

CULTURAL AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLANNING IN SMALL CITIES
AND SUBURBS: A STUDY OF A CULTURAL ASSET INVENTORY OF
KENNEDALE, TEXAS

by

GREGORY S. COLLINS

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

December 2011

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the faculty and staff of the School of Urban and Public Affairs of the University of Texas at Arlington, and I would like to thank the members of my thesis committee, Dr. Carl Grodach, Dr. Enid Arvidson, and Dr. Ivonne Audirac for their comments and constructive criticism. I also want to express my thanks and gratitude to the members of our working group, the Kennedale Community Focus Group, and the City of Kennedale for the opportunity to contribute to the community building process as a student and participant. Finally, I would like to thank my family for giving me the strength and inspiration to pursue a passion for lifelong learning.

November 29, 2011

ABSTRACT

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Gregory S. Collins, M.A.

The University of Texas at Arlington, 2011

Supervising Professor: Carl Grodach

This thesis examines how smaller communities, which often lack the financial resources and the so-called “high culture” or marketable culture found in larger cities, can overcome challenges and develop cultural and historic preservation programs that perform the social function of unifying a community while also providing economic development opportunities that are connected to the community. The paper discusses “authenticity,” and how this stated goal of city planners is actually a complex and contested concept rather than an objective standard that can be used to evaluate cultural planning programs. The paper reviews a number of cultural planning methods discussed in the academic literature, including the cultural asset inventory and cultural mapping, asset-based community building, values-centered historic preservation

planning, and storyscape surveying. It identifies common themes among these methods: they all emphasize community input and engagement and wide public participation and consultation in the planning process, they assert that connection to community is essential in cultural projects, and they recognize the value of a community's contemporary culture and its future as well as a community's traditions and past. The paper then reviews a cultural asset inventory and mapping project conducted by a working group of graduate students, city planning staff, a geographic information systems consultant, and a focus group of community members from the City of Kennedale, Texas, using an asset-based community building method. The paper selects some of the proposed cultural and historic preservation project scenarios developed during that process. The paper finds that these scenarios can help the community overcome the challenges that smaller communities face in cultural and historic preservation planning. The paper concludes that continuing, wide community engagement and public input and consultation are crucial to the success of these programs, and recommends that the community seek continuing input from a wide diversity of people both within and outside of the community.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Question

This thesis seeks to answer the following research question: how can smaller communities, which often lack the financial resources and the so-called “high culture” or marketable culture found in larger cities, develop cultural resource and historic preservation programs that can perform the social function of unifying a community in addition to providing economic development opportunities, and do so in ways that are sufficiently connected to the community (that is, “authentic” to the community)? This thesis answers this research question in two parts.

In the first part of the thesis, I review the problems and challenges in cultural and historic preservation planning and planning scholars’ and practitioners’ prescription that projects be “connected to community.” Next, I discuss how connectedness to community—“authenticity”—is itself a complex and contested term and a subjective rather than objective concept. The thesis then examines four strands of thought in cultural planning and historic preservation literature, namely, “cultural mapping,” “asset-based community-building,” “the values-centered” approach in historic preservation, and “storyscape surveying.” I conclude that all of these frameworks are closely related and emphasize similar themes, specifically, the importance of wide community engagement and public input, and the importance of cultural projects’

connection to community. These frameworks may help small cities and suburbs overcome their particular challenges to cultural planning and historic preservation.

In the second part of the thesis, I review a cultural asset inventory for the City of Kennedale, Texas, recently conducted by team of two graduate students (including myself), the city's principal planner, a geographic information systems consultant, and a focus group of community members. The cultural asset inventory itself includes a description of our methodology and the thesis recounts this methodology. The thesis then moves beyond the inventory by, first, identifying how the methodology differed from the "asset-based community building" method developed by a leading cultural planning practitioner, Tom Borrup. Secondly, the thesis reviews three of the proposed projects in the cultural asset inventory and evaluates whether they may help that community overcome the challenges to developing quality cultural development projects, namely, the lack of connection to community that many projects have, and the perceived lack of so-called "high culture" or marketable culture and history that are more commonly associated with larger cities. I evaluate the efficacy of these proposed projects in the cultural asset inventory by explicitly discussing how well the proposed projects answer six key questions recommended by Borrup. While Borrup recommends that a community task force consider the six key questions when articulating proposed projects, the process and the inventory itself do not provide an explicit evaluation of how well the six key questions are answered, and so in this way, the thesis is a departure from, and an analysis of, the cultural asset inventory. Finally, I discuss how each of the three proposed scenarios encounters issues identified in the scholarly

literature that are not addressed in the inventory itself. The first two scenarios, a brickyard site preservation proposal and an oral history program, encounter issues of “authenticity.” The third scenario, a linear park system, illustrates how cultural assets can represent a multiplicity of values of the community. The thesis concludes that all three scenarios underscore the importance of having wide ranging, continuous community input and consultation in the development of cultural and historic preservation planning programs.

1.2 Statement of Problems

1.2.1 Fragmented Cultural Planning, Commodification of Culture, and the Consequences for Community

American cities are increasingly trying to use culture, including history and heritage, to create a distinctive sense of place and community. They engage in “place marketing,” including the marketing of culture and heritage, to attract tourists, commerce generally, and residents. Cities have adopted this strategy in response to the global flight of capital and jobs to lower wage countries. Scholar, Greg Young, and others argue that planners now act as developers, by fostering partnerships with private firms and organizations, for particular cultural projects, on a case by case basis.

This piecemeal project focus causes planners to address culture in a “conceptually fragmented, ad hoc and frequently opportunistic fashion.”¹ They evaluate cultural projects based on neo-liberal economic value rather than alternative concepts of value. Culture becomes “commodified.” That is, culture is valued for its

¹ Greg Young, Reshaping Planning With Culture (Hampshire, UK and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate 2008), p. 2-5.

exchange value,² the revenue it brings in, rather than its use value as a community builder, the “glue”³ or the “connective in life”⁴ that keeps community together and provides a means for people to “navigate the natural and social environment together.”⁵ Planners’ and developers’ commodification of culture raises the question of whether the culture being promoted by them is sufficiently connected to the particular place and people.⁶

This lack of connection to community may be problematic for cities in a number of ways. Some argue that such projects lack truth and produce “sanitized collective memories,” cultivate “nostalgia,” and “nurture non-critical aesthetic sensibilities.”⁷ In other words, these projects may stunt people’s intellectual and personal growth by using false or superficial depictions of culture and heritage, which often exclude the culture and history of minorities and the disadvantaged—“Disneyspace.”⁸ Secondly, lack of connection to community can create the “tourist bubble” phenomenon that can act to

² I am taking Logan and Molotch’s discussion of the dichotomy between land’s use value and exchange value and applying it to culture. For a discussion of land’s use value and exchange value, see John R. Logan and Harvey L. Molotch, Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press 1987).

³ Deborah Mills, “Cultural Planning-Policy Task, Not Tool,” Artwork Magazine, Issue 55, May 2003, p. 10.

⁴ Young at 42.

⁵ Tom Borrup, The Creative Community Builder’s Handbook: How to Transform Communities Using Local Assets, Art, and Culture, (Saint Paul, Minn.: Fieldstone Alliance 2006), p. 5.

⁶ Young at 2-5.

⁷ John Hannigan, “Symposium on Branding, the Entertainment Economy and Urban Place Building: Introduction,” in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 27.2 (Volume 27, Issue 2), June 2003), p. 355, discussing David Harvey, Spaces of Hope, (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press 2000).

⁸ Peggy Teo, “The Limits of Imagineering: A Case Study of Penang,” International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, September 2003, Volume 27, Issue 3, p. 546-47.

harm surrounding neighborhoods.⁹ Thirdly, cultural projects that rely on global corporate brands and “festive retailing” with no connection to the community are risky because such brands and retailers offer nothing distinctive to consumers, who may easily visit identical offerings in nearby, competing areas. Also, global entities compete with and often exclude local small business participation, and global companies often extract their profits rather than reinvest them locally.¹⁰

1.2.2 Criticisms of Historic Preservation

This brings us to a discussion of some criticisms of historic preservation. The first criticism comes from Graeme Evans, who argues that historic preservation privileges the past over the contemporary, and restrains cultural change and economic development. Evans argues that attention and funding paid to physical historical sites, museums designed using western models, and “sterile heritage zones” come at the expense of neglecting the vibrant, fruitful, local, contemporary artists who are “living and working culture.”¹¹

⁹ Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein, eds., *The Tourist City* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press 1999) pp. 35-53; Teo at 545-563.

¹⁰ Susan S. Fainstein, “The Changing World Economy and Urban Restructuring,” in *Readings in Urban Theory*, 2nd edition, eds. Scott Campbell and Susan S. Fainstein (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd. 2002), p. 114;

J. Hannigan, “Symposium on Branding, the Entertainment Economy and Urban Place Building: Introduction,” in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, (Volume 27, Issue 2), December 2001, pp. 353-360;

K.F. Gotham, “(Re)Branding the Big Easy: Tourism Rebuilding in Post-Katrina New Orleans,” *Urban Affairs Review*, Volume 42, Issue 6, July 2007, pp. 823-850;

Graeme Evans, “Hard-Branding the Cultural City—From Prado to Prada,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 27.2, (Volume 27, Issue 2), December 2001, pp. 417-440.

¹¹ Graeme Evans, *Cultural Planning: An Urban Renaissance?* (London: Routledge 2001) pp.13-14, 268-269 (“... [w]hilst conservation areas, listing of buildings and heritage status protect facades and ‘sites,’ no such protection is afforded artists”).

A second criticism of historic preservation is that it can suppress the expression of indigenous, ethnic, and other types of minority identity and culture. Evans argues that historic preservation, through things such as the creation of world heritage sites by international agencies, acts to project a “new nationalism” for governments, and may also prolong and glorify colonialism as expressed through architecture and artifacts. Laurajane Smith similarly argues that historic preservation and heritage are not objective truths and do not have intrinsic value, but rather, are a subjective cultural practice designed to transmit the chosen values of those with political and economic power. Heritage is “managed,” and can be co-opted by government (that is, whatever culture has access to political and economic power) to deliver what she calls an “Authorized Heritage Discourse.” This suppresses minority cultural expression. She cites the example of country house museums throughout the countryside of England, where she argues that the stratified economic class system in England is preserved, celebrated and reaffirmed as part of the national identity. The lives of the wealthy former owners and the physical design aspects of the home are emphasized, while the stories, lives and contributions of the slaves and servants who built and maintained these homes and landscapes are largely ignored.¹²

1.2.3 The Problem of “Authenticity” as an Objective Concept

The ideas that preservation and cultural planning projects should be connected to and reflect the community, including minorities and the disadvantaged, and should

¹² Laurajane Smith, Chapter 2, “Deference and Humility: The Social Values of the Country House,” in Valuing Historic Environments, eds. Lisanne Gibson and John Pendlebury (Farnham, U.K. and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate 2009).

recognize the value of contemporary culture and economics and not privilege the past over the present, are further explored by Sharon Zukin in her exploration of the concept of “authenticity.” While planners, preservationists, and promoters of economic development strive for “authenticity” in projects as a standard to be achieved, Zukin describes how this term is a difficult, contested concept that is not objective, that varies according to different people, and is a reflection of power relations between groups of people. She describes authenticity’s dual nature as the “authenticity as new beginnings” and “authenticity as origins.” Cities compete with one another to try and be distinctive and “authentic” in the sense of being innovative and new (“authenticity as new beginnings”). They create products, services, and an overall experience that tries in vain to be specific to that particular place, but ultimately duplicate other communities’ efforts, instead of being “authentic” in the sense of being true to one’s origins, history and traditions (“authenticity as origins”).¹³

She describes how cities engage in a “branding process” to be “different from and better than the competition.” However, “the result, though, when all cities pursue the same modern, creative image is not authenticity; it is an overbearing sameness.” Each city adopts the same “traveling ideas” promoted by itinerant consultants and cultural planners: museums, arts festivals, “hipster districts,” and cafes “because they want to look different,” but they are all basically reading from the same cookbook, Zukin argues. She observes that smaller cities “do not want to be left out of these global games” of competition for consumers, and she states that “if they [smaller cities]

¹³ Sharon Zukin, *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places* (New York: Oxford University Press 2010), pp. xi-xii, 237.

can't build world-class museums ... they all compete for a place on the global cultural circuit by developing art fairs, film festivals, and even parades in which painted fiberglass cows or bison or moose, depending on the city's chosen symbol, are installed on the streets as public art.”¹⁴

Zukin further argues that this type of authenticity that cities strive for is an “aesthetic” ideal that does not preserve community, and is undemocratic. Cities have shifted from traditional manufacturing to this “Destination Culture,” that is “cultural display, design, and consumption” in the form of “shopping, museum hopping, or entertainment.” Production does occur, but it is “arts and crafts production” with places for “artists’ studios, live-work lofts, and cultural hubs.” This Destination Culture “appeals to a younger generation who trend toward an aesthetic rather than a political view of social life,” and this younger generation often provides the basis for such a Destination Culture.

Zukin argues that authenticity is more than just an aesthetic concept—the look and feel of a place—it is also a political concept, that reflects power relations between different groups of people. A group that can claim authenticity can, in turn, “claim space and take it away from others without direct confrontation.” In Destination Cultures, the tastes and demands of young adults and youth culture, the middle class, the highly educated, and the affluent, along with the power and help of the state (both elected representatives who make policy and professional staff who advise them on recommendations and implementation), developers, capital, and the marketplace (the

¹⁴ Zukin at xi-xiii; 230-232.

“public-private partnership” or Logan and Molotch’s “growth machine”) , along with the messaging and “persuasion” provided by popular media, advertising, and consumerism, cause cities to favor aesthetic authenticity, and the authenticity of the new and creative, over the authenticity of origins, tradition and “social connectedness.”

She argues that cultural planning projects often act to gentrify communities and drive out lower income and disadvantaged people. The Destination Culture drives up real estate values, brings in upscale and high end retailing and residential development, and drives out the older and poorer residents, the ethnic and working-class residents, who could have provided some basis for a community’s authenticity (the “origins” type of authenticity), as well as the young artists and cultural producers who helped initiate the “new beginnings” authenticity of the new, creative, innovative cultural products and services in the first place. “In the end upscale development triumphs over authenticity, whether that is the authenticity of origins or of new beginnings.” The Destination Culture that cities invest in appeals to the aesthetic concept of authenticity, rather than authenticity as “new beginnings,” or as “origins and traditions.” One interpretation of her writing is that a community’s older residents, poorer residents, and minority and working-class residents, and young artistic and cultural producers should unify and utilize authenticity as a political concept and fight for community authenticity as “origins and traditions” and as “new beginnings” rather than upscale commerce and aesthetics. As people representing such an “authentic” community, they can influence policy makers and developers to implement policies and practices that help to maintain

affordable rents and foster locally owned small businesses and locally produced arts, crafts and culture, and “the neighborhood self-sufficiency” described by Jane Jacobs.¹⁵

1.2.4 Finding Culture and History in Small Cities and Suburbs

Small cities and suburbs face particular challenges in utilizing cultural and historic preservation planning to try to create a distinctive sense of place and community. First, many smaller cities and towns have a small tax base. Such communities may feel financial pressure to view cultural projects as revenue generators.¹⁶

Second, they often lack much surviving, historic, physical architecture and the so-called “high culture” found in larger cities (i.e. “marketable culture”) that many cultural planning professionals, academics and elites favor. Smaller communities have limited funds for large, physically significant projects. Also, with regard to heritage, there are few surviving primary documentary sources of their history, and the provenance of structures and objects is often lost due to lack of management.¹⁷ Objects of local history are not heavily studied and managed by professional academic historians.

