubu' from the Portuguese *lobo*, or 'wolf.' (Holm, 1988, p.101)

This type of drift has been a central theme of study within pidgin and creole studies since the inception of this field, as it is perhaps the most easily detected by the layman. In 1870, for example, Van Name focussed his attention on the fact that, in pidginized or creolized languages, "we find, if not many new formations, numerous instances of old material put to new uses." (Van Name 1870, p.123) Scholars such as Polomé (1983) have refined the longstanding conceptualization of drift, referring to the 'fossilization' of linguistic elements within creoles. Polomé conceives of 'fossilization' as a type of semantic drift in which the 'drifted' use of a term persists, though the speakers of the lexical donor language no longer reinforce the use of the term within the pidgin, due to the extinction of one of the parent languages, the discontinuation of contact, or the complete replacement of the equivalent lexical item in the other parent language. The onset of 'fossilization' is not easily determined, and hence I have included it with the general theme of drift.

4.2.2.4: Fusion

A primary diagnostic feature of pidginization is the syncretic fusion of features from two or more parent languages. Thus the syntax, lexicon, and phonemes of parent languages are gradually fused into the hybridized dialect, with any number of potential results. Some authors suggest that the traces of parent languages are found at different levels within a language, as a result of the divergent roles of the parent languages at the onset of pidginization. Thus, for example, a colonial-era pidgin may have the phonology and lexicon derived largely from one parent language, with a syntax derived primarily from another parent language (Sylvain, 1936, p.178; Taylor, 1956, p.413; Bickerton, 1981, p.121 ff.), though most authors view this as an oversimplification of pidginized linguistic structures.

Clearly, lexical fusion does generally occur in pidgin

languages, so that, although the lexical-syntax relationship may be debated, all authors of pidgin and creole studies accept the blending of words from two or more parent languages as a diagnostic feature of pidginization. Syntactical fusion and reduction also appear to be a regular feature of pidginized communication. (Holm, 1988)

Phonetic elements are also commonly fused, so that, for example, the suffixes of one language may be fused onto the terms of the other. Similarly, phonemes not found in the substrate, but present within the superstrate may be replaced by similar phonemes, which are found within the substrate, in rendering superstrate lexical items (e.g. the sound /p/ becomes /b/, or the /l/ becomes /r/). (Smith, et al. 1987)

4.3: Issues of measurement

The emergence of pidginized languages has been both quantitatively and qualitatively measured, utilizing these diagnostic features. Authors who have relied on qualitative analyses have often tended to correlate the social variables conditioning pidginization with recognized structural regularities within the language. (Clark, 1983; Dutton, 1983; Mülhäusler, 1983) The process of pidginization also lends itself to quantification, through various forms of componential analysis, which generally involve the identification of term usage at temporal intervals during the period of contact. (cf. Tanaka, 1975) This type of analysis has also been practiced within pidgin and creole studies since the pioneering work of Van Name in 1870. (Holm, 1988, p.27)

Not surprisingly, many of the more recent attempts to quantify pidginization and creolization through the analysis of temporally-intervalled samples have been performed in linguistics graduate theses. Guy (1981), for example, was able to quantify the presence of linguistic variables of pidginization, through the use of temporally differentiated linguistic samples to establish a pattern of decreolization within communities speaking popular Brazilian Portuguese. Other methods of detecting prior pidginization and creolization have been rooted in attempts to identify an unusually

low degree of structural complexity within the subject language, as well as evidence of drift or fusion from known or suspected parent languages, based upon linguistic samples from a single period. Though generally not as conclusive as longitudinal forms of analysis, these inferential studies are often quite illuminating in cases where historical samples cannot be obtained. (Southworth, 1971; cf. Hancock, 1977; Rickford, 1977; DeCamp, 1971)

CHAPTER FIVE

Landscapes of Contact, Fusion and Transition: Pidginization and Built Form

5.1: Issues of model transferability

Why look to pidgin and creole studies for a model of the communicative use of the built environment? Pidginization theory is appealing because of the fact that pidginization is conceived of as a process engendered by increasing social pluralism. Further, pidgins are not conceived of as static, rule-guided, or inherently 'meaningful' entities, and thus, as a general analysis of sociolinguistic change, the pidginization model provides a source of hypotheses for analyzing forms of built display within dynamic systems of architectural expression.

Significantly, inherent within all studies of pidginized communication is a recognition of the absence of any singular meaning. Instead, usage is central to all studies of pidginization, as pidgin and creole scholars generally recognize that no consensus exists on the 'meaning' of any given element, even in the most homogeneous of societies, and that the use of particular elements is perpetually in flux. Thus, students of built form who look to pidgin and creole studies for their models can bypass the problems inherent in the search for 'meaning' within pluralistic contexts, and can instead - as Wittgenstein recommends for studies of all expressive systems - search for the contextually-defined expressive 'use' of built elements. (cf. Kelly, 1955) This facilitates the analysis of dynamic uses of evocative built elements.

Similarly, no attempt is made within pidgin and creole studies to reify language as a structured, rule-guided entity, and thus, its practitioners do not superimpose detailed rules of linguistic syntax onto a system which arguably has highly dynamic contextual usages. Indeed, pidgin and creole scholars have often been in the vanguard, reconsidering the validity of the 'rules' behind the literary standard which have guided past linguistic inquiry, and

regional dialects. Likewise, by eliminating the search for metaphorical parallels of 'syntax' in the built environment, for example, students of built communication will rid themselves of a most aromatic red herring.

This concern with hybridized 'ordinary languages' within pidgin and creole studies is also of particular value, as it allows for an analysis of dynamic expression, and the literature of this field accounts for a high degree of social pluralism coming to bear upon the problem at hand. Historically, anthropological and geographical studies of cultural processes have relied heavily upon examples from widely separated people and places, embodying a concern to record the patterns of human life within remote and isolated contexts. While traditional notions of contact and diffusion are clearly valuable for these cases, we must accept that contemporary technologies of transportation and communication have so compressed space that new notions of contact and diffusion must be adapted to this present context. Complex, culturally pluralistic problems, rather than relatively 'closed' cultural systems, will come to define many of our geographic questions in the future. In this regard, the field of pidgin and creole studies points the way for a cultural geography more clearly rooted in the concerns of the present.

Further, the study of display in the built environment must acquire a morphogenetic methodology if it is to progress beyond the isolated speculations of past investigation. Thus, attention must be directed toward the dynamic context of communicative acts, rather than merely the built expressions themselves. Sociolinguistic models of 'language ecologies,' embodying the contextual pressures which affect the character of expressive acts provide the most sophisticated models for studying the morphogenetic pressures behind built expression. (cf. Haugen, 1972) The values of a 'landscape ecology' approach to built display are many; as Haugen suggests the term 'ecology,' used within communications studies "suggests a dynamic rather than a static science, something beyond the descriptive that one might call predictive and even therapeutic," pointing the way toward an

informed analysis of the normative and prescriptive approaches to vernacular dialects. (1972, p.329; cf. Conzen, 1960)

However, as suggested, we cannot merely transfer a model of communication from medium to medium without considering the ways in which those media color the communicative interaction. Thus, to consider one potential problem, the particulars of pidgins have seldom persisted beyond the moment of their utterance, allowing them much of their dynamism, while the built environment tends to freeze expressions for prolonged periods of time, allowing subsequent reinterpretations of the same element. The built environment could thus be said to be of like communicative function to written samples of a dynamic language, being reproduced differently at each successive phase, while past expressions are reinterpreted. Perhaps we should bear in mind Bickerton's assertion that pidginization should be thought of as a process emerging from a particular set of circumstances, rather than an end result. (Bickerton, 1977, p.52) Similarly, many scholars have suggested that analysis of the built environment must increasingly give insight into morphogenetic processes and the successive accumulation of expressive elements, rather than only investigating empirical evidence 'frozen in time' within discrete temporal frames. (Carter, 1990; cf. Haugen, 1972)

In addition, the different media involved with pidgin languages and 'pidgin landscapes' demand that we not look for metaphorical parallels to detailed linguistic phenomena in the built environment. It is unclear what a phoneme shift would look like in the landscape. One should, however, consider the logic behind the relationship between dynamic social pressures and the structure of the communicative medium. Accordingly, I shall attempt to identify parallels between the ways in which pidgin languages are used, and the ways in which the built environment is used. I shall largely ignore assertions which have been made regarding the 'meaning' of built elements, though much of my discussion will be gleaned from the empirical analysis which has accompanied past scholarship on such hypothesized built messages.

We must address the question of what constitutes a

'communicative element' within the context of the built environment if we are to transpose the pidginization model. Though communication might conceivably be shaped by a certain range of intentions, intention cannot be objectively measured. However, an observer can reasonably discern motives for communicative acts, and can surmise the likelihood that a given object can be manipulated to serve as a means of expression. (Rowbotham, 1992; Skinner, 1956) It is on this basis that we can discern communicative built expression within merely indicative accumulations of material elements. Thus 'gigantic metal frankfurters' and 'woebegone entranceways' could conceivably represent two distinct classes of informative material elements. (Buysens, 1943; cf. Ruesch and Kees, 1956) We can be certain that 'communicative acts,' in this case the construction of 'communicative features,' are those modifications of the environment which are potentially conditioned by the desire to elicit particular responses from others. (cf. Skinner, 1957)

From the general view of pidginized languages presented in the previous chapter, one should be able to surmise the basic properties of such communicative adjustments within the realm of built display. As the process of linguistic pidginization can be divided into general categories of socio-cultural and linguistic characteristics, so the discussion of change in the built environment can be divided into socio-cultural and built factors.

The diagnostic characteristics of a pidgin language discussed above each have their parallels within the literature on built form. The features, simply transposed to address built, rather than verbal interaction, include: initial or increased contact between landscape users, temporally limited contact between landscape users, functionally constrained contact between landscape users, social or cultural distance between landscape users, an impress of power relationships upon the emergent landscape, the use of the landscape to establish status and identity, the use of the landscape to expand trade, a covariance of use with social characteristic variables, and an informal, experiential basis for learning responses to landscape cues. The structural indicators

of pidginization can thus be transposed to include: the fusion of elements from two or more formerly disparate built traditions, the simplification of communicative elements within the built landscape, the simplification of the communicative function of built landscape cues, and the change of the relationship between built element and use (or the 'fossilization' of elements from a parent landscape tradition).

5.2: The model transferred

Scholars have generally acknowledged that initial or intensified interaction between previously disparate groups leads to discernible changes in the character of built forms. A beneficiary of turn-of-the-century German anthropogeographic thought, Carl Sauer was among the first of the North American geographers to state this as a general axiom for the analysis of the built environment, suggesting that, "with the introduction of a different - that is, an alien - culture, a rejuvenation of the cultural landscape sets in, or a new landscape is superimposed on remnants of an older one." (1925, p.343) This is as much a result of change in communicative context, guided by the social and pecuniary motivations of individuals, as it is a purely functional adjustment.

Each phase of a community's development is not wholly discrete, and townscape 'phases' tend to blur at their temporal edges. (Carter, 1990; Mikesell, 1976) Significantly, 'pidginization' within the built environment may be equated with the blurring that necessarily occurs at abrupt and externally influenced contact points between morphogenetic phases. The pidginization process suggests a morphogenetic context wherein the occupants present during a former phase are not wholly displaced, and in which 'blurred' features may become regularized within the process of built reproduction and incorporated within subsequent morphogenetic phases. (cf. Carter, 1988; Mikesell, 1976; Whittlesey, 1931; Sauer, 1925, 1929) The term 'pidginization' does not simply suggest the complete homogenization of built elements across space, but rather the introduction of particular external pressures and

features which are combined with that which is local, resulting in a degree of regional variegation. Even if towns may be subject to similar initial circumstances, they will tend to hybridize somewhat "with successive generations and the subtly colored deposits left by historical events." (Mumford, 1989, p.210) Thus, as inheritors of ideographic pasts, communities often seek to create or maintain an ideographic present, a pressure which exists in opposition to present pressures toward homogenization.

When considering the parallels with linguistics, we must recognize that languages are not the only communicative systems which have been integrated and simplified to facilitate communication between disparate peoples during times of increasing contact. (see Table 4, p.103) The built landscape is also among these expressive media, and, not surprisingly, the spread of widely intelligible forms of language has paralleled the spread of widely intelligible forms of built landscape. Like pidginized languages, urban concentrations have historically tended to emerge at points of contact between diverse peoples, arising with the *initial or increased interaction* between these people, and were both, at one time, restricted to places such as river or road junctions and ports.

Indeed, Mumford acknowledged that increased interaction between disparate groups at such contact points was the very foundation of urbanism, and suggested that linguistic standardization and urbanism were products of the same basic forces, which facilitated the interaction of diverse peoples. (1989, pp.70-73) Accordingly, the Roman planned town, the bazaar, the early medieval port, the towns of the American frontier- all emerged during periods of initial interaction between different groups of people, and all are recognized for certain regularities of form, which reflect a simplification, fusion and diffusion of preexisting landscape types. The extent to which these features were employed was proportionate to the frequency and volume of inter-group contact. (Mumford, 1989)

Within these historical cases, one can identify particular landscape patterns, simplified composites, which reflect, in part,

Table 4: The Pidginization Model as Applied to Landscapes Within Dynamic/Pluralistic Social Contexts: Examples of Contributing Motives

Combined solution (from linguistic pidginization)	Inertial motives (from linguistic pidginization)	Inertial motives affecting landscape manipulation	Adaptive motives (from linguistic pidginization)	Adaptive motives affecting landscape manipulation
simplification of elements and functions	simplify second language learning of own group		simplify second language learning of other group	simplify navigation of potentially unfamiliar built environment
			clarity/ reduction of potential for misinterpretation	reduction of ambiguity or variability of built cues
			increase chances of effective expression among a multilingual audience	utilize expressive elements which function as a 'lowest common denominator' for a diverse audience of potential clients, customers, etc.
and/or fossilization	utilization of a known, pronounceable term in lieu of foreign phonemes	utilization of existing built elements	find expression for heretofore unexpressed objects and concepts	find built features to house/indicate heretofore absent functions
	utilization of a familiar/analagous term for a concept	utilization of familiar built elements		
fusion	simplification of second language learning for own group	utilization of existing built elements	simplification of second language learning for other group	appeal to diverse audience with widely recognized built elements
		utilization of familiar built elements	utilization of an accrued intersubjective means of expression	utilization of an accrued intersubjective means of built expression
		invocation of local or 'homespun' social characteristics		invocation of exogenous social characteristics

attempts to clearly communicate to a broad audience during periods of increasing cross-cultural contact. In Europe, retail functions are drawn from the medieval alleyway to the main street, and are adorned with highly visible façades and signs, which unambiguously suggest the function of each business. In southwest Asia, one finds the increased simplification of pre-Islamic, labyrinthine arrangements of structures and roadways. In former Spanish colonial possessions, one finds evidence of the proliferation of the plaza, around which the places of public interaction and transaction cluster with great regularity of pattern, visible and easily distinguished by form.¹⁵

The ability to navigate in an unfamiliar place, to recognize the landscape cues, avoid dangerous places, not offend the local sense of landscape order, and successfully locate and transact one's business within a pluralistic social context seems as vital a skill as the ability to communicate by linguistic means. (Laumann, 1973, Lofland, 1973) And yet, as in the case of pidginized languages, the context of increasing social pluralism brings about a highly ambiguous, dynamic set of circumstances, which are not easily navigated. (Scott-Brown, 1980; Papademetriou, 1980; Venturi et al., 1977; Rothstein, 1976) This is true even within cases in which one must navigate unfamiliar landscape types which are nonetheless created and occupied by others who could be viewed as part of one's own broader culture. (cf. Jackson, 1956, 1970) This situation is equivalent to what Haugen refers to "schizoglossia," a form of multi-lingualism which "exists in every complex civilized society...a linguistic malady which may arise in

¹⁵ The plaza, of course, had its precedents, including the Roman plaza- itself, a product of similar phases of frontier expansion into regions of great cultural complexity. These plazas contained a variety of explicit built cues which facilitated the orderly progression of human activity. (see Jackson, 1984. pp.16-21; Mumford, 1989, p.330; Vance, 1990) And the Roman plaza was itself, a hybrid of Roman elements, localized elements of subject peoples, and elements imported from the Hellenistic agora and acropolis, itself the product of similar borrowing. (Mumford, 1989, pp.221-27) Indeed, as Versteegh suggest of languages, each built landscape "may well hide a pidgin skeleton in the cupboards of its history." (1984, p.130)

speakers and writers who are exposed to more than one variety of their own language."¹⁶ Haugen notes that "sufferers are especially common in a society where most people are socially mobile and very few know exactly where they stand," and notes how many scholars have sought to reify the literary standard, in order to counteract this problem. (1972, pp.148-49) The same could clearly be said of the pluralistic and standardizing forces upon the built landscape and, like pidgin languages, there are no schools where common folk can learn to navigate the dynamic and unfamiliar built landscapes; our familiarity with built form is largely an *experientially based* phenomenon. (cf. Seamon, 1979)

Accordingly, we should not underestimate the need for mutually intelligible landscapes, infused with elements analogous to a 'literary standard.' These places are not merely the expression of advances in building or transportation technologies- they are expressions of something much more closely tied to the everyday experiences and needs of diverse peoples. It is therefore no accident that, as Jackson suggests, within the context of marked social pluralism and mobility, "many American towns, even many American cities are all but indistinguishable as to layout, morphology and architecture." (1984, p.67) The reconstruction of built form in frontier contexts has not only displayed certain marked regularities because of the simplicity of reproduction, but also because of the need to provide a navigable landscape for itinerant and diverse populations.

Much as in the case of pidginized languages, one finds pecuniary motivations frequently defining the emergence of built form during periods of increased inter-group contact; those shops, places of recreation, and the like, which have thrived, have been able to communicate their function unambiguously to people of

¹⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin, the Russian philosopher of language, employed a term which has been generally translated as 'heteroglossia' to suggest the same condition. Folch-Serra has suggested that the built landscape reflects a heteroglossic medium of expression in socially pluralistic contexts. (see Folch-Serra, 1990)

diverse backgrounds through the use of simple landscape cues.¹⁷ Accordingly, several authors have suggested that the appearance of commercial landscapes has historically had a pattern of evolution which deviates from that of residential landscapes, as a function of the level of inter-group contact. There are, no doubt, *functionally-constrained* types of built display that accompany functionally-constrained encounters. Cezar, for example, acknowledges that bazaars had an independent evolution of form which deviated from other built forms during the emergence of intensive trade along the silk roads between Europe and Asia. (1983) In the North American context, there has likewise been a pronounced divergence of commercial and residential architecture, particularly since the late 19th century. Arguably, such commercial design provides us with one of the clearest examples of a 'pidginized' form of building. The very existence of commercial forms was highly dependent upon the public response to relatively dynamic forms of display, and these forms have generally emerged from combinations of non-commercial architecture. Indeed, the distinctions made between home and work environments within complex societies suggest that the built forms associated with each of these represent a functionally-constrained form of display.

This is, in part, influenced by the fact that trade has played a significant role in the emergence of places of congregation, in which most people are visitors, whose contact with the place is *temporally limited*. Thus, as Jackson suggests, "every sizable community exists partly to satisfy the outsider who visits it," and "there always evolves a special part of the town devoted to this purpose." (1970, p.94) This trend, as suggested, has a long history, inseparable from that of the general trend of urbanism:

"the two classic forms of the market, the open place or covered bazaar, and the booth or shop-lined street, had possibly found their urban form

¹⁷Receptivity to perceived outsiders has clearly conditioned the nature and extent of pidginization- both linguistic and built- though this factor is, itself, a function of the perceived origins of sustenance and social position, and is therefore largely intractable from the broader discussion presented here.

by 2000 B.C. at latest. But it may be they were both preceded by the even more ancient form of the super-market- within the temple precinct."
(Mumford, 1989, p.72)

Similarly, other writers acknowledge an independent evolution of 'trade symbols,' landscape elements which are employed by proprietors, which act as mnemonic cues within commercial contexts. (Ruesch and Kees, 1956; cf. Hopkins, 1990; Urry, 1990, pp.144-53; Gottdiener, 1986; Rubin, 1979; Vieyera, 1979) It is suggested that, by manipulating these built cues of trade activity, proprietors have always been able to improve their business, and this factor often encouraged the diffusion of certain built elements, such as trade-specific signs. Thus another condition of pidginization, that of the use of pidginized communication to *expand trade linkages* again corresponds with these built examples, found during periods of increasing social pluralism, and represents a well-documented feature within studies of the communicative use of the built environment.

By what appear to have been innovative and adaptive rounds of trial and error, much as in the case of the developments of pidgin languages, the 'pidginized' built landscape was modified to provide cues for its various users. Adjustments would be made in the landscape; if these adjustments were to prove more effective at achieving the goals of the initiator, they would persist, and would be replicated in part or in whole by those with similar goals.

While the physical elements of the landscape adjusted to the need for unambiguous communication, in the case of the Roman plaza or the historical 'trade symbols,' so individuals learned to associate different uses with these new forms. This 'migration of meaning' was, by necessity, gradual, though, in many cases, the outcomes bore little resemblance to the landscapes of earlier periods- the gothic cathedral, for example, would have bewildered even the most devout a millennium before its construction, and is only loosely reflected in its contemporary equivalents. The intended audiences changed in the character and breadth of their experiences and expectations. The uses which these elements

reflected were not entirely new - again, the particulars changed, and pre-existing uses were merely reassigned to the emerging evocative elements.

Social motivations realigned to the new contexts created by the interaction of diverse peoples, between whom there was much *social or cultural distance*. In some cases, prestige, acceptance and shame came from increasingly expansive and complex social networks. Landscape preferences were inspired by more diverse origins, as individuals sought favorable responses to landscape modifications from a wider and less familiar audience. This encouraged both fusions of previously distinct built features and the particularly strident 'broadcasting' of widely intelligible built features.

On a related point, the use of built form to *indicate status and identity* in culturally pluralistic contexts is a well-investigated realm of built communication studies. Though much of this literature focusses on homes rather than commercial buildings, the same basic principles of status-seeking and status-indicating apply in both cases. (Cooper, 1971; Becker, 1976; Duncan, 1973; Lowenthal and Prince, 1965) Most authors agree that "the choice of architectural vocabulary and the way that vocabulary is handled is... a political and social statement." (Kolb, 1990, p.109)

Contrasting with cases of defensive response, however, hybrid forms often become popular, as they both 'speak' to a wider audience, and come to be associated with the high status of their users.¹⁸ Accordingly, Rapoport reports how, in portions of Asia,

¹⁸There is a well-documented high degree of correlation between an individual's *social characteristics* and the forms of built display found on that individual's home or business. Moore (1983), for example, identified 'social group values,' 'lifestyle' and 'sub-cultural identity' as potential variables conditioning response to environmental cues, and therefore, the reproduction of built cues. This has clear parallels in work of such authors as King and Golledge (1978) and Duncan (1973), who traced the use of built form to suggest individual, as well as group-based identity. Within the case of 'pidginized' built form, we clearly see a strong covariance of use with those of higher esteem within the substrate community, such as tradespeople, and the more educated, much as in the case of pidgin languages, the 'trade languages' of the expanding frontier. Thus, this covariance tends to create a

European landscape elements have been infused into existing landscapes during colonial- and post-colonial-era development to bring status to the indigenous builders and owners of these elements. For example,

"In the South Seas, European houses are a mark of power and good fortune, even though they are hotter and less well insulated than the traditional ones, and hence less comfortable... In Peru, especially on the Altiplano, the status of [European] galvanized iron is such that not only is it replacing both thatch and tile, to the detriment of comfort, appearance, and landscape, but the only way to get people to cooperate in a recent self-help school building project was to agree to the use of galvanized iron roofs- the status symbol. The visiting architects achieved comfort by concealing thatch in the ceilings." (1969, pp.22-23)

Similarly, Rapoport describes how, in the *barriadas* of Peru, families often delay the completion of such crucial elements as the roofs of the home, so that they may purchase a large, expensive, and seemingly incongruous cedar door, a significant indicator of status. (1969, p.23) Like the Peruvian case, the characteristics and number of doors on prominent homes were likewise used as an indicator of status in Kwakiutl villages, as was the size, number, and detailing of structural columns.¹⁹ (Boas, 1888; cf. Blackman, 1976, pp.400-05)

In other cases, there has been a clearly defensive response in the face of increasing social complexity, disorientation and

context in which the pidgin comes to become associated with high status in these contexts.

¹⁹As is often the case, evocative and functional elements are not disparate features, but merely represent two uses of the same element. In such cases, there appears to have been an evolution of basic, physically functional elements which become socially functional elements as an association with that element's use becomes regular, as in the well-documented case of the column. (see Eco, 1980, pp.221-25) The function of the column today is either both structural and social, or merely social (as with the case of the implied column); a purely structural rationale for the production of a column does not likely exist today.

discord, through attempts to isolate oneself from the unknown, or to reassert a distinct identity through built means. To provide an example of the former case, Rapoport notes a strong correlation between the degree of anonymity within a community and the popularity of the freestanding house, the use of territorial markers- such as fences- and the presence of largely unmodified no-man's-lands between individual living spaces. (1969, pp.70, 133) This trend is suggested by the adherence to particular built types in the face of change, when historical elements provide a source of status and identity within a particular social group. (cf. Duncan, 1973)

Several authors have suggested that house styles, in particular, are used to suggest standing and identity within a community. (Sadalla, et.al., 1987; Cherulnik and Wilderman, 1986; Groat, 1982; Blackman, 1976, pp. 400-05) Such authors generally suggest that, as homes are so closely associated with their occupants by the observer, regular repertoires of cues emerge within given contexts to publicly communicate this identity to the passerby. It is thus not surprising to find that in rural India, caste distinctions neatly correlate with the built features present in home settings, with regular features present in Brahman districts sharply differentiated by appearance and location from the huts of the laborers. (Rapoport, 1969, p.58) Though this also conceivably reflects varying access to materials, it is clear that there are also communicative motives at play, particularly among the higher castes.

The question of social identity draws us to a related point, that of the *impress of power relations* within a community. As mentioned before, concentrated attention has been directed to the impress of power relationships on built form. (Jackson, 1989; Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987; Harvey, 1987; Cosgrove, 1983; Rubin, 1979) Though the exact mechanisms are unclear, it is generally agreed that disproportionate access to the means of expression can have much impact upon the built dialogue. (cf. Freeman, 1990) This perhaps reflects the fact that particular socio-economic groups have greater financial and administrative control over the built

locations of intergroup contact, and can better compete for urban land. Thus, for example, we generally see immigrant populations' built traditions subsumed by those of the host population, rather than the reverse, though the influence of the former is rarely altogether absent. (Ruesch and Kees, 1956, p.114)

This trend toward the manifestation of the landscape tastes of the powerful is also associated with the process of identity construction; the more a particular built form is associated with a particular group's or individual's power, the greater will be the tendency of builders and owners to reproduce it, in the hopes of acquiring the secondary trappings of power. Functioning much like cues of status, built cues have a particular role during periods of changing institutionalized power relations. For example, much as with the pidginized languages of Sri Lanka, the removal of Portuguese colonial power was accompanied by the increased prestige of, and accordingly the increased use of, indigenous vernacular elements within the built environment on this island, replacing the once-prestigious Portuguese-influenced built features. (Duncan, 1990; Vale, 1992, pp.190-208; cf. Edgerton, 1971; Blackman, 1976, pp.400-05) Thus, the acceptance of change, and the enthusiasm for continuity is conditioned by the relative esteem of that which is indigenous and that which is external.

In sum, much as with pidginized language, historically pidginized landscapes have become simpler, more regular in form, and specialized to perform particular functions, within the context of growing social pluralism. Detail is sacrificed for the sake of clarity. The pidgin language emerges as a means to facilitate basic functions of trade and negotiation as well as the securing of status. The 'pidginized' built landscape is similarly oriented most consistently toward these functions. The landscapes which emerge during expansive phases of communication linkages most notably share a tendency toward the increasing size, centrality, accessibility and visibility of such features as admmissive places of utilitarian congregation, the trading post, and the territorial government office. Indigenous place thus partially gives way to universal space. Traditional residences, locally significant

shrines and other private functions become increasingly peripheral, or are functionally adapted. The oft cited and possibly archaic ordering of 'sacred' and 'profane' space is thereby reversed. (Rapoport, 1990, p.158; Tuan, 1974; cf. Jackson, 1984, 27-32)

5.3: Lessons for the 'postmodern' landscape

The forms of much of North American settlement, past and present, can be viewed as expressions of the 'pidginization' of landscape features. The continent is, after all, culturally complex and dynamic, colonized during a period of unprecedented expansions of communication and transportation networks. Haugen suggests of languages that "the confusion of patterns which resulted in what is popularly known as 'mixing the languages' is [a] prominent feature of all immigrant life in America." (Haugen, 1972, p.111) No doubt the 'mixing of evocative landscapes' paralleled this general trend.

Still, while the post-colonial built landscapes have been relatively homogeneous, when compared to the rest of the world, North America has possessed discernible vernacular landscapes. These landscapes, distinguished by locally available materials, environmental pressures, historical 'accidents,' and a spatially constricted diffusion of ideas, facilitated the emergence of pockets of relative sameness. (Butzer, 1992; Lewis, 1975; Wagner, 1974; Rapoport, 1969; Fuson, 1964) Discussions of 'New England,' 'the prairies,' 'the South,' evoke images of landscapes with certain distinctive town plans, forms of architecture and the like. And yet, though many of us still associate certain messages with elements of these landscapes, we are aware that these landscapes are no longer being wholly reproduced. Areal proximity is no longer a pressing precondition for the convergence of landscape form, and thus, throughout North America, many regional landscapes are giving way to something ubiquitous. (Lewis, 1975; Jackson, 1984)

Perhaps more widely acknowledged is the process of standardization of large urban environments. Such features as the roadside strip, the mini-mall, the fast food restaurant, the suburban subdivision and the large office tower have become the

ubiquitous features of urban existence. Yet each of these elements has a documented history of emergence, each drawing from a variety of landscape traditions, be they recognized movements, as in the case of German modernism, or far more inchoate expressions of the highly variegated vernacular roots of the North American peoples. Again, we find a simplification, fusion and diffusion of preexisting landscape types, the hallmark of 'American' architecture, and the stated intent of 'post-modern' architecture—the functions are not particularly new. Once again, a new pidgin has emerged from the remnants of past dialogues. (Vance, 1990; Relph, 1987; Jackson, 1984; Urquhart, 1981)

The postmodern movement in architecture has been, by definition, a shift within the traditions of high-style architecture, in which the high-style ideal came to more closely approximate that of vernacular architecture, and thereby lost its concern for "the modern ideal of pure form, and the removal of...barriers to historical reference." (Kolb, 1990, p.89) Contrary to the historical fallacy of pure, and clearly traceable lineages of architectural features, past forms of architecture were manipulated at each successive phase of architectural fashion with the presumption of catering to audiences of high status. But these clear lineages of form were fallacious. Those members of the postmodern school who subscribe to a related fallacy, asserting that they are the first to engage in such fusions of past forms for communicative impact, are in fact merely the first to incorporate this process within their publicly-stated architectural ideal. (Scott-Brown, 1980; Papademetriou 1980; Venturi et al., 1977; cf. Jencks, 1987)

The trend toward experimental fusion has been particularly pervasive in the last half century. To be sure, this period has been a time of unprecedented growth within communication and transportation networks and technologies. Through these means, we are incessantly 'pushing back' the frontiers between peoples with successive waves of intensified interaction. Such developments have had profound implications for the emergence of contemporary landscapes, which cater to the increasingly mobile and

interconnected masses.

The nature of most of these changes is familiar to most of us. Images of the 'good life,' with all its attendant landscape features are now continuously broadcast from a few major centers of diffusion to international audiences. Contextually appropriate responses to landscape features are now imparted and reinforced as much by these less 'place-bound' media images as by interpersonal contacts. Family, friends, employers and colleagues, those who give praise or criticism for landscape modification, may be geographically dispersed, or of dissimilar histories. They will not provide consistent responses to locally suggestive forms of landscape modification, and thus will not consistently reinforce the reproduction of the local vernacular landscape. We thus learn a widely shared, less place-bound interpretation of the connotative value of landscape cues, and modify our own landscapes accordingly. (Wagner, 1974; Relph, 1987) In certain cases within this wider range of taste, as in the case of pidginized colonial languages, the experimental adaptation of built form in high-style architecture in new contexts has been scorned, with claims of 'bastardization' occasionally resulting in the removal of the objectional feature. (Urry, 1990, p.121)

Residential developments still display a gradual evolution of form, cycles of experimental innovation, adaptation and imitation, but do so within the strictures of national or international rules of landscape modification. We are therefore responsible for our landscapes beyond the confines of any preexisting vernacular region. One still chooses the means of modification of one's home space, even if it is inspired by an architectural pattern book or shaped by a prefabricated home, with a recognition of the public nature of this act. Although the homogenization of architectural and construction methods may shape the contemporary landscape, one still chooses, within one's means, which media are to be employed, and which messages are intended, including messages of conformity or deviation, conditioned by a desire to elicit particular responses. (Duncan, 1973; cf. McAlester and McAlester, 1991; Blackman, 1973)

In addition, the anonymity of the passerby, and the lack of a clear consensus on the 'literary standard' for built expression has led to increasingly strident, visible built exclamations of identity. For example, Zelinsky points to a high degree of cultural pluralism as the root of a proliferation of signs in the American landscape which function as much as a statement of identity as they do as mnemonic cues. Thus America has a "superabundance" of "nonessential signs," political, nationalistic, religious, and welcome signs which "serve to persuade, to celebrate, to proclaim oneself, to entertain, or to socialize." (1992, p.31) This contrasts with European cases, with their more historically homogeneous citizenry, as well as their "densely layered past and its inescapable landscape evidence" which reduce the need for such visible proclamations of identity. (1992, p.35)

Social status is an equally significant factor in contemporary built display as it has been in past cases. Many authors have suggested that one of the most pressing problems within contemporary design is the fact that the built elements which are used by designers to obtain status may differ from the built elements which are evocative, attractive or otherwise functional to the general public (Jencks, 1987; Bonta, 1979; Becker, 1976) Jencks (1987) thus suggests that postmodern architecture is subject to 'double coding,' in which the designer is attempting to appeal to both professional colleagues and the users of the built feature. Interestingly, as in so many other facets of daily life, education, profession, or class are now of greater import than proximity, in the acquisition of taste. And the range of variation in tastes thus declines as distance becomes a less limiting factor.

Again, we can see a clear parallel to the contemporary state of the world's languages. As Haugen suggests of languages,

"we have moved from local tribes to regional unions to nation states, and along with these from the natural diversification of language to a pruning and grafting which has given us the relatively small number of standard languages now existing in the world." (1972, p.264)

Haugen thus predicts that the emergence of distance-compressing communication and transportation technologies will lead to the eventual emergence of a worldwide second-language, possibly English. (Haugen, 1972, p.264) And, indeed, like historic portions of the townscape, languages are now being preserved like museum pieces trapped in the state of their last known usage, as a source of identity to those who are tied into the homogenizing currents of global interconnectedness. (Mühlhäusler, 1992, 1989; Haugen, 1972; Hall, 1955) In both landscapes and languages, historical elements have been revived by some to publicly assert a connection with the past, real or imagined. (Haugen, 1972, pp.331-32)

Thus, particularly within smaller communities, the use of localized, historical vernacular form has been an increasingly common source of status to builders and owners. (Urry, 1990, p.120-28; Ashworth and Turnbridge, 1990; Lowenthal, 1985; Stearns, 1981) This has conceivably been a response to the excess anonymity and status-neutrality of the modernist 'Esperanto,' and other symptoms of increasing cultural interconnectedness. (Jencks, 1977) Accordingly, while summarizing the literature regarding identity and built form, Becker suggests that the comfort of a people within their home townscape is proportionate to the extent to which this townscape can be personalized, that is infused with recognizable elements of their own design, so that the relationships of local people are more clearly reflected within the built landscape. (1976, pp.51-66; Rapoport, 1990; Seamon, 1979) This then, may be the most formidable backlash to the growing pressure toward standardized built landscapes.²⁰

²⁰This type of dialectic, between pressures for continuity and change, provides an additional basis for Harold Carter's sharp distinctions between 'primary' or 'priming' decisions, involving the initial division of land into lots, and 'secondary' decisions, regarding subsequent construction and modification of built forms. (see Carter, 1970; M.R.G. Conzen, 1960, 1988) The latter is conditioned by the features of a site, such as natural resources, but generally lacks the impress of past settlement; the former also conditions the latter, even when the use of site features has changed. Thus the priming decision, made without the context of an existing townscape, provides a context for all subsequent decisions, despite shifts in morphogenetic pressures which

5.4: Automotive and commercial landscapes

In addition to these general trends, the emergence of the automobile has undeniably played a significant role in the shaping of contemporary urban landscapes, not only in such frequently acknowledged manifestations as the functional segregation within cities, and the emergence of 'machine space,' but also in the creation of truly democratic routes of movement. Rich, poor, local, neophyte, foreigner- all must pass through and function within the same portions of the landscape. It is an arena of widely varying knowledge of particular landscape cues, and the urban fabric is once again reshaped to provide unambiguous cues to the heterogeneous passers-by. Proprietors' simplification of landscape display is not merely designed to catch the eye of the speeding motorist, but also to elicit particular responses from the speeding motorist. (Jackson, 1956, 1970, 1984; Urquhart, 1981) The need for communication among a heterogeneous population has brought about a decided homogeneity of landscape.

As in the landscapes of the past, trade functions come to dominate well-marked paths of movement, while increasingly the buildings which house these functions bear signs and façades, large, geometric, boldly colorful, which are ubiquitous and commonly understood. We see golden arches, and we are immediately aware of the function of the place. We may display a wide variety of responses, but we understand that this suggests that a particular type of food is available. This is not merely evidence of the 'corporatization' of the city, or some aesthetic preference for neatness, as the 'decoders' might suggest. (cf. Relph, 1987) These places have adapted their own landscape type, self-consciously shaped by a need to communicate, with regular diagnostic features. Proprietors have then set about the task of teaching us exactly what their intended message is. (Rubin, 1979, pp, 353-57; Vieyera, 1979) Accordingly, Rubin suggests that changes in certain types of commercial architecture have been accompanied by advertising campaigns to assure the continued association of the

encourage change.

product with the built motif, particularly among those businesses dependent upon the 'impulse' purchase. (1979) Those businesses which fail in communicating to a broad audience will fail altogether, in cases where the sought patrons are inherently diverse.

Such homogenization is compounded by the fact that those who make decisions regarding the modification of landscapes are increasingly international actors, seeking the standardized forms which elicit desired responses in the largest number of cases, on a global scale. Thus, for example, gas stations (Vieyera, 1979), fast-food chains (Rubin, 1979), and office buildings (Relph, 1987) have been consistently remodeled by increasingly centralized authorities to more effectively secure patronage within the context of a dynamic and growing audience. (cf. Freeman, 1990)

This same general process defines the construction of mall interiors; Gottdiener (1986), for example suggests that the design of malls reflects attempts to isolate and intensify an assortment of cues which are uniquely applied for the sale of goods. Similarly, Hopkins has described the development of the West-Edmonton Mall, suggesting that this mall is the product of a deliberate experiment with the postmodern fusion of commercial landscapes within an isolated, highly controlled environment. Indeed, it is this degree of control over the whole array of evocative built cues that has allowed the mall to generate highly successful combinations of built forms. (Hopkins, 1990; Urry, 1990, pp.144-53)

Thus, contemporary, evocative commercial landscapes for the mass-market vary only within relatively inflexible parameters, and expand the range of potential clients, customers and contacts for any enterprise which chooses to employ them. They consist of simplified cues, designed for communication within a diverse social network. They are pidginized. The anonymity of such commercial landscapes is a frequent target of architectural criticism, but nonetheless, one must acknowledge that these are landscapes which minimize disorientation. (cf. Lofland, 1973; Laumann, 1973)

Below, I provide examples of the diagnostic trends of built

'pidginization,' which have been derived from the earlier discussion of linguistic pidginization. Once again, the diagnostic trends are: the 'simplification' of expressive built features, the 'drift' of the expressive use of particular elements into association with unprecedented functions, and the 'fusion' of heretofore distinct traditions of building. (see Table 5)

Table 5: Examples of Structural Changes Which Result From Landscape Pidginization Within Socially Pluralistic Contexts

Type of Structural Change	Examples
simplification	increased number of physical cues (e.g. signs)
	increased visibility of physical cues
	increased regularity/ redundancy of physical cues
	regularity of locations of functions within townscapes
	reduction in subtlety of expressive complexity/ subtlety of any given built cue
drift or 'fossilization'	regularized, post-contact use of architectural styles for unprecedented functions
	use of architectural or morphological themes without initial function (e.g. ceremonial uses)
	conversion of vernacular architecture to 'high-style' uses
fusion	combinations of layout, construction, and ornamentation from two or more 'morphological phases'
	combinations of features from two or more traditions of building

5.5: Contact phases, and the simplification of communicative elements and function

The transfer of the concept of simplified communicative elements from pidgin studies is potentially deceptive: the basis for simplification within pidgin languages is to facilitate both ease in second-language learning, and reduced variability of cues. But this same imperative within the built landscape does not necessarily result in a decline in the number of communicative features. On the contrary, it often results in the increased number and visibility of cues, as the need for unambiguous communication is increasingly magnified by social pluralism.

The trend toward simplification within the built form of places of inter-group contact is frequently addressed within the literature on communication within the built environment. Rapoport, for example, stresses the need for simplified cues within the built environment of complex societies. (Rapoport, 1988, 1990) He suggests that redundant built cues are one of the most visible responses to this trend: "in cities of more complex or pluralistic societies, with weaker rule systems, [physical] cues are even more important, thus higher levels of redundancy are necessary." (1990, p.149) Rapoport thus presents one of the few testable hypotheses within his work, suggesting that there is a relationship between the social pluralism of a place and the need for redundant, clear physical cues in the built environment. (1990, pp.150-52)

Similarly, Jencks suggests that architectural modernism represented, in part, an attempt to create an "Esperanto" of built cues, a built form without idiosyncratic expressions, which accompanied the growing complexity of Western culture. Further, Jencks suggests that modernist architecture was replaced by postmodern architecture as a result of modernism's lack of communicative clarity within localized built dialogues. (1977) Like Rapoport, he acknowledges that the architect must "overcode his buildings, using a redundancy of popular signs and metaphors if his work is to communicate as intended and survive the transformation of fast-changing codes." (1977, p.58)

Much like the elimination of subtle or marked forms within languages, built elements must be simplified to a lowest common

denominator to have the desired impact within a large, diverse group of individuals. This conditions the construction of such features as signs, entrances, and structural exteriors within commercial landscapes. If a built feature persists in such a context, this may be due to the fact "that it is conspicuous, that it is distinct from its surroundings, and that as a form it can be understood at a glance." (Jackson, 1984, p.32)

Much as with the case of pidginized languages, the simplification of built cues within pluralistic contexts results in a reduction of the intersubjective communicative function of built forms. No doubt these places may still be as 'meaningful' on an individual basis, but, with a high degree of reductionism and redundancy, the pidginized built environment has a reduced range of usage. As a result, authors such as Papademetriou (1980) question whether we can afford the emergence of landscapes reflecting the lowest common denominator of public taste, as highly simplified vernacular elements are increasingly adapted and synthesized by 'high-style' designers and planners.

5.6: Contact phases, and drift or 'fossilization'

The partial or complete shift in the communicative use of particular built elements has also been documented in a variety of cases. It is of interest that the term 'fossilization' has emerged independently, in reference to analogous phenomena, within both the literature regarding the emergence of pidgin and creole languages (Polome, 1983) and the literature regarding the history of display in the built environment, most notably in the work of Mumford. Mumford associates the process with the contact of cultures during periods of rapid social or economic transformation. (Mumford, 1989, pp.335-43)

Mumford illustrates this process in the case of European towns, in which certain built forms have persisted from the medieval past, built forms which "even with minor inner changes, did not express the new life," but reflected a period of past expression which has been incorporated into and reproduced within contemporary built expression in a fundamentally different way.

(1989, p.335)

Similarly, Mumford suggests that the layout and orientation of Roman towns was adapted from other cultures' cosmologically-based system of town design, particularly that of the Etruscans; though the pattern was modified extensively, it persisted "as a kind of fossil of an earlier culture, long after it had lost much of its cosmic significance." (Mumford, 1989, p.207) Still, new factors came to reinforce its reproduction as a communicative form. None of the elements of the Roman town were new;

"What Rome did was to universalize them- making them, as we would say today in somewhat Roman terms, 'standard equipment'... Rome was the great sausage grinder that turned other cultures, in all their variety of form and content, into its own uniform links." (Mumford, 1989, p.208)

Thus the elements which were integrated into the Roman urban system were diffused and adapted to a variety of new contexts, so that "the new marketplaces of Coventry and Harlow, with their upper tiers of shops and offices, are, no less than the early nineteenth-century shopping arcade at Providence, R.I., only a recovery of the admirable Roman multi-level plan." (Mumford, 1989, p.208)

Ruesch and Kees also briefly acknowledge how certain landscape cues have been 'fossilized,' particularly in cases in which the functions associated with built forms have changed. For example, Ruesch and Kees discuss the case of the contemporary barber pole, formerly a representation of bandages and blood, which was used for purposes of identification when barbers were as much surgeons as hair stylists. (1956, p.114)

Several authors have also acknowledged that the recent resurgence of vernacular architecture has resulted in the reproduction of historic forms for entirely different uses. (Claval, 1992; Urry, 1990; Jackson, 1984) Similarly, as the fusion of evocative elements is among the stated goals of postmodern architecture, so shifting and fossilizing uses of elements are an inherent component of this process. (Kolb, 1990; Jencks, 1987)

5.7: Contact phases and fusion

The history of built form during periods of expansive inter-group linkages is inseparable from the general history of borrowing and integration which has defined emergent built 'traditions.' Most authors have interpreted this fusion as a product of both inter-group contact and periods of social and economic upheaval.

Mumford suggests that this trend can be found throughout historical cases of increasing social pluralism, first being well-documented in the case of the towns of Rome, which so conditioned all forms of Western urbanization. These towns were themselves hybrids of a variety of features- including layout, construction and ornamentation- drawn from Etruscan, Hellenic, and still unknown lineages. (Mumford, 1989, pp.205-07; Vance, 1990)

Similarly, authors such as Scott-Brown (1980) speak of the hybridization of popular architectural taste within the context of American social pluralism. This pluralism of taste and tradition has resulted in the hybridization of built 'traditions' within popular architecture. Scott-Brown thus describes this hybridization as a historically pervasive morphogenetic factor in socially and economically dynamic American cities, a trend which was generally resisted until recently by most 'high-style' architects. (also Papademetriou, 1980)

Still, many authors also suggest that this trend toward fusion is a pervasive feature of this 'high-style' architecture as well, as architects have commonly sought to balance familiarity with novelty. As Urry suggests,

"historically most architecture has been partly eclectic, drawing on earlier traditions, such as the Gothic style favoured by the Victorians or the Egyptian motifs popular with the Art Deco movement." (Urry, 1990, p.123)

Similarly, contemporary proponents of post-modern architecture explicitly encourage the hybridization of built features to achieve particular desired communicative effects. Postmodern architects thus attempt to integrate elements which will bring prestige and wealth to themselves and their clients, within the context of a

dynamic, socially pluralistic audience. (Jencks, 1977, pp.72, 87, 90, 1987; Groat, 1982; Kolb, 1990)

Recent work has suggested that, in addition to appealing to more diverse audiences, architectural fusion may be the result of attempts to invoke images from two distinct built styles, one traditional and one imported, in order to facilitate social adjustment in which the imported style has growing evocative value as a result of inter-group contact. Thus, for example, in many developing countries, the fusion of indigenous vernacular architecture with the monumental scales and motifs of Western Europe has served to legitimize the existing political structure, presenting it as something simultaneously powerful and homespun. (Duncan, 1990, p.182; Vale, 1992; Goodsell, 1988)

The simplification, fusion, or drift which accompanies a change in communicative context must, clearly, be based upon and situated within the pre-existing town fabric. Therefore, a shift in communicative context will by necessity involve the overlay of new features onto existing features of the townscape. Industrial storage facilities are refurbished into cafes, because the building stock is available, and because there is no overriding need to wholly replace the building stock in the course of a change in land use. Town morphology from an industrial era will likewise provide the matrix for subsequent periods of activity and redevelopment. Townscapes are thus, by their nature, historical composites. (Conzen, 1960)

The concept of 'pidginization,' however, leads us to view communicative features as more than accumulations of historical detritus. The concept suggests that these accumulations will form communicative composites, which will subsequently be reproduced for particular functions. Thus, the clearest proof of both drift and fusion is seen in those cases in which preexisting features, composited with heretofore unrelated elements, are reproduced in association with a new function. For example, built elements of a cannery which persist when the cannery closes, and the building is converted into a cafe may come to be seen as indicative of a 'cafe' at any time after this transition, and in varying degrees

among people. The proof that the cannery features have generally taken on this new use is found when a new cafe is built elsewhere, with elements previously indicative of a cannery, on a site where no cannery has stood.

CHAPTER SIX

Emergent Tourist Landscapes as Places of Contact, Fusion, and Transition

6.1: Tourist landscapes as 'contact phenomena'

Emerging tourist landscapes provide a uniquely appropriate application of the pidginization model. The emergence of a tourist landscape over a pre-existing settlement pattern suggests the initial or increased interaction between previously more distinct populations, that of the visited locale, and those of the visitors. (Brower, 1988, pp.27-46; Nuñez, 1977; Smith, 1977; Robinson, 1976; Graber, 1974; Parsons, 1973) Indeed, such authors as Nuñez suggest that the development of tourism often leads to a high degree of language mixing in the visited locale. (1977, p.208) And by its nature, the contact between the visitor and host landscape is temporally limited and functionally constrained. Many scholars assert that, by the very nature of this relationship between hosts and guests, each with clearly articulated and differentiated motivations *in situ*, there is tremendous social distance between people who reside at the visited place, and the visitors, even if they are from the same larger national body.²¹ (Urry, 1990, pp.135-56; Nuñez, 1977; Miller, 1974; cf. Graber, 1974) As Nuñez suggests, an anthropological investigation of tourism should have at its core a recognition of the relatively discrete motives and identities of hosts and guests:

"...what is the nature of the relationship between hosts and tourists? Their relationship is almost always an instrumental one, rarely colored by affective ties, and almost always marked by degrees of social distance and stereotyping that would not exist among neighbors, peers, or fellow countrymen." (1977, p.212)

Nuñez thus recommends that tourist-host interaction be studied as one would study analogous cases of intercultural contact, such as colonial-era cultural adjustment. (1977, pp.209-10) This premise

²¹Arguably, class distinctions may be at the root of much of this social division.

permeates all of the contributions to the volume in which Nuñez's comments appear, Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism (Smith, 1977), now regarded as a seminal book on the subject of the social context of tourism. A similar view is forwarded within much of the anthropological literature on small community relations with outside populations; the local 'microcosm' is thus adjusted within certain parameters to facilitate interaction with the external 'macrocosm'. (Stearns, 1981; Bennett, 1967)

Tourist landscapes are likewise characterized by an enhanced degree of display behavior, conditioned by the responses of both local and visiting persons. The dimension of architectural display behavior added to the pre-existing context of display by the introduction of tourists to a place complicates the analysis of tourist landscapes. (Nuñez, 1977, p.212; Bendix, 1989; Miller, 1974) While residents of tourist communities are no less responsive to local taste and opinion than residents of any other type of community, their very subsistence is often dependent upon the successful utilization of landscape cues. Simply, if an individual's livelihood is increasingly dependent upon eliciting particular responses from visitors (such as the entering into, and buying from a trinket shop, or the purchasing of view property), this becomes a significant component of the decision making context of individuals who shape the community, and the townscape will generally reflect this trend, in its plat, structures, functions, façades, signs and other landscape embellishments. (Wagner, 1974; Venturi, et al., 1977; Carter, 1970; Jackson, 1956; Alexander, 1966, pp.15-27) (Table 7, p.127) Further, it is generally recognized that the frequency and volume of visitor contact has a defining role in the extent and character of tourist-oriented landscapes. (Gunn, 1979, 1988; cf. Jackson, 1970)

Nuñez thus suggests that display behavior is central to all tourist-host interaction, and draws upon Goffman's 'dramaturgical' model of such behavior, asserting that "tourists and more often their hosts are almost always on stage when they meet in face-to-face encounters." (1977, pp.212-13, italics his; Goffman, 1959; see also Bendix, 1989) In his studies of the social dimension of

Table 6: The pidginization model of landscape adaptation as applied to emergent tourist landscapes: examples of motives

Combined solution (from linguistic pidginization)	Inertial motives (from linguistic pidginization)	Inertial motives affecting landscape manipulation	Inertial motives affecting tourist landscape manipulation	Adaptive motives (from linguistic pidginization)	Adaptive motives affecting landscape manipulation	Adaptive motives affecting tourist landscape manipulation
simplification of elements and functions	simplify second language learning of own group			simplify second language learning of other group	simplify navigation of potentially unfamiliar built environment	simplify navigation of unfamiliar place/built environment
				clarity, reduction of potential for misinterpretation	reduction of ambiguity or variability of built cues	reduction of ambiguity or variability of built cues
				increase chances of effective expression among a multilingual audience	utilization of expressive elements which function as a 'lowest common denominator' for a diverse audience of potential clients, customers, etc	utilization of expressive elements which function as a 'lowest common denominator' for a diverse, exogenous audience of potential clients, customers, etc
drift or 'fossilization'	utilization of a known, pronounceable term in lieu of foreign phonemes	utilization of existing built elements	utilization of existing built elements during a period of economic adjustment	find expression for heretofore unexpressed objects and concepts	find built elements to indicate heretofore absent functions	find built elements to indicate heretofore absent, tourist-oriented functions
	utilization of a familiar/analogous term for a concept	utilization of locally familiar built elements	utilization of locally familiar built elements during a period of social adjustment			need to highlight local distinctiveness as a promotional strategy
fishan	simplification of second language learning for own group	utilization of existing built elements	utilization of existing built elements during a period of economic adjustment	simplification of second language learning for other group	appeal to diverse audience with widely recognized built elements	appeal to diverse, exogenous audience with widely recognized built elements
		utilization of locally familiar built elements	utilization of locally familiar built elements during a period of social adjustment	utilization of an accrued intersubjective means of expression	utilization of an accrued intersubjective means of built expression	utilization of an accrued intersubjective means of built expression
		invocation of local or 'hometown' social characteristics	local pride/resistance to change		invocation of exogenous social characteristics	invocation of other places, exogenous social characteristics
						perpetuate idiosyncratic built elements, as a means of appealing to outsiders
						convergence on a theme, motif

tourism, MacCannell also uses Goffman's dramaturgical analysis of the dialectic between personal and public motives for self-presentation to highlight the balancing of local- and visitor-oriented display behavior. (1976, pp.100-02)

6.2: Pressures encouraging simplification of communicative elements and functions

The social, temporal and functional constraints on interaction between hosts and guests have a discernible effect upon built form within tourist environments. Much of this results from the need to provide tourists with simplified mnemonic cues, to compensate for the unfamiliarity of the host landscape. As Brower suggests,

"There are different types of tourists, but one feature that is central to the tourist experience is that of being away from home, removed from the familiar scenes and activities of the workaday environment, and cut off from the ties, commitments and responsibilities that dominate it. Tourists do not have an enduring relationship with the visited environment and they do not feel responsible for what happens there... Tourists depend heavily on the physical environment as a source of information on their whereabouts, and they feel most comfortable in places where the features are distinctive and the orientational information is clear and vivid."
(Brower, 1988, p.19)

As a result, published guides to tourist planning recommend that physical cues in the built environment be as clear as possible. Thus, for example, signs are found to be most functional within tourist environments when they are designed differently than pre-existing signs; they are designed with an emphasis upon greater physical clarity and cultural intersubjectivity of cues. (cf. Lew, 1989; Gunn, 1979, 1988; Gorman, et.al. 1972) Unfamiliarity with place requires clear guidance through space. (Tuan, 1977b)

Indeed, much of the criticism of the 'inauthenticity' of tourist landscapes revolves around the fact that, as the built environment is manipulated to communicate to an itinerant audience, highly idiosyncratic and locally evocative elements are replaced by elements with a finite range of possible interpretations, an

Table 7: Examples of Structural Changes Which Result From the Expressive Pidginization of Emergent Tourist Landscapes

Type of Structural Change	Examples
simplification	increased visibility of navigational cues
	increased use of broadly intersubjective cues or mnemonic cues with reduced range for potential interpretation
	convergence of signs architecture, etc. on themes or motifs
drift or 'fossilization'	utilization of pre-tourist era building styles for tourist-oriented functions
	utilization of heretofore non-commercial building styles for tourist-oriented commercial functions
fusion	combinations of local traditions of building with traditions of tourist points of origin
	combinations of local traditions of building with traditions of successful, pre-existing, non-local tourist destinations
	combinations of local traditions of building with contemporary, (post)modernist, roadside commercial architecture

elusive fact which is generally expressed with such ambiguous terms as Relph's assertion that "commodification dilutes meaning" within tourist landscapes. (Relph, 1987, p.189) True, many personal associations with built elements may be lost as the built environment is reshaped during transitional phases of development and homogenized to regional or national norms. But one could similarly argue that these elements had become all the more 'meaningful' to the growing number of tourists. (cf. Lynch, 1976)

In addition to the trend toward the development of simple mnemonic cues, tourist landscapes also rely upon simplified built

themes, which are readily identifiable by the visitor to facilitate a variety of goals. Many authors have referred to the emergence of representative scenes or 'mass images' of places which condition the aggregation of built forms around a single model or motif. (Lew, 1989, 1983; Gunn, 1979, 1988; MacCannell, 1976; Gorman et al., 1972) This line of logic suggests that tourists, having limited information about a place, tend to know of a few representative landmarks or events within a place, and their visiting and enjoying a place thus becomes contingent upon the witnessing of these representative features. Indeed, recognizing the need for a unified local image, town boosters will tend to promote and broadcast highly reductionist versions of the local scene.

