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An Everyday Nostalgia: Memory and the Fictions of Belonging

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In his novel Nineteen Eighty-Four, George Orwell presented the future as a dystopian vision, where everyday existence was governed and redefined by an oppressive regime. Winston Smith’s daily duties at the Ministry of Truth, where he was employed, involved the invention, rewriting and erasing of fragments of history as a means of perpetuating contentment, uniformity and control. History, as Orwell described it in the novel ‘was a palimpsest, scraped clean and reinscribed exactly as often as was necessary’ (Orwell, 1989, p. 42).

More that a quarter of a century after the publication of Nineteen Eighty-Four, Michel Foucault discussed the cinematic representation and misrepresentation of French history and identity in terms of what he called the reprogramming of ‘popular memory’. In what was tantamount to a diluted version of Orwell’s palimpsestic histories, Foucault stated that ‘people are not shown what they were, but what they must remember having been.’ This paper will investigate notions of memory, identity and the everyday through a discussion of the community of Celebration in Florida. Conceived in the 1990s, Celebration was designed around a fictionalised representation of pre-1940s small town America, using nostalgia for a mythologised past to create a sense of comfort, community and conformity among its residents. Adapting issues raised by Orwell, Foucault and Baudrillard, this paper will discuss the way in which architecture, like film and literature, can participate in what Foucault
discussed as the manipulation of popular memory, inducing and exploiting a nostalgia for an everyday past that that never really existed.

The Origins of Celebration

As part of the strategy to expand his theme parks into Eastern America, in the 1960s Walt Disney envisaged what he described as an ‘experimental prototype community of tomorrow’, referred to by the acronym EPCOT. Inspired by the apparent success of Disneyland as an urban planning exercise, EPCOT was conceived as a way of redressing the problems he perceived to be inherent in modern cities. It was to be a real city with real amenities seamlessly integrated with futuristic technologies and a utopian ideology. The EPCOT scheme, to recast in the language of the Disney empire, was tantamount to a suburban realisation of Tomorrowland. Disney forecasted: 'It will take its cue from the new ideas of new technologies emerging from the creative centers of American Industry. It will always be introducing and testing and demonstrating new material and systems’ (Finch, 1988, p. 151). A decade after his death, Disney’s vision for EPCOT was denounced as untenable and was re-conceptualised as a theme park. In 1982 the EPCOT Center was unveiled, seeing Disney's original idea remaining largely unrealised.

While Disney’s scheme did not eventuate as he anticipated, in 1996 the first phase of a planned residential community was opened in Florida. This ‘New Urbanist’ community, known as Celebration, represented the antithesis of his forward-looking vision for EPCOT. Developed, both financially and conceptually, by the Walt Disney Company, Celebration represented an expansion of the Disney empire from cinema, theme parks and merchandise to lifestyle. Built on land acquired by Disney in order
to control the developments adjacent to the Orlando theme park, the town aspired to an ideal population of between 12,000 and 15,000 people. It was intended as an attempt to redress the alienation of the modern American city, both socially and physically. While the underlying utopian ideals of Disney's EPCOT scheme remained undiluted, the realisation of the ideal community of Celebration represented a dramatic inversion of Disney's imaginative vision. While Disney's scheme for EPCOT looked optimistically towards the future for the solutions to social and planning issues, Celebration looked nostalgically to the past, with aesthetic and philosophical allusions to pre-1940s small town America - to the perception of a 'golden age' of community and family values. Planning strategies saw pragmatic concerns of automobiles and self-sustainable growth - the underlying concerns of the modern city - appear to become secondary concerns to community and family values. It is a place, their own marketing material sentimentally professes, 'where companies put down roots and employees plant their family trees' (Celebration Co., 2002).