Thirdly, some small cities’ status as a “suburb” may cause people to think the community lacks history, perhaps because of a mistaken belief that all suburbs are the same and are homogenous and ahistorical. They are believed to be too young, common, and familiar. They are supposedly unchanging, “bedroom communities,” performing a

¹⁵ Zukin at 230-246.

¹⁶ Lisanne Gibson, “Cultural Landscapes and Identity,” in Gibson, L. and John Pendlebury, Valuing Historic Environments (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company 2009), p. 86.

¹⁷ Gibson, “Cultural Landscapes and Identity” at 86.

particular task in a Euclidean, single use zoning scheme. They result from developments in transportation technology, representing to some people an ideal end state in a supposed evolutionary urbanization process, or, with the rising acceptance of New Urbanism, something to be denigrated rather than preserved by historians and planners.¹⁸ In fact, suburbs are the result of contingent, human actions, and not an inevitability, not derived purely from transportation infrastructure changes, and not mere metaphors. They are complex and diverse in terms of their origins and in terms of their population and demographics, and they have changed, and continue to change, over time, and thus they do have history. For instance, Binford and Stilgoe disconnect the suburb from transportation and argue that suburbs are “consciously conceived and built communities that would exist in some form regardless of transportation available” because many people throughout history have chosen to live in the “urban fringe” as a means of dealing with the “difficulty of urbanization.”¹⁹

Many suburbs originated as post-war, bedroom communities tied to the development of interstate highways, and this is an historic phenomenon heavily studied by professional academic historians. However, many other suburbs actually started as market centers for surrounding farms and ranches, or industrial centers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, owing their market status to their location on a waterway, canal or railroad, and only later became highway commuter suburbs as larger, multi-

¹⁸ David L. Ames, “Understanding Suburbs as Historic Landscapes Through Preservation,” in Richard Harris and Peter J. Larkham, eds., Changing Suburbs: Foundation, Form and Function (New York: Routledge 1999), p. 236.

¹⁹ Ames at 225-26, 234, citing H. Binford, The First Suburbs: Residential Communities on the Boston Periphery, 1815-1860, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1985), and J.R. Stilgoe, Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press 1988).

nucleated metropolitan areas have grown around them. Still others, as Binford and Stilgoe argue, were founded as places to escape urbanization. One example is health resort towns. Much of the post-war infrastructure and development overlaying these older communities has destroyed or covered up their pre-war history and made it harder to find, but it exists and can be studied and commemorated.

CHAPTER 2

DEFINITIONS OF CULTURAL PLANNING IN THE ACADEMIC AND PRACTITIONERS' LITERATURE: CULTURAL MAPPING, ASSET-BASED COMMUNITY-BUILDING, "VALUES-CENTERED" HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLANNING, AND "STORYSCAPE SURVEYS"

There are several emerging practices in cultural planning and historic preservation that can help suburbs and small cities overcome their particular challenges to historic preservation and cultural planning. The first is the "cultural asset inventory" and "cultural mapping." The second is "asset-based community-building." The third practice is the "values-centered" approach in historic preservation. The fourth method is "storyscape surveying." I conclude that all of these practices are very similar, and are variants of one another, in that all of these frameworks emphasize community input and engagement and wide public participation and consultation in the planning process in the areas of culture and history, which were previously thought to be strictly within the domain of elites, experts and professionals. They all strive to recognize the value of contemporary culture and do not privilege the past over present and future generations of people, and also recognize the value of diversity and minority culture.

2.1 Defining Cultural Mapping

"Cultural mapping" is an emerging practice discussed in cultural planning literature. Before discussing cultural mapping, we must first briefly discuss what we mean by "cultural planning" and "culture."

2.1.1 “Planning” Defined

To define “cultural planning” scholars and practitioners discuss the definition of “planning” in general. Graeme Evans provides a useful review of definitions of planning to include “a process for determining appropriate future action through a sequence of choices,” the purpose of which is to “organize the city for the greater happiness of its inhabitants.” Definitions of planning usually invoke the traditional rational comprehensive planning model. They “infer some consideration of the future and the achievement of given goals or end states, whether physical and environmental, social or economic.”²⁰ Cultural planning is “approached like any other form of planning,” and involves:

- [1] “a thorough assessment of the existing situation”;
- [2] “setting clear goals and objectives”;
- [3] “identifying clear issues and priorities”; and
- [4] “formulating and implementing practical courses of action.”²¹

It also includes both a “long range” time horizon and a “short range” operational plan.²²

It is “ongoing,” rather than an occasional activity creating a static end state.²³

Mercer states that “[p]lanning is not a physical science but a human science” and that planners need to be “anthropologists, economists and geographers” and not just

²⁰ Graeme Evans, Cultural Planning: An Urban Renaissance? (New York: Routledge 2001), p. 5-6, (quoting and citing Davidoff and Reiner).

²¹ M. Guppy, ed., Better Places Richer Communities (Sydney: Australia Council 1997), quoted and cited in Graeme Evans, Cultural Planning: An Urban Renaissance? (New York: Routledge 2001), p. 7.

²² Colin Mercer, “Cultural Planning for Urban Development and Creative Cities,” p. 7, http://www.culturalplanning-oresund.net/PDF_activities/maj06/Shanghai_cultural_planning_paper.pdf, accessed in September, 2010.

²³ Mercer at 7.

“draftsmen” focused on “land use, infrastructure and transport systems.”²⁴ Evans defines planning as “the application of scientific method ... however crude, to policy making,” but he similarly acknowledges that the goals in the “physical and environmental, social or economic” realms are culturally determined choices made by people and not objective, optimal end states.²⁵

Mercer and Evans recognize that planning is a “competitive” environment²⁶ involving numerous groups and interests, and so it is also “important to assess the full needs” of a community and its diversity and pluralism, not just the perceived needs of the arts or some particular group.²⁷ Therefore, “community involvement” is “critical” and it is important for planners to “understand what different segments comprise the community” and then “conduct discussions and carry out research with each group, and include representations from each group” during the planning process.²⁸

2.1.2 Cultural Planning

With “planning” defined, we then look at various definitions of “cultural planning.” Mercer defines it as “the *strategic* and *integral* use of *cultural resources* in urban and community development”²⁹ and Evans similarly defines cultural planning as “the *strategic* use of *cultural resources* for the *integrated* development of cities, regions

²⁴ Mercer at 5.

²⁵ Evans at 5-6.

²⁶ Evans at 8.

²⁷ Mercer at 7.

²⁸ Mercer at 7.

²⁹ Mercer at 8.

and countries.”³⁰ I discuss “strategic” and “integral” use later in the discussion of “cultural asset inventory” and “cultural mapping.”

2.1.3 Culture

The term, “*culture*” in “cultural resources” is complex. Mercer and others do not use the term “culture” to mean an “aesthetic definition,” such as culture as art, or as a “sense of refinement,” or the idea that some people “have” culture and others are “lacking” in culture.³¹ They use a more “anthropological definition” of culture as a “way of life.” Mercer states that “culture is what counts as culture *for those who participate in it.*” This may include “contemplating an art object,” but it can also mean “strolling down the street, sitting in a park, eating at a restaurant, watching people at work and so on.” It can include “shared and collective memories,” or “the feel of a place” from natural environmental features and landscape—a certain tree, a river bank, or a mountain, for instance.³² Cultural resources are “ordinary, everyday, and diverse and also sometimes exceptional.”³³

Culture includes the “so-called natural environment,” over which humanity has a direct influence.”³⁴ Environments thought to be pristine or natural are actually the result of, or influenced by, human intervention. The entire planet is affected by culture

³⁰ Evans at 6-8.

³¹ Mercer at 8; Borrup at 4-5.

³² Mercer at 8; Borrup at 4-5; Mills at 8-9.

³³ Mercer at 9.

³⁴ Young at 42.

through the effects of things such as pollution and climate change, and “even outer space is now penetrated with cultural infrastructure and cultural detritus.”³⁵

2.1.4 Cultural Asset Inventory and Cultural Mapping

The anthropological definition of culture as a “way of life” or whatever “counts as culture for those who participate in it” is “intrinsically more democratic” and “more conscious of “cultural diversity and pluralism, and is “more respectful of the simple fact of difference” among people, according to Mercer. What follows from this is that the cultural planning process first requires a “survey” of the community.³⁶ This is a “rigorous process” of research and also requires extensive consultation and engagement of community members.³⁷

Cultural planning scholars and practitioners use a variety of phrases to describe this process of research and public consultation, including “cultural assessment,”³⁸ “cultural audit,”³⁹ and “cultural mapping,”⁴⁰ “cultural asset mapping”⁴¹ or “cultural asset inventory.”⁴² Evans brings together these concepts by citing as an example an

³⁵ Young at 42.

³⁶ Mercer at 5 (“[s]urvey before plan...” citing Patrick Geddes in Peter Hall, Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century (Oxford: Blackwell 1988).

³⁷ Mercer at 9.

³⁸ Mercer at 9.

³⁹ Evans at 108.

⁴⁰ Evans at 108.

⁴¹ See, e.g., Stephanie Moore and Dr. John B. Fenn III, “Rockwood Cultural Asset Mapping: Building Community and Engaging Residents,” (Eugene, Ore.: University of Oregon, Sustainability Cities Initiative, Winter 2010, published on-line), https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1794/10582/RockwoodAssetMap_ReportOpt.pdf?sequence=1, accessed in December, 2010.

⁴² See, e.g., “Research Report: Cultural Asset Inventory of the Milwaukee 7 Region, Presented to the Greater Milwaukee Committee’s Quality of Life Committee, November 2008, by the Cultural Alliance of Greater Milwaukee, Board Chair Paul Mathews and staff members Christine Harris and Denise Lubotsky, <http://www.culturalalliancemke.org/sites/default/files/Cultural%20Asset%20Inventory.pdf>, accessed in March 2011.

Australian “Community Cultural Assessment” approach in which planners do the following:

- Use demographic/census data “to identify relevant characteristics of the local population”
- “Examine the cultural and social needs of different groups within the population”
- “Categorize and list and/or map the area’s cultural resources, including facilities, activities, people, organizations, valued places and landscapes,” “community services/facilities,” and “economic activities,”
- “Consider the relationships that exist between the area’s various cultural resources,”
- “Identify barriers” to access to cultural resources
- “Examine the actual or potential leadership and support roles” in organizations for cultural development
- “Overview the strengths and weaknesses in community cultural activity”
- “Evaluate existing facilities/programs and needs for new or expanded ones”
- “Evaluate the outcomes and appropriateness of previous cultural projects and activities”
- “Consider relationships between cultural development and other areas of activity (e.g. tourism, employment)”
- Engage the community in “a consultative and participatory process involving all interested groups within the local and artistic community.”⁴³

Evans describes in greater detail a number of cultural planning methods.

⁴³ Evans at 108-109, citing M. Guppy, ed., Better Places, Richer Communities (Sydney: Australia Council 1997).

The first method prescribes a certain level of cultural services and products to be provided to a community depending upon that community's population size (for example, six acres of sports fields per 1,000 population; one branch library per 15,000 population). One of the limitations of this "level of service" approach is that the determination of the numeric standard is usually a "hegemonic assessment," that is, a "top down" approach determined by some higher authority, or from some published source that may not take into account local conditions and tastes.⁴⁴

A second approach is the "gross demand" or "comparative approach," in which a survey is taken of the participation rates of people in a number of cultural activities. These national or regional rates of participation for various demographic groups are then applied to the localities within that nation or region to determine a particular locality's demand for a particular cultural activity or product. A "more sophisticated" use of this method breaks down national or regional participation rates results into more specific demographic groups based on categories such as age, gender, social class and ethnicity. For instance, if a national survey found that 22 percent of a nation's adults attended a museum or gallery in a year, then a city within that nation with a population of 200,000 adults would be expected to have about 44,000 museum and gallery attendees per year.⁴⁵ One of the limitations of this method is that it equates participation or consumption with "demand." It is possible, for instance, that participation is supply-led and that people may be using and participating in the named cultural services and products because of a lack of alternatives. Also, people substitute

⁴⁴ Evans at 110-112.

⁴⁵ Evans at 112-115.

other cultural services and products that are not picked up by typical surveys, for instance, when buying a video or compact disc or viewing a performance through the internet instead of attending a live performance. Finally, often there is a lack of information or marketing about cultural services and products and this suppresses demand for them.⁴⁶

A third approach described by Evans is the “spatial approach.” The spatial approach tries to relate people’s different expectations and desires for different cultural resources to those resources’ physical distance from people. From a survey a planner might conclude that people would expect a community center for social events and meetings to be no more than five miles from their home or workplace. For larger facilities such as an opera house or a sports stadium, they might be willing to travel farther, for example, fourteen miles. Another way to describe this approach is to characterize a cultural resource’s power to draw patrons much like gravity in a watershed draws storm water to a river. Indeed, Evans uses the term “catchment areas” in his examples: large theaters have a larger catchment area (fourteen miles) than community centers (about five miles).

All three of these techniques are normative methods. One determines a standard through surveying, and that standard becomes the norm or goal level of service, and then one compares the existing facilities and services in a locale to this standard to determine whether cultural resources are sufficient there.

⁴⁶ Evans at 115-116.

2.1.5 *The Importance of Public Participation and Consultation*

Who determines what cultural resources and services are listed to be measured in a survey in the first place? Evans recognizes this problem when he cites the “complexities and tensions” within cultural planning processes in general and asks, “whose culture, whose priorities?”⁴⁷ He also criticizes the normative methods and their use of standards by observing that “they rely on a hegemonic assessment” of what is the right type of cultural resource to provide, and at what level, and he rightly asks, “by whom and how are standards determined?” It is “fundamental” that cultural assessment be a “consultative and participatory process involving all interested groups within the local and artistic community.” He attributes past failures in cultural planning to lack of public consultation. Without it, the process is “too technocratic and incomprehensible to citizens” and has “little meaning” in terms of people’s “day to day experience.”⁴⁸

Mercer is also wary of elitism in cultural planning in the most fundamental act of deciding what should be surveyed, assessed, studied, and considered a “cultural resource” in the first place. Among his “best practices” in planning is that “it is important to assess the full needs of the community, *not just perceived needs in the arts.*”⁴⁹ Like Evans, Mercer sees “community involvement” as “critical.” What is considered a “cultural resource,” the very object of cultural planning, is something that will vary according to the particular community. Mercer offers as an example his work in Australia, in which Vietnamese residents stated that their local Buddhist temple, and

⁴⁷ Evans at 7.

⁴⁸ Evans at 109, quoting and citing C. Landry, *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*, (London: Earthscan 2000).

