Quarterly Journal of Speech
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rqjs20

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Published online: 05 Jun 2009.

To cite this article: Greg Dickinson (1997) Memories for sale: Nostalgia and the construction of identity in Old Pasadena, Quarterly Journal of Speech, 83:1, 1-27, DOI: 10.1080/00335639709384169

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00335639709384169

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH
83 (1997): 1–27

The QUARTERLY JOURNAL *of* SPEECH

VOLUME 83 FEBRUARY 1997 NUMBER 1

Memories for Sale: Nostalgia and the Construction of Identity in Old Pasadena

Greg Dickinson

The contemporary moment is characterized by a deep desire for memory. The shift of identity from traditional familial, community and work structures to "lifestyle" along with the fragmentation and globalization of postmodern culture engenders in many a profoundly felt need for the past. The loss of a culture of memory has been met by the rise of "memory places." This essay argues that landscapes of memory like Old Pasadena respond to the fragmentation with memory created by contemporary culture. Classical and Renaissance rhetorical concepts provide the materials necessary for a critical analysis of contemporary landscapes of memory. The engagement between traditional rhetorical concepts and postmodern problems leads to a retheorizing and reevaluation of memory, invention and style, where memory becomes a grammar for the rhetorical performance of the self. **Key words:** Postmodernity, memory, nostalgia, space, style

> We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left.[1]
>
> Pierre Nora

> The American search for spontaneous community with the like-minded is made urgent by the fear that there may be no way at all to relate to those who are different. Thus the tremendous nostalgia many Americans have for the idealized "small town."[2]
>
> Robert Bellah, et al.

Times of rapid change or insecurity encourage a tremendous desire for the past. The contemporary moment is just such a time. The modern urban experience shatters and fragments communities and traditions, tearing individuals from familiar social structures and in so doing disperses and fragments the subject.[3] In everyday life we confront these difficulties in urban landscapes of memory and consumption. Landscapes of memory draw on memories in an attempt to authenticate themselves as sites and to authenticate the identities of those who visit them. The memories place both the landscapes and individuals within a stabilizing and authenticating past. Often memories are utilized in these sites to create intriguing spaces for consumption. Refurbished, gentrified urban landscapes are devoted to selling: selling food, clothes, jewelry, coffee, books, art, antiques, movies, plays. In short, they are devoted to the entertainment of consumption.[4]

It is no accident that these places of consumption are presented within memory, since memory works to cover the problems of identity raised in a culture of consumption and of memory loss. Contemporary urban experience combined with the growth of consumer culture makes the maintenance of stable, coherent identities difficult.[5] Memory

offers to consumers the possibility of coherent identities firmly situated within a warmly remembered past. However, these sites of memory are themselves fragmented, making the apparent coherence illusory and opening the possibilities for a wide range of identities. Old Pasadena brings together both the fragmenting claims of consumption and the reunifying voice of memory, creating a rhetorically meaningful "memory place."[6]

"Memory place" purposely recalls elements of the rhetorical tradition, and, as I will argue throughout this essay, this tradition provides critical materials for the analysis of contemporary landscapes.[7] The phrase "memory places" recalls classical rhetoric's spatialized mnemonics which urged orators to memorize striking buildings in which to "place" materials for future recall and, in the process, created a spatialized theory of memory. However, traditional rhetorical theories connect memory and identity. Within some classical theories, memory serves as a resource for creating selves. These relations among memory, space and identity regain importance in the contemporary moment. Made tenuous by postmodern consumer culture, contemporary identities are performances that utilize the resources of memory; these performances occur in and are structured by landscapes of consumption. These performative identities, while structured, are not determined. Rather, memory–encoded, invoked and materialized in urban landscapes–serves as a grammar or set of resources and structures, with which, through rhetorical turns, individuals invent rhetorical performances of themselves.[8]

In the next few pages I trace a history of the relations among rhetoric, memory, place and identity. This history will begin with the classical rhetorical tradition. I will then trace the application of rhetorical memory theories to specifically spatial problems in the Renaissance. Classical rhetorical theory and the Renaissance urban planning that utilized this theory suggest a rhetorical analysis of contemporary spaces. In the second section I will move from past to present, arguing that the contemporary city is the site of significant memory difficulties and identity disruptions, all of which take on particular contours in Los Angeles. I will then narrow my focus further, turning to a critical analysis of nostalgia in Old Pasadena. This analysis is informed by the traditional rhetorical concepts outlined in the first part of this essay. Finally, I will return to rhetorical theories of memory, arguing that these theories prove useful for an analysis of space, and that the stresses imposed on them by Old Pasadena's postmodernity force a reevaluation of Classical concepts within contemporary theory and criticism.

Rhetoric, Memory, Place, and Identity

Since the time of Classical Greece, rhetorical theories of memory have linked memory to both place and identity. The pedagogical tradition of the Sophists and the Romans linked memory and place, suggesting that the orator create a stock of architectural images in which to place materials to be memorized. Recollection involved remembering the image and with it the desired material.[9] Within this system the relation between the form and the memory connected to it was relatively arbitrary; the orator could place any memory material on or in any image. The orderliness of the memory images was more important than the particular relation between memory material and image, for the power of this system was its ability to allow the memorizer to recall the desired material in the correct order. It is for this reason that these early mnemonic systems relied on architecture; placing each consecutive part of a speech in consecutive rooms allowed the orator to remember the speech in order as he or she "walked through" the remembered

building. Rhetors who practiced this method soon developed, in Francis Yates's memorable phrase, "vast and echoing" architectural memories.[10]

Classical memory influenced Renaissance memory theories, especially those that inspired the rebuilding of Rome and the design of Renaissance gardens. In both cases, spaces were designed and built to encourage recollection of either socially supported truths or the cosmic order.[11] Renaissance architects, trained within the rhetorical tradition, looked at the city through the lenses of their rhetorically trained memories, leading them to conceptualize (re)building for the purpose of sparking recollection. Imaginary plans of a reconstructed city led easily to the desire to (re)build the city for the *purpose* of awakening particular memories. As Anthony Vidler writes, "Architects became aware of the possibility of transferring to the realm of reality that which they had imagined in their memory: that is, of cutting out of the fabric of the real city the sequences and places of their memory maps of the city."[12]

The rebuilding of Rome in the early Renaissance relied on ancient, memorized forms; the new buildings, facades, streetscapes and monuments drew on the city's real or imagined imperial and Christian past for inspiration.[13] In the new Rome, streets were rebuilt to guide visitors from one sacred site to the next. Facades were reconstructed to encourage recollection of the power of imperial Rome. The rhetorical goal was to make the visitors into good Christians and to suture them into a culture controlled by the Pope.[14] This rhetorical use of memory gave rise to city planning: that is, the creation of urban spaces for the explicit purpose of evoking particular responses from a mass public.[15] Vidler asserts, "the planning of the Rome of Sixtus V as a vast tourist city with all its monuments and memories joined by significant paths or streets marks the true beginning of urbanism . . . defined as the instrumental theory of constructing the city as a memorial of itself."[16] Whereas the orator visualized space as a tool of speech, the architect's desire to instill memories now encouraged the construction of space.

Similarly, in the Renaissance garden, style and memory intertwined rhetorically to induce a sense of civic responsibility. Gardens triggered memories that were already carefully constructed and spatialized through the spectator's rhetorical and moral training. These memories controlled the emotions evoked by the strange and powerful sights in the garden, providing a moral education that would encourage decorous conduct.[17] The sights and sounds within the Renaissance garden encouraged the individual to recollect his or her soul. Although the garden worked to awaken or reawaken divine truths lodged within the soul, it also relied on conventional relations between forms and memories. These gardens, like rebuilt Rome, drew forth powerfully persuasive and deeply embedded memories. These memories served the rhetorical purpose of creating and maintaining individuals' sense of themselves within a larger cultural network.

Tracing this rhetorical history of memory has a three-fold purpose. First, it suggests that memory has a long theoretical and pedagogical history linking rhetorical operations to space. This connection points toward the possibilities of a specifically rhetorical conception of space in which memories are encoded in spatial structures for the purpose of engaging audiences in matters of belief and action. Second, tracing these relations provides a particularly rhetorical way of relating memory and space to the problem of identity. Memory, as Mary Carruthers argues in her sterling work on medieval memory theories, serves as both structure and resource for the practice of the self.[18] Individuals utilize their memories of past responses to handle the contingencies of daily life, and this

reiteration of the past defines and gives contour to the self.[19] Third, this rhetorical conceptualization emphasizes the importance of memory's material realization. Memories are "stored" in places where people enact the past, and these places of storage and enactment serve as the locus of investigation. As in Renaissance Rome, spatialized memory in the postmodern city serves as a resource for the rhetorical performance of the self.

Rhetorical Landscapes and a Mode of Analysis

There is, then, a complex set of relations among memory, space, identity and rhetoric, wherein stylistic, often architectural, devices elicit memory to argue for and secure personal identity.[20] These places evoke a whole range of emotion-laden memories while providing the possibility for *bodily* participation in the evocation of the memory. Much as the orator utilized memory places to recall particular ideas or arguments or as the Renaissance citizen turned to the garden as a guide to virtuous behavior, the contemporary individual visits a memory place like Old Pasadena in an attempt to recall or recover a stabilized identity.

As rhetorical places or *loci,* landscapes draw together a wide range of cultural and historical resources. An analysis of landscapes must begin by tracing the lines of these cultural resources.[21] To trace these lines, my method emphasizes the movement among the local, personal and "formal" details of the site and the abstract, cultural and discursive structures in which these details are embedded.[22] This analysis of the (always provisional) relations between specific formal details and cultural discourses facilitates comprehension of the cultural problems that are negotiated at a site.[23] Although the structures of a site make possible certain forms of identification, these structures do not determine individual identity.[24] Indeed, a careful analysis of the formal structure will point to its gaps and inconsistences.[25] My investigation, then, works by relating cultural structures and aesthetic forms, or, better, moves between the cultural and the formal, for memories are cultural products while mnemonics are profoundly formal products.

Consumption, Memory and the Contours of Los Angeles

I must begin now to trace the cultural lines that are drawn together at Old Pasadena. And here again I return to memory, for in the United States–and for the primarily middle class persons who shop in Old Pasadena–the contemporary moment is one of advancing memory loss and a deeply rooted nostalgia. This memory loss and nostalgia are part of a whole range of cultural factors: the rise of the modern city; the emphasis on stylized, performative identities within modern consumer culture; the ways transnational culture at once atomizes and abstracts place-based communities.