Celebration is planned around Market Street, the visual and social focal point of the town. Market Street employs the language of pre-suburban shopping centre days to enhance the feeling of a small community. These small town aspirations are reinforced by the absence of department stores and global fast food chains. Somewhat ironically, with what can be perceived as a gesture of contempt towards globalisation and anti-community empires, The Celebration Company has banished from its jurisdiction the very multinational corporations Disney itself has become. However perhaps the most interesting aspect of this town is the way in which Celebration attempts to create a sense of structure and community through referencing
firstly, the archetypical form of the small town and secondly, the myth of an ideal past. While Celebration shares many of the values inherent in New Urbanism - particularly through reference to traditional values, ideas of community and a reaction against urban sprawl - due to the *artifice* it employs to evoke these ideals it in many ways necessitates discussion beyond its affiliation with this movement and its concerns.

*Memory as Commodity*

Celebration *markets* the ideals of wholesome family values and community, with its promotional material claiming to extract: ‘the best from the most successful towns of yesterday and the technology of the new millennium, and synthesise them into a close-knit community that meets the needs of today’s families’ (Celebration Co., 2002). These ideals are given architectural expression through the adoption of pre-1940s style buildings. Intended to be a reflection of a particular era of social values, giving *memory* an aesthetic consideration. In Celebration, memory has an operational role, in both the marketing of the development and in the creation of place and all its associated values. The town’s promotional material outlines its approach to place making, writing that Celebration is:

> A place where memories of a lifetime are made, it’s more than a home; it’s a community rich with old-fashioned appeal and an eye on the future. Homes are a blend of traditional southeastern exteriors with welcoming front porches and interiors that enhance today’s lifestyle (Celebration Co., 2002).

Thus memory and community are marketed jointly. Celebration exploits the relationship of memory, particularly in its collective form, and its ability to create a sense of ‘identity’ and community. Forms and facilities are generally sentimental adaptations of the archetypal, with every detail calculated to convey a sense of a
nostalgic utopia, invoking memories of an unspoiled time of lost values and ideals. Subsequently, the architecture of Celebration is used to create a sense - or what can be regarded as a fiction - of belonging among the town’s residents as a constructed counterpoint to the alienation of the modern city.

In Celebration memory is invoked as not only an expression of an ideal time in American history, but also as a means of ‘conditioning’ its inhabitants to their new lives in their new town. The ‘everyday’ is rendered instantly ‘comfortable’ and ‘safe’ through references to familiar forms, and allusions to sense of collective memory. The town is characterised by references to the presumption of both a collective past and a collective ideal of small towns and better times; an ideal that many of its inhabitants either did not know, or experienced in a very different way. Celebration’s engagement with the past has resulted in a community built both aesthetically and ideologically on nostalgia, particularly adopting almost mythological notions of the past as an unattainable ideal. In Celebration nostalgia has an operational role in rendering the environment habitable. Celebration, like Disneyland, is founded on the archetypal forms and values which constitute the myth of a distinct and ultimately wholesome American identity.

The development is associated with many respected architects such as Robert A. M. Stern, Michael Graves and Robert Venturi who designed a number of the town’s public and institutional buildings. Acknowledging the Italian architect’s fascination with memory and archetypal forms, The Celebration Company also commissioned Aldo Rossi to design a number of office buildings. Rossi’s work in relation to this
development is particularly interesting given not only his interest in memory, but also his idea of the analogous city.

Rossi’s theory of the analogous city conceived in 1976 was grounded in the psychoanalytical writings of Freud and Jung. Later writing of this theory, Rossi explained:

In order to illustrate this concept, I cited the example of the view of Venice by Canaletto… in which Palladio’s project for the Rialto Bridge, the Basilica, and the Palazzo Chiericati arranged and depicted as if the painter had reproduced an actual townscape. The three monuments, of which, one is only a project, constitute an analogue of the real Venice composed of definite elements related to both the history of architecture and that of the city itself. The geographical transposition of the two existing monuments to the site of the intended bridge forms a city recognizably constructed as a locus of purely architectonic values (Rossi, 1996, p. 348).