⁴⁹ Mercer at 7.

for younger people, the local shopping mall, were the most important cultural centers, not artworks in museums. In another study, he found that for ethnic communities the “most important cultural issue on the planning agenda was culturally appropriate housing which could accommodate the day to day needs” of large, extended, non-nuclear families.⁵⁰

2.1.6 Culture is “Strategic” and “Integral” to All of City Planning

Both Mercer and Evans use the terms, “strategic” and “integral” in their definitions of “cultural planning” (“... the *strategic* and *integral* use of *cultural resources* in urban and community development ...”). Using the term, “strategic,” Mercer means that cultural planning must “make connections” to other areas of planning, including physical planning, economic development, public works, housing, recreation, and social justice. Cultural planners must then also “make connections” to those other departments responsible for these other areas of planning, and engage in “hard negotiation” with them to assure that culture is taken into account. For example, using Mercer’s housing example, a city may have restrictive housing regulations or building codes that are incompatible with a particular ethnic community’s cultural practice of having large, extended families live together. Mercer would argue that planners must consider the culture of the residents and advocate for housing arrangements that the majority culture might consider non-traditional. Under this view, planners should work with fellow staff in other departments, such as engineers and building code enforcement, and recommend changes in regulations to policy makers to

⁵⁰ Mercer at 7-8 (emphasis in original).

allow for such different types of housing to reflect cultural considerations. Housing should not just be considered under the rubric of physical planning or land use, or as a separate topic, apart from culture.

Using the term, “integral,” Mercer and others mean, first, that culture must be considered at the “very beginning” of a planning process and through all of its phases, and “not appended as an afterthought” at the end. Secondly, planners, developers, government, and organizations—the public and private sectors—must realize that development and physical planning will have effects (“externalities”) on people’s way of life—their culture—and are not private endeavors. Development shapes the way people go about their daily lives:

What is being planned ... are the lifestyles, the texture and quality of life, the fundamental daily routines and structures of living, shopping, working, playing ... not just streets and buildings but conjunctions of habit, desire, accident, and necessity ... these are the structures and the rituals and the sites of our local life that you are planning.⁵¹

Culture affects planning, and planning in turn affects the culture of people.

Greg Young has coined the term, “culturisation” to describe this favored process where culture imbues all of the other elements of planning, throughout all phases of planning, so that culture works as the “glue”⁵² or the “connective in life”⁵³ that unifies communities and helps people “navigate the natural and social environment together.”⁵⁴ Young holds up “culturisation” as an ideal that planners should adopt, to help balance against “*culturalisation*,” in which planners and developers narrowly focus on culture’s

⁵¹ Mercer at 6-7.

⁵² Mills at 10.

⁵³ Young at 42.

⁵⁴ Borrup at 5.

exchange value in the marketplace as a commodity and its qualities as an economic development tool. Mercer similarly argues that cultural planning must be *both inward* and *outward* looking. It must maintain a “policy equilibrium” between “internal” considerations of the quality of community life, and “external” considerations such as tourism and economic development. Cultural planning “must address the issues of identity, autonomy and sense of place”—internal community building, while also fostering economic development and tourism in a way that does not do damage to the community. Mercer cites the example of African-American heritage tourism in the United States. He states that this has not been forced on African-American communities “so that white folks can come have a look.” Instead,

[i]t is something which has been *generated from within not simply for external display and its considerable revenue-earning capacity* but also because a momentum of rediscovery and reassertion of a distinctive African-American heritage has been established. There is no necessary contradiction here: this is *simultaneously an economic development strategy and a process of community self-definition and rediscovery.*⁵⁵

In summary, scholars’ and practitioners’ definitions of “planning,” “cultural planning,” “cultural mapping” and “culture” can empower community members to define their own culture and heritage and discover the cultural resources in the community, rather than rely solely on experts, elites, or the market to declare what is a cultural resource. These definitions reinforce the concept that culture “resides in each and every place,” and is more than just the arts, and that culture should be researched and the results integrated across all planning fields, including land use, physical planning, the built and natural environment, as well as history and the arts. Culture

⁵⁵ Mercer at 9 (emphasis added).

should not be relegated to a single subfield within planning, but rather, should imbue all of planning and should achieve an overarching prominence in planning in the same way that sustainability has.⁵⁶

2.2 Defining Asset-Based Community Building

Borrup describes “creative community building” as an interdisciplinary effort to get people from a variety of fields to “join in a common, coordinated agenda or strategy” to rebuild the “social, civic, physical, economic, and spiritual fabrics of communities.” He proclaims that “we are all creative” and “possess special skills and professional practices” that when “synthesized,” rather than practiced separately, can build “healthy communities.” He refers to a number of professions and sectors, including builders, those involved in community development, housing development, arts and culture, planning and design, economic re-vitalization, and those who “nurture small business, nonprofits, and civic institutions.” He also observes that because so many fields are becoming increasingly specialized, it is especially urgent for people to “*cross boundaries*” and work across disciplines. He argues that the “absence of *integrated* strategies tends to perpetuate or even expand the social and economic inequities” in towns and cities.⁵⁷ Borrup’s method is a good example of the “strategic” and “integrated” approach to cultural planning advocated by Mercer, Evans and others.

Borrup describes his methodology as “asset-based community development,” which is “in stark contrast to old approaches of first identifying and addressing deficits, problems, and limitations.” Such “deficit-based thinking” creates the sense that

⁵⁶ Young at 2-9; Mercer at 9; Mills at 10.

⁵⁷ Borrup at xv-xvi (emphases added).

communities are “powerless and have to depend on outside intervention, resources, and problem solvers.” He argues that seeing problems is “unnecessary” and in fact is not difficult for most people, while identifying assets requires “special effort.”⁵⁸ In this way, Borrup’s method is different from a “SWOT” analysis (identifying strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats).

There are five steps to Borrup’s asset-based approach: 1) assess your situation and goals; 2) identify and recruit effective partners; 3) map values, strengths, assets, and history; 4) focus on your key asset, vision, identity, and core strategies; and 5) craft a plan that brings the identity to life.⁵⁹

The first step, “assess your situation and goals,” is an internal step, that is, conducted solely within the working group (in our case, the graduate students, chief city planner, and GIS consultant) prior to any engagement of the community at large. The first step consists of a) defining the community geographically, b) identifying the working group’s strengths and leadership capacity (through filling out a “strengths inventory”), c) identifying community assets as the working group sees them, by conducting research of the community and filling out a detailed worksheet, d) clarifying the values and goals of the working group and ensuring that they are aligned with the larger community’s values and goals, e) writing a concept paper setting out a broad vision of the “possibilities” for the community based on the working group’s identification of the community’s assets, and f) reviewing the working group’s

⁵⁸ Borrup at xvi, 140, 164.

⁵⁹ Borrup at 136.

readiness to undertake the community building project and begin engaging the larger community.⁶⁰

In identifying the community's assets in the opinion of the working group, Borrup provides a worksheet of attributes of the community to be researched (entitled, "Community Asset Inventory") ("Worksheet 2"). The elements include the community's "geographic parameters and demographics" "history and industries," "geography," "people," "public sector," "reputation," "nearby features and attributes," and "infrastructure," with more detailed subcategories within these elements.⁶¹

Borrup's second step is to "identify and recruit effective partners." These are community members who will form a "task force" that, with the facilitation of the working group, will develop a community asset inventory. Borrup provides some guidelines in recruiting and deciding what community members to invite for participation. He urges considering people with a wide variety of personality traits (e.g., "collaborators," "intermediaries," "visionaries," "synthesizers," "culture mavens," and "doers") and from a wide variety of sectors (e.g., "social/civic/social justice," "economic development/housing," "environmental," "education/youth," and "cultural/arts"). In deciding upon community group members, Borrup advises that the working group consider community members who "represent the population," "from every walk of life," who have "strong ties to the community," who have the ability to accomplish the tasks of the project. He also urges that one ensure that new community members "feel accepted and part of the process." He advises that those who are overly

⁶⁰ Borrup at 139-151.

⁶¹ Borrup at 146-148.

“negative” or who express doubt about culture and diversity as the basis for a community initiative are not good candidates for the task force.⁶²

Borrupt’s third step, “map values, strengths, assets, and history,” begins the public input and consultation in earnest, as a series of workshops attended by the task force and facilitated by the working group (in our case, the graduate students, city planner, and GIS consultant).⁶³ Prior to beginning work, Borrupt advises that task force members should get acquainted with one another and share each member’s cultural backgrounds, roots, and family experiences with the group, as a way to get the task force to recognize and appreciate the community’s diversity, and establish “group cohesion.”⁶⁴

Next, the group identifies what it believes are the “values” of the community. Borrupt leaves the definition of “values” vague, asking the facilitators to elicit a list of 20 to 30 “statements of what people value in a community,” and provides examples such as a “friendly and welcoming atmosphere,” “respect for the environment,” and “inventive and creative people.” He recognizes the potential confusion between identifying a “value” and an “asset,” which is done later in the process and he provides an example to try to clarify the difference between the two: a community’s “great school,” would be an *asset* of the community, while “supporting good education,” a broader, more philosophical statement, would be a more appropriate statement of a

⁶² Borrupt at 164-165, 181.

⁶³ Borrupt at 165.

⁶⁴ Borrupt at 170.

community *value*.⁶⁵ These values are elicited from group members using the “nominal group method.”

After determining the community’s values, the community task force then repeats some of the same exercises that the working group did earlier, namely, assessing the community task force’s strengths and talents by filling out a strengths inventory (Worksheet 1) and identifying the community’s cultural assets by researching and completing a community asset inventory (Worksheet 2).⁶⁶ To help the task force fill out the community asset inventory worksheet, Borrup recommends that the task force explore the community’s history by inviting a local historian or someone who has done extensive research on the local history of the community to deliver a presentation to the task force. If this cannot be done, he suggests forming a research team that includes task force members and others who represent a “broad-based view of the community’s past” to “be sure to bring out different perspectives and out-of-the-ordinary figures and events.” The task force should then continue this research with its own involvement and contributions.⁶⁷ The task force should also learn about the people and businesses of the community by examining census, demographic and economic data and visiting with planners or others who can provide this information. The task force should look for changes in the community over time. After this research, the individual members of the task force then fill out the community asset inventory (Worksheet 2), listing what each member believes to be the assets of the community based on what they have

⁶⁵ Borrup at 171.

⁶⁶ Borrup at 167, 170, 172-173, 175-177.

⁶⁷ Borrup at 173.

learned from the research process. These individual community asset inventories are to be used in later group discussions to create a community asset map and a collective inventory of the community's assets.⁶⁸

The task force then creates an actual map of the community's assets, including its "physical strengths" such as "infrastructure, buildings, museums, hospitals, parks" and "geographic features," and also intangible strengths such as "cultures, history, and events." Task force members should use their completed individual community asset inventories to come up with these features. Borrup argues that mapping the assets helps people see relationships between assets that they might not otherwise discover if they were simply listed as text. A map "also can make clear that similar attributes appear in multiple locations, or that, together make up a new characteristic or quality not previously appreciated." A map allows people to see their own community from a different point of view. The map need not be precise, as it is intended to stimulate imagination and creativity. Based on this map, the task force should develop a group community asset inventory. In addition, the task force can invite even wider public input, for instance, by displaying the map in a public place and inviting comment, or conducting additional workshops with other community groups and locations using the map.⁶⁹

Borrup's next step is to "focus on your key asset, vision, identity, and core strategies." The task force reviews the collective community asset inventory—likely a long list of assets—and the asset map, and begins the process of narrowing that list to a

⁶⁸ Borrup at 175-176.

⁶⁹ Borrup at 175-176, 180.

shorter list of “key assets,” again using the nominal group and snow card method of discussion and ranking. The task force then brainstorms and creates scenarios for projects that would utilize each key asset on the short list.

During this scenario building process, the group reviews the values of the community that the task force previously determined. Then, the group must choose one “key asset” from the short list either by consensus through discussion or the snow card technique. Borrup advises that the task force consider the following six key questions in deciding upon the community’s key asset and project scenario that utilizes it:

1. Is the key asset and scenario rooted in important aspects of the community’s cultures and values?
2. Will it be inclusive of the community’s diversity?
3. Does it build upon multiple local assets?
4. Does it address the future as well as the past?
5. Can it be initiated with existing local resources?
6. Does it have appeal to draw the participation of other volunteers and leaders in the community?⁷⁰

Borrup notes that other assets previously identified are not disregarded. They can still be utilized, but “in the context of how they support—or will be supported by—the key asset.”⁷¹

Finally, he recommends that the task force “name an identity” for the community, in a phrase. He states that “in essence, you are creating a brand name for your community.” Many communities use phrases such as “Home of ...,” “Birthplace

⁷⁰ Borrup at 187-188.

⁷¹ Borrup at 189.

of,” or “The ... Capital.” Often, parts of larger cities, identify themselves as “districts, “ such as “The Pearl District” of Portland or “The Island District” in Coconut Grove, south of Miami. The identity should reflect the key asset chosen by the task force.⁷² Borrup goes on to describe a method for creating a plan that will actually implement and “bring to life” the key asset, project scenarios, and identity that emerge from the community asset inventory.

Borrup’s method incorporates much of what Evans, Young, Mercer and other scholars and practitioners advocate in cultural planning. First, as previously discussed, Borrup’s method urges an interdisciplinary approach drawing on people with diverse backgrounds and expertise. In this way it is a “strategic” approach to cultural planning that is consistent with Mercer’s and Evans’ views that culture imbues all of planning. Secondly, Borrup’s method also recognizes culture and cultural planning’s dual “internal” and “external” nature, that is, its role in unifying the people in a community, and its role in economic development and the creation of cultural products and services, and he tries to balance these.

Borrup establishes a foundation for balancing cultural planning’s dual nature by reviewing the work of Robert Putnam and Richard Florida. Borrup agrees with Putnam that a community’s well-being depends upon the amount of “social capital” the community has, that is, people’s ability to recognize their mutual interests and work together. Cultural planning should build both “bridging” social capital (that is, the connections between people of *different* “cultures, ages, and other divides” within the

⁷² Borrup at 193.

community) and “bonding” social capital (that is, “the connections between people who are *alike* and who organize to advance their well-being” within a community.⁷³

At the same time, Borrup also affirms Richard Florida’s view that it is important for a community to have cultural activity, in particular, an environment of tolerance, diversity and also a provision of cultural products, services and infrastructure, in order to attract and retain creative people to a community. According to Florida, it is this “creative class” of people who create and attract commerce and jobs to a community.⁷⁴ While Putnam emphasizes culture’s beneficial effect on helping community members unite and relate well to one another (what Mercer describes as “internal” quality), Florida emphasizes culture’s effect in drawing in newcomers to a community and fostering the economic development of a community (what Mercer describes as culture’s “external” quality).

The six key questions used to evaluate the viability of a key asset and project scenario reflect Borrup’s recognition that cultural planning is internally oriented to unite a community, and externally oriented, to help a community navigate the future, attract newcomers, and develop economically. The questions, “Is the key asset and scenario rooted in important aspects of the community’s cultures and values?” and “does it build upon multiple local assets?” appear to be primarily concerned with social capital goals and ensuring that a project has a true connection to the community. The questions also reflect the idea that the community must be able to support and identify with the

⁷³ Borrup at 6; Robert D. Putnam, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community (New York: Touchstone, 2000) pp. 22-24.

⁷⁴ Borrup at 6-7; Richard Florida, The Rise of the Creative Class and How It’s Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life (New York: Basic Books 2002).

projects in order for the projects to be successful. This is especially reflected in the last two questions, “can it be initiated with existing local sources?” and “does it have appeal to draw the participation of other volunteers and leaders in the community?” Two of the six questions are also externally focused and might be read together: “does it address the future as well as the past?” and “will it be inclusive of the community’s diversity?” Addressing the “future” can be interpreted as a directive to consider the economic development opportunities that may arise from a project. It may also be interpreted as a directive to consider a community’s existing demographic diversity and the anticipated diversity of the population in a community’s future.