Similarly, some scholars suggest that the townscape itself becomes a 'resource' within tourist towns, being manipulated within a finite range of possibilities to market complementary, lower-order goods. Images of nature and historicity, for example, are thus commonly invoked through design modification and control in tourism-dependent communities, in part to improve the marketing of the towns, and therefore the profitability of providing such goods. (Coppack, 1988a, 1988b; Ashworth and Turnbridge, 1990; cf. Eyles, 1987) These 'images' are thus manipulated in light of tourists' responses.

Thus, tourists in San Francisco will tend to be drawn to the city by images of the Golden Gate Bridge, Fisherman's Wharf, Victorian homes on the hillslopes, and cable cars. They will frequently seek these features out when visiting, and will often photograph them, so that they may return home with a captured image. Within the context of their limited knowledge of the place, to miss such sights would be to miss the essential San Francisco. To capitalize on this, proprietors and planners attempt to make reference to these place images in their own display behavior, in what MacCannell refers to as a 'semiotic of attraction.' (1976, pp.109-33) Thus, those who hope to appeal to tourists in San Francisco restore or reproduce Victorian architectural themes, utilize signs bearing cable cars and bridges, and cluster within short- ideally viewing- distance of these centers of

attraction.(cf. Laumann, 1973; Lofland, 1973) Tourists seek the exemplary experience, the diagnostic scene, and will search until they find it. Accordingly, tourism professionals seek to create or recreate that experience or scene.(Urry, 1990, pp.3-4) Thus externally-held images of a place may come to shape the physical landscape of that place as the built landscape comes to converge, physically and visually, on particular 'representative' places.

Tourists' expectations of places may not be rooted in local features at all, but rather may derive from general, regional images. Accordingly, there has been a tremendous proliferation of 'theme towns' in North America since the 1950s. (Lew, 1983, 1989) A coastal example of this process can be found in McKay's discussion of the faux-industrialism of the Nova Scotian coastal town of Peggy's Cove, with its "peculiar petit-bourgeois rhetoric of lobster pots, grizzled fishermen, wharves and schooners," markedly divergent from artifacts derived from the town's actual, non-industrial past, a pattern which McKay refers to as a "Golden Age mythology in a region that has become economically dependent upon tourism."(1988, p.30) Thus, within tourist landscapes, we see a process of re-regionalization of the built landscape, conforming more to perceptual regions, loosely based in regional histories, but not neatly conforming to the regional landscapes of the past.²²(cf. Lowenthal and Prince, 1964)

As these communities must appeal to the scrutiny of anonymous, itinerant visitors, they must invoke widely expected elements of the place, historical or otherwise, if they are to reduce the disorientation of visitors and provoke desired responses. Linguistics researchers, studying referential communication in cases of mutually unfamiliar interlocutors or ambiguous messages, have found identical processes at work, in which attempts are necessarily made within the dialogue to aggregate to a small range of known, intersubjective elements even in cases where the message

²²Derwent Whittlesey referred to an analogous process of "chorological rejuvenation" within emerging tourist landscapes, in which tourism complicated the elucidation of discrete phases of landscape formation associated with 'sequent occupance' in these cases. (see Whittlesey, 1931; Mikesell, 1976)

is qualitatively reduced or distorted. (Sonnenschein, 1986a, 1986b, 1988; Ackerman, et al., 1990)

Signs and other exterior elements are the most commonly employed features to allow the tourist to navigate with ease, both in the case of mnemonic cues and representations of local identification. As prominent and transitory features of the visible townscape, such elements are rapidly responsive to morphogenetic changes. (Eyles, 1987; Conzen, 1960) Eyles suggests that "signs are used to create localities," through the use of widely recognized imagery, in association with new housing developments. (Eyles, 1987, p.104) While we cannot prove how exactly these signs are perceived, we can see that they work within a context of interactive built communication, and are therefore reproduced in like configurations within like contexts.

6.3: Pressures encouraging drift and 'fossilization'

The drift in usage of particular built forms is another common and well-documented feature of tourism-affected material displays. This drift generally involves a shift in function of particular objects from an internally-oriented use to one oriented toward outsiders, and often involves the adaptive use of pre-tourist-era elements for the purposes of catering to tourists. Art has been of particular concern to those who study such changes in material display, as it is one of the more conspicuous examples of such a shift in use. For example, native American basketry which once served a functional role in subsistence activities is now produced in the same motifs for sale to tourists in the desert Southwest. (Deitch, 1977)

Tourist towns' rediscovery of vernacular architecture has also resulted in a drift in communicative function, particularly in cases in which tourist landscapes have emerged from the remains of a previous phase of development. (Urry 1990; Coppack, 1988a; Jackson, 1984; Christaller, 1963) Thus, once again, the dual concerns of maintaining local distinctiveness for the local and the visitor have brought about a change in the use of built elements, when the previous function of these features no longer persists.

Accordingly, Relph describes (with a clear phenomenological bias) the redevelopment of Monterey's Cannery Row, in which industrial-era structures- canneries, warehouses and brothels- have come to be replicated for new functions as the area has become dependent upon more genteel pursuits:

"Cannery Row has been turned into a strange parody of itself, with international European hotels, fish restaurant architecture covered in nets and navigation lamps... and luxury condominiums mimicking the building forms of the old canneries." (1987, pp.188-89)

Architecture which once indicated a cannery thus is now used to indicate a condominium; elements which once indicated homes now indicate restaurants. Thus, much as with late-stage pidgins, communicative elements have been incorporated into a new dialogue, with a similar form, but a different use. They have, in essence, become 'fossilized' built expressions.

In these cases, the drift of usage reflects a high degree of expressive continuity within the context of a rapidly shifting range of potential uses. This is true if only because the elements have not been wholly replaced by externally-derived built forms, which are more habitually associated with the emergent function of these places. There is simply no room for 'authentic' built expression within the context of contemporary social and economic pressures. Indeed, the notion of promoting 'authentic' built form is nonsensical, when there is no functional basis for the reproduction of the landscapes of past morphogenetic phases.

The pressures which encourage the emergence of the diagnostic features of pidginization within tourist landscapes tend to overlap. Those factors which encourage simplification, for example, compound pressures toward fusion. Thus, the familiar, ubiquitous elements of the North American landscape are infused into the local vernacular both to provide externally-oriented mnemonic cues, and to provide the needed balance between pressures for continuity and change. And many features can only be ambiguously assigned to one of these categories. Thus, the 'simplification' involved with mass images may similarly be

referred to as a pressure toward fusion or drift, as particular invoked elements take on new uses in new combinations.

6.4: Pressures encouraging fusion

While there is clearly a need for simplified built elements within tourist towns, there is simultaneously a strong need for tourist towns to deviate from regional and national models of built form. Many authors have suggested that "work and leisure are organized as separate and regulated spheres of social practice in 'modern' societies." and thus, tourist landscapes must "offer some distinctive contrasts with work." (Urry, 1990, p.2-3; Gunn, 1979, 1988) Urry has suggested that:

"the tourist gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape which separate them off from everyday experience...The viewing of such tourist sights often involves different forms of social patterning, with a much greater sensitivity to visual elements of landscape or townscape than is normally found in everyday life." (Urry, 1990, p.3)

Thus, despite obvious pressures to simplify built cues, there is also a strong need to highlight the idiosyncratic within tourist landscapes. They are, of course, places of functionally-constrained activity and interaction. Urry suggests that this factor had much to do with the rise and fall of British seaside resorts. Initially distinctive places, these towns grew rapidly, but as a result, lost much of what was distinctive within their landscapes, resulting in the reduced appeal of these places as resorts, and their relative decline in economic vitality. (Urry, 1990, pp.16-39) This has much to do with the aforementioned cultivation of a finite set of distinctive 'mass images.' Authors such as Richard Butler have identified the same pattern of development using North American examples. (Butler, 1980)

This general need for distinctive townscape features has been partially responsible for a variety of other changes. As Urry suggests, "the universalization of the tourist gaze has made most [peripheral places] enhance difference through the rediscovery of local vernacular styles." This results in what Urry and others

generally refer to as 'vernacular postmodernism.' (Urry, 1990, p.126; Jackson, 1984, pp.85-87) Urry suggests that

"space in vernacular postmodernism is localized, specific, context-dependent, and particularistic - by contrast with modernist space which is absolute, generalized and independent of context." (Urry, 1990, p.125)

There has accordingly been a recent emergence of highly localized design professionals in smaller towns, after a long period characterized by the centralizing of control in non-local metropolitan areas. (Urry, 1990, pp.126-27; cf. Freeman, 1990) Urry views this process as largely detached from local needs, however, referring to "consumerist postmodernism" and "vernacular postmodernism" as roughly equivalent concepts within the context of tourist towns. (1990, p.123) Thus Urry complains about such hybrid built forms, claiming that "art and life are fused or pastiched in the playful and shameless borrowing of ornamental style" in tourist landscapes (Urry, 1990, p.121) Surely, there is no reason why adaptation in the face of change should be inherently 'shameful.'

Much of this creation of distinctive landscape, locally- or externally-derived, is rooted within attempts to invoke local history. Authors such as Ashworth and Turnbridge (1990) suggest that historical townscapes have become significant tourist amenities. This trend has become so pervasive that town planners now manipulate the town fabric in response to a "market demand to enhance or contrive an historic resource." (1990, p.150) As Lowenthal suggests, "if the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it 'the foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all.'" (1985, p.4)

Still, most authors acknowledge that simultaneously, local populations, attached to the landscapes of home, will tend to resist dramatic changes in their built environment. Most guides to tourism planning therefore suggest that maintenance of a balance between locals' and visitors' needs and preferences must be among the central functions of planners in tourist communities. Thus,

within planned tourist communities there is an administratively sanctioned fusion of built elements to achieve this end. Even within unplanned communities, there are forces at play which encourage this process. (Blank, 1989, pp.144-45; Gunn, 1988, 1979, pp.191-94; Pizam, 1978; Peck and Lepie, 1977; Gorman et al., 1972)

In addition, many communities have established planning frameworks in the last couple of decades to preserve, enhance and recreate local vernacular building. (Urry, 1990, pp.126-27; Jackson, 1984)²³ But, of course, an unmodified resurrection of the local vernacular has not emerged. Highly localized vernaculars simply cannot be used to communicate effectively to visitors, to whom the uses of particular built elements would be unfamiliar.

Thus this combination of forces creates a delicate balance between the need for simplified elements and the need for locally distinctive built forms. This is at the heart of most successful programs which encourage the entry of communities into the tourist market. A 1972 commission investigating the transition of several Irish communities into tourist-based economies made several related observations that warrant an extended quotation here:

"One of the most important facilities we can offer the tourist is information... Many tourists choose their destination for the special and, they hope, unspoiled flavour of the host country, and want to experience its idiosyncrasies and peculiarities intact, but without discomfort... Once launched on their way they need a good information service, and careful attention should always be given to the siting and equipping of information bureaux. Such offices in Ireland were often difficult to find and difficult to identify. This is an instance where a strong standard identifying element would be a distinct advantage... Many examples of misleading, difficult, and ambiguous signs were observed. Directional, informational, and utility signs should include Irish characters for the sake of atmosphere and national morale, but they should be properly designed from the point of view of legibility and recognition.

²³This is not unlike Haugen's concept of "glottopolitics," the politically motivated manipulations of a communicative medium to preserve elements of local identity within the context of pressures which both encourage and discourage such preservation. (see Haugen, 1972, p.337)

The placing, frequency, and arrangement of signs must [also] be carefully considered." (Gorman, et al. 1972, p.40)

Thus the distinctive and the universal must be fused to achieve success in tourist communities, and simple, redundant built cues are of particular value to accommodate the visitor.

Other forms of material display, including artistic traditions (Deitch, 1977) and festivals (Bendix, 1989) also show signs of fusion following the localized emergence of tourism. Authors from such fields as anthropology and folklore studies have also generally attributed these changes to a balance between localized concerns and traditions, and the need to appeal to outsiders, and thus suggest that these trends are not inherently 'deculturative.' (Nuñez, 1977, p.215; Bendix, 1989; Deitch, 1977; Blackman, 1976)

CHAPTER SEVEN

New Vernacular Tradition, and Making the Unfamiliar Familiar: Pidginization and the Changing Tourist Landscapes of the Northwest Coast

7.1: Early phases of built expression

The Northwest coast has been subject to a variety of changing morphogenetic pressures during the last two centuries, which can be broadly categorized into successive phases. Each of these phases has manifested itself somewhat differently, as a function of such variables as accessibility to the region's centers of population. Certain elements from each phase are reproduced in successive phases. These phases could be broadly categorized as consisting of a pre-European era, a resource era, and an amenity era. While a 'frontier era' may have existed as a distinctive phase on the Northwest coast, such a period would represent a rather indistinct appendage of the early resource era, and so will not be discussed separately. (cf. Gibson, 1976)

Pre-European built form on the Northwest coast has been investigated by a number of scholars in a variety of formats, including the extensive reconnaissance work of Boas in cases along the entire coast. (1888) There have also been a number of reconstructive efforts, based upon the investigation of written accounts, historical photographs, and archaeological evidence, such as the regionally comprehensive summary by Vastokas (1966), and the investigations of Haida villages by MacDonald (1983). While I will not consider the past condition of tribal built landscapes at length here, the availability of these sources for comparative purposes is of particular value, as Northwest coast tribal built elements have come to be increasingly reproduced, both as tourist attractions, and as sources of pride and identity for tribal descendants along portions of the coast. (cf. Cole, 1989)

The frontier/resource era townscapes which emerged on the Northwest coast have received sporadic scholarly attention. (Erickson, 1965; Turbeville, 1985; Vaughan and Ferriday, 1974; White, 1972) Most authors agree that the region's resource towns have displayed a striking degree of homogeneity in morphology and

composition in the past.²⁴ The limited range of industrial functions for which these towns were constructed - including the processing and transshipment of timber, fish, and somewhat less frequently, minerals - confined the townscapes within a finite range of built forms.

Erickson suggested that, within the Pacific Northwest, the presence of wood products industries during early phases of town growth gave tidewater timber towns a "visual character which cannot be erased by time or functional change," and suggests that it is their "morphology which defines and leads to an understanding of that character." (1965, p.2) Erickson illustrates the impress of initial siting and platting regularities, as well as subsequent market fluctuations, technological developments, and settlement histories upon the tidewater towns, showing how each of these factors conditioned the emergence of like townscapes within the region. Studies which address Northwest coast architecture, such as the volumes by Vaughan and Ferriday (1974), have also stressed features of the resource era town which suggest a high degree of homogeneity within early resource communities, despite occasional variability as a result of immigrant influences. As a destination of immigrants from throughout North America and Northern Europe, the Northwest coast was the inheritor of a variety of traditions of vernacular architecture. Therefore, one can see evidence on this coast of the proletarian vernacular architecture from such immigrant origins as Scandinavia, Britain, the Maritimes, New England, the American South, and the Midwest, depending upon the history of immigration within any given town.

The resulting townscape, as suggested above, was rudimentarily

²⁴ While most discussions of resource town character are confined within national borders, addressing either U.S. or Canadian cases, similarities clearly exist between U.S. and Canadian examples, owing to similar patterns of resource utilization, similar technologies, and similar site constraints. And, the Japan current and tectonic upheaval have clearly provided the entire Northwest coastal zone with the same basic raw materials, such as temperate rainforests and prolific marine life. I would therefore venture to suggest that these coastal resource towns have ranged from Alaska to northern California.

characterized by a highly nucleated collection of simple one-story houses, with a main street, consisting of simple, boxy commercial buildings with rectangular façades, anchored on a waterfront workplace. During most of the resource era, commercial façades, signs, and landscape embellishments were generally unremarkable variations on stock western frontier resource town themes. Commercial façades were frequently unadorned clapboard-covered attachments on the narrow street side of simple wooden frame structures, occasionally with small, suspended overhangs. No doubt, this regular use of the rectangular façade on commercial structures functioned as an intersubjective mnemonic cue for the itinerant and immigrating populations which encountered these towns early in their history. Signs, with the exception of the product logos on promotional advertisements, displayed only a business name. Ostensibly this would have reflected, in part, the relative insularity and small scale of these places. And clearly, the emergent townscape reflected largely imported traditions, such as land partitions and architecture, adjusted somewhat to accommodate local contextual pressures, such as heavy rainfall.²⁵ (McMath, 1974a, 1974b)

The rapid emergence of these towns was facilitated by the widespread use of regular grid town plans, and the homogeneous character of these towns was facilitated by such factors as this morphology, limited access to external resources, and the tidewater orientation of most industrial facilities, resulting in a primary route of access between residences and workplace, or paralleling the waterfront, around which a retail district frequently developed. (cf. Conzen, 1988)

After a period of rapid growth during the first decades of this century, post-World War II building activity was stagnant.

²⁵The broad doorway overhang appears to be one of the most persistent defining characteristics of Northwest coast, resource-era architecture. (see McMath, 1974a, 1974b; Ferriday, 1974) A cursory investigation of historical photos suggests that such overhangs were added after the first or second winter on the coast—early immigrants often built homes very similar in appearance to their European homes, save the addition of this overhang feature over the main entry.

Authors, such as Erickson, attribute this to the depletion of local resources, as well as a reduction in labor demands resulting from advances in processing technology and transportation linkages. (Erickson, 1965) In America, as a result work undertaken by crews working for Franklin D. Roosevelt's Works Projects Administration, the coastal highway system had radically improved transportation between standing timber, mills, and markets shortly before the War. And within the timber industry of the entire Northwest coast, labor shortages during World War II, coupled with a brief period of strong demand for wood products, and rapid technological growth, initiated a phase of widespread automation in timber production; when many of the loggers and millworkers returned home from the War, they found their jobs had been rendered obsolete. (Robbins, 1990, pp.95-106)

Thus the residential building stock of these towns generally dates from the 1900s to the 1940s, though much of this housing has been remodelled since this period. Homes in these blue-collar towns were generally small, single-story structures, with subtle hints of external vernacular influences. The designs of these homes, however, were generally adapted to accommodate local materials, being made of readily available woods, and often having native rockwork chimneys. Frequently, these houses were adapted to the local climate with its wind, rain, and general absence of snow, with low-pitched roofs, and broad, sloping overhangs over entryways. (McMath, 1974b; Ferriday, 1974) Thus, as Turbeville suggests, the early coastal timber towns "displayed an almost uncanny resemblance to one another," in layout and architectural composition. (1985, p.76)

7.2: Changing resource use, and the dynamic context of 'secondary decisions'

The tourist towns of the Northwest coast have emerged from a primarily resource-dependent hinterland. Nonetheless, both types of settlements have been platted and promoted along the coast since very early in the region's settlement history. Amenity-oriented town partitions, though seemingly as common as the resource-oriented variety, simply did not sell as early promoters had hoped.

Many are only now, after roughly 100 years of inactivity, being sold off and developed. Amenity-oriented townsites were, as Tillamook County Surveyor, Allen Duncan quipped, "a very long term investment." (Duncan, 1992)

Understandably, a wide variety of promotional strategies were employed by established tourist towns in the interim, as each sought to attract income and investment during two world wars, a severe depression, and many decades of isolation in a resource hinterland. Developers, town boosters and proprietors have clearly been attentive to the successes and failures of other coastal towns. Strategies that appear to work, that elicit the desired responses, are frequently adopted and fused into the town's promotional strategy, and ultimately are expressed within the town fabric. Currently, the invocation of natural amenities appears to represent one of the most successful promotional strategies.

Now we see the exclusive emergence of tourist towns within a primarily recreational hinterland, as older, tourist-oriented townsites are filled, and new resort communities are founded. Amenity-oriented towns arguably represent a new form of resource community, comparable to timber towns or fishing villages in terms of their dependence upon a small set of resources, and the high degree of townscape responsiveness to exogenous market requirements. And ironically, the resources on which these towns now depend are essentially the same natural elements on which they were dependent in the past, the forests, wildlife, bays, beaches, and other landforms.

Resources, of course, are not an inherent component of the natural environment, but are based on time-bound cultural assessments of otherwise neutral elements. Thus, the 'resources' present in a given set of environmental features vary greatly over time and space, depending upon the technology, experiences, and cultural history of the individual or group under consideration (Spoehr, 1956: Glacken, 1956a; Zimmermann, 1951) This is as true of amenity resources as it is of any other natural resource. As Philip Coppack suggests, "like resources, 'amenity isn't, it becomes,'" echoing Zimmermann's assertion. (Coppack, 1988a, p.355)

Therefore, scenic resources emerge from what were previously considered primary natural resources, a theme which has been investigated by a number of authors. (Zube, 1973)

Instead of being 'harvested,' scenic resources are often invoked to market complementary low order goods, such as food, accommodation, gifts, and the like. (Coppack, 1988a, p.356) And, much like primary natural resources (Erickson, 1965; Turbeville, 1985), scenic resources have particular morphological and architectural ramifications, arising from the distinctive marketing and spatial requirements which accompany the production and consumption of these resources. Perhaps most significantly here, industrial communities' economic vitality is predicated on their ability to ship products to a market, while tourist communities' economic vitality is predicated upon the successful facilitation of visitor needs *in situ*. (Butler, 1980; Gunn, 1988, 1979; Coppack, 1988; Brigham, 1965, pp.329-30)

Providing official sanctioning to this change in resource use, state, provincial and local tourism promotional literature now broadcast a few basic images of the Northwest coast, capitalizing upon the environmental amenities and the reconstituted rusticity of the region and its towns. (cf. Lew, 1983,1989; MacCannell, 1976) "Super, natural" British Columbia, for example, introduces Vancouver Island in its brochures as "an appealing mixture of rugged outdoors and genteel small town life." (Tourism British Columbia, 1992, p.4) The Oregon Coast Association attempts to cultivate similar images, stressing both the quaint details of community history, and the presence of isolated beaches, temperate rainforests, migrating whales and other environmental amenities. Recently the state has started to provide 'eco-notes' in the back of each coastal tourism guide, describing in detail the environmental amenities of the coastline with locations given exactly. (Oregon Coast Association, 1992)

Similarly, existing towns have adapted their own promotional schemes to fit this emerging context, as the uses of local resources have abruptly shifted. Ucluelet, B.C. (Maps 18, 19, 22, 23), a former sealing and whaling center, now is referred to as

"the whale watching capital of the world" by local boosters, while Gold River, B.C. (Map 1), a largely timber-dependent community, has recently been distributing brochures to potential visitors, which discuss its "wilderness setting," encouraging hikers and nature enthusiasts to visit this "pristine natural paradise." (Ucluelet Chamber of Commerce, 1988; Gold River Chamber of Commerce, 1992)

Resource use has thus adapted - not because of a marked change of heart on the behalf of promoters - but simply because this new strategy allows the towns and their boosters an opportunity to prosper within this new context. As William Robbins suggests, even the timber companies have shifted their focus for purely pragmatic reasons:

"Today's multinational forest products firms, some of them with central offices in the Pacific Northwest, as a matter of common practice shift their investment money to those arenas with the potential for highest return ... [including] the construction of condominiums and resorts..."
(Robbins, 1990, p.8)

7.3: Amenity era townscapes

The resource era townscape has become a clear source of inspiration and continuity for the emerging amenity era towns, which maintain much of the commercial layout and scale with reconstituted architectural themes. The 'main streets' of the past have often become the outdoor pedestrian malls of the present, and towns are rapidly refabricated as they become subject to seasonal waves of external scrutiny. The residential districts also are adapted in response to these changes, with existing building stock being remodelled or, more commonly, replaced with larger, more elaborate homes. More often than not, in these towns, new subdivisions are structurally oriented toward scenery and other amenities.

Public spaces within the town become functionally-delimited places for interaction with the tourists, who arrive in waves during the summer, only to leave for the remainder of the year as the rains return. As a result, most of the emergent towns now have considerable 'dead space' within the urban fabric during much of

the year, wherein local traffic is negligible. There is only so much need for expensive artwork, kites, tee-shirts and espresso within a given small town, though there are emerging districts within these towns which predominantly house these sorts of functions.

The most successful amenity towns have historically been only minor resource outposts. The larger processing centers were relegated to inland tidewater sites, due to process factors, with large areas of flat space and deep, slow moving waterways. The places which have recently drawn the visitors and, by association, the developers and proprietors, include rugged shorelines, beaches and mountains, the very landforms which precluded large scale industrial development. Similarly, the presence of large scale industrial facilities and the characteristically depressed economies of the large processing centers are viewed as disamenities in their own right, inhibiting a town's entrance into the tourist market.²⁶ The visitors to the coast are often the very people who seek to preserve the coastal environment, the preservation movement being the most riveting source of local social and economic upheaval. Thus within persisting industrial communities there are often pronounced hostilities toward tourists and tourism development. (cf. Mullens, 1992)

Thus, along the Northwest coast, it has been the main streets and workers' quarters of the minor resource outposts, such as World War I era spruce camps, that have been most commonly refabricated in response to recent regional changes. Many of the larger industrial towns continue to languish. The industrial impress within most of the successful tourist towns is generally subsumed as a complex of persisting relics, rather than as a dominant theme

²⁶A travel writer for B.C. Outdoors recently sought to reassure potential fisherman that the large resource town of Port Alberni, B.C. (Map 19) was an acceptable travel destination: "White smoke billows from various stacks and the pungent, sulfurous 'smell of money' hangs in the air. Another by-product from the mills is liquid effluent that pours into the inlet, staining the surface water a strong coffee-brown. While this startles first-time visitors, the off-coloured water does not seem to affect the fish." (Jones, 1989, p.24)

within the townscape matrix. Contemporary Northwest coast amenity towns have received less scholarly attention than have resource era towns. Some of the most detailed discussions of a distinctively Northwestern coastal amenity townscape are found in certain chapters of Vaughan and Ferriday (1974), occasional graduate theses (Poole, 1992), as well as occasional articles in design journals.

Within amenity-oriented communities, façades, signs and other landscape embellishments are modified in light of visitors' responses. Interviews with local builders suggest that the modification of such features is a gradual process, in which a desire for local continuity is balanced with perceived consumer response, with the built forms of each period therefore being partially manifested in the next. (Watkins, 1991; Steidel, 1991; Carter, 1992) Many of the tidewater communities which have not entered the tourist trade often have the same layout, the same structures, and the same rectangular façades along their main streets as found in tourist towns, but lack much exterior evidence of this subsequent 'genetic drift,' the variety of mnemonic elements, pictographic signs, and introduced architectural types, as found within the tourist towns. (cf. Figures 101, 109, 110, 81, 82)

While it is apparent that the built landscapes of the Northwest coast are shaped by rapidly increasing mutual scrutiny and social pluralism *in situ*, not unlike those pressures which facilitate linguistic pidginization, the proof of the validity of a pidginization model can only be found in an empirically verifiable correlation of the built features of the Northwest coast with the structural processes at work within a pidgin language. In other words, there must be physical evidence of a 'simplification' of communicative elements and functions, a drift or 'fossilization' of element usage, and a 'fusion' of local and exogenous built traditions if we are to conclude that the built landscape has in some way been 'pidginized.' I therefore summarize some of the more common evidence of these trends here. (Table 8, p.147)

Table 8: Examples of Structural Changes Which Result From the Pidginization of the Tourist Landscapes of the Northwest Coast

Structural Change	Diagnostic Features	
simplification- mnemonic	flower boxes	
	benches	
	windsocks	
	flags	
simplification- thematic	nature themes	
	tribal themes	
	'beach' themes	
	maritime themes	
drift or 'fossilization'	historical themes	
	tribal features with commercial uses	
	Northwestern residential elements with commercial uses	'Oregon barn' style
	Northwestern industrial elements with commercial uses	unfinished rough shingle exterior
		unfinished board-and-batten exterior
	recently imported vernacular residential elements with commercial uses	
fusion	unprecedented combinations of local residential, industrial, and commercial vernacular types	
fusion- Canadian towns	Combinations of:	E. Canadian vernacular house styles/elements
		metropolitan commercial built elements
	With:	tribal longhouse architecture
		Northwest vernacular house architecture
		western historical commercial (w/ façade)
fusion- American towns	Combinations of:	New England vernacular house styles/elements
		metropolitan commercial built elements
	With:	Northwest vernacular house architecture
		western historical commercial (w/facade)

7.3.1: Simplification of communicative elements and functions: pressures and evidence

The simplification of elements and functions on the Northwest coast represents the same basic processes as within the emergent tourist towns of other regions. The theoretical foundations established in the previous chapter are assumed to apply here, and thus, I will provide primarily empirical evidence of these pressures, within the context of the emergent tourist towns of the Northwest coast.

Mnemonic cues have proliferated rapidly within these towns, associated with the entrances and façades of businesses. There are certain finite categories of visually striking indicators of commercial functions which have recently become common, including flags, wind socks, benches, distinctive flower plantings, and pictographic signs.

The flags are of no single motif, but most commonly include national, state, and provincial flags of the primary visiting population. On the Oregon coast, for example, it is not uncommon to see service-sector establishments within tourist towns posting the flags of the U.S., Canada, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, California, and British Columbia. (Figures 29, 56) In addition, flags may include a business logo, the word 'Open,' or a coastal motif. The wind socks are generally brightly coloured, with rainbow motifs, images of wildlife, or coastal scenes. (Figures 10, 16, 39, 108) Wind socks have rapidly proliferated along the Northwest coast in conjunction with kites and other wind-propelled novelty items, and stores specializing in these items have recently emerged in large numbers. (Associated Press, 1993)

The benches are generally fashioned from wood, often with detailed carving or other elaborate woodwork. These benches are common in front of individual establishments, as well as in small courtyards and on the street corners of the retail districts. (Figures 47, 48, 72) In towns which are just entering the tourism industry, portable chairs are used in a similar fashion. (Figure 108) Flower plantings, including beds, boxes and hanging pots are also located around the entrances of businesses. (Figure 22, 38, 47, 72, 110) These flowers are usually of the most visually striking

combinations possible within the coastal climate, frequently including deep red geraniums surrounded by deep blue lobelia, often skirted by multicolored nasturtiums. Pictographic signs have increased in number and prominence, and display certain emergent regularities in motif which increasingly conform to a finite range of 'mass images.' (Figures 13, 51, 97, 98, 104, 105)

These elements now clearly indicate the presence of commercial functions. As a set type, they are distinctive to the coast, and are highly redundant within this context. They point the way for the neophyte and the return visitor, for the use of these elements is quickly learned, and with such visibility can become an internalized mnemonic, requiring no complex thought before the appropriate response is given.²⁷

The 'mass images' of the Northwest coast are as much place-specific as they are imported. Tourists, seemingly drawn by the environmental amenities and the relative isolation of these places, are presented with place-specific built elements which have been modified to invoke such features as local wildlife, Northwest coast native American themes, and frontier- and resource era architecture. Other 'mass images' are clearly not rooted in the historical past of the place, such as the Cape Cod image, a look which arguably conditions the public's response to all American

²⁷Informal trials at using these mnemonic cues as an indicator of public function proved revealing. Entering into residential sectors which contained an irregular mixture of homes, second-homes, and houses available for short-term rental, I was able to identify all of the rental homes exclusively on the basis of the presence of standard floral displays, wind socks, flags, and benches. No signs were present - a subsequent evaluation of lists of such homes proved that on the basis of these built elements, alone, I was able to correctly identify these houses. No municipal policies exist within the investigated communities to encourage the use of these features, and informal interviews suggested that they were the result of trial-and-error experimentation, as well as the observation of other tourist communities. Though these elements are occasionally found on non-rental houses, their use in combination within such cases is quite rare. In addition, in certain cases in which older structures housing new commercial functions had yet to be remodelled, and lacked signs, their public availability was nonetheless suggested by the use of these elements. Subsequent evaluation of these structures also confirmed this use of these elements.

coastal townscapes, or the Nova Scotian look, which appears to serve a similar function in Canada. (McKay, 1988) Thus, some features are of ambiguous origins, such as signs with clipper ships, which may be viewed as 'historical' but likely are rooted in an east coast past.

Viewing the early phases of the contemporary tourist boom, Lew summarizes such trends broadly as evidence of a Northwest coast variety of 'waterfront' theme towns. He suggests that these towns have generally modified their town cores to fit a simplified model in order to accommodate coastal tourism. This theme, he suggests, contains both local and imported themes. (Lew, 1983, 1989)

Many of these mass images are reproduced in publicly-sponsored mural projects as part of a tourism promotional strategy, in such towns as Chemainus, British Columbia (Map 1). (Barnes and Hayter, 1992) Other towns, such as Tofino, British Columbia, have zoning ordinances banning all murals. This appears to reflect an assumption on the part of town boosters that tourists have now come to associate murals with struggling transitional towns, rather than with thriving tourist towns.

Along the length of the Northwest coast, the growing number of retail- and service-sector businesses- the bookstores, cafes, art galleries, and so forth- post signs bearing such images as recreational beach themes (e.g. sand castles, kites, or 'beachscapes'), non-game wildlife and Northwest coast Indian art on their exteriors. Thus the towns of the contemporary Northwest coast, now dependent upon popular *in situ* responses to local amenities for their livelihood, utilize signs in an attempt to recreate their identity in a simplified mold. Thus they also attempt to capitalize upon changing uses of local resources, and the resulting mass images of place. (cf. Coppack, 1988a; Eyles, 1987) For example, until very recently, with the exception of the occasional seagull silhouette or figurine, the only wildlife images widely visible on the exteriors of buildings consisted of game wildlife, posted on the exteriors of the now decreasingly common hunting and tackle shops, as well as on the exteriors of seafood stores and restaurants. Now, images of non-game wildlife are widely utilized

within the landscape, as wildlife watching becomes a component of the local tourist economy in this region where one can view pods of orcas, eagles clustered along the strand and riparian, seabirds, intertidal life, and the comings and goings of the California grey whale, the only large whale in the world whose migrations can still commonly be seen from shoreline locations. (Schultz, 1990, p.71)

Perhaps not surprisingly, the use of such wildlife in signs and other motifs does not correlate neatly with the natural range of these animals, but rather extends over a wider range to include much of the Northwest coast. Thus one finds signs which display orcas in such towns as Cannon Beach (Maps 10-13), Newport (Map 1), Florence (Maps 6-9), Coos Bay (Map 3), and Bandon Oregon (Maps 2-5), places where orcas are not generally seen. Northwest coast Indian art is utilized in a similar fashion. The material culture of the Northwest coast Indian, and indeed, most Amerindians, has been increasingly invoked within the contemporary popular media; in part due to the widely idealized environmental ethics of aboriginal populations, the appearance of these tribal themes has correlated with the emergence of the environmental movement. The commercial use of Northwest coast Indian art may also represent an attempt to reinforce a town's historicity. Thus, tribal motifs are reproduced to provide something both locally unique and intelligible to the visitor. (Cole, 1989)

The bulk of this art, when produced for mass consumption within the tourist townscape, reflects the more widely known artistic styles derived from the northern coastal peoples, such as the Haida and Tlingit, regardless of local ethnohistory. Thus, in towns along the entire coast, Haida and Tlingit art are frequently present on signs for local shops, (and interestingly, the Cannon Beach chamber of commerce building (Maps 10-13)), in areas which have been populated by Salish, Nootkan, and other bands. (Figure 98) Haida artwork, true to pre-European form, may be seen at least as far south as the central Oregon coast (Figure 36), and a clear Haida inspiration can be seen on signs and outdoor art objects as far south as the towns of the California coastal redwoods.

These elements, invoking both historical and introduced

features of the local landscape, provide cues which can be understood by the neophyte, as most visitors ostensibly have these finite expectations of the coastal Northwest. In the anticipation of anonymous and neophyte viewers, one attempts to invoke images which are likely familiar to the visitor, if they are to minimize visitor disorientation. Thus proprietors and others can induce desired responses, such as encouraging entry into their establishments, by associating their establishments with a finite range of known, and possibly appealing, images. (cf. Sonnenschein, 1986a, 1986b, 1988; Ackerman, et al., 1990)

7.3.2: Drift or 'fossilization': pressures and evidence

While most of the features which I identify as having drifted or fossilized have in fact been fused with other elements, I discuss them in this section because their uses, within a larger composite, have changed. And in many cases, these elements have wholly or completely deviated from those functions with which they were once associated. Significantly, these features represent vernacular styles from past morphogenetic phases - including the pre-European era, and the frontier/resource era - and thus the context of their reproduction has shifted, despite continued local use. Their revival has much to do with aforementioned general pressures which encourage change and continuity within the built display of the Northwest coast.

Many built forms of the Northwest coast Indian have been recently reproduced, true to historical form, for the purpose of attracting tourists, a very different use than that found during the pre-European era. Totem poles are frequently replicated for placement in front of businesses, both within and outside of the former range of totem-building tribes.²⁸ (e.g. Figures 36, 58, 98)

²⁸This trend is particularly prevalent in British Columbia, and often becomes a key theme in tourism promotional schemes. The municipal government of Duncan, B.C. (Map 1), on the eastern side of Vancouver Island has placed totem poles throughout their downtown area since the mid-1980s, and advertises Duncan as "The City of Totems"; there are Cowichan (Salish) reservations near the town, and the totems, some of them commissioned from local tribal artists, exhibit Salish influences. The Kwakiutl village at Alert

Elsewhere, tribal longhouses have been wholly or partly reproduced to house retail functions; for example, the gallery and sales office of Tofino neo-Northwest coast Indian artist Roy Henry Vickers is designed to have an exterior and front room which looks like a traditional longhouse, while still possessing a contemporary entryway and back office. (Figure 98; cf. Figure 104; Maps 18-21)

Within both planned and unplanned resort communities, the frontier/resource era vernacular architecture of the Northwest coast has been refashioned for a variety of new applications. Several authors have acknowledged the emergence of a distinctive Northwestern wood tradition, drawing heavily from certain regional vernacular forms, such as the 'Oregon barn,' (e.g. Figures 67, 79) with its broad, protective overhang, which is particularly popular in the emerging resort communities of the region.²⁹ (McMath, 1974b, pp.628-47; Hecker, 1968; ARCADE, 1989; Poole, 1992) Many authors have described the use of pre-amenity vernacular elements within planned resorts. Ferriday, for example, describes how Salishan, a large planned coastal resort complex in Oregon, is designed to look as if it is an organic component of the natural setting, using only indigenous woods, and "low pitched, informally grouped, ...board on board roofs similar to those used by early Oregon pioneers for simple sheds and porch roofs." (Ferriday, 1974, p.662)

These modified vernacular forms are increasingly reproduced on the main retail streets of many coastal towns, as well as in contemporary planned residential developments, such as 'Little Whale Cove,' 'The Capes,' and 'Neahkahnie Meadows,' all on the northern Oregon coast. In most cases, the local vernacular has been amalgamated with other built traditions. (The Marshall-

Bay (Map 1) has also recently raised totem poles, and advertises these poles, including "the world's tallest totem pole" as part of its recent tourism development strategy.

²⁹This overhang type is likely an adaptation of a style from the Southern United States, and was most likely brought to the Northwest by settlers from that region. The regular reproduction of this overhang on a one- or one and one-half-story, front-gabled residence, appears to be a Northwestern adaptation of the element.

Grimberg Group, 1992; Meadowview Corporation, 1992; Cronin and Caplan Realty Group, 1992; Poole, 1992.) While the 'Oregon barn' overhang, low-pitched roofs, and natural woodwork and rockwork - the most commonly cited elements of Northwest coast vernacular architecture - were once generally built on rural homes in response to economic and environmental necessity, they have become associated with prestigious resorts and retail functions. (e.g. Figures 30, 37, 55, 60, 62)

The use of these elements has thus changed as the context of their reproduction has changed. Pre-amenity vernacular house styles are more commonly applied to commercial architecture than to residential architecture. The association of formerly residential architecture with retail functions appears to be, in part, a result of the fact that as retail functions intensified within emergent tourist towns, formerly residential building stock was remodelled to accommodate these new functions. Thus, as in the case of pidgin languages, substrate elements are fused to and fossilized within superstrate elements, after a period of redundant correlated usage. In addition, this trend was facilitated by the use of these elements by high-style architects seeking vernacular influences in an apparent attempt to invoke past phases of Northwest hinterland life, in order to evoke responses from their colleagues of the present. (ARCADE, 1989; McMath, 1974b; Ferriday, 1974; Belluschi, 1953)

7.3.3: Fusion: pressures and evidence

Within the towns of the coast, the presence of increasing numbers of visitors, many of whom are recent immigrants to the region, has facilitated a fusion of expressive elements. Since they entered into the region with preferences and responses to built form learned elsewhere, the accommodation of these people has encouraged changes in the prevailing patterns of built display. Indeed, the influx of moneyed residents from other regions of North America is having a profound influence upon the landscapes of the Northwest, generally; "entire neighborhoods are being built that look more like New England or Newport Beach than Lake Oswego [a

prestigious suburb of Portland, Oregon] or Seattle." (Gantenbein in Welch, 1991, p.3) There is a need for the familiar in the built landscapes designed for recent regional immigrants. Thus, there has been a movement toward the reproduction of previously external vernacular traditions, as well as the infusion of the modernist and postmodern commercial vernacular architecture as found through much of urban North America.

Many recent immigrants desire to experience something unique and regionally distinctive, however, and seek this out in the landscapes they visit and reproduce. Thus the recent regional immigrants frequently both seek and reproduce hybrid landscapes, in which elements are distinctive, yet intelligible. Simultaneously, the townsfolk of the Northwest coast frequently display a conservative desire to maintain a degree of continuity within their communities, manifesting established attachments to place. (Graber, 1974; Lew, 1989; cf. Relph, 1976) Thus, during the recent period of rapid growth and change, many residents of the Northwest coast have sought to, as one city planner put it, "slam the gate shut, and put the last nail into it," to prevent further change. Resistance to landscape change has become a central theme of many towns' civic life. (Nordquist, 1989, p.E7) And yet, most of these communities must embrace change, and adapt to the emergent amenity era pressures. Thus, when we think about the emergence of a 'postmodern vernacular,' within socially dynamic urban settings on the Northwest coast and elsewhere, we must think of it in part as a product of decisions conditioned by a dialectic between pressures of continuity and change, expressing the needs and preferences of both hosts and guests.

Accordingly, Ray Watkins, a self-taught vernacular architect responsible for the design of many transitional period retail buildings in Cannon Beach, Oregon, suggests that all acts of design along the coast must reflect a delicate balance among the diversified needs of a pluralistic audience. (Maps 10-13) As Watkins suggested in an interview, if a design is to work in this context,

"Things have to relate to their surroundings. You have to ask: 'Does it look right?' 'Does it feel right?' 'Can you get enough public support?' 'Is it compatible with the local environment?' 'What is your personal response?' 'How will your friends, lovers, and neighbors respond?' 'How will other people respond, the tourists and other visitors?' 'Is it economically feasible?' Without people involved, a project won't succeed; it should be a source of community pride, and should respond to the criticism of locals and visitors." (1991)

Watkins, whose father and grandfather had been builders in Newberg, Oregon (Map 1), came to Cannon Beach in 1948 following his military service. He found Cannon Beach to be "a junky little beach community," and suggests that "it was the natural amenities that allowed the town to undergo a rebirth," amenities including the forested mountains and the seemingly pristine shoreline. Watkins claims that to achieve the needed balance, he looked at what had been built before in coastal towns locally, and investigated and incorporated features from the New England coast. (Watkins, 1991) This case will be discussed in more detail within the next chapter.

Though the decreasing local control over decisions to modify the built environment may also encourage the fusion of built forms as new forms are introduced to the Northwest coast, this does not necessarily appear, by itself to be an overriding morphogenetic factor. It is the local builders who shape their creations to provoke a response from the visitor, and thus the visitor provides the strongest control over form. Thus the balance in these cases appears to be tipped toward the needs of the guests to the neglect of the needs of the hosts. Retail display likewise appears to be generally subject to local decisions, despite occasional external ownership, save in the case of chain stores, and is again by necessity very sensitive to visitor demand. Interviews with various proprietors have suggested that absentee business owners give their local representatives broad control over decisions regarding commercial display. They do so, in part, because of the interactive nature of the process of commercial display, within a dynamic and unpredictable retail environment. (e.g. Watkins, 1991; Steidel, 1991; Carter, 1992; Fettig, 1992)

Large, speculative developments appear to bear the partial imprint of external control, as the external architect's sources of prestige and funding are distant, but such developments are still rigidly defined by the demands of the market *in situ*. (Meadowview Corporation, 1992; Cronin and Caplan, 1992; Fetting, 1992; Carter, 1992) Independently built second homes tend to display this fracturing of local control more than most other forms of recent development, as the builder and owners are likely seeking their prestige and wealth in other quarters, and there has been a striking break in architectural correlation between locally and externally owned homes in many of these towns. (cf. Gill and Clark, 1991, p.289, ff.)

As suggested, along the American portion of the Northwest coast, many towns have recently been embellished with various elements of New England coastal resort architecture, particularly the 'shingle style.' Though New England architecture existed on this coast prior to the recent phase of tourism development, much of this New England coastal resort style is a recent addition. Many proprietors have added thin, neatly aligned, and unpainted shingles, small-paned windows with white painted trim, gambrel roofs, and other features of New England coastal architecture onto buildings which simultaneously reflect local vernacular styles. (Figures 29, 51, 53, 54) Once existing as exterior modifications of existing structures, these features are now reproduced as part of a composite form, combined with broad, low overhangs and extensive natural woodwork. In many cases the rectangular commercial building with façade, a hallmark of the western frontier, has been shingled, decorated with white Victorian exterior trim and white window pane trim. (Figure 49) New England coastal themes are almost exclusively applied to commercial buildings and second homes.³⁰ Arguably, this type of architectural theme, fused with the local vernacular, is appealing

³⁰ Much has been written on New England coastal architecture. In my discussions of New England themes, I aggregate the findings of such sources as Thompson, 1976, Andrews, 1973, Poor, 1970, and Duprey, 1959.

and profitable, not only because it evokes particular local historical townscapes, but also because of the nationally evocative role of New England coastal towns, which influences the preferences of recent regional immigrants.³¹ (cf. Lew, 1983, 1989) Within this 'schizoglossic' context, proprietors use it to attract potential customers, speculative home builders use it to attract potential buyers, and second-home owners use it to impress locally and at home.

Indeed, pressures to use local history as a vehicle for town promotion have apparently facilitated this fusion of exterior evocative elements. There is an awkward balance between these towns' industrial past and the historicizing imperative in the present where environmental amenity is key, in which towns must accommodate what Poole refers to as the "greening of architecture" within the Northwest hinterland, with environmental themes, natural materials, and locations near natural amenities. (1990, p.91; cf. Ashworth and Turnbridge, 1990)

The bulk of the current speculative development of planned second-home residential subdivisions along the coast also reflects this trend toward the use of reconstituted New England coastal architecture. (Poole, 1992; Cronin and Caplan Realty Group, 1992) Elsewhere on this coast, the impress of southern Californian coastal towns is visible. The resulting style is marketed, for example, as a "turn-of-the-century, craftsman's style," which, it is claimed, is part of the "authentic Oregon coast experience." (The Marshall-Grimberg Group, 1992; Fettig, 1992) Clearly, if one equates authenticity with frequency of past occurrence, the

³¹ This infusion of New England coastal resort features is not without its precedents. McMath, writing before the widespread proliferation of this architectural type, acknowledged that New England architecture had emerged in a few small, affluent, second-home communities, such as Gearhart, Oregon, (a residential extension on the northern edge of Seaside, Map 11) during the turn of the century, where moneyed immigrants from New England built their summer cottages. (McMath, 1974, pp.341-44) While no doubt influencing contemporary trends, the relative isolation of these historical cases, and the immediate widespread proliferation of the contemporary trend within visitor-oriented displays suggests that this influence is not significant.

"authentic Oregon coast experience" would include a very different type of structure, a very different site, and a very different lifestyle than is offered by these developments. Developers commonly explain their utilization of such hybridized motifs as the result of their observing these elements, identifying them as 'successful,' and then employing them. They openly speculate that, for example, the New England model is nationally evocative of 'coastal resorts,' but this is not, by itself, the motive for its reproduction. These developers are motivated by what works, by what appeals to the buyer, and do not pretend to act otherwise. (Fettig, 1992; Meadowview Corporation, 1992; Watkins, 1991)

The vernacular architecture of the coastal hinterland has also become a clear source of inspiration for a regional variety of 'high-style' architecture, the 'new Northwest Style,' as it has been fused into amenity era development. Interestingly, the new Northwest Style is very much an acknowledged product of inter-group contact in the emergent recreational hinterland, and is most commonly associated with the adoption of early-century vernacular styles from the Oregon coast. (McMath, 1974b, Belluschi, 1953) And as Poole points out, unlike most architectural movements, the 'Northwest Style' is "geographically isolated and completely limited to non-metropolitan areas."³² (1992, p.91) Similarly, architect Ralph Anderson suggests that "the Northwest Style... does not work in urban settings," echoing the assertions of many of his colleagues who recognize the Northwest Style as the exclusive product of exurban and recreational development within the Northwest. (quoted in ARCADE, 1989, p.15) This style of building

³² Admittedly, this assertion oversimplifies the situation. Compare the discussion of Northwest Style in large urban settings, complete with fusion of local vernacular and introduced elements, in Frey (1988), and in the second volume of Vaughan and Ferriday (1974). It appears that the Northwest Style has been subject to an unusual diffusion from hinterland to metropolis, being worked into the built landscapes of Vancouver, Seattle, and Portland after an established popularity in the hinterland. (Map 1) Arguably, the appeal of the hinterland, and the amount of time spent there by city-dwellers, and the attention directed at resort towns by regional lifestyle magazines, have influenced this rural-urban diffusion. (Belluschi, 1953; Poole, 1992)

has involved the application of existing vernacular styles from residential and industrial examples to both contemporary residential and commercial structures. (Figures 14, 47, 48, 93)

The competing pressures encouraging continuity and change within the Northwest coast have thus been clearly manifested within the work of the high-style architects of the Northwest, who must design for this dynamic domain. The features of a second generation 'new Northwest Style' of the last decade are revealing:

"Accepting the pluralism of today's architectural influences, these architects have blended and individually interpreted regional architecture (barns, marine docks, mining structures, outdoor National Park architecture) with Swiss chalet inspirations, Japanese influences, The Sea Ranch in California philosophies, and environmental concerns, among others." (Poole, 1992, p.67)

The resulting built forms are thus "very eclectic in approach."³³ (Poole, 1992, p.67)

Poole describes the recent emergence of a 'Neo-Pacific Northwest Regionally-Inspired School' as an attempt to salvage a local or regional "sense of place" within the context of rapid social change. (1992, p.66) Thus, through the process of fusion, designers in the Northwest hinterland "do not ignore social, cultural, and economic change but instead work within this new context; they adopt it and essentially adapt their designs while still asserting a strong regional identity." (Poole, 1992, p.66) Indeed, the designers do not have much of a choice.