Employing this theory in his own architectural works, Rossi endeavoured to design archetypical forms that evoked typology through the relationship with 'memory', and specifically the assumption of collective memory. Based on Freudian notions of an 'unexpressed' and 'inexpressible' interior monologue which connects these elements, Rossi’s theory of the analogous city as expressed in his discussion of Canaletto’s painting saw these projects which were dislocated and placed beside an unbuilt work become a representation of a city which alluded to Venice, yet in actuality was not Venice, rather, a montage of its elements.

Celebration in many ways represents an analogous city of the sort Rossi discussed; an analogous realisation of the classic myth of ‘small town America’. Given the philosophy of the project, the restriction to pre-1940s architecture in defining the ideal reference for their nostalgia, was undoubtedly determined by the wish to exclude reference to the Second World War. In the twentieth century up until 1940s, America
had witnessed both highs and lows, both war and economic boom. However the
decade immediately preceding this temporal, and subsequently aesthetic, threshold
was most prominently characterised by the harsh realities of the Great Depression,
which spanned most of the 1930s. Celebration omits all reference to the hardships
associated with these times and thus in its references to this ‘ideal time’ it essentially
presents a sanitised and sentimental reconstruction of a misremembered past.

It is possible to read Celebration and its combination of anachronistic aesthetics and a
misremembered past in a number of ways, and according to a number of different
theoretical or philosophical perspectives. For example, in a psychological sense,
Celebration represents an architectural form of déjà vu in that it creates the illusion
that something people are actually experiencing for the first time has been
experienced before. The sense of experience, and subsequently, ‘belonging’ projected
by the architecture and infrastructures of Celebration is also akin with the idea
espoused by Bertrand Russell [1921] when writing on the nature of memory. Russell
stated:

It is not logically necessary to the existence of a memory-belief that the event
remembered should have occurred, or even that the past should have existed at all.
There is no logical impossibility in the hypothesis that the world sprang into being
five minutes ago, exactly as it was, with a population that “remembered” a wholly
unreal past. There is no logically necessary connection between events at
different times; therefore nothing that is happening now or will happen in the
future can disprove the hypothesis that the world began five minutes ago. Hence
the occurrences which are called knowledge of the past are logically independent
of the past; they are wholly analysable into present contents, which might,
theoretically, be just what they are even if not past had existed. (Russell, 1921, pp.
159-160.)

Celebration’s architectural and social allusions to a misremembered past, are
essentially this – being a presentation of ‘memory’ which is fundamentally
independent of the past, a concept that in many ways relates to the thought of
Baudrillard. They are implanting a remembrance of a time that its residents did not know and essentially, did not exist. Thus the philosophical foundations of Celebration could just as easily be discussed it in terms of false memory, amnesia, regression or in post-modern terms of simulation.

*Simulations and False Memories*

Architecturally, Celebration’s approach to elucidating the perception of a golden age of family values and community ideals is simple and philosophically somewhat unsophisticated. Despite Modernism’s radical transformation of architecture at the time Celebration’s architecture aspires to, all buildings are constructed in the aesthetic tradition of *conservative* pre-1940s vernacular architecture. In Europe, prior to the 1940s, the house had been radically transformed by the bold residential experiments of the likes of Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier, while in the United States the experiments of Frank Lloyd Wright had already exerted an enormous impact on architecture. Furthermore Marcel Breuer had already built a number of residential works which had brought the foresight of European modernism to North America. However the homes Celebration employs to *evoke* this time are unreflective of the exciting architectural developments *of* the time.

Architecturally Celebration contains seven different types of residences ranging from Apartments and Bungalows through to Estate Homes, all built in one of six approved building styles being: Classical, Colonial Revival, Coastal, French, Mediterranean and Victorian. Celebration's pre-modern houses conform easily to the Bachelarian ideal, abiding by preconceived notions of what a house and family home should be. The town’s strict development regulations see that it is not possible to build, for
example a Modernist style home which truly belonged to the period they have specified, such as the pre-1940s American houses of an Architect such as Marcel Breuer. Paradoxically while for many people Modernism represented a style of architecture which was perceived to undermine traditional family values, in actuality modernist homes with their reconfiguration of space through open plans and rational order would actually represent a means of perpetuating the family unit, in accordance with Celebration's ideals, and in an much more unified way than the more traditional models they have employed.