Borup’s recognition of cultural planning’s dual nature is also illustrated in his discussion of “core strategies.” He divides core strategies into two groups, “social capital” strategies and “economic development” strategies. He recommends that as the task force is evaluating the viability of a key asset and its associated cultural project scenario, one should ensure that at least one strategy from each group is used. His suggested strategies for social development are: 1) promoting interaction in public space, 2) increasing civic participation through cultural celebrations, 3) engaging youth, 4) promoting stewardship of place, 5) broadening participation in the civic agenda. Borup’s strategies for promoting economic development are: 1) creating jobs, 2) stimulating trade through cultural tourism, 3) attracting investment by creating

live/work zones for artists, 4) diversifying the local economy, 5) improving property and enhancing value).⁷⁵

Balancing the dual nature of cultural planning—using culture to unify a community and cope with change and difference, and using culture to develop economically, can be very difficult, and Borrup’s own work reflects this. Borrup quotes Jon Hawkes, and argues that one should focus on cultural projects and assets that are “authentic” and are connected to the community, rather than consciously strive to achieve distinctiveness to draw cultural consumers:

Perhaps *authenticity* is a better concept to apply in this context than *distinctiveness*. That is, it may be more productive to concentrate on ensuring that the cultural manifestations in a community have a direct relationship with the culture of that community than to obsess on what makes a particular community different from, or better than, any other.⁷⁶

However, Borrup also quotes from Nancy Duxbury, who argues the economic imperative behind utilizing local assets:

In today’s global environment, pressures for economic renewal drive innovation. Such renewal involves identifying a “*niche*” in the global new economy, based on *distinctive* local assets including location, geography, culture, skills and knowledge. Developing the niche requires a multi-faceted approach: retaining and attracting mobile citizens, investment, and jobs; improving the “quality of place” ... and building local identity and pride through “*branding*” or *place marketing*.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Borrup at 19, 190.

⁷⁶ Borrup at 167, quoting Jon Hawkes, [The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability: Culture’s Essential Role in Public Planning](#) (Victoria, Australia: UniversityPress.com, 2004), p. 15 (emphases added).

⁷⁷ Borrup at 183, quoting Nancy Duxbury, “Creative Cities: Principles and Practices” (Ottawa, Ontario: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2004), p. 3 (emphases added), http://www.cprn.org/documents/31347_fr.pdf accessed in January 2011.

In the first quote, Borrup appears to champion cultural planning as a social capital builder. In the second quote, he emphasizes cultural planning as an economic development tool.

Ultimately, he does argue that in considering cultural projects, one should not consciously focus on appealing to the market or external considerations, but rather, focus internally on the community and on projects that are truly connected to the community and that unify the community. He admonishes planners to take care that “while there may be a marketing tone” to creating an identity for a community,

DO NOT try to find an image or marketing phrase that you THINK will be attractive outside your community. First and foremost, this identity needs to be for and about your community, and it needs to be simple and straightforward. It may build upon an existing identity or it may take a new spin. What’s essential is that it has *authenticity* and meaning to the people in your alliance and in your community.⁷⁸

Borrup argues that those projects that are “authentic” to the community have a better chance of success. However, the term, “authenticity,” is complex and contested. It appears to be an objective term that can be used to grade projects, but as Zukin argues, the term is actually subjective and contested. We discuss this in more detail later in the paper when we review specific projects proposed in the Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory. For now what seems clear is that when Borrup uses the term “authenticity” he means connectedness to community. He states that one should not determine a strategy first (e.g., “create jobs, diversify the economy”) and an identity second, and should not narrowly focus on today’s needs or short-term conditions. Rather, one should focus on “the character and cultures of the community and its

⁷⁸ Borrup at 183, (all capital letters emphasis in original; italics emphasis added).

indigenous assets,” and “focus on what you’ve got rather than what you don’t have.” If a project is truly connected, that is, if it looks internally to the community and satisfies social capital goals of the community, then there is a better chance that the project will be “distinctive” and appealing to people outside of the community. Projects that are consciously planned to appeal to marketplace and those outside of the community are more likely to fail, for the reasons Zukin and the other scholars describe: they tend to duplicate projects that can be found elsewhere, they can create social and economic divisions within a community, and they do not edify people who may be looking for more than just sites for entertainment and consumption.

To help ensure that cultural project scenarios are sufficiently connected to the community, Borrup directs the community task force to decide what the “values” of the community are, and to continually refer to these values when brainstorming on cultural project scenarios. He also directs the task force to ask itself the six key questions as it considers cultural projects. Borrup’s emphasis on determining community values for use as standards in evaluating projects bears some similarity to a recent movement in historic preservation known as “values-centered” preservation planning.

2.3 Defining “Values-Centered” Historic Preservation Planning

A third strand of thought, within historic preservation planning, may also help suburbs and small cities overcome challenges to historic preservation and cultural planning. This new movement in historic preservation is called “values-centered” preservation planning, led Professor Randall Mason of the University of Pennsylvania.

Mason argues that historic preservation in the past has been primarily “curatorial” and “pragmatic/technical.” It has been inward-looking, professionalized, and primarily concerned with developing improved technical skills in physical conservation techniques and historical research to achieve truth and authenticity. Public consultation was minimal, and often limited to experts and quasi-experts: local historical societies and professional historians.

However, Mason argues that in the last twenty years, the field has changed and has become more “urbanistic” and “strategic/political.” It is becoming more outward-looking and interdisciplinary, and interested in achieving other social goals. One of Mason’s colleagues in the field, scholar and practitioner Ned Kaufman, states that preservation

is a social practice, part history and part planning. Its ultimate goal is not fixing or saving old things but rather creating places where people can live well and connect to meaningful narratives about history, culture, and identity.⁷⁹

The urbanistic school of thought seeks “to learn the interests of stakeholders ranging outside the realm of experts” and looks to “engage non-preservationists as partners.”⁸⁰

Mason argues that these two impulses, curatorial and urbanistic, though in tension with each other, can be merged by planners. He proposes “values-centered preservation planning,” based on the idea that a particular place or thing has a multiplicity of different values or characteristics that should be taken into account in the

⁷⁹ Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race and Story: Essays on the Past and the Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge 2009), p. 1.

⁸⁰ Randall Mason, “Theoretical and Practical Arguments for Values-Centered Preservation,” *CRM (Cultural Resources Management): The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*, Summer 2006. (Washington, DC: United States Department of Interior, National Park Service 2006), pp. 25, 28.

preservation planning process. Mason describes values-centered historic preservation planning as preservation that

acknowledges the multiple, valid meanings of a particular place. It acknowledges their multiplicity, their changeability, and the fact that values come from many different sources. By validating the idea that *heritage is valued in myriad different ways, by myriad different people and institutions with different world-views and epistemologies*, values-centered theory ineluctably leads practitioners to *inquire and consult widely* in performing research on places and in formulating plans for them.⁸¹

For an example of a place's multiplicity of values or characteristics, Mason discusses St. Paul's chapel in lower Manhattan, an Episcopal church constructed in 1766, which has 1) artistic/architectural value, 2) historic value (as one of the oldest buildings in New York), 3) spiritual value (it is still used today by Christian worshippers), and 4) economic value (it is located on valuable land in Manhattan and also attracts many visitors). He argues that all of these values should be taken into account when considering preservation strategies.⁸²

One example of Mason's work is a plan for the Fulton Street mall, a pedestrian oriented shopping district in Brooklyn, New York. The area has late nineteenth and early twentieth century historic architecture and a white, ethnic European immigrant history. The district now is a center for hip hop music, culture, fashion retailing and a social center for many African-American and Caribbean immigrant New Yorkers. Developers wanted to build high rise condominiums and more expensive retail space in the district, and historic preservationists wanted to focus on rehabilitating the old

⁸¹ Mason at 31 (emphasis added).

⁸² Mason at 22.

architecture. Neither group saw the district's current uses or its patrons as an asset, but rather, as something that detracted from redevelopment efforts.⁸³

Mason and others argued, after extensive public outreach and seeking input from the actual patrons of the shopping district, that the district's current use as a center for hip hop music, culture, retailing, and socializing should be retained. Mason argued that this did not detract from the district's history, but rather, reinforced it. He argued that preserving the district's use as a bustling, pedestrian retail area used by a diverse, immigrant community actually helped memorialize the district's turn of the century history when it was a "cacophony" of vibrant, street level activity that included vaudeville theaters, dime museums full of "scientific marvels and oddities," nickelodeons, gaming rooms, beer halls and bowling alleys.⁸⁴ Just as those prior uses reflected the white, working class European immigrants of that time, the contemporary uses of Fulton Street reflect the diverse communities in Brooklyn today. In short, preserving current uses can be a form of historic preservation as much as preserving physical architecture.

2.4 Defining Storyscape Surveying

Kaufman extends Mason's argument that community input is vital to preservation planning, by arguing that people's memories and stories about place are an important part of historic preservation planning. Indeed, in Mason's Fulton Street

⁸³ "Fulton Street Mall: New Strategies for Preservation and Planning," March 2006, prepared by Vicki Weiner, Pratt Center for Community Development, and Randall Mason, Minerva Partners, Inc., pp. 1, 8, http://prattcenter.net/sites/default/files/users/pdf/PrattCenter-FultonMall_FullReport_3-15-06.pdf accessed in October-November 2009.

⁸⁴ Weiner and Mason at 12.

work, the Pratt Center for Community Development (with which Kaufman is affiliated) found in its surveying that one of the reasons people continued to shop and socialize at Fulton Street was because they had “*fond memories of doing so in their youth.*”⁸⁵ Kaufman advocates the practice of “storyscape surveying” in historic preservation projects.

Kaufman begins by stating that “sense of place” is more than just physical sensory perception. It also includes a person’s memory of that particular place from experiences in the past. Kaufman observes that people “have little control over how places look and the feelings places give us” because this is usually controlled by the marketplace and parties in positions of power. At the same time, people strive “to preserve a kind of stasis,” a stability in their lives, not only in terms of physical repair and maintenance on physical structures, but in their memories and stories they tell that relate to physical structures and locations. In short, “people’s understanding of place is more than a sensory thing,” and in fact includes a “narrative dimension encompassing legend, memory, gossip, tradition, and habit.”⁸⁶

Kaufman introduces the concept of “story sites,” places that act to “trigger” people’s memories and the telling of their stories and recollections that are connected to those places. Sites can represent the memories of a single individual, for instance, a

⁸⁵ [Downtown Brooklyn’s Detour: The Unanticipated Impacts of Rezoning and Development on Residents and Businesses](http://prattcenter.net/report/downtown-brooklyns-detour-unanticipated-impacts-rezoning-and-development-residents-and-busine), prepared by the Pratt Center for Community Development for FUREE (Families United for Racial and Economic Equality), July 2008, p. 19.
<http://prattcenter.net/report/downtown-brooklyns-detour-unanticipated-impacts-rezoning-and-development-residents-and-busine> , accessed in October-November 2009.

⁸⁶ Kaufman at 51.

favorite bar or restaurant. However, when a site represents the memories of many individuals, such sites have social value and help create “social capital”—connections among individuals—that help foster a feeling of community and unity among people. Kaufman provides the example of Twin’s Pizza in Brooklyn, a restaurant that is architecturally insignificant and has undergone design changes over time, but is the former site of the Wigwam, a bar and social center for New Yorkers of Mohawk Indian ancestry who lived in Brooklyn. “Outsiders may completely miss” these types of places “because they do not stand out to the eye” but “it is their *stories* that make them important.” Such places are not limited to the built environment: “a spot on a river bank may hardly look different from any number of spots, yet it is here, rather than there, that people swim, fish, or enjoy picnics.”⁸⁷

In short, Kaufman argues that story sites act as “mnemonic devices” that prompt people to tell history, and story sites can exist even where there is no architecture or where the site is hidden beneath contemporary development (for instance, an eighteenth century African slave burial ground in Manhattan). Story sites can prompt the telling of history even where the architecture is not original (for instance, a reproduction of a colonial house) or is not stylistically significant or has been substantially altered (e.g., the Twin Pizza restaurant, formerly the Wigwam bar). The history can be seemingly narrow and geographically local, but Kaufman argues that virtually every local event can relate “to a bigger historical narrative.” Story sites also work where a place’s use has changed over time. He cites the example of a public library in Queens, New York,

⁸⁷ Kaufman at 42 (emphasis added).

which was once a Woolworth's store where demonstrations took place against racist hiring practices. In this case, a local neighborhood store front, converted to a library, connects the neighborhood to national civil rights history, even though the use and appearance of the place has changed. The connection remains through the stories and memories as told by people.⁸⁸

Kaufman's story site concept is supported by scholars in architecture and design. The work of architecture and urbanism scholar, Dolores Hayden, acknowledges that physical architecture is a powerful repository for collective memory, but she states that even where this architecture is destroyed, "places can be marked to restore some shared public meaning." She states that "[u]rban landscapes are storehouses" for "social memories," and this includes "natural features such as hills," as well as streets and patterns of settlement. These features often survive only as "fragile traces" and "may be too vulnerable to survive economically and physically."⁸⁹ Hayden acknowledges that architects have performed well in preserving buildings and educating the public with regard to building styles and physical details, but she argues that they "often lack the tools" to preserve "places lacking architectural distinction" and they do not adequately preserve the pasts of women, ethnic and racial minorities, and the disadvantaged, whose pasts have not been memorialized by physical structures in the

⁸⁸ Kaufman at pp. 42, 50, 56.

⁸⁹ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press 1999), p. 9, 99-100. Young at 61 (quoting Hayden's phrase, "fragile traces" and referring to the multiple layers of memory on a landscape as an expression of "urban hybridity.").

landscape.⁹⁰ Hayden advocates the use of techniques such as marking the landscape and developing interpretative signage, plaques and displays to memorialize the marginalized histories of minorities, women, and the working class. Such preservation techniques can powerfully “enhance social meaning in public places” and have the incidental advantage of requiring only “modest expenditure.” Just as these techniques work for the marginalized urban heritage of many people, they may also work for suburbs and small towns whose places lack the physical architectural distinction that typically attract the funding and the attention of elite professional architects, historians, and governments.

Kaufman also argues that story sites speak to the contemporary needs of the community, and help communities cope with twenty-first century challenges. He argues that economic globalization (including free trade, the mobility of capital, multinational corporations and franchising) and information technology and telecommunications cause placelessness.⁹¹ That is, they keep people from experiencing the physical world and feeling connected to a particular place. The global reach of communication is empowering, but it can also reduce the sense of community in the locale in which the person is situated. So, for instance, a person can download a movie from the internet at home, order pizza delivered to their door by a national chain restaurant that has the same ingredients and taste as a pizza from that same chain restaurant located in any other city. Much of the profits from the movie rental and the

⁹⁰ Dolores Hayden, “In Search of the American Cultural Landscape,” in Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America, ed. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press 2000), pp. vii-ix.

⁹¹ Kaufman at p. 50.

pizza purchase go to a global corporation located far from that person's home, which makes franchising and location decisions based on profit maximization, with no duty of loyalty to the local community. Mercer makes the same point when discovering that most of the money spent on "culture, entertainment, and recreation" in Australia was spent inside the home. He criticizes overreliance on "privatized and domestic forms of cultural consumption" and urges cultural planners of communities to be "exporters" rather than "importers" of cultural expression and production. He asks, "wouldn't you rather see that money going more directly into the local economy rather than to international entertainment and media companies?"⁹²

While it is true that wireless technologies allow people to access information from not only the home but also school, work, restaurants, bars and coffee shops, these technologies still may enable largely solitary and not social activity, and still can cause placelessness. A person can exchange messages electronically via social networking or telephone with a person hundreds or thousands of miles away, and does not have to communicate with others inside the same coffee shop or stadium. Unless electronic social networking is used to create actual meetings or events that people attend, the person is not fully engaged in the experience of the physical place. With all of this global communication capability, such a person may never visit or even know who his or her own neighbors are. People are more likely to view locales as interchangeable, may tend to invest less time and resources in a locale, and may be more apt to leave a locale on short notice. From a market perspective, this may be good, because it

⁹² Mercer at 9-10.

facilitates the free flow of labor and resources to follow global capital wherever it travels. However, from the perspective of cities, towns—*people*—who have financially and emotionally invested in a place, who have roots and ancestors buried deep in a place, and who have decided to fix themselves to a place, the effect can be devastating.