The increasing complexity of consumer culture and the development of the modern city are particularly important factors in this loss of identity.[26] The growth of a consumer culture and the rise of the modern city remake the self in two ways. First, in the city life becomes a pattern of consistent encounters with the unknown. Managing "first impressions" through dress and other surface impressions is crucial to success. Second, the immensity and anonymity of the city, along with increasingly rapid modes of communication and transportation, have untied the knots of tradition. This breakdown of traditional hierarchies and modes of living uproots the individual from the past and from the structures of community.[27] The lack of secure structures for identity raises the

personal *desire* for a stabilizing community clearly rooted in physical place to a flash point. And yet the forces of postmodernity are disembedding forces working to destroy the bonds of tradition.[28] In a post-traditional period, a time of deepening memory crisis, secured place becomes harder and harder to maintain, giving rise to nostalgia to cover the discomforts of the present.[29]

The breakdown of traditional structures of meaning, along with the need to manage first impressions, shifts identity from one's place in a stable network of personal relationships to the creation and maintenance of lifestyle. Anthony Giddens writes that, "the more tradition loses its hold, and the more daily life is reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of the local and the global, the more individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options."[30] With subjectivity linked to lifestyle, personal identity becomes a constant project of consumption and performance. Individuals, asserts Carole Spitzack, come to recognize themselves and others only "through the images designed to represent people *as* products. Without entering the stage of consumption, there is no ability to express oneself as an individual."[31] This stylization extends to a whole way of life, not only the acquisition of clothing. Gestures, postures, places of residence, sexuality and the body all are constructed within the confines of style. Identity is a project, a constant repetition of stylized acts that are not founded on any secure structure, but instead are enmeshed in constantly changing, socially constructed forces.[32] These constantly changing, socially constructed forces are the workings of memory, for the sedimentation of past actions, past proscriptions and past sanctions compose the cultural resources people utilize in the performance of themselves. Identity, in this formulation, is the creative performance of memory.

Connecting memory with consumption, places like Old Pasadena clarify the complex connection between the practices of consumption and the enactment of selves, for together memory and consumer culture provide the possibilities for creating meaningful identities. Both memory and consumption are located in the places of everyday behaviors; places that at once utilize the unifying forces of memory while encoding the fragmenting and atomizing forces of consumption. These places call on complex, intertextual relationships to trigger the resources of memory, foster consumption and provide places for the bodily enactment of identity. Thus, memories and memory places are not just comforting responses to the fragmentation of postmodern consumer culture, they are an integral part of contemporary performances of identity.

Of course, not everyone has the same relation to postmodernity nor is everyone in the United States adrift in a memory-less sea. Instead, there is a flourishing of what Robert Bellah and colleagues have called "communities of memory."[33] For some people in some places, memory and tradition remain alive and serve as important structures for personal and communal identity. At the same time, many of the mostly white, middle-class Americans the authors interviewed were profoundly ambivalent about belonging to strong communities of memory. Many expressed longings for even more ties with others. At the same time, many of those most thoroughly embedded in communities of memory struggled against the limiting functions that tradition can play. In short, *Habits of the Heart* suggests that many live both inside and outside of memory and most are continually negotiating new relations between memory and individualism, self-identity and group identity.[34] Thus, while there are individuals comfortably embedded within tradition, many are ambivalent about their traditions and their relations to the profound diversity of contemporary urban life.[35]

This fear of insurmountable difference and the ambivalence felt toward tradition are important factors make sites like Old Pasadena so important. For here, too, is the tension, the ambiguity. Here are the consumer goods necessary for expressing a personal identity. Here also are the memories useful for the creation and maintenance of communities of memory and meaningful selves. The site is precisely a liminal space between community and individualism, where consumers negotiate the relation between past and present, between the structure of memory and the "freedom" of consumption; where "communities of memory" and "lifestyle enclaves" meet each other; where people constantly negotiate, enact, and practice selves.[36] And it is a consummately interesting and entertaining space precisely because it is liminal.[37]

Localizing Fragmentation and Nostalgia in Los Angeles

But these generalized tendencies towards loss of stabilized place and diminution of memory and tradition have particular valence in Los Angeles.[38] Los Angeles, built within a fragmenting and globalizing contemporary culture, serves as the capital city of this postmodernity. "In every age there is a capital city," writes David Reid. "In the strange new postmodern imperium we live in, Los Angeles, at the very least, has become the American city the world watches for signs and portents."[39] Divided by class, ethnicity, and culture; Los Angeles is characterized by balkanization and fragmentation.[40] Neighborhoods demand gates to keep the bad folks out and the good folks in.[41] Westsiders dare not go east or south, for those neighborhoods are deemed too dangerous. Eastsiders despise the elitism of the Westsiders.[42] Multinational corporations fund downtown development that constricts low income housing, pushing even more people onto the streets.[43] This, then, is a frayed city, divided and fragmented. It is difficult, writes geographer Edward Soja, to grasp Los Angeles, "for it generates too many conflicting images, confounding historicization, always seeming to stretch laterally instead of unfolding sequentially . . ."[44] Los Angeles, Soja continues, is everywhere and everywhere is in Los Angeles.

A city without a center (or with a confusing array of centers), Los Angeles functions at the nexus of postmodern cultural and economic forces. Constructed as a cinematized spectacle, made up of a series of theme park-like sites of consumption, splintered by the local workings of transnational economics and culture, Los Angeles is a fragmented and confusing place to live. "What is this place?," asks Soja.[45] Los Angeles becomes the hometown of postmodernity, the geographic location of a profoundly transnational, consumerist moment. Thus, metropolitan Los Angeles serves as the experimental site for finding new ways of making space. As Michael Dear writes,

> the insistent message of a postmodern Los Angeles is that all previous urban place-making bets are off; we are engaged, knowingly or otherwise, in the search for new ways of creating cities. There is reason to believe that if success is not possible in the prototypical metropolis of Southern California, then it may well be impossible in any city in the United States.[46]

Within this context, Old Pasadena becomes more than just another landscape of memory; it and its visitors are engaged in the attempt to find new ways of creating cities and in so doing are engaged in new ways of making citizens and selves. Old Pasadena's responses to the issues of fragmentation, memory loss and the struggles of place making, then, may be harbingers of a new way of living.

As a contemporary site of memory, Old Pasadena embodies the contradictions and paradoxes of postmodernity's flight from and desire for memory.[47] On the one hand, it continues the fragmentation, stylization, cinematization, transnationalization, multiculturalization that makes postmodernity exciting and difficult. On the other, it responds to those problems with unifying forces of memory. It is a site determined to embed visitors in a warmly remembered past, a past that can cover the confusions of the present. Old Pasadena provides the images of comfort, community and home necessary for the needs of identity, utilizing memory to suggest authenticity, and the attempt to stabilize, finalize and, in a most literal sense, *place* identity. Old Pasadena is a physical and psychical "place" working against the fragmentations and abstractions of the postmodern market and postmodern city.

Old Pasadena's Nostalgia

The bulk of Old Pasadena stretches about five blocks along Colorado Boulevard, just south and west of the intersection Interstate 210 and US 134.[48] Pasadena Avenue borders the area on the west, Arroyo Parkway borders it on the east. While the greatest concentration of shops and activities is along the east/west corridor of Colorado Boulevard, shops extend to the north and the south along several intersecting streets, especially Raymond Avenue and Fair Oaks Avenue. In addition, several alleyways have been developed into shopping areas, perhaps most significantly in the rebuilding of what is now One Colorado, a complex that takes up a square block between Fair Oaks and De Lacey Avenues.

The area consists primarily of old two and three story buildings that have been restored and rebuilt. The buildings house a whole range of retail businesses, from bookstores to movie theaters, clothing stores to housewares, bars to bakeries, antiques to jewelry and fine furnishings, upscale restaurants to pedestrian eateries. Old Pasadena is paradigmatic example of a growing number of redeveloped, gentrified downtowns.[49] As I will argue, this redevelopment focused on recovering the past hidden behind the layers of dirt, grime and years.

A Legendary Place

Old Pasadena gains its rhetorical force by being a legendary place fully involved in the past. The relation in Old Pasadena between past and present is not that of productive tension or even modern ambiguity, but rather of a seemingly whole-hearted involvement in memory. An analysis of the legend inscribed on the Tanner Marketplace wall is instructive. (Figure 1) The Tanner Market building, once a full service Texaco station where a fill-up included a check under the hood and windshield wash, proclaims itself "the gateway to Old Pasadena." An inscription on the side of the building writes the "history" of the site, supporting its status as "gateway." According to legend, it was once a livery, then a Texaco station, and now a shopping complex that serves as the gateway to the past. The legend attempts to connect explicitly this late twentieth century site with its storied past.[50]

The inscription on the Tanner building leads directly into the affective and rhetorical significance of Old Pasadena. Old Pasadena's rhetorical strength lies in its nostalgic invocations. This nostalgia is formed in two ways: first, through the memories encoded by inscriptions, signs and legends; and second, by the landscape's architectural style. The