Celebration through allusions to another time, and another place is essentially a temporal anomaly. It belongs neither to the time it aspires to nor to the present. It represents an outright rejection of the ideals of Modern architecture expressed by CIAM at the opening of the century. The inaugural meeting of CIAM (Congrès International d’Architecture Moderne) - an organisation dedicated to the exchange of ideas and theories of Modernist architecture – held in 1928, produced an optimistic manifesto outlining the role of architecture in the new century. This manifesto, known as the ‘La Sarraz Declaration’ stated:

The destiny of architecture is to express the orientation of the age. Works of architecture can spring only from the present time. They therefore refuse categorically to apply in their working methods means that may have been able to illustrate past societies; they affirm today the need for a new conception of architecture that satisfies the spiritual, intellectual and material demands of present-day life (CIAM, 1928, pp. 109-113).

Architectural Modernism, as expressed in the ‘La Sarraz Declaration’, was compelled by the need to overcome the burdens of historicism, ideas which characterised the architecture of the 1920s and the subsequent decades. CIAM proposed that architecture should be of its time and not resort to means of past societies for its expression; it was to express its own time, the time that Celebration now nostalgically
alludes to. CIAM’s philosophical perspective is more closely aligned with Disney's original forward looking vision for EPCOT than the architecture that looked nostalgically back towards this time recreated in Celebration. The architecture Celebration endeavours to recreate in order to evoke its sociological agenda, was even in the 1940s – the time it aspires to - hopelessly passé. Somewhat paradoxically in an effort to create an ideal place and allusions to an ideal time, Celebration has accrued qualities of Freudian notions of the uncanny. Yet what is perhaps most disturbing about these models extolled in Celebration is not their temporal, geographic and social decontextualisation, but rather the concessions they have made to honesty in order to elucidate social ideals through architecture.

Frantz and Collins write in their book *Celebration USA: Living in Disney’s Brave New Town* [2000], which details their residency in the town, that they were disconcerted by what they term ‘a make-believe quality, an artificiality to the whole enterprise’ (Frantz & Collins, 2000, p. 20). They write:

Some houses that appeared to have second-floor dormers were actually only single-story buildings; the dormers, complete with windowpanes painted black to simulate a darkened space, were fake, assembled on the ground and hoisted into place by cranes (Frantz, & Collins, 2000, p. 20).

Thus superficial gestures to spaces which do not exist reduce the homes to stage sets, more geared towards the conveyance of the *illusion* of an ideal, rather than *attaining* that ideal. The idea of an illusory dormer alarmingly recollects the gradual dissolving of Truman’s illusions in *The Truman Show*, discovering the buildings he encountered every day were functionless shells designed to mislead his understanding of his world.

The architecture of Celebration is aesthetically and theoretically akin to that of the earlier New Urbanist community of Seaside [1981], also in Florida. To the non
architectural community, Seaside is perhaps most widely known through its role as the fictional town of Seahaven in Peter Weir's 1998 film *The Truman Show*. In this film Seaside played an important role as the background for the life constructed for the film's main protagonist. However while comparisons can easily be made between Celebration and this film, perhaps a more interesting comparison can be made with Philip K. Dick’s novel *Time Out Of Joint* [1959], which bears many thematic and narrative similarities to Weir’s film. In *Time Out Of Joint* the main protagonist, Ragle Gumm, lives in a small nameless community, earning a living through his continual success in a newspaper competition, which seemingly justifies his fame and importance within the community. *Time Out Of Joint*, like *The Truman Show*, follows the main protagonist’s growing awareness that his world is not as it seems, and his eventual escape to the ‘real’ world. However, whereas Truman eventually discovers that he is in fact the subject of an invasive reality television show and his world is a construction to control and facilitate this, Ragle discovers that his quiet suburban reality is actually an illusory construction for him and more importantly that the newspaper contests he enters and wins each day – guessing the whereabouts of ‘the little green man’ – are in fact pattern detecting exercises gathering military intelligence.