Globalization is causing people to believe again in building civic culture and “being firmly rooted in a particular place,” Kaufman argues. Cultural planners and others are prescribing “place attachment” and “local distinctiveness to foster citizenship and community in the twenty-first century. Kaufman cites an organization stating that local distinctiveness is

essentially about places and our relationship to them. It is as much about the *commonplace* as about the rare, about the *everyday* as much as the endangered, and about the *ordinary* as much as the spectacular.⁹³

It can be the “commonplace,” the “everyday,” and the “ordinary” sites in a small town or city that may have deep historical or cultural meaning to local residents, and that may provide a locale with a basis for creating local distinctiveness. The stories that are attached to these sites give them their local distinctiveness.

Given that it is people’s stories, and not necessarily the physical architecture, that give certain local places meaning, extensive community participation is crucial. Kaufman advocates conducting “storyscape surveys” as part of historic preservation. By “storyscape” he means the collection of story sites of an area. “Story sites” include “historical sites, cultural sites, and sites of social value.”⁹⁴ Kaufman describes a storyscape survey as discovering stories and demonstrating their connection to specific

⁹³ Kaufman at 50-51 (emphasis added).

⁹⁴ Kaufman at 38.

places. Storyscape surveys are often of two types: place-centered and theme-centered. He contrasts storyscape surveys from architectural surveys in the following way. In architectural surveys, one searches for visually distinctive buildings or groups of buildings by eye, then one researches printed sources regarding the architect, the style, and date of construction and materials. By contrast, in storyscape surveys, one prizes out the stories from talking and listening to people and researching printed sources, and then “visual documentation follows, rather than precedes the research.” This process requires “extensive community participation, because where living traditions are concerned, community members are critically important sources of information on stories and sites: indeed their views may be definitive.”⁹⁵

2.5 Situating Cultural Mapping, Asset-Based Community-Building, Values-Centered Historic Preservation, and Storyscape Surveying

Three conclusions stand out from this review of the academic literature in cultural planning and historic preservation planning: first, asset-based community-building, values-centered preservation planning, and storyscape surveying are very similar to, or variants of, cultural mapping in that all of these frameworks emphasize community input and engagement and wide public participation and consultation in the planning process in the areas of culture and history, which are often thought to be strictly within the domain of elites, experts and professionals. Secondly, all of these frameworks argue that successful cultural projects require a connection to the community. Looking internally to establish connections to the community help ensure

⁹⁵ Kaufman at 53-54.

that the cultural project is distinct from other communities' projects. Third, these frameworks recognize the value of contemporary culture.

Borrop's asset-based community-building, Mason's values-centered preservation, and Kaufman's storyscape method all advocate wide community consultation and public input in historic preservation and cultural projects that take into account the interests of contemporary community members, not just the interests of professionals and preservationists, and they can help answer the criticisms of historic preservation and cultural planning. Historic preservation can be a lively, forward thinking discipline that is part of a larger cultural planning program that is meaningful to the contemporary community, that does not privilege the past over the contemporary, and that recognizes minority cultures. However, as Zukin's critique makes clear, the "authenticity" of cultural projects, their connection to community, is a complicated, contested, and non-objective standard. There will always be questions and contestation as to whose culture, and whose history, is being represented and funded.

CHAPTER 3

A CASE STUDY IN CULTURAL AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLANNING IN A SMALL CITY: KENNEDALE, TEXAS

We now look at a specific cultural and historic preservation planning project, a cultural asset inventory for the City of Kennedale, Texas. This part of the thesis reviews this cultural asset inventory to show how it can provide the foundation for a quality program in cultural and historic preservation planning, through proposed projects that have a meaningful connection to the community, and that balance the “internal” social goal of unifying community with the “external” goal of economic development for the community’s future.

3.1 Methodology

The City of Kennedale, Texas wanted to create a cultural asset inventory of the community, describing its historic and cultural resources, as a first step in creating a cultural planning program to help unify the community and foster the city’s economic redevelopment. Kennedale chief city planner, Rachel Roberts, contacted Dr. Carl Grodach of the University of Texas at Arlington (UTA), School of Urban and Public Affairs (SUPA), in late Spring 2010 and invited the participation of UTA SUPA graduate students. In response, a working group formed, consisting of two graduate students (including myself) from the University of Texas at Arlington, School of Urban

and Public Affairs, the chief planner of the City of Kennedale, and a geographic information systems consultant, during the Summer and Autumn of 2010. This working group met during the Summer of 2010 to research the community and plan and execute a community engagement process for the creation of the cultural asset inventory. The Kennedale chief planner requested that our methodology be based on community development practitioner Tom Borrup's book, *The Creative Community Builder's Handbook: How to Transform Communities Using Local Assets, Art, and Culture* (Saint Paul, Minn.: Fieldstone Alliance, 2006).

The method used by the Kennedale working group and the invited community focus group tracked very closely to Borrup's approach. The Kennedale methodology is described in the cultural asset inventory itself,⁹⁶ and it consisted of:

1. Forming the working group (in our case, two graduate students, the chief city planner, and the GIS consultant) and conducting a self-assessment of the group's abilities and compatibility with the project;
2. Researching the community's history and cultural attributes through documentary and internet on-line sources as well as discussions with some long-time community members familiar with the area's local history, and drafting a preliminary cultural asset inventory worksheet, concept paper, and cultural asset map to provide a starting point for community engagement and input;
3. Obtaining community engagement and input through a series of community focus group workshops, and facilitating the community's drafting of a final cultural asset inventory and map, which would include scenarios and recommendations for future cultural and historic preservation projects in the community.

In these community focus group workshops, community members:

⁹⁶ Greg Collins, Corinne Shaw, Sherrie Hubble, Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory Focus Group, and Rachel Roberts, "Cultural Asset Inventory of the City of Kennedale, Texas," December 2010, pp. 7-10.

- a. identified the “values” of the community using the nominal group and snowcard methods;
 - b. reviewed the working group’s Community Asset Inventory and received an inventory of their own to take home, discuss with family, friends and colleagues, and fill out;
 - c. reviewed drafts of a cultural asset map;
 - d. narrowed the list of assets to “key assets,” using the nominal group and snowcard methods;
 - e. brainstormed and created scenarios for possible future cultural development projects, considering the “values” of the community, utilizing the “key assets,” while referencing and keeping in mind the key questions suggested by Borrup to help ensure the proposals’ chances of success.⁹⁷
4. Based on the community focus group’s input, the working group drafted a cultural asset inventory report, map, and recommendations for future cultural and historic preservation projects in the community, and presented this to the community focus group for review and editing. The working group then presented this to the Kennedale City Council in December 2010.
 5. As requested by the city’s planner, the focus group’s work was limited in scope to the cultural asset inventory process, as a first step in the development of a cultural planning and historic preservation program.

The Kennedale working group’s methodology differed from Borrup’s method in several ways. First, the working group was assigned to develop a cultural asset inventory only, as a necessary first step in developing a cultural planning program. Borrup’s method goes on to discuss the development of a plan to implement the cultural asset project scenarios articulated in the inventory, but in Kennedale’s case this would

⁹⁷ Borrup’s key questions when assessing proposed scenarios utilizing key assets are: (1) is the project rooted in the community’s values and culture? (2) is it inclusive of the community’s diversity? (3) does it build upon multiple local assets? (4) does it address the future as well as the past? (5) Can it be initiated with existing local resources? (6) Does it have appeal to draw the participation of other volunteers and leaders? Borrup at 188.

occur later, possibly with the involvement of a consultant working on the city's comprehensive plan update. The working group referred to the community group as a "focus group" rather than a "task force" to reflect the scope of its mission: to provide community members' viewpoints on what the cultural assets of the community are, and to articulate possible project scenarios using those assets. Secondly, some tasks had to be combined because of constraints on time and resources. Borrup suggests a timeframe of ten to twelve months and ten to twelve meetings with community group members, but the Kennedale working group had to complete this project in about three months, with four meetings. Borrup recommends inviting a local historian to speak to the community group, or having the community group form a research group to research the community's history and make a presentation to the community group. Instead, our working group conducted the research prior to the formation of the community group, and obtained the input of a long-time resident of the community and included her information in the drafting of the working group's Worksheet 2. The Worksheet 2 was written in an expanded narrative form, and was presented to the community group at the first meeting. Also, the long-time resident attended the first community focus group meeting and shared some of her personal historical research and archives with the community focus group.

Third, while Borrup advocates the establishment of a single key asset and establishing a single identity for the community, the working group decided not to adopt this approach, and instead, developed the cultural asset inventory with several key assets and several project scenarios utilizing those key assets. One reason for this was

the working group's belief that establishing a single identity for the community was difficult to reconcile with much of the discussion in the scholarly literature, particularly Mason's values-centered approach, in which places are acknowledged to be complex and have many layers of values and meanings to different people. Zukin warns against "branding" because, in simplifying a community's identity, the community risks having an "overbearing sameness" to other cities that are pursuing a similar strategy.⁹⁸ Also, the working group, with the community group's agreement, saw the project as an opportunity to develop the cultural asset inventory as a "database of the community's assets," to which "additions and changes ... may be made as the community learns new information from documentary sources, artifacts, interviews, and continues to receive community input."⁹⁹ The working group wanted the cultural asset inventory to be a flexible document from which future planners and community groups could work, rather than a rigid prescription. Finally, regardless of one's views on branding, prior to the establishment of the cultural asset inventory working group, the city had already established a "branding" committee that was assigned to work on creating a new logo and slogan to represent the community, and the working group agreed that any future work on the articulation of an identity of the community would need to utilize the work of that committee in addition to the cultural asset inventory process.

The Kennedale public engagement process was somewhat limited and constrained in the extent of the diversity of people consulted. The working group

⁹⁸ Zukin at xi-xiii; 230-232.

⁹⁹ Greg Collins, Corinne Shaw, Sherrie Hubble, Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory Focus Group, Rachel Roberts, "Cultural Asset Inventory of the City of Kennedale, Texas, December 2010," p. 14.

worked under time constraints, and relied on the experience of city planning staff in recruiting community members. Many of the participants were chosen based on their past participation in civic activities. The Kennedale community task force consisted of 14 people total. The group was diverse in terms of age, but not as diverse in terms of ethnicity or socio-economic status. The task force included one community member of south Asian ancestry and one community member of Mexican heritage. The group did not have any participants of African-American ethnicity. There is no information on the socio-economic status of the participants, but with regard to occupation, three of the members owned or operated small businesses, two were educators, three were retired, one was a real estate developer, one worked in marketing and design, three were high school students, and one member's occupation was unknown. To ensure that the full diversity of the community is consulted in the future, the public consultation process should be conducted on a continuing basis, and additional community focus groups should be formed. Additionally, other means of obtaining public input should be planned, including conducting surveys of the community, especially from underrepresented segments of the community, and providing community members with opportunities to provide feedback on the inventory and map by posting the inventory and map in public places in hard copy form, and on a public internet web site.

3.1.1 Identifying Community Values Using the Nominal Group Method and Snowcard Technique

Using the nominal group method, the snowcard technique, and discussion, the community focus group articulated what it believed the values of the community to be. In the nominal group method, group members were asked to list on their own sheets of paper what characteristics they believed people “value” about their community. Group members then took turns reading from their lists. These values were written on large tablets for display to the group as they were articulated. The process was repeated until all responses listed on group members’ sheets were recorded on the large tablets. The technique is helpful in encouraging people who are less assertive to participate, and also prevents domination by any member of the group.¹⁰⁰ Focus group members were then free to discuss the listed items.

Group members then voted on those values they believed best described the community, using a method known as the “snow card”¹⁰¹ technique, in which group members applied various colored stickers representing different point values to those values they believed best exemplified the community. From that process, facilitators compiled a list of the top community values that received the most points. Later in the process, the focus group consulted these values when brainstorming on cultural projects and strategies.

This was done during the first community meeting and again at the second meeting as new participants attended the second meeting. These values are listed at

¹⁰⁰ Philip R. Berke, et al., *Urban Land Use Planning*, Fifth Edition (Urbana and Chicago, Ill.: University of Illinois Press 2006) p. 278.

¹⁰¹ Berke at 278.

Appendix A. Point totals of all of the expressed values from both meeting dates were added together and ranked, from highest to lowest. Many of the values described closely related concepts, and so these values were consolidated into single categories for purposes of discussion in this paper. The consolidated list of community values are listed at Appendix B. One set of values that ranked highly related to the community's "openness to new ideas for development" and growth to "enrich" the community. One participant articulated that the community valued "future possibilities."

A second set of values that ranked highly was "education." Participants believed that the community highly valued education, and in particular, the small size of the school system, the belief that the education provided was "traditional" and that the school system was "community-oriented."

Another set of values of the community that ranked highly related to two distinct but related concepts: the community's location and accessibility to the larger metropolitan area, while at the same time, being a "small, rural community," having a "small town feel," and providing a "quiet life." Similarly, one participant remarked that the community valued having a "different feel" and "*not* [being] the *usual suburb*," while another described the community as "peaceful" amidst a fast-paced metropolitan environment. "Balancing growth with quality of life" was another articulation of these concepts.

Other values articulated by the community focus group that participants believed also described the community, though to a somewhat lesser degree (in terms of votes and ranking) fell into several categories, including good governance, that is, that the city

government was accessible and interacted well with citizens, that the community was diverse in terms of income and housing, was family-oriented, and that there was a sense of individualism, respect for property rights and “strong feelings about homestead.” One participant similarly stated that the community valued the “pride of home ownership” and the belief that home ownership was widely distributed. Finally, “history” was something valued by the community. One participant stated that “people value their ties” and “roots to the city.” All of these values were referred to by the focus group later in the process, when the group brainstormed on cultural development scenarios that utilizing the key assets identified by the group.

3.2 The Community’s Key Cultural Assets and Project Scenarios

The focus group identified the key assets of the community by having each focus group member fill out a Worksheet 2, and then, through group discussion and the nominal group and snowcard methods, the group voted on those assets the group thought were key assets of the community and most important in terms of providing a basis for future cultural development projects in the community. A list of all of the assets articulated by the focus group, with the key assets appearing at the top, are found in the “Cultural Asset Inventory” table at Appendix C.

The key assets of the community as decided by the focus group are as follows:

- (1) Kennedale’s local history, especially its history of having a railroad running through the city, and the community’s brickyards and brick manufacturing history;
- (2) The changing, improving reputation of the city;
- (3) Beautiful open spaces, creeks, wildlife, and parks;

- (4) Kennedale's neighboring communities, and the ability to work with them to build a network of cultural assets;
- (5) The Kennedale Arts and Culture Board;
- (6) The Performing Arts Center at Kennedale High School;
- (7) High quality, safe schools located in neighborhoods and not on high traffic thoroughfares, and the history of Kennedale's schools, including how their locations and architecture have changed over time;
- (8) The sites of old mineral water wells that helped initiate the town's founding in the late nineteenth century.