³³This fusion of High-Style architecture with the local vernacular within the Northwest is not entirely new. When the International Style was being widely produced, Northwestern designers occasionally "took the International Style and put big overhangs and sloped roofs on it," and built in natural woods, seemingly in response to a similar dialectic in many of the towns which were experiencing rapid growth at the time. (Cutler in ARCADE, 1988, p.18)

CHAPTER EIGHT

Built Evidence of Pidginized Places: Six Cases of Built Change in the Emerging Tourist Landscapes On the Northwest Coast

8.1: An analysis of the pidginization of built form

I have argued that the built landscapes of the Northwest coast are shaped by some of the same basic types of pressures as those which shape a pidgin language, and that some elements of built form on the coast appear to have been adapted in a way which could be described as built 'pidginization.' However, the proof of the validity of a pidginization model can only be found in an empirically verifiable correlation of the built features of the Northwest coast to the structural adaptations of a pidgin language over time. In other words, there must be physical evidence of a process of the fusion of two or more heretofore distinct traditions, a simplification of expressive elements and functions, and a drift or 'fossilization' of element usage within particular places if we are to conclude that the built environment has in some way been 'pidginized.'

Thus, I have tested this hypothesis within six Northwest coast towns. The towns which I consider in depth here are: Bandon, Oregon; Florence, Oregon; Cannon Beach, Oregon; South Bend, Washington; Tofino, British Columbia, and Ucluelet, British Columbia. I have chosen these towns with the intention of providing contrasting examples of adaptive built response. Each of these towns is small, with year-round populations ranging between one thousand to over five thousand people. And each is now within weekend-travelling distance of the metropolitan populations of the Strait of Georgia, the Puget Sound or the Willamette Valley. Within these parameters, I have also attempted to provide a broad geographic scope, focussing on towns distributed from Bandon, some 90 miles (144 kilometers) north of the California border, to Tofino, the northernmost municipality on the western littoral of Vancouver Island.

are only now taking their first tentative steps toward tourism development while others have become almost completely tourism-dependent. Like most towns on the coast, each has a historical urban core which has some resource-era building stock and which is still occupied by commercial functions, albeit generally a different mix of commercial functions than before the emergence of tourism.

In order to trace adaptive trends in commercial architecture, I have correlated periods of social and economic adjustment with changes in common vernacular built forms. To identify regular patterns of built display at different periods, I have used both historical and contemporary photographs. I have attempted to identify the date of emergence for each of the diagnostic features identified in Chapter Seven, and have made some attempt to explain the reason for their use. (Table 8, p.147) Through this analysis, I have sought to correlate changes in the scope and character of intergroup interaction with adaptive phases of townscape restructuring. Thus, in each town, I have searched for evidence of the simplification of mnemonic cues, the aggregation of signs and other features around particular regional themes, the drift or 'fossilization' of elements from past morphogenetic phases, and the fusion of features from heretofore distinct traditions, including structural exterior elements.

As such analytical studies of expressive townscape features have been uncommon, the precedents for measurement methods are few. Thus, a brief discussion of how the measurement of changing expressive features has been addressed precedes the discussion of methods.

8.2: Methods of measurement in the literature

Linguistics has employed a variety of methods to demonstrate the types of linguistic changes associated with pidginization. Most of these methods involve the employment of various forms of componential analysis, in which individual elements (i.e. words) are observed at different times, or among different linguistic communities, so that differences in the element's structure and

usage can be identified. Componential analysis thus facilitates the elucidation of linguistic drift and simplification, as one correlates a given word with its particular use at different times. Further, one can demonstrate the degree of language mixture by correlating the number of externally borrowed attributes with the length of contact with external linguistic groups. (Haugen, 1972, pp.117-19)

Unlike elements of a spoken language, however, the built particulars of expressive interaction persist, making the measurement of historical change a much simpler affair. (cf. Haugen, 1972, pp.37-58) A small group of scholars, from a variety of sub-disciplines, have sought to find objective means of measurement for built expressive features. These scholars have included cultural geographers such as Kniffen (1962, 1990) Tanaka (1975), and Foote, (1983, 1985), as well as architectural theorists, such as Eco (1972) and Krampen (1979).

Kniffen (1962, 1990) developed a system of analysis in which the presence of certain qualitatively-defined constituent elements of individual structures - such as particular types of roof, chimney, porches, or embellishments - are recorded in conjunction with such factors as structure height and building location. Kniffen's methodology has primarily been employed in the field to delineate folk architectural regions, in order to establish historical patterns of cultural influence. This method is compatible with the task of defining evolutionary phases of built form, however, if it can be applied to the built environment over time, through either longitudinal field analysis or the utilization of photographic and other archival information.

Similarly, authors such as Tanaka (1975), Eco (1972) and Krampen (1979, pp.255-61) have applied adapted forms of componential analysis, borrowing from linguistics, to built elements within individual structures. In these cases, the researchers have enumerated the presence and uses of a finite set of evocative built features at different periods, to provide a quantified analysis of the changing expressive uses of specific built elements.

Photographic analysis, however, has not been a common methodology for such objective analyses of particular built elements. More often than not, photographs are applied in such studies for exclusively illustrative purposes, and rarely are longitudinal studies performed using historical photographs. Still, there are a few exceptions.

Kenneth Foote utilized photographic analysis methods in his 1983 study of the use of color in cities. This study involved the use of a grid placed over photographs of urban commercial landscapes; by establishing the percentage of color coverage for each structure, Foote was able to quantify the correlation between the use of particular exterior colors and the nature of the commercial establishment.

Krampen has attempted to measure the expressive functions in a similar fashion; he has employed a modified 'type-token analysis' to the built environment, again adapted from linguistic methodology. In this form of analysis, extrapolated from the work of a small school of German architects, Krampen has superimposed grids over pictures of the façades of individual structures, and recorded the element present in each unit (e.g. decoration surface, window surface, advertising surface), allowing a comparative analysis of different structures in different settings. (1979, pp.261-83)

Still, these studies have not featured a significant historical component. Kenneth Foote has been one of the few scholars to combine historical studies with photographic analysis to illustrate change in expressive elements within complex urban settings. Foote's 1985 analysis of rates of change of built forms involved the enumeration of replacements of built features in time-sequenced photos. To obtain a consistent sample of photographs for this time-sequence, Foote chose to analyze only well-photographed sections of Austin, Texas. He suggests that,

"What makes photos particularly worthy of investigation is that, in comparison with other iconographical sources, the editorial and compositional control exerted by the photographer does not always thwart their use as extremely accurate unobtrusive measures

containing large amounts of detail unavailable from any other source." (1985, p.222)

Foote encourages the study of frequently-photographed locations, such as tourist destinations, despite the potential for bias, because historical photographic archives are by their nature "selectively, rather than systematically representative." (1985, p.244)

In the towns of the Northwest coast, Foote's assertions are particularly relevant. Traditionally, these towns have been lacking in such documentation as building permits - let alone documentation of exterior features - and yet they have been photographed extensively by growing numbers of tourists. And the vast majority of these communities' histories postdate the widespread availability of photographic equipment. Indeed, in some of these towns, photographic evidence appears to be the only tangible evidence of the historical adaptation of built form.

8.3: Methods of analysis

As my research has sought to correlate historical developments with changes in the built environment, it likewise has two primary components, one historical and one directed at the analysis of built evidence.

I have traced the history of each of these towns, through interviews with local historians as well as through the use of various publications, including volumes on local history, local historical journals, manuscripts and theses. I have established the chronology of recent events via interviews, cross-checked by the utilization of newspaper accounts and governmental statistical data.

Within each town, I have conducted interviews with at least one past or present municipal official to determine the extent of public sector influence upon built form through zoning and public-sponsored redevelopment projects. In addition, I have interviewed at least one local historian - usually the local museum director - in each town. Further, I have interviewed local builders, proprietors, and long-time residents who have been identified by

other sources as knowledgeable of, or participants in local commercial building. In these interviews, I sought to identify builders' and proprietors' expressed rationales for the production of identified variables, which I compared to the motives listed in Table 6. (on p.127) Though I conducted many interviews - both formally and informally - within each town, I only list cited interviews in the bibliography.

From this evidence, I attempted to glean a thumbnail sketch of each town's history, tracing general trends in the changing conditions of society, economy and transportation. I have attempted to establish a chronology of factors of potential morphogenetic significance during adaptive phases, such as the basis for initial settlement, the ethnic identity of immigrants, the rise and fall of major industries, and roadbuilding. Where available, I have included traffic statistics, as well.³⁴ Through these means I have endeavored to delineate changes in the character and scope of interaction between these communities and visitors. The towns discussed have been small and remote during much of their histories and historical documentation is often of uncertain quality. I believe that the events listed represent the major morphogenetic pressures, trends and events that have come to bear on each of these towns.

The photographic component of the analysis is somewhat less contentious, because, as Foote suggests, the content of photographs is rarely a matter of dispute. (1985) I sought photos of the townscapes of these towns at different periods, from which I discerned general trends in built form. In each case, I targeted the historic commercial core of each town as the location of analysis. In the cases where the commercial core had changed locations over time, my analysis traced built trends at each of

³⁴ It is recognized that such statistics are of indeterminate value, with, for example, fluctuations in local traffic being largely indistinguishable from fluctuations in through traffic. Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain such statistics for the Canadian cases, but in both of these towns, automotive traffic is known to have been virtually non-existent prior to 1959. This point will be addressed in greater detail in the discussion of these towns.

these commercial cores.

I do not seek to achieve the same rigorous building-specific analysis found in some componential analyses, in part, because consistent photos from the same location were usually lacking. Rather, I sought to identify regular patterns of building associated with different building functions, in each town at different times. (cf. Foote, 1985; Krampen, 1979) In essence, I sought - through an adapted form of componential analysis applied to a large sample of photographs - to discern what built features indicated a 'residence,' an 'industrial building,' or a 'store,' at different times in each town's history. In each case, I direct the bulk of my attention to 'communicative' features of the built environment (i.e. those likely to be adapted for expressive purposes) rather than 'informative' features (i.e. those which merely indicate something of the history of the place), though the latter is often used as a source of supporting evidence. (cf. Buysens, 1943; Ekman and Friesen, 1969)

I have viewed all available photos of buildings in each of the six towns, within certain regional photo archives. These collections included those of The Oregon Historical Society Museum, the Coquille River Pioneer Museum (in Bandon, Oregon), the Siuslaw Valley Pioneer Museum (near Florence, Oregon), the Cannon Beach Historical Society, the Clatsop County Historical Museum, the Pacific County Historical Society Museum, the District of Tofino, the Ucluelet and Area Historical Society, and the British Columbia Historical Museum, as well as assorted personal collections. I have chosen to view all available photos, in order to provide the most comprehensive basis for identifying architectural trends in these towns. Such thorough analyses are feasible because the photographic collections for each town were generally small. In addition, I sought out and viewed available photos of the years not represented in historical collections, generally ranging from the late-1950s to the present. I found these photos primarily in newspaper archives and personal collections.

From all available photos, I have identified general trends in the creation of townscape features, noting trends in the

reproduction of my diagnostic elements, as identified in Table 8.(on p.147) I have confirmed building functions through the use of photographs, accompanying documentation, and other sources, such as interviews. Thus, I have been able to identify how commercial and residential structures are indicated through built means at different periods. Further, with the assistance of guides to vernacular building elsewhere in North America, I have sought to identify the infusion of external vernaculars at different periods. I have made reproductions of available photos which displayed built features and places from periods discussed in the historical section.

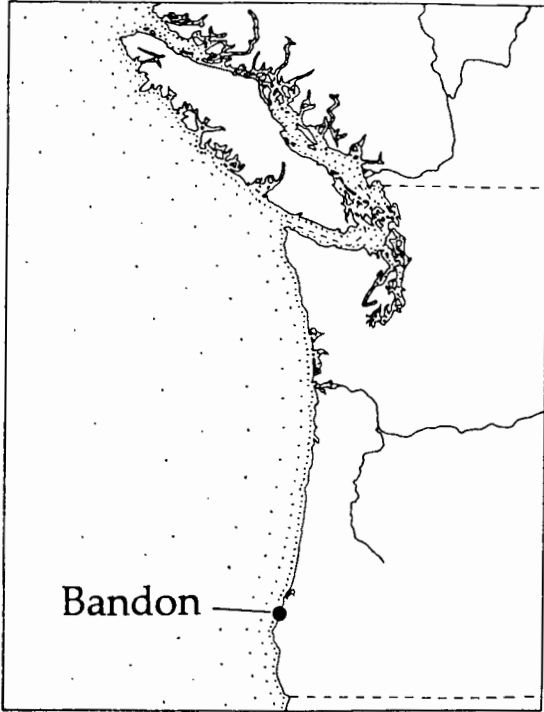
In addition, I spent time in each town during the fall of 1993 looking for these diagnostic elements within commercial landscapes in the six towns. I photographed contemporary commercial townscapes of these towns, and have included illustrative photos of trends visible in the built environment within the text of the case study. In all of the case studies I include photos of at least one-third of the total contemporary building stock of the targeted historical commercial areas. Most contemporary photos were taken, and all are reproduced, in a black-and-white format. This was done to avoid accentuating aesthetic distinctions in relation to other periods, for which color photographs simply are not available.

I accompany each of these photos with a narrative caption which specifies the location of the photo, the date of construction - if known - for the elements shown, as well as additional information regarding the presence of diagnostic features, and possible historical precedents for the depicted features.

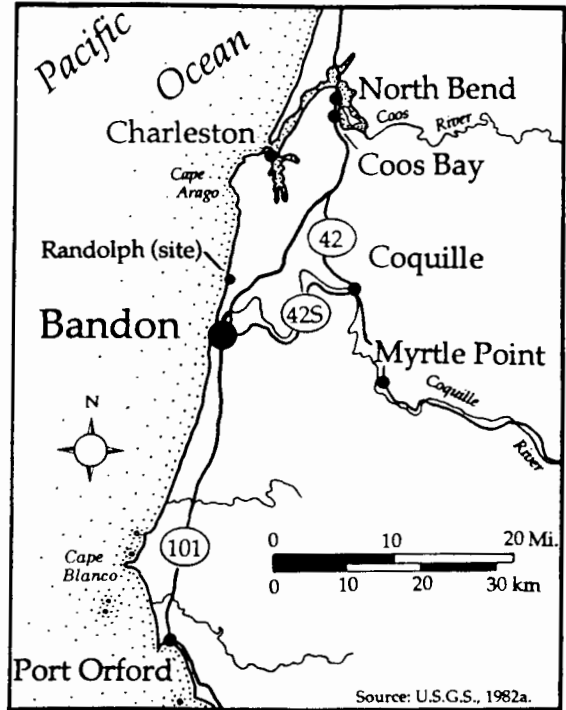
In addition to these photographs, I include brief narrative discussions of the historical and contemporary evidence of each of the diagnostic characteristics listed in Table 8.(on p.147) I present a discussion of the apparent dates and extent of emergence of the diagnostic features within each town, and correlate these trends to shifts in local social and economic circumstances, as well as the character and scope of interaction with visitors. Though I attempt to provide a detailed discussion of cases of the

past and contemporary uses of diagnostic features, these discussions are not meant to be exhaustive. Where many cases of a particular diagnostic feature are present, I state as much, and then provide a few examples. Further, many of the diagnostic criteria are transitory features; elements such as a windsock may, of course, be added to or removed from the landscape with great ease. Thus, all comments about the presence or absence of particular features are to be understood as being representative of the community only at the time of field analyses for each town, during September, October, and November of 1993.

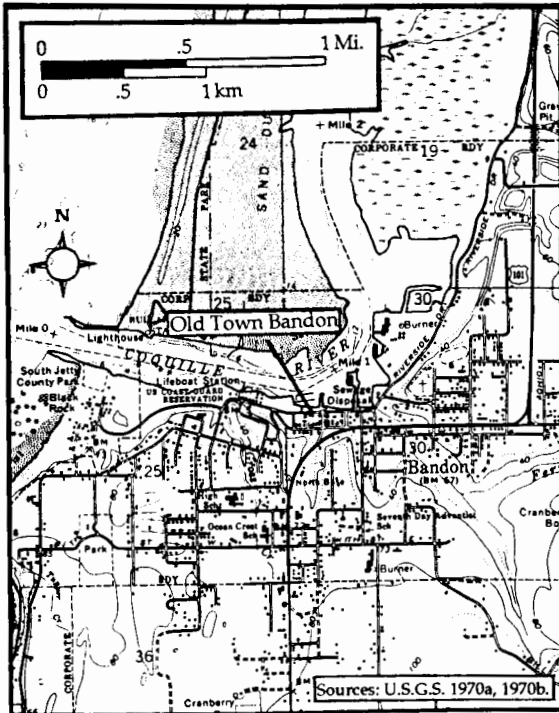
Bandon, Oregon: Situation and Site



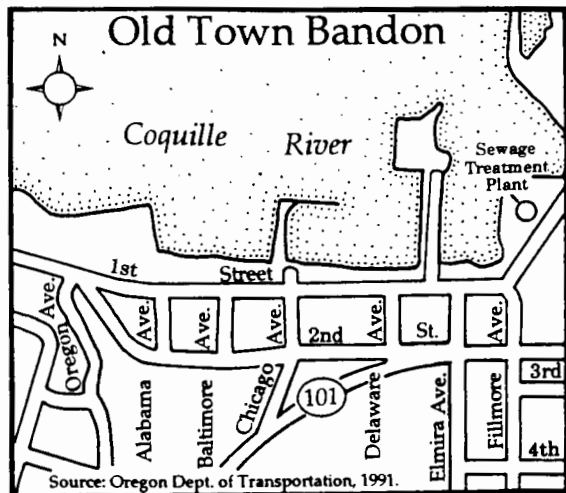
Map 2



Map 3



Map 4



(not to scale)

Map 5

8.4: Bandon, Oregon

A walk through Bandon, Oregon can take one across sharp social divides. At the corner, phantasmic through the heavy upwelling fog, a greying hippy couple stands talking with an unemployed half-Indian millworker. Down the road, where people watch small fishing boats cross the Coquille bar's heavy surf, a portly real estate salesman waves a finger at a pallid associate, insisting that 'we have to take this country back for the Christians!' In the hardware store doorway, tired cranberry farmers relay the details of this year's harvest to retirees from California. Dan Deuel, a disabled Vietnam Special Forces veteran turned anti-war activist turned wildlife rehabilitator, drives by in his white van. In hard times, local fishermen leave death threats on his answering machine; in their eyes, every fish eaten by an injured seal returned to the sea is one more fish lost. In the Bandon City offices, City Manager Ben McMakin, deposed by an unwieldy coalition of disgruntled local interest groups, puts the contents of his shelves into boxes.

More than any town in this study, Bandon has been characterized by periods of tremendous economic volatility, in which both resource industries and tourism have come and gone.³⁵ And the people who work in these industries have likewise come and gone, resulting in a distinctive social stratigraphy, complex for a town of this size. As I will discuss later, these fluctuations were exacerbated by two devastating fires; both town fires were facilitated by wildfires of an introduced, highly flammable, resinous plant: gorse (*Ulex europaeus*). This thorny, leguminous relative of Scott's broom was introduced from Ireland by one of Bandon's earliest settlers. Gorse has proliferated rapidly into the sandy lands along the south and central Oregon coast, and grows into dense thickets, with bright, yellow flowers, around the town.

With major cutbacks in local resource industries, and a rapid increase in the number of visitors, Bandon emerged as the premier

³⁵see Robbins, 1988 for a discussion of the marked historical volatility of the resource industries within Bandon, and other towns of coastal Coos County.

tourist destination on the southern Oregon coast during the late 1980s. Much of the physical evidence of this transition can be found in the town's renovated 'Old Town,' the historic commercial district, clustered at the base of a wave-cut plateau where the Coquille River's narrow estuary meets the Pacific ocean. (Map 4, 5)

8.4.1: A brief history of Bandon

The early histories of many of the small towns found along the southern Oregon coast exhibit some striking regularities. Many of these towns were founded during an early and brief period of gold-mining, followed by the establishment of very minor resource industries - each hindered by their very remoteness from centers of Euro-American settlement - as well as a period of intense hostility toward the local indigenous peoples.

In the particular case of Bandon, the facts conform to this general model. A gold rush during the years of 1853 and 1854, on black sands on the beach north of contemporary Bandon, facilitated the growth of the town of Randolph, a prospectors' boomtown. (Map 3) Bandon, at the mouth of the nearest navigable waterway, was thus born as a supply and entertainment center for the men working in Randolph and elsewhere in the hinterland during this period. At this time, Bandon was composed largely of that requisite panoply of features of the early western frontier town: general merchandise shop, brothel and saloon. The town's role as a recreational center for the working men of the hinterland defined much of community life well into the 1930s, and arguably has continued in a diminished form into the present.

This early phase of growth was accompanied by the fitful, and at times ugly scenes common on the American frontier. In 1856, the local Na-So-Ma band of the Coquille tribe was forcibly sent to the Siletz reservation, on the coast roughly 120 miles (192 km.) to the north. (Map 1) Some members of the band, disoriented, returned to their village from the reservation, and were massacred in the night by newly arrived settlers who claimed the former village site - now the core of Bandon's Old Town - within their own land claims. Some of the remaining members of the tribe moved to inland locations on

the Coquille River, while others remained at Siletz.

Several of the early settlers attempted to establish commercially viable fishing and timber operations, if only to prove the viability of Bandon to outside investors; by 1861, the first lumber shipments exited the mouth of the Coquille River, bound for San Francisco, though this shipment did not mark the onset of a continuous lumber trade.

Bandon's first phase of substantial commercial and industrial growth occurred during 1880s and 1890s. During the early 1880s, the shifting mouth of the Coquille was tamed with jetties. (Vogel, 1992, p.25) By 1883, the first large-scale commercial sawmill in the town began the regular shipping of lumber to San Francisco. Shortly thereafter, Bandon experienced a major industrial boom: by 1888 the town had a ship works, building schooners for west coast trade, by 1893 outside investors had built woolen mills, and by 1895 several of the west coast 'salmon barons' were building canneries along the lower Coquille, for which they brought in Chinese cannery workers from Astoria. By the turn of the century, Bandon was one of the Northwest littoral's most significant industrial towns, and town boomers built up a substantial commercial district on pilings around the preexisting commercial core. (Figure 1)

Bandon's timber industry was periodically stimulated by the demand for building materials in San Francisco following earthquakes and fires in that city. In particular, the earthquake and fire of 1906 facilitated a brief, marked period of rapid industrial expansion in Bandon. During this episode, minor industrialists built timber processing facilities along the Coquille, which became the foundation of the majority of subsequent lumbering ventures.

In addition, between 1900 and 1910, Bandon had become established as a tourist location. The town had by this time become the primary stopover point for passenger ships travelling between San Francisco and Portland, as well as the settlements of the Puget Sound. During this period, passengers would visit for one night stopovers, and the town was known to host a number of



Figure 1: Bandon in the late 1890s, looking west down Third Street, then the main street of the town.³⁶ Most one-story houses have hipped roofs, while the two-story houses have gabled roofs. The two gothic style homes on the right side of the street have enclosed 'Oregon barn' type entryways, though complete 'Oregon barn' style homes - one-story and front gabled - are absent. All visible houses are clad in painted clapboard. Only storage sheds - such as the shed behind the house in the foreground right, and the mill outbuildings on the left - are clad in rough shingles. Only industrial structures, such as the main buildings of the sawmill and foundry, left foreground, have vertical, unpainted board-and-batten exteriors. Commercial functions, not seen here, are clustered near the industrial waterfront, with rectangular, painted white clapboard façades. Photo (Negative #63) courtesy Coquille River Pioneer Museum.

big-ticket visiting entertainers, performing during their own stopovers at this improbable outpost of the west coast entertainment circuit. With limited transportation, these passengers were constrained to a small number of choices for recreation on the wharf-front, but still buildings began to display minor evidence of mnemonic cues, particularly printed signs on their exteriors. (Figure 2)

In 1914, a gorse fire levelled much of central Bandon's waterfront, destroying roughly half of the commercial district, but leaving the residential and industrial buildings largely intact. Much of the debris from this fire was pushed into the tidelands below the piers of the commercial district, creating the fill on

³⁶Unless otherwise indicated, photographed locations may be found in the map of Old Town Bandon, Map 5.

which the commercial district was rebuilt. (Vogel, 1993, p.194) A nationwide recession in 1915 slowed the redevelopment of the burned-out sector, and many Bandon residents moved elsewhere. However, by the early 1920s, Bandon experienced a second industrial boom.



Figure 2: Bandon's First Street in 1907. By this time, First Street had become Bandon's primary commercial strip, lining the waterfront, and readily accessible to boat passengers during stopovers. Clapboard clad commercial structures with rectangular façades line the street. Residences likewise feature painted clapboard exteriors. A small number of textual signs appear on commercial buildings at this time. Photo courtesy Coquille River Pioneer Museum. (Negative #1204)

During the 1920s, a strong national economy and improvements in local roads facilitated the influx and expansion of a diverse assortment of industrial ventures, including the expansion of local dairy and cranberry industries. In addition, while the passenger ship trade declined, Bandon witnessed a brief period of development oriented toward the automotive tourist. Though there were no routes of rapid access to points outside of southwestern Oregon, a highway connection built at this time through the town of Coquille facilitated a minor tourist trade. (Map 3) The bulk of the facilities built during this time were oriented toward the workers from the industrial towns of this resource hinterland, and their families.

Within the historical photographs we can identify a

substantial increase in the number and visibility of signs between the late teens and the 1930s. Cloth awnings also proliferated at this time. All of the signs seen in photographs from this period contained textual elements only, and none of the diagnostic mnemonic or pictographic elements appear to have been present. (Figure 3)



Figure 3: Bandon's Alabama Street in 1928, at the apex of its first phase of commercial development, looking south from the corner of Alabama and First. Commercial structures largely consisted of two-story structures with painted clapboard or stucco exteriors. At this location, near the passenger boat docks, mnemonic cues proliferated with great rapidity during Bandon's first tourist phase. Textual signs are common, and cloth awnings have been placed over entryways. Photo Courtesy Coquille Pioneer Museum. (Negative #359)

A Chamber of Commerce promotional pamphlet from this period seeks investors for the continued development of resource industries, while acknowledging a minor public interest in capitalizing on the growing potential for resort development as part of a local economic diversification strategy. (Bandon Chamber of Commerce, 1924(?)) Conscious attempts to diversify Bandon's economy resulted in a much broader mix of industries than found in other towns on the coast. Thus, despite the onset of the

depression of the 1930s and significant local job losses, Bandon fared much better than most towns on the Northwest coast at this time.

This all came to an abrupt halt in 1936, however, when a second and far more devastating fire forever changed Bandon's fortunes. Again started as a wildfire in the gorse fields surrounding the town, this fire left only six of the town's roughly 500 buildings standing. A tent town was rapidly built where Bandon had stood, and residents immediately commenced with the hasty construction of new wood-frame buildings.³⁷ (Vogel, 1992, p.6)

Significantly, commercial structures were built during the first few days after the fire to provide needed goods and services to the destitute residents. Indeed, this construction was so rushed that the building permits for these commercial structures were written on cedar battery separators from a nearby mill; builders refused to wait for paper to be shipped to town following the loss of most paper products in the fire. (Kehl, 1983) It is these buildings, most hamstrung by an assortment of structural and design problems, which now constitute the bulk of contemporary Bandon's Old Town building stock. (Figures 5, 6)

Shortly thereafter, the Federal Works Projects Administration offered to rebuild Bandon as a model city, with a full assortment of modern public facilities and improvements, at no cost to Bandon residents. The offer was refused, however, as it called for minor readjustments in land boundaries; though no landowner was to experience a net loss in parcel area, the plan was bogged down in bickering over the exact configuration of parcels. Frustrated, federal officers rescinded their offer, and Bandon received no federal funding, whatsoever, for private reconstruction projects.

And, as a result of this devastating fire, Bandon missed out on the minor tourism boom during the late 1930s which immediately

³⁷For a discussion of the implications of town fires in the history of Northwestern tidewater towns, see Turbeville, 1985. Though Turbeville focusses upon the towns of Puget Sound, his discussion has implications for the towns of the Northwestern Pacific littoral, with their similar civic histories and a similar predominance of wood-frame buildings.

followed the 1936 completion of a continuous Oregon coast highway. (Dicken and Dicken, 1979, p.161; Armstrong, 1965) Thus Bandon lacked the foundations of tourism development that were found in other communities along the Oregon coast, and upon which many towns were ushered into gradual post-War tourism development.

Entering a uniquely poignant bust phase, Bandon did not experience a period of redevelopment beyond the immediate post-fire construction, as impoverished families left the area, and industries already hampered by the depression chose not to rebuild. (Figure 4) Though a number of laborers from America's southern states moved into the timber towns of Coos County during the 1930s and 1940s, there was very little immigration to Bandon. Accordingly, the built form of the town following the fire lacked evidence of an infusion of externally-derived built styles during this reconstructive phase. (Robbins, 1990) A small wartime buildup of local Coast Guard and military facilities briefly infused life into the town, but this did not offset previous losses; by the end of the War, most of these facilities were abandoned.

Simultaneously, by the end of World War II, the hills around Coos County represented the last major center of private, merchantable old-growth timber in America. Thus, as William Robbins suggests, the towns of Coos County were "the last frontier for a migrating logging and lumbering industry that had its beginnings in the great white pine forests of New England." (Robbins, 1990, p.3) Further, the demand for timber resulting from the post-War building boom - particularly in California - stimulated a period of sporadic, rapid harvests. While the timber industry of Coos County experienced its last phase of growth, the large, newly automated mills of Coos Bay monopolized almost all of the area's timber production. (Map 3) Smaller towns like Bandon did not experience an industrial boom, though they did house some of the area's 'gyppo loggers,' independent logging contractors who worked the lands of the big timber companies.

The redevelopment of the 1940s and 1950s was accordingly anemic. Bandon's timber and fishing operations continued on a smaller scale than before, with an reduced per-unit labor demand.

Downturns in these key industries were, however, partially offset by growth in other industries at this time. The harvesting of cranberries increased, as the Ocean Spray cooperative expanded its local processing facilities. At the same time, dairying expanded in the Coquille Valley, driven largely by expanded production of Bandon Cheese, and facilitated by the completion of improved highways to inland markets. Still, for the first time in its history, Bandon had standing vacant structures.



Figure 4: Alabama Street from the same vantage point as seen in Figure 3, in 1993. The fire was clearly a turning point for Bandon, and the town's building stock in the old commercial core has never returned to its pre-fire levels. Here we see clear evidence of Bandon's inability to recover its former commercial vitality from the 1940s to the present. The Masonic Temple in the background, which now houses art galleries, was one of the few structures to survive the fire. The motels on the bluff were built in the 1980s.

The Oregon State Highway Division built a bridge over the Coquille River north of town in 1956, replacing a river ferry, and tying the town into a far more direct through-route of the Oregon Coast Highway, Highway 101. This put Bandon within roughly three hours' range of the southern Willamette Valley, and somewhat longer than five hours' range from Portland. The highway, bypassing Old Town, facilitated rapid strip development along the southern reaches of town from the 1970s to the present, while leaving the old commercial core relatively intact. (Map 4)

The residents of Bandon struggled to advance tourism during the 1960s, a task which was complicated by the town's distance from the region's large cities, relative to other beach resort towns.



Figure 5: Bandon's Second Street, ca.1950, looking west, showing post-fire structures, embellished, somewhat, with the addition of white painted clapboard and plywood rectangular façades and textual signs. The street at this time is occupied by cafes, banks, repair shops, and hardware stores. No flower boxes, benches, windsocks, flags, or pictographic signs are visible in photos from this period. Rough wooden façades, overhangs, and detailing are also absent from commercial buildings. Photo (Negative #1808) courtesy Coquille River Pioneer Museum.



Figure 6: Second Street from the opposite end in 1947. A tavern, a cafe, an electrical repair shop, a drug store, a variety store and a theater are recognizable in this photo. Photo courtesy Coquille River Pioneer Museum. (Negative #1709)

During this time, residents of Bandon employed a number of promotional schemes which underscored the difficulty of attracting tourists to the area. For example, during the summer of 1965, local boosters planted plastic fish on the beach. They then approached Oregon newspapers, advertising that these plastic fish could be exchanged for free meals and merchandise within the town. (Crick, 1965) It was this type of fledgling tourist boosterism that prompted one travel writer to depict the Bandon of the 1960s as a "poor man's Carmel" in a run-down industrial setting. (Holm, 1968)

During the early 1970s, the vacant buildings of Bandon were being occupied by a minor wave of young people - mostly hippies - both from the Bandon area and from without. Those who came from elsewhere appear to have been drawn to such coastal towns by such features as remoteness and natural amenities. To support themselves, many of these people tied into the expanding tourism business, one of the few means of subsistence available in the area which cohered with this group's expressed preferences and objectives. These people occupied the derelict portions of Bandon's downtown commercial core, and almost immediately began to benefit from a surge in tourist traffic which occurred along the entire coast at this time. (see Graph 2, Appendix)

This emergence of the local counter-culture was accompanied by the re-emergence of wooden folk architecture in Bandon during the mid 1970s. Of particular interest here, many of these hippies chose to use local vernacular elements from residential and industrial buildings on the exterior of their shops and cafes. Many added rough wood and shingle exteriors as found on working-class houses and industrial buildings, while others added board-and-batten exteriors as were found almost exclusively on industrial buildings. There seems to be a consensus that these features were adopted because they appeared natural and proletarian, professed ideals of these people, which were key to internal modes of display within their communities. And of course, the residential and industrial motifs were simple and inexpensive to reproduce. This experimental style appeared to prove popular with tourists; echoing

the assertions of many proprietors, City Manager, Ben McMakin claims that the townspeople increasingly realized that the "visitors really seemed to like that look." (McMakin, 1993) (Figure 7)

The period from the late 1970s to the mid 1980s marked a significant turning point. Coos County's timber boom finally went bust, and industrial production virtually ceased, at the onset of a national recession; only log and wood chip exports continued out of Coos Bay. (Robbins, 1990) Fishing yields declined, and processing facilities continued to be consolidated, many locating in the town of Charleston, at the mouth of Coos Bay. (Map 3)

However, the number of visitors to the area continued to increase. Tourism began to look like the only growth industry on the coast; accordingly, the townspeople began to look more seriously at the prospects for amenity-oriented development. In response, the municipal government, the port government and the Chamber of Commerce embarked on programs to encourage the influx of tourists, retirees, and proprietors of footloose industries.

In addition, Bandon experienced a small burst of growth in its counter-culture population in the early 1980s. Local lore attributes this to a concert of factors, including the escape of aging hippies from the rapid development of other coastal communities. And ironically, some partially attribute this growth to Carl Sagan's well-publicized maps of the few habitable locations on Earth in the event of a 'nuclear winter,' following a nuclear war; the southern Oregon coast was one of the few places identified as such within North America.

With an increasingly broad spectrum of public opinion represented in the area, and continued anxiety over the town's future, Bandon had more than its fair share of political discord. For this and a variety of other reasons, Bandon's public institutions forwarded economic development programs which were often not only lacking in inter-governmental coordination, but, in some cases were clearly conflicting; the city would promote one development scheme for a piece of public land, for example, while the port would actively seek investors for an incompatible project.



Figure 7: Bandon's Second Street in the late 1970s, showing evidence of a refurbishing of tourist-oriented shops with rustic exteriors. The majority of the buildings of this district still consisted primarily of buildings with white painted façades, and most other forms of diagnostic elements were not visible. Bandon High School Annual Staff Photo Collection.

Out of this imbroglio came a governmental program which laid the foundations for the private redevelopment of Bandon's commercial district. The City of Bandon secured a federal urban renewal grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). As designed, this grant allowed building owners in the downtown commercial core of Bandon to borrow money at low interest rates for renovation projects. From 1980 to 1984, this funding allowed the owners of Bandon's downtown commercial buildings to rapidly reconfigure the urban fabric. Thus a morphogenetic shift was facilitated with the funds to overcome some of the costs of adjustment.

8.4.2: The emergence of a new 'Old Town'

The redevelopment grant for what was to become 'Old Town Bandon' was sought primarily to remedy problems associated with hasty post-fire construction, to improve the quality of

infrastructure and bring buildings up to code specifications. (Map 5) Though program participants modified the exteriors of their buildings with excess funds from their allotments, the money was only available to businesses which sought foremost to improve structural and infrastructural elements. An architect was brought in to make design recommendations, but these were limited to structural and infrastructural issues, and the City government sought no architectural assistance in their attempts to define the look of Bandon. (McMakin, 1993; Gaber, 1993)

Still, City officials, who controlled the distribution of financial assistance, could not ignore the potential of publicly financed redevelopment as a tool to assist in Bandon's sometimes painful adjustment to a tourism-based economy. As Bandon City Manager, Ben McMakin suggests, "we'd had some downturns in local industries and tourism development was an obvious choice." Proprietors had recognized the need to modify their buildings in light of changing economic circumstances and the increased scrutiny of tourists, but had often lacked the funds to make the transition.

Participants in this program who modified their buildings did not want to radically change the look of the town. Ben McMakin, who directed the redevelopment program echoed this sentiment, asserting that, "a project like this will succeed if you push a trend that already exists. If you try to push something entirely new, you're doomed to failure." (McMakin, 1993) Still, participants recognized that they needed to make the town appealing and intelligible to visitors if they were to successfully transform the it a tourist destination; as McMakin suggests, the twin imperatives of building projects, to "maintain quality of life and the unique character of Bandon... and to promote economic development" could easily have become contradictory goals. (McMakin, 1993)

The City government sought to facilitate the creation of a hybrid built form through very loosely defined design suggestions. To strike this balance project coordinators merely encouraged participants to make any new architectural features look "old." "We just asked that they try not to build modern looking

buildings," says the City Manager; there were no specifications made as to how this might be done. The hope was that this loosely defined historical motif would ensure a degree of local historic continuity, while creating an informal theme town that would approximate widely held ideas of what a historic western town should look like. Presenting the logic behind the hybridization ideal, City officials "sold the concept, and nobody had any trouble with it...it wasn't hard to convince people." (McMakin, 1993) Thus, the trend toward 'pidginized' built form was enhanced.

However, the merchants who chose to renovate their exteriors in a 'historical' theme generally created something which bore little resemblance to the pre-fire buildings of the town. Instead, they opted to reproduce the wooden folk architecture of the counter-culture, though many of the proprietors had heretofore had no direct associations with this group. (Figures 8, 9) City Manager, Ben McMakin suggests that many thought the new look of Old Town possibly had "more personality than the original." (McMakin, 1993) And of course, this type of construction, with its use of locally-plentiful wooden materials, was relatively inexpensive. McMakin suggests that the lack of historical continuity between old Bandon and Old Town was irrelevant, simply because "the tourists don't know the difference." (1993) Indeed, it appeared that the tourists preferred this look, and Bandon immediately began to emerge as a significant resort community.

Despite the fact that the look of Old Town was remodelled to fit tourists' tastes, the area is still held in esteem by long-time residents. Ben McMakin attributes this to efforts to maintain a degree of continuity:

"the fact that there was no *abrupt* change in direction is the reason for our success in Old Town...we worked with what was already here... and, of course, our timing was excellent." (McMakin, 1993)

The timing to which McMakin refers was fortunate, indeed; the redevelopment project commenced during a brief recessionary drop in tourist volumes which affected all of the coast during the early

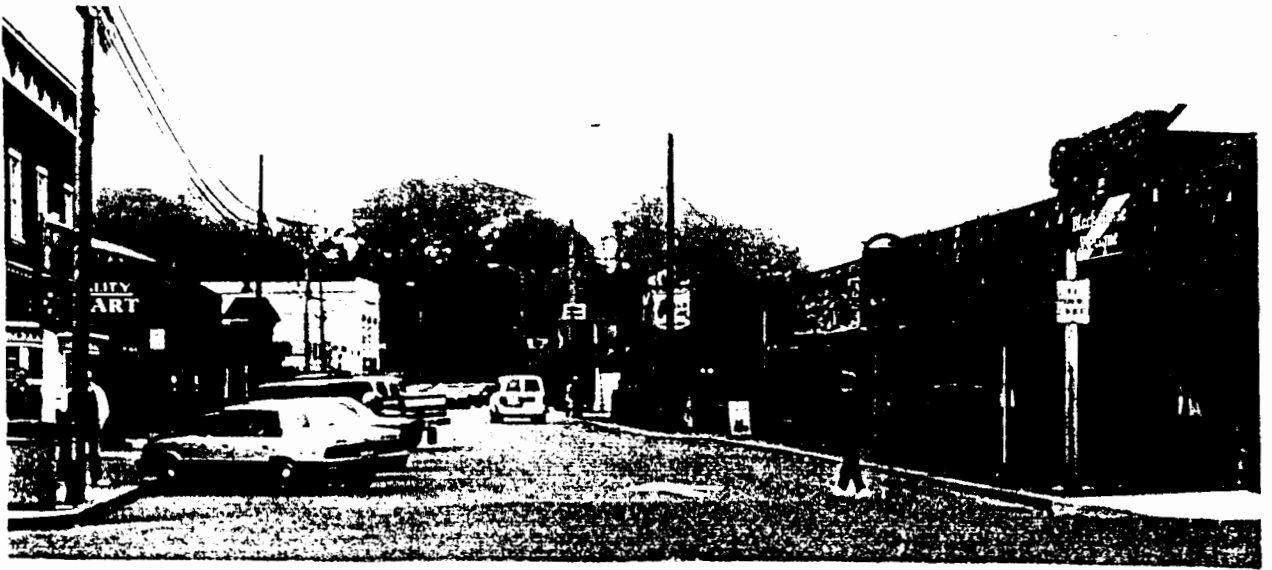


Figure 8: Second Street from the same vantage point as Figure 5, in 1993. The town's main commercial district has been refurbished with rough wooden exteriors, as well as a variety of overhangs, flower boxes, and other mnemonic elements. The street is occupied by book stores, clothing stores, gift shops, and restaurants.



Figure 9: Second Street from roughly the same vantage point as seen in Figure 6, in 1993. More traditional white painted façades have been replaced by the dark unpainted woods of industrial and some residential building styles from the past. Overhangs and flower boxes have come to dominate the roadside, while most textual signs have been removed. Now book stores, galleries, gift shops, restaurants, a Radio Shack, and a clothing store occupy the street.

1980s. By the time the tourist volumes continued their upward trend, Bandon's publicly-sponsored renovation was essentially complete.

During the mid 1980s, zoning was established for the Old Town area, in conjunction with the final stages of the redevelopment program. This zoning encourages builders to seek congruous, and 'historical' designs in their creations. However, this zoning only functions as suggested guidelines; as City Planning Director, Steve Gaber suggests,

"the zoning ordinance has no teeth in it... the business community was divided 50-50 on the issue, half thinking it would improve business and half viewing it as governmental interference... It was never written so that it could be enforced." (Gaber, 1993)

Nevertheless, the clear success of the Old Town model has resulted in the continued reproduction of these architectural styles within newly built and newly remodelled commercial structures.

During the mid 1980s, many proprietors not involved with the redevelopment project began to renovate their structures with the Old Town look. Derelict industrial structures, as well as some of the remaining World War II-era military buildings, were converted to commercial uses with the addition of a variety of built cues. (Figure 22) And, since the mid 1980s, Bandon has become the principal tourist destination of the southern Oregon coast, drawing regular visitors from west-central and southern Oregon and northern California, as well as summer traffic from elsewhere in California, Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia.

The redevelopment of Old Town, however, had broader repercussions than the mere establishment of a successful commercial district. During excavations performed for the downtown redevelopment project, workers unearthed a mass grave, containing the remains of tribe members killed in the 1856 massacre; the site was subsequently excavated by an archaeological team, stimulating a resurgent phase of local tribal identity. Though they had lost their official tribal status in the 1950s, descendants of the Na-So-Ma band were officially reinstated during the late 1980s as part

of the Confederated Tribes of the Coquille. Since this time, annual tribal events, such as the Confederated Tribes salmon bake, have become significant social gatherings for the entire town.

In the spring of 1988, the tribe reacquired a sacred site, located on several acres in the south jetty neighborhood, a short distance west of Old Town.³⁸ (Map 4) In 1993, the tribe initiated the construction of a tourist-oriented cultural center, a commercial retirement home, and - it is rumored - a small casino on a portion of this land. These structures - still under construction at the time of this writing - have been designed by architects from outside the area to function as commercial ventures, with the general public as their market. Interestingly, these buildings are primarily designed on New England coastal themes. Certainly, few if any of the local Native Americans have spent time on the coast of New England.

The fortunes of industrial Bandon have been mixed since the time of the redevelopment project. Since the late 1980s, federal authorities have restricted offshore salmon fishing, and during the 1992 and 1993 seasons, have closed down salmon fishing entirely, between Eureka, California to the south and Florence, Oregon to the north. Authorities have enforced these fishing season closures to protect the dwindling coastal salmon stocks. As in most Northwestern coastal watersheds, salmon runs up the Coquille River have continued to decline during recent decades. Still, offshore rockfish harvests and onshore shellfish harvests have remained relatively stable. Thus, seafood canning and the shipping of fresh fish continues within Bandon, but on a diminished scale.

Much of the forest land around Bandon has been logged over

³⁸This land was acquired by the tribe with the assistance of the author, who acted as an intermediary between the Confederated Tribes of the Coquille and officials from Bandon's City and Port governments, as part of a research project performed at the Oregon Institute of Marine Biology in Charleston. The land was acquired from the Port government, which had slated the land for condominium development, through the invocation of the Federal Native American Sacred Sites Protection Act. The Port government, learning of the potentially prohibitive costs of legal challenges to the sacred site designation, transferred the land's title to the Confederated Tribes.

once or twice since the onset of Euro-American settlement. Currently, much of Coos County is in a difficult position, in which most of the existing second- and third-growth timber is too young and small to warrant extensive cutting at this time. What little private timber is cut in the area is generally trucked to Coos Bay for shipping or, less often, processing. Thus, some of the Bandon area's mills now function sporadically on skeleton crews, while others have closed.

However, not all industries have suffered. Cranberry farming continues to be a growth industry, and area yields have continued to increase. Also, in the 1980s, following an extended closure, the Bandon Cheese factory reopened with new financial backers in the 1980s, and has steadily increased production since then. Also, after a period of active promotional attempts, retirees have become an increasing source of immigration to Bandon, mostly from California.

Thus, during the early 1990s, Bandon has continued to expand its tourist facilities. Old Town commercial development has continued to intensify, and expand from the old commercial core into the formerly residential and industrial margins of the town. The Old Town look is now being reproduced in Bandon outside of the Old Town district. And during this period, short-term rental revenues and tourist expenditures on goods and services have increased markedly. (McMakin, 1993)

8.4.3: The contemporary townscape of Bandon

Most of the diagnostic built elements only emerged during the town's renovation, appearing during 1982 and 1983, though there is clear evidence of built drift and fusion occurring within Bandon's Old Town district during the late 1970s. The availability of public financing appears to have facilitated the rapid adjustment of the townscape, in light of contemporary circumstances. Likewise, this funding appears to have facilitated the emergence of a heightened concern among proprietors for the general appearance of the town.

simplification

mnemonic

Though we see evidence of many of the diagnostic mnemonic cues during the 1970s, most have emerged only since Bandon's publicly-financed renovations during the early 1980s. Since the renovations of the early 1980s, Bandon's Old Town shopfronts have been increasingly adorned with flower boxes, and hanging flower pots. (Figures 9, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24) And in Bandon, proprietors have employed a device not seen in other towns in this study: benches consisting of two seats, separated by built-in flower boxes. (Figure 18) Indeed, the vast majority of commercial buildings utilize flower boxes in their built display. The use of flower boxes and pots in these locations emerged almost entirely since the town's renovation; flower boxes first appear in photos by the late 1970s, but were uncommon prior to the early 1980s.

The only public sector involvement in production of flower boxes was seen in the cases of a mid 1980s landscaped alleyway which the City constructed between First and Second Streets as a sort of miniature park, and on the exteriors of public buildings. In all other cases the use of these elements was the result of private initiative. (Gaber, 1993; McMakin, 1993)

Benches, other than the combination flower pot and bench, are also common features of Old Town shop fronts. Benches were not visible within photographs of Old Town prior to the renovation; proprietors appear to have placed benches with increasing frequency from 1983 to the present, with the first applications appearing in conjunction with the publicly-funded projects. (Figures 17, 18, 21, 23) Again, the only public sector production of benches was seen in the cases of the aforementioned mid 1980s landscaped alleyway project, an accompanying landscaped area across the street from the entrance to the alleyway, and on the exterior of public buildings.

Windssocks have appeared in Bandon since the late 1980s, though they are not as common here as they are in many of the northern Oregon and southern Washington beach towns. Proprietors have placed windssocks in front of gift shops and bed and breakfasts; residents have also placed windssocks in front of some

homes. (Figures 10, 16)



Figure 10: A common roadside application of a windsocks on the coast. This Jetty Road sign for the Lighthouse Bed and Breakfast, has flowers planted around on its base, and a single windsock attached to its top. (Map 4) The sign features the image of the Bandon lighthouse - a common image among businesses in Bandon - which lies across the Coquille River's mouth from this establishment.

Flags are yet another example of a post-renovation phenomenon within Old Town Bandon. As in other towns, flags are most commonly used in front of motels. However, flags - including the increasingly common 'Open' sign flag - are also found in front of some restaurants and gift shops. (Figures 15, 18)

Bandon's two arches, though not among the diagnostic criteria discussed in reference to other towns, warrant discussion here. (Figures 11, 12) The arches represent one form of mnemonic cue which is not found in most towns, though in most towns, primary points of entry are generally highlighted with some form of mnemonic cue. Bandon had an arch at the entry to its commercial district during its first period of auto-oriented tourism, prior to the 1936 fire. (Figure 11)

According to the public officials who commissioned Bandon's current arches, these features were simply built "to draw attention to the area." (McMakin, 1993) The current arch design, which deviates from but still reflects the design of the original arch, was proposed by a local resident in a City-sponsored design contest. The only criterion provided to the contest participants was that the arches were to be similar to the historic arch, but altered to fit the needs of contemporary Bandon. The result was

a far more rustic arch than the original, made of natural finished woods. (Figure 12)



Figure 11: Bandon's arch at the eastern approach to Second Street, at the town's first peak of commercial and tourist-oriented development, photographed in 1928. The arch was built in the early 1920s, - and according to local lore - blew down shortly before the fire. Photo courtesy Coquille River Pioneer Museum. (Negative #323)



Figure 12: One of Bandon's arches in 1993, built in the 1980s at the Highway entrance to Second Street, one block east of the location of the historical arch. This arch resembles the historic arch, but, like the rest of the town, now has a more rustic, wooden appearance. The arch is supported by vertical poles of different heights, which are lashed together with heavy rope, suggesting piers.

theme

Bandon exhibits all of the thematic sign elements which are used as diagnostic elements in this thesis, except tribal themes. Nature themes are perhaps the most common within Old Town Bandon. A great blue heron adorns the sign of one of Bandon's gift

shops. (Figure 14) Whales are gaining popularity as sign elements, and can be seen on the signs of the Gray Whale Gallery, in the south jetty neighborhood, a short distance west of Old Town. (Figure 15; Map 4) The City commissioned the painting of the town's sewage treatment tanks on the eastern edge of Old Town, after concerns were raised over the potential adverse visual effects of these tanks on tourism; these tanks were thus adorned with large images of gray whales, orcas and other sea life. (Figure 13; Map 5) In 1993, a restaurant by the name of the 'Orca Inn,' with images of orcas on its signs, located on the eastern edge of Old Town, on Highway 101. The growing popularity of images of orcas is ironic in this town, where one would almost certainly never see living orcas.



Figure 13: The City of Bandon sewage treatment facility, on the east end of Old Town. (Map 5) In 1993, these tanks were painted with large images of a gray whale, orcas, sharks, sea lions, and other sea life, at the request of local merchants. The images are large enough to be seen from portions of the Old Town commercial district. Thus a tourist disamenity has become a tourist amenity.

As suggested above, tribal themes are absent from the signs and buildings of Bandon save possibly the inclusion of an ambiguous image of Indians - with dress vaguely indicative of Great Plains tribes - within a mural depicting significant events and people of Bandon history on the eastern end of Old Town. Still, tribal elements may soon emerge within Bandon, correlating with the recent increase in the number of Northwest coast tribal-theme art and books within the town's shops. Further, at the time of writing, the Coquille tribal cultural center is under construction, and according to plans, will bear some elements which can be construed as 'tribal.' Certainly, with a heightened sense of tribal identity, and with a greater say in the development of central

Bandon, the Coquille band may yet infuse tribal themes into the local townscape.