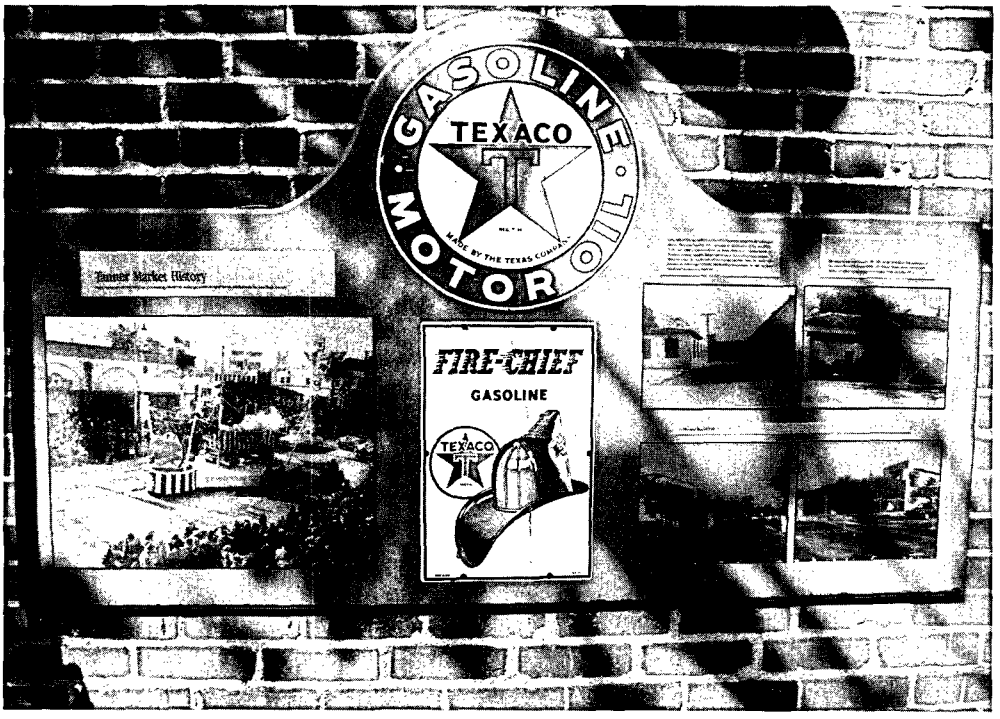

FIGURE 1
"Tanner Market History": The founding legend

inscriptions serve as introductions and instructions for reading the landscape, encoding nostalgia for the past and delimiting the physical landscape's meaning. In fact, this landscape seems guided by the rhetorical principle of abundance or copiousness. Copious repetition reinforces and fragments the nostalgia. The relation in Old Pasadena between the landscape and the legend is one of amplification, the past *and* the past. The legend, the architecture, the landscape all together call on memory–this is, after all, *Old* Pasadena.

The legend, it seems, creates an authenticity of place, suggesting that Old Pasadena is a "real" place, rooted in the intransigence of history.[51] By connecting the Tanner Market building to old gas stations and the romance of transportation, the legend pulls the building out of the commonplace present, distinguishing it as a special place both spatially and historically. Further, the historicity of the building reinforces the historicity of the entire landscape and places the audience within the intertextual weavings of the encoded past. This spatial and historic privilege urges audience attention and attendance due to its privileged relation to the past. "Reality happened here, once," the placard implicitly exclaims, "this place is also real, aren't you glad you are here?" This building, by relating itself to the past, lifts itself out of the everyday present and into a place of legend.

But the Tanner Building legend does not stand by itself. Indeed, the legend stands within a relation of signs proclaiming the heritage of Old Pasadena. This is not a landscape willing to rest on the laurels of its architectural style. Everywhere you turn,

another sign of Old Pasadena appears. Road signs direct the driver to Old Pasadena, announcing and naming the landscape. The town wants consumers to find their way back to the past. Further, it is perfectly clear at what point you actually arrive in Old Pasadena. Fluttering above the streets are banners naming the site with "Old Pasadena" emblazoned on both sides. These banners and road signs seek to dispel whatever semiotic ambiguity may reside in the buildings themselves.

As if the road signs and banners were not enough, numerous signs tell the visitors that Colorado Boulevard, Old Pasadena's main drag, is also the actual historic Route 66! (Figure 2) Well now, this is no longer any old Old Pasadena; this one is along the highway "that's the best."[52] This is a place in the annals of American popular culture, familiar at least to older shoppers. More importantly, the song is known to those of us who continue to buy Nat King Cole albums (on compact disc, of course). Or, to make the postmodern connection perfectly clear, we know the song from the Natalie King Cole duets with her dead father created through the technology of digital sampling. Suddenly the service station memorialized at the Tanner Market site becomes even more important (although Route 66 in fact turned south before reaching the fabled Texaco station).

Combine Route 66 with the railroad tracks that cut through the site and this is a powerfully nostalgic place.[53] Writing for *The New York Times* Sunday travel section, Michael Drinkard compared Old Pasadena favorably to its cross-town competitor, Westwood, based on the presence of Route 66.

> I like . . . Westwood, but Pasadena has something it lacks: a history. Route 66 . . . intersects the Santa Fe railway at the heart of Old Town. Stand at the crossing while a locomotive chugs by and you can almost feel the ghosts of those led west by dreams of the Golden State.[54]

FIGURE 2
The highway that's the best: Route 66

This is a rich example of the very ambiguous line between history and nostalgia. Route 66, a real historical fact, founds Drinkard's nostalgic recollection of the California's past.

The copiousness of these signs reinforces the relation between word and architecture in Old Pasadena through amplification. The same message is repeated over and over in slightly different ways: this landscape is part of our heritage; this landscape is authentically memorable. This amplification makes clear the landscape's relation to memory. Just as a teacher might repeat the same concept several times in different words to assure that all the students can understand, Old Pasadena repeats its relation to memory so that all who visit will understand. The repetition of the signs, verbal and architectural, makes the message more convincing, adding to the ambiance of memory. "This sense of the past," says one travel writer, "adds to the fun of a shopping tour through Old Pasadena."[55]

Such amplification indicates a certain insecurity in the message. The apparent need constantly to repeat the message, to take the message out of the nonverbal into the verbal, indicates a fear that the street may not be read as a site of memory. At a glance verbal amplification seems unnecessary. The buildings' styles are clearly from the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s. Yet this seems insufficient to designate the site as a site of memory. The mere existence of old buildings does not make an area a landscape of memory. Indeed, in many urban areas the older districts of town are *not* desirable and do not invoke nostalgia. Instead they are read as run-down, low-class and sites of fear. One look at the downtown Los Angeles landscape along, say, Main or Broadway, demonstrates this problem. These sites, hardly sites of nostalgia, have the opposite effect from that of Old Pasadena. Instead of the comforts of nostalgia, these are sites of fear symbolizing the very insecurity that the memories are deployed to cover.

These old parts of Los Angeles untouched by the forces of "urban renewal" are in fact the most obvious sites of the economic and cultural inequities of the United States. Mike Davis writes that "the shortest route from Heaven to Hell in contemporary America is ... Fifth Street in Downtown L.A."[56] These urban old towns have been rejected or renewed. If rejected they became the very uneasy resting place of the homeless and the poor. If "renewed," the homeless and the poor must be evicted to some other run-down old town. Thus, old towns are remarkably ambiguous sites for nostalgia, for while they can trigger the powerful memories characteristic of nostalgia, they also can house the social relations that, to a great extent, constitute the instability that the nostalgia is called on to cover.[57]

Old Pasadena, then, must distinguish itself from the run-down version of old town Los Angeles. This task is even more urgent since what is now Old Pasadena was once the very sort of old town most feared–a strip of divey bars, "adult" bookstores and general decline. Thus Old Pasadena must cover over not only the histories of other old urban sites, but also its own past.[58] A renewal, a cleansing and rebirth, must take place to move from old Pasadena to Old Pasadena. The name and the signs indicate that Old Pasadena is not really old, that it is in fact new in the shape of the old. Or differently, this old is newly formed into an "authentic" old, the old of memory, not the old of the slums.

This amplification, then, insists on the particularity of the site's relation to the past–a memorized or nostalgic relation. More than this, the amplification insists that the site be read *primarily* as a site of nostalgic memory. Alternate interpretations–either a non-nostalgic old town, or a sterile, unsettled modernity of the suburbs or the malls–are

foreclosed. This foreclosure indicates that the power of memory is crucial to the success of the site.

From Legends to Buildings

The reading of this legend and its compatriots in signs leads me to the larger landscape. The wild proliferation of the verbal signs of nostalgia becomes staggering when the architectural style of the landscape is taken into account. Reading built landscape can proceed at several different "speeds." From a speeding car, or what Meaghan Morris calls "the glance," Old Pasadena appears to be a unified site of nostalgia.[59] This unified site begins to break down at the speed of the pedestrian. At this slower pace, individual buildings come into view and with this a fragmentation and proliferation of nostalgias. At the even slower speed of the browser or shopper who pauses at and walks into the stores, this fragmentation and proliferation increases as the marketing of the specific businesses invokes multiple forms of nostalgia. At each speed, the site and the visitor become wrapped into a nostalgic environment. At the same time, Old Pasadena's fragmentation opens up various meanings offering both intended and unintended resources for creating identity.

The Automobile Glance

From a speeding car the buildings glide by too quickly for the driver/passenger to note the intricacies of difference.[60] At 30 miles-per-hour, the style of one building blends with the next, the differences of age covered by the blur of passing images. Old Pasadena appears to be a set for a movie, or better, Old Pasadena is seen *as* a movie. In fact, film may be a particularly useful metaphor for reading from the car window. Michael Sorkin writes: "The genius [of Los Angeles resides in] the invention of the possibility of the Loirish Bungalow sitting chockablock with the Tudoroid. The view through the framing window of the passing car animates the townscape, cinematizing the city."[61] From the car, the city is a site of cinematic spectacle and consumption, the neighborhood a "scene" in the movie of everyday life. This relation between Old Pasadena and the car is crucial for our understanding of Old Pasadena. In Old Pasadena, the car is something like riding the monorail at Disneyland; it is the means of seeing and experiencing the sight/site.[62]

The landscape has been carefully (re)constructed as the stage set for a nostalgic movie. With few exceptions Old Pasadena has been restored to an appearance of originality. This restoration is of several parts. In some cases, modern facades have been removed to reveal the "original" facade underneath. The removal of the false mask of modernism works as a wonderful metaphor for the remaking of Old Pasadena and its message. First, it symbolizes the distastefulness of modern style and, implicitly, the life that goes with it. This renunciation involves at the same time a celebration of the older styles. Modernity is renounced, not in favor of some new form, but in favor of the old forms. Further, this removal signals the seeming "falseness" of modernity. With the removal, it becomes apparent that modernity was nothing but a facade, a false covering of a true form. The past is "revealed" to be a true structure that was hidden by modernity yet remained as the support waiting to be uncovered. Even the facade of the adult bookstore has recently been rebuilt to fit in with the nostalgic theme.

