



Michael Van Valkenburgh Associates, Allegheny Riverfront Park, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1998. Courtesy of Michael Van Valkenburgh Associates.

gardens, etc., were excluded, leaving only promenading and landscape contemplation.

SAUNDERS: And what about now?

CRAWFORD: Now it's changed, but through political struggles and demands. The Central Park Conservancy is trying to reimpose an elitist vision, and it's being resisted. It's a great example of an ongoing struggle over what "public" means. Different publics are duking it out, as always. Pittsburgh has a changing social composition. If you go to the other side of the river to the former steel mill at Homestead,