Beach themes are present but rare within Old Town Bandon. One Old Town gift shop has a fanciful beach scene sign painted across its façade, and its exterior is detailed extensively with weathered driftwood. (Figure 21) Driftwood can be found in a few commercial cases as a landscaping element. The use of driftwood is not new to Bandon's residential building, but only entered into commercial applications following some experimental uses by hippy proprietors in the mid 1970s.

Maritime themes are seen in a few locations within Bandon's Old Town. Porthole style windows are common features on commercial buildings, though they are often placed in less conspicuous locations than other theme elements. Elsewhere, we see such maritime elements as a ship's wheel sign being utilized by seafood restaurants, a very common image in coastal towns. (Figure 22)

Historical themes are present in Old Town Bandon, but ironically, they are not particularly widespread in this supposedly historic district. On some signs, we see antiquated fonts on the textual elements of signs. (Figure 19) Further, a small number of structures have received historical façade elements; for example, an unadorned boxy commercial structure dating from immediately after the fire was adorned with Victorian commercial detailing such as trim pieces and 'Oregon barn' display windows in an 1983 remodelling project. (Figures 17, 5, 19)

drift

The use of rough, unpainted shingling in Bandon has drifted over time. Such shingles were not seen on Bandon's historic commercial architecture prior to the 1970s, but were instead found only on industrial structures, outbuildings, and the residential structures of the very poor. Now, such shingling is standard for the façades and overhangs of commercial buildings in Old Town. (Figures 8, 9, 14, 15, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24)

Some scholars attribute Bandon's extensive use of wood in building exteriors to the town's remoteness (Vogel, 1993, p.190); the commercial boom associated with growing ship traffic brought

new materials during the teens, 1920s and 1930s, and much of the clapboard on the faces of commercial structures was replaced by these materials. After the 1936 fire, painted, neatly aligned shingles enter into a small number of commercial exteriors, perhaps as a result of shortages in available exterior materials. Still, the shingling used today is of a very different appearance indeed. Now, rough unpainted shingling has become a regular indicator of commercial buildings; thus, for example, we see that the entry and approaches to the Gray Whale Gallery are adorned in rough shingles, unlike the more hidden residential half of the structure. (Figure 15)

Similarly, unpainted vertical board-and-batten exteriors were only found, historically, in industrial and farm buildings. This too has become a standard feature of Old Town commercial exteriors, since the late 1970s. (Figures 14, 20, 21, 23)

Now, the difference between contemporary commercial and historical industrial building styles are so similar that industrial structures can be remodeled for commercial uses with a minimum of exterior adaptations. (Figure 22)

Bandon is on the southern edge of the continuous zone of historical 'Oregon barn' residential building, and may arguably lie outside of this zone. Still, a few historical examples of the 'Oregon barn' style are visible in the area. And though it is not used to the extent found in towns to the north, the 'Oregon barn' hipped overhang is reflected in a small number of overhangs on commercial structures, though this overhang is no longer produced in residential settings. (Figure 16, 17, 23, 24)

fusion

Most of the cases of fusion in Bandon involve the combination of historic commercial architecture with residential and industrial elements. This has, of course, been facilitated by the fact that industrial and residential exterior elements were added to pre-existing structures in the more traditional commercial vernacular. Now we see residential overhangs, industrial board-and-batten exteriors, and residential or industrial, rough shinglework on these commercial buildings. (Figures 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23,

24)

In addition, Bandon displays an expanding New England influence, which has generally been applied in conjunction with local vernacular elements. Some structures reflecting Northwest vernacular elements are now adorned with New England influenced structural components and decorative shinglework. (Figure 24) Recent commercial developments, such as the Coquille tribal cultural center and retirement home, under construction at this writing, combine New England features with a more ubiquitous commercial vernacular.



Figure 14: The High Tide Gift Shop on Second Street. This façade replaced a white painted clapboard façade during the 1970s, when this building housed a tavern. The rough shingles and board-and-batten exterior were not found in commercial applications prior to this time. Note the blue heron image on the Shop's sign.



Figure 15: The Gray Whale Gallery, on Jetty Road. (Map 4) This building was adapted for commercial use during the 1980s, though the two-story portion functions as a private residence for the Gallery's owner. At this location, near the terminal point on the jetty access road, the side facing incoming traffic has been shingled, and small-paned windows have been added. Whale images adorn the Gallery's signs, while a carved gray whale stands at the corner of the building. An increasingly common 'OPEN' flag is placed on the road side of the building's face.



Figure 16: Grotto Gifts on Bandon's Second Street. The building is of early 1980s construction, and shows the influence of other historical commercial structures of the area, with painted vertical clapboard on its rectangular face. The overhang is something of a hybrid, wrapped around two sides of the building; the hipped construction may possibly be viewed as an 'Oregon barn' derivative. Note the windsocks hanging in a row on the eave, and the flower box. The gift shop's sign, around the corner from this photo angle, features an ocean scene with sea gulls.

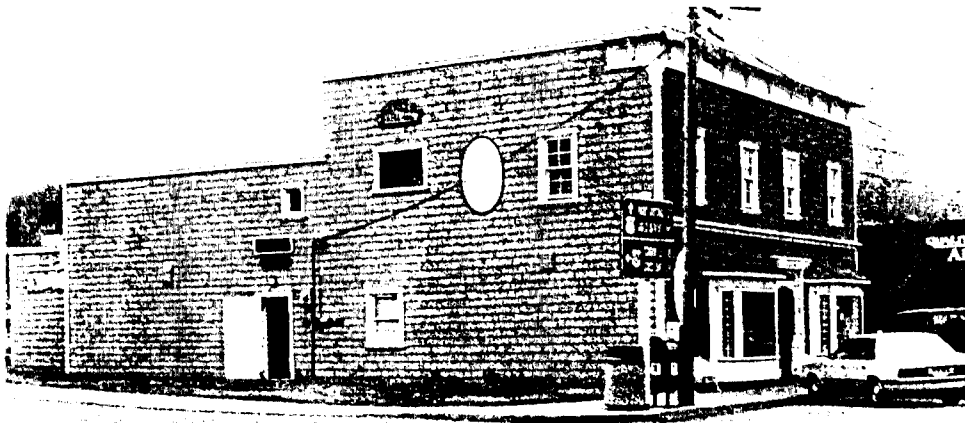


Figure 17: A Second Street clothing store and art shop, refurbished in 1983 as part of the Old Town redevelopment program. Prior to the refurbishing, none of the trim or detailing was present, and the structure was essentially an unadorned shingle box. (The front of this structure can be seen in the left foreground of the 1950s photo, Figure 5.) The display windows have shingled, hipped overhangs which are scale versions of 'Oregon barn' entry overhangs. The only precedent for this sort of window overhang - in the viewed photographic record prior to the 1980s redevelopment - was in the case of a small number of houses in photos dating from the 1890s. Benches have been placed on either side of this building's façade.

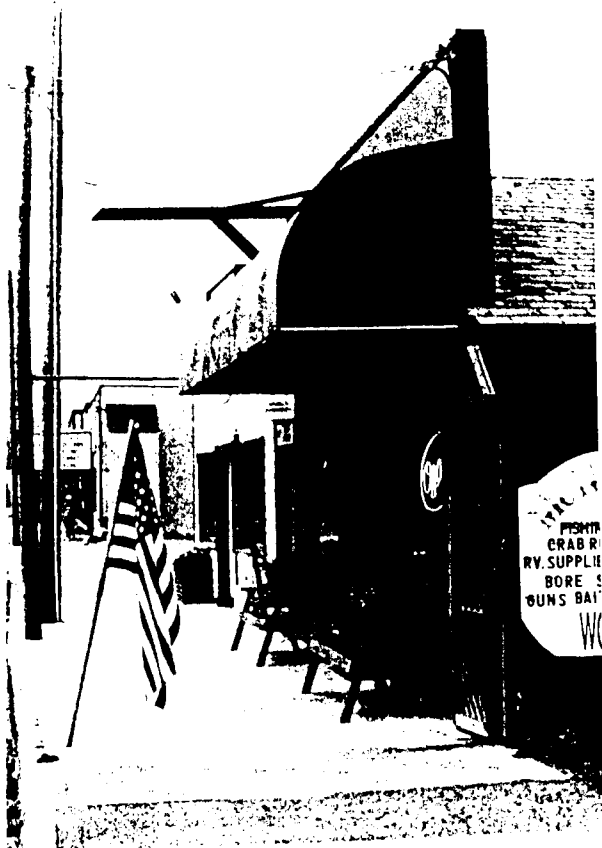


Figure 18: The Sea Star Bistro on Second Street. This late 1980s business occupies a refurbished building which is somewhat more true to historical Bandon commercial structures, with its rectangular façade and cloth awning. The Bistro signs feature a stylized sea star in cook's garb. The benches in front of the Bistro are the combined bench-flower box type, not found elsewhere in this survey. Note also the flower box in the background, and the temporary flag placement.



Figure 19: The Minute Cafe on Second Street. The façade is a 1980s addition, while the original building dates from the 1940s. Prior to the 1980s renovation, the building had a white painted rectangular façade with a suspended rectangular overhang. This façade features unpainted clapboard and rough shingles, while the overhang - though not an 'Oregon barn' style - is in a sloped style, with three-dimensional faces. This style lacks commercial precedents on the coast, but bears a remote resemblance to residential overhang styles. Note the flower box, and the use of an antiquated font on the sign text.



Figure 20: The Continuum Center Plaza on Second Street. The Continuum Center emerged in the early 1980s as a new-age exhibit and book store. Now the Plaza features an expanded book store, gift shop, and art gallery. While the refurbished post-fire structure has a painted clapboard exterior, the street-level front of the building is adorned with unfinished batten-and-board exterior, while the hipped overhang is clad in rough shingles. This placement around only the street-level face of the building suggests an expressive function of these materials. Note the flower boxes.

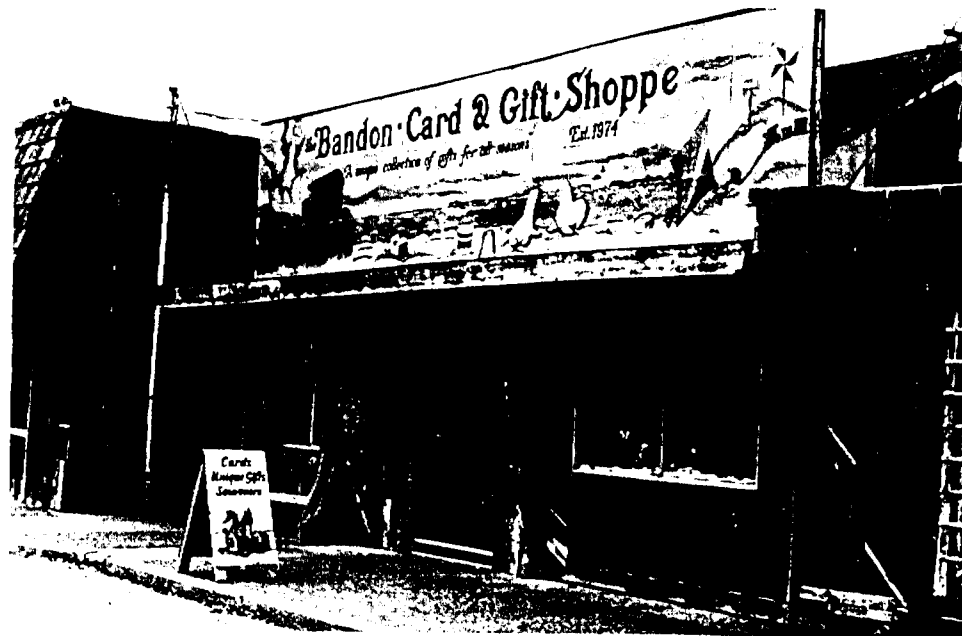


Figure 21: The Bandon Card and Gift Shoppe on Second Street. This structure housed a hardware store until 1974. Prior to the public renovation program in the early 1980s, this structure had a white, painted rectangular façade, and a textual sign on its exterior. The structure now features a batten-and-board exterior, rough driftwood overhang supports and bench, flower boxes built into the entrance alcove, and a fanciful beach scene painted across the façade.



Figure 22: The entrance of the Old Town Mall on Chicago Street, a former fish processing facility and warehouse which was converted to shop space in the 1980s. As Bandon's old industrial look has come to be its new tourist look, very few changes were required to make this structure fit. Signs with antiquated text, and a few signs with marine themes, such as the ship's wheel seen here were added, while flower pots were placed along the street faces of the structure, and cloth awnings were placed over windows. The interior has also not been radically changed, with the old, worn wooden floors and pulley joists still visible among the partitioned shop spaces.

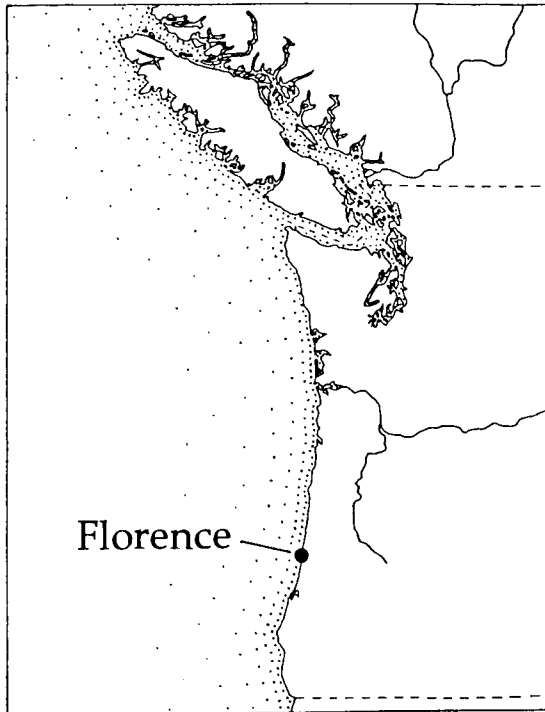


Figure 23: Harp's Restaurant on Chicago Street, in a cinder-block building with post-renovation era wooden façade. The top portion of the façade features exaggerated board-and-batten, with a steep, hipped overhang - possibly an 'Oregon barn' influence. The lower portion of the façade features unpainted clapboard, and - around the doorway - a collection of unusual wood shapes fit together in a collage. A bench and flower pots line the face of the building, extending off the right side of the photo. The sign features a stylized wave.

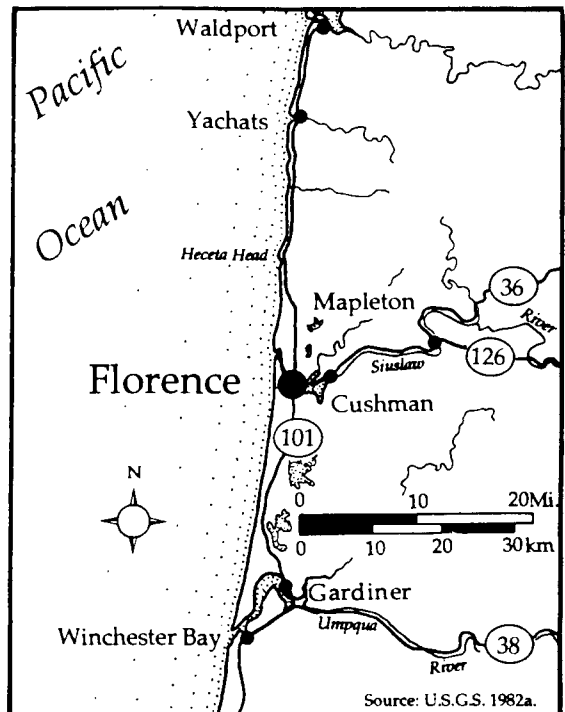
Figure 24: A post-renovation building with complex precedents, on Second Street. The hipped roof façades and irregularly shingled overhangs echo local 'Oregon barn' styles of residential building. Portions of the rough board exterior more resemble local industrial building, while other sections feature unpainted commercial clapboard. The façade's structure as well as much of the detailing, including areas of decorative shingling and painted trim, suggests a New England coastal influence. Residents consistently claim that the building was built to suggest both the look of a boat and the look of buildings of the New England coast; it seems likely, based upon these responses, that this structure was described thusly by its promoters or architects, though this has not been confirmed. A few inconspicuous port-hole windows provide the only clear evidence of a maritime theme. Benches and flower pots line the side of the building, while the large clock appears to perform a mnemonic function as well.



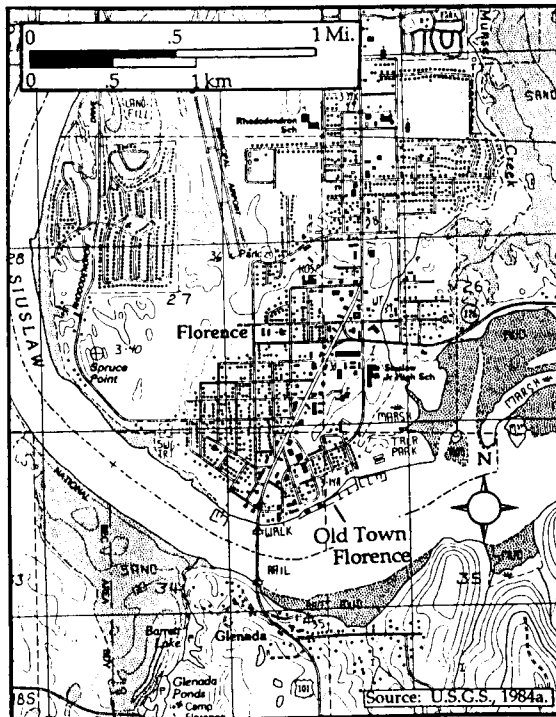
Florence, Oregon: Situation and Site



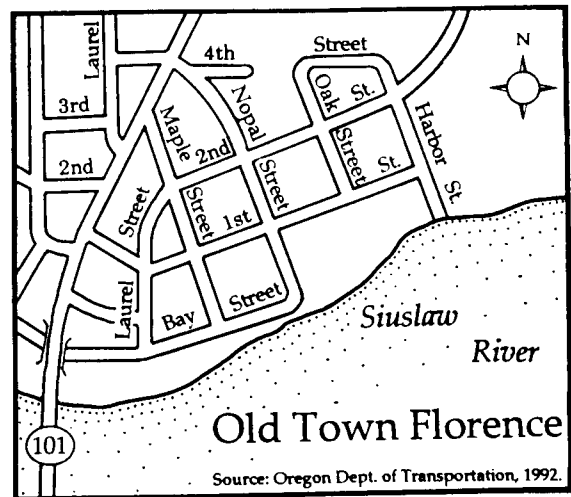
Map 6



Map 7



Map 8



(not to scale)

Map 9

8.5: Florence, Oregon

Along Highway 126, where the tumbling Siuslaw turns to glassy tidewater, FOR SALE signs are posted in front yards with increasing frequency. (Map 7) This is not entirely unexpected - the central Oregon coast has become one of the hottest spots for real estate sales in the region. But these are not the houses that the real estate agents seek, not the houses that receive offers of free appraisals in the mail. These are ranch homes that housed families, and the weathered shacks of the old-timers. These people have been hit by a peculiar -double blow: their jobs have disappeared as the mills have closed, and their property taxes have exhibited explosive growth, as a demand for recreational land has brought assessed property values to new highs.

Arriving in Old Town Florence, the scenery provides a polished pastel contrast to the dingy grey of rural buildings. A crowd of tourists, clad in neon windbreakers, gather around a haggard collection of fishermen and take pictures. The fishermen, unloading fish from their boat to a dock-side processing facility, are outnumbered by their audience. Patrons at Mo's Restaurant sip their coffee and look through their port-side windows at the spectacle. Tourists, browsing among trinket shops tucked into refurbished historical buildings, reach the sharp edge of Old Town and, before doubling back, hover uncomfortably at the edge of a district of unretouched auto and boat motor repair shops before doubling back.

Florence, Oregon provides us with an example of an organized built response to changing circumstances with a minimum of public-sector involvement. Old Town has emerged from the remains of industrial Florence in a way which other towns attempt to emulate. Old Town occupies the historic commercial core of Florence, on the tidewater north bank of the Siuslaw River, where the forests of the coastal mountains give way to a narrow band of dunes. (Maps 8, 9)

8.5.1: A brief history of Florence

As early as 1826, the Hudson Bay Company had explored the land around Florence, and maintained a minor presence in the area from

Fort Umpqua, located at the mouth of the Umpqua River a few miles to the south of present-day Florence. (Map 7)

In 1855 the U.S. government designated the site of present day Florence and surrounding lands as a reservation for the Siuslaw Indian band. In response to a rapid decline in tribal population, and a growing demand for land for white settlement, the federal government chose to dissolve the reservation in 1876. Shortly thereafter, numerous settlers arrived in the area, establishing minor farmsteads and small fishing operations along the tidelands of the lower Siuslaw River.

The Florence townsite was founded in 1893. With land made readily available to potential employers, Florence immediately became the site of a number of small sawmills and fish canneries. The bulk of this early phase of industrialization resulted from the entrepreneurial efforts of two local families, the Hurds, who had moved to the area in 1882, and the Kyles, who had moved to the area in 1884. These two families facilitated the first period of significant population growth within the town. They imported Chinese labor from Astoria for cannery operations, and Euro-American labor - most from Scandinavia, the American East and the Upper-Midwest - for lumber mill operations. These minor empires sent their goods - primarily dimensional lumber and canned salmon - on fully loaded ships through the Siuslaw's new jetties to tidewater settlements between San Francisco and the Puget Sound, and occasionally to ports in Asia.

By the turn of the century, Florence had land transportation links to larger centers of population on the coast and in the interior. A coach road was established inland to Eugene at this time, connecting Florence with the southern end of the Willamette Valley along the present route of Highway 36. (Map 7) Residents maintained a ferry to the town of Glenada on the south bank of the Siuslaw, from which one could travel along the beach to the south, allowing travel beyond the mouth of the Umpqua River to the towns on Coos Bay. (Maps 8, 7, 1) Though accounts vary, the Siuslaw tribe appears to have been dissolved by this time, with its handful of remaining members married into white families, or relocated within

the multi-tribal Siletz reservation some 60 miles (96 km.) to the north. (Map 1)

A fire in 1910 levelled most of Florence's waterfront buildings and gutted the town's industrial core. Though most of the burned areas were promptly rebuilt, the growth following this period was not consistent. Significantly, a rail line completed in 1914 connected the lower Siuslaw to the Willamette Valley, but bypassed Florence by several miles, crossing the Siuslaw River upstream in the town of Cushman. (Map 7) Despite a net economic benefit to the area, this rail placement brought about a minor reduction in port functions associated with domestic freight, and caused a minor migration of businesses and residents from Florence to nearby towns along the rail line. By this time, the majority of the Chinese laborers had left the area, while many of the Euro-American laborers had established permanent homes. (Figure 25)

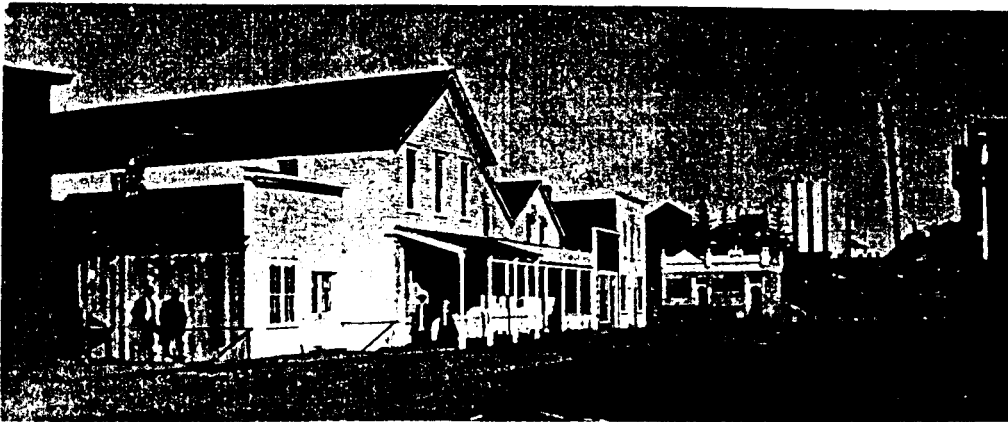


Figure 25: Florence's main street commercial district (Front Street, later renamed Bay Street) in 1911; this is the north side of the street, the side which was not consumed in the 1910 fire.³⁹ Painted clapboard façades without overhangs mark commercial structures. Hotels are larger front-gabled structures with white painted clapboard exteriors and sloped rectangular overhangs, lacking rectangular façades. A newly-constructed real estate office and bank is visible in the background in a somewhat more ornate style. (cf. Figure 26) Note the lack of signs and other mnemonic embellishments. Note also the fire-damaged mill in the background. Photo courtesy Siuslaw Pioneer Museum.

The 1920s marked the last period of rapid industrial growth

³⁹Unless otherwise indicated, photographed locations in Florence can be found on the map of Old Town Florence, Map 9.

in Florence, as fish and timber processing facilities continued to expand. In addition, this period marked the onset of a minor phase of tourism development, facilitated in part by improvements on the roads leading to the Willamette Valley. By 1932 the owners of the Sea Lion Caves site near Heceta Head, north of town, had built observation facilities in anticipation of an influx of tourists which didn't fully materialize for two more decades. (Map 7)

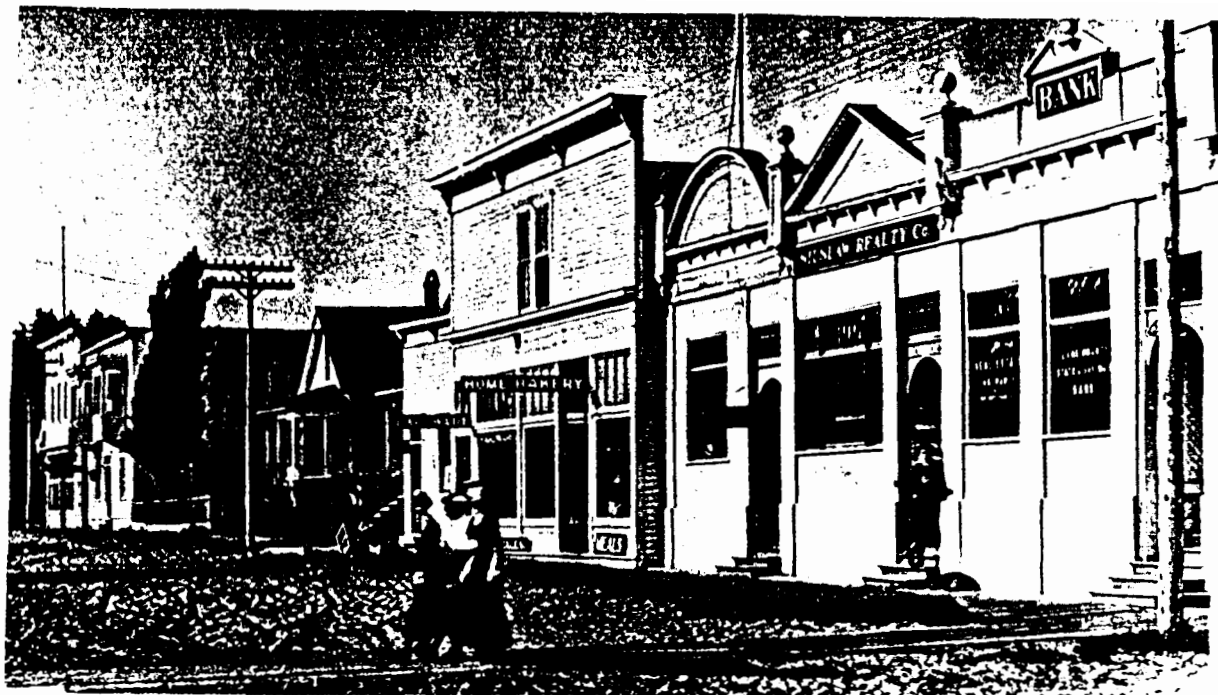


Figure 26: Maple Street in 1920, looking north from the intersection with Florence's main street - today's Bay Street. Commercial buildings exhibit a regular pattern of rectangular façades with painted clapboard. The realty office and bank building, like many of their time in the region, is more ornate than all other commercial structures in the town, likely to draw the attention of the newly arrived settlers on whom these businesses depended. Arguably, this trend toward highly visible real estate offices continues within the region. Some two-story apartment structures are visible in the background, while an 'Oregon barn' house with a partially enclosed entryway stands at the edge of the commercial district. Textual elements have increased since photos from before the teens; diagnostic elements are absent.

In 1934, a second major fire destroyed the eastern half of Florence's industrial waterfront. In part because of the onset of the Depression, many of the businesses affected by the fire ceased operations at this time, and much of the waterfront industrial sector was never fully rebuilt. However, in 1936, Work Projects Administration workers tied Florence into a continuous

coastal highway, completing the construction of a bridge over the Siuslaw River, and widening and paving a new roadway over Heceta Head to the north of town. (Map 8, 9) Shortly thereafter, we see the first widespread emergence of tourist-oriented facilities in Florence, as well as the first widespread proliferation of mnemonic devices, primarily textual signs. (cf. Figures 27, 28)



Figure 27: Florence's main street - Bay Street - in 1929. The buildings on the right primarily consist of structures built after the 1910 fire. Painted clapboard exteriors are visible on commercial structures, and rectangular overhangs are still used in a limited number of cases. A few textual signs have been added. Visible businesses include a general store, a meat market, a hotel, a post office, a service station, a restaurant, and a hardware and appliance store. Photo courtesy Siuslaw Pioneer Museum.

During World War II, a minor military presence in the area brought additional population to the Florence area, and temporarily offset population losses associated with the industrial decline of the 1930s. At the close of the War, local military bases were disbanded, and the town languished. Several nearby mills and all remaining canneries ceased operations, leaving only a small fishery, which supplied fresh fish by truck to markets within the region.

Thus, as was the case in Bandon, the post-War history of Florence was characterized by reduced expectations for resources industries, and the gradual increase of tourist traffic on Highway

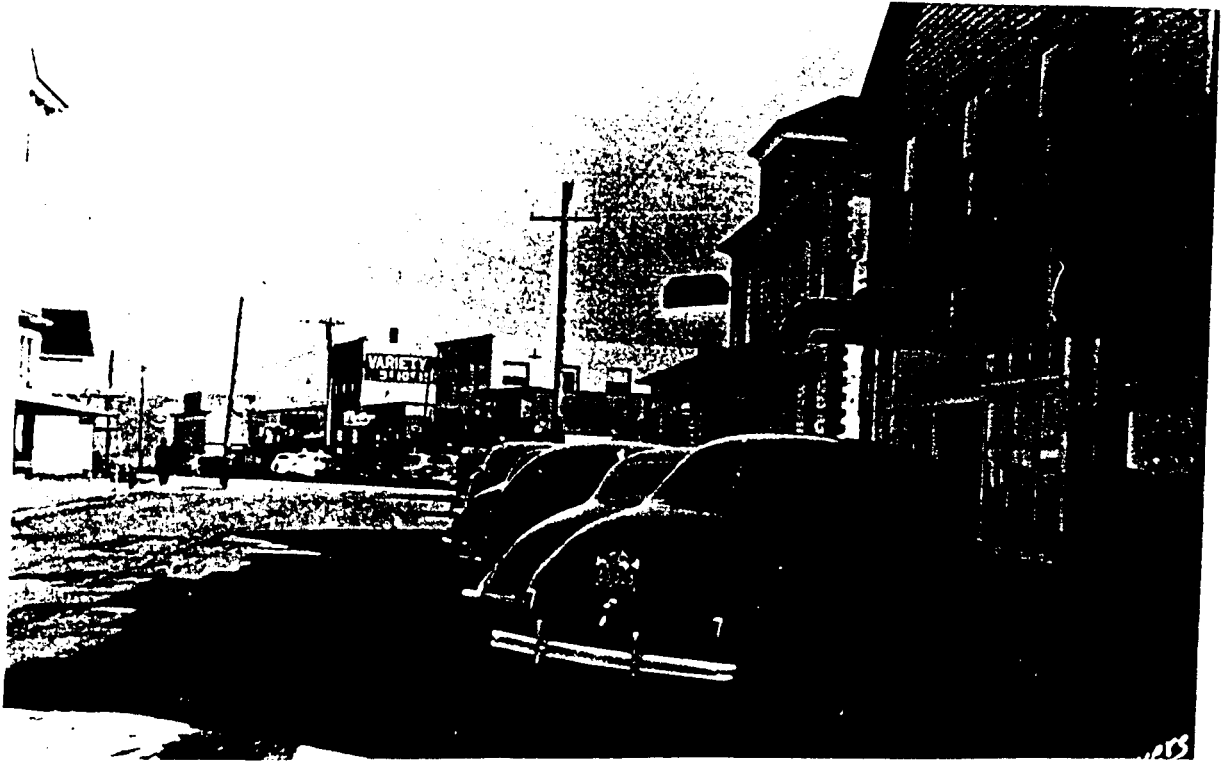


Figure 28: Florence's Bay Street in 1943, from roughly the same vantage point as in Figure 27. The town's historical buildings, with their white clapboard façades, were not substantially altered at this time. More elaborate textual signs have been added to some structures. In addition, we see one of only two cases identified in my research of a pre-1960s application of an 'Oregon barn' overhang within a non-residential setting; in this case, such an overhang lies over the enclosed entryway of a hotel, the white clapboard-clad building with the third story dormer, on the right side of the photo. The business mix suggests the emergence of a minor tourist presence, with most historical functions present, accompanied most notably by new ice cream merchants. The town's brief period of wartime prosperity is evidenced by the relatively new cars which line the street. Photo courtesy Siuslaw Pioneer Museum.

101. With the road improvements of the late 1930s, and the mill automation of the 1940s and 1950s, the timber industry activity of the central Oregon coast was concentrated in much larger facilities, such as the massive Gardiner and Toledo mills, while labor requirements declined. (Maps 7 and 1, respectively) Those milling activities that remained in the Florence area continued on a reduced scale, with the center of activity moving up the Siuslaw River toward Mapleton; this placed the center of woodmill activity closer to the raw materials of the Siuslaw National Forest, and closer to markets by inland road and rail. (Map 7)

Florence did not immediately succeed as a tourist destination,

but local merchants sought to benefit from summer tourists in the face of declining local fortunes. Thus, during the 1950s, strip development, containing restaurants, general stores, and gift shops, extended north of the town's core along Highway 101, leaving the historical commercial core and the waterfront industrial area relatively untouched. (Map 8) Indeed, with the absence of renewed industry within central Florence during the 1950s and 1960s, much of the building stock of the downtown area stood vacant.

And as in Bandon, a small group of hippy artisans - originating both locally and elsewhere - occupied vacated buildings in Florence's downtown during the late 1960s and early 1970s, and established small tourist-oriented shops in this derelict commercial district. While infusing life into the old town core, these people experimentally resuscitated local folk wood traditions, applying the rough board exteriors and 'Oregon barn' overhangs of industrial and residential buildings to a number of dilapidated commercial buildings. Nonetheless, by the mid 1970s, many of the downtown buildings - most of these dating from the earliest days of downtown Florence - had been scheduled for demolition.

8.5.2: The emergence of a new 'Old Town'

The late 1970s marked the beginning of the first major post-industrial renovations of Florence's downtown buildings, focussed on Bay Street, the town's main street prior to the construction of Highway 101. (Map 9) These renovations were entirely the result of private initiative. All recountings of this time suggest that each project was the result of locals as well as recent immigrants seeing the potential of the area for tourism development. Potential was all that these people saw in Florence, however, for at this time Florence was not an established tourist destination, and the demand for local tourist facilities was not sufficient to warrant extensive development projects. Evidence suggests that the redevelopment of individual structures at this time was primarily initiated and funded by 'outside' sources, particularly recent immigrants from California, who purchased these buildings as

investments. (Hazen, 1993; Quay, 1993; Siuslaw News, 1975; Bacon, 1977, 1974)

However, unlike in Bandon, these renovation projects were designed to emphasize the look of the historic town, and many of the folk embellishments raised by the hippies were razed by the investors. Still, the look of the town was not wholly true to historic built form. And in many cases the residential and industrial themes persisted within redeveloped structures. After press coverage of the town's project, the tourists began to arrive in Old Town. (Graph 3, Appendix)

During the late 1970s, the City government recognized the apparent success of the historical theme in Old Town Florence, and established zoning ordinances for this and other portions of the town. The ordinances for the Old Town district, substantively unchanged since their creation, require only a loosely defined continuity of construction, with no single period or theme articulated as the basis for this continuity.⁴⁰

Most Florence residents agree on the point that 1979 and 1980 were pivotal years for the town; as John Quay, the director of the local historical society describes it, "1980 was the year people began to realize that the industries were going for good. They began to pay more attention to tourist development and they looked into how they could bring in more retired people." (Quay, 1993) Thus, Florence was ushered into a period of intensified renovation and building, a decade that was characterized, as one reporter put it, by "a rapid change in the business mix, and the construction of new types of façades, based on old themes." (Cowan, 1992)

Thus the 1980s became a decade of a much broader experimental rebuilding of the Old Town district, with many of the town's long-time merchants following the lead of the first wave of renovations.

⁴⁰In addition, these ordinances limit height and lot coverage of downtown structures, and broadly limit the size and materials of signs, though other aesthetic criteria for building exteriors are not defined. A design review board reviews all major projects in the Old Town area, but lack the administrative mandate to address much more than the details of a project, unless the project generates public controversy. (Hazen, 1993)

Merchants sought to mimic the successes of the original renovators, although they were constrained by limited resources, and, possibly, much deeper ties to the region than the outside investors. Thus historical and vernacular themes appeared in an ever-widening range of applications, in order to revitalize the fortunes of individual businesses.

During the late 1980s and the early 1990s, the resource industries of the Florence area have hit new lows. Environmental legislation for public lands, which limit harvests on the Siuslaw National Forest surrounding the town, has had a direct and deadening impact upon the wood products industry of the Florence area. Court injunctions on logging in this forest had begun in 1984, in order to provide protection for dwindling salmon runs, and the Northern spotted owl; shortly thereafter, mills began to close. By the summer of 1993, the last of the area's large mills was permanently closed- the Davidson Industries lumber mill on the Siuslaw River, roughly ten miles east of Florence.⁴¹ (Griffith, 1993)

Florence still has a small fresh fishery which caters primarily to the Willamette Valley market. However, federal directives aimed at the restoration of coastal salmon stocks have diminished offshore salmon fishing since 1988 and 1989; in the popular fishing grounds which extend from Florence to south of Eureka, California, the season was entirely closed during 1992 and 1993.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s much of the old downtown core was reconfigured into exclusively tourist-oriented uses, including specialty retail outlets and specialty restaurants. Commercial functions extended into older residential sections of town on the periphery of the historic commercial district, and some older residences were converted into shops. (Figure 37) Not surprisingly, the placement of a shop in older 'Oregon barn'

⁴¹Though the popular lore of the Northwest coast pins primary responsibility for local economic downturns on efforts to save the Northern Spotted Owl (*Strix occidentalis caurina*), only the small number of towns which were dependent upon federal forests for timber supplies have a strong basis for these claims.

residential structures is no longer an incongruous form of display. This commercial district, with its neo-historical look is still ringed by machine shops and blue-collar homes; these industrial and residential districts are perhaps more coherent with the historical look of Florence than the Old Town district.

Florence's Old Town is now widely regarded as a successful experiment in tourism development, esteemed by locals and visitors alike. Because of the town's success - the apparent appeal of its adapted look to both tourists and locals - the built features of Old Town Florence are now openly emulated within other communities. And during 1993, Florence's City Planner hosted representatives of other Oregon coast towns, less advanced in their progress toward a tourist-based economy, who hope to emulate the success of Florence by recreating built elements similar to those of Florence within their own communities. (Hazen, 1993) City Planner, Tim Hazen is pleased by the town's spontaneous success:

"We're pretty lucky here in Florence. You have so many [city governments] trying to stimulate this sort of thing, and here it just happened... through independent efforts and the initiative of local people." (Hazen, 1993)

Florence's success is not confined to the Old Town district. During the early 1990s, developers also vied for large pieces of land in the stabilized dunes some distance north of town, and several have built large resort communities on these properties. Florence's new developments are much more up-scale than could have been imagined only a decade ago. These developments, for example, include the internationally-marketed Sandpines resort community, which boasts 'luxury' detached homes built around a 'celebrity-designed,' 'world-class' golf course.

Planners now predict a doubling of Florence's population within the next two decades, most of these numbers resulting from the immigration of retired people. (Hazen, 1993) Both developers and planners will admit that the success of the Old Town district has played a key role in the town's rapid turnaround, radically adjusting the responses of outsiders to this newly old place. Old

Town, modified to invoke elements of the region's history and environment for external display, is now itself invoked in the promotional literature for nearby resorts, residential developments, and businesses for a similar effect.

8.5.3: The contemporary townscape of Florence

The diagnostic pidginization variables emerge first in the mid 1970s, but most do not appear until the 1980s. Indeed, much new development has occurred during the early 1990s, and the use of many of these features has intensified.

simplification

mnemonic

With the exception of the benches and flowers contained within a small city park in the middle of town, all diagnostic mnemonic elements have been constructed as the result of private initiative. (Hazen, 1993) Flower boxes and hanging planters are consistently seen at the entryways of tourist-oriented Florence businesses. These flowers do not appear regularly in the photographic record until the 1980s. During the past 15 years almost all tourist-oriented businesses have employed entryway flower boxes, including confectioners, gift stores, hotels, cafes, restaurants, and galleries. (Figures 30, 31, 34, 37, 38, 40)

Proprietors have also placed benches and chairs at entryways of a substantial number of commercial structures within the Old Town area. Benches also appear to have emerged since the first phase of redevelopments during the 1970s, though they did not become common until the late 1980s. During the last 10 years, cafes, gift stores, ice cream shops, galleries, and confectioners have added benches to their exteriors. (Figures 30, 32, 38, 40)

Windssocks are seen within a variety of applications, and are more common here than in any of the other five towns discussed in this thesis. Windssocks are not visible in photos prior to the 1980s. Windssocks can, of course, be seen around a local kite and windssock store. And in Old Town, windssocks can be seen along the eaves of a combination ice cream and tee shirt shop, along the

eaves of a mini-mall containing gallery, confectioners, and gift store, and suspended on a post above a fishing charter office. (Figures 38, 39)

Flags are frequently part of the display of commercial buildings in Old Town Florence, as well as along Highway 101. Flags do not appear within photographs of the Old Town area prior to the 1980s. As elsewhere, flags are most commonly used by hotels, but in Florence, flags are not limited to this application, appearing inconsistently on cafes and gift stores. (Figures 29, 30, 31)

thematic

Nature themes are common in Florence, though they are not as common as found in the other towns in this thesis which abut the open ocean. Gray whales appear on the signs for an Old Town gallery, and on a charter boat office. An image of a belted kingfisher appears on the sign of a Bay Street gift shop. A Blue Heron Gallery stands on Bay Street, but lacks any heron motifs on signs visible from the street. The International C Food Market, a restaurant and seafood shop on piers extending from Bay Street, features a mural of a seascape on the street face wall, with images of a swimming orca, octopus, and salmon; the pre-mural logo of the business - featuring images of a crab, salmon and shellfish, all looking very dead - appears on the signs on other exterior walls. In addition, a forested river scene is painted on the large sign of the Nature's Way gift shop. (Figure 35)

Tribal themes are not present within Old Town Florence. However, a historically accurate Haida totem pole was placed at the entry of a pre-existing Indian theme park on the northern edge of town during the early 1990s. (Figure 36) And beach themes, as defined in this thesis, are rare. One possible beach theme can be seen in the sign of a Bay Street clothing store, which features a wave image.

Maritime themes are relatively common within all tourist-oriented commercial districts in Florence. Mo's Restaurant, for example, features nets, hanging fishing floats, porthole windows, and a mural including fishing boats on its street face, on the east

end of Bay Street. The Beachcomber's Restaurant, on Bay Street, features a sign with the image of docked fishing boats. Much evidence of maritime themes can be seen in the case of images of sailing ships on signs, which could be construed as evidence of a historical maritime theme. Also on Bay Street, clipper ship images are used on the signs of the Traveler's Cove restaurant, as well as a gallery and a boutique.

Historical themes are more common within Old Town Florence than the other thematic categories. Indeed, the entire Old Town area could be argued to be a historical thematic redevelopment. Images of antiquated objects appear with greater frequency on Florence signs, than found elsewhere; an antique store's sign features an image of an antique pocket watch, while the sign of a restaurant, a boutique, and a galley features images of clipper ships. (Figure 34) In addition, many signs in the Old Town district feature antiquated font styles on textual elements.

drift

Perhaps more than any other town in this thesis Florence has many commercial buildings which do not look significantly different from the commercial buildings of 75 years ago. This is in no small part the result of attempts to refurbish each building with a historically congruent look. Unlike the case in many other towns on the Oregon coast, the historical renovation of the old commercial core has relegated many elements which exhibit drift to the urban strip along Highway 101. Still, evidence of drift in built expression is widespread on Bay Street.

Here, prior to the emergence of tourism, the 'Oregon barn' style appears to have had an exclusively residential function. (Figure 26) Now, the 'Oregon barn' look is widespread in commercial building. Simultaneously, we see refurbished 'Oregon barn' style resource-era residences remodeled to become shops. (Figure 37) We also see the 'Oregon barn' overhang applied, in isolation from the front-gabled one-story building, in a variety of commercial contexts. In one Bay Street case, the overhang is diminished in size and, without protective value, functions primarily as an expressive element. (Figure 32) Elsewhere, we see

what appears to be an 'Oregon barn' overhang, expanded to occupy the length of a mini-mall commercial façade. (Figure 38)

A more subtle point can be made regarding the drift in the use of the historical western commercial vernacular, with its rectangular façade. We can see that the commercial architecture used to house (and arguably *indicate*) sundry local goods and services in the historical photos is now used for tourist-oriented specialty shops. (for example, Figures 26, 34) Based on photos from this and other towns during early phases of tourist development, we can assume that historically, tourist-oriented specialty commercial functions would not have been indicated by plain, wooden commercial façades. (cf. Figures 2 and 3 of Bandon) And, certainly, the hardware shops and grocery stores of contemporary Florence do not use the old western façades. Thus, the elements which once indicated general commercial functions now indicate exclusively tourist-oriented specialty commercial functions.

Also, as in Bandon, we see evidence of the drifting use of exterior elements. Thus, we see the use of rough, unpainted shingles - once a primarily industrial feature - being reproduced for commercial functions. (Figure 32)

And, of course, the totem pole on the north end of town can be construed as an element which has experienced a change in use - albeit an element from elsewhere within the region. (Figure 36) This tribal element with its pre-contact history of use as a medium of expression, indicating clan status and identity, now functions as a commercial mnemonic feature.

fusion

Florence exhibits an increasing degree of built fusion since the late 1980s, though evidence of certain types of fusion dates from the experimental refurbishings of the 1970s. Again, more structures with hybridized built styles can be seen on the urban strip along Highway 101 than in the Old Town core, conceivably because of fewer constraints on deviation from historical motifs outside of the Old Town district.

One type of hybrid seen in Old Town involves the fusion of New

England themes with the local vernacular. In one case, we see a hair salon on Bay Street which occupies a recently renovated western commercial structure with façade; the structure has been clad in neatly aligned, unpainted shingles, and painted trim with small-paned windows which suggest a New England influence, while simultaneously gaining a residential 'Oregon barn' overhang over a new, side dormer window. (Figure 40) This trend is also quite clear on the Highway 101 urban strip of Florence.

Another building, built in 1993, features ornamental painted shingles, a corner turret, and a circular entryway design, reminiscent of Northeast coast commercial buildings, while such elements as the roofline suggest a Northwestern residential influence. (Figure 29) The hybrid appears to have achieved an appropriate balance; according to John Quay, Director of the Siuslaw Valley Museum, and head of an Old Town historic building tour program, the new building:

"has some local precedents... but I see more of a Cape Cod influence in it. I originally objected to the building... but I kind of like how it turned out. It fits into the town pretty well." (Quay, 1993)

Florence also displays many examples of combined residential, industrial, and commercial vernacular elements. In a number of cases dating from the 1980s and 1990s, we see 'Oregon barn' residential overhangs on rectangular commercial façades. (Figure 32, 38) In the case of a local coffee shop, we see the use of rough, unpainted shingle exterior and a corrugated metal overhang - suggesting an industrial influence - in a 1980s renovation of a historical commercial structure with rectangular façade. (Figure 32) As suggested above, there were more examples of this type of fusion prior to the more extensive renovations of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Here, too, many examples are found on the urban strip along Highway 101, with new structures featuring many variations on fused themes; in the last two years, for example, the strip has gained a few 'Oregon barn' buildings, fused side-by-side with western commercial buildings, featuring rectangular façades and New England

shingling and detailing.

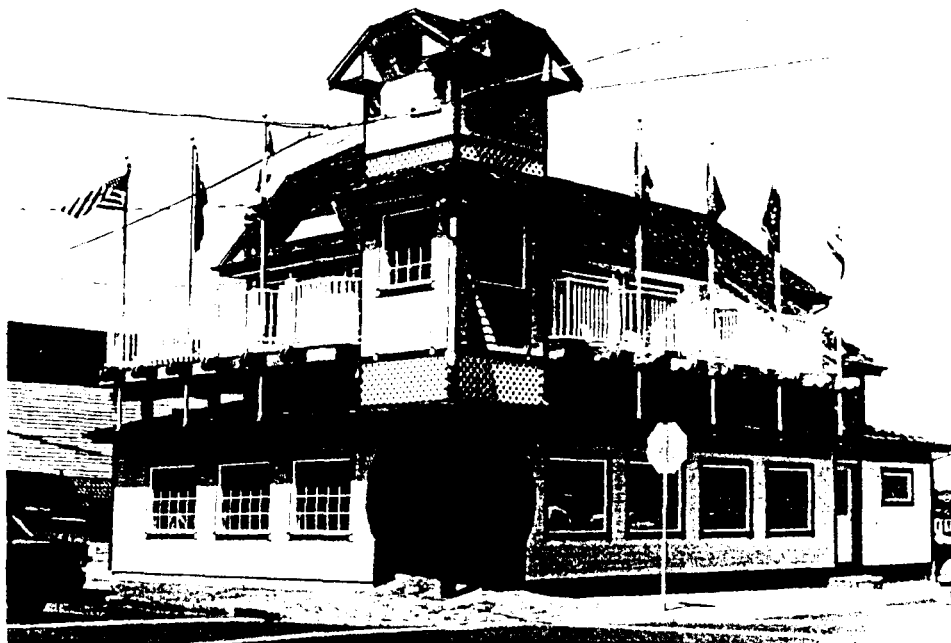


Figure 29: A restaurant and hotel structure on Bay Street, built in 1993. This building shows a complex range of influences. Much of the design, as suggested by local museum director, John Quay, reflects an Atlantic coastal influence, with ornamental painted shingles, the corner turret, and the entryway design. Such elements as the roofline, with its hip-on-gable construction, hint historical residences of the Florence area. The carved posts extending from the deck may possibly be interpreted as a Northwest coast tribal influence. Flag poles have been built into the structure, and Canadian, U.S., and various state flags fly in rows along the building's edges.



Figure 30: A gift shop and cafe on Florence's Bay Street, of 1980s construction. The structure shows a strong 'Oregon barn' influence, with its front-gabled, low-pitched roof and characteristic hipped overhang. The painted support posts and spindle work suggest the influence of higher-style Victorian residential structures, and could be viewed as a New England influence. Note the flower boxes and hanging flower pots, the flag, the free-standing chairs, and - under the overhang - the benches.



Figure 31: The Kyle Building on Bay Street, currently occupied by a restaurant and hotel. Originally built in the 1890s, this building housed a general store for most of its first 50 years. After housing an antiques store during the 1960s, the building was slated for demolition in the 1970s. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the building was renovated. A single decorative flag has been placed over the entryway, while flower boxes have been placed around the entrance.



Figure 32: Three storefronts on the north side of Bay Street, in refurbished structures that house a cafe, coffee shop, and yogurt shop. The center structure, refurbished in the late 1970s, has been modified with a rough shingle exterior and a rectangular overhang. The other two shops, refurbished since the early 1980s, have been dressed up with freshly painted clapboard exteriors and somewhat non-traditional overhangs. The yogurt shop has gained a residential 'Oregon barn' overhang, which is scarcely broad enough to provide protection from the weather. Seating areas are placed at the exteriors of each of these businesses.

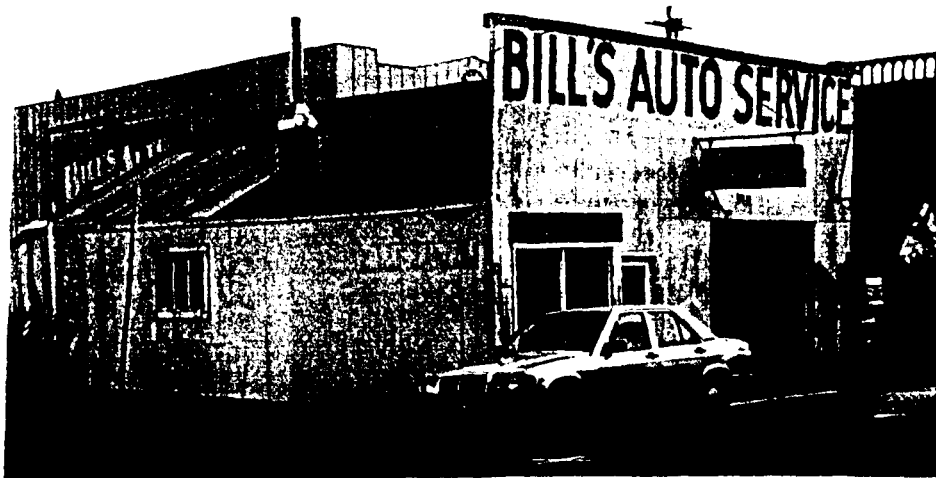


Figure 33: The ragged edge of Florence: an auto and boat motor repair shop. This relict of the resource-era has only one vacant lot between it and the refurbished tourist shops, and marks a spatial and aesthetic contact point between the struggling old town of Florence, and Florence's tourist-oriented Old Town. This look is typical of the town prior to renovation, with a tar paper roof, and a painted rectangular façade without overhang, adorned with a textual sign only.