This renewal suggests Old Pasadena's nostalgic purposes in a second way by making the buildings look "better" than the "originals." The buildings look new, like replicas of old buildings.[63] In fact, many of the buildings *are* significantly changed from their past forms. The *One Colorado* project well illustrates this renovation process. The site was long deemed to be the cornerstone of Old Pasadena's rejuvenation.[64] From the outside, the site appears to be a faithful restoration of the buildings. In fact, only the facades remain. Over protests by the Pasadena Heritage Committee the entire block, excepting only the facades, was gutted. Today, the complex is a busy pedestrian square, with businesses opening onto the streets as well as opening inward into the square. The buildings within the courtyard of the *One Colorado* project are not restored old buildings, but rather relatively new buildings in the guise of historical forms. Larger windows have been added, improving the visibility of the goods on display. Lights and awnings have been hung from the buildings, making the facades less imposing and more approachable. Old Pasadena is the landscape of contemporary age, of the old made new. This maneuver is perfectly consistent with the cinematizing glance. Old Pasadena's new, old style is more a set change than a revival of the "real" past. This nostalgic recollection formed as a movie articulates with the nostalgic films that Fredric Jameson suggests are typical of postmodern culture:

> The appetite for images of the past, in the form of what might be called simulacra, the increasing production of such images of all kinds in particular in that peculiar postmodern genre, the nostalgia film, with its glossy invocation of sheer consumable fashion and image–all this seems to me something of a return of the repressed, an unconscious sense of the loss of the past, which this image seeks to overcome.[65]

For Jameson, nostalgia is a dialectical response that attempts to overcome, consciously or unconsciously, the emptiness left by the postmodern loss of the past. This loss of the past, for Jameson, includes the very elements lamented by authors such as Robert Bellah–loss of communities of memory, loss of the extended or nuclear family and loss of concrete relations caused by the abstractions of post-fordist economic structures.[66] Old Pasadena becomes one of the dramatic sites that responds with simulacra of the past to the contradictions of the present.

The site, seen from the car, invites the viewer to step out and enter the movie and its nostalgia. In so doing, the site invites the visitor to consume the image of the site more slowly and, hopefully, consume a cup of coffee or buy a pair of pants as well. However, Old Pasadena is not really a movie set, and stepping out of the car is not the same as stepping into the past. This site is more fragmented than a Merchant and Ivory film; there are too many nostalgias and too many people who do not fit their parts. In stepping out of the car and slowing the pace, the visitor becomes aware of the fragmentation and multiplicities of the site and thus the multiplicities of options offered to the consumer. This is the pedestrian gaze.

The Pedestrian Gaze

A closer look at the buildings in relation to each other reveals a fragmentation within the unity of nostalgia. At this slower pace Old Pasadena's nostalgia fragments and proliferates. What appears to be just another nostalgic movie becomes instead a hodge-podge of nostalgias. This proliferation is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it creates a fragmentation parallel to the fragmentation within postmodernity. But

fragmentation is precisely the problem nostalgia promises to cover, thus undermining the nostalgia's force. On the other hand, the nearly random collection of pasts collected here makes the site responsive to a greater variety of consumers–a kind of one-stop shopping center for nostalgia. Consumers, grabbing a bit of style from here, a bit from there, can appropriate, even revel in the myriad choices available. More profoundly, this fragmentation opens the site to multiple interpretations, and in so doing offers to visitors the chance to take the resources proffered and turn them to their own uses.

The proliferation of styles that accompanies the proliferation of nostalgias is the necessary consequence of the latter. More importantly this wild growth of style becomes an end in itself. Old Pasadena, in inserting itself into this aestheticization, is itself subjected to a nearly total aestheticization. Backstage areas such as alleys are subjected to stylized treatment as sites for consumption. Style in Old Pasadena is all-encompassing. Old Pasadena, in this formulation, becomes a crucial element within the construction of individual lifestyles.

At the speed of the pedestrian analyst, at least two important nostalgias are at work–what I will call a nostalgia for the exotic and a nostalgia for home. The nostalgia for the exotic relies on mythic, romantic stories, usually outside of personal experience. Nostalgia for home is more prosaic, playing on fond memories of hometown and the warmth of secure familial relations.[67] Both of these types of nostalgia appear in Old Pasadena: the exotic draws on Spanish Colonial Revival or Mediterranean; nostalgia for the home draws on Main Street middle America and the fifties.

References to Southern California's real and imagined ties to Southern Europe are wound through the entire site.[68] Take the Tanner Marketplace, for instance. Its Mediterranean styling places it outside of the abstractions of modernism, appealing to a mythic past. The One Colorado complex is explicit about this referencing. Architecturally, it recalls a mix of Mediterranean and Italian Romanesque styles. Just as importantly, one of the major establishments within the complex is the Il Forniao restaurant, a wildly successful Italian eatery. The name of the restaurant itself is clearly Italian. Further, its food is dramatically different from the familiar Italian-American fare of spaghetti and meatballs. Instead, this is the latest (and putatively) most authentic Italian cuisine. Here the coffee is espresso, the bread chewy and rustic and the vegetables include Broccoli Rabe, hardly a classic of American cooking.[69] As if the architecture and the food were not enough to signify the restaurant's Italian heritage, signs on the front announce the intention of the site. A list of cities including great Italian cities such as "Milano" and "Roma" inform the visitor that this is real Italian food, real because this restaurant has siblings in Italy. The sign, like the legends and signs discussed above, creates an aura of authenticity for the site, the restaurant and the food. Eating here is as good as eating there, maybe better. The building, the signs, the courtyard, indeed the entire site combine to create a romantically invoked and nostalgically highlighted consumable image.[70] This nostalgia is focused directly on this site, this restaurant. That the building is virtually new is of little concern, for the image of a romantic and nostalgic other place is carefully enough constructed and embellished to cover any concerns about historical authenticity. These sites create a double sense of place: providing a place within history–as part of the lineage of a romanticized southern Europe–and an apparently authentic place within the abstractions of urban Los Angeles. Eating at Il Forniao and within its nostalgia provides the possibility for an authentic or real experience.[71]

Exotic nostalgia is even more forceful in the Spanish Colonial Revival style of buildings like the Tanner Market. This style refers, of course, to the "settling" of Southern California by Spanish missionaries. Mission style plays on a myth of civilization and the founding of, if not a nation, at least a region. The missionaries, bringing with them the force of both church and state, were the first European settlers on this land. Their efforts to convert and civilize the "Indians" mark the beginning of European America's history in Southern California. The missionaries serve as mythic "founding fathers," and the mission style is the architectural expression of this myth. Thus the myth of founding encoded and deployed within this style augments the site's authenticity by recalling the region's "founding moment."[72]

The Spanish Colonial Revival style is based on a memory of the missionaries' buildings. But the missionaries themselves were building interpretations of remembered Spanish architectural styles. They built missions and towns congruent with their memories. Hoping to (re)create civilization, the missionaries brought with them the architectural style of civilization–a memory of civilized style to house the civilization that also must be built from memory. The multiple layers of memories only increase their rhetorical force as foundations. It is in this very sense that sites like Old Pasadena become the simulacra about which Jameson is concerned. The Tanner Building is a copy of a copy, each new copy reaching back to the previous one for its founding moment.[73]

While the exotic mode of nostalgia may appeal romantically as a form of escape from an undifferentiated present, this mode is too far removed from the possibilities of personal experience to address directly a sense of lost community. But other memories are apparent here as well. Most importantly, the Spanish Colonial Revival style is embedded within a landscape associated with midwestern, small town Main Streets. As a cultural form, Main Street consists of several long blocks with ornate two and three story buildings on either side. The bottom story was typically devoted to merchants, the upper stories to offices and fraternal meeting rooms.[74] The buildings along these streets do not conform to any one style, although as Donald Meinig points out, they are likely to be forms from the late nineteenth-century, in particular Beaux Artes.

This form is encoded almost exactly into Old Pasadena.[75] The main section runs along one long, straight block, Colorado Boulevard. The buildings, whether Spanish Colonial Revival, Art Deco or Beaux Artes, are two or three stories. Like the buildings of Main Street they are ornate and have the feel of "history." The bottom floors are devoted to merchants. Upper floors are reserved for other purposes, such as offices. And like the familiar Main Street, this street is filled with pedestrians moving from one store to the next–stopping here for a soda, there to look for clothes.[76] In short, Old Pasadena mimics both the form and function of Main Street. Meinig argues that this idealized American scene is a symbolic landscape that connotes

> the seat of business culture of property-minded, law-abiding citizens devoted to "free enterprise" and "social morality," a community of sober, sensible practical people . . . For many people over many decades of our national life this was the landscape of "small town virtues," the "backbone of America," the "real America."[77]

Where the Mediterranean style represents, at least in some senses, a nostalgia for a mythic past and different place, Main Street and its association with small town America represents a more pedestrian and prosaic nostalgia. This nostalgia plays on the longing

for home and hearth, emphasizing the good lives led by ordinary people. This landscape taps into reminiscences more directly related to the loss of community.

The relation between the exotic nostalgia and the homely nostalgia is important. Main Street is the larger physical structure for Spanish Colonial Revival. The Tanner Market Building and the facades of One Colorado are built within the several blocks of Colorado Boulevard, which, taken together, invoke main street. These buildings, read from the broader perspective of the street, are only several different buildings within the style of Main Street. Main Street thus serves as the more equal partner among the nostalgias available. This physical structure serves culturally to embed the exoticism within the prosaic relations of hometown America, much like Disneyland offers the (small) world within the safety of its controlled environment.[78]

Making hometown associations even stronger are Old Pasadena's numerous references to the fifties, especially with references to the fifties diner. The landscape is littered with restaurants like the Russell's, Rose City Diner and Johnny Rockets.[79] The fifties serve as a sort of recent idealized past of strong moral character and stable relations. Sal Casola, owner of the Rose City Diner, is explicit about the connections between his fifties diner and the social relations of the past: "You might say it was the last nice, safe time. . . ."[80] This "last nice, safe time," recreated lovingly in the diner's style and with its fifties menu is, one travel writer asserted, "a good place to get into the fifties mood."[81] The restaurant's style combines with nostalgic memories to provide a set piece for getting into a mood. It furnishes the stage upon which to reenact a different, safer time.

Jameson argues that the inaugural nostalgia film was *American Graffiti,* set in 1950s in small town America. This movie represents the start of the new genre. Television shows like *Happy Days* also played on this nostalgia. Just as important, the fifties serve as a reference for debates about values, especially family values.[82] The fifties diner becomes the locus of Main Street America. Its clean, simple American forms and traditional American "comfort" food coincide with the desire to return to traditional American values. Similarly, Old Pasadena emphasizes its status within the scheme of traditional America. Its traditionalism can cover fears about new relations, the loss of traditional communities and the dissolution of the nuclear family.[83]

Taken together, the exotic and prosaic modes of nostalgia generate a complex and compelling site of shopping. It is possible to attempt to overcome a range of contemporary contradictions–the loss of or end of history that comes with the *fin de siècle,* the loss of community and the close family ties suggested by a variety of writers–at the same time as the struggle for new ways of living continues. These different nostalgic strategies, then, provide a message of both personal and collective memories.