In the novel, Ragle’s ability to decode and detect patterns which predict military strikes sees him become, literally, the most important and valued person in the world. Prior to his residency in this illusory world, Ragle, tormented by his role in these military campaigns and the pressures of his importance in the world, psychologically retreated, as described by one of the characters:

Back to a period before the war. To his childhood. To the late ‘fifties, when he was an infant…So we found a system by which we could let him live in this
stress-free world. Relatively stress-free, I mean. And still plot our missile intercepts for us. He could do it without the sense of load on his shoulders. The lives of all mankind. He could make it into a game, a newspaper contest (Dick, 2004, p. 200).

As a consequence of his significance to humanity, the ‘real world’ constructs an ‘artificial world’ for Ragle, erasing all memory of his torment in an attempt to keep him pacified, content and prevent his rebellion from his crucial work. In *Time Out Of Joint*, Ragle’s world is not only a constructed *place*, but he also inhabits a constructed *time*. While in reality it is actually 1998, Ragle is made to believe that it is 1959, the time of his childhood. The premise of this novel and its construction of another time and another place in order to make the environment comfortable for its protagonist, resonates with the idealistic intents of the town of Celebration, particularly in reference to the illusory gestures it resorts to in order to maintain the perception of this reality.

The superficial and illusory gestures inherent in Celebration that Frantz and Collins describe in their book are not confined to ornamentation on housing. Alex Marshall notes that the development’s Town Hall is merely an illusion to democratic government, writing:

> It features a forest of columns out front, perhaps to remind residents of ancient Athenian democracy. But no government exists therein. What’s inside is the manager of the homeowners association, the company manager hired by Disney to supervise its creation, who send out little messages asking people not to put strong-coloured curtains in their front windows. (Marshall, 2000, p. 21).

Marshall, taking issue with what he regards as a corruption of language, notes that such gestures are endemic in New Urbanist developments, writing: ‘It’s a Hollywoodization of language, with words as icons that represent something very different’ (Marshall, 2000, p. 21). Thus beyond architecture, language and labels are
also decontextualised and manipulated to contribute to the fictional underpinnings of society and consequently, the illusory basis of the development. This manipulation of language to convey the impression of a desirable ideal was in many ways reminiscent of the role of Newspeak in Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Newspeak, being the new language designed by the party as a further measure of control, was invoked as a means to control thought, abolishing dissent among citizens by linguistically eliminating the means for them to express ideas that diverged from the Party line.

While Celebration’s sublimation of the homeowner’s association to the role of democratic government is hardly as sinister as the mechanisms invoked to control thought in Orwell’s novel, control is an ominous presence within the development, and consequently there is on one level a disconcerting irony underlying the corporate presence’s portrayal of government. Celebration, firstly, was a by-product of the Disney Corporation’s desire to control the developments surrounding the theme park. Furthermore, just as Orwell’s palimpsestic history was employed as a means to instil contentment, uniformity and control, Celebration uses its presentation of cultural memory for the same ends. Furthermore, in Celebration everyday activities are controlled by restrictive, non-negotiable codes of aesthetic and social conduct stipulated in the purchase contracts. However Celebration’s appeal is so widespread and compelling that most residents are content to abide to such concessions in order to be able to live there. Frantz and Collins note that when purchasing their property they were required to sign documents consenting to a series of diverse and detailed conditions, including where they could park their vehicles and agreeing not to ‘complain about the mosquitoes … harass the alligators… [and] to hang tasteful curtains or blinds that showed only white onto the street’ (Frantz & Collins, 2000, p.
The Disney Corporation *does* effectively govern the town, and concerns have already been raised about the ethical implications of education systems being orchestrated by a corporation such as Disney.