Figure 34: A Maple Street building dating from the 1890s, which was refurbished in the 1980s. This is the structure housing a bakery in Figure 26. The remodeling project involved the adding of fresh clapboard and overhangs, and the addition of lattice work and long flower boxes along the side of the building. The building housed a bakery for much of the first half of its history (Figure 26), and now houses a collectibles store, while flanked by a confectioner and an art gallery. The sign features the image of an antique pocket watch, and all text elements are in antiquated fonts.



Figure 35: The south side of Bay Street. The three structures in the foreground have been refurbished since the early 1980s. All three feature painted rectangular façades, the building in the center of the photo echoing the façade of the Kyle Building across the street. During renovation, these structures were clad in clapboard and plaster façades, the same exterior materials as before, with newly painted trim. The Nature's Way gift shop and gallery features a sign with the image of a river scene, while the Beachcomber's Seafood Cafe features a sign with the image of dockside fishing boats.



Figure 36: The entry and offices of the Indian Forest theme park, on Highway 101, north of Old Town Florence. This business has been in operation since the 1970s(?), but only gained the totem pole during the early 1990s. The pole is stylistically true to the historical poles of the tribes of the northern Northwest coast, such as the Haida and Tlingit. The Park was closed for the season at the time of the photograph. The absence of the extended beak from the raven figure may thus be temporary. The building's design was likely chosen to invoke tribal themes, with the suggestion of a tepee, though its design does not show any obvious longhouse influences.



Figure 37: Refurbished houses on the eastern end of Florence's Old Town. These formerly 'Oregon barn' style workers' residences were converted to commercial functions during the 1980s, with the addition of signs, expanded display windows, flower boxes, and in one case, an enclosed entryway.



Figure 38: A building on Bay Street, of late 1980s or early 1990s construction, housing galleries and gift shops. This building's design is an interesting adaptation, structurally no different from other boxy commercial mini-malls of the North American commercial urban vernacular. Yet the façade shows a clear influence of a hipped 'Oregon barn' overhang and a rectangular façade with shingles. The overhang, usually only covering one entrance, has been expanded to enclose all store entries in this complex. The 'Oregon barn' overhang has little protective value, as it has been attached as an expressive feature onto an unrelated structural overhang. The combination of façade, shingles, and hipped overhang, of course, was not seen until the 1970s. It is now a common tourist-oriented hybrid. Note also flower boxes, and - in the shadows - benches on the porch, and windsocks in a row, hanging from the side eave on the right hand side of the building.

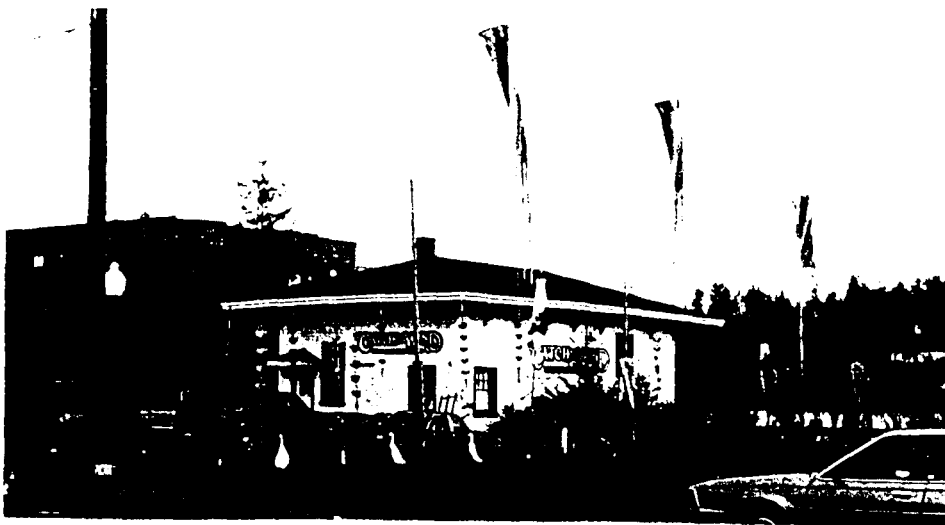
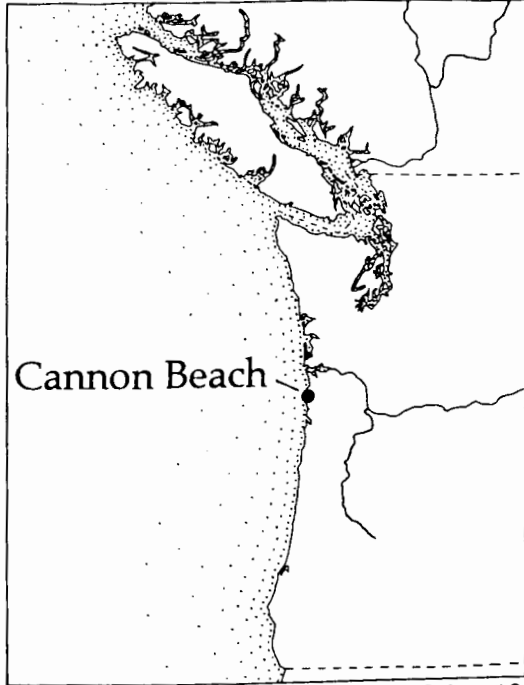


Figure 39: Catch the Wind, a kite and windsock shop, in a Bay Street structure, refurbished in the early 1990s. The structure's new, white painted clapboard exterior shows a clear local commercial inheritance. Windsocks are used here to an extreme degree, facilitating visibility from the nearby highway. They are suspended from posts, and hung from eaves.

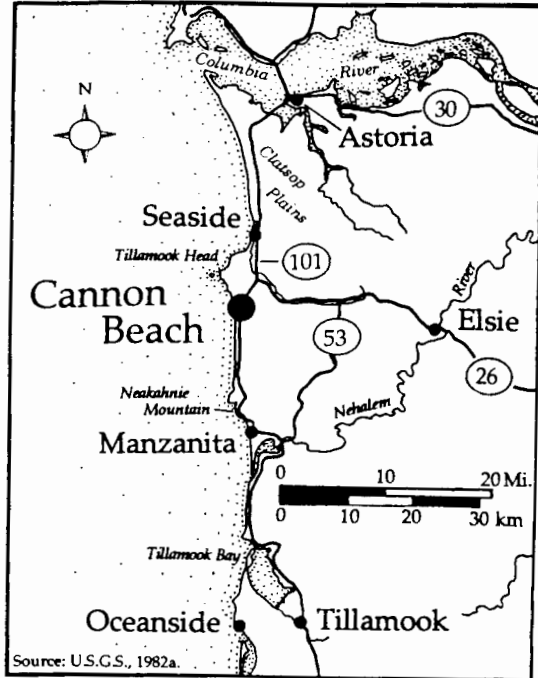


Figure 40: Hair, Etc., a salon on Bay Street, which occupies an industrial-era commercial building. The building was refurbished in the late 1980s or early 1990s, at which time most of the visible exterior elements were added. The neatly placed shingles, with painted trim and small-paned windows may be viewed as a New England influence. The addition of the hipped overhang over the added side window suggests a Northwestern residential influence. Benches and flower boxes have been placed at the building's entrance.

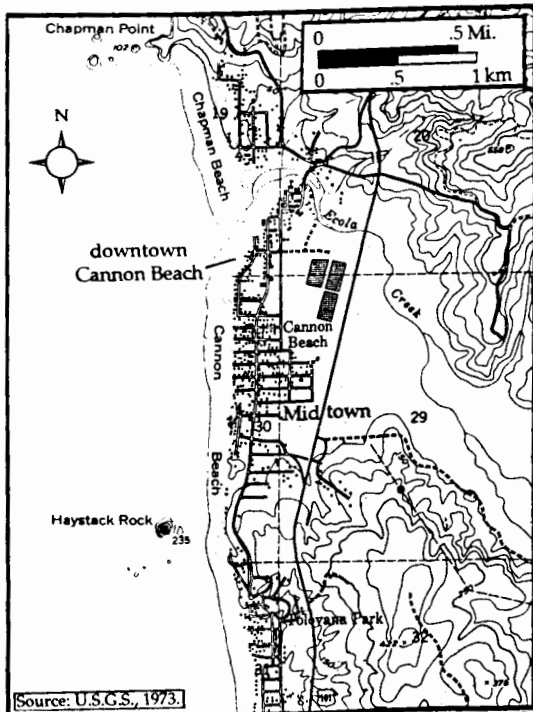
Cannon Beach, Oregon: Situation and Site



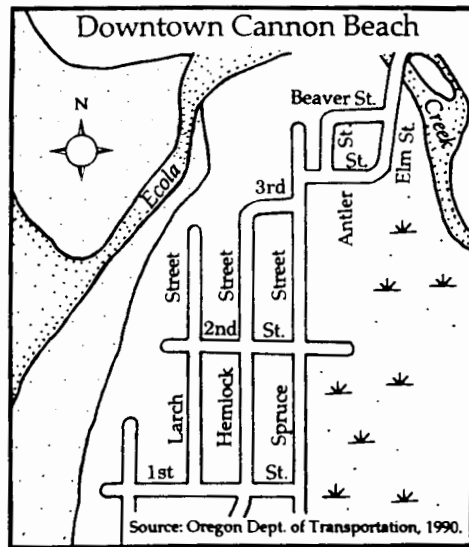
Map 10



Map 11



Map 12



(not to scale)

Map 13

8.6: Cannon Beach, Oregon

On a warm summer Saturday in Cannon Beach, only the most aggressive tourists walk on the sidewalks. Young professionals wander among shingled shops, looking through the windows at fashion clothing, and at bronze sculptures with prices that edge closer to six figures every year. Families arrive, parking in lots recently expanded into surrounding marshes, then hike west toward the shops. The newspapers bemoan the parking problem: some City council members have proposed building parking lots on Highway 101, and running shuttle buses to the downtown core. A few aged hippy shopkeepers marvel at their fate and tell people of the days - not long ago, really - when sunny days like today were a good time to close the shop and sit on the porch with a book, listening to the wind. A few scruffy locals, mud caked on their heavy boots, sit on the porch of Osburn's grocery, or in the back of Bill's Tavern, and scowl; they include former loggers who now work on construction crews, building ocean-view luxury homes.

More than any other town discussed in this section, Cannon Beach has been as much a tourist destination as it has been a minor resource town, through much of its history. Encircled by mountains, and lacking a navigable waterway, scenery has been more easily extracted from the landscape than trees, fish, or minerals. As one travel writer rather flamboyantly put it, "since its beginning it has become more and more a Mecca of those who in their vacations want more of nature than of man." (Miller, 1958, p.260) As the region's resource industries have waned, Cannon Beach has been particularly successful for the same reason that it was once hindered.

Arguably, Cannon Beach has recently achieved the status of the premier coastal tourist destination for the entire Northwest coast, with per-capita tourism revenues far outstripping all other coastal towns. The town's success has been both reflected and reinforced by the town's persistent presence within popularity polls and

travel magazines.⁴² Along with this new-found popularity, Cannon Beach has also become one of the Northwest's most regulated communities, with strict design regulations and an extensive public design review process. And, as the town with the most developed tourist sector, Cannon Beach also displays the clearest evidence of many of the diagnostic pidginization variables.

8.6.1: A brief history of Cannon Beach

The first recorded Euro-American visitors to the Cannon Beach area were part of a small expedition team led by William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, during their stay on the Columbia estuary. This group packed into the site of present day Cannon Beach to acquire blubber from a beached whale which was being processed by members of the local Nehalem Tillamook tribe. Rounding Tillamook Head, and viewing the ocean, rocks, headlands and mountains of the area, Clark recorded in his journals that "from this point I beheld the grandest and most pleasing prospects which my eyes ever surveyed."⁴³(Moulton, 1990, p.182) (Map 11) While at the Cannon Beach site, Clark named the creek which entered the sea there 'Ecola Creek,' approximating the Chinook Jargon term for whale; this name, after a long period of disuse, has recently been officially reinstated.

The resident Nehalem Tillamook tribe - a Salish speaking confederation - appears to have abandoned this peripheral northern outpost of their territory within a few decades of Clark's visit. Their numbers had dwindled from disease, and they were likely pushed south by the neighboring Chinookan bands, which had achieved greater regional hegemony through their association with Euro-

⁴² At the same time, recent estimates suggest that Cannon Beach is perhaps the rainiest tidewater municipality on the Oregon and Washington coastline, a point which detracting Chambers of Commerce in other towns use to their advantage.

⁴³The Cannon Beach Chamber of Commerce will be eternally grateful to Clark for this oft-cited quotation.

American trading ventures on the lower Columbia.⁴⁴

Despite the short distance between Cannon Beach and the Columbia estuary - the keystone location of early Northwest history - Cannon Beach was developed much later than many of Oregon's coastal towns. The Columbia estuary and the adjoining Clatsop Plains provided easy routes of land and water travel to early settlers. (Map 11) However, the Clatsop Plains are truncated on their southern end by some of the most rugged mountains on the Oregon coast, mountains which long inhibited all forms of agriculture and land transport. Cannon Beach is tucked between these mountains, rugged headlands and the Pacific. (Map 12)

The Pacific Fur Company established Astoria in 1811. By the 1850s agricultural settlement had spread across the Clatsop Plains. It was not until the late 1870s, however, that a small number of homesteaders occupied the land near the present Cannon Beach townsite, taking up large tracts of land on the narrow, spruce-covered marine terraces. In 1883, a consortium of these homesteaders founded the initial townsite of Seal Rock Beach, in the apparent hopes of profiting from land sales. This townsite included much of today's downtown district, as well as the residential areas on the north end of town. By 1890 local residents built a toll road into the area from the north, near Seaside, though this road did not substantially alter life in Cannon Beach, as the travel time between these towns was still measured in hours, rather than in minutes as today.

The homesteaders of this period struggled to clear land of the dense spruce forest and establish small herds of dairy and beef cattle. (Miller, 1958, p.205) Rather than the clapboard exteriors found in other towns at this time, log construction was common in Cannon Beach, and exteriors were generally more crude in appearance, often clad in rough shingles. This is probably a result of difficulties in shipping materials to Cannon Beach; roads to the town were often impassable by large vehicles prior to the

⁴⁴This band is now extinct; the last full-blooded Tillamook - a woman from a village site on Tillamook Bay - died in 1959. (Sauter and Johnson, 1974, p.188) (Map 11)

teens, and unlike the other towns in this study, Cannon Beach has no port. The built form of this period reflected the fact that Cannon Beach had a small population, little industrial base and an abundance of dense timber.

In 1900, the Van Vleet lumber company began to buy timber land in the mountains surrounding Cannon Beach, and established a small-scale milling operation in the town. (Miller, 1958, p.219) From this period through the teens, small farms - particularly dairy farms - provided products to local residents, as well as to the towns north of Cannon Beach, on the Clatsop Plains. (Figure 41) The few hotels built at this time languished; they were marketed as emergent resorts but often functioned as dormitory housing to timber workers and others. Though Cannon Beach suffered minor, sporadic fire losses during this period, it experienced nothing of the devastating fires that had affected the other Oregon coast towns in this survey.



Figure 41: A house on Larch Street north of Ecola Creek, dating from roughly 1910. (Map 12)⁴⁵ This structure was a farmhouse during the brief agricultural phase in Cannon Beach. The hip-on gable, front-gabled roofline was common in the area at the time of construction, as was the use of local beach rocks and sand for chimney construction. Painted shingle exteriors, as seen here, were also common on houses of this era. Though not clear in this photo, this house was built on pilings in a filled corner of a large marsh.

The teens marked an era of rapid land partitions around the original Seal Rock Beach plat, despite the markedly sluggish growth of the town. The configuration and marketing of parcels on these

⁴⁵Unless otherwise indicated, photographed Cannon Beach locations can be found in the map of downtown Cannon Beach, Map 13.

plats suggest that land boosters foresaw potential for both industrial and resort functions within the town of Cannon Beach. (Head, 1913) As was the case in many Northwest coastal towns, several of the land boosters of Cannon Beach were failed resource boomers. The Warren brothers, for example, who platted much of the south half of Cannon Beach, in the present district of Tolovana Park, came to the Oregon coast after failing at gold prospecting in Alaska.⁴⁶ (Map 12)

During this period, however, the very remoteness of Cannon Beach hindered all forms of tourist development. To reach the town from Portland, travellers had to take a train along the Columbia River, or a river boat down the River, then a rail or coach connection to Seaside, and then take a stage or motor stage down the winding road to Cannon Beach. (Bracher, 1992) (Maps 10, 11) This trip could easily consume a full day in travel. While a few summer cottages were built at this period, it lacked tourist-oriented commercial development.

During World War I, Cannon Beach experienced its first period of substantial growth as a result of the local construction of 'spruce camps' for the war effort. Following the United States' entrance into the war, the U.S. Army Spruce Division built these camps in order to harvest the dominant conifer of the Northwestern littoral, the Sitka spruce (*Picea sitchensis*), which, with its light, sturdy wood, was used as a primary component of military airplanes.⁴⁷ The buildings constructed as logger's residences, mess halls and entertainment halls would later be converted to become the area's first commercial building stock. (Figures 42, 43, 53)

⁴⁶Again, instead of reflecting the environmental perceptions and preferences of the founder, the configuration of land partitions and the promoted use of these places seems to be strongly influenced by the function which was perceived to result in the greatest financial gain to the founder.

⁴⁷Ironically, though the bulk of the lowland timber from the Cannon Beach area was cut during this period, the Armistice was signed before much of it could be shipped from the area, and ultimately this downed forest rotted away *in situ*.

At this time, the downtown area emerged from forest, with a single main street, Hemlock, built on beach sand fill through an expansive tidal spruce bog, while residents constructed the buildings along this road on short pilings. (Figure 43; Maps 12, 13) During high tides, all of the central portion of town was flooded, save Hemlock Street and a small sand foredune between the town and the open beach. The high water table found throughout Cannon Beach resulted in a vernacular home style found sporadically along the Northwest coast, which is characterized by the construction of homes on a platform with short pilings, and a skirt of long split cedar shakes around the base to give the appearance of a structure flush with ground. (Figure 41; cf. Figure 43)



Figure 42: Downtown Cannon Beach, looking south on Hemlock Street, in the late teens or early 1920s. The buildings date from the World War I-era, and were likely built to service Spruce camp labor. One - a newspaper shop and post office - features a rectangular façade, while the other, a combined residence, storage area, and general store, is front-gabled without façade. Both structures feature overhangs and unpainted shingles. Immediately after this time, in the photographic record we find both structures painted. Only small, textual signs are present.

By the end of the First World War, several small mills operated in the area, including plywood and shake mills. Increasingly during this period, finished wood products appear in the building stock, including a ubiquitous interior shiplap beadboard, and - on commercial buildings - exterior clapboard, originating from these small local mills. Cannon Beach also became

more accessible to metropolitan populations as Highway 30 was improved, along the lower Columbia River. The town was bypassed by through-traffic at this time, however, as this traffic was channeled along the present route of Highway 53, some 10 miles to the east of town. (Map 11)

Only in the 1920s, when the road into town had been improved, did the town's rough, wooden building stock begin extensively to assume a more conventional look, with boxy commercial structures and clapboard exteriors. During this time, through the early 1930s, Cannon Beach experienced a second period of rapid land partitions and a small boom in the building of both homes and rental cabins.

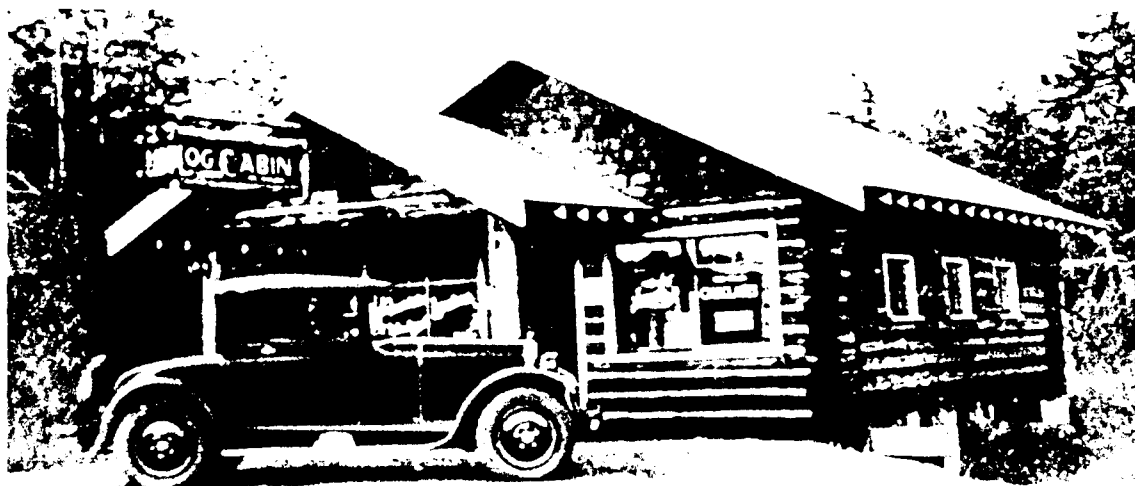


Figure 43: The Log Cabin Restaurant in the late 1920s. This structure, built on pilings over a marsh with simple log construction methods, functioned as a mess hall for loggers of the spruce camps. After the completion of spruce camp operations in the area, the structure was converted into a restaurant with only minor modifications. The structure was demolished in the 1980s, and replaced by a log cabin style restaurant of a much grander scale. Photo courtesy Clatsop County Historical Society.

In 1938 a Federal Works Projects Administration crew completed the construction of Highway 26, a direct route from Portland to Highway 101 near Cannon Beach, placing Cannon Beach within two to three hours' drive of Portland. (Map 11) Thus among all communities on the open Pacific, Cannon Beach and its neighbor to the north, Seaside, became the most accessible to a large, metropolitan center of population. During this period, the State Parks Department acquired large portions of the rugged coastline immediately north and south of town, creating the foundations for

the Ecola, Arcadia, Hug Point and Oswald West State Parks. Conceivably, the town might have emerged as a resort community at this time, if not for the continuing Depression and World War II.

In 1941, one of the last Work Projects Administration teams to work on the coast completed a through-road over the cliffs of Neahkahnie Mountain, to the south, tying Cannon Beach into the continuous Oregon coastal highway. (Map 11) Thus the main street of Cannon Beach became part of this through highway. During the same year, a small assortment of tourist-oriented businesses emerged on the main street, such as a confectioner's shop and a natatorium swimming pool, but these businesses floundered or failed, hindered by the onset of World War II. (Miller, 1958, p.261)

During World War II, Cannon Beach became a minor U.S. Coast Guard post, with lookouts on land as well as foot and horse patrols on the beaches; at this time, the U.S. military feared the prospect of an Axis beach invasion near the mouth of the Columbia River. With such wartime constraints as gasoline rationing, tourism virtually ceased. In addition, during the War the Oregon Coast Highway route was once again blocked, as the military stored munitions in the highway tunnel at Arch Cape, seven miles to the south.

Immediately following the War, many of the abandoned military structures were converted to civilian uses, adding an additional non-recreational form of building stock to the emergent tourist landscape. At this time, however, Cannon Beach did not experience a rapid resurgence of tourist activities, being eclipsed by nearby towns such as Seaside, which rapidly became a major center of automobile-oriented tourist development. Further, most of the small wood processing facilities in the Cannon Beach area ceased operations, while locally-harvested timber was shipped by log truck to mills and shipping facilities on the Columbia estuary, and somewhat less frequently to Tillamook. (Map 11)

During 1949 and 1950, a straightening and rerouting of Highway 101 bypassed the town to its east. The main street of Cannon Beach, Hemlock Street, once again became a minor thoroughfare. (Map

12) In addition, this project involved the straightening of the north highway access to the town, allowing a minor reduction in the travel time from Portland and Seaside.

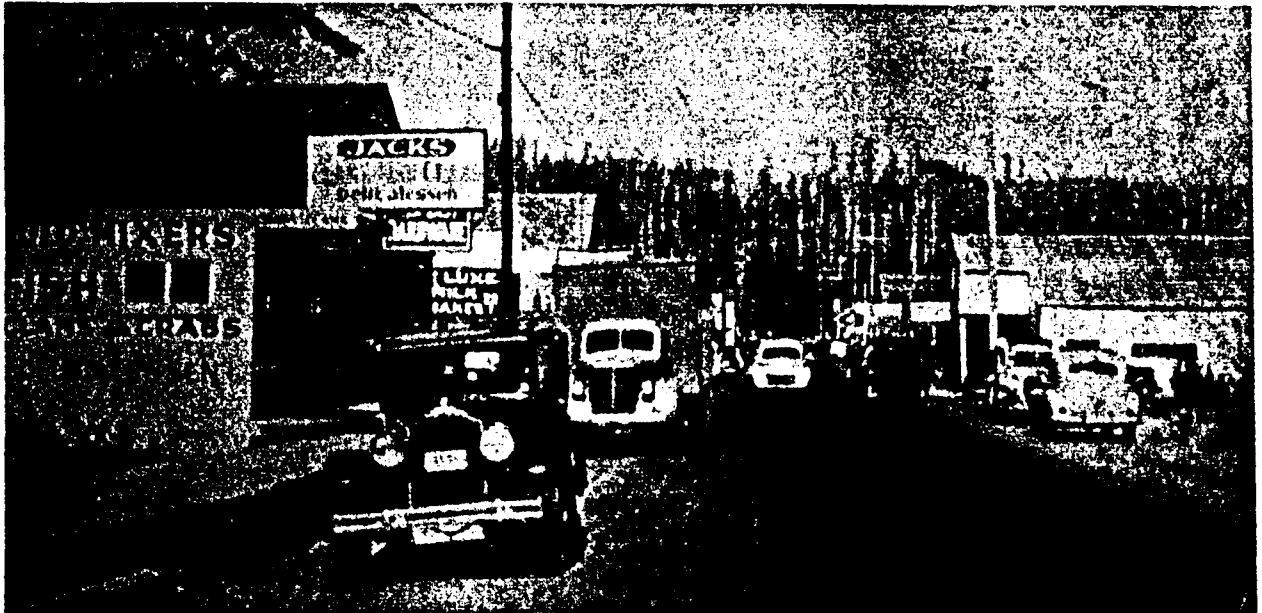


Figure 44: Cannon Beach in the late 1940s, looking North on Hemlock Street. Residential, industrial and military structures already show evidence of extensive conversion to commercial uses. Most commercial structures are clad in white painted clapboard or plywood. Corrugated metal and tar paper roofs are common. The main street functions are mixed, and on the left we see a delicatessen, a hardware store and a grocery store. Textual signs proliferate rapidly at this time, while diagnostic cues are absent. Photo courtesy Clatsop County Historical Society

During the 1950s and 1960s, Cannon Beach once again returned to its dual role, functioning both as a minor tourist destination and as a bedroom community for local resource workers, particularly the 'gyppo loggers,' independent logging contractors who worked on Crown Zellerbach lands surrounding the town. (cf. Miller, 1958, p.223) In addition, at this time a small dory fleet regularly launched directly into the surf in the protected lee side of Haystack Rock (Map 12); this fleet supported a small canning and fresh seafood operation in the town.

Tourism facilities were still underdeveloped by the standards of the time for the Oregon coast. Most interviewees who had spent time in Cannon Beach agree that, as a tourist destination, Cannon Beach was "just a junky little beach community." (Watkins, 1991)

Indeed, Cannon Beach was the last of the present-day resort towns to develop a full range of tourist facilities - a mixture of rental units, restaurants, shops, and seasonal parking areas - on the north Oregon coast. (Miller, 1958, p.253)



Figure 45: Hemlock Street in the late 1940s, looking south. This angle is very similar to that in Figure 42. The post office building is the third building down in the left foreground, while in the right foreground, we see the store seen in Figure 42, expanded with a second, attached building. Buildings which were built for commercial purposes have painted clapboard-covered, or neatly-shingled façades, while most converted residential and commercial structures have not been altered significantly. The porthole window the front of the market, second building on the right foreground, may be viewed as a prototypical maritime theme element. Photo courtesy Cannon Beach Historical Society.

However, the 1960s, particularly the late 1960s, marked a significant point of departure in Cannon Beach. At this time, the surrounding hills experienced their last phase of large-scale logging.⁴⁸ (cf. Miller, 1958, p.219) As industrial activities tapered off, young people - mostly immigrant hippies and local converts to the hippy movement - moved into some of the vacant

⁴⁸The land behind Cannon Beach was some of the last privately-owned old-growth timber available at this time, on the entire Oregon coast. Still, this was a very small concentration of timber, and its logging did not create a major industrial boom. The very rugged and deeply eroded terrain appears to have been the reason for the delayed harvesting; much of this final phase of logging occurred on ledges between cliffs of weathered, poorly-consolidated marine basalts. Many of the roads built for this phase of logging were impassibly eroded by the late-1970s.

structures in town, and set up tourist-oriented shops. These people sparked the development of a minor art scene, and resuscitated some of the area's folk wood residential architecture for both residential and commercial applications.

Simultaneously, Cannon Beach experienced several other morphogenetically significant events. Through the 1960s, Highway 26 was improved, reducing travel time from Portland to roughly two hours. And in August of 1966, a bridge was completed across the Columbia estuary near Astoria, improving the access of Washington State populations to the Oregon coast. (Graphs 4-6, Appendix; Map 11)

8.6.2: The renovation of Downtown Cannon Beach

In December of 1967, the combination of a high tide, high waves and high rates of streamflow resulted in one of the town's most severe floods. (The Oregonian, 1967) This flood damaged many of the structures within the center of town, several of which had already been close to official condemnation after suffering water damage during floods and a tsunami during the early 1960s. Some of the buildings were condemned for public health reasons, such as the local bakery; the bakery's interior beadboard had trapped water, resulting in continued water damage and severe mildewing. (Watkins, 1991)

In 1968 local landowners and builders initiated the reconstruction of the downtown area. This redevelopment was executed with a recognition of the increasing significance of tourism, and provides us with one of the clearest examples of a premeditated, 'pidginized' adaptive response. The story of this redevelopment of Cannon Beach has a rather small cast of characters, most of them with strong local ties.

One landowner in particular, Maurie Clark, sought to rebuild his commercial structures with a new, tourist-oriented look, thus capitalizing on the town's potential as a resort community through the manipulation of the built environment. Clark, a former Portland insurance executive, a part-time resident of the Cannon Beach area, and owner of Willamette Industries - a wood products

company - purchased local properties and hired local artists to assist in his designs. Though not a lifetime resident, Clark had deep roots in the area. His family had lived in nearby logging towns for generations, and his grandfather had co-owned the small, locally-based timber company which had logged land in the coastal mountains, a short distance inland from Cannon Beach, near the town of Elsie. (Watkins, 1991; Steidel, 1991) (Map 11)

Clark hired one artist in particular, Ray Watkins, to create and execute much of the original designs for the redevelopment projects which were executed between 1968 and 1973. Watkins is an artist who moved to Cannon Beach immediately after World War II. And Watkins also had local roots; his father and grandfather had built many commercial buildings on the main street of their home town of Newberg, a rural community in the coast range foothills, southwest of Portland. (Map 1) While having some experience with construction because of his family's work, Watkins lacked any formal training in architecture. (Watkins, 1991)

The design which Watkins produced was clearly a hybrid. Seeking to have his creations appeal to "friends," "lovers," and "neighbors," while still appealing to tourists from elsewhere, Watkins sought to combine elements from local vernacular houses with evocative coastal elements from elsewhere. Though he had no personal connections to New England, he consciously infused New England vernacular elements into his creations, "because to many of the people who come here, that was 'the beach'". (Watkins, 1991; Steidel, 1991) Thus, the look of neatly shingled, unpainted exteriors with white painted trim and small-paned windows was attached to local vernacular types, and New England residential styles were fused with local exterior elements. (Figures 49, 50, 51, 54, see also 53, 57, 63)

Watkins' discussions of his designs with members of the community resulted in a loose coalition of interested residents, in what many participants have referred to as an 'informal design review board.' (Steidel, 1991; Watkins, 1991) Consisting primarily of local artists, such as the regionally popular artist Bill Steidel, and a few shopkeepers, this small group would discuss the

aesthetics and social appropriateness of particular proposed designs within the town. None of these participants claims to have any prior knowledge of architectural design practices, nor do they claim any prior knowledge of the architectural theorists, such as Christopher Alexander, who have advocated such homegrown design user groups. (Alexander, 1974, 1979) This serendipitously conceived design review board held informal sway over the town's look from this time, until the creation of officially-sanctioned zoning in the late 1970s.

In addition to rebuilding the town, local boosters began to promote this town of amateur hippy artists as an artists' colony. By the early 1970s, this initial period of experimentation with the new vernacular built form, and the artists' colony moniker, began to draw attention to Cannon Beach. The clear success of the first round of built renovation was accompanied by much local press coverage. (e.g. O'Neil, 1973; Goetze, 1973) At this time, proprietors noted a tremendous increase in tourist traffic, as well as exponential increases in tourist revenues. "The tourist is really pleased by our new town," observed the Mayor of that time, Gerald Gower. (O'Neil, 1973) Though one cannot gauge the increase in traffic resulting from redevelopment, most took the rise in tourist traffic and revenues to be an expression of the success of the redevelopment program. Still, tourist traffic had, in fact, increased dramatically along the entire coast at this time. (Graphs 1-7, Appendix)

By this time, logging behind the town was largely complete. And at this time, the town's pre-existing mixture of locally-oriented commercial functions (e.g. hardware and general stores) and beach resort functions (e.g. a roller skating rink) was gradually replaced by exclusively tourist-oriented facilities, such as confectioners, galleries, and specialty clothing stores.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, the City government, concerned by the rapid buildup of commercial Cannon Beach, became intent upon establishing design regulations for the town. Recognizing the success of the experimental designs of the 1970s, the City simply elevated the informal design review board to

official status, and established regulations encouraging the continuation of pre-existing motifs. (Steidel, 1991) Membership in the design review board became contingent upon an application process to the City Council shortly thereafter, and most of the members from the informal group discontinued their participation in design review activities at this time. "The design review board became real strict. I have real mixed emotions about the government control over design...beauty is relative. We're dealing with people's dreams, here...", laments Watkins. (Watkins, 1991)

The 1980s was characterized by the rapid building up of downtown; what little vacant land remained was quickly developed. Developers from within and without the town began to mimic the Watkins look in their own creations, with structures that surpassed even the strict City design requirements. The dory fleet disappeared, and the fleet's former parking and storage area, on the southeast corner of the intersection of Hemlock and First Streets, became the site of a up-scale mini-mall. (Map 13) The town became an increasingly popular site for the second homes of Portland and Seattle populations, and retirees from throughout the region began to filter into the town in greater numbers. (Forrester, 1992) Property values skyrocketed and property tax assessments increased proportionately; many of the town's pre-existing population found these costs formidable, in conjunction with the social costs of development.

The majority of remaining resource industry workers, as well as many of the less commercially-minded artists, moved out of Cannon Beach. Expatriates scattered to the cities of the American west, to inland Northwestern rural communities, as well as to some of the less developed towns along the coast. Among all the towns studied here, Cannon Beach has been the only one in which the resource-era population appears to have been wholly displaced, forced into retirement, or channelled into tourist-oriented occupations; this is no doubt as much a result of the town's relatively minor resource-era development, as it is a result of abrupt changes in the social and financial costs of living in the town. (Steidel, 1991; Watkins, 1991)

During the late 1980s and early 1990s tourists from Seattle and Vancouver, B.C. became increasingly common as the populations of both towns burgeoned and the Canadian dollar grew stronger. Seattle second-home buyers sparked a minor boom in homebuilding at this time. (Graph 6, Appendix)



Figure 46: Hemlock Street in 1993, looking south from roughly the same vantage point as seen in Figures 42 and 45. The unpainted shingles have returned, and residential styles have been reproduced for commercial applications. Pictographic signs occupy the front of most structures. Most buildings are occupied by tourist-oriented businesses.

The rapid increase in property values, and an increase in low-wage seasonal jobs has brought about new tensions. The influx of low-wage labor during this time brought severe housing shortages into this tight real-estate market. In 1993, the City initiated construction on low-income housing projects east of Highway 101 from the town. The influx of Hispanic laborers in the early 1990s has been accompanied by cultural discord and a variety of well-publicized conflicts over issues of access to housing, schooling, and public services. (Forgey, 1993) Further, one of the Oregon State Supreme Court's most publicized cases in recent years has involved a 1992 City-mandated ban on short-term home rentals within the town of Cannon Beach; the City had proposed this ban in the

hopes of creating vacancies for local labor. (MacKenzie, 1993) This issue of the affordability of living space, inconceivable only a few decades ago, continues to hamper the town's explosive success. The future of Cannon Beach now appears to be entirely tied to the tourist industry. And perhaps, for the first time in its history, it has become a single-resource town.

8.6.3: The contemporary townscape of Cannon Beach

In Cannon Beach, the process of rapid built adaptation began in the late 1960s. By the early 1970s, most of the diagnostic elements of pidginization appear, although often in prototypical form. During the rapid intensification of tourist traffic during the late 1980s, and early 1990s, the use of many of these features has continued, while the use of others has intensified. As expected, architectural experimentation continues within the parameters now dictated both informally by public taste, and formally by the design review board. The use of mnemonic cues has generally intensified, and experimental hybridization has resulted in new variations on old themes. All of the commercial areas within Cannon Beach could now be construed as being tourist-oriented.

simplification

mnemonic

Mnemonic cues are used extensively within all commercial districts of Cannon Beach. Flower boxes and hanging flower pots are ubiquitous within downtown Cannon Beach. (Figures 47-52, 54, 56, 58, 61, 65) Though these flower boxes and pots sporadically appear earlier in the photographic record, they first become regularly visible within photos from the early 1970s. At their inception, all flower boxes were the result of private initiative. Following the early 1980s, the City has had design regulations which have encouraged the use of flower pots within commercial settings; the City has established its own raised flower beds within the public walkways within the town since this time.

Benches are similarly ubiquitous within downtown Cannon Beach. (Figures 47-52, 54, 56, 61, 65) Benches are first regularly

visible in photographs dating from the early to mid 1970s. Their introduction correlates with the renovation projects of this time; generally, these elements were added after construction. Increasingly, since the 1980s, the use of benches has been incorporated into the initial designs of buildings, so many that benches have become fixed features. As with flower boxes, the City has placed benches within public walkways since the early 1980s.

During the 1980s, the town has been at the center of what the press has referred to as the 'kite shop wars,' the fierce competition between merchants of wind-propelled items, including kites and windsocks. (Associated Press, 1993) The shops of Cannon Beach are among the most successful distributors of windsocks on the Northwest coast. Windsocks appear sporadically in photos during the 1980s, but interestingly, are absent from the central commercial district. Rather, windsocks are more commonly used by shops on back alleyways, and in more peripheral sections of the town. Quite possibly, the need for such bold mnemonic cues may be greater in these places.

Flags are also common in Cannon Beach, appearing in the late 1980s. The flags of the U.S., Canada, Oregon, and Washington frequently appear above businesses, while other flags appear sporadically. (Figure 56) In an informal interview, the owners of the Tern Inn Bed and Breakfast suggested that they attempt to personalize the flags used; they keep a collection of flags, and fly the flag of their expected guest's home state or country. Besides those before bed and breakfasts, one also sees flags placed in front of various shops, and motels.

thematic

All of the diagnostic themes discussed in this thesis can be found in Cannon Beach, with nature themes being the most common. Nature themes are widely used in conjunction with most types of commercial functions. The utilization of nature themes begins in the 1970s without any visible precedent in the town, save an occasional sea gull image. Whale images are possibly the most common nature theme, and is seen on signs for restaurants, bookstores, and gift shops. (Figure 61) Whale images are also

utilized in weathervanes in the town, generally over gift shops. The use of whale images may be influenced by the popularity of whale-watching from nearby cliffs, but also appears to reflect Clark's observance of beached whale and the related toponym 'Ecola,' which is now used in business names.

Native bird images are similarly common. Tufted puffins nest on the offshore rocks of Cannon Beach, and images of puffins appear on several businesses; some of these cases result from the fact that puffins appear on the company logo of a local business consortium, and this consortium uses this image on their motels and commercial buildings. Images of herons and sandpipers adorn the entryway of Sandpiper Square. (Figure 51) Gulls still appear on the signs of such businesses as the Blue Gull Motel, while stylized gull images appear on some gallery signs.

The two functioning bed and breakfasts in the town, the Dolphin Inn and the Tern Inn, feature their respective creatures on their signs. The exterior of the Chamber of Commerce building features sculptures of an osprey, a great blue heron, a brown pelican, jelly fish and other marine life, while the interior beams are joined with brackets cast in a salmon image.

Tribal themes have become common in Cannon Beach, almost all cases emerging since the mid 1980s. Tribal images generally reflect a northern Northwest coast tribal influence, reflecting Haida or Tlingit traditions. Tribal image whales appear on the sign of the Ecola Book Store, while the Whaler Restaurant features a whale image which suggests a tribal influence on its sign dating from the late 1970s. The Chamber of Commerce building's eave supports are adorned by bronze face images with a clear tribal influence. The Tolovana General Store features the only pre-redevelopment-era example, with its pseudo-totem poles in a Salish-influenced style, dating from the late 1940s. (Figure 58)

Beach themes are present, but not common. No doubt, this may reflect an attempt to minimize the town's visual similarity with other, more blue-collar resort communities. One example can be seen in the use of a beach scene on a large sign dating from the late 1980s, featuring images of lounging people with sun umbrella;

the sign adorns a clothing store, incongruously called the Cannon Beach Bay Club.

Maritime themes have been common from the mid 1970s to the present. The Mariner Market, a building of mid 1970s construction features a sign bearing the image of a sailor at a ship's wheel. Prior to the mid 1980s expansion of this establishment's parking, the structure had a small boat and vertical posts, suggesting piers in its landscaping. Implied piers continue to be reproduced into the present, in places where there is adequate space for large landscaping features - generally outside of the town's downtown core. (Figure 63) Simultaneously, whaling images are used occasionally, such as in the case of the Whaler restaurant, and the new General Store shops, which feature images of harpooning equipment in their exterior displays.

Historical themes are present, but somewhat more ambiguous in Cannon Beach than in other towns in this thesis. The New England look is ostensibly a historical theme in its own right, as is the use of antiquated vernacular elements. Still, more explicit cases exist, such as the occasional use of antiquated fonts in the textual elements of signs, as in the case of the Mariner Market or the Fair Winds Nauticals shop. Not surprisingly, the use of such fonts tends to correlate with the use of New England built elements.

drift

Here, as in other instances on the coast, cases of drift have primarily involved the increased utilization of residential, and to a lesser extent, industrial built elements for commercial functions. While 'Oregon barn' houses were converted to commercial uses during the 1950s and 1960s, most of these buildings have been demolished during the 1970s and 1980s. In their place, from the 1970s to the present, we see a new type of commercial structure which, from its inception, displays a strong 'Oregon barn' style influence. (Figures 52, 55, 62) In addition, the hipped 'Oregon barn' overhang has been reproduced independently in commercial contexts. (Figure 64) It is not, however, being reproduced in residential settings, save in a small number of cases involving

architects' high-style extrapolations of vernacular themes. Indeed, since the late 1980s, this trend has progressed to the point that small overhangs with no protective value are used on the street faces of commercial buildings which have their main entrances on another side. (Figure 56, 59, 61)

Other residential styles of the area, such as the common front-gabled, hip-on-gable house, have recently been reproduced for commercial applications. (cf. Figures 41, 48) Log construction, as used in residential and hotel structures in the town prior to the 1920s, has become increasingly common since the 1980s for commercial and second-home-residential applications. (Figures 43, 52) Further, most of the infusions of New England architecture have been derived from residential forms. (Figure 54)

Further, since the late 1960s and early 1970s, board-and-batten exteriors of industrial origin have been utilized in commercial architecture, while all industrial structures in the town have been remodeled or demolished. (Figure 47, 49, 51, 54, 65)

In addition, tribal features found in association with commercial functions in Cannon Beach may be interpreted as a form of drift. Prior to European contact, most of the tribal art elements seen in the town had functioned in their context as indicators of status and identity, or as ceremonial elements. (Figure 58)

fusion

More than any other town in this thesis, Cannon Beach has a variety of buildings which combine local vernacular building with architectural features from the coastal resorts of New England. Thus, structural elements common within New England coastal resorts, such as the gambrel roof style of the Sandpiper Square shops as well as The Wine Shack - both Watkins' designs - feature exterior materials drawn from Northwestern vernacular building. These structures, built between 1968 and 1973, mark some of the first examples of fused vernacular styles in the town. (Goetze, 1973) (Figures 51, 54) The Fair Winds Nauticals gift shop, attached to the wine shop, also features a New England residential structure, with exterior elements which potentially reflect

Northwest coast vernacular influences. (Figure 54)

Elsewhere, the hybrids have become more complex. For example, the Mariner Market, a Watkins project dating from the mid 1970s, features an asymmetrical fusion of Northwestern residential architecture, western historical commercial façades, and Victorian Northeast coast detailing, clad in exterior materials which suggests the influence of the industrial and commercial buildings of the Northwest coast. (Figure 49)

Since Watkins' initial experiments with the fusion of local vernacular building with New England themes, the New England look has been used in the refurbishing of older vernacular businesses and houses. Thus, proprietors and builders add neatly aligned unpainted shingles on all exposed surfaces, with white painted trim, and small-paned windows. (Figures 53, 57, 60, 63)

At the beginnings of Cannon Beach commercial history, during the teens, one sees a brief period of the use of neat shingles, painted and unpainted, though these surfaces were almost all covered in clapboard and painted over, within five to ten years of their initial construction. (Figures 42, 44, 45) Almost all commercial use of unpainted shingling post-dates Watkins' attempts to reproduce New England exteriors; as the discussed current uses of exterior shingles do not closely resemble historical residential or industrial examples, but instead bear a close resemblance to this New England coastal theme with its resawed shingles, I attribute most examples of exterior shingling to the New England influence.

Still, elsewhere, we do see evidence of the fusion of historic western commercial themes with Northwestern vernacular residential and industrial building. Residential style structures with industrial board-and-batten exteriors take on commercial functions, as in the case of The Espresso Bean coffee shop. (Figure 47) Elsewhere, 'Oregon barn' style structures with unpainted clapboard exteriors - reflecting the influence of historical commercial building - now serve as hotels, clothing stores and gift shops. (Figures 52, 55, 62, 64)



Figure 47: The Espresso Bean, an espresso bar on Hemlock Street in mid town Cannon Beach. (Map 12) This structure, built as a public utility office in the late 1980s, shows a clear residential influence, with hipped roof and extended roof overhang. This style, present in a small number of local residences from early in the century, bears a resemblance to houses from the American south, and may reflect the immigration of laborers from that area to the Northwest coast. The structure was refurbished and converted to its present use in 1992, with the addition of many of its present external embellishments. Though the use of rough shingle may be construed as a residential influence, the use of these shingles in conjunction with the board-and-batten exterior suggests a strong industrial inheritance. Note the bench, and the hanging and free-standing flower boxes.



Figure 48: A Hemlock Street ice cream shop of 1993 construction, showing the clear impress of vernacular house styles of the area. This Ray Watkins design utilizes the front-gabled hip-on-gable style of pre-1930s structures with shingled exterior, and native rockwork. Unlike the residential examples of this style, the shingles are not painted. (cf. Figure 41) This structure, like many other recent commercial buildings, includes benches, and flower pots - both free-standing and fixed - in its initial construction.



Figure 49: The Mariner Market, a grocery store, with attached gift shop on Hemlock Street. This is the same building as seen of the right side of Hemlock Street in Figure 44, a warehouse converted to a variety store in the early 1950s, and converted to its present use in the mid 1970s. Prior to the renovation of this structure, it had a rectangular painted façade, and a corrugated tin roof. Now it is a complex structure, with two segments of western façade, clad in unpainted clapboard around each entryway, and board-and-batten clad industrially influenced exteriors everywhere else. This Ray Watkins design features New England-inspired spindle work around one façade, small-paned windows with white trim, benches, flower pots, and signs with antiquated text and images of a mariner at a ship's wheel. The phone booth in the parking lot, just left of the center of the photo, features a steep hipped roof with rough shingles.



Figure 50: The Cannon Beach Post Office on Hemlock Street, the product of a remodel design in which Ray Watkins participated. The structure had been a plumbing and hardware shop with painted clapboard exterior façade prior through the 1960s. The structure was renovated in the late 1970s, with a combination of influences. The unpainted clapboard exterior suggests a local commercial influence, the accentuated front-gabled appearance, rough roof shingles, and hipped overhang suggest strong residential influences, while the unpainted decorative shingling and white-painted trim may be viewed as evidence of a New England influence. Fixed benches and flower boxes have been built into the native rockwork.



Figure 51: The central portion of Sandpiper Square, a collection of shops on Hemlock Street, in a building based on a Ray Watkins design. This structure, built in segments between 1968 and 1973, is based upon the look of New England coastal buildings, with gambrel roof and dormers; this design has no clear precedents on this coast. Still, the rough board-and-batten exterior and the rough shingled roof echo Northwest coast industrial and residential buildings. The foreground landscaping was built over a parking area in the 1980s; this area, designed by the son of artist Bill Steidel, features statues of herons, fixed flower boxes, and an assortment of benches. Note also the image of a sandpiper on the archway sign.



Figure 52: Morris' Fireside Restaurant, on the corner of Hemlock and Second Streets. This structure was built in the early 1980s, on the site of the structure shown in Figure 43. While still maintaining the log construction, this structure suggests a more complex lodge design. This structure features windows with inserts which create the effect of small panes, native rockwork, and built-in flower boxes and benches. Note the 'Oregon barn' design of the gift shop in the left background.



Figure 53: The Cannon Beach Hotel and Restaurant on Hemlock Street in mid town Cannon Beach, occupying one of the oldest structures in town. (Map 12) This building, constructed in the teens, functioned alternately as a residential dormitory for timber workers and as a hotel until the 1940s. From the 1950s to the present the building has sporadically functioned as a hotel. Still, the building maintained its painted clapboard exterior until 1992, at which time the building gained the New England-esque exterior, with orderly, resawn, unpainted shingles on all surfaces - including the chimney - and white painted trim.



Figure 54: The Wine Shack and Fair Wind Nauticals, a maritime theme gift shop, on Hemlock Street. These structures, built during between 1969 and 1972, represent some of Ray Watkins' earliest designs. In this case, Watkins sought to recreate the house styles of New England, one with gambrel roof and dormers, one side-gabled with shed porch, and both with white painted trim and small-pane windows. Still, the materials suggest a Northwest coast influence, combining commercial clapboard, industrial board-and-batten, and residential shingling. Benches and flowerpots occupy the front of the buildings, while ship image weathervane, and boat's mast face the street. Note the shingled, hipped roof over the sign, cut off foreground left.



Figure 55: The Hearthstone Inn and a close residential relative, on Hemlock Street in mid town Cannon Beach. (Map 12) The 'Oregon barn' style house, with overhang and painted shingles, is of 1920s or 1930s construction. The Inn is of 1980s construction. The structure has a shingled 'Oregon barn' overhang, though it does not enclose the entrance. The exterior is clad in unpainted clapboard showing an adapted commercial influence. The sign and chimney feature natural rockwork, while the sign also has a hipped cover.



Figure 56: The General Store, a collection of shops on Hemlock Street. remodeled in 1992. This structure - of 1940s construction - housed simple apartments, clad in white painted clapboard. In the renovation project, investors added the unpainted clapboard façade, the overhang over shop entrances, large windows with implied small panes, benches, flower boxes, signs, and landscaping with U.S. and Canadian flags. On the street face, we see a shallow overhang with no protective value, under which has been placed a stylized harpoon.



Figure 57: A residential example of the infusion of the New England look into Cannon Beach. These two ocean-front structures, on Pacific Street in the Tolovana Park district of Cannon Beach (Map 12), were almost identical prior to the renovation of the structure on the left. Immediately prior to the sale of this house, owners added a second story, replaced exterior painted shingles with unpainted shingles, shingled the deck skirt and support posts, replaced tar paper roof shingles with unpainted wooden shingles, and painted the trim white, among other things.



Figure 58: The Tolovana Park General Store on south Hemlock Street, in the Tolovana district of Cannon Beach. (Map 12) According to its current owner, this store, dating from the 1930s, has been expanded at least six times. The totem pole figures on the left and right of the entrance, showing a strong Salish influence, date from the late 1940s or early 1950s, though they were freshly repainted in the late 1980s, after a long period of neglect. The two other totem pole-inspired features on the entryway front, and flower boxes, date from the 1980s. Note the sea gull image on the sign.



Figure 59: The Blue Gull Motel on Hemlock Street in mid town Cannon Beach. (Map 12) This older motel building, dating from the 1950s(?), was refurbished in the late 1980s. After this time, the side-gabled motel structure has had a distinctly residential face on its street side, with adapted window placement and added overhang. The overhang provides no protective value for pedestrians, as all entrances are still on the building's sides. The Motel's sign, scarcely visible on the right edge of the photo, features the image of a sea gull.