The focus group then engaged in a group discussion and articulated cultural development scenarios that utilize these key assets, keeping in mind the values of the community and Borrup's key questions. The community focus group articulated the following cultural planning project scenarios:

- (1) Create a linear park in connection with creeks, existing parks, neighboring parks/resources;
- (2) Update city parks and use them as venues for community events such as outdoor movies and concerts;
- (3) Develop a Kennedale Historical Society and museum, utilizing an existing building on Kennedale Parkway;
- (4) Create oral history programs in which people can digitally record family history or stories and memories of life in Kennedale, and provide the recordings to the library or a historical society;
- (5) Mark historical sites, e.g., the brickyards and the mineral wells. Make an operating mineral well;
- (6) Use bricks in design standards;
- (7) Use the Performing Arts Center as a workshop, music facility; strengthen relationship with Kennedale Independent School District;

- (8) Create a book of flora and fauna of Kennedale;
- (9) Create a community arts newsletter/website; increase communication within the community on the arts;
- (10) Establish a facility for Boys and Girls Club meetings and activities.

As the cultural asset inventory report states,

these assets and scenarios provide a starting point for the community to plan for future projects that make use of the community's assets. The objective of these projects would be to build community by strengthening community members' ties to the community, unify Kennedale around an identity that is unique to the community, and also provide economic development opportunities for people.¹⁰²

This paper next provides a brief background on Kennedale, based on the background provided in the Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory as researched and presented by the working group, and reviewed and approved by the community focus group. The research sources included a locally published book on Kennedale's history, an unpublished research paper, internet web sites of the city, school district, local companies, and organizations, information from the North Central Texas Council of Governments, and staff communications with some community members.¹⁰³ Next, the paper discusses some of the specific scenarios in the cultural asset inventory and assesses how they can provide the basis for a quality cultural planning and historic preservation program for the community based on their connection to the community.

¹⁰² Greg Collins, Corinne Shaw, Sherrie Hubble, Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory Focus Group, Rachel Roberts, "Cultural Asset Inventory of the City of Kennedale, Texas, December 2010," p. 5.

¹⁰³ Rhonda Barnes, et al. (Heritage Committee of the City of Kennedale). City of Kennedale 1882-1976 (Kennedale, Tex.: Self published by the Heritage Committee of the City of Kennedale 1976); "Kennedale, Texas: The Early Years—A City of Kennedale Project," by Coy Gray (June 10, 2008); <http://www.cityofkennedale.com/> ; <http://www.kennedale.net/site/default.aspx?PageID=1> ; <http://www.nctcog.org/ris/census/index.asp> .

3.3 Background on Kennedale

Kennedale is a small, suburban city of 6,211 people as of the 2000 Census, and it is estimated to have a population of 6,550 in 2010. The city is situated between Fort Worth on the west and northwest, and Arlington on the north and east. The city is predominantly white (88.9 percent of the population) (2000 Census), with 4 percent African-Americans, 3.6 percent listed as “two or more races,” 3.3 percent listed as “some other race,” and 0.2 percent Native American. Separate from race, people who identify themselves as Hispanics/Latinos comprise 9.3% of the population. Like other cities, Kennedale’s non-white population is growing. Most of the city’s population is between the ages of 18 and 65. The most common age groups in Kennedale are young adults (25 to 34 years old, and 35 to 44 years old) and middle aged adults (45 to 54 years old). According to staff, the city is researching ways to attract quality senior housing opportunities so that residents may continue to live in Kennedale as they age. Staff states that Kennedale aspires to become a place that is welcoming and accommodating to people throughout their lives.

The community was originally founded in the late 1800s by several landowners who dug wells, found mineral water, and envisioned the development of a health resort around these wells.¹⁰⁴ However, a health resort was never developed¹⁰⁵, and the founders focused on developing the community by attracting a railroad through the

¹⁰⁴ Barnes, Rhonda, et al. (Heritage Committee of the City of Kennedale). City of Kennedale 1882-1976 (Kennedale, Tex.: Self published by the Heritage Committee of the City of Kennedale 1976), quoting Fort Worth Star-Telegram article, “Kennedale Calm Over Village Status Election Fails to Jar Easy, Rural Life,” July 11, 1947.

¹⁰⁵ Although a resort never developed, a doctor acquired the property on which the mineral wells were located and developed a product based on the water’s perceived medicinal qualities.

area. They donated every other lot, in a “checkerboard” pattern along a corridor of land, to a railroad company as an inducement for that company to route its track through the area, which in the nineteenth century was a common technique used by the federal government as well as state and local governments to subsidize railroad development. The railroad and the mineral wells provided a focal point for the development of a central business district, which included a train depot, hotel, general merchandise store, drug store, bank, post office, lumber company, cotton gin, brickyards, and blacksmith. Unfortunately, a fire in 1908 destroyed the central business district.

Although a central business district was never rebuilt after the 1908 fire, businesses did re-develop and commercial activity moved away from the center of the city, to a highway corridor as automobile usage grew in the early decades of the twentieth century. This corridor is now known as Kennedale Parkway. By 1950 the population had increased to 500, and a petition to the State was approved changing the status of Kennedale from “Town” to “City.”

Over the past 100 years, Kennedale’s economy has changed from being primarily agricultural and industrial (because of its brick production) to suburban, with the city today functioning largely as a community for commuters. This is primarily because of the construction of additional major roads and highways that provide easy access to Fort Worth, Arlington, and Dallas. As growth occurred in the region, the land along major transportation corridors near Kennedale was annexed by Fort Worth, Arlington, and Mansfield. Most Kennedale residents work outside of the city. The city does have some industrial firms, but most of the employees of these firms live outside

of Kennedale. However, the city's commercial profile still conveys its history of being a small community, somewhat remote from surrounding cities as recently as the 1960s.

In the 1960s, businesses that could not locate elsewhere in the southeastern portion of Tarrant County—namely, salvage yards and sexually oriented businesses, began locating in Kennedale or immediately adjacent to the city. Also, auto repair shops located there, as well as two race car tracks (an oval dirt track and one 1/8 mile drag strip). (A third race car track developed more recently). The race tracks attract drivers and fans from around the Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan area and region. According to the city's strategic plan, some residents have concerns about noise from these tracks, and would like to see these areas redeveloped for different uses. It is uncertain whether during the strategic planning process any input was received from race track operators, drivers, and fans, or whether any assessment has determined whether the race tracks could be considered a positive asset to the community. The city has approached the race track owners about the possibility of creating an entertainment district based around the tracks, but staff indicates that the owners did not want to pursue the opportunity at that time. A question remains, therefore, of how the race tracks fit the community's vision for the city.

Because of these developments, the city perceives some of its significant challenges to be aesthetics and beautification, and a need for increased and more diverse commercial activity. Although farms have begun to disappear, and the city is becoming more suburban in nature, parts of the city still have a rural or small-town appearance. Staff states that the city's comprehensive plan reflects a community preference for

retaining some of the city's small-town or rural atmosphere. Kennedale's main thoroughfare and entryway into the city from both the northwest and the southeast is still the Kennedale Parkway (U.S. Highway 287 Business Route). There are several linear, motor-vehicle oriented, commercial strip developments along this road. The road is anchored on both the northwest and southeast by the automobile salvage yards, which many people view as unsightly and providing a poor impression of the city to outsiders. The community is interested in attracting new business to the city by way of development of an industrial park and the "TownCenter" to increase the tax base and reduce tax pressures on residents.

Schools have long played an important role in the community, and their importance has continued as the city has grown. The schools of the Kennedale Independent School District are highly regarded by residents and non-residents alike. As the larger City of Arlington grew south and west, newer subdivisions were built that are actually within the Kennedale school district's boundaries such that many children growing up in newer, south Arlington subdivisions are attending Kennedale public schools rather than Arlington public schools. Some Kennedale residents believe that Kennedale's smaller size, more rural appearance, and lower crime rate possibly contribute to a positive perception by many parents in Arlington that Kennedale schools are better and safer than Arlington schools.

In addition to being a potential magnet for non-residents, Kennedale's schools also perform a community function through residents' financial support of and personal involvement in athletics and other extra-curricular activities. Examples include the

financing of the Performing Arts Center, large attendance at Kennedale sporting events (especially high school football), and the Youth Advisory Council, an official committee of the Kennedale City Council consisting of Kennedale student representatives.

Although much of Kennedale's history is not documented, it is of great interest to a number of residents. Kennedale still has many residents descending from original or early settlers of the community. They act as custodians of Kennedale's heritage and view this heritage as an important resource.

3.4 Specific Cultural Planning Project Scenarios

I now evaluate some of the cultural development project scenarios articulated by the community focus group in the Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory and determine whether they can accomplish both the "internal" goal of unifying the community (culture as "social glue") and the "external" goal of economic development. I do this by reviewing how these scenarios have meaning to people and are sufficiently connected to the people of the community, in light of the values of the community as expressed by the focus group, and in light of the six key evaluation questions posed by Borrup.¹⁰⁶ I then discuss how we should be mindful that this community connection, or "authenticity" as Borrup describes it,¹⁰⁷ is not an objective term, but is a social and cultural construct, created by the society and the culture in place at a particular time

¹⁰⁶ Borrup asks task force participants to ask these key questions when assessing proposed scenarios: 1) Is the scenario rooted in the community's values and culture? 2) Is it inclusive of the community's diversity? 3) Does it build upon multiple local assets (business, institutions, associations, individuals, reputation, natural amenities) 4) Does it address the future as well as the past? 5) Can it be initiated with existing local resources (not external expertise or capital) 6) Is it appealing and will it draw volunteers and leaders? Borrup at 188.

¹⁰⁷ Borrup at 167, 183.

over a particular space, such that notions of what is considered “authentic” for a community are often contested among groups within the community, and can change over time.

3.4.1 Scenario: Marking an Historic Brickyard Site, Incorporating Brick Construction in the City's Urban Design Standards, and Marking Old Mineral Well Sites

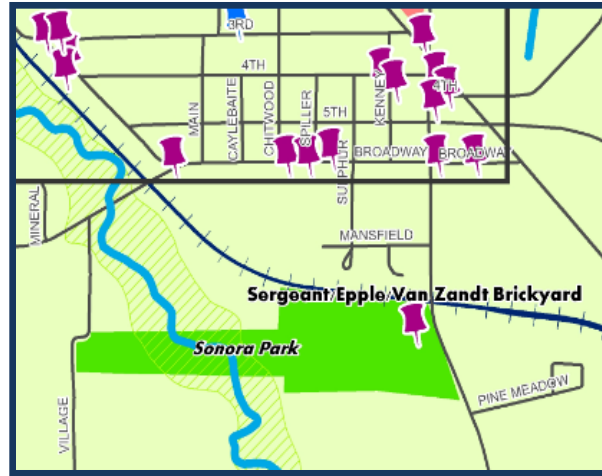


Figure 3.1 Map of Sonora Park and old downtown Kennedale by Sherrie Hubble, Urban Planning Consultant and GIS Specialist, December 2010.

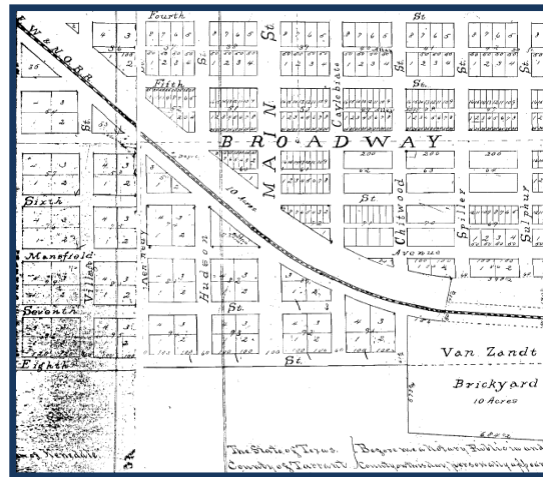


Figure 3.2 Excerpt from City of Kennedale 1882-1976 by Rhonda Barnes, Kennedale Heritage Committee Chairperson, et al. (Kennedale, Tex.: Self published by the Heritage Committee of the City of Kennedale 1976).



Figure 3.3 Sonora Park (site of a former brickyard), looking southwest from the intersection of New Hope Road and the railroad tracks, Kennedale, Texas. (Photo by Greg Collins, December 2010).

The focus group proposes the marking of a brickyard site that operated in Kennedale in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Related to this, the group also proposes using actual historic brick recovered from the site, as well as learning the ingredients in the recovered historic brick in order to re-manufacture the historic brick using the local sand and other materials, to create a sort of *terroir*¹⁰⁸ cultural product specific to Kennedale, for use in memorials and public projects. The group proposes the creation of urban design standards to provide incentives for the use of brick in private developments. The focus group also proposes the marking of old mineral well sites that originally fed the nineteenth century developers' vision of founding the community with a health resort.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Zukin at 4, 236.

¹⁰⁹ "Cultural Asset Inventory of the City of Kennedale, Texas, December 2010," pp. 25-26; Barnes at 10.

These scenarios demonstrate a very clear connection to the community and its history, distinct from other communities. Kennedale is believed to have had at least two brickyards operating during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one of which was located approximately where the city's Sonora Park is now located. Based on research and interviews with some long time Kennedale residents, it is believed that this brickyard was owned by different people at various times during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including owners named Epple, Van Zandt, and also Lucy Sergeant.¹¹⁰ John D. Hudson is also believed to have owned another brickyard in the area.¹¹¹ The fact that a brickyard in this community was owned by a woman, Lucy Sergeant, in the early 1900s is particularly interesting given that woman-owned businesses were not as common in the United States at that time. The brickyard provided employment to a substantial number of men in the community and surrounding area.¹¹² Its location on the railroad, as shown on an old plat map depicted

¹¹⁰ "Cultural Asset Inventory of the City of Kennedale, Texas, December 2010," p. 12. Lucy Sergeant's name is spelled differently in different secondary historical sources. In the book, City of Kennedale 1882-1976 by Rhonda Barnes, et al. (Kennedale, Tex.: Self published by the Heritage Committee of the City of Kennedale 1976) (available at the Kennedale Public Library), the name is spelled "Sargeant." In an unpublished research paper, "Kennedale, Texas: The Early Years—A City of Kennedale Project," by Coy Gray (June 10, 2008), the name is spelled "Sergeant."

¹¹¹ Research is still pending on where Hudson's brickyard was located. It was initially thought that Hudson possibly owned the same brickyard as the Epple/Van Zandt/Sergeant brickyard. (See Gray at 2). However, recently new research suggests that Hudson's brickyard was a separate site located elsewhere in the community. This is based on an old newspaper article recently discovered by long time resident, Martha Elrod in 2010. The newspaper article reported that "...[t]he brickyards will soon start up again. Sargeant & Epple are preparing [illegible] to make more brick this year than ever before. They already have [illegible] nearly 1000 cords of wood. Mr. J. D. Hudson is contemplating putting in machinery on his yard, which will greatly add to his present facility [illegible] for making brick." Fort Worth Daily Gazette, Vol. 18 No. 77, Ed. 1, Feb. 8, 1894.