While the styles in some senses work together to define contemporary life, they also recognize a fragmentation of contemporary life. There is no one past, no one nostalgia. Instead there are many, including the nostalgia of the small midwestern home town, the nostalgia of Route 66 and the freedom of the glory days of the automobile, the nostalgia for a mythic past of heroes emerging out of sunny climes.[84] The stylistic incongruities–Mediteranean stucco and red tile chock-a-block with classical forms of Beaux Artes, up against the linearity of Art Deco interspersed with the remnants of abstract modernity and fifties kitsch–all play on the possibilities of fragmentation. Each, as nostalgia, needs the fragmentation that sets in motion the desire for a unified and unifying past. Yet, as representations of *different* pasts their relations to each other deny the possibility for any singular and singularly meaningful past.[85] What is more, each provides the cultural and

aesthetic grounds for critiquing the other. Mediterranean style, read not as the style of colonists, but as an invocation of warm winters and less formal relations, questions the "home town" virtues invoked by the Main Street form, providing not only freedom from bitterly cold winters but from the stiltifying social relations that make the home town so secure. Thus the site at once inscribes a nearly unified nostalgic facade, and at the same time, proliferates the nostalgias inscribed.

All of these different nostalgias are accompanied by a wide range of styles, styles which invade nearly the entire site. In Old Pasadena nostalgic style is utilized in nearly all possible locations. For example, alleys here are not off-limits or designed only for workers and delivery trucks, but instead are transformed into pedestrian thoroughfares lined with bookstores, coffee shops and restaurants. Everywhere the pedestrians turn, everywhere they walk, another old-fashioned brick or neo-Mediterranean building invites them in. The alleys and pedestrian squares suggest that there is no space that is not stylized; instead style is everywhere and unavoidable.[86] By leaving no space untended, unstylized, Old Pasadena argues for and enacts postmodern aestheticization of life–a process which turns people themselves into aesthetic objects.[87] Like the bricks in the alley and the carefully fashioned signs, individuals enter into the style of the site. As Diana Agrest suggests, people themselves become decoration for sites like cafes. "Fashion transforms people into objects, linking street and theater through one aspect of their common ritual nature."[88] Individuals, with their carefully shorn hair, well chosen clothes, even the way they hold their bodies and walk, all become part of the aesthetics of the commodity system.[89] People become billboards, signs advertising the style and the wares of the site.

This is the importance of porches, sidewalks, alleys and pedestrian squares. Walking down the alleyway, sitting on the porch under the awning, and walking into the coffee shop are all part of the activities of postmodern daily life. Awnings and porches provide a transition area from the public space of the alley to the private space of the restaurant. These porches, like sidewalk cafes, provide a ringside seat to view the people striding by in the alleyway. At the same time customers sitting on the porch are also on display–announcing the quality of their taste through association with a particular restaurant, dress and action. These alleys and squares are designed for people to wander, browse, sit and watch, to promenade, to see and to be seen. None of these things are done without thought to the way one looks, to the way the body will be seen. In these spaces, so conveniently provided, individuals continually perform themselves.

In fact, if personal identity is performed as bodily style within a system of consumption, surely this is the site of that performance. Here is the set, here are the performers, here is the audience–in short, here lie all of the parts necessary for the successful performance of the self.[90] As suggested by de Certeau, focused within this microcosm, within these few blocks, are incredible forces and banal practices, overweening style and the foibles of personal idiosyncrasy, the power of observation and the possibilities for turning the style for personal purposes.

> In the technocratically constructed, written, and functionalized space in which the consumers move about, their trajectories form unforeseeable sentences, partly unreadable paths across space. Although they are composed with the vocabularies of established languages (those of television, newspapers, supermarkets, or museum sequence) and although they remain subordinated to the prescribed syntactical forms (temporal modes of schedules, paradigmatic orders of spaces, etc.) the trajectories trace out the ruses of other interests and desires that are neither determined nor captured by the systems in which they develop.[91]

All people, embedded within the system of style, still make their own ways through the system, choosing their own path(s).

While it is the case that Old Pasadena turns each space into a space of style and commodity, it is also the case that this does not determine the "trajectories" that individuals follow. People in the site proclaim their identities as individuals, utilizing the choices set forth within a system of style.[92] The site does not determine but rather influences the performance.[93] Each person takes something different from the site, combining and adjusting the resources to his/her own making; developing a personalized style composed out of the form of walking, talking, dressing, gesturing, from each and every practice that makes up daily life. Thus, the site provides a sort of stylistic structure out of which people cut their own figure, a grammar for possible performances or self. The memories employed at the site as well as its pedestrian characteristics function precisely as both a comforting and an enabling structure. Much as figures of speech work on the ambiguities within the structure of a pre-given language, the visitors to this site make their own way through the structure of Old Pasadena. Through troping and turning the resources to their own advantage, individuals create a rhetoric of figurative turns to make up their own style and their own spatially articulated selves; in DeCerteau's words, the individuals create "walking rhetorics."[94]

The Shopper's Browse

Old Pasadena's nostalgia is unified at the speed of the car. At the pace of the pedestrian, Old Pasadena's nostalgia is more complex; it is both mythic through its invocation of Mediterranean architecture and personal through its invocation of Main Street America. From the even slower pace of the shopper, the nostalgia is different yet again–here is the nostalgia offered by the stores themselves. Il Forniao, for instance, articulates with the nostalgia for southern Europe in its careful cultivation of an image and a cuisine reminiscent of sunny Italy.[95] This sort of nostalgia is repeated in other shops along the street. It is instructive to note how the nostalgic style constructed in the shops and the nostalgia constructed through the architectural forms both articulate together.

Banana Republic and Victoria's Secrets, two very popular chains with outlets in Old Pasadena, articulate with each other and with Old Pasadena's nostalgia. The goods available are mass-produced and sold in nearly every good size mall. Nonetheless, the names and styles of the stores draw heavily on nostalgic references. Banana Republic draws on a nostalgia for the imperialism of the nineteenth century, while Victoria's Secret plays on the seeming luxury of Victorian style. In both cases the name makes clear the nostalgic associations, just as the signs in Old Pasadena make its nostalgic pretensions obvious.

Banana Republic refers to a nostalgia for a certain masculine nineteenth century, in particular western imperialism. The logo and the name make clear the positioning of the store. "Banana Republic" is written in a complicated form reminiscent of the designs of the past. The associations for the name "Banana Republic" are also clear, implying a power relation to other countries of the Americas–they are our republics for the procurement of our bananas.[96] Importantly, this imperialism encodes a desire for older stable *relationships,* based on traditional power differentials, in this case, the difference between the colonizer and the colonized.[97] The stability is purchased at the price of remembered oppression. The power encoded is not the bland power of corporate and suburban life, but rather the power of exotic times and places.[98] Banana Republic's

exoticism articulates with the exotic nostalgia discussed above, serving as a particular reinforcement for Old Pasadena's memories.

Clearly, the clothes, the advertisements and the decoration of the stores lift the panama hat and chino out of specific referentially relations with Central and South American countries. However, the products cannot be torn completely from their history, especially when the connotative history is repeated each time the name is mentioned and the Victorian lettering is seen. What is more, the specificity of the aesthetic and cultural connections is only reinforced by the intertextual connections made at the nearby Victoria's Secret. Victoria's Secrets draws on memories of the same time period, uses lettering and styling connotatively similar. Thus the two stores need to be understood as working together, drawing on similar cultural knowledges and reinforcing each other.

Indeed, the fantasy utilized in Banana Republic finds its perfected opposite in Victoria's Secret. If Banana Republic fantasizes a time when men were men, Victoria's Secret fantasizes a time when women were women. Here the emphasis is on the sensuous woman making the bedroom a place of sumptuous luxury. The woman constructed in Victoria's Secret is not the supposed old matron of the first wave of feminism, or the de-sexed feminist of the late twentieth century, but rather the woman who revels in her position as sexual object. This is clear from the lingerie available, the design of the shop, and the direct mail catalogues.[99] This is remarkably different than the agency asserted by the imperialism of the Banana Republic. In fact, Banana Republic as male imperialism must have a Victoria's Secret. Judith Williamson argues that Woman is the exotic other that imperialism needs/uses to signify itself. "Real" and potentially dangerous differences must be destroyed and replaced by a harmlessly exotic other.[100] Woman becomes this other, her otherness often reinforced by an unplaceable but distinctive racial otherness. Woman is an island, destroyed then reconstructed as a harmlessly exotic other to carry the values of capitalist society.[101] The rhetorical impact of Victoria's Secret lies not only in its nostaligic invocation of oppressive, traditional gender roles; the store's strength comes in its relation with Banana Republic. The two support and demand each other in the building of a repressive past and present.

Banana Republic and Victoria's Secret are instructive beyond their own relations to each other. They suggest the ways the spatial mnemonic triggers memories that come with a whole host of associations (this indeed is their rhetorical power), and the ways these mnemonics serve to cover over other absences. Old Pasadena's exotic nostalgia realized by the pedestrian is, at the speed of the shopper, reinforced and given more specific context. What is more, the stores provide the ways for individuals to take home material relics of the visual nostalgia presented throughout the site. Providing the reassertion of familiar, comforting and oppressive hierarchies, Victoria's Secrets, Banana Republic and Old Pasadena are powerful rhetorical attempts to make stabilized and unified places within the fragmentation and difficulties of the present.

On the other hand, Old Pasadena provides the seeds of its own unmaking as a site of unifying nostalgia. The fragmentation outlined above suggests the fragmentation and incoherence of the dominant narrative. The visitor need not accept or be drawn into the stories of domination. For example, the styles of Banana Republic can be turned by dominated groups into claims about their own abilities to act, to deny their passivity. The lace and femininity at Victoria's Secret can be turned mockingly against patriarchal assumptions about sexuality as Madonna has shown us.