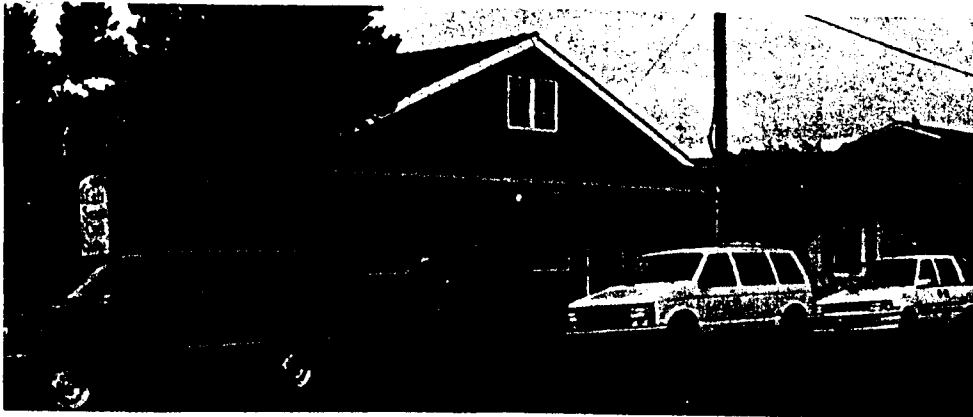


Figure 60: A bookstore and gift shop on Hemlock Street. This building, of 1980s construction, is of an 'Oregon barn' design, front-gabled, with characteristic hipped overhang. The exterior is clad in unpainted clapboard, suggesting a commercial influence, while the use of the white trim and small-paned windows in contrast to the native wood is consistent with the town's New England look.



Figure 61: The west side of Hemlock Street, at its intersection with Second Street. Center photo, we see a shop with unpainted clapboard façade and shallow overhang. Each shop features benches and flower boxes at its entrance. The sign of the Whaler Restaurant features a whale image in a pseudo-tribal mosaic design, with harpoon.



Figure 62: The east side of Hemlock Street, at its intersection with Second Street. The use of unpainted shingles is extensive, and the 1980s building, center photo, features a very clear 'Oregon barn' influence.

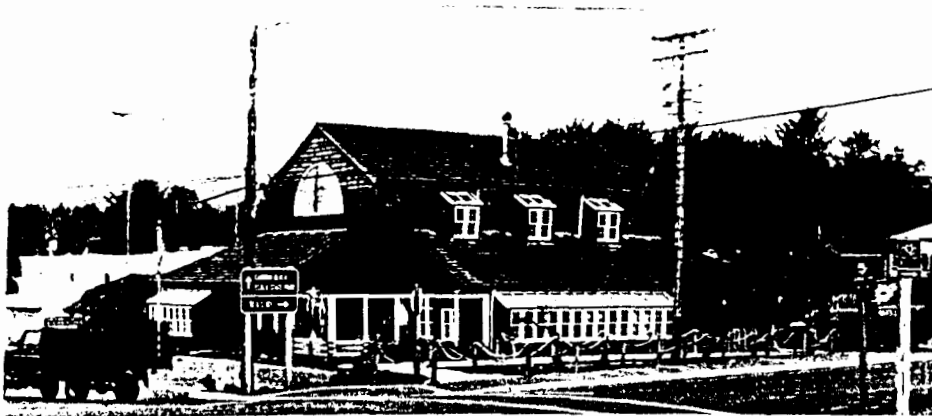


Figure 63: Dooger's Seafood and Grill, a restaurant on Hemlock Street in mid town Cannon Beach. (Map 12) This 1980s building shows a much less locally-influenced rendering of the shingle style of building from New England. This style is characterized by its asymmetrical two-story design, with neat shingle exterior, white painted trim, and small pane windows. Several vertical posts with heavy rope suggest piers.

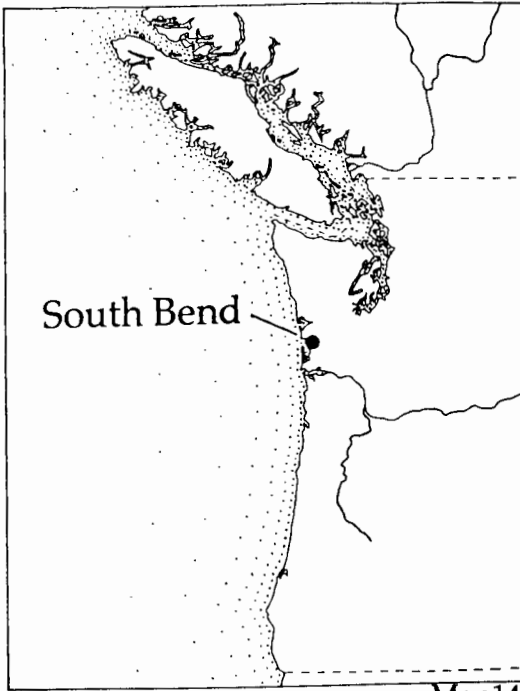


Figure 64: Bill Steidel's studio, gallery, and residence on Hemlock Street. Steidel has sought to create something visually striking with this design, which has been built in segments since the 1970s. (Steidel, 1991) A hybrid composite has been created, featuring residential and commercial themes with an unusual juxtaposition. An 'Oregon barn' residential overhang is attached to a commercial façade at the public entryway. Unpainted commercial clapboard, and unpainted shingling both adorn the building's exterior.

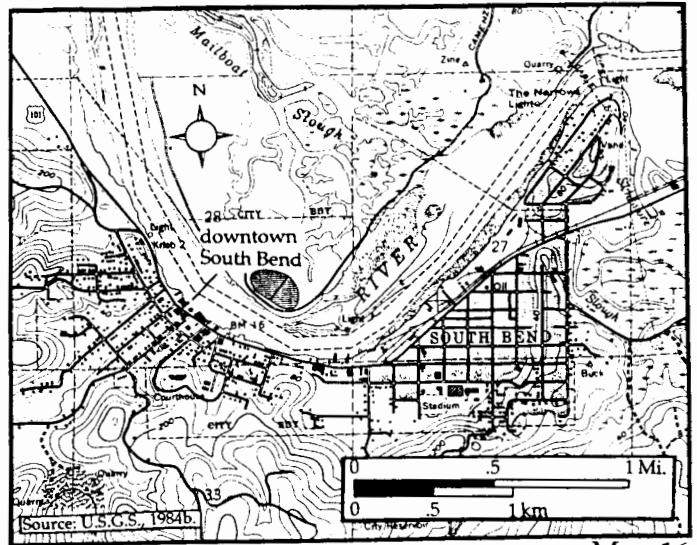


Figure 65: The Cannon Beach Chamber of Commerce building on the corner of Second and Spruce Streets. This building, of late 1980s construction, suggests a strong residential influence. The board-and-batten exterior reflects the town's historical industrial building, while the white painted trim and implied small-pane windows reflect the town's neo-New England look. The exterior of the building is adorned by sculptures by local artists of wildlife and tribal images. Flower boxes and benches are built in to the exterior of the building.

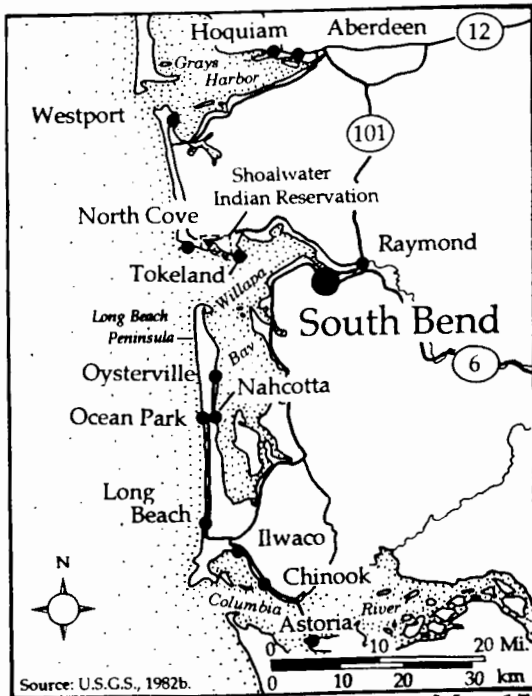
South Bend, Washington: Situation and Site



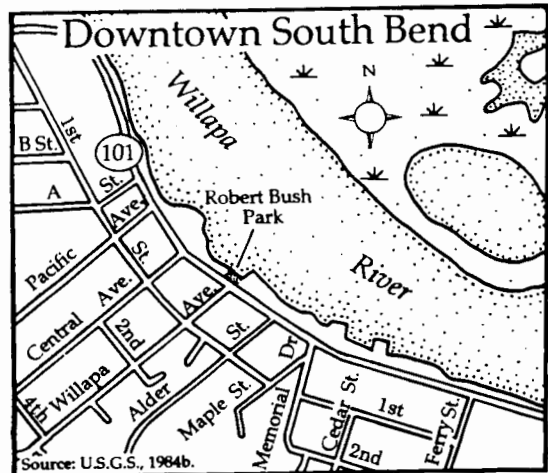
Map 14



Map 16



Map 15



Map 17

8.7: South Bend, Oregon

In the swift channel where the Willapa River becomes bay, small salmon boats manoeuver, pulling strings of bobbing orange floats, while below, gillnets fill with this season's run. Where Highway 101 becomes South Bend's 'main drag,' log trucks lurch, full of second- and third-growth sticks, while cars full of vacationers speed through town without stopping. The shopkeepers of South Bend envy the fishermen their nets. Enclosed in crumbling walls, under water-damaged ceilings, the antique shops struggle to stay solvent, while FOR RENT signs fade in the windows of the buildings next door. Across the street, boys in Nirvana tour shirts spit in the Bay from the public dock.⁴⁹ Down the road, construction crews break ground on one of the many vacant waterfront parcels, while old wrecks of buildings on piers sink into the intertidal mud.

South Bend may be seen as representative of the towns of Washington's Pacific coast littoral. The Pacific coast population of Washington is largely concentrated around Willapa Bay and Grays Harbor. (Map 15) And the Washington coast lacks the up-scale resorts which have proliferated along the Oregon coast. It is instead home to run-down industrial towns on the shores of these two bays, and blue-collar resort towns on the sand bar peninsulas which separate these bays from the open ocean.

South Bend has the least developed tourist sector of all of the towns discussed here. The town occupies filled saltmarsh and forested hills where the channels of Willapa River and several

⁴⁹Nirvana was perhaps the most successful rock group within the recent renaissance of Northwest popular music. Two of the three members of this band were from Aberdeen, Washington, a dilapidated tidewater mill town some 25 miles (40 km) to the north of South Bend. (Map 15) These two towns are closely connected by social and economic ties. With Nirvana's international recognition, and their escape from the resource hinterland, the members of this band became esteemed anti-heroes to some of the area's youth. Nirvana's vitriolic leader, Kurt Cobain - one of the Aberdeen natives, and figurehead of the 'grunge' musical scene - committed suicide after a prolonged period of personal turmoil, as this thesis was in its final stages; it is unclear how this development has altered the significance of the group to local youth.

small streams enter Willapa Bay. (Map 16) An industrial town, its inland position has likely been the greatest obstacle to the smooth adaptation to contemporary circumstances. The town was bypassed by much of the historical tourist development which occurred on nearby ocean beaches, and it has only now begun to witness the benefits of the most recent wave of tourism development. Recognizing the economic imperative to court tourists, South Bend is just beginning, in the early 1990s, to enter an experimental phase of tourist-oriented building and refurbishing.

8.7.1: A brief history of the South Bend area

Because of the isolation of, and the ease of water transport within Willapa Bay, the early history of South Bend cannot be easily extracted from the broader history of all Bay communities. Therefore, this section provides a general overview of the history of the Willapa Bay area, as well as a more detailed history of South Bend.

At contact, the Willapa Bay area housed both Chinook and Chehalis villages, the latter type being limited to the northern edge of the Bay. These tribes had been large and powerful within the region prior to contact, particularly the Chinook. The Chinook, with their commanding position on the mouth of the Columbia River, had played a dominant role in the pre-contact trade of slaves, dentalium, and other goods within the Northwest coast culture area, while playing a significant part in the post-contact trade of furs. By the time of initial white settlement on Willapa Bay, however, these tribes had been significantly reduced in number and power, following a devastating period of plagues and colonial occupation.

The 1850s marked this first phase of Anglo-American settlement in the South Bend area; this represents a somewhat earlier phase of Euro-American settlement than in the other towns studied, facilitated in part by its location on a large navigable bay near the mouth of the Columbia River. (Map 15) The Bay was called 'Shoalwater Bay' by its early settlers. At this time, an oyster fishery emerged as the Bay's first industry, in which the native

Olympia oyster (*Ostrea lurida*) was harvested for the San Francisco market by local Indians working for white settlers.⁵⁰

In 1855, oyster farmers founded the town of Oysterville on the east side of the Long Beach Peninsula at the site of the Bay's highest yielding oyster beds. (Map 15) Oysterville became the Pacific County seat after three years of temporary meeting sites on the Columbia River. In 1858, a lighthouse was constructed at North Cove, on the northern mouth of the Bay, both in anticipation of growing industrial shipping on Willapa Bay, and as an added navigational beacon for ship traffic bound for the Columbia River; later, North Cove also became the site of a Coast Guard life saving station. (McCausland, 1988, pp.5-6)

Settlers built Willapa Bay's first sawmill in the 1850s to supply local construction needs. During 1866, the federal government placed local tribes on the Shoalwater Bay reservation, after several failed attempts to negotiate for the placement of these bands on a large multi-tribal reservation on the northern Olympic Peninsula. (cf. Swan, 1992, pp.327-55) (Map 15) By 1869, commercial milling was established at the future site of South Bend, but this was a small-scale operation, employing very few people. Though this small mill, and other minor industrial enterprises brought a certain economic diversity to these frontier Bay communities, oystering remained the only major industry of the area prior to the coming of inland railroad links in the 1890s. (Hazeltine, 1956)

By all accounts, optimism - rather than actual industrial development - fueled much of the Bay's population growth from the 1860s through the 1880s. Immigrants arrived in great numbers in the Bay, often staying only briefly before moving along; often temporary settlers, drawn by local boosters' overblown depictions of the place in promotional literature, expressed disappointment at the lack of local opportunity and left immediately for better prospects. (Weilepp, 1993)

Still, some long-term growth did result from this optimism.

⁵⁰See Swan, 1992 for an detailed narrative on this period in the history of Willapa Bay.

agricultural settlements increased in number, and without serious labor shortages, local industries were able to expand as much as markets would allow. Most of those who settled on the Bay came from Scandinavia, New England and the American Midwest, though many were from the British Isles and Northern Continental Europe. (Hazeltine, 1956, pp.83-84)

During 1888 and 1889, local industrialists built a narrow-gauge railroad on the Long Beach Peninsula to ship logs from booming grounds on the Bay at Nahcotta - the site of a deep-water channel along the eastern edge of the Long Beach Peninsula - to the Columbia River at Ilwaco. (Map 15) A secondary, and apparently intentional function of this rail line, however, was to facilitate tourism development on the Peninsula, thereby pre-empting development on the Oregon coast. (Hazeltine, 1956, p.130)



Figure 66: Development in 1890s Ocean Park. (Map 15) On a connector road between Nahcotta and other communities on the Peninsula, this community experienced both growth stemming from the expansion of local resource industries, as well as some of the first tourist-oriented development of the time. Commercial buildings feature painted clapboard façades with no overhangs, and no visible signs. The hotels on the right are typical for this period, multiple-story and front-gabled, with painted clapboard exterior and covered porch. Photo courtesy Pacific County Historical Society.

Before the extensive construction of roadways on the Oregon coast, the Columbia River steamships and the Peninsula railroad made the Long Beach Peninsula more accessible to the people of Portland - then the largest metropolitan area in the Northwest region - than most other sections of the Northwest coast. The Willapa Bay area has thus had a long history of tourism development, though most of this modest development has been concentrated on the Peninsula. And clearly, South Bend was

bypassed by this early flow of tourist traffic. (Hazeltine, 1956, p.79)

Still at this time, even on the ocean-front Peninsula, tourist development was not a high priority, as resource industries continued to support the vast majority of Bay residents. Thus, during much of the town's history prior to the 1890s, Oysterville residents vied for land on the Bay, while using the land along the ocean beach, near the present site of Ocean Park, as sheep range. (Map 15) Some of this ocean front land was donated for use as a Methodist Camp, and most of the land changed hands several times before ultimately being developed. (G.C. Johnson, 1931, p.345)

South Bend was platted in 1889 and incorporated in 1890 as a speculative venture by the Northern Land and Development Company, in anticipation of the development of a rail line to Willapa Bay. Though many towns were platted in the hopes of the coming of the railroad, these investors appear to have felt that South Bend had the potential to be promoted as a potentially significant transshipment point. The new town was thus promoted as "The Baltimore of the Pacific." The Company offered free, large building lots to potential employers, while making other building lots available for purchase to the general public.

Also, in 1890, local boosters changed the name of the Bay from 'Shoalwater Bay' to 'Willapa Bay,' after the Willapa River which was itself named after an extinct local Indian band. According to local historians, these investors feared that the original name discouraged shipping traffic, frightening away both mariners and investors. (McCausland, 1988, p.6)

During 1892 and 1893, a rail line was constructed between Chehalis and the South Bend townsite, marking the beginning of the town's development. (Map 1) South Bend rapidly took on the role of a transshipment point for oysters and timber products. Through the 1890s, investors from the Bay, elsewhere in the Northwest, and the Eastern U.S. rapidly established small mills along the South Bend waterfront. South Bend became a center for the shipping of raw logs, as well as the site of several operations which supplied finished products - such as doors and shingles - to domestic

markets. Many of the people from around the Bay moved to South Bend, both for immediate employment and in anticipation of a major industrial boom.(Figure 67) At the same time, a small Chinese community appears to have become established in South Bend, likely in association with local cannery operations.

Further, in 1893 the Pacific County government accepted the Northern Land and Development Company's offer of free land for the County seat. The people of Oysterville, where the County seat had previously been located, hesitated to carry out this move. Thus, town boosters from South Bend hired railroad workers to take the fixtures, files and supplies of the Pacific County government by force. The Pacific County seat has been located in South Bend since this nighttime raid.

During the 1890s, the town of Tokeland, on the northern shore of the Bay began to promote itself as a resort destination, with regular boat access to other points in the Bay.(Map 15) By the turn of the century, this town had become a significant resort community. (Pacific County Historical Society, 1983, 1987)



Figure 67: A vernacular house in South Bend, ca.1900. Front-gabled one- and one and one-half-story houses of this type housed many of the worker's families during the initial boom phase of South Bend's history. As in most towns of the Northwest coast, many South Bend homes of this period exhibit this 'Oregon barn' overhang, low pitched, with a hipped form of construction and often shingled. With a painted, clapboard exterior, the house in this photo appears to be a more extravagant example. Photo courtesy Pacific County Historical Society.

In 1913, a second rail line was built between Raymond and Pe Ell, tying the area into a wider rail network, and contributing to

a rapid boom phase on the Bay, albeit a boom phase which was centered on Raymond. (Maps 1, 15) Between 1910 and 1920, many of the logged-off lowlands on the Peninsula and around the Bay were experimentally planted in cranberries, initiating the Bay's first major venture in commercial agriculture. At this time, a fishing fleet also became established at South Bend, and canneries emerged on the South Bend waterfront.

A major whale processing facility operated between 1910 and 1923 a short distance to the north, in Westport at the mouth of Grays Harbor. (Map 15) However, as Aberdeen and Hoquiam were already well-established service centers on Grays Harbor at this time, South Bend experienced only very minor economic and social impacts from the presence of this station. (Webb, 1988)

During World War I, Willapa Bay experienced a timber boom, particularly within the town of Raymond, roughly three miles (4.8 kilometers) up the Willapa River from South Bend. (Map 15) Again much of this cutting was performed for the U.S. Army Spruce Division, in which Sitka spruce (*Picea sitchensis*) and other woods were harvested for the war effort. At this time, the Weyerhaeuser Corporation became a major force in the local economy, as the company acquired a majority of local private timber land, and established tidewater mills on both Willapa Bay and Grays Harbor. A minor shipyard was established in South Bend at this time as well. By the early 1920s, the commercial townscape of South Bend was built up to its maximum extent. (Figure 68)

Unlike what occurred on much of the Northwest coast, the 1920s marked a period of downturn on Willapa Bay, as local resources were exhausted, and the boom went bust. During this decade the oyster industry began to decline as a result of over-harvesting and water pollution. Mill activity in Raymond and South Bend slowed and log shipments to the Columbia River declined as private standing timber was depleted. South Bend, Raymond, and the small industrial towns of the east Peninsula floundered. By 1930, the Peninsula rail line had been removed. Simultaneously, in 1930, a gravel roadway was established between Raymond and Aberdeen, thus connecting South Bend to the population centers of the Puget Sound. (Hazeltine,



Figure 68: South Bend in 1921 at the apex of the town's growth, along the current route of Highway 101.⁵¹ Little new construction occurred on this section of the street between the mid 1920s and the early 1990s. Note the painted clapboard store façades. Signs are few and small, while pictographic signs are absent. One store-front in this photo's right foreground has exterior flower boxes. No other diagnostic features are visible. Photo courtesy Pacific County Historical Society.

The 1930s marked a pivotal period in South Bend's history, in which the continuing economic depression began to have irreversible impacts. The worldwide depression compounded the downturns of the 1920s, and most of the Bay's lumber mills ceased production. Tourism on the Peninsula was also brought to a halt by the dual impacts of the depression and the opening of Oregon's coastal highway. The steamship routes from Oregon to Ilwaco ceased operations. Thus the Bay's connections to the population centers of Washington emerged while the connections to the population centers of Oregon were disengaged. Further, multiple sequences of rapid shoreline erosion on the Bay's north shore during this time resulted in the submersion of most of the Coast Guard town of North Cove as well as the commercial district of the resort community of Tokeland. The northern edge of the Bay was almost entirely vacated thereafter, save the small Shoalwater Bay Indian reservation. (Map 15)

⁵¹Unless otherwise indicated, photos of commercial South Bend are from sites found on the map of downtown South Bend, Map 17.

The only bright economic developments during the 1930s were associated with a revitalization of the oyster industry, as the Pacific oyster (*Crassostrea gigas*) was introduced from Japan⁵² and dairying became a significant industry. Both of these successes could be partially attributed to the increased access to markets, associated with improved land transportation routes to the rest of western Washington.

During and immediately following the War the Willapa Bay area's timber industry experienced minor improvement but did not achieve pre-war levels of production. With increased automation and improved highway transportation, mill functions for the area's timber became primarily concentrated in the towns of Aberdeen and Hoquiam on Grays Harbor, with a smaller center of industrial activity located in the town of Raymond. (Map 15) Most of South Bend's timber processing facilities disbanded; with over half of its total labor force occupied in the timber industry prior to the War, the town's economy languished. (Hazeltine, 1956, pp.171-79, 212)

And the town did not grow back. The commercial enterprises of the town disbanded in great numbers, and buildings stood vacant. Without routine maintenance, these buildings, with their wood frames, and often foundations and fixtures of beach sand concrete, decomposed rapidly in the humid climate. The City government established a program to raze abandoned commercial buildings, in order to minimize the threat of fire or injury. From the late 1940s through the 1970s, a sizeable portion of the City's contracting budget was devoted to demolition projects. Some interviewees suggested that a devastating accidental fire would have been a more merciful way of removing these relics of South Bend's brief prosperity. (Weilepp, 1993) Photos of the town from this period look very much like highly dilapidated versions of the scene in the 1921 photo in Figure 68; mnemonic embellishments

⁵²Ironically, the oyster producing areas of Washington have recently been involved with the reseeded of Pacific oysters into Japanese oyster beds, which have dwindled in recent years. (Read, 1993)

appear to be almost entirely absent. (Hazeltine, 1956, p.228) During the 1940s and 1950s, the State of Washington improved many of the main roads around Willapa Bay. Tourists from the cities of the Puget Sound began to explore the area, largely replacing Oregon tourists in the towns of the Peninsula.

During the 1950s and 1960s, despite periodic booms in the housing market, the timber industry of Willapa Bay continued to diminish, so that sporadic logging and the shipping of logs were the only significant timber activities on the Bay. Ironically, while still maintaining one of the American Northwest's highest rates of timber harvest, Pacific County found itself with one of the region's lowest levels of employment in wood processing.

The town of South Bend became increasingly dependent upon fishing and oyster farming; with expanded processing facilities, Willapa Bay became one of the world's largest oyster-producing areas at this time. With expanded shellfish canning facilities, local companies also moved into the crab market. Thus, both crab and oysters were canned for national and international markets, while fresh shellfish from Willapa Bay continued to gain favor in regional markets. Cranberry farming also expanded during this period.

A bridge was built across the Columbia River near Astoria in August of 1966, improving access to the southern Washington coast for Oregon's tourist traffic, and drastically increasing the amount of through traffic in the area. (Graph 6, Appendix) During this time, roads were also built around the north shore of the Bay, providing a land route to such towns as Tokeland, and connecting Willapa Bay to Gray's Harbor by a route along the ocean beach. (Map 15) During this period the ocean side of the Long Beach Peninsula began to experience a phase of rapid tourist-oriented development, a phase which has arguably continued with only minor interruptions to the present.

The timber industry continued to decline, as the recession emerged during the early 1980s; the market softened, at the same time that much of the second- and third-growth timber around Willapa Bay was exhausted by high-volume logging operations, many

of which shipped their logs directly to Japan. (Pyle, 1986) The Grays Harbor mills began to reduce production or close, and logging activity around Willapa Bay virtually ceased.

Currently, South Bend's traditional industries do not provide a consistent source of employment for the community. Still, oyster packing continues with few interruptions. A waterfront boat repair facility employs a small crew of mechanics. One of the few new industries found in South Bend is the small Oh Yang Inc. eel skin processing plant, which supplies eel skin to Asian companies for use in such items as wallets and purses. Thus, industrial activity continues, but on a much reduced scale. The only event which has recently drawn the attention of the media to the area has been the remarkably high mortality rate among infants of the Shoalwater Bay Indian Reservation. (Map 15) Though the studies seem inconclusive, local lore attributes the deaths to the herbicides and pesticides used in timber and cranberry production.

Now residents are beginning to recognize that tourism may be one of the last remaining options for maintaining the viability of South Bend. (Graph 7, Appendix) As Pacific County Museum Director, Bruce Weilepp suggests, "people are just beginning to see the light... we've hit bottom." (Weilepp, 1993) Within the last decade, residents and boosters have proposed various tourism promotion schemes, but generally, public funding has been lacking for these proposals. Thus, with the exception of a small public park and rest rooms, all tourist-oriented development has been the result of private initiative.

As with many resource towns in the early stages of such a transition, the people of South Bend resist change, particularly change which is believed to originate from without. Bruce Weilepp is candid about this resistance:

"People here say 'We make things that people need.' They take pride in the fact that they work (or have worked) at an industrial job. A lot of them make it very clear that they don't want to have to make this place attractive to outsiders in order to make a living." (Weilepp, 1993)

But still, looking at the experiences of other towns on the coast, the residents of South Bend have begun to recognize the potential for and appeal of tourist development.

Lacking the environmental amenities of towns a short distance down the road, residents and visitors recognize the built environment of South Bend as the resource with the greatest potential. Bruce Weillepp describes a typical response:

"a guy called me a couple weeks ago from Sunset magazine, wanting to write about South Bend. He had seen all the old buildings, and was predicting some major changes: 'The next Port Townsend!! The next LaConner!!' Well, people have been saying that around here for the last 20 years. It's not going to be all that easy... this town is very different than those places." (Weillepp, 1993) (Map 1)

Indeed, after an extended period of building demolition, with dilapidated wood-frame building stock, and a commercial district on the through highway, South Bend has many challenges ahead.

Still, some type of economic boom appears to be just around the corner. The City of South Bend has effectively promoted itself as a retirement community, and many retired couples have arrived in the town with money and a desire to build. Thus, as South Bend Mayor, Spurrell asserts, "We've had more applications for [building] permits in the last 6 months than we'd had in the previous 10 years." (Spurrell, 1993) And in conjunction with increased tourist traffic and this boom in retirement development, the commercial landscape of South Bend is beginning to change.

South Bend, of course, has not inspired a recent immigration of commercial proprietors, and thus almost all merchants on South Bend's main street are long-time residents, whose families arrived in the town during past industrial booms. (Spurrell, 1993) The business mix of South Bend's main street has not changed dramatically, with many resource-era uses persisting. As a result of these local merchants' efforts, a couple of new tourist-oriented businesses have emerged in the last five years with new architectural twists on old themes.



Figure 69: South Bend's main street in 1993. The same view as shown in Figure 68. Many buildings have been removed since 1921. Only the cluster of two-story structures on the left side of the street appears to remain intact. The only apparent new construction is on the edge of the photo's left foreground, a building with a hybridized appearance, which is shown in greater detail in Figure 72. Signs have become larger. Shingles have been added to the now-exposed side of the two-story building, center right.

This trend does not have many direct public sector influences. Currently, the City of South Bend has no design restrictions on the appearance of commercial buildings. However, setback restrictions and Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife restrictions on shoreline building present spatial controls on development. The City of South Bend has constructed the small Robert Bush Park and public dock on Highway 101 in phases during the late 1980s and the early 1990s, and is currently seeking a rest stop, with rest rooms near these facilities. (Spurrell, 1993) (Map 17) These public features provide minor inputs to the general look of South Bend, and provide a small assortment of diagnostic built cues. (Figure 73) The City's program to encourage the demolition of buildings resulted in some profound changes in the local townscape, not the least of which is the dramatic reduction in historical commercial buildings immediately before a marked increase in the demands for the same.

Still, the vast majority of controls on display in South Bend's townscape appear to be informally employed among local merchants and residents. The South Bend Merchants Association is now beginning to discuss potential designs of the town's first

major renovation project, working with a dilapidated waterfront warehouse building which they will convert to commercial uses. In this project, they have expressed a desire to maintain aesthetic continuity with the town, redeveloping the waterfront building in a style with local commercial precedents, while still making it look "new" and "like something the tourists will like." (Spurrell, 1993) Thus, it would appear that the process of expressive pidginization of the built environment continues.

8.7.2: The contemporary townscape of South Bend

In South Bend, most of the diagnostic elements of pidginization in the built environment have emerged since the late 1980s, while others may have yet to emerge. Evidence of drift occurred as early as the late 1970s, probably stimulated by an increase in demands for commercial space after a long period of publicly-sponsored demolitions of commercial buildings.

simplification

mnemonic

Mnemonic cues as described in this thesis are rapidly appearing in South Bend at present. These cues, oriented toward pedestrians, are placed in a pre-existing highway-side landscape, which had already gained signs oriented toward passing traffic from the 1960s to the present.

Flower boxes and hanging flower pots are increasingly common in South Bend, most placed in front of the few tourist-oriented businesses in town. (Figures 71, 72, 74, 77) Flower boxes and pots have appeared within the town during the late 1980s and the early 1990s. As seen in Figure 68, flower boxes appeared on rare occasion during the apex of the town's prosperity, but are not visible with any regularity in photos dating from the 1930s to the 1980s.

Benches are common along the roadside, and though rare, have appeared along storefronts. All of the roadside benches, and some of the storefront benches can be attributed to the work of a single private foundation, funded by the estate of a long-time area

booster. Since the late 1980s, this foundation has placed benches with memorial inscriptions - bearing the names of several deceased local residents - around the town as a minor town improvement. (Weillepp, 1993) (Figures 73, 74) The other benches within the town, placed by individual proprietors, have primarily appeared during the early 1990s. (Figures 72, 77)

Windssocks are present, but rare in downtown South Bend, with only two present within the primary study area, along Highway 101. These windssocks have appeared since the late 1980s. (Figure 78) Flags are apparently not employed for commercial applications in South Bend. The only visible flags within the town are United States flags in front of residences and public facilities, such as the local post office and in the new Robert Bush Park. (Figure 73)

thematic

South Bend lacks many of the thematic sign elements seen in other towns, reflecting both the low level of tourist development, and the high level of resistance to the ideological position associated with, for example, natural or tribal elements. Accordingly, nature themes are rare in South Bend. One of the windssocks is configured in the shape of an orca. (Figure 78) On the side of the Boondock's Coffee Shop, a small mural shows a collection of cartoonish images of elk, bald eagles, owls, and other wildlife. (Figure 70) Elsewhere, the traditional game fish and seagulls are visible on signs; as mentioned, these motifs are common at the first stages of tourist development, as they ostensibly cohere with the folk art and occupations of resource-era populations. Seagull images are first viewed within photos from the 1960s, though it is conceivable that they pre-date this period. The game fish seen within a public sculpture of a pair of fishery-workers dates from the late 1980s. (Figure 75)

Though tribal motifs are relatively common on the more tourist-oriented Long Beach Peninsula, such themes are largely absent from South Bend. The one obvious exception to this general statement can be found in the case of the recent construction of a pseudo-totem pole with municipal sponsorship within the Robert Bush Park. This pole, which bears a slight resemblance to poles

of a Salish style, appeared sometime since the late 1980s.(Figure 73)

Beach themes, as described elsewhere in this thesis, are not present within South Bend. Further, industry-related maritime motifs are present, while the town lacks much of the romanticized historical maritime theme, with such images as clipper ships, as one finds in other towns on the coast. Within the Robert Bush Park, a sculpture of a fisherman and female cannery worker with ship's propeller, dating from the late 1980s, serve as a public tribute to the town's resource workers.(Figure 75) On the sign of Boondocks Restaurant, we see a fishing boat motif, probably dating from the 1980s.(Figure 75) The gull and pier motif on the local pizza restaurant may also be loosely construed as fitting the maritime category.(Figure 76)

South Bend, with its remaining historic buildings, seems ripe for the utilization of historical themes, and one can see evidence of tentative steps in that direction. Though sign elements of a historical theme are rare, the renovation of historical buildings has involved the resuscitation of historical forms of detailing and painting on these structures. (Figures 71, 72)

drift

Evidence of drift is limited within South Bend. Currently the town lacks evidence of an extensive infusion of residential architecture into commercial uses. Occasional examples can be found, in which residences have been adapted for commercial uses during the late 1980s and early 1990s. And during this same period, some commercial structures have been built in vernacular residential styles. (Figures 70, 71, 75) 'Oregon barn' overhangs have recently been built for a small number of commercial applications.(Figure 72)

And, clearly the use of older commercial styles has drifted, as it has come to be equated with atypical tourist-oriented functions, after long functioning as the standard for all commercial functions.



Figure 70: The Boondock's Coffee Shop on South Bend's main street. This structure, built during the 1980s, is clearly a residential form. This house style with its hipped, shingled roof, with front-gabled ridge, and a partial roof extension overhang entryway is a form seen in some local historic houses. The style appears to be adapted from common folk house styles as found in other parts of the U.S., particularly the American South, and immigration of labor from this region may have originally brought this style to the Northwest coast. (cf. McAlester and McAlester, 1991, p.101) A collage on the side of the building features images of elk, bald eagles, owls, and other local wildlife.



Figure 71: An older resource-era house adapted for use as a real estate office, on Highway 101, just east of the central commercial district. (Map 16) Detailing around windows, and a multiple-color paint scheme gives this structure a hint of Victorian stick style of residential architecture. Hanging flowers have been placed on either side of the entryway.

fusion

Evidence of fusion in South Bend is very limited; most cases of fusion have resulted from building projects of the early 1990s. Most cases of fusion have resulted from the partial conversion of a building in conjunction with a change in building function.

In one case, we see a residential overhang over the display windows of a newly-remodeled western style commercial building with façade and painted exterior. (Figure 72) We see a hint of a New England commercial influence in the case of a gas station which has been converted into a coffee shop, with the addition of unpainted ornamental shingles and a variety of elaborate detailing. (Figure 77) In another case, we see a clear example of a residence, built on a formerly commercial lot, being converted back to commercial

functions, with the addition of a painted façade, following a rebound of demand for commercial space in central South Bend. (Figure 76)

Perhaps the greatest promise for future fusion lies in the desire of proprietors to adjust to contemporary circumstances. Current modifications of the built environment suggest that the town is following a course similar to that followed by some of the more developed tourist towns of the area. With their waterfront building project, the South Bend Merchant's Association seeks to create something that looks new, but fits into the historic character of the town. Herein lies the clearest promise of built pidginization.



Figure 72: One of South Bend's newest commercial developments: a boutique. The façade is recent, dating from the early 1990s. The freshly painted clapboard commercial exterior is reminiscent of historical commercial façades, but on a smaller scale. Attached to this façade is a traditional Oregon barn overhang, derived from local residential forms. Large flowerpots, and benches have been arranged around the approaches to the business. The sign is large, while a wooden Uncle Sam figure and an old bicycle (against tree) are placed in front of the building.



Figure 73: The Robert Bush Park on the South Bend waterfront along Highway 101, in construction since the 1980s. (Map 17) The totem pole figure, built since the late 1980s, is a simplistic rendering, which may bear a slight Salish influence. The use of the flag here could be construed as a mnemonic cue at this roadside location, though as this is a public space, its precise function is unclear. Memorial benches and picnic tables have been placed along the railing's edge.



Figure 74: The Lumber Exchange Building on Highway 101. Built in 1907, this building housed the business end of the local lumber industry until the 1940s(?), while small shops have consistently occupied the street level of the building. Much of the lower level was occupied by a drugstore. The Chinese restaurant appears to date from early in the town's history - seemingly visible in the distant background of Figure 68 - and may be viewed as a relict of resource-era Chinese settlement. After a period of vacancy following 1970, the left side of the building has been occupied by tourist-oriented functions. Despite changes in clientele, the look of the building has not changed dramatically. Since the 1980s, small signs have been posted on extended posts, while memorial benches have been placed along the side of the building, and flower pots have been placed in front of the building.



Figure 75: The same portion of Highway 101 in South Bend's main commercial district as seen in Figure 69, looking east. Some of the lots vacated by the post-War building demolition program have remained vacant, while others have been occupied by less grand commercial structures since the 1980s. Many of these new structures - like the main portion of the Boondock's Restaurant, seen in the left foreground - have been built with a front-gabled residential style, with low-pitched shingled overhangs. Note the fishing boat on the Boondock's sign. The two figures in the foreground left stand near the entrance to the public park. They are City-sponsored statues in honor of local resource workers, in this case a female cannery worker, and a male salmon fisherman. These figures are separated by a ship's propeller.



Figure 76: A site on Highway 101 with a telling history, this commercial structure is a remodelled residential building which had replaced a pre-existing commercial structure. The value of the space for commercial uses declined after the 1920s, but has gradually increased following the 1950s. The building now consists of a hipped-roof residential building, with attached painted white façade, a shallow shingled overhang with no protective value, and horizontal unpainted boards around the entry. Note the gull and pier motif on the sign.

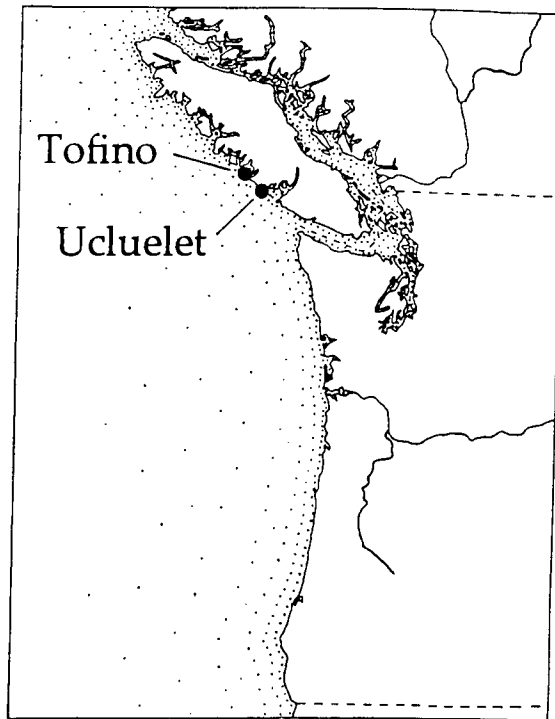


Figure 77: A coffee shop occupying a former gas station building, on Highway 101. This 1980s remodel features a turret, and decorative shinglework on a serrated façade, suggesting a possible New England coastal influence. Note also the flower pots and benches.

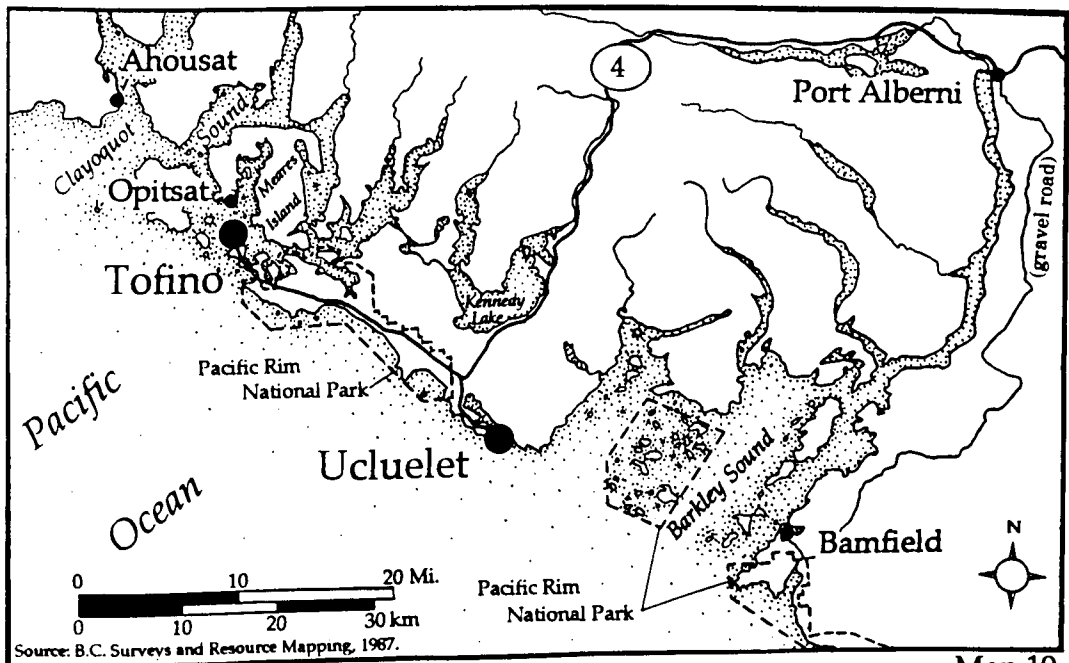


Figure 78: The western edge of commercial South Bend, on Highway 101. The historic building, center photo obscures much of its façade with street-oriented signs. In the space between this building, and the structure to the left, we see a suspended orca windsock. A shop and a gas station in the right background have attached façade/overhangs of rough shingles - similar to those seen in Bandon, Oregon - added in the 1980s.

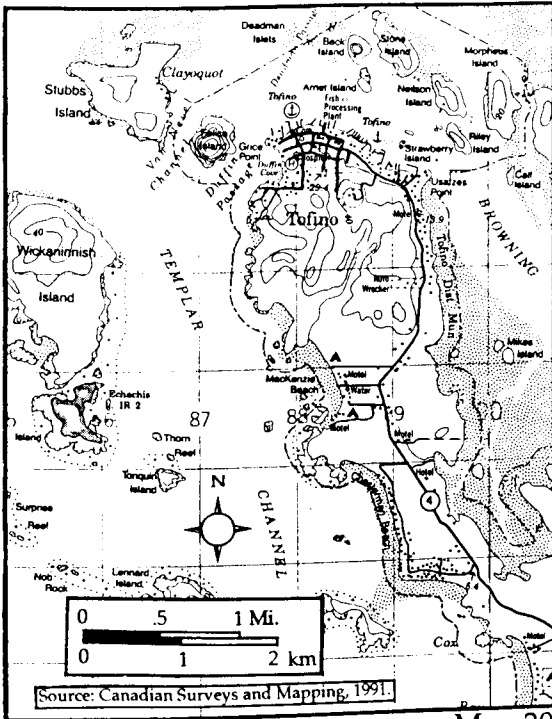
Tofino and Ucluelet, British Columbia: Situation and Sites



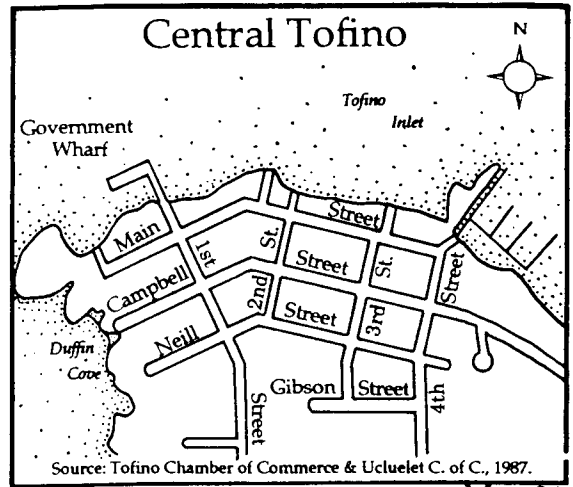
Map 18



Map 19



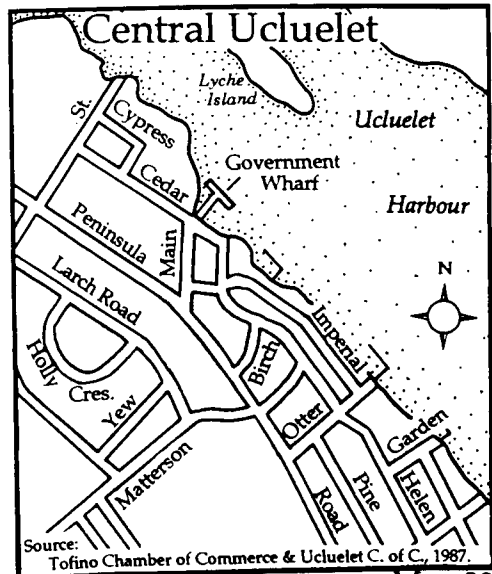
Map 20



Map 21



Map 22



Map 23

8.8: Tofino and Ucluelet, British Columbia

At the main intersection of Tofino, Clayoquot Indians gather, waiting for a boat ride to the tribal village of Opitsat, on Meares Island, a glacially-carved pair of mountains which loom to 792 meters (2599 feet) behind the town. (Maps 19, 20, 21) A refurbished Beaver floatplane roars up from the water, carrying backpackers to a remote edge of Clayoquot Sound. In the airplane's wake, a whale-watching boat full of tourists in bright orange life jackets swerves to avoid a collision with a returning salmon troller. Lifetime Tofino resident Ken Gibson pulls his dilapidated pickup to the side of the road to chat with an impromptu gathering of local loggers in front of the Co-Op store. Young, bohemian environmental activists from universities throughout Canada - activists whom Gibson openly refers to as "the enemy" - gather around the Common Loaf Bake Shop.

I turn my attention to the notices on a wind-swept, rain-moistened community bulletin board. Skimming through the postings advertising used outboard motors, chain saws, native art, and environmental teach-ins, my eyes are drawn to a handmade advertisement for a typical vacation home in these parts: the owner calls it a 'Neo-Eastern Longhouse.' If the accompanying faded photo is any indication, the owner has coined an appropriate architectural term. The cultural influences which come to bear upon this remote edge of Vancouver Island are of diverse origin, and fresh and awkward in their juxtaposition. And it shows in the architecture.

I drive down the road to Ucluelet, where loggers from around the province are holding a counter-protest to the Tofino environmentalists' protests of logging on Clayoquot Sound. (Maps 19, 22, 23) Here the hills behind town are brown with clearcuts. Two log trucks, parked single-file at the entrance to town carry full loads of logs, across which someone has painted in bright yellow the message 'Ucluelet thanks you for your support.' Today, the docks are quiet, as fishermen join in the pro-industry protests.

I stop at Smiley's, the combined diner and bowling alley that has become the center of the anti-environmentalist backlash. Here

families sit at tables eating; locals, both Euro-American and Ucluelet Indian, pensively discuss the day's plans, clad in yellow shirts and hats bearing pro-logging slogans, while their children chase each other around and under the tables. Police, brought in from towns around British Columbia, huddle over their breakfasts and talk in hushed tones; they have been brought here to prevent violent clashes between the two groups of protesters.

The turmoil in Tofino and Ucluelet can be attributed in part to a particular geographic quirk: they are the only Canadian municipalities on the beaches of the open Pacific which can be easily accessed by road from the urban centers of the Strait of Georgia region. This road is still rather new, and the longtime residents of these towns still struggle with the outside scrutiny that has come with the greater accessibility. The Long Beach Unit of the Pacific Rim National Park, lying between these two towns, now draws thousands of visitors annually, while the surrounding inlets have become the focal point of some of Canada's most heated environmental battles. (Map 19) Many longtime residents will tell you: accessibility has its price.

Ucluelet lies along a peninsula on the northern edge of Barkley Sound, while Tofino lies along a peninsula on the southern edge of Clayoquot Sound; both towns have open ocean and protected inlet harbors within their city limits. (Maps 19-23) Located 42 kilometers (26 miles) apart, these towns are separated by beaches and headlands; the Pacific Rim National Park encompasses much of this intervening terrain. This part of the west coast is now accessible to the people of Vancouver via ferry and road, taking three to four hours' travel time from West Vancouver; these towns are now also within two to four hours drive of the rapidly growing southeastern corner of Vancouver Island, between Victoria and Nanaimo. (Map 1)

These towns differ from the American towns in this study in a number of ways. They lacked road access until recently, and they are located at a terminal point on this roadway. They abut relatively large native communities, and they have experienced different forms of European and other cultural inheritances.

Still, these towns share with their American counterparts similarities in resources, past and present corporate ties, recently increased external contacts, and similar socio-economic responses to similar changing economic and social pressures. (cf. Evenden and Turbeville, 1992) These parallels are evidenced in the analogous responses of built form within the Canadian and American towns to the changing circumstances of the late 20th century. Because of the small distance between the towns of Tofino and Ucluelet, and the relative isolation of these towns from other centers of settlement, their histories have been inextricably linked. Thus, the histories of both towns are discussed together. What differences exist between the two towns illuminate to the general pidginization hypothesis.

8.8.1: A brief history of Tofino and Ucluelet

Prior to Euro-American settlement, the Tofino-Ucluelet area was home to two distinct Nootkan tribes. The Clayoquot resided in the vicinity of Tofino, on the southern shores of Clayoquot Sound, while the Ucluelet Band resided in the vicinity of Ucluelet, on the northern shores of Barkley Sound. (Map 19) Perhaps more than any other tribe in the Northwest coast culture area, the Nootkan peoples of western Vancouver Island were highly successful whalers and sealers, setting their hunting canoes into the open Pacific with specialized harpooning crews. (Koppert, 1930; Webb, 1988) In addition, these tribes maintained a position of great importance among the tribal confederations of the pre-contact Northwest coast because of their control over the harvesting of dentalium, the money shell of aboriginal western North America. Initial white settlement on the west coast was delayed, not only by the very remoteness of this coastline, but also by the reputed violence of the Nootkan tribes, following certain well-publicized hostile encounters between these peoples and early explorers. (Jewitt, 1987)

In the 1850s, the harvesting of dogfish for liver oil extraction brought the first temporary Euro-American settlers to Ucluelet and Tofino. Much of the fishing for dogfish was performed by the local Indians in their own canoes, while white settlers

managed the shore processing facilities. (Bossin, 1981; Hillier, 1954, p.1) Dogfish harvesting was a sporadic industry, with rapid booms and busts associated with abrupt fluctuations in the magnitude of catches; the dogfish industry thus persisted for irregular intervals until the present, though the industry has "usually bankrupted the companies that got into it." (Gibson, 1993)

In 1875, a Captain Pinney established a store in what was to become the town of Clayoquot on Stubb's Island immediately north of Tofino, the first permanent white settlement on the southwestern coast of Vancouver Island. (Map 20) Pinney promoted the site as a trading post for ships in the sea otter, sealing, fishing and timber trades, though Pinney did not find immediate success in this venture. (Nicholson, 1965, pp.89-90)

During the 1870s and 1880s, sealing emerged as a significant industry along the British Columbia coast. These hunts for fur seals were performed on sealing schooners, the operators of which would hire local Indians, with their considerable experience of both hunting and boating in these waters. The settlements of Ucluelet Arm became minor centers of shore support for sealing operations, while Ahousaht, an Indian village across Clayoquot Sound from Tofino, became a major center for the sealing industry. (Murray, 1988, pp.185-199) (Map 19)

Much of the west coast sealing industry was monopolized by the Victoria Sealing Company, a U.S.-based company, which brought in boats and labor from its bases in the American Northwest. (Murray, 1988; Gibson, 1993) Early U.S. corporate influences on this coast brought American company housing and social influences to these towns at a crucial period in their settlement history. Thus we see the infusion of residential architectural styles from the American Northwest from the earliest phases of settlement on this coast, generally in cases of company housing. (Figure 79) Indeed, the perpetuated use of American architecture, such as the 'Oregon barn' style, appears to be one of the few detectable forms of evidence of this early corporate influence.