¹¹² Coy Gray, "Kennedale, Texas: The Early Years, A City of Kennedale Project," (June 10, 2008), p. 2-3.

in the inside cover of one the local histories of Kennedale,¹¹³ indicates that the brickyard manufactured brick for export to other cities, and was not just for local use. An old Fort Worth newspaper article in 1887 confirms this as it extols the quality of Kennedale brick and states that several buildings in Fort Worth were constructed from it.¹¹⁴

The proposed historic brickyard site and urban design standards and mineral well sites satisfy Borrup's criteria as a project scenario. As the prior discussion demonstrates, the project is firmly rooted in the community's values and culture (Borrup's question 1), particularly its history. The project is firmly rooted in the community values identified by the focus group, namely, the community's "history" and people's "ties" and "roots" to the city. The project can be inclusive of diversity (Borrup's question 2) by commemorating the site's status as a woman-owned business at the turn of the century, and also by commemorating the site's labor history as a source of livelihood for the men who worked there to support their families, many of whose descendants still live in the area.

The project builds upon multiple local assets (Borrup's question 3), using local resources (Borrup's question 5), and could draw the participation of community

¹¹³ Rhonda Barnes, et al. (Heritage Committee of the City of Kennedale). City of Kennedale 1882-1976 (Kennedale, Tex.: Self published by the Heritage Committee of the City of Kennedale 1976).

¹¹⁴ See The Fort Worth Daily Gazette, Wednesday, May 25, 1887, p. 6.: "The principal business houses in the city are built of brick made in brick yards close to the city. At Kennedale, on the Fort Worth and New Orleans Railway, are extensive brick yards that make as fine durable brick as ever were put in a wall. A good quality of sand brick can be made almost anywhere in the vicinity of Fort Worth, but the Kennedale brick has proved of such superior quantity [sic] that it is generally used in recent construction."

volunteers, leaders and businesses (Borrup's question 6) in a variety of fields, including those involved in history, parks and recreation, manufacturing, and the railroad.

Sonora Park, which is already city-owned property, is situated on the former brickyard site. As Mason notes, many historic properties and monuments are moved to city parks to provide public access to them and to protect them from development.¹¹⁵ By being moved, those properties lose their context, their "integrity of setting" and sense of place and time, as well as the archaeology associated with the property.¹¹⁶ This case is the opposite: the city park was built on the former site, so public access is provided, the site will not be subdivided and developed, and the site is not placed out of its original context. Some sense of the site's significance as a brick manufacturing site still can be observed as visitors will note that park abuts the railroad, and this is the same railroad corridor utilized to ship the brickyard's product to other markets.

The project could be relatively low cost, compared to projects involving building restoration, because there is no surviving architecture here. The project would involve mapping the site and marking it with interpretative signage and possibly a memorial that incorporates actual old Kennedale brick recovered from the site, or replicated Kennedale brick. Monuments and signs typically are less expensive than physical restoration of a structure.¹¹⁷ Once completed, the project could serve as a demonstration to the public of the community's historical significance and perhaps

¹¹⁵ Randall Mason, *The Once and Future New York: Historic Preservation and the Modern City* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), p. 2.

¹¹⁶ Texas Historical Commission discussion of the Secretary of Interior's *Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings*, <http://www.thc.state.tx.us/faqs/faqhp.shtml#move> , accessed January 2011.

¹¹⁷ Mason, *The Once and Future New York*, at 47-49.

inspire the planning and implementation of other site preservation projects planned and funded by private parties. Funding might be pursued through partnerships with existing manufacturing companies in the area and the railroad, given that the site memorializes the city's manufacturing history and the railroad's role in developing manufacturing.

The project also figures into the community's future as well as its past (Borrup's question 4). First, the historic sites could attract visitors and some associated commercial activity to the city as part of a larger, city-wide historical marker program with the addition of other historic sites throughout the city. The project builds upon one of the community's key assets, its location just south of Interstate 20 between Fort Worth and Arlington, which provides access to a large population who might be interested in visiting the site.

Secondly, putting brick in urban design standards and providing incentives for private developers to use brick could enhance a community's economic future by raising property values, according to a University of Michigan study (albeit funded by the brick industry).¹¹⁸ To the extent that brick design standards raise property values and tax revenues for the city, this cultural development scenario simultaneously memorializes the community's past while providing economic development opportunities for the future.

¹¹⁸ Lan Deng, "Construction Quality, Externality, and Community Competitiveness: A Study of Masonry Ordinances in Chicago's Suburbs," University of Michigan, Taubman College of Architecture and Urban Planning, http://www.ncma.org/resources/Vision_2020/resources/Community%20PlanningOrdinances%20Tool%20Kit/University%20of%20Michigan%20-%20Final%20Report.pdf accessed in January 2011; and <http://sitemaker.umich.edu/tcaupresearch/tcaupresearch.projects/2005> .

One might argue that brick design standards raise the cost of construction and increase property values, which could price some developers and people of modest means out of the community, a version of the gentrification problem that Zukin and numerous other scholars decry. In Zukin's terms, this could be an example of the "authenticity of new beginnings" being dominated by notions of aesthetics or economic development, working to overpower the "authenticity of origins," the people and businesses who help give the community its existing character. In implementing new design standards or ordinances, existing business owners likely will want provisions that exempt their existing non-brick structures. Indeed, many if not most design standards and ordinances do just that, to protect existing owners' property rights. Many cities' design standards and ordinances have effective grandfather clauses through which new urban design standards apply to new construction, and do not apply to existing structures unless there is a change in ownership or if the structure is abandoned or vacant for a period of time, or if the structure is being remodeled or expanded by a certain percentage of the existing structure, as measured by the existing structure's existing square footage or appraised value.

Under Borrup's criteria, the brick-related projects appear well-connected to the community and by his terms would be considered "authentic"¹¹⁹ to the community. However, we must understand that "authenticity" is not an objective concept. Determining a community's "authentic" heritage is actually a selective process, a social and cultural process, done by the society and the culture in place at a particular time

¹¹⁹ Borrup at 167, 183.

over a particular space. Some things are included, others are excluded, and things that are ultimately presented publicly have been filtered through human choices and interpretations that include the talents, belief systems, and biases of the people doing the choosing, the researching, the writing, the preserving, and the memorializing—“we choose to preserve what we want.”¹²⁰ One scholar argues that “there is no such thing as ‘heritage,’ ” in other words, determining a community’s heritage is not an objective exercise, “but rather, heritage is a cultural process that is about re/creating, negotiating” with others, and “transmitting” values that “society or sections of a society wish to preserve and ‘pass’ on” to others now and in the future.¹²¹ Notions of what is considered “authentic” for a community are contested among groups within the community, and can change over time, and can reflect who has power in a community. Borrup seems to recognize the contested nature of authenticity, and cultural planning and community building in general, but does not fully explore it, when he states that what is essential in a project scenario is “ ... that it has authenticity and meaning to the people in your *alliance* and in your community.”¹²²

The changes in attitude about brick among architects, designers and the public over time help illustrate how notions of what is a community’s heritage and what is “authentic” to that community are culturally determined and not objective, and how

¹²⁰ Richard Francaviglia, Chapter 2, “Selling Heritage Landscapes,” pp. 67-68, in Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America, eds. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press 2000); Mason, The Once and Future New York, at 208.

¹²¹ Laurajane Smith, Chapter 2, “Deference and Humility: The Social Values of the Country House,” pp. 33, 34-38, in Valuing Historic Environments, eds. Lianne Gibson and John Pendlebury (Farnham, U.K. and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate 2009); See also Laurajane Smith, Uses of Heritage (London and New York: Routledge 2006).

¹²² Borrup at 183, (*italics emphasis added*).

these notions can change over time. Brick, at certain times in architectural and urban planning history, has been considered a symbol of the dark side of industrialism and not something to be celebrated. To some people, brick represented the de-humanizing repetitious nature of work, “the smallest man-made units of the town” constructed with “the soul-deadening monotony” of labor in the industrial Victorian era. In sharp contrast to brick, “what was most admired in Victorian architecture was largely its beauties of engineering especially as they were achieved through the use of iron and glass.”¹²³

With the invention of steel and steel frame structures, thick masonry walls were no longer needed to serve as the primary load bearing components of a building, and this allowed for larger windows in walls. In the United States, the Chicago Commercial Style took advantage of this, and this style, which includes “windows that expand entire bays with relatively thin beams replacing large areas of load-bearing brick,” spread to small town Main Streets across the country.¹²⁴ As automobiles appeared in the early twentieth century, speed of travel increased, and architecture reflected this, as buildings in business districts were more horizontal, with “wider expanses of ‘showroom’ glass.” In the 1920 and 1930s, there was a “profusion of new, creative architectural materials” such as “porcelain-enameled steel, glazed tiling, and extruded aluminum.” Also, Art Deco style in the 1920s and Art Moderne style in the 1930s through the 1950s

¹²³ Mark Crinson and Paul Tyrer, Chapter 3, “Clocking Off in Ancoats,” pp. 62-65, in Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City, ed. Mark Crinson (London and New York: Routledge 2005).

¹²⁴ Richard V. Francaviglia, Main Street Revisited: Time, Space and Image Building in Small Town America (Iowa City, Ia.: University of Iowa Press 1996), pp. 42-43.

emphasized smooth, streamlined design and a fascination with modernization.¹²⁵ By the 1950s, according to one scholar, “brick was seen as a lowly and somewhat dismal building material, ‘cumbersome and heavy, it was the enemy of light and space.’ ”¹²⁶ Metal siding became popular on main street commercial buildings, giving them a more streamlined appearance by enshrouding brick and the “more detailed, and now less fashionable, facades of the Victorian period.”¹²⁷ It is perhaps no coincidence that this was occurring as the Cold War space race was accelerating.

The basis for brick’s comeback only starts by the late 1960s, when interest in historic preservation surged, in response to the large loss of buildings as a result of urban renewal policies. Property owners and developers, with encouragement from preservationists and government tax policies, began to remove siding, trim and paint from the facades of commercial buildings to reveal the detailed brick and stone work of the Victorian era architecture.¹²⁸ Brick was celebrated again.

This brief review of brick in cultural and architectural history illustrates that brick has not always been celebrated, and that planning and heritage are cultural processes in which people make choices in what to build and emphasize about a community. What we choose to commemorate is a reflection of our current cultural beliefs and values and an indication of what we think is important for our particular time and place. It is not based on a detached, unbiased, scientific process. The limited documentary evidence on Kennedale’s brick yard history suggests that Kennedale was

¹²⁵ Francaviglia at 46-49.

¹²⁶ Crinson and Tyrer at p. 65, quoting Samuel.

¹²⁷ Francaviglia at 50.

¹²⁸ Francaviglia at 52.

not just another rural, north Texas agricultural market depot, but may have been an industrial, manufacturing town exporting brick and playing a major role in building the landscapes of a larger region. There might be turn-of-the-century buildings standing today in other north Texas towns and cities constructed from Kennedale brick. Kennedale's possible role in developing other cities' landscapes, and Kennedale's status as an historic manufacturing town, might be something in which community members take great pride.

What a community decides to commemorate from the past may say much about a community's views about its present and future. Manufacturing still plays a role in Kennedale's economy today. For instance, Goss Company, a printing press manufacturer that also engages in precision metal machining and milling, and FWT, Inc., which manufactures monopole towers and other equipment for the wireless communications industry, both have operations in Kennedale. The commemoration of Kennedale's manufacturing history might speak to aspirations for the future (the authenticity of "new beginnings") rather than be mere nostalgia. Common throughout the United States, many communities have lost their manufacturing base. When they try to celebrate their manufacturing history through redeveloping abandoned plants or worker housing as monuments, museums, or upscale condominiums and commercial space, many community members and scholars criticize such efforts, on grounds that resources should be devoted to regaining manufacturing jobs lost, rather than conceding them to history, or that such spaces are sanitized, inauthentic simulacra or Disney space catering to middle class tastes that do not accurately portray the space's "authentic,"

history as a space for manufacturing, and do not adequately memorialize the experiences of the worker.¹²⁹ Kennedale's brick-related projects can be different. They are a unique opportunity for the community to celebrate its brick manufacturing past, its gender diversity in the business community, and labor's role in supporting the community's families, and they could be an expression of aspirations to continue having a manufacturing base in the community in the future.

3.4.2 Scenario: Oral History Program

The focus group proposes an oral history program, in which community members would be invited to digitally record their memories of their life experiences in the community that have particular meaning for them, and also their family's history and their connection to the community. Residents could then donate the digital recordings to a historical society or local library, which could function as a repository for community members, students, scholars, and anyone else interested in learning about the city's history. Kennedale has a rich local history, but like many small cities, much of the city's history resides not in architecture or documentation, but rather, as memories in peoples' minds, in their personal recollections and in stories passed from generation to generation within families and among community members. This history is every bit as precious as that found in physical forms and repositories, but it is less

¹²⁹ See, e.g., Paul Tyrer and Mark Crinson, "Totemic Park: Symbolic Representation in Post-Industrial Space," Chapter 5, in Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City (London and New York: Routledge 2005), pp. 101-114).

tangible. It risks becoming lost as people age and pass away, and as people move more frequently in our increasingly mobile society.¹³⁰

This cultural development scenario is rooted in the community's culture and values (Borrupt's question 1). The community focus group articulated that the community values being "family-oriented," and also values "history" and peoples' "ties" and "roots" to the city. The scenario builds upon multiple local assets of the community (Borrupt's question 3) identified by the focus group, namely, the community's assets of "local history," "people who have extensive knowledge of Kennedale history" and those "who have collected documentary sources or artifacts." The scenario also utilizes another key community asset, the community's "high quality" school system, by proposing that the city work with the school district and the high school to make the oral history program a part of the school curriculum. One possibility is that students could receive class credit for participating in the oral history program by conducting interviews, recording, transcribing and cataloguing and indexing interviews by participant name and discussion topic so that a searchable database could be developed for use by researchers and others interested in the community's local history. Either through volunteer community member participation or coordination with the school system, or both, this scenario can be initiated inexpensively with local resources (Borrupt's question 5), and given the interest in local history as expressed by the focus group, this scenario would likely be appealing and draw volunteers and leaders (Borrupt's question 6).

¹³⁰ "Cultural Asset Inventory of the City of Kennedale, Texas, December 2010," pp. 24-25.

Community members' input and some local historical sources provide examples of some of the potential heritage that might be learned through an oral history program.¹³¹ Kennedale has had a significant number of women-owned businesses in its early history, in addition to the Lucy Sergeant brickyard, including retail stores, a feed store, restaurants, laundries, a nursing home and day care services. Many men in Kennedale had jobs at the brickyards in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Bulin family, considered a "cornerstone of the community," offered up their home as a day care center for residents commuting to work and for people who came into town to run errands. The home was situated at a major intersection (present day Business U.S. 287 and County Road 2025), popularly known as the "Crossroad to Kennedale."¹³² Many of the descendants of these early residents of Kennedale still live in the area and may be able to provide information about this heritage and these places or similar places, and about other aspects of life in Kennedale, through first hand recollection or from stories passed down in their family about their ancestors' lives and what life was like in the community at that time.

This oral history program addresses the future as well as the past (Borrupt's question 4), and is inclusive of diversity (Borrupt's question 2), in at least two ways. First, as the cultural asset inventory report states, it encourages people's participation in a civic program that could lead to participation in other, future civic activities. This

¹³¹ See, e.g., Rhonda Barnes, et al. (Heritage Committee of the City of Kennedale). City of Kennedale 1882-1976. (Kennedale, Tex.: Self published by the Heritage Committee of the City of Kennedale 1976), and Coy Gray, "Kennedale, Texas: The Early Years—A City of Kennedale Project". Unpublished paper. June 10, 2008.