The manipulation of language, truth and function Marshall referred to as the Hollywoodization of language also had additional architectural manifestations which are littered throughout. For example, Geoffrey London observed in his paper ‘In Celebration’ [2002] written following a visit to the town: ‘The first sight of Celebration is the water tower, the emblem of the small American town, but in this instance, the tower remains solely emblematic as it has no water’ (London, 2002). Thus such structures with implied (but not actual) functionality all contribute to the construction of the illusion of the small town ideal. These symbolic gestures which attempt to mimic the components of traditional small towns, belong not to the realm of art or function, and thus become merely props in the creation of a desirable atmosphere.

Much of the marketing material for the development exploits the knowledge that people long to return to the values of yesteryear, with promises that in Celebration families not only relive memories but also create them (Celebration Co., 2002). The marketing of the development also exploits a culture of fear- of not only the new but the dangers and threats inherent in the modern city. The role of memory in the marketing of Celebration has an ironic aspect in so far these memories sold to create a sense of identity and community are predicated on a fictional foundation. Interestingly, one of Celebration’s early marketing exercises was the publication of a brochure they called the *Memory Book*. *Memory Book* [c. 1990s] was a 'replica' of a
photograph album displaying a collection of ‘photographs’ embellished with printed corners and annotated with personalised ‘hand written’ comments such as ‘I send the kids to the store for milk. It’s just like when my folks were young’ (Celebration Realty, c.1990s, p. 6). The ideas behind this marketing exercise are, like the water tower, essentially a prop to engender its target audience with the sense that this past, and these ideals really existed.

The deliberate targeting of memory in the marketing of the community represents something more sinister than simple nostalgia. The nostalgia of Celebration represents not just a longing to return to a past ideal, it represents a rewriting of what that ideal is, representing a manipulation of collective memory in much the same way that Foucault discussed in an interview entitled ‘Film and Popular Memory’ [1975]. Here Foucault suggested that cinema and television have the capacity to reprogram popular memory, stating ‘People are shown not what they were, but what they must remember having been’ (Foucault, 1975, p. 25). A position which is eerily reminiscent to that expressed by George Orwell more than a quarter of a century earlier in his novel Nineteen Eighty-Four. In the novel the past belonged not to individuals but to the party who constantly redefined it as means to control the everyday present. Orwell wrote:

Day by day and almost minute by minute the past was brought up to date. In this way every prediction made up by the Party could be shown by documentary evidence to have been correct; nor was any item of news, or any expression of opinion, which conflicted with the needs of the moment, ever allowed to remain on record (Orwell, 1989, p. 42).

In Celebration, the architecture and planning of the development presents a manipulation of the perception of popular memory. By eliminating references to
hardships and struggles, Celebration architecturally and socially puts forward a model of the past which, like the films Foucault discussed, tells people what they should and wish to remember the past to have been.

Celebration, like Disneyland, is a nostalgic vision of a popularised interpretation of the past, its architectural forms are borrowed, manipulated and decontextualised – geographically, culturally and temporally - to instil an aesthetic and psychological sense of rational order and civilised purity. However, Celebration is not merely an ingenious marketing gesture capitalising on their land ownership and profiting from the national regard for Disney’s initiatives, it also quite successfully caters for popular public demand. Families wishing to move to Celebration must join a waiting list and land values in the area are also significantly higher than comparable developments elsewhere (Marshall, 2000, p. 24-26). Paradoxically the sustainability of neighbouring towns such as Kissimmee, which was one of the models for Celebration, is under threat from deflating real estate values and unsustainable commerce, with residents preferring to reside in a simulation of small town America than to live in the town that it was modelled upon.6