By the mid 1880s, the town of Clayoquot became a minor commercial core, servicing boats which were involved in the local

seal and sea otter hunts. Simultaneously, across from the present site of Ucluelet, on the east shore of Ucluelet Arm, the town of Port Albion emerged around a fish reduction plant; this community - also known as "Ucluelet East" - became the center of Ucluelet-area industry and settlement at this time.⁵³ (Map 22) During the 1880s, a minor fishing industry also emerged. Local Indians trolled for salmon and halibut, while white settlers with dories set salmon nets on local inlets and rivers. Small cooperatives of local fishermen sent these small loads of salmon and halibut to Victoria, both for the local market and for canning. (Hillier, 1956; Bossin, 1981) (Map 1) Through the 1890s, recent immigrants to the area expanded support facilities for the sealing and fishing industries of both towns, establishing processing stations, boat repair facilities and provisions stores. (Murray, 1988, pp. 185-199; Nicholson, 1965, p.90)

During the 1890s and 1900s, companies with operations on the west coast of Vancouver Island sent several Scandinavian work crews to the Tofino-Ucluelet area in response to growing labor demands for the local fishing and sealing industries, boating support services, and prospective timber industry development.⁵⁴ Many of these settlers located on the Esowista Peninsula at the site of present-day Tofino. (Figure 83) At the same time, British settlers, largely without corporate support, attempted to establish homesteads and small commercial outposts. These British settlers

⁵³Interestingly, today's Tofino is arguably an outward-looking community, with an economy dependent upon the servicing of outsiders *in situ*, while Ucluelet is generally viewed as being relatively insular, and resistant to exogenously-induced change. These trends have precedents from the very beginnings of these towns' histories. Contemporary social dynamics may possibly be rooted in these early foundations.

⁵⁴ During this period, within the maritime Northwest, Scandinavian immigrants provided much of the labor for corporate resource work camps, while spontaneous Scandinavian settlements appeared elsewhere on the coast. For a discussion of late-19th century Scandinavian settlement in the coastal resource communities of British Columbia, see Fish, 1982. Rasmussen (1993) discusses concurrent Scandinavian settlement in resource communities within the American Northwest.

generally located on the islands of Clayoquot Sound, as well as on the small harbors found on Ucluelet Arm and around the interior edge of Clayoquot Sound. (Bossin, 1981; Nicholson, 1965)

The turn of the century marked a period of rapid development in the Tofino-Ucluelet area. At this time, the Kenfalls Cannery was established on Clayoquot Sound, near the outlet of Kennedy Lake, east of Tofino. (Map 19) This facility, the first salmon cannery in the area, continued operations until the 1940s. In addition, at this time gold mining commenced on the hills around Clayoquot sound, resulting in a minor influx of temporary Chinese laborers, and an assortment of Chinese merchants who built Tofino's first commercial structures. (Figure 82) Simultaneously, prospectors - most being established local settlers - mined gold-bearing black sands on the ocean beaches near Ucluelet. (Hillier, 1954) Shortly thereafter, copper mining commenced near Tofino.

During 1903 and 1904, a U.S.-based, multi-national whaling syndicate built the Sechart whaling station near Ucluelet, a station which has been called "the province's first modern shore whaling station." (Webb, 1988, p.235) The Sechart station housed a major whale-processing facility, primarily extracting oil and fertilizer. Ucluelet became a minor docking facility and supply center to the Sechart whaling fleet. (Webb, 1988; Hillier, 1954, p.2) (Figure 81) The whaling operations initiated the influx of laborers from a variety of origins both to company housing at the station, and to the Ucluelet area. Norwegian, American, Newfoundland, Chinese and Japanese laborers all located on the northern shore of Barkley Sound at this time. (Figure 79) Local Indians were also recruited to work on whaling vessels, in part due to the reputation derived from their pre-contact history of whaling. (Webb, 1988, p.204; Koppert, 1930) In 1910, a herring saltery was established in Ucluelet for the Japanese trade. Fishermen caught herring in the waters around both towns, resulting in an increase in demand for shoreside facilities. While small lumber and shingle mills supplied wood products for local needs, no commercial sawmills existed in the area at the time. A very small amount of commercial logging occurred nearby, however,

supplying wood to mills in Port Alberni. (Map 19)



Figure 79: Company housing for the Sechart whaling station. The company which built this station had been an established concern in the American Northwest prior to commencing operations on Vancouver Island; the diffusion of the 'Oregon barn' style was clearly facilitated by such cross-border ventures. (Webb, 1988) Webb suggests that, while these houses were homogeneous at their inception, they were altered over time to approximate ethnic styles within small ethnically homogeneous enclaves on the northern shore of Barkley Sound. Thus, for example, the houses within the Japanese district were often retrofitted with extensions housing large tubs for group bathing. (Webb, 1988, p.207) Photo courtesy British Columbia Archives and Records Service. (Negative #A-8870)

Permanent population growth, however, did not match settlers' expectations. This prompted a local movement to build a roadway to the populated eastern side of Vancouver Island, and several schemes were employed to this end. Most notably, in an attempt to achieve a greater population, and thereby create an administrative imperative for road-building, local boosters sent promotional brochures to places in Canada and Britain to encourage immigration to the southwest coast of Vancouver Island. And settlers continued to lobby the provincial government for road construction and the opening of land for pre-emption.

In 1911, the British Columbia Department of Lands opened much of the land between the two towns for pre-emption, at a time when much of British Columbia was being similarly opened up for settlement. The lands between the towns were occupied rapidly, possibly fueled by speculative expectations of the Alberni road, actively broadcast in the immigration promotionals. Settlers

established farms, particularly dairy farms, on the narrow marine terrace between these towns. During 1911 and 1912, settlers built a rough, corduroy road between Tofino and Ucluelet. (Lyons, 1958, p.207; Hillier, 1954, p.3; B.C. Department of Lands, 1914) The emergence of this road, in conjunction with the influx of settlers to the land between the two pre-existing centers of population, brought about the increasing orientation of these marine communities to land-based transport. And this appears to have initiated a gradual migration of the area's primary commercial and residential centers to the current sites of central Tofino and central Ucluelet at the terminal ends of this land route. (Map 19)



Figure 80: The village of Clayoquot, predecessor to contemporary Tofino, on the opposite shore, ca.1911. (Map 20) Commercial buildings are clearly suggested by rectangular façades with clapboard siding. Houses are side-gabled, or front-gabled with hipped roof Photo courtesy British Columbia Archives and Records Service. (Negative #F-495)

Though the sealing industry provided much of the impetus for settlement in the area up to this time, this ceased abruptly in 1911 when international treaties drastically reduced allowable seal harvests. (Bossin, 1981, p.17) Thus, despite a period of accelerated population growth, these towns did not experience significant commercial growth at this time, as the traditional customers from the sealing trade departed. It was during this period, however, that the potential for tourism development appears to have been recognized by the early settlers. Proprietors built hotels near the passenger boat docks although, as elsewhere, these



Figure 81: An Importer and General Merchant, on Ucluelet's Main Street, in the teens(?). This is the oldest general store in Ucluelet; this building is currently occupied by a gift store. As in Tofino, this commercial structure was adorned with vertical white painted clapboard and painted trim on its façade. The hipped overhang seen here is the only case of a Canadian resource-era commercial application within the photographic record available to the author. Other pictures indicate that this overhang was added several years after the building's construction, and was removed within a few years after this photo. Significantly, the addition and removal of the overhang appears to correlate with the dates of construction and demolition of the Sechart whaling station. This station, a source of much of the store's business at this time, was itself full of structures with hipped overhangs. (Figure 79) Photo courtesy Ucluelet and Area Historical Society.

hotels ultimately housed more local laborers than itinerant holiday-goers. And in 1913, to the south across Barkley Sound, the West Coast Development Company began to promote a proposed seaside resort development, based on promised road access; neither the road nor the town ever materialized. (West Coast Development Co., 1913a, 1913b) In 1917, the Sechart whaling station closed, the machinery was removed, and the buildings converted into a herring packing plant. Shortly thereafter, the packing plant closed as well. (Webb, 1988, p.235-36) Whaling continued at this time on the northern end of Vancouver Island, and both Tofino and Ucluelet continued to function as a service center for the whaling fleet, albeit on a

diminished scale.

Attempts to establish agriculture on this coast were hindered from their inception by poor soil, dense vegetation, and a variety of large predators. (Bossin, 1981, p.12; Hillier, 1954, pp.3-4; Gibson, 1993) By the late teens, many farmsteads were being abandoned, or were converted to other uses. Settlers appear to have departed or taken employment with the growing resource industries of the coast. While there had been sales of local timber land to foreign investors - particularly American investors - and much talk of timber surveying, no industrial cutting occurred prior to the First World War. At the onset of the War, the Imperial Munitions Board established Spruce Camps, as found in the U.S. cases, cutting Sitka spruce on local hillslopes for use in

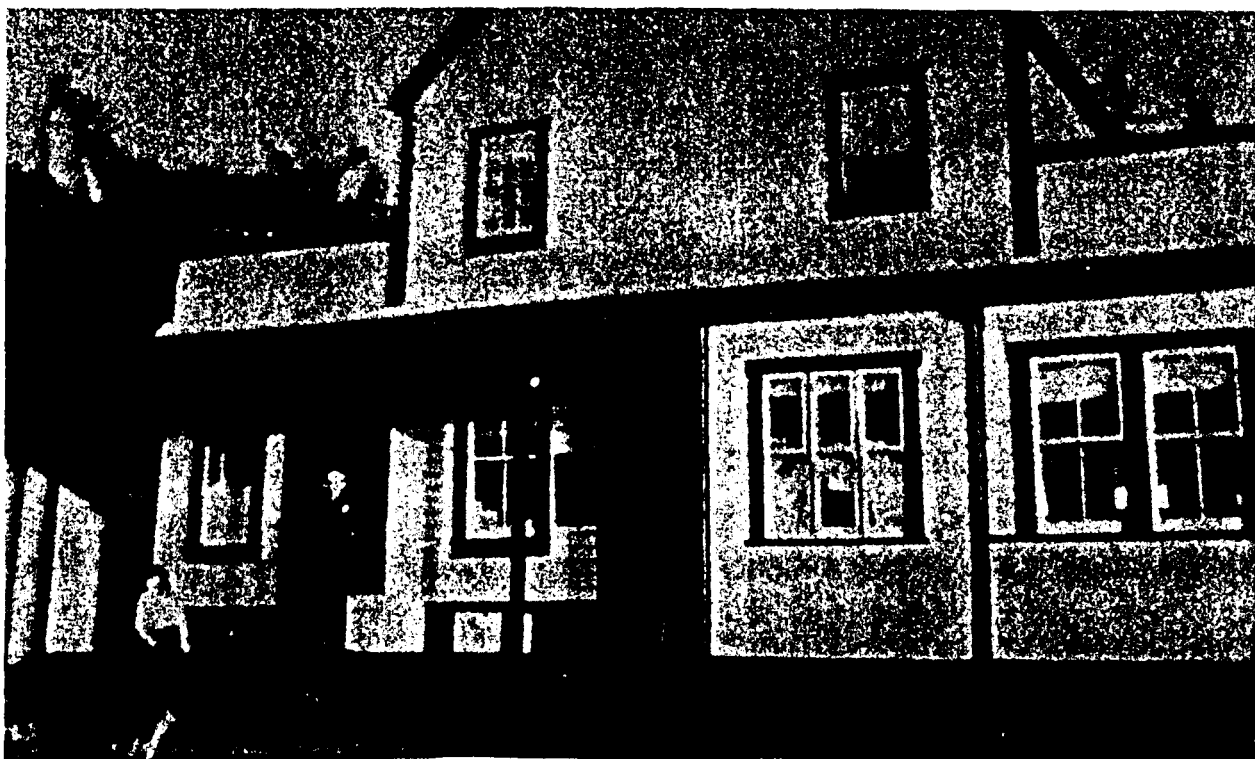


Figure 82: A Tofino store in 1918, with proprietor, James Sloman standing. The structure, originally owned and almost certainly built by Chinese proprietors, contains both one-story sections with rectangular façade, and a two-story front-gabled section with residential space upstairs. Horizontal white painted clapboard exteriors, with painted trim remains the standard for commercial structures. Photo courtesy District of Tofino.

airplanes and other projects for the war effort. Workers cut timber around these camps, most of the logs being rafted to Port Alberni for processing. Many of these camps provided the infrastructural foundations for later industrial operations. (Bossin, 1981, p.24)

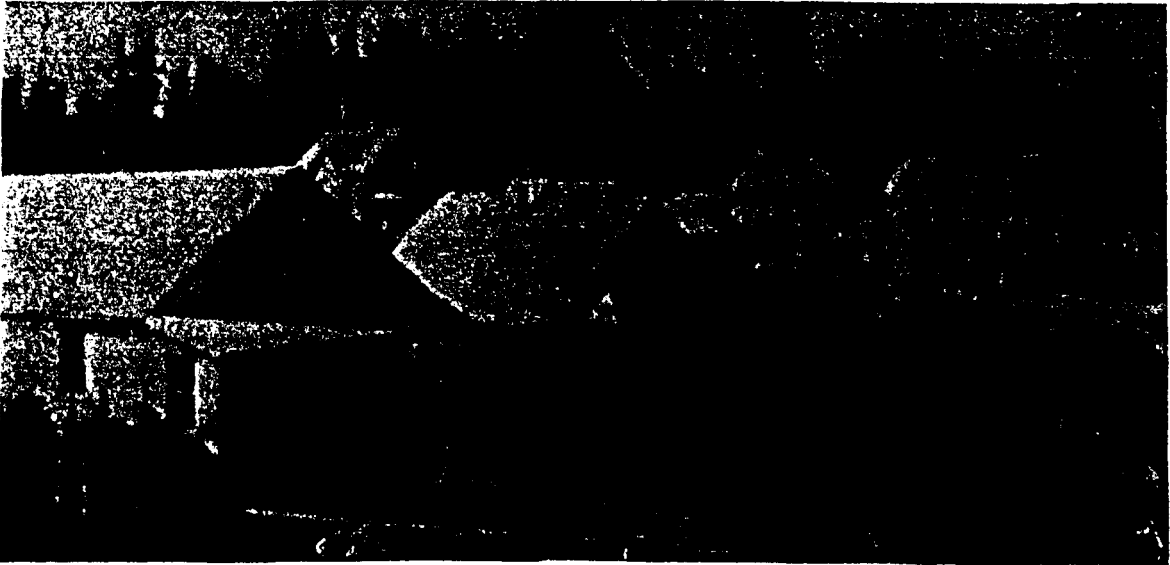


Figure 83: 'Norwegian town' - now central Tofino - in the 1920s. Structure in the foreground left is the legion hall. The home in the center is the same house shown in Figure 93. Arvid Arnet photo, courtesy District of Tofino.

Immediately following the First World War, Japanese fishermen moved to the west coast. These fishermen were soon followed by their families, resulting in the emergence of substantial Japanese communities near both towns. The two major cores of Japanese settlement were found in the town of Clayoquot, and on the south side of Ucluelet. Considerable home construction took place in each of these communities, each of which supported a Japanese school, attended by students in conjunction with integrated public schools. The Japanese fishermen, legislatively prohibited from seine fishing, introduced a major salmon trolling industry. Besides invigorating the local fishing industry, members of the Japanese population occupied such positions as clerks and medical assistants. (Bossin, 1981) Thus, the Tofino-Ucluelet area had four rather distinct ethnic communities during the inter-War period: Anglo-Canadian, Scandinavian (primarily Norwegian), Japanese, and native Indian. Minor rivalries existed at this time between all

of these groups, but nonetheless, they appear to have maintained a peaceful coexistence.⁵⁵ (Bossin, 1981; White, 1974)



Figure 84: The Tofino waterfront of the 1930s. By this time, Tofino had surpassed Clayoquot as the area's commercial core. White painted clapboard is still used for most commercial buildings, though by this time, the western rectangular façade is not being reproduced. Only storage sheds, as seen center photo, and other industrial facilities are constructed with unpainted board exteriors. Note the 'Oregon barn' style overhang on the house in the right foreground. Photo courtesy British Columbia Archives and Records Service. (Negative #D-1341)

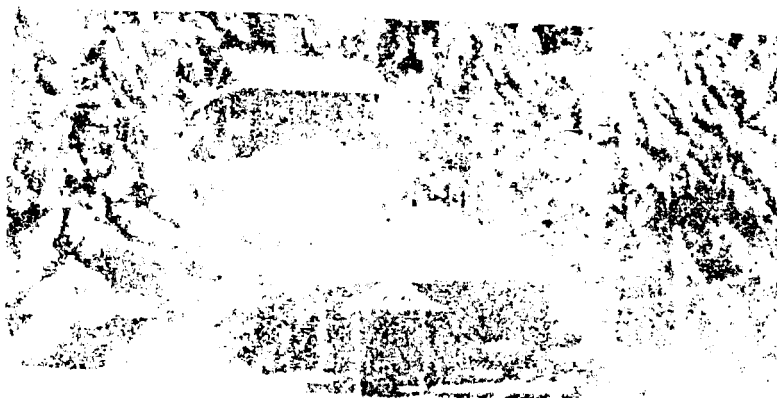


Figure 85: Two residential types on the southern edge of Ucluelet, 1930s or 1940s. The house in the foreground has a hipped roof, while the house in the background is front-gabled, with an overhang. Photo courtesy Ucluelet and Area Historical Society.

The onset of World War II, however, brought riveting changes to the Tofino-Ucluelet area. In 1942, the Japanese of Tofino and

⁵⁵Though rifts between white, Japanese, and native Indian communities were not unusual, the rivalries between the two Euro-American communities warrants mention here. Clearly, British and Norwegian settlers came to the west coast under different circumstances, and with somewhat different motives. According to local lore however, the rift between British and Norwegian settlers was exacerbated by lingering nationalism, compounded by Norway's neutral stance in World War I. (Gibson, 1993)

Ucluelet were interned in inland camps, their boats, homes and possessions taken and sold. The shops of Clayoquot were closed, as was the Clayoquot school, while these town functions were consolidated and expanded in Tofino. (Bossin, 1981, pp.57-60) Undoubtedly, this sudden loss of more than half the population in the town of Clayoquot facilitated Tofino's emergence as the dominant town on the Clayoquot Sound.

Shortly thereafter, desiring to secure the entrances to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the Canadian Armed Forces built a large air base between the two towns on Long Beach. Coast Guard stations were expanded in both towns, several small military facilities, including radar installations and artillery batteries, were built between Tofino and Ucluelet, and a seaplane base was built in Ucluelet. The road between the two towns was straightened, improved and maintained by the military. Despite the abrupt removal of the Japanese population, by 1944 the area had attained a larger population than any time before. (Bossin, 1981; Kaspoff, 1993; Gibson, 1993)

The Japanese population, returning to the west coast following the War, found that their homes had largely been occupied during the wartime boom. In addition, Tofino adopted a municipal by-law forbidding land sales to the returning Japanese, though a very small number of Japanese families successfully returned to Ucluelet. (Bossin, 1981, pp.70-71; Kaspoff, 1993) Despite hints of their earlier rivalries which persist to the present day, Norwegian and British populations began to merge at this time, resulting in the primary post-War ethnic dichotomy, that between whites and native Indians. (Gibson, 1993)

During the 1950s, substantial logging began in the mountains around Tofino and Ucluelet. Much like the American towns of the post-War period already discussed, Tofino and Ucluelet housed loggers during the 1950s and 1960s, while lacking major wood processing facilities. Most of the area's logs were shipped to and processed at Port Alberni mills. (Map 19) And most logging at this time was conducted for MacMillan Bloedel, though smaller corporate operations and private shake and shingle mills also were active.

(B.C. Department of Economic Development, 1976, p.30)

Prior to the 1950s, Tofino's main street followed the town's waterfront. In 1952, Campbell Street - Tofino's present main thoroughfare, along the terminal end of Highway 4 - was cut through the trees where before only a path wound between residences. Though there were occasional tourists in the Tofino-Ucluelet area at this time, riding boats in from Port Alberni and elsewhere, tourism had relatively little impact upon daily life on the west coast because of the lack of road access. (Nicholson, 1965, pp.90-91) As late as 1958, writers could accurately suggest that "only the more adventuresome type of holiday-goer" ever expended the energy and funds needed to reach these towns. (Lyons, 1958, p.206) However, this all changed in August of 1959, when Highway 4 from Port Alberni was opened. (Map 19) This narrow, gravel roadway was constructed by connecting the network of logging roads which crisscrossed the intervening mountains. (Nicholson, 1965, p.287; Gibson, 1993; Kaspoff, 1993) It is therefore not surprising that residents, when asked when tourism began in the area, invariably claim that 1959 was the exact date of inception, and that tourism became a significant factor within west coast life "as soon as people discovered that they could get to the west coast on the new road." (Kaspoff, 1993)

During the 1960s, the resource industries of the west coast experienced mixed fortunes. For a decade, the increasing use of on-board cooling on fishing boats had reduced the need for small-scale shoreside processing and shipping facilities; by the early 1960s, many of these facilities were closing, replaced by larger, more centralized facilities. In addition, during the late 1960s whaling ceased altogether. (Webb, 1988) Still, the increasing technology required on fishing vessels led to the emergence of a number of minor specialized boat service operations, which occupied some of the wharf space vacated during this time, and the shellfish processing industry expanded, particularly in Tofino. (Kaspoff, 1993; Gibson, 1993; Nicholson, 1965; B.C. Department of Economic Development, 1976)

In addition, the Brynnor mine, an open-pit iron mine, began

large-scale mining operations during this period. This operation temporarily brought French- and Ukrainian-Canadians to the area, particularly Ucluelet, during the mid 1960s. Motel structures were shipped to Ucluelet from Vancouver and renovated as workers' quarters. (Gibson, 1993; B.C. Department of Economic Development, 1976, p.15) By 1968, however, the Brynnor mine closed following a labor dispute, marking the end of large-scale mining in the area.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, recognizing the unique accessibility of this stretch of coastline, Parks Canada established, in stages, the Pacific Rim National Park, encompassing the headlands and beaches between Tofino and Ucluelet. (Map 19) Parks Canada vacated and demolished most pre-existing structures along Long Beach, and constructed a variety of park facilities. (White, 1992) The Park was marketed to townspeople as a catalyst of a new tourist industry, less prone to the volatility of traditional resource industries; however, resident enthusiasm for Park construction appeared from the earliest phases of this project to be balanced with concerns over potential social costs. (A.V.G. Management Ltd., 1974, pp.55-69; White, 1992; Kaspoff, 1993; Gibson, 1993)

In 1970, Highway 4 was widened and paved between Port Alberni and the west coast. By 1975, daily tourist volumes in the Tofino-Ucluelet area were estimated to have equaled wintertime resident populations. (B.C. Department to Economic Development, 1976, p.15) By the late 1970s, both towns had experienced a phase of rapid development of services and accommodations, particularly in Tofino, and the road between the towns was paved. The residents of Ucluelet experimented with innovative schemes for tourism development, such as the placement of the Canadian Princess - a ship which was converted into a hotel - on the town's waterfront. (Kaspoff, 1993)

During the early 1980s, economic recession slowed most local industries. By the mid 1980s, as the environmental movement regained momentum, the Tofino-Ucluelet area became increasingly popular as a destination for urban ecotourists - tourists seeking environmental amenities and outdoor recreation. Diving, wildlife

watching, sportfishing, hiking, and whale-watching were playing an increasingly significant role in the local economy as fishing and logging continued to experience sporadic downturns. Though these industries emerged in both towns, Tofino experienced much more growth in both relative and absolute terms, resulting in an influx of amenity-seeking service workers offsetting population outmigration.

This influx of urban expatriates is perhaps analogous to the hippy invasion of the American coast in the 1960s. Despite the difference in timing - certainly Tofino's residents cannot truly be termed 'hippies' - the Canadian population was not substantially different from their American counterparts in their motives and a variety of social characteristics. Canada's urban expatriates were part of a counter-culture which sought the amenities of the Northwest coast, and entered the tourist industry as an accepted means of subsistence. As in the American cases, they stimulated the emergence of the local tourist industry, and facilitated a period of architectural experimentation with pre-existing local themes.

By this time, the two towns were committed to two rather different courses of action. In Tofino, the decline in local industries, coupled with rapid growth in the tourist industry and the influx of amenity-seeking urban expatriates resulted in the numerical superiority of those sympathizing with environmental causes. Further, the construction of a hospital in Tofino at this time facilitated the influx of additional residents. In Ucluelet, tourism remained secondary, and sympathies for the increasingly beleaguered resource industries remained high. By all accounts relations between the two towns progressed from a good-natured rivalry to thinly veiled hostility between the early 1980s and the early 1990s. (Mullens, 1992; Gibson, 1993; Kaspoff, 1993; The Vancouver Sun, 10 July 1989, 1993) "They've kind of gone one way and we've gone another... We've become two separate villages," says one longtime resident, comparing her community to Tofino. "I sure don't know them anymore. A lot of them are from Ontario or Quebec...they're a different set of people." (Kaspoff, 1993)

Proprietors - particularly the proprietors in Tofino - began to acknowledge that their prosperity was now dependent upon the area's environmental amenities. This realization accompanied the first major civic strife resulting from demands for conflicting uses of local resources. In 1983, west coast residents began to take sides in the debate regarding the proposed logging of Meares Island. Debates became heated during the course of 1983 and 1984, with recent immigrants and those dependent upon the tourist industry taking a decidedly pro-environmental stance. In November of 1984, several Tofino residents blockaded loggers' access to the Island. (Vancouver Sun, 1983, 1985) From this time until the present, heated debates, protests, and blockades have been a regular feature of life on the west coast. Though Meares Island was eventually preserved, new logging conflicts have emerged with regularity, most focussed on the drainages and inlets of Clayoquot Sound. (Vancouver Sun, July 10, 1989, 1993)

Whale-watching progressed from an informal activity to a booming industry in the last half of the decade. Most local residents, including the boat-owning proprietors, admit that no one had fully anticipated how popular whale watching would become. Whale-watching boat operators appear to include both career-shifting locals and newcomers. Ucluelet began to promote itself as the "World Whale Watching Capital." Thus, within the span of a single human lifetime, the Ucluelet area went from being one of the world's premier whale-hunting centers to become one of the world's premier whale-watching centers. The influx of tourists prompted the establishment of several additional tourist-oriented shops in both towns. Since this time these shops have successfully sold art, clothing, and souvenirs bearing environmental and tribal themes to the growing number of tourists.

From 1990 to the present, one regionally well-known Tofino immigrant, neo-tribal artist Roy Henry Vickers, has been involved in several building projects in both towns. Though Vickers, half-Tsimshian, half-Anglo-Canadian, has been responsible for much of the emergence of tribal themes within the built environment of these towns, he had no affiliation with the local bands prior to

the opening of his gallery in Tofino during the 1970s.

With municipal support, Vickers has constructed entrance signs for both towns on a generic Northwest coast tribal theme: the Ucluelet sign features a whale, while the Tofino sign features seals, salmon, and eagles, with eagle figures at the top of its supporting poles. (Figure 97, 105) In addition, Vickers has facilitated the emergence of a particular type of architectural hybrid within Tofino. In projects undertaken with local proprietors, Vickers has added rough, hand-adzed logs as supporting beams and detailing, within buildings of a variety of architectural styles, both local and recently imported. This application is held to be evocative of Northwest-coast tribal building styles, and, it is claimed, is largely used in commercial applications, because the look is believed to appeal to tourists. (Meintz, 1993; Gibson, 1993) (Figure 98, 100) This style has now diffused, and is being used by other proprietors and designers, such as in the case of the Himwitsa Center, a tribally-owned commercial building, constructed during the summer of 1993, a project to which Vickers made no direct contribution. (Figure 95) Though this is a Nuu-Chaa-Nulth tribal project, this tribal theme has been infused (with the help of a Victoria architect) into a Canadian urban vernacular form. The latter form has its historical roots in eastern Canada, an area to which few members of this tribe have ventured with any regularity. (Meintz, 1993)

In late 1991 and early 1992, MacMillan Bloedel dramatically reduced operations on Vancouver Island's west coast, resulting in social and economic turmoil in Ucluelet. The headlines of Victoria Times-Colonist stories on Ucluelet read like a historical summary of the abrupt transition which followed. On January 16, 1992: "Ucluelet Stores, Schools Shut Over Looming Job Losses;" on February 2, 1992: "Ucluelet Starts Job Search;" and by February 11, 1992 we find "Ucluelet Hoping for a Whale of a Festival." (pp.A1, A2, and A6 respectively) According to journalistic accounts, and local lore, the promotion of whale-watching and other tourist activities suddenly reached a fever pitch as the bottom fell out of Ucluelet's economy. While Ucluelet proprietors openly bemoan the

emergence of the environmental movement, Tofino proprietors have become accustomed to openly expressing the view that logging is a threat to their livelihood. (Victoria Times-Colonist, 1991) Though fortunes vary, the common perception appears to be that the proprietors of the whale-watching companies are "the only guys that are really doing well" in Tofino today. (Gibson, 1993) During the early 1990s, the number of boats in operation has rapidly increased, particularly in Tofino.

During 1993 and 1994, the west coast of Vancouver Island has been the focus of one of Canada's most heated environmental conflicts. The Provincial government's approval of a plan to log significant portions of the Clayoquot Sound watershed has spurred a period of intense anti-logging protests. These protests have been supported by organizations based in Tofino, and this town has continued to function as the center of operations for most organized local environmental activism. Simultaneously, Ucluelet, with its greater dependence upon and public support for resource industries, has hosted counter-protests by loggers, and functioned as a center of operations for the local pro-logging movement. (cf. Mullens, 1992)

8.8.2: The contemporary townscapes of Tofino and Ucluelet

Both towns have lacked the consolidated redevelopment of their commercial districts as found in other towns of the Northwest coast. This can be attributed, in part, to the small amount of commercial development prior to the emergence of the tourist-era. And this can also be attributed, in part, to the successive migration of each town's commercial core, in response to changes in modes of transportation, which have spatially shifted the points of peak accessibility and visibility within the town. The center of commercial activity in both cases has historically shifted from points across a channel from present settlement sites, to peninsular wharfs, to the roadside. Thus, we lack a longitudinal series of photos of a particular commercial district in both cases. We can, however, draw upon photos of each of these commercial cores over time, in order to facilitate a historical analysis of local

commercial built motifs.

8.8.2.1: Tofino

simplification

mnemonic

Diagnostic mnemonic cues have emerged in association with the commercial buildings of Tofino since the completion of Highway 4 from Port Alberni, though the majority of these features have appeared only since the mid 1980s. Flower boxes and hanging planters can be seen on the faces of many commercial structures. These features are not visible in association with commercial structures in viewed photos prior to the 1970s. Flowers are most notably used at the entryways of eateries, whale-watching operations, and hotels. (Figures 87, 88, 93, 94, 96, 99, 100, 102, 103)

Benches and free-standing chairs are also commonly seen in front of Tofino's commercial buildings. This is a more common trait in Tofino, with its more consolidated main street, than in the case of Ucluelet. It appears to have become a common feature during the 1980s, particularly in conjunction with eateries and whale watching operations. (Figure 94) Freestanding outdoor chairs are also used in similar applications. (Figure 88)

Windssocks are present but rare on the streets of Tofino. The Tofino Swell Lodge flies a windssock at the entryway to the motel office. (Figure 102) A picture of a windssock-style kite appeared on the sign of the Village Gallery, which opened in the fall of 1993. (Figure 93) Flags are, however, relatively common, and are primarily found in conjunction with hotels. A line of various national flags can be found across the top of the Maquinna Lounge and Hotel, as well as across the front of the Orca Inn. (Figures 88, 96)

thematic

Tofino exhibits a very high number of tribal and nature themes, while generally lacking many examples from the other categories. Nature theme pictographic signs have become particularly common on the streets of Tofino during the 1980s and

1990s. The number of nature theme signs in Tofino exceeds that found in all towns in this survey, save Cannon Beach, Oregon, and may exceed this case as well, if measured proportionately to the total number of commercial buildings. No such signs appear in viewed photographs prior to the 1980s.

Whales, of course, have been invoked on most of the whale watching operator's signs, since the emergence of that industry in the mid 1980s. (Figures 89, 90, 94) As mentioned, the entrance sign of the town, built in the early 1990s, features eagles and seals. (Figure 97) A stylized blue heron is the chosen symbol of the Weigh West Resort and Pub, on the south end of the town's commercial core. Sandpipers, other shorebirds, grey whales, and orcas are featured on many of the roadside signs of motels south of the commercial core. (Figures 86, 88-92, 94, 96, 97, 98, 102) The eagles on the Vickers gallery signs appeared in the 1980s, while the eagle on the Maquinna Lounge and Hotel appears to have emerged in the mid 1970s. (Figures 96, 97)

Perhaps more than in any other town in this survey, Tofino's businesses display many built elements on their exteriors which bear the imprint of Northwest coast native art. (Figures 89, 91, 92, 97, 98) Most stylized signs utilize artistic elements which bear a strong resemblance to the northern tribal traditions of the Haida and Tlingit peoples. The entrance sign appeared during the early 1990s. (Meintz, 1993). (Figure 97) The Weigh West Resort and its accompanying Blue Heron Dining Room use a northern tribal-style heron logo on their signs. Some of the whale watching companies utilize tribal-style images of whales on their signs. (Figure 89) Tribal theme art and trinket shops, such as Vicker's Eagle Aerie Gallery and the Himwitsa Indian Crafts shop feature tribal style images on their exteriors, while these structures and the new Himwitsa Center feature tribal style rough-adzed beams. (Meintz, 1993) (Figures 91, 95, 98, 100)

The presence of beach themes, as applied in this thesis, appears to be somewhat less common in Canadian than in blue-collar American resort towns. The closest approximation to this type of theme sign in Tofino can be found in a sign with wave images, and

in the placement of bamboo torches in front of a surf shop and cafe along the roadside, south of the town's core. The business appears to date from the late 1980s. (Figure 103) The windsock kite image on the Village Gallery Sign may also represent a 'beach' image. (Figure 93)

As found elsewhere on the coast, maritime themes appear during an earlier stage of tourist development than other motifs, possibly reflecting a tourist motif which nonetheless coheres with the aesthetic of the resource-era population. In the case of Tofino, maritime themes appear within the photographic record in the early 1970s. A schooner image appears on the side of the Schooner Restaurant. (Figure 87) Vertical weathered posts bound with heavy rope, suggesting driftwood piers, adorn several commercial buildings, while the Whale Center combines this motif with a weathered wooden boat in its landscaping. (Figure 90) However, historical themes, as defined in this thesis, do not generally appear in Tofino, although the schooner image on the side of the Schooner Restaurant might qualify as one such. (Figure 87)

drift

Tofino exhibits a high degree of built drift, a fact which may derive from a combination of factors. Significantly, Tofino exhibited a general lack of tourist-oriented commercial functions until recently, a factor which is compounded by proprietors' attempts to capitalize on the town's image, by giving the town's buildings an earthy, non-commercial look. (Meintz, 1993; Gibson, 1993) And significantly, of all the towns in this thesis (all of which historically had western commercial buildings, with painted rectangular façades) Tofino appears to be the only one which is not now reproducing this style in some form for commercial applications. The closest approximation seen in the town includes a small assortment of boxy commercial buildings with painted siding. (Figure 94)

Thus, historical vernacular house types have been widely refurbished and reproduced for commercial uses since the 1970s. The most common case of this trend is seen in the reproduction of the 'Oregon barn' style. Ironically, this style appears to have

primarily originated from company housing and the vernacular building of resource worker immigrants, brought to the area by American firms during the early phases of Tofino's history. (Figures 79, 83, 84) This style is not common in other parts of Vancouver Island, and appears to reflect a diffusion of an architectural style from the American Northwest, where these companies had maintained operations prior to their expansion into the west coast of Vancouver Island. The pervasive reproduction of this style in contemporary Tofino is likely influenced by the fact that Tofino developed around the Norwegian center of settlement, a community which initially consisted of immigrant resource workers for American companies.

Now this house style, and its new variants, have become one of Tofino's standard commercial styles. The 'Oregon barn' look is rarely reproduced in the new houses of the town, which now bear a much stronger structural influence from eastern Canadian vernacular forms, and rustic interpretations of western Canadian high-style residences, likely reflecting the influx and influence of recent immigrants to the area.

In a small number of cases, we see pre-existing 'Oregon barn' style buildings converted to commercial uses. More commonly since the early 1980s however, we see evidence of new 'Oregon barn' buildings being constructed for commercial purposes, as well as buildings which appear to be altered variants on 'Oregon barn' themes. (Figures 86, 93)

In addition, older residential structures, with roots in eastern Canadian vernacular design have been converted for commercial purposes. The Whale Center, for example, occupies a former house, built in a common Canadian vernacular house style, narrow and front-gabled, with a raised, enclosed entryway. (Figure 90) However, though this style of house has been converted to commercial uses, it has not been reproduced for commercial purposes. Informal interviews with Tofino proprietors suggest a possible explanation for this trend: it partly reflects their attempts to emphasize the distinctive in the town in relation to the home communities of its primarily Canadian visitors, and thus,

by association, de-emphasize ubiquitous Canadian vernacular themes.

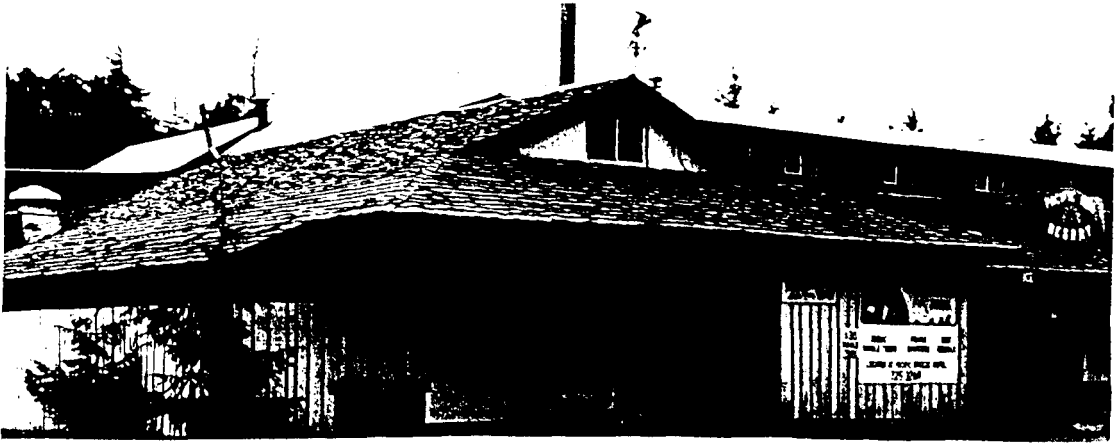


Figure 86: The Main Office for Tofino Scenic Tours and the Pacific Rim Resort, a short distance south of Tofino's commercial core. (Map 20)⁵⁶ Note the clear residential house style influences. The influence of the 'Oregon Barn' style is clear, with the low pitched, broad, shingled roof and overhang. Note also the orca image on the Tour operators' sign, the eagle weathervane, and the planter boxes in their winter fallow.

The Common Loaf Bake Shop features vernacular elements from both locally common sources - e.g. its low-pitched shingled roofs and overhangs -as well as from eastern Canada, with its two-storied, side-gabled main section, and second-story front-gabled dormers. (Figure 100)

And, as elsewhere on the coast, the use of exteriors has drifted, albeit to a lesser extent than in many of the American towns. Industrial and residential forms of wooden architecture - with rough shingles, board-and-batten, and other raw, exposed boards - have recently been attached to the exteriors of commercial structures. (Figures 93, 99, 102, 103)

Clearly, local and imported tribal features which formerly functioned as residences, ceremonial elements, or as indicators of personal or clan identity are now used primarily for the purpose of commercial display. (Figures 89, 91, 92, 95, 98, 99, 100)

fusion

Evidence of fusion in Tofino is present, though not as common as in towns of a similar level of tourist development on the

⁵⁶Unless otherwise noted, the photographs of commercial Tofino show places found on the map of central Tofino, Map 21.

American Northwest coast.

Some of the more common and more locally distinctive examples are those buildings which combine tribal elements with Euro-American vernacular buildings. The Common Loaf Bake Shop combines tribally-influenced, rough-adzed wood support posts and detailing, within a structure which bears both local and eastern Canadian vernacular residential elements. (Figure 100) This rough-adzed wood is also used on the support posts within a building of an urban vernacular commercial style, the new Himwitsa Center tribal building. (Figure 95) Roy Henry Vickers' Eagle Aerie Gallery has a clear longhouse façade attached to a front-gabled Euro-American residential style building. (Figure 98)

In addition, vernacular house styles are clad in non-traditional exteriors for commercial functions. Several commercial structures feature a residential style building with rough shingle, and board-and-batten exteriors as found on industrial structures. (Figures 93, 99, 102, 103) Only a small number of the very earliest residences on the west coast had neatly-aligned, unpainted shingled exteriors; by the onset of the photographic record, most residences were painted, and several were clad in clapboard.



Figure 87: The Schooner Restaurant and Rainforest Gallery, two Campbell Street businesses which have occupied a pre-existing building. Note the schooner motif and flower boxes.



Figure 88: The Orca Lodge, a motel south of Tofino's commercial core, on Highway 4. (Map 20) With a hint of a residential architectural style, this business employs a wide range of diagnostic mnemonic cues. The flags of Canada, British Columbia, the United States, Japan, Italy and Germany adorn the entryway in a row. Ornamental shingling adorns a narrow strip above the entryway. Flowers appear in both standing and hanging planters, along with potted trees, while a director's chair stands near the entryway. The image of an orca adorns the sign above the entryway.



Figure 89: Signs on Campbell Street, at the east end of Tofino's commercial district, of late 1980s or early 1990s construction. The sign for Seaforth Charters and the Tofino laundromat in the foreground features stylized tribal images of a salmon and a whale. The sign for Chinook Charters in the background features the images of a salmon, a whale, and a sea lion.



Figure 90: The Whale Center, a whale-watching operator's office and museum on Campbell Street. The structure is a converted house of a vernacular style seen elsewhere in British Columbia. The sign is adorned with the image of a whale, while the yard is occupied by vertical logs which suggest piers, as well as heavy rope and a boat.



Figure 91: The House of Himwitsa, a Northwest coast native art and trinket shop on Campbell Street, dating from the 1980s. The building style appears to be a whimsical fusion of residential and barn elements. The sign features a stylized tribal image of a human and a seal. Three vertical logs - suggesting piers - have been placed in front of the entryway.



Figure 92: Sign for the Tonquin Clinic, a tribal medical facility in a refurbished house on Tofino's Main Street. The sign features a tribal style salmon and human hands, with a maritime anchor chain and coiled rope.



Figure 93: The Village Gallery, a Main Street art shop, shortly after its construction in 1993. The low-pitched gable-on-hip residential style construction provides an 'Oregon barn' echo to the residential building onto which the Gallery was built. The residence is from the period when Tofino was primarily a Norwegian resource settlement. (cf. Figure 83) The Gallery has an unpainted shingle exterior, as of yet unplanted flower boxes, and a sign which features a windsock kite, all features reminiscent of the American towns in this study.



Figure 94: Jamie's Whaling Station and Foc'sle Photo, on Campbell Street, in a building of 1980s construction (or renovation). The sign is adorned with the image of a whale's tail, while a wood carving of an eagle is placed prominently in the foreground. Benches are placed around the entry way, as are flower boxes, made of barrels. The round windows may be viewed as suggestive of port hole windows



Figure 95: The front of the Himwitsa Center, on the corner of Main and First Streets, under construction during 1993. These posts have been specially hand-adzed, and coated with a transparent finish, to provide the appearance of tribal building styles on an otherwise ambiguous Canadian urban vernacular form.



Figure 96: The Maquinna Lodge from Tofino's main intersection, at First and Campbell Streets. Canadian and other national flags adorn the top of the building in a row. The sign on the side of the building features an eagle image. Flower pots adorn street-level windows, and the building's entryway.

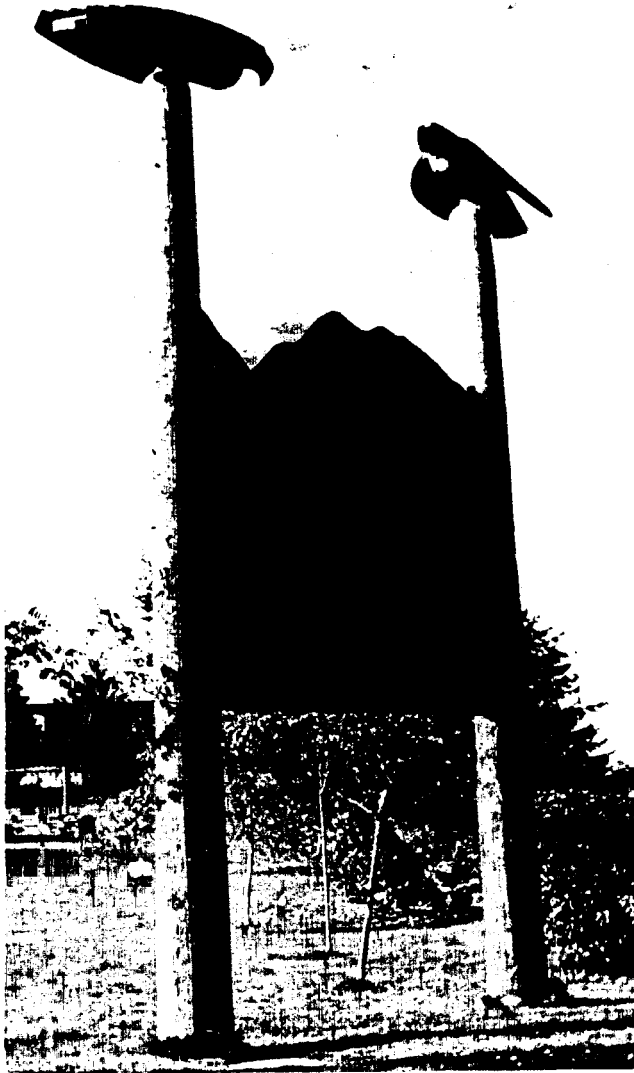


Figure 97: Tofino's entrance sign at Campbell and Third Streets, constructed by Roy Henry Vickers, in the early 1990s. The hand-adzed supports are crowned by carved eagle figures, as was common on some totem poles among northern Northwest coast tribes, such as the Haida.

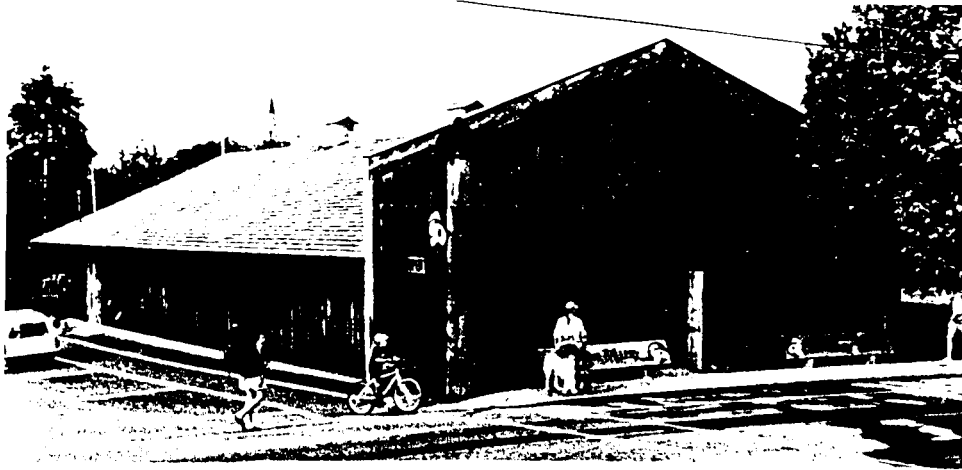


Figure 98: Roy Henry Vickers' Eagle Aerie Gallery on Campbell Street, built during the 1980s. The structure is clearly built in a longhouse style, with a painted tribal style eagle on the façade, reminiscent of the painted longhouse fronts of the northern Northwest coast tribes. The carved eagle image on the top of the hand-adzed post appears to be a short adaptation of similar totem poles of the northern tribes. All siding is natural wood, untreated or with a clear finish. The interior of the front room is similarly designed with strong longhouse influences. Still, this is essentially a Euro-American building, a front-gabled wood-frame structure, with guttered, shingled roof and hinged doorway.



Figure 99: A restaurant on Campbell Street at the east end of Tofino, of 1980s construction. The structure is side-gabled, with a hipped roof extension, and an unfinished batten-and-board exterior. The door and small-paned windows are also natural wood, with a transparent finish. The appearance of this structure hints at both side-gabled residential buildings as well as industrial buildings. (Figure 84) The round windows may be considered suggestive of port hole windows. Though scarcely visible in this photo, flower boxes are placed around the front of the building.



Figure 100: The Common Loaf Bake Shop on First Street, a late 1980s or early 1990s structure on First Street, between Campbell and Neill Streets. This staging ground for the local environmental movement is a complex architectural creation. The bulk of the building is a side-gabled two-story structure with dormers, with strong eastern Canadian colonial-style influences. The low-pitched extended roofline, and the rough shingles of the turret section have their clearest precedent in local industrial-era residential architecture. The white painted, tightly spaced shingles create horizontal lines which are reminiscent of the area's old clapboard exteriors; with the painted trim, this exterior looks very much like historic commercial buildings in the area. Simultaneously, the heavy beams inside the turret, as well as the exposed boards in all corners are rough, clear-finished, and hand-adzed, the self-proclaimed neo-tribal work of Roy Henry Vickers. Seating areas are plentiful in front, and flower boxes and hanging flower pots are densely packed on the entry side of the building only.



Figure 101: A small grocery store on Highway 4 on the outskirts of Port Alberni. (Map 19) This is a common look for rural Vancouver Island. Here we see that painted white horizontal clapboard still is used for commercial applications in less tourist-oriented settings. The diagnostic mnemonic cues are absent, while textual and logo signs are present, being more common on such thoroughfares.

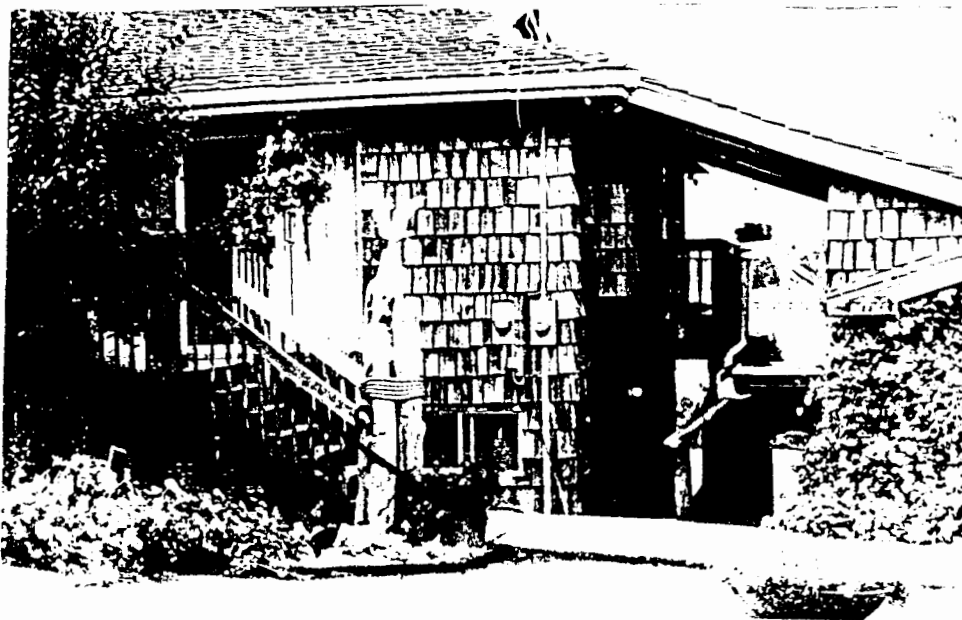


Figure 102: The entryway to the office of the Tofino Swell Lodge, a motel on the east end of Tofino's commercial district. (Map 20) This structure, built with a strong residential influence, has a gable-on-hip roof and a rough shingle exterior. Flower pots are placed around the entryway, both hanging and on the ground. Vertical posts - wrapped in heavy rope, with seagull figurine on top and anchor at base - are suggestive of piers. A windsock flies on the opposite end of the entryway.



Figure 103: The Surf Side Cafe and Surf Shop, along the roadside on Highway 4, south of Tofino. (Map 20) This salt box and shed style of building is an anomaly on the west coast of Vancouver Island. The whimsical irregular shingling - on the street-side face only - reflects local residential styles, while an industrially-influenced board-and-batten exterior has been built on the other faces. Flower pots are plentiful, primarily placed on the street face. The signs are in the images of waves, while bamboo torches frame a large flower pot, adorned here with a temporary sign.

8.8.2.2: Ucluelet

In contrast with the townscape of Tofino, much of the architectural response to tourist development has been superficial, as few businesses in town have become exclusively tourist-oriented. Significantly, we see considerably less evidence of drift and fusion than in Tofino. Evidence of architectural adaptation can be seen more clearly in signs and mobile elements; this agrees with the suggestion of M.R.G. Conzen and his students that such elements will be the first to be adapted during a period of morphogenetic shift, because of the relatively small social and economic investment required for such adaptation. (Conzen, 1960, 1988; Whitehand, 1988a)

simplification

mnemonic

Mnemonic cues are appearing rapidly within Ucluelet at present, though most have been present within the town since the mid 1980s. For example, since the 1980s, flower pots and boxes have become a common feature of Ucluelet's townscape, correlating with tourist-oriented businesses. Most, if not all restaurants feature flower boxes or hanging flowerpots at their entrances during a portion of the year. (Figure 110) Likewise, gift stores, and motels employ flower boxes and pots. (Figures 108, 109) Most of these applications have emerged since the late 1980s, though they can be seen sporadically in photos since the late 1970s. Though benches are seen in commercial applications in Ucluelet, they are not as common as found in other towns in this thesis. One more commonly sees plastic outdoor chairs placed in front of commercial structures. (Figure 108)

Only one business, the Windfish Gallery and Gifts, has adorned the exterior of its building with windsocks, both suspended on poles, and hanging from the eaves. (Figure 108). This use and configuration closely parallels applications seen on the American coast. This application appears to date from the late 1980s or early 1990s. Likewise, flags are present, but not common in Ucluelet. Similar to other towns, the use of flags is concentrated

at the entrances of hotels. In addition, triangular pennant flags on ropes are used in some cases, as in the case of the Subtidal Adventures building.

thematic

Much like Tofino, the thematic content of signs primarily includes natural and tribal images, though in Ucluelet, both themes are less commonly used in association with commercial buildings. Still, images of gray whales are common, and appear to be used in all cases to promote whale-watching. The town's entrance sign, as well as the signs of whale-watching establishments, and the sign of the Canadian Princess Resort Gift Shop bear whale images. (Figures 105, 106) In addition, two carved bears appear in the town, one on the top of a modified totem house pole on the Du-Quah Gallery, and one in front of Image West Gifts. (Figures 104, 109) The sign of the Crows Nest gift store features the image of a landscape with a flying crow silhouette.