Further, the heterogeneity of people drawn to the various businesses serves as a force breaking down the totalizing structure of Old Pasadena. The conflict between the Pasadena Espresso Bar and its neighbors is telling. The Espresso Bar is on its last legs financially despite the boom in other coffee houses in Old Pasadena.[102] "New" coffee shops have entered the landscape, appealing to a "new" type of customer attracted by the genteel memories of Old Pasadena.[103] What is more the customers who drink coffee at the Espresso Bar undo the style of the Old Pasadena, disrupting the preferred version of the past on view. The proprietors of the new coffee shops and other surrounding businesses are "appalled by the 'scruffy' teenagers who hang around . . ." the Espresso Bar.[104] While the proprietors of the new Old Town shops complain about the disrupting influence of the inappropriately attired teenagers, the manager of the Espresso Bar claims that the Espresso Bar is the site of the *real* Old Pasadena. "This is Old Town. That's New Town out there. People come in here to avoid that scene out there. People who come in here don't have gold cards."[105] Here the debate turns on style, class and authenticity, and so addresses Old Pasadena on its own terms. The Espresso Bar disrupts the nostalgia of the site; the teenagers drinking coffee there obey a different code of decorum, one that is oppositional to the perceived conformism of those "out there" with their Gold Cards.[106] In rejecting the dominant code, the users and the owner of the Espresso Bar claim allegiance to the real old Pasadena, the scruffy, artsy, down-trodden neighborhood that the new Old Pasadena has covered over.

Thus, at the speed of the shopper and the coffee sipper, there is no clear sense of which past is to be privileged nor what values from those past are to be incorporated: Main Street with its homespun values and capitalist ideals? Nineteenth century imperialism with its racist and classist implications? The Jazz Age city with its new-found freedoms and pleasures? The bohemian return of artists and their willingness to critique the status quo? The nostalgias encoded here proclaim the possibility of a non-fragmented past but are themselves fragmented into shards of virtually unrelated images of the past. And there is no finalized consensus on the stylized identities the site demands. However hard Old Pasadena struggles against fragmentation and contingency, both always remain, for they are necessary to making a place that can appeal to a wide range of people.[107] And this fragmentation of nostalgias, meanings and identities open spaces to contest the preferred meanings and the traditional relationships the site argues for. Indeed, the site even provides the resources with which to critique its own status as "old."

Thus the structure that memory provides is not complete; it is like a grammar, a set of possibilities out of which each individual, through a set of rhetorical turns and maneuvers, makes her or his own identity. The search for and practice of lifestyle finds a space in landscapes like Old Pasadena. Searching for a lifestyle, an identity to call their own, consumers wander the streets, alleys and squares, consuming the goods and consuming the site/sight. First, perhaps, they stop at J. Crew for clothes, then they go to a local beauty salon for make-up and a hair cut. Maybe they stop by Rizzoli–an upscale bookstore emphasizing art and architecture–to look up a cite to justify their home site/sight. (Figure 3) Or they happen into the Raymond Newsstand and pick up a copy of *Los Angeles* magazine or the *LA Weekly,* to see how others have enacted their identity and to determine which site to be seen in is best. These stops are not merely preparatory to assuming and maintaining an identity; they *are* constitutive elements in the identity. Providing nostalgic style, Old Pasadena provides the possibility for (re)constructing lost community, restabilizing relationships and performing a satisfactory identity.

FIGURE 3
Displaying the nostalgic past.

Old Pasadena and Classical Memory

Having pulled Classical and Renaissance rhetorical theories of memory through the postmodern problems and possibilities of Los Angeles and Old Pasadena, what are we to make of memory? More generally, what is the usefulness of traditional rhetorical categories for critical work on contemporary texts? Clearly, as Thomas Farrell suggests, the venerable tradition of rhetorical concepts is no argument for their continued use.[108] However, as Carole Blair argues, "historical rhetorics provide material capable of appropriation and accommodation; they also contain aspects, components, and ways of thinking that may be altered or rejected, or that may even spur radical ways of retheorizing rhetoric."[109] This is certainly true when we use classical concepts to analyze contemporary landscapes and postmodern identities, and then realize that we have to transform the concepts themselves. This study leads to that transformation of memory and of classical rhetorical concepts related to memory, namely invention and style.

Perhaps most profoundly, memory, encoded into landscapes for rhetorical purposes, addresses a troubling question asked in modernity–who am I?–and provides the resources for an always provisional answer. As I have argued throughout this essay, rhetorical theories of memory link memory to personal identity. Memory, though, also provides the resources and the structures for the enactment of the self. Within postmodernity, it is this connection between memory and performative identity that motivates a reevaluation of memory's position in rhetorical theory and its usefulness in rhetorical criticism.

Performative theories of identity share rhetoric's focus on situation and audience. The performance of identity is a performance for someone, even if just the "self," created through stylized enactments.[110] Gestures, colors, accents, languages, postures, clothes, and hair all combine to constitute the self. However, bodily style must be legible and recognizable to others. This legibility relies on the cultural sedimentation developed over years of repetitious performance.[111] The self comes to exist through its performative citation of culturally available and recognizable behaviors. This contemporary notion of the citational self is remarkably similar to the medieval self Mary Carruthers suggests. "[I]nstead of the word 'self' or even 'individual' we might be better to speak of a 'subject-who-remembers,' and in remembering also feels and thinks and judges. In other words, we should think of the apprehending and commenting individual subject ('self') in rhetorical terms."[112] The medieval self gains existence through a rhetorical performance that is fundamentally citational and audience oriented. Memory provides both the resources and the structure for enacting the appropriate (decorous) performance.[113] Throughout this essay, I have argued similarly that memory serves as a resource or grammar for the rhetorical performance of the self.

Finally, memory, as the grammar for performative identities, must be linked to a revised notion of invention. In a postmodern, fragmented world, where identities and selves are reflexively organized, rhetorical invention must be expanded to include not just the invention of linguistic arguments but the stylized invention of the self. The shift from the invention of arguments to the invention of selves shifts the rhetorical "subject" from an abstract argument to the inventor him or herself. The invention, the inventor and the subject become entangled in one fundamentally rhetorical process. Such a shift moves political action from an abstract process of argument to the localized politics of conflicting and ever changing identities.[114] Most importantly, this linking of memory, invention and identity localizes invention temporally (contingently held beliefs secured for the time being by argument) *and* spatially (contingently held identities, enacted at a moment, in particular place and by a particular body). Critical attention turns, then, to the places where memories are invoked and selves are invented.

Memory, nearly forgotten in rhetorical theory and pedagogy during modernity, returns to play a crucial role in the analysis of postmodernity. No longer connected to content alone, it is instead connected to style as a constraint and a resource for the invention and maintenance of stylized identity; no longer a mental operation, it becomes a spatial and bodily operation. Our attention turns to memory places–those sites where the cites necessary for the invention of the self are located. Analysis of these places serves as a crucial part of the analysis of the intersection of public discourse and personal lives. And the place itself becomes a part of this discourse. Through their varied forms, places of memory trigger intertextual relations that motivate, stabilize, secure, and provide the resources for identity. This analysis of Old Pasadena suggests the complexity of the relations that a prosaic, everyday space invokes. Within these spaces of consumption common folk live their public lives; within the daily decisions of consumption–the minute actions that comprise shopping, eating, drinking coffee–most people stake their claims about public knowledge and public concerns. We can find, in places of memory, the foundations and remnants of unified past out of which we can construct a completed present. And, perhaps just as importantly, it is in places like Old Pasadena that we are trying to fashion new ways of living and new modes of place making that resonate with postmodernity. Places of memory–as commercialized, sanitized and repressive as they

are–are, nevertheless, compelling responses to deeply troubling contemporary problems.

Notes

Greg Dickinson is an assistant professor of English and communication at La Sierra University. This essay was taken from the author's dissertation, "Landscapes of Consumption, Landscapes of Memory: The Rhetoric of Modern Urban Landscapes," completed in 1994 at the University of Southern California under the direction of Randall Lake. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the 1995 Western Communication Association Convention in Portland and as a lecture at La Sierra University, March 1995. Portions of this essay were presented at the 1995 Speech Communication Association Convention in San Antonio. The author received much needed assistance from Martha Peach and the rest of the library staff at the Instituto Juan March de Estuidos e Investigaciones in Madrid. Randall Lake, K. Elizabeth Altman, Michael Dear, Elizabeth Munson, Caren Deming and Clark Davis provided invaluable help in revising this essay.

[1]Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*," *Representations*, 26 (1989): 7.

[2]Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1985) 251.

[3]Diana Agrest writes, "we are dealing now with the modern city instead, with a representation of a fragmented body. . . . There is no subject there." Diana I. Agrest, *Architecture From Without: Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice* (Cambridge: MIT, 1991) 190.

[4]Mike Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* (London: Sage 1990) 101–103.

[5]The changing structures of identity and the relation to consumption, urbanization and loss of traditional structures have occupied many scholars. Stuart Ewen, *All Consuming Images: The Politics of Style in Contemporary Culture* (New York: Basic, 1988); Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Knopf, 1977); Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1991) 174–215.

[6]There are almost innumerable other old-towns that could be investigated, indeed the number reaches into the dozens in Southern California alone (for example, there are two highly developed old towns within three miles of each other in San Diego, while Irvine, the quintessential post-urban city, developed out of whole cloth in the 1980s has an old town). Old Pasadena is remarkably successful and has served as one model for the other old towns. However, it is precisely the repetition of old towns across the country that makes Old Pasadena important. Popular culture is precisely culture that is not "different" or more artistic than others. It is that culture which fits into and provides resources for the everyday lives of people. For many, Old Pasadena is part of daily or weekly routines in a way that the formal memorials or theme parks like Disneyland can never be. John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989) 126.

[7]Carole Blair, Marsha Jepeson, and Enrico Pucci, Jr., "Public Memorializing in Postmodernity: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial as Prototype." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 77 (1991): 263–288; Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1966); Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1990); Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, eds., "Memory and Counter-Memory," *Representations* 26 (1989).

[8]Michael de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F, Rendall (Berkeley: U of California P, 1984) 100; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) 5–7; Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory.* (London: Verso, 1989); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernism: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, UK: Blackwell, 1989); Featherstone 74, 101.

[9]In the effort to create systems for memorization, many rhetorical theorists argued for an architectural mnemonic system. They suggested that orators memorize a striking and large building, perhaps and abandoned temple. With this image in mind, the orator would then place the first thing he/she wanted to remember in the first room, the second in the second and so on. When it came to be time to recall the speech, the orator only need to mentally walk through the building and pick up the material left in each room. Yates 3.