Through meticulous control of the building typologies, and to some extent lifestyle, Celebration is able to control the town’s ideological premise which in turn has enabled it to use this to aesthetically and socially indoctrinate a fiction of belonging among its residents. Celebration demonstrates that beyond film, television and books, architecture also has a capacity to participate in the reprogramming of popular memory, and subsequently the nature of the everyday.
While this paper is not suggesting that there is an ultimate truth that should be aspired to or that the past is something that is knowable, it is interesting to regard Celebration in terms of presenting a fiction - in terms of the fact that its sanitised perception of history has been assimilated into the aesthetics is in part a fabrication - or at least a nostalgic misrepresentation. Baudrillard, writing of Disneyland states that it is ‘a deterrence machine set up in order to rejuvenate the fiction of the real in the opposite camp” (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 13). He argues that in America the real no longer exists and that Disneyland, being what he terms a simulation of the third order thus “masks the absence of a profound reality’ (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 6). It is not difficult to argue that Celebration also belongs to this category. Arguably Celebration also masks the absence of a profound reality – this being the lack of an idyllic time of social ideals and family values – both in the past and in the present. However Celebration is more dangerous than Disneyland. To again adapt the language employed by Baudrillard in the expression of his theory of simulacra, beyond merely masking an absence of a profound reality, with the life and sustainability of towns such as Kissimmee being threatened by a popularised simulation of them.

Conclusion
In conclusion, Celebration demonstrates that beyond film and fiction architecture can also participate in the manipulation of popular memory. Yet the model of Celebration has implications beyond that of just a small town, rather it raises some interesting issues about how the manipulation of a community's perception of its 'origin' can affect their sense of history and identity.
While Celebration may purport to offer an alternative to the modern city (both geographically and temporally), it merely denies and distracts its inhabitants from 'the everyday'. While operating from the idealistic traditions of new urbanism and the conventions and aims of this planning movement, Celebration represents a lost opportunity. While Disney’s original scheme for EPCOT strove to develop and test new ideas, Celebration overlooked the option of creating a new and innovative solution to the every day problems of the modern city. Rather than develop new solutions to resolve modern issues, Celebration has returned to the past to adapt forms which are not appropriate to the time or place, to create the illusion of a solution without actually creating a resolution.

1 Celebration not only mythologises the idea of a community but it also borrows the idea of a town. When in fact as a privately owned body of land it does not technically constitute a town at all rather it more correctly referred to as the Celebration Community Development District. Source ‘The Magical Mouse – Celebration, USA”, http://www.xone.net/celebration/page2.php
2 For a discussion of the role of the automobile and Celebration’s reliance on tourism for its economic viability see Marshall, 2000, Chapter One.
3 Not all housing types are available in all styles, for example the bungalow Homes are only available in Classical, French or Mediterranean while the estate homes are available in all styles.
4 This took the form of both endeavouring to establish continuity in the landscape and ensuring that enterprising competitors did not capitalise on the profit making potential of Disneyworld, as had been the case with Disneyland. Furthermore, the residents and residences of Celebration are subject to an inordinate number of conditions and control. (Ross, 1999; Frantz & Collins, 2000, pp. 25-6).
5 Frantz and Collins discuss in their final chapter how many tourist - and also some inhabitants - believed the film The Truman Show was filmed in Celebration [It was actually filmed in Seaside, Florida]. Quoting a line from the film where the Christoff tells Truman that his life is not fake it is controlled, they write “The same might be said about Celebration. By the end of our year in Celebration, we concluded that it was not fake, except for silly architectural idiosyncrasies like dormers on many houses. It was genuine, without script or cue cards. It was however, controlled by rules and regulations and the guiding omnipresent hand of the Disney Company through its surrogate, the Celebration Company.” (Frantz & Collins, 2000, p. 6)
6 For a comparison of Kissimmee and Celebration see Marshall, 2000, Chapter One: “A Tale of Two Towns - Kissimmee versus Celebration and New Urbanism”.

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Celebration Realty Inc. (c. 1990s) Memory Book, Celebration Florida, Sales Prospectus.