Ucluelet has a small assortment of tribal themes, but lacks the extensive infusion of such features as seen in Tofino. Ucluelet's entrance sign, built by Roy Henry Vickers, has been designed on a tribal theme. (Figure 105) The Du-Quah Gallery occupies a building which is styled upon a longhouse design. (Figure 104) The roadside sign directing tourists to the Ucluelet Hotel has a tribal style image, though no tribal theme signs are visible upon the hotel.

Beach themes, as defined in this thesis, are rare. Some commercial buildings are adorned with exterior driftwood embellishments. (Figure 109) Likewise, historical themes are essentially absent, though there are hints of historicized elements of frontier commercial architecture. However, maritime themes are somewhat more common in Ucluelet. Some motels and eateries use such maritime features as anchors, and lashed vertical posts, suggesting piers, in their landscaping. (Figure 106)

drift

There are clear types of drift in Ucluelet, most dating from the last two decades. Unlike Tofino, Ucluelet displays little evidence of the infusion of the 'Oregon barn' influence in

contemporary building, either residential or commercial. This may be attributed, in part, to the lack of American commercial activity in Ucluelet, though the confirmation of this point would require additional research.

Again, local and imported tribal features which formerly functioned as residences, ceremonial elements, or as indicators of personal or clan identity are now used primarily for commercial uses. Thus the Du-Quah Gallery is constructed with the external appearance of a longhouse, while commercial and community signs are built in a tribal motif. (Figure 104)

As found elsewhere on the coast, the use of exterior materials has changed somewhat. Industrial and residential forms of wooden exteriors - with rough shingles, board-and-batten, and other raw, exposed boards - have recently been attached to the exteriors of commercial structures. (Figures 106, 108, 109, 110)

And further, we see a small number of cases wherein vernacular homes styles are now being reproduced for commercial uses, such as in the case of the Canadian Princess Resort Gift Shop and a few local hotel units. (Figures 108, 109) In addition, we see some evidence of the conversion of Canadian vernacular residential buildings to commercial functions. However, in a small number of new houses in Ucluelet - houses which appear to be second homes - we see stylized adaptations of local vernacular house styles.

fusion

Evidence of fusion in Ucluelet is present, though not extensive. In the case of the Du-Quah Gallery, we see a clear hybrid of tribal elements with elements derived from a ubiquitous North American urban vernacular. (Figure 104) In the Canadian Princess Resort, we can see an infusion of local and imported house styles, in buildings which are structurally indistinct from other large motel complexes. (Figure 106, background)

Most of the cases of fusion in Ucluelet feature the combination of a local vernacular style with a historically incongruous exterior. In the case of Porky's Too Restaurant, we see a western historical commercial motif with an exterior of rough shingles and raw boards, suggesting an industrial

inheritance. (Figure 110) In the case of the Canadian Princess Resort Gift Shop, we see an adapted vernacular house style with board-and-batten exterior, as formerly used on industrial structures and other outbuildings. (Figure 106) The Image West Gift Shop features a one-story version of the western commercial façade, also clad in unpainted board-and-batten. (Figure 109)

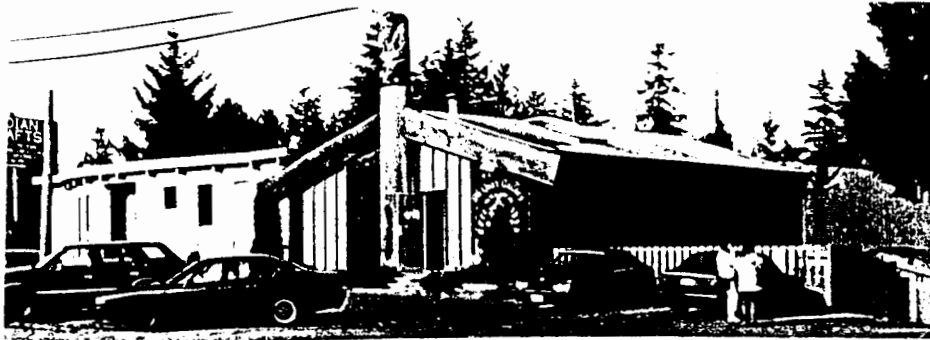


Figure 104: The Du-Quah Gallery, a tribal art and trinket shop, clearly built in a longhouse style, on Peninsula Road in Ucluelet.⁵⁷ Front-gabled construction, with large-dimension beams on the façade, and vertical natural wood planks on the exterior were all common features of Northwest coast tribal longhouses. Tribal style art with hint of Kwakiutl influence adorns the building's exterior. A tribal style bear image occupies the top of the house post, in fashion reminiscent of historical house posts. Structurally, this building draws from Euro-American styles. The vertical windows and glass door are common features of urban commercial vernacular styles of building.



Figure 105: Ucluelet's welcome sign on Peninsula Road, built by Roy Henry Vickers in the early 1990s. With natural wood support posts, the sign features a tribal style whale, and proclaims "Friendly Ucluelet" and "Whale Watching Capital."

⁵⁷Unless otherwise noted, the photographs of commercial Ucluelet show places found on the map of central Ucluelet, Map 23.



Figure 106: The Gift Shop and, in the background, the main complex of the Canadian Princess Resort on Peninsula Road in central Ucluelet, of 1980s construction. The office bears a strong resemblance to Canadian folk building types which were introduced to the west coast early in these settlements' histories. The building style of the large motel buildings show a strong influence from eastern Canadian folk housing, with the hip-on-gable roof construction, exposed rafter ends, and small paned windows. This is a similar look to the American homes which have been attributed to an interior south influence earlier in the thesis; Lewis (1975) and others suggest that this style has appeared in both traditions as a result of a contracted, early British folk influence. Landscaping features a large white anchor and vertical posts which can be viewed as being suggestive of piers. Above the anchor, on the office's wall, is a sign - in the shadows in this photo - featuring a large whale image.



Figure 107: Little Beach Resort, a south Ucluelet hotel complex on Peninsula Road. The building style is clearly rooted in residential architecture, probably the 'British bungalow' style found elsewhere in Canada. Compare to residences in Figures 80, 85. Note the shingled roof over the sign, echoing the roofs of the cottages, a common adaptation found on roadside signs on the Northwest coast.



Figure 108: Windfish Gallery and Gifts on Peninsula Road, in Ucluelet. (Map 22) This business occupies an older main structure, probably of 1960s construction. A storage building has been constructed on its side in a whimsical folk wood style, similar to local industrial storage sheds, but reminiscent of folk houses, with its dormers, and shingled, hipped, and low-pitched roof overhang. Note the use of windsocks, freestanding chairs, and half-barrel flower pots.



Figure 109: The entrance to two gift shops on Peninsula Road in Ucluelet. The Image West Gift Shop, center photo, has a one-story rectangular façade, reminiscent of the two-story commercial façades of the town's past. Still the unfinished batten-and-board exterior was only found on industrial buildings and less commonly on residential structures. Note the driftwood railing and the free-standing driftwood. Mechanical and military metal debris has been used in the landscaping of these buildings. A hanging flower pot adorns either side of the Image West entrance, while a carved bear image stands to one side.



Figure 110: Porkey's Too Restaurant, in a Peninsula Road building of 1980s construction. The structure clearly shows influences of historical commercial structures with rectangular façades, though the unfinished wood siding and porch supports, as well as the low-pitched hipped overhang are from industrial and residential precedents. Note the hanging flower pots placed around the porch.

CHAPTER NINE

Some Final Words and Gestures: The Utility of the Pidginization Model Revisited

9.1: The pidginization hypothesis

Ultimately, we have no definitive measure for measures at our disposal. We confirm the value of a theory of landscape analysis when we find that the theory allows us to say with some certainty how a facet of our environment came to have a particular character. The theory should allow us to compare the ordinary landscapes of different places at different times. And perhaps, it should allow us to predict the future course of landscape development under particular, defined circumstances. I would venture to assert that the pidginization hypothesis meets these criteria.

The core of the pidginization hypothesis is this: during periods when external groups play an expanding role in the expressive context of built form within a place - and the residents of that place are not entirely displaced - built form will tend to show predictable types of adaptive responses. These responses are functionally analogous to the process of linguistic pidginization. This process of built pidginization entails the fusion of built forms from two or more traditions of building, the simplification of certain expressive features - a process which includes both the accentuation of existing features, and the addition of features of high visibility - and the drift in the expressive usage of pre-existing built elements.⁵⁸

This hypothesis is based upon a series of widely accepted assertions about the expressive value of the built environment.

⁵⁸A pidginization model, applied to landscapes, has also been proposed by McKellin (1991), though his article was not encountered until this thesis was in its final revisions. McKellin conceives of the 'pidginization' process quite differently than the model proposed here, emphasizing the process of 'simplification' alone, while focussing upon changing patterns of land tenure. In this work, McKellin does not address the expressive use of the built environment.

At the core of this thesis lies the assumption that expressive value is a major influencing factor, conditioning the construction and reconstruction of built landscapes generally, and tourist landscapes specifically. In conjunction with a variety of other factors, the expressive needs of the participants in landscape manipulation constrain the range of variability in, and give character to, the particulars of the built environment.

While there has been widespread speculation regarding the expressive value of landscapes, there has been an increasing need to rein in this speculation. There is at present a need for a theory of expressive built behavior which can be verified empirically. And there is a parallel need for a theory which addresses the function of expression as a morphogenetic factor.

Certain constraints exist on landscape expression including a need for familiarity and functionality. When more than one group of individuals with different histories - and hence, different personal constructs - must use the same space, these constructs present a unique set of problems. The fusion, drift, and simplification of expressive built elements results, facilitating the intersubjective use of these elements. Within emergent tourist environments this process is accelerated and enhanced by a growing imperative to communicate with visitors *in situ*.

Concepts of 'authenticity,' as forwarded in the literature on the communicative use of built form, are found wanting when viewed within the context of dynamic expressive environments. Indeed, within the changing expressive environments found during the imposition of tourism upon a pre-existing cultural landscape, attempts to discern and maintain 'authentic' built features would be dysfunctional, both for locals and for visitors. Rather, small, adaptive and externally-influenced steps in the adaptation of built expression are functional for both these groups, as traditional industries disappear.

Further, 'meanings' are ambiguous when attempting to discern the responses of multiple, discrete groups with different experiences observing the same built particulars. (cf. Wittgenstein, 1953; Kelly, 1955) Clearly, the concept of

'meaning,' as it is presented in the literature, suggests that meanings exist independent of context. (cf. Rapoport, 1990)

But historical evidence, including that provided within this thesis, suggests that within dynamic social contexts, no 'meanings' are consistent, as the use of particular built elements is perpetually in flux, and forever contextually defined.

We can see that the uses of totem poles or Oregon barn overhangs has changed. Indeed they have changed rapidly, becoming attached to entirely new functions in some towns within the course of a decade. Proposals by the semioticians and nonverbalists to compile a lexicon of element meanings - a list of one-to-one referential attachments of built elements to specific values and objects - are confounded by this very dynamism of usage. (cf. Rapoport, 1990) When addressing built systems, an etymological approach, with discussions of changing expressive uses of particular built features, may provide more valuable insights into the function of expressive elements.⁵⁹ If we do not recognize this, and attempt to compile lists of architectural 'meanings,' we shall have to revise these 'dictionaries' of built expression with enervating persistence, in places of such social and economic dynamism as the Northwest coast. And if a scholar entered one of these towns, attempting to compile a dictionary of such 'meanings,' assuming a static expressive environment, this scholar would be led to reach some very inaccurate conclusions regarding past and present built features.

And clearly, the common linguistic metaphors of semiotics are of limited value in these cases. Could 'syntax' be equated with some measure of the communicative value of juxtaposition? Maybe so, but we must recognize that this, too, would change rapidly during periods of social and economic adjustment. For example we see, in the historic photographs, images of booming coastal towns with smoke-belching, heavy industrial development at their core, no doubt a clear indicator of social and economic well-being in the

⁵⁹Indeed, pidgin dictionaries are generally as much etymological as lexicographical guides to current expression. (see Hall, et.al., 1943; Thomas, 1970)

opinion of many of at the time the photograph was taken. But the placement of such features at the heart of many contemporary Northwest coast settlements would no longer be acceptable to residents, or 'mean' "economic health" or "progress" today, though it once was the accepted indicator of the same.

And clearly, there is no such thing as a wholly discrete morphogenetic phase, if the people of the place persist, and the built forms of an earlier phase still have a function in the new order. The case of the contemporary towns of the Northwest coast, as with most like cases, involves such a blurring of expressive influences. Rarely do we see cases of peoples behaving like the pre-colonial Clayoquot Indians who, once occupying another band's settlement and forcibly removing the previous occupants, would ceremoniously tend to the removal and replacement of every structure in the village. (Koppert, 1930) Without such ceremonial cleansings of the land, or some similarly cataclysmic event, morphogenetic breaks in expressive built form simply cannot be sharp.

9.2: Some observations regarding built pidginization and the Northwest coast

In the case of the towns of the Northwest coast, we see that each town has a different history, and that each town has arrived at somewhat different solutions to the same basic problems during the last few decades. Much of the character of these emerging landscapes is contextually defined, constrained by ideographic features, actors, and histories. But still, the process of adaptation is strikingly similar in each case. And we can witness certain regular patterns of evolution in each of the towns, with their similar resources and increasingly analogous responsiveness to like pressures. Thus, for example, we can tentatively assume that South Bend will come to look more like Florence, and Ucluelet will come to look more like Tofino over time, as the former towns become increasingly tourism-dependent. This convergence is, of course, not the result of simple diffusion; my informal analysis suggests that, for example, the residents of Tofino are not in contact with residents of Bandon, despite a wide range of

similarities between the current evolutions of these towns.

The evidence also suggests that each of these towns has gone through an experimental phase during an increase in tourist activity, followed by a mimicking of a particular successful theme. Residents admit to such a process, and the fact that each town has coalesced around a single set of somewhat distinct architectural and thematic motifs suggests that this process of observation, adoption, and adaptation occurs at a localized level. Interviewees suggest that this is facilitated by both public and private attempts to replicate earlier successes, and to achieve internal continuity within these towns.

While there has been a general trend toward greater eclecticism in architecture during the years following the decline of the Modernist movement, the patterns witnessed in this research are not expressive of universal types, but rather are tied to the idiosyncratic conjoining of patterns that defines the character of specific places. The pidgin reflects both standardizing and particularizing forces, and the product is a localized composite. In tourist areas, a re-regionalization of the landscape is occurring along these lines, in conjunction with external expectations of and responses to the elements of the regional landscape.

As in many built environments, expressive elements have often been derived from what were once primarily corporeally functional elements. Some may suggest that, for example, the 'Oregon barn' overhang is merely an adaptation to climate, an adaptation facilitated by the increased volume of pedestrian traffic in these towns. And indeed, there may be something to this. Still, we must consider some important facts about the application of this principle. First, rectangular overhangs that would serve the same purpose are more traditional and much cheaper commercial elements than the more elaborate 'Oregon barn' variety. But more importantly, we are now seeing an increasing number of cases wherein the use of the 'Oregon barn' look has no protective function, cases in which the overhang is too shallow to provide any protection from the elements, or in which it appears on the face

of a structure, while the entrance and all pedestrian activity are on another side.

Indeed - and this seems significant - the presence of such exclusively expressive overhangs correlates with the relative social and economic predominance of tourism in a given town. We see the highest number of such cases in Cannon Beach, somewhat fewer in Florence, and fewer still in the other towns. To be sure, as with the aforementioned case of the column in classical western architecture, the function of this element is as much expressive as it is structurally functional. (cf. Eco, 1972)

Conceivably, each of the categories of thematic simplification - those place images around which each of these towns is modeling itself - could be attributed in part to the process of drift, followed by a period of diffusion. Certainly, the majority of invoked features were present within the region prior to the rise of tourism, but each of these features is now utilized in a very different fashion. A town's historical elements take on a commercial value. Northwest coast tribal elements become a means of commercial display which plays on the regionally unique, particularly within the Canadian towns, and importantly, the frequency of tribal motifs does not neatly correlate with the presence of a local tribal population. (cf. Cole, 1989) Local wildlife becomes a source of local identity and is invoked for commercial display. Thus we witness a sort of 'neo-totemism,' in which animals, and historical characters and events, are invoked to suggest something about the business, the inclinations of its owners, and the town in which it is situated.

And clearly, the use of these images is not restricted to the places where one can find the corporeal thing represented. Orca images, for example, are found in each of the six studied towns, though only the two British Columbia towns could one actually expect to see orcas in their protected inlets. Northern style tribal art influences are clearly seen in Tofino, Ucluelet and Cannon Beach, though the pre-European settlement range of this style lies altogether outside of the study area.

In the towns discussed here, adaptive built changes have

tended to precede zoning, rather than proceeding from zoning. Indeed, many zoning ordinances within these towns appear to have merely institutionalized existing built trends and processes. This appears to have assisted with the maintenance of public support for zoning in cases where one might expect to see more entrenched opposition.

As M.R.G. Conzen and others have suggested, superficial elements tend to be those most immediately responsive to morphogenetic change, conditioned not only by the financial and social cost but also by their certainty regarding the continuous influence of a morphogenetic trend. (Conzen, 1960, 1988; Whitehand, 1988a) In other words, proprietors and builders must weigh their certainty of the potential for future payoffs against the social and economic investment required to execute an adaptive change. This factor may well be at the root of the blurring of morphogenetic phases. During any given morphogenetic shift in the towns of the Northwest coast, superficial mnemonic cues generally tend to predate structural adaptations. In those cases in which the diagnostic mnemonic cues post-date the appearance of architectural fusion, generally representing a more costly structural adaptation, the towns have had a longer history of tourist development, and have displayed a limited repertoire of textual mnemonic cues before the period of built fusion.

The social context of adaptive building behavior on the Northwest coast conforms well to the general model of the social context of pidginization. The most striking examples of adaptive built form on the Northwest coast have *functionally-constrained* uses, and are designed for particular commercial applications. The hybrid built form of the Northwest coast is accordingly used to *expand trade linkages*, and like a pidgin language, its composition is defined by this function.

Most of the diagnostic elements described in this thesis are not reproduced in contemporary residential or industrial forms, despite frequent origins in residential and industrial architecture. Interestingly, when one does see some of these elements within residential architecture, it is frequently a case

of a speculative residential construction, wherein these elements appear to have a marketing function similar to that of the commercial forms.

The 'pidginized' form is used to facilitate expression among rather discrete groups of people between whom there is *social and cultural distance*, i.e. the proprietors of a place and their clientele from without. The sense of the dichotomy between host and guest which I encountered in the field arguably surpasses even that sharp division which is proposed in the literature. (e.g. Nuñez, 1977) This may follow from the fact that many of the towns of the Northwest coast are still adjusting to the social and economic consequences of tourism, and the 'outsider' is still blamed for the bulk of local hardships.

The built forms of the Northwest coast are modified, however, when they are used to *indicate status and identity*. The idiosyncratic elements of these places are increasingly employed as a medium of social display during a period of rapid social adjustment. Thus hippies, creating funky and homespun built motifs, utilize local vernacular features. Likewise, tribal motifs have recently been appearing on tribally-owned structures. Degrees of utilization of built form now also appear to correlate with the *esprit de corps* in a community; interviews suggest that if proprietors hope to convey that they are active participants in the town's continuing progress, they are more likely to employ some of the discussed diagnostic built elements. Further, many residents now appear to associate particular elements with the success of a proprietor, and thus certain built elements may now be used by proprietors primarily to suggest personal success. Even a small number of private offices now appear to be employing some of the diagnostic features. And these elements are reproduced as communities attempt to identify themselves with the surrounding environment, and with a romanticized quaint past.

As we see poignantly in such towns as South Bend and Ucluelet, the more industrial towns of the coast - those with the least history of tourism development - exhibit the greatest resistance to the adaptation of the built environment to fit the needs of

tourists. People in these towns appear to defy these pressures precisely in order to express their own identity, to differentiate themselves from towns which have succumbed to the tourist gaze, and to resist the perceived exogenous influence of the urban Northwest, including both its land developers and its environmentalists. To be sure, this trend appears to exacerbate the existing social and economic dichotomies between the successful resort towns and the troubled industrial towns. This may provide an additional dimension to the early phases of a tourist area's cycle of evolution, as proposed by Butler, and provides another potentially illuminating route of investigation. (Butler, 1980)

Of course, within the context of the Northwest coast, with its dying resource industries and industry-dependent towns, the imperative to merely survive facilitates the rapid impress of external influences. And within this scenario - a scenario which is not likely to be reversed - the creation of mutually-intelligible landscapes is reciprocally beneficial to both tourists and locals. Thus the role of *power relations* remains unclear in this respect. Though the financial control exerted by outsiders is generally much greater than that of locals, it is accompanied by the outsiders' apparent enthusiasm for the ideographic character of this coast.

Despite the clear feedback loop between built form, tourist response and subsequent built behavior in the cases discussed, one cannot consistently assume a causal relationship between response to a built element and its reproduction. Builders will often respond to the circumstances which chronologically correlate with, but do not result from, the production of built motifs, assuming erroneously, it appears, that a causal relationship does exist. Indeed, many of the residents of the towns discussed displayed a sort of Pavlovian behavioral response to seemingly unrelated circumstances, often attributing increases in tourist revenues to the reproduction of built forms, while tending to de-emphasize the significance of broader events, such as demographic changes within the region. In these towns, success has many fathers, and most of them are locals. We might assume that at a later time this type

of deleterious evolution may be compensated for, after several cycles of building and rebuilding, particularly if accompanied by a slowing of growth in tourist volumes.

9.3: Some potential shortcomings of the pidginization model of landscape change

There are, of course, limitations to the pidginization model as proposed here. In the cases discussed in this thesis, this model comes up against some fairly messy real circumstances.

For example, this model as proposed, presumes a relatively discrete community adapting to externally-influenced change. The model does not completely cohere with the fact that, in many cases on the Northwest coast, a mixture of local and immigrant shopkeepers are together making these changes, often as part of a counter-cultural segment of the community. The counter-culture did not bring much that was new to this coast, but acted as a catalyst, facilitating new applications of existing vernacular themes. This does not necessarily compromise the model, but perhaps suggests that the process of built pidginization is facilitated by the breakdown of inhibitions regarding deviation from accepted means of built display. Mindful of other cases of adaptive behavior, we can assume that adaptive built response does not necessarily require an infusion of a counter-cultural current, but in these coastal cases it certainly did not inhibit the process. (cf. Bendix, 1989; McKay, 1988; Cezar, 1983; Stearns, 1982; Deitch, 1977; T.A. Bell, 1973; Blackman, 1973, 1976; MacCannell, 1973; Rapoport, 1969)

Likewise, one might argue that in the case of the counter-culture influence, we see two phases of built pidginization. Thus we could suggest that the first phase was characterized by the counter-culture resuscitating existing vernacular architectural themes for new applications. The second phase, then, would post-date the direct counter-culture influence. In this phase, the forms which the counter-culture had resuscitated for their shops are employed in a later, more intensively commercialized phase of tourist development both by long-time residents, adapting to the decline of other sectors of the economy, as well as by

entrepreneurial newcomers who seek to capitalize on the tourist presence.

Also, in this thesis, analysis was confounded by the fact that the populations identified as 'insiders' and 'outsiders' were of similar cultural origins. The study of post-contact adaptive reconfiguration of the built environment may prove more revealing in cases where groups coming in to contact are of markedly different cultural histories, as in cases where European peoples have come into contact with subject peoples. Indeed, such a study would be more consistent with the conditions which are usually addressed in case studies of linguistic pidginization.⁶⁰

The pidginization model cannot be a simplistic one, because even traditions which have been distinct prior to contact have complex histories, and are the product of untold borrowings of the past. And the process of contact phase adaptation is sufficiently dynamic that an ultimate byproduct of contact cannot be neatly pinned down; we cannot necessarily hold out one example of what a 'pidginized' building looks like, because, by its very definition, this is always changing. Within all dynamic forms of expression there is no alpha, nor an omega. Only if a distinctive built tradition emerges from the current adaptive phase and stabilizes, will some future architectural historian be able to discern the diagnostic features of this form, arguably 'creolized.'

Though the object of study in this thesis, as suggested above, is 'messy,' with its complex set of variables, and its large cast of human actors, we should not abandon attempts to come to understand this process. No model is absolute, and I have endeavored to include exceptional cases in my discussion, such as the two identified cases of historical non-residential applications of the 'Oregon barn' style. The histories of built expression are

⁶⁰Indeed, photos of contact-era Tlingit, Haida, Nootkan and Kwakiutl villages viewed in the course of researching this thesis show much more readily visible evidence of many of these processes. In these cases, European expressive features are gradually adopted into tribal traditions within locations more remote than those discussed here. (see, for example, the photos in Blackman, 1976; Stearns, 1982; Wyatt, 1989; cf. Fitzhugh, 1985)

not tidy, but these cases do not necessarily contradict the general model. Indeed, in such exceptional cases as that of the 'Oregon barn' - examples which emerged during earlier phases of intensified external contact - this 'messiness' may add illumination to the general hypothesis.

Within a set of variables as complex as those which come to bear upon a townscape, minor and unpredictable circumstances can have a measurable impact upon building behavior, as well. For example, we can easily imagine a person who had only built houses being called upon to build a commercial structure when the usual builder was laid up with a broken leg. Though we shouldn't discount the potential of such an event to alter the composition of the whole system, we should recognize that in such a context, we must direct attention to the general trends. And I would argue that in the case of the Northwest coast, the general trends provide a persuasive case.

Other problems have confounded measurement of these built trends, and the collection and presentation of evidence could likely be improved upon. To be sure, the towns of the Northwest coast are in a volatile predicament, in which small businesses rise and fall with stunning frequency. Thus too, elements of the townscape appear and disappear with a speed that confounds longitudinal analysis. For example, in a visit to Florence, Oregon, some five months after taking the photos in this thesis, I discovered an assortment of new built elements, and many changes in building occupants. Thus, to expand on this example, of the businesses seen in the three structures in Figure 33 - a cafe, a coffee shop, and a yogurt shop, in September of 1993 - only the coffee shop remained; by February of 1994, the cafe building was vacant, while the yogurt shop had been converted into a gallery. A short-term, building-by-building analysis of structures would likely prove informative in such cases.

As with most studies of vernacular building, evidence is difficult to obtain, confounding a more rigorous analysis. Though pictures are available for most discussed periods in this thesis, we must recognize that photography is a recent technology, post-

dating many relevant periods of landscape formation, and available photographs are often of marginal quality for detailed analysis.

Finally, some scholars may simply not be able to get beyond the 'pidginization' label, and will assume that this represents yet another poetaster's attempt to attach a linguistic metaphor onto the radically dissimilar media of built form. Indeed, the model would not lose its validity if it were distanced from the term, altogether, though the model was derived from an analysis of this linguistic process. Ultimately the term 'pidginization' is a form of shorthand. Merely accepting that it is a model of the adaptive reconfiguration of built form during periods of increased inter-cultural contact will suffice. To be sure, though, this is an unwieldy mouthful to be repeated at every turn.

Thus, in light of the problems inherent within the application of this model, we must once again ask: does the pidginization hypothesis allow us to predict how landscapes will be transformed under certain circumstances? I should like to venture that we must answer this question in the affirmative. The processes of simplification, fusion and drift are predictable results of heightened inter-group contact, assuming that at least one of the groups seeks some sort of favorable response from the other. 'Pidginized landscapes' will likely always be of a somewhat ideographic nature. The ultimate content of the pidginized built vernacular is defined on a multiplicity of variables which involve site features, the character of interacting peoples, and the nature of the relations between these peoples. But nonetheless, the adaptive process appears to be consistent within a defined set of cases.

9.4: Some prospects for the pidginization model of landscape change

If we accept that the pidginization model is of merit, then we may begin to explore the potential for its broader application, in both academic and applied contexts. This thesis has approached the issue of built pidginization in broad strokes, providing a general framework for analysis; now we must look for devils in the details.

Clearly, one of the most promising avenues of investigation, in light of this model, will involve the observation of hitherto discrete cultures during periods of initial and intensified contact. Such studies would provide more clearly delineated forms of evidence, and would be truer to the empirical foundations of pidginization theory.

There is clearly a regularity in the distribution of features within each town, which correlate with the places which are frequented by visitors. (cf. Jackson, 1970) We see what might be viewed as a spatial differentiation between locally- and externally-oriented built expression. However, a detailed consideration of this spatial component lies beyond the scope of this thesis. The tracking of the spatial dimension over time would likely prove informative; possibly, one could employ Geographic Information Systems as diagnostic tools in places affected by contact, allowing one to trace the timing and areal extent of diagnostic features along the known paths of strangers.

A discussion of the role of dynamic power relationships as a controlling factor over the process of built pidginization is needed. We may assume that, as with pidginized languages, the fluctuation of power relationships and the relative status of discrete groups has affected historical processes of adaptive built reconfiguration. There are now sufficient photos of towns for such studies, illustrating changes during the post-colonial era within much of the so-called Third World, the former Soviet sphere, and eastern Europe. In addition, one may find evidence of such adaptation in Native American communities and other spatially discrete ethnic minority settlements during phases of resurgent group identity and pride.

Applying the model to a contemporary case, tracing the response of communities newly opened up to external scrutiny, would allow a scholar to avoid the many pitfalls involved with the reconstruction of historical post-contact phases. Additional insights could no doubt be gained by an attempt to articulate any one of the diagnostic processes in greater detail. One could likewise gain additional insights by directing increased attention

to the internal dynamics of the social interaction and decision making which shape the adaptive building process. A single-community study could be implemented, to determine who makes the decisions, and who ultimately provides the impetus for and controls upon the innovation, adoption and adaptation of built elements within culturally pluralistic cases. Though I endeavored to provide a discussion of the national and regional origins of settlers in these towns, a detailed analysis of the implications of historically imported traditions is beyond the scope of thesis. No doubt, such a study could illuminate the historical inheritances of local building and local taste, factors which add character to contemporary adaptive built responses to regional change.

In anticipation of a somewhat more specific research opportunity, I have suggested that the presence of 'Oregon barn' building styles on the west coast of Vancouver Island may be attributed to the presence of American company housing on this coast. To confirm this point in this and other cases, additional attention should be directed to the relationship between cross-border corporate ties and the diffusion of such architectural features.

The pidgin model of landscape change also has implications for the fields of planning and design. In particular, promise can be found in the model's detailed analysis of adaptive responses, and its lack of reliance upon such concepts as 'authenticity.' Significantly, too, the model accounts for the ways in which dynamic expressive environments are accompanied by changing expectations regarding built expression, among locals as well as visitors.

In the field, I was faced with a striking fact: consistently, the people I spoke with in these towns expressed pride in and comfort with the redeveloped, 'pidginized' portions of the townscape, regardless of their personal origins. The consensus could be summarized in the statement, "It has changed a lot, but it has retained much of its character, nonetheless." Indeed, the landscape seems to function like a sort of pressure valve, giving residents something of value in conjunction with their loss of

autonomy. The common concerns were with more pressing issues: crowding, increased crime, the environmentalists, the lack of living-wage jobs, the increase in prices and taxes, the rate of development, the resulting reconfiguration of personally important places, and a reduction of local control over economic and political life.

One might be tempted to assume that the hybridized urban forms would be resented as symbols of all of these changes. However, I have found that the persistence of local vernacular has had the effect of maintaining a sense of continuity and local proprietary interest in the place. Concerns of architectural and aesthetic merit have been among the least contentious in places where the transitions in townscape have been temporally and structurally gradual, and subject to even partial local control. Hybridization has been the rule in such cases, ostensibly a logical outgrowth of locals' personal need for the familiar, as well as the need to, as Watkins suggests, appeal to "friends," "lovers," and "neighbors" while simultaneously adapting to new pressures from without. (1991)

An obvious question which arises when observing the current, at times painful adjustments within the towns on the Northwest coast and elsewhere, is the extent to which the beneficial effects of pidginization can be facilitated by administrative means.

First and foremost, decisions regarding the future course of development must be - in part - locally rooted. The people in a place will, by their very position in a community, continue to be responsible to friends, family and lovers as they proceed through the often messy administrative process of defining the unfolding character of their surroundings; their actions will be modified in part by community praise or criticism. Residents must therefore have at least minor decision making control over the look of the town - through design review boards and other such institutions - to facilitate both localized forms of expression, as well as adaptation in their own interest. A few heritage buildings may be modified to house espresso shops, and architectural historians may wince, but the benefits to the community may well outweigh the costs. And a few dilapidated shacks may be preserved, to the

bewilderment of outsiders, but these shacks may play a vital role - a role not apparent from outside the community - in easing the shocks of local transitions. Resident involvement cannot be exclusively rationalized - as some scholars of planning suggest - as a means of giving residents a sense of actualization through participation in the planning process, itself, or as a way of providing professional designers with a baseline of facts regarding user groups. (cf. Alexander, 1974; Lynch, 1960)

One specific tenet for success in the towns of the Northwest coast may be referred to as 'constrained visibility.' Simply put, proprietors must provide a maximum amount of built clarity for the itinerant visitor, within a context that discourages large and garish forms of display. Thus, for example, proprietors have discovered the windsock, the flower box, the bench, and the pictographic sign, all mnemonic devices that 'fit' with the rustic and natural images of the Northwest coast that draw the tourists, but are bold indicators of commercial invitation nonetheless. Towns now increasingly recognize this, and formulate zoning ordinances which seek to balance these two imperatives.

One of the most striking planning implications which could be derived from the pidginization model addresses the issue of historical preservation. The preservation of historical buildings has become increasingly popular worldwide, as vernacular building disappears during successive waves of increased interaction with the outside. As contact situations become the global norm, the factors perpetuating local vernaculars fall away, to be replaced by a new set of controlling variables. More often than not, programs facilitating the historical preservation of buildings tend to be selective on the basis of dubious criteria, and nonrepresentative of common experience. J.B. Jackson has cited this fact as the basis for his lack of enthusiasm regarding the field of historic preservation; Jackson asserts that, while he believes "the value of history is what it teaches us about the future," most concern with the preservation of historical landscape types "deals with an infinitely small fraction of the landscape," those features which were sufficiently important to be well-

documented at their time of creation. (Jackson, 1984, p.xi) Thus we must ask, "what meaning does conservation have...when a building is frozen in historical limbo?" (Samuel, 1987, quoted in Urry, 1990, p.127) When attempting to preserve expressive systems, we must remember that they are "neither a museum nor a mansion but more a workshop with attached living quarters." (Mülhäusler 1992, p. 178)

Again, we can draw from the field of pidgin and creole studies in our discussion of the planning implications of a pidgin model. Drawing from Einar Haugen's work on 'language ecologies,' creolist Peter Mülhäusler has suggested that the preservation of a form of expression is wholly nonsensical if the expressive context no longer exists. In other words, if there are no speakers of that language, and there is no clear need for its resuscitation, attempts to maintain its use must be justified on other grounds than its presumed inherent good. Languages and landscapes do not exist in independence from their context, and their continued existence demands their "possibilities for internal regeneration and change," and their "preservation or maintenance thus cannot be restricted to rescuing static texts, grammars, or dictionaries, but needs to include the possibilities for discourse and change." (1992, pp.170, 165) The 'museified' landscape represents a very different, and not altogether beneficial manifestation of the ordinary landscape. (Claval, 1992)

Further, we must accept that external borrowing is the norm in expressive systems; Mülhäusler goes so far as to suggest that he "would be inclined to claim that the viability of a language crucially depends on contacts with and borrowing from outside sources." (1992, p.174) In Darwinian terms, the ability to adapt is as much a trait of successful languages or successful expressive landscapes as it is a trait of a successful species. And as Mülhäusler suggests, "The ecological requirements of a pidgin are... far less than those of a full language, and the likelihood of its surviving in an urban, nontraditional environment are consequently much greater." (1992, p.172) This is no doubt equally true in the case of built forms which have been adapted to

communicate to wider audiences, within emergent morphogenetic environments.

There has been consistent prejudice among high-style architects directed towards hybrid commercial vernaculars. (Venturi, et al., 1977; Papademetriou, 1980; Scott-Brown, 1980) But we must accept that such hybrids appear to be highly functional. Scholars such as Ndolo, (1989) stress the value of pidginized forms of expression in the building and maintaining of ties between discrete groups, as well as the legitimization of expressive systems of less prestigious groups. This has certainly been the case on the coast, where modified versions of what existed before are now esteemed from without, and the social distance between hinterland and metropolitan core is lessened by heightened and qualitatively improved interaction. Creolist scholars such as Hall have taken a strong stand regarding the preservation of local hybrid dialects, based on their functionality. (Hall, 1955) Perhaps now, we can approach hybridized vernacular building with a similar recognition of its social and aesthetic value.

The continuing demise of historical vernacular forms, these dialogues of localized usage, may ultimately make creoles out of pidginized landscapes. It is difficult to determine if the international landscape 'dialogue' - the urban commercial vernacular - has become our native tongue. It is conceivable that only a breakdown of the lines of communication would fully derail the process of local hybridization and global standardization.

The loss of local, regional, and national vernaculars is likely at the root of the historic preservationist movement; the very dynamism of pidginized landscapes, and the newness of their imprint in many corners of the world assures that there are individuals who learned to navigate within an environment of markedly different landscape cues. A pidgin is, after all, a second language at its onset. Some find the pidginized landscape unfamiliar, while others express frustration at an inability to exert sufficient pressure, social or pecuniary, to maintain locally evocative and distinctive landscape forms *in situ*.

To be sure, the imperative for certain forms of historical

preservation are clear. Owing to their very durability, landscapes facilitate the persistence of certain evocative elements, barring continued modification, long after such elements are no longer reproduced. An understanding of the history and usage of local cues provides the viewer with a connection to something distinctive and proprietary, a potential source of continuity and reassurance, though the nature of this individual attachment to the idiosyncratic expressive environment of places remains unclear.

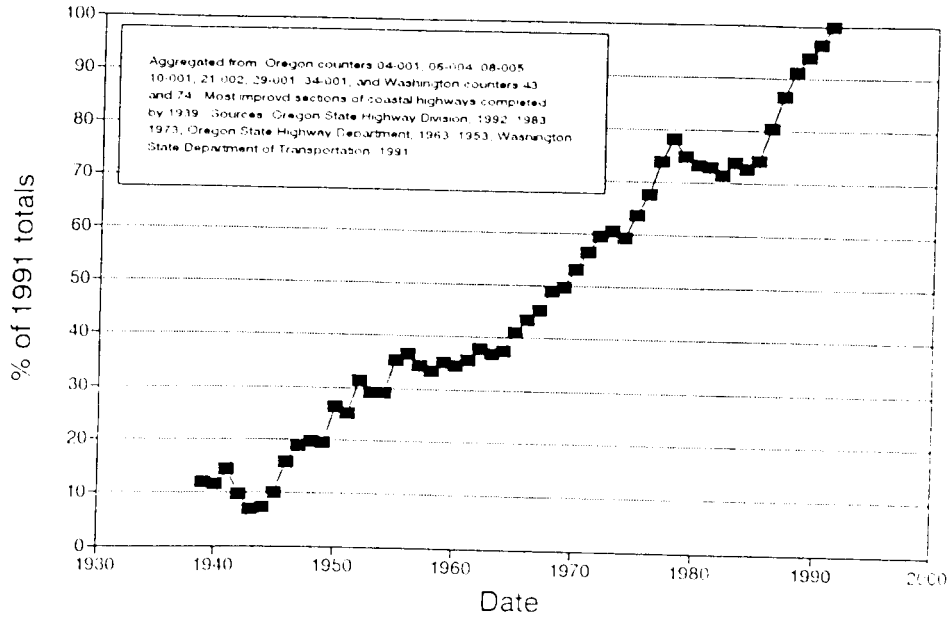
Builders and architects who understand and employ the currently accepted juxtaposition of medium and message within their clients' particular social contexts will, of course, benefit from such a grasp of expressive landscapes, being sought more frequently, reducing communicative dissonance, and the like. The designer's challenge is to accommodate the need to communicate to widening audiences, a simplifying and standardizing imperative, without creating qualitatively impoverished landscapes. As we see in this thesis, some have resorted to the creation of highly localized pidgins- the post-modern 'commodification' of places, if you will - in places where preexisting landscape cues can be modified in conjunction with imported elements, thus becoming intelligible to a wider audience.

If such modifications are executed with a sensitivity to the social dimensions of this process, the resulting landscapes are still evocative and reassuring to the local 'old guard,' while being intelligible to a wider audience. They lend a continuing qualitative diversity to the landscape. We cannot deny the overarching interconnectedness of place, nor can we deny the pressures which the need to communicate places upon us. As pidginized landscapes merely reflect a transition in which cues are manipulated to communicate to an expanded audience, we also cannot dismiss such places as historically inauthentic; such assertions occlude more pressing concerns. This change merely represents the next step in the historical process of change in evocative landscapes.

APPENDIX

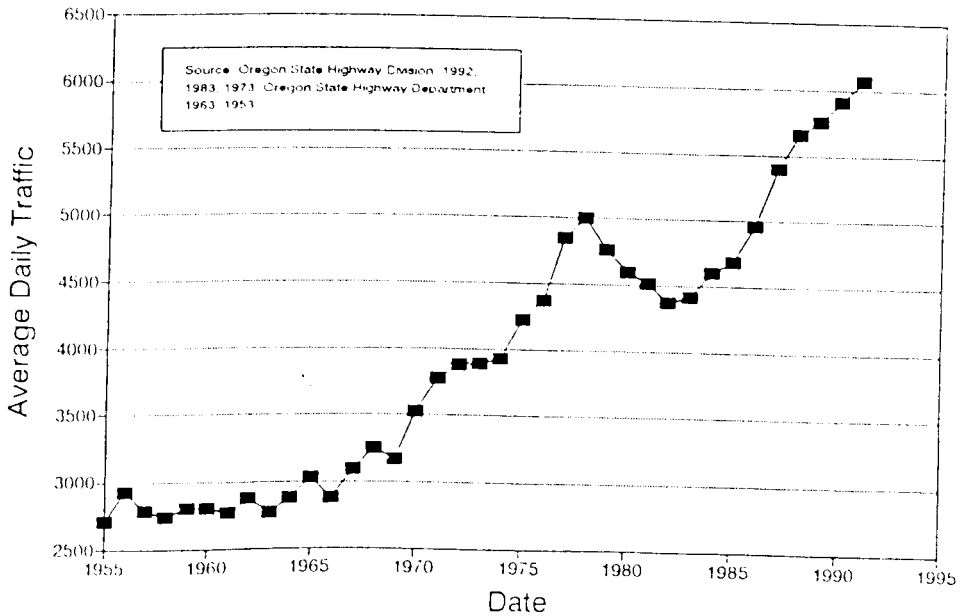
Graphs of Traffic Volume

Mean Daily Traffic, Or. & Wash. Coast as a % of 1991 traffic counts



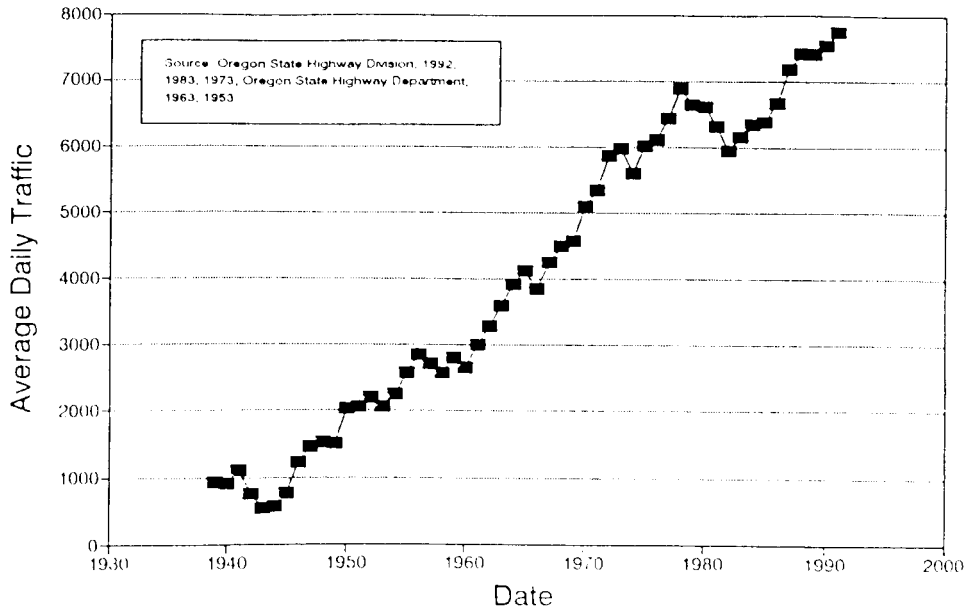
GRAPH 1

Average Daily Traffic at Counter 06-004 Bandon, Oregon



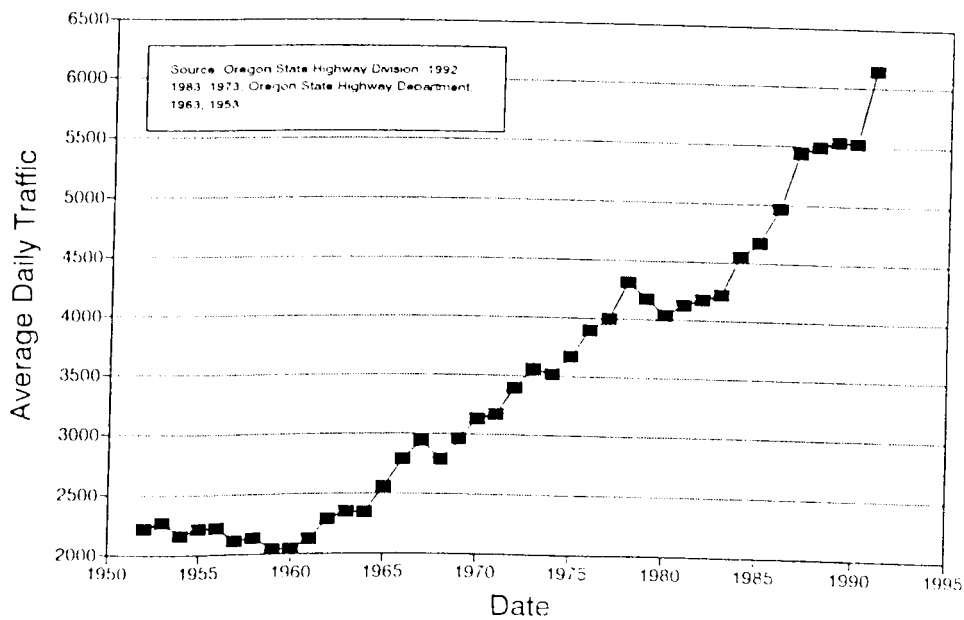
GRAPH 2

Average Daily Traffic at Counter 10-001 Winchester Bay, Oregon



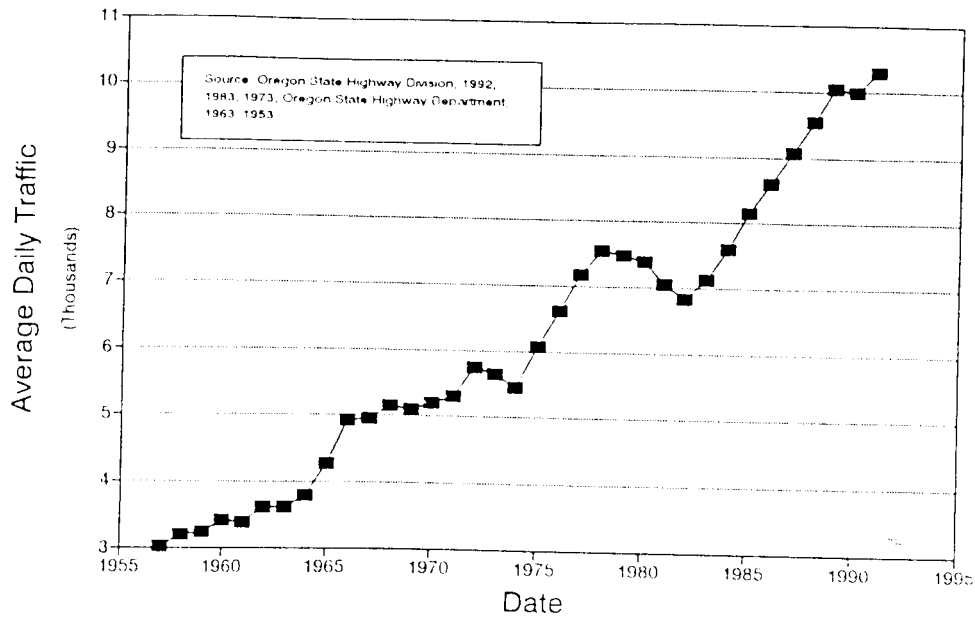
GRAPH 3

Average Daily Traffic at Counter 34-001 Buxton Tunnel, Highway 26, Oregon



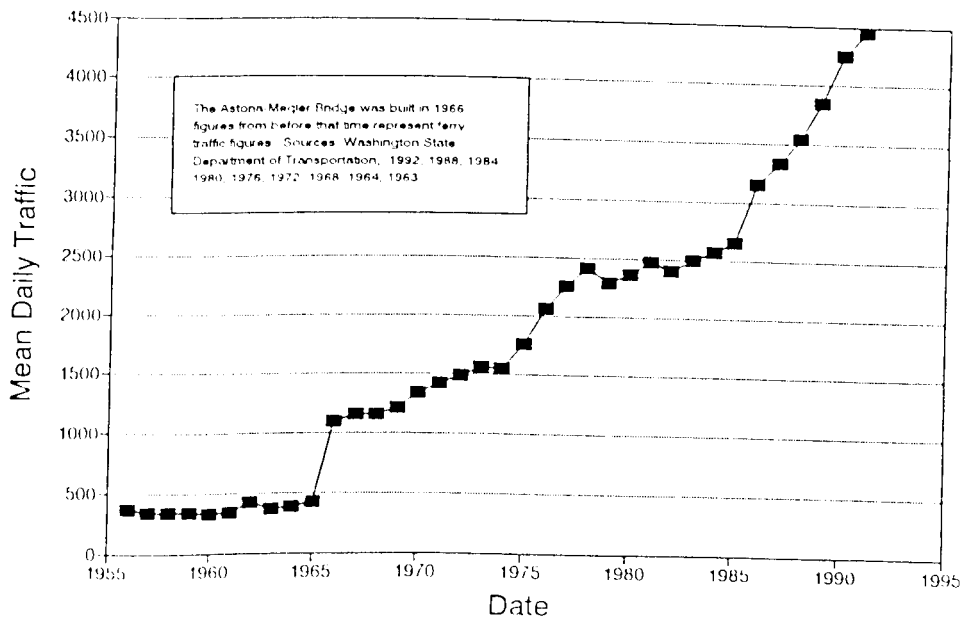
GRAPH 4

Average Daily Traffic at Counter 04-001 Gearhart, Oregon



GRAPH 5

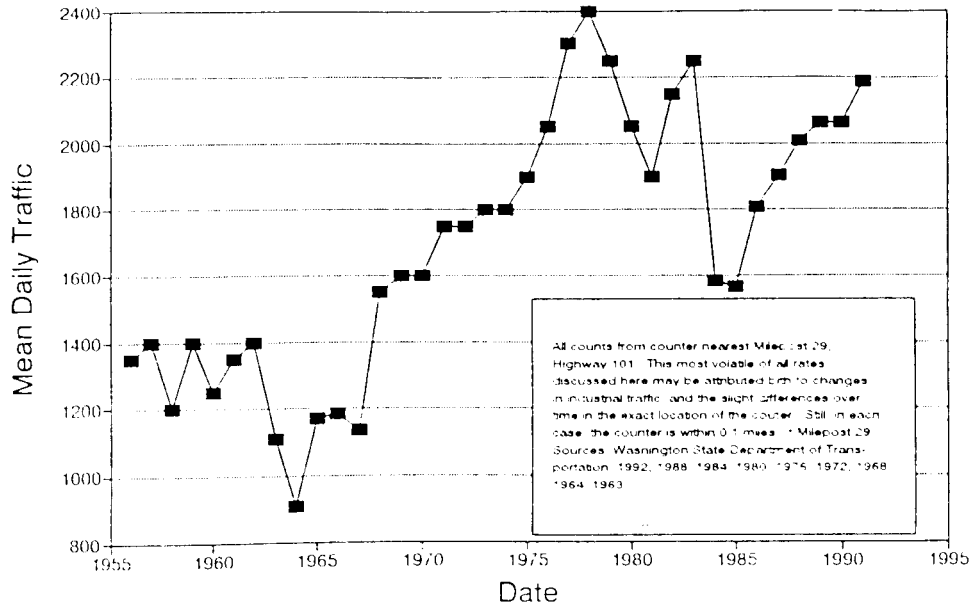
Mean Daily Traffic Volume Hwy 101, Columbia River Bridge/Ferry



GRAPH 6

Mean Daily Traffic Volume

Hwy 101, Mile 29, near South Bend, Wa.



GRAPH 7

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