[10]Yates 48.

[11]Yates 129–159, 199–250.

[12]Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely* (Cambridge: MIT, 1992) 179.

[13]Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge: MIT, 1990) 20, 43–49; Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (London: Penguin, 1990) 125; Agrest 112.

[14]Burroughs 20.

[15]Thus, as Diana Agrest argues, Rome became a "rhetorical" city. Agrest 112.

[16]Vidler 179.

[17]Lawrence W. Rosenfield, "Central Park and the Celebration of Civic Virtue," *American Rhetoric: Context and Criticism,* ed. Thomas Benson (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1989) 247, emphasis added.

[18]Carruthers 182.

[19]Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993) 9.

[20]Agrest 8, 17.

[21]Cathrine Ingraham, "Lines and Linearity: Problems in Architectural Theory," *Drawing/Building/Text: Essays in Architectural Theory,* ed., Andrea Kahn (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991) 71.

[22]Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge: MIT, 1994) 17–76. I will be more specific below about the "speed" at which this analysis can occur. Both local immersion and a more distanced and rarified theoretical stance are important for understanding postmodernity. Iain Chambers, "Maps for the Metropolis: A Possible Guide to the Present," *Cultural Studies* 1 (1987): 5; John Fiske, *Reading the Popular* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989) 97.

[23]Michael Calvin McGee, "Text, Context, and the Fragmentation of Contemporary Culture," *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 54 (1990): 274–289.

[24]John Fiske argues for two, related, methods for analyzing popular culture–ethnographic and textual. Ethnographic studies provide "texts" of what users make of popular culture phenomena. Textual analysis, on the other hand, focuses on a close analysis of the phenomena themselves while recognizing that "the signifiers exist not in the text itself, but extratextually, in the myths, countermyths and ideologies of their culture. It recognizes that the distribution of power in society is paralleled by the distribution of meanings in texts, and that struggles for social power are paralleled by semiotic struggles for meaning. . . ." Fiske makes clear that the "data" gathered in ethnography is not of a different order (i.e. more true) than that gathered through textual analysis and that one method is not "better" or more necessary than the other. Fiske, *Reading the Popular* 97. It is this textual or "intertextual" analysis that I will be pursuing here.

[25]While the question of how particular individuals negotiate the relations between the particular formal elements of the site and their personal motivations is an important question, and one I have already explicitly raised, my critical purpose takes me in a different (though not unrelated) direction. While it would be possible to conduct a critical ethnography of this site guided by a number questions similar to the ones I am raising in this study, this would be a different study, would demand my full attention and, in effect, silence the critical voice that must also be used for understandings of popular culture. To conduct thorough ethnographic study would easily consume all the space allotted to this article. This would force me to ignore the equally legitimate critical analysis of the spatial structures that encourage whatever audience response may be uncovered. As Bonnie Dow argues "although audience research can enhance our conclusions and perhaps offer some sociological comprehension, it does not replace critical insight. To act as though it can is to erode our own credibility." While ethnography is a crucial part of the postmodern enterprise, so too is the scholarly, critical study that works to articulate what audience members may experience but not express. Bonnie Dow, "Hegemony, Feminist Criticism, and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show,*" *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7 (1990): 261–274, rpt. in *Critical Questions: Invention, Creativity, and the Criticism of Discourse and Media,* ed. William L. Nothstine, Carole Blair, and Gary A. Copeland (New York: St. Martin's, 1994) 102–117. What is more, a simple reliance on audience studies risks assuming that the audience is made up of autonomous individuals, constituted outside of the culture that creates the site. Discussions with Carole Blair have been immensely helpful on this point.

[26]See note 3 above.

[27]George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1990) 6–11, 71–72, 257. Ewen 72–77. Elizabeth Wilson, "These New Components of the Spectacle: Fashion and Postmodernism," *Postmodernism and Society,* ed. Roy Boyne and Ali Rattansi (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990) 210–211, 229.

[28]Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1991) 17–21.

[29]Fred Davis argues that deep cultural and spatial disruption of contemporary society "has begun to dislodge man's [sic] deep psychological attachment to a specific house in a specific locality, in a specific region, which over the centuries had been fostered by the more settled and protracted arrangement of a primarily agricultural and small-town society." Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: Free Press, 1979) 6, 33–39.

[30]Giddens 5.

[31]Carole Spitzack, "The Spectacle of Anorexia Nervosa," *Text and Performance Quarterly* 13 (1993): 15, author's emphasis.

[32]Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990) 33. Sandra Lee Bartky, "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power," *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance,* eds., Irene Diamond and Lee Quimby (Boston: Northeastern UP, 1989) 64–76.

[33]Bellah et al. 152–155.

[34]Bellah et al. 290–291.

[35]Bellah et al. 154–155.

[36]"Lifestyle enclave" is a Bellah et al. phrase, 71–75. They explicitly argue that lifestyle enclaves take the place (unsatisfactorily, according to many of their sources) of communities of memory. They are stylized attempts at "grounding" the self in some larger structure. But, as I have been arguing all along, the structures run no deeper than that provided by the structures of consumer style. "Many of what are called communities in America are mixtures of *communities* in our strong sense and *lifestyle enclaves*." 335.

[37]Sharon Zukin, "Postmodern Urban Landscapes: Mapping Culture and Power," *Modernity and Identity*, eds. Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) 222–223.

[38]Indeed, it is crucial to "locate" the problems and possibilities of postmodernism within the particularities of the region. While the tendencies traced above may be recognizable in many parts of the western world, the effects, meanings and negotiations of these tendencies occur within a localized context.

[39]David Reid, "Introduction," *Sex, Death and God in L.A.*, ed. David Reid (Pantheon: New York, 1992) xiii.

[40]Los Angeles is exceedingly diverse. For example, Los Angeles is the home to the largest population of a whole range of peoples outside of their home of heritage. "More than one third of the nine million residents of LA are foreign born, and within the urbanized region are the largest enclaves outside their home countries of an extraordinary array of cultures: Mexican, Salvadoran ... Guatemalan, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, Armenian, Iranian, Samoan." Combine these people of non-European descent with African-Americans and Los Angeles is the first majority-minority region in the country. As recently as 1960, Euro-Americans, made up 80 percent of the metropolitan population. Edward W. Soja, "Postmodern Urbanization: The Six Restructurings of Los Angeles," *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*, eds. Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1995) 130. 130–131.

[41]Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York: Verso, 1992) 246–248.

[42]Jill Stewart, "East Side, West Side." *Los Angeles Times Magazine* 23 January 1994: 10–15, 30–31.

[43]Mike Davis, "*Chinatown*, Revisited? The 'Internationalization' of Downtown Los Angeles," *Sex, Death and God in L.A.*, ed, David Reid (New York: Pantheon, 1992) 34–35.

[44]Soja, *Postmodern Geographies* 222.

[45]Soja *Postmodern Geographies* 222.

[46]Michael Dear, "Beyond the Post-Fordist City," *Contention 5 (1995)*: 74–75.

[47]Richard Terdiman, *Present/Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithica: Cornell UP, 1993) 33–38.

[48]There seem to be two different names for this area. The official name is Old Pasadena. This is the name used in most of the signs noted below. However, a second name–Old Town Pasadena has significant circulation. The *Pasadena Star-News* uses Old Pasadena almost exclusively. *Pasadena Weekly*, on the other hand uses both Old Pasadena and Old Town Pasadena which is sometimes shortened to Old Town. The difference between the two is seldom explicitly noted, except in "Old Town vs. Old Pasadena," editorial, *Pasadena Star-News* 24 May 1988: A4. While the official name of the area is Old Pasadena, brochures sent out by the city called the area Old Town. Add to this bit of confusion the sign over the parking structure at Union and Fair Oaks proclaiming the site to be Old Town. "Which shall it be," asks the editorial. Deferring to most of the signs throughout the area, I will use "Old Pasadena" throughout this chapter.

[49]Zukin, *Landscapes of Power* 174–215.

[50]I use the word both in the sense of a myth or fable and in the sense of verbal description.

[51]Meaghan Morris, "At Henry Parkes Motel," *Cultural Studies* 2 (1988): 2.

[52]There is a certain irony that an historical "place" can be created by invoking a highway, symbol of modern mobility. Of course Route 66 seems rather slow and backward in an age of the "information superhighway."

[53]Amtrak no longer rumbles through Old Pasadena; the train from Los Angeles north to Seattle has been re-routed.

[54]Michael Drinkard, "A City That Sunshine Built," *New York Times* 24 Jan. 1993, national ed., sec. 5: 16.

[55]Ann Pringle Harris, "Pasadena's Parade of 50's Collectibles," *New York Times* 26 June 1986, national ed., sec 5: 6.

[56]Davis, "*Chinatown*" 19.

[57]Zukin, *Landscapes of Power* 195–202.

[58]Scott Harris, "From Seedy to Trendy," *Los Angeles Times* 22 Dec. 1992, final ed.: B1.

[59]Meaghan Morris, "Henry Parkes" 2–9.

[60]Michael Sorkin, "See You In Disneyland," *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed. Michael Sorkin (New York: Hill and Want, 1992) 205–232.

[61]He concludes this passage with "This consumption of the city as spectacle, by means of mechanical movement through it, recapitulates the more global possibilities of both the multinational corridor created by air travel and the simultaneous electronic everywhere of television." Sorkin 217–218.

[62]Sorkin 206, 210–218.

[63]Lipsitz 257.

[64]The history of the reconstruction of this site is convoluted. John P. Wilson first began buying property on the site in 1981 with plans to redeveloped the whole block. Originally called Pasadena Marketplace, the plans called for a variety

of food and other retail shops including a supermarket. Pasadena's Heritage Committee objected to the Wilson's plans which, they said, destroyed the history of the buildings. Their differences were resolved after significant compromise on both parties' part. Wilson, though, ran out of money. After several unsuccessful attempts to find new owners, developer Doug Stitzel finally bought the property, changed the name to One Colorado and ousted Wilson in 1988. John Fleck, "New Team Takes Over Old Pas Project," *Pasadena Star-News* 25 Aug. 1987: n.p. (Pasadena Public Library Old Town Pasadena folder, 1987); John Fleck, "Sale Severs Promoter's Last Ties to Marketplace," *Pasadena Star-News* 28 Oct. 1988: n.p. (Pasadena Public Library Old Town Pasadena folder, 1988); John Fleck, "Old Pas Demolition Approved, With a Catch." *Pasadena Star-News* 18 May 1988: n.p. (Pasadena Public Library Old Town Pasadena folder 1988); Michael Gougis, "One Colorado' Work Begins Cautiously," *Pasadena Star-News* 21 Dec. 1988: A3; Michael Gougis, "One Colorado: New Delay, Old Fight," Pasadena Star-News 11 May 1989 A1, A9; Ashely Dunn, "A Startling Dely in Old Town," *Los Angeles Times,* San Gabriel Valley Edition, 11 May 1988: n.p. (Pasadena Public Library Old Town Pasadena folder 1989); Michael Gougis, "Developer Takes All In One Colorado Decision," *Pasadena Star-News* 1 June 1989: A1, A7. The Pasadena Public Library has an extensive clippings file of the developments of Old Pasadena. The clippings are filed by year. Sources found in the file but without page numbers I have cited as "Pasadena Public Library Old Town Pasadena folder" and the year of the file.

[65]Fredric Jameson, "On *Habits of the Heart,*" *Community in America: The Challenges of Habits of the Heart,* eds. Charles H. Reynolds and Ralph V. Norm. (Berkeley: U of California P, 1988) 104.

[66]Robert Bellah, et al 153. Albert Borgman, *Crossing the Postmodern Divide* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1992). "Post-fordist" structures are, according to David Harvey, constitutive of the cultural and structural "sea change," of the last 20 years called postmodernism. A post-fordist economy is one that is profoundly global, dependent on the exchange of information and money rather than the production of goods and is, comparatively, more volatile than earlier, large, manufacture based economies. Harvey parts I, II, and IV.

[67]Barbara Stern names the two types of nostalgias operating in contemporary advertising: the "historical" and the "personal." For Stern, historical nostalgia is mythical, romantic and not within the experiential past of the individual, while personal nostalgia calls on memories within the personal past of the individual and emphasizes the comforts of "home and hearth." Barbara Stern, "Historical and Personal Nostalgia and the Advertising Text: The Fin de Siècle Effect," *Journal of Advertising,* 21.4 (1992): 13–14. For me the distinction between history and personal is problematic, at least in this site. The secure home embedded within small towns is clearly not within most people's personal experience. Instead, both nostalgias are historical and mythical, and both are expressions of a desire for stabilized relations.

[68]"Hispanic" architecture, argues Reyner Banham, "makes both ancestral and environmental sense. . . ." Rayner Banham, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (London: Penguin, 1971) 27.

[69]The cookbook author, food historian and Tuscan apologist, Giuliano Bugialli says that rab, or rape is, along with spinach, the quintessential Tuscan vegetable. Giuliano Bugialli, *The Fine Art of Italian Cooking,* expanded and updated (New York: Times Books, 1989) 545. This most typical and ancient food lends a certain authenticity to the restaurant and experience. At the same time, I find no recipes nor even a mention of broccoli rab or rape in the compendium of American home cooking, *The Joy of Cooking.* Irma S. Rombauer and Marion Rombauer Becker, *Joy of Cooking,* 42nd printing (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1986).

[70]Zukin, *Landscapes of Power* 170–215, especially 206–207.

[71]See Featherstone 103; Zukin, *Landscapes of Power* 191–192.

[72]Christopher Knight, "Two Murals, Two Histories," *Los Angeles Times* Calendar, 20 February 1994: 7, 76–77. Knight traces the history of two different murals that depict the "founding" of Los Angeles. One, painted by Dean Cornwell and currently on view in the Central Library tells a comforting story of good missionaries bringing God and civilization to the indigenous peoples. The other, painted by Mexican Muralist David Alfaro Siqueiros images a much harsher view of the Spanish conquest. In the center of the mural, he painted a Native American, lashed to a cross. On top of the cross, Siqueiros painted the American Eagle. This mural was painted for the refurbishing and rededication of Olvera street, the site of the founding of Los Angeles. Needless to say, the mural was covered and is only now being restored. Siqueiros was deported a few months latter.

[73]The Tanner Building's direct references include Olvera Street in downtown Los Angeles which also invokes the mission style. As early as the 1930s, Olvera was the site of nostalgic reconstruction by the city claiming (falsely) to be the founding site of Los Angeles. Knight 76.

[74]D.W. Meinig, "Symbolic Landscapes: Some Idealizations of American Communities," *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays,* ed. D.W. Meinig (New York: Oxford UP, 1979) 167.

[75]At the same time, it is important to recognize that this is a particularly Southern California Main Street. The presence of Mediterranean style disrupts the perfection of this recollection. This difference puts a slight distance between the midwestern hometown (from which many of the tourists and residents using the site have come to Pasadena). In so doing, the site both provides the security of the hometown while also providing the cultural grounds with which to critique home.

[76]Ray Oldenburg, *Great Good Places: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Hangouts and How They Get You Through the Day.* (New York: Paragon, 1989) 105–122.

[77]Meinig 167.

[78]Old Pasadena strives to be a controlled environment in another way–through the use of police force. Ten officers walk beats in Old Pasadena on weekend evenings. To keep the peace, they strictly enforce a 10 pm curfew for those under sixteen. There are plans to install a police substation in One Colorado. Patrick Lee, "Crime: Business is a Victim, Too," *Los Angeles Times* 3 April 1994: D4. The anti-crime fight is an attempt to keep ethnically different and younger consumers out, an effort to exclude the personal or uncontrolled presence of the exotic.

[79]Since the writing of this essay, Rose City Diner has changed names and owners, becoming part of a chain of '50s style dinners named Ruby's.

[80]Pringle-Harris 6.

[81]Pringle-Harris 6.

[82]Stephanie Koontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic, 1992).

[83]Koontz 23–24. Janice Doane and Devon Hodges argue that the recent spate of nostalgic novels are, at least in some ways, direct responses to and attacks on feminism. Fears of the overturn of traditional roles by feminists have lead at least some novelists to invoke the same past invoked by Old Pasadena. Janice Doane and Devon Hodges, *Nostalgia and Sexual Difference: The Resistance to Contemporary Feminism* (New York: Methuen, 1987).

[84]There is a paradox here. Route 66 was the road that lead from the Midwest to the new freedoms of Southern California. For many, Southern California represented the chance to start over and to escape the traditions of the Midwest.

[85]Perhaps the paradigmatic example of this fragmentation is Johnny Rockets, a 50s dinner, set within the Italian Romanesque brick of One Colorado. Even this carefully developed square cannot (nor, in the interests of popularity, should it) control the proliferation and fragmentation of nostalgias within the site.

[86]Morris, "Henry Parkes," 7–8.

[87]Featherstone 76.

[88]Agrest 63.

[89]Featherstone 76.

[90]Featherstone 71.

[91]de Certeau xviii.

[92]Robert Hariman, "Decorum, Power, and the Courtly Style," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 78 (1992): 149–172.

[93]Observe, for instance, the people walking along the alleys and sidewalks. The clothes, while different from person to person, merge into familiar styles–styles readily available within the stores located at this site. Different stylized bodies stop at different locations. Jeans, baggy shirts and Doc Marten's shoes head into the Pasadena Espresso Bar, where teenagers smoke strong cigarettes and practice boredom. Somewhat older bodies clad in Dockers, J Crew shirts and Rockports gather in Cleo and Cucci for tea and cappuccino. A mix of grunge, The Gap and stylish date clothes stop in Equator for espresso and fruit juice smoothies.

[94]De Certeau xx, 100–102.

[95]Zukin, *Landscapes of Power* 179–215.

[96]This remembered colonization articulates with the colonization encoded within the mission architectural style. The time period and the direction of the colonization are different, but the colonizer and colonized stay the same–Europeans colonizing the indigenous.

[97]Renato Resaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 26 (1989): 107–122.

[98]Note the ways the imperialism comes together–Mission or Mediterranean style, as the founding colonialism that becomes Southern California, and Banana Republic's didactic relationship with Central and South America.

[99]For a different reading of Victoria's Secret see, Stern 13.

[100]This exclusion is enforced through police force as well as cultural forces. There is a racial edge to this police presence. "There is a unspoken undercurrent to discussions about crime prevention, particularly in area like Westwood Village or Old Pasadena that attract white middle class patrons: The efforts to prevent crime are aimed at low-income minorities, particularly black and Latino youths." Lee D4. The anti-crime fight is an attempt to keep ethnically different and younger consumer out. Here "real" and dangerous racial others are excluded from the site and from the lifestyle, excluded by police forces and by cultural forces. The police are the guarantors of the peacefulness of the colonist's life. " 'I feel totally safe down here.... I just saw three sets of cops and a police car ... how could [anyone] possibly do any damage?' " Lee D4.

[101]Judith Williamson, "Woman as an Island: Femininity and Colonization," *Studies in Entertainment: Critical Approaches to Mass Culture,* ed. Tania Modleski (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1986) 99–118.

[102]In fact, the Espresso Bar no longer exists in Old Pasadena. Now, the E Bar serves coffee to the disaffected young several blocks east, in a part of Pasadena that has not yet been gentrified.

[103]For instance, in a discussion of the new coffee houses in Old Pasadena, Wendy Meyer says, "Old Town has that European feeling, in its architecture and outdoor bustle. It's filled with the type of people who enjoy the comforts of a

small, quaint place, conversation and good coffee." Quoted in Debbie Beyer, "Jumpin' Java Joints," *Pasadena Weekly* January 14–20, 1995: 6. The E Bar would never be described as quaint.

[104]Edward J. Boyer, "Rescue Plan give Coffeehouse's Fans Grounds for Hope," *Los Angeles Times* 4 June 1994: B1.

[105]Boyer B2.

[106]Interestingly, the majority of the complaints made against the teenagers are made in terms of bodily style or decorum. They are, among other things, "loud," "scruffy," "rude," they smoke too much, refuse most of the types of clothes available at the local stores, favoring black jeans and t-shirts.

[107]Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture* 126.

[108]Thomas Farrell, *Norms of Rhetorical Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 6.

[109]Carole Blair, "Contested Histories of Rhetoric: The Politics of Preservation, Progress, and Change," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 78 (1992): 404.

[110]John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC, 1972) 47.

[111]Butler, *Gender Trouble* 33.

[112]Carruthers 182.

[113]Hariman 149–172.

[114]In particular, a focus on space could localize contemporary work on the public sphere.