¹³² Ibid.

scenario provides an opportunity to engage youth. For instance younger members of a family could interview older members. Furthermore, young people could provide their own interviews describing their life experience in the community and places that have particular meaning for them, which provide future community members and researchers a youth's perspective that is so often missing from traditional historical sources. Youth who are engaged in civic programs such as this might be encouraged to continue participation as adults.

The project addresses the future and is inclusive of diversity in second way. As the cultural background and demographics of a community changes over time, the perspective of each community within the larger one can be learned through an ongoing oral history program. A participant need not be a long time resident, and need not have a knowledge of Kennedale history to participate. The term "history" in this oral history proposal should not limit participants' discussion topics or the scope of this project. Recorded contemporary observations about life in the community today can serve as tomorrow's primary historical source for researchers in local history, and can be as valuable as, for instance, a diary of a brickyard laborer from the early 1900s.

What matters is that a person experiences life in the community from a particular cultural background and perspective and wants to share that perspective with others in the community, both within and outside of his or her cultural background. For example, a resident could describe how she and her family came to Kennedale, her work, favorite recreational spots in the community, activities she participates in, favorite foods, markets and restaurants. If a person gardens, he might describe where

his garden is, what he grows, and what food dishes he prepares from the produce. This all can be a basis for building Putnam's bonding and bridging social capital, and all of this certainly qualifies as "culture." Today's contemporary observations and perspectives will provide valuable insight to present and future residents and researchers interested in learning about the community. As numbers of participants share their perspectives, and common themes emerge from the stories, their contributions become public memory or community heritage rather than just personal anecdote. A newcomer to the community might feel alone, but if she learned of the stories of arrival from other newcomers, she might feel more connected to the community. Kaufman notes that story sites have social value by helping to establish and anchor a community's cultural identity. Story sites can anchor individual life stories, but when they "represent the memories and traditions of not just one but many individuals, they have social value" and create "connections between people." They can create a "publicly shared sense of neighborhood identity."¹³³

Planners should be involved in oral history programs, and should not think that oral history is solely the province of historians. This is because past events and experiences occurred in particular places, and these places can act as mnemonic devices to help tell that history and make it more interesting and accessible to people. People's stories form what Kaufman calls "story sites," and multiple story sites create a "storyscape." Oral history that only resides in an archive bookshelf or in the hard drive of a computer may be ignored or may be inaccessible to many people. As one focus

¹³³ Kaufman at 43, 48.

group participant stated, “oral history is okay, but people prefer hands on activities.”¹³⁴ Oral history programs can serve Borrup’s social development goal of uniting a community only if the community participates in the program and only if people are aware of and engaged in that history. Tying oral histories to physical sites, even if little to no physical evidence of the event exists at the site today, can help promote community awareness of and engagement in the program.

Tying the oral history to physical sites can be done in a number of ways. One technique previously discussed with regard to the brickyard scenario is the creation of interpretative materials and programs such as signage and memorials. Francaviglia describes “imagically preserved heritage landscapes,” and the techniques for this type of historic preservation work include signage, monuments, dioramas, or “ghost structures” (simple frameworks outlining a former building’s location, size and shape). This could also include brochures and maps of traveling routes for people to visit sites around the city. He describes the example of Thurber, Texas, a coal mining ghost town with very few surviving structures. Much of the project consists of a video presentation and a hilltop metal historic marker that overlooks a largely empty landscape, but the marker has a diagram of what the built landscape once looked like, keyed to a lone surviving power plant smokestack seen in the distance.¹³⁵

Another technique for tying oral histories to physical spaces is the use of information technology to inform and educate and people of the community history and to encourage people to visit the physical locations in the community referenced in the

¹³⁴ Notes from Kennedale Community Focus Group meeting, November 15, 2010, author’s files.

¹³⁵ Francaviglia at 65-67.

oral histories. Kaufman, Mercer and others criticize how communication and information technology have caused placelessness and detachment from community by keeping people fixated on their televisions and computers (and electronic mobile devices), and consuming cultural products and services from global corporate entities rather than engaging in the cultural amenities provided by local community members and small businesses. These same communication and information technologies can actually be directed to local cultural efforts, and be used to promote and create an active oral history program that is tied to physical places in the city to help build community in a way that is engaging and interesting to people.

Mercer describes a project in which students were asked to go into their community and photograph those places that have special meaning to them, and the Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory advocates this technique.¹³⁶ These images could be placed on a web site, with explanatory captions. Schofield describes similar projects, such as “Map My London,” in which people submit text, photos, audio, and video on a variety of themes through attachments uploaded from mobile phones, and these materials are posted on a map available on the internet. These techniques allow community members to take an active role in cultural planning and historic preservation (what Schofield calls an “autocentric” approach), rather than leave the practice to

¹³⁶ Mercer at 10; “Cultural Asset Inventory of the City of Kennedale, Texas, December 2010,” p. 29.

governments, institutions and professionals (an “allocentric” approach) and they also make cultural planning and preservation active and engaging to people.¹³⁷

In story sites, storyscapes and “magically preserved heritage landscapes,” the meaning of the place may come in substantial part from oral sources, lay sources, and memory, and not necessarily from sensory perception and evaluation of something physical on site. “They do not stand out to the eye” but “it is their stories that make them important.”¹³⁸ Signage and other interpretative materials summarize these memories and help inform the observer the meaning of a place, and the observer reads that meaning and reacts and relates to the place using their own perspective and experience.

We return to the issue of authenticity, in the context of this proposed oral history project. In creating a sense of place, story sites may seem at first to be quite different from sites with architecture or scenery, in that the sense is developed from peoples’ memories rather than sensory perception. Professional historians and preservationists may be more comfortable with written records and physical structures, and may question story sites’ authenticity. However, when we look at Leach’s discussion of how people mentally process places with physical structures and scenery to achieve a “sense of place,” one can conclude that memory and stories are also legitimate ways to create this sense.

¹³⁷ John Schofield, Chapter 5, “Being Autocentric: Towards Symmetry in Heritage Management Practices” in *Valuing Historic Environments*, ed. by Lianne Gibson and John Pendlebury (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate 2009), pp. 110-111.

¹³⁸ Kaufman at 42.

With regard to how people understand and create a “sense of place” in their minds, with regard to tangible architecture and scenery, Leach describes a mirror-like process called “introjection and projection” (borrowing from Metz’s work on film theory) to describe an interactive process in which a place is sensed by a person, and the person then projects meaning onto that place. Leach observes that buildings and memorials are essentially “inert,” that is, they do not have any inherent meaning. “We observe buildings both by sight and by touch and they are absorbed by our mind.” A person projects or grafts “symbolic meaning onto an object” and reads oneself into that object, and sees one’s “values reflected in it.” He goes on to explain that “[w]e need to project something of ourselves on to the other in order to recognize—or misrecognize—ourselves in the other.” He states that “[t]his projection of personality or intentionality on to an object is one that is overlooked by much mainstream architectural commentary.”¹³⁹

If the importance of place is derived from the meanings and feelings that a place instills in people, and that people, in turn, instill in a place, then one can conclude that stories, story sites, and storyscape are legitimate ways of contributing to a sense of place, just as architecture and scenery do. “People’s understanding of place is more than a sensory thing.” Place has a “narrative dimension” that includes memory, legend,

¹³⁹ Neil Leach, “9/11,” Chapter 8 in Mark Crinson, ed., Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City, (London and New York: Routledge 2005), pp. 171-175 (discussing the World Trade Center and the psychological and cultural effect of its destruction, and citing Christian Metz, Psychoanalysis and the Cinema, translated by Celia Britton, Annwyl Williams, Ben Brewster and Alfred Guzzetti (London: Macmillan 1982).

tradition and habit.¹⁴⁰ Stories can contribute not just to sense of place, but to a sense of community among community members that spans across time and generations.

Oral history and story sites should not be viewed as inferior to, less objective or less authentic than, sites with preserved physical architecture or sites that have much written about them by professional historians. Kaufman, in his discussion of storyscape surveys, identifies a major misconception that architectural assessment and professionally published history are “objective” and story site assessment is subjective. In fact, both can be objective and subjective. Professional standards in architecture have changed over time: at one time, the Chrysler Building was not considered significant. Similarly, professional standards in academic history change over time, for instance, the change in focus, beginning in the 1960s from a top down view of history of political, economic and social elites, to a bottom up study of the social and cultural history of “ordinary people of all kinds.”¹⁴¹ Primary sources revealing the lives of ordinary people were once ignored, but are now highly valued by academic historians.

Oral history is “critically important” where a story site “relates to the ongoing life or beliefs of a community.” Kaufman argues that, “where community members speak of a site’s significance to them, their words must be regarded not as opinions but as statements of fact.” This does not mean that standards do not apply or that decision-makers must accept uncritically what people say. Kaufman argues that oral histories “should be sifted for signs of conflict of interest, special pleading or insincerity,” and one should “expect differences of opinion” in a community. However, he advocates

¹⁴⁰ Kaufman at 51.

¹⁴¹ Kaufman at 55-56.

that once sincerity of a statement is established, one should accept its authority.¹⁴² What is crucial to ensuring the authenticity of a storyscape is that community participation be “extensive” and that this participation occur in a variety of ways including “public meetings, informal discussion groups, individual interviews, and questionnaires.” Each of these techniques can reach a different segment of the public, and in this way, one can “reach a representative sample of the community.”¹⁴³ The more extensive the community participation, the greater assurance one has that a storyscape is “authentic” in the sense that it is connected to the community.

Oral history is crucial to imbuing meaning to a place, and can work as part of an integrated system. Oral history helps locate and interpret a site, and the site, marked by signage, monument, or map (both in physical and in electronic form), can in turn refer back to the repository, whether physical (like a library or historical society) or virtual (like a web site) for a complete recording or transcript of oral histories on that particular site, for those interested in learning more. Such sites can both educate and contribute to the physical and cultural landscape of a community.

¹⁴² Kaufman at 56.

¹⁴³ Kaufman at 54.

3.4.3 Scenario: *Linear Parks and a Book of Flora and Fauna*

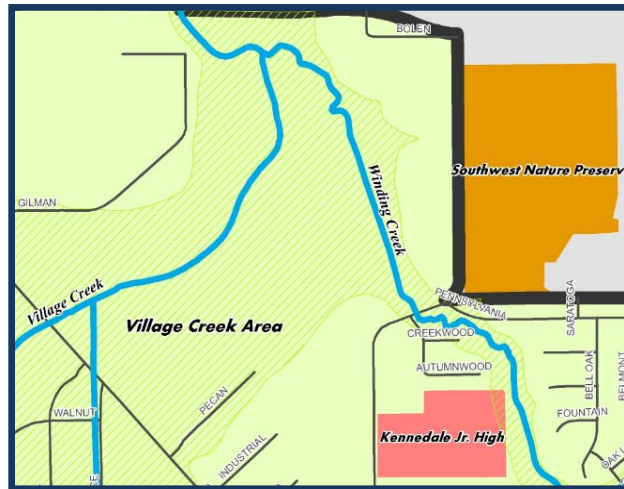


Figure 3.4 Map of Village Creek Area and Southwest Nature Preserve by Sherrie Hubble, Urban Planning Consultant and GIS Specialist, December 2010.



Figure 3.5 Photo of Village Creek in Kennedale, Texas, looking northeast towards the Kennedale Parkway bridge. (Photo by Greg Collins, December 2010).



Figure 3.6 A view of Kennedale Mountain from two vantage points: left, a view from North Bowman Springs Road (County Highway 2065), just north of Kennedale Junior High School, looking northeast; right, a view from approximately 700 West Kennedale Parkway, between Industrial and Woodlea Streets, looking northeast. (Photos by Greg Collins, December 2010).

The focus group proposes the creation of a linear park system, that is, a connected system of hiking and biking trails that follow the banks of Village Creek and other creeks. One community member envisioned Village Creek becoming an attraction for canoeing and providing access to other water recreation because the creek flows into Lake Arlington. This cultural development scenario also proposes connecting the trail system to a hill called Kennedale Mountain. Kennedale Mountain is actually located just over the political boundary in the city limits of Arlington. The hill is undeveloped and the City of Arlington has plans to create a park called Southwest Nature Preserve on and around the hill. The focus group also proposes the creation of a book or field guide to local plant and wildlife around the area, especially those resources that are unusual or unique to the area. The guide could appear both in hard-copy paper form and as an on-line internet web site.

These cultural development scenarios build upon on multiple assets of the community (Borrupt question 3) as identified by the focus group, namely, Village Creek, and its proximity to Lake Arlington and the future Southwest Nature Preserve, the area’s “beautiful creeks, nature areas, and wildlife,” and “Kennedale’s neighboring communities, and the ability to work with them to build a network of cultural assets.” These scenarios are rooted in and connected to the community’s culture and values (Borrupt question 1) identified by the community focus group, specifically, the perception that the community has a “small town feel,” “a different feel, not [the] usual suburb,” with a “quiet life” but with access to the city. The scenario also matches the focus group’s view that the community is “rural,” and “peaceful” in the middle of a “fast-paced city/environment.” These scenarios are rooted and connected geographically and historically to the community. Village Creek runs north through a significant portion of Kennedale, flows underneath Interstate Highway 20, out of the city limits, and into Lake Arlington. Another waterway, Winding Creek, flows into Village Creek. Both creeks are just west of Kennedale Mountain. This hill is, as of the date of this writing, still a prominent feature in several viewsapes throughout the community. It is recognized by some long-time Kennedale residents as a landmark.

These features figure prominently in the community’s history. Local history sources state that Village Creek, formerly known as Caddo Creek,¹⁴⁴ was the site of settlements of various American Indian nations, dating back before contact with

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Baldwin and J. Thomas, M.D., A New and Complete Gazetteer of the United States; Giving a Full and Comprehensive Review of the Present Condition, Industry, and Resources of the American Confederacy (Philadelphia, Pa.: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1854), p. 169.

Europeans, and continuing through the early nineteenth century.¹⁴⁵ Some of these nations include the Caddo, Tonkawa, and Cherokee people.¹⁴⁶ More than one community member stated that artifacts of settlements have been found along many of the creeks in the area. In the community's more recent history, one community member stated that Village Creek was a popular site for fishing for many residents for a significant period of time in the community's history.

This cultural development scenario addresses the future of the community as well as its past (Borrupt question 4), by fostering both social development and economic development. It can foster social development by providing a public space where people can both exercise and interact socially with each other. The trail system can also connect people from different parts of the city. Together with the field guide, these assets can also be a resource for natural resource conservation, education and awareness. The scenario can also foster economic development and could lead to the development of businesses that include restaurants and shops focusing on outdoor recreational activities such as canoeing, hiking and biking. Connecting the linear park system to Kennedale Mountain by way of a trail or bike path, and the posting of attractive signage could draw visitors of Arlington's Southwest Nature Preserve into Kennedale. Also, the field guide, especially if published on the internet, could attract visitors to Kennedale.

¹⁴⁵ Kennedale Independent School District, <http://www.kennedaleisd.net/9661081614428493/site/default.asp> , accessed on July 15, 2010.

¹⁴⁶ Donald S. Frazier, "VILLAGE CREEK, BATTLE OF," *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/btv01>), accessed June 06, 2011. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

The scenario seems well connected to and rooted in the local community and clearly builds upon local assets. One possible limitation to this scenario is whether the project can be funded with local resources (Borrup question 5). However, Kennedale’s Strategic Plan identifies flood control along Village Creek as a major strategic goal, and the community plans to seek a federal congressional appropriation of money for studying the feasibility of dedicating land along the creek for flood control and linear trail use, which would involve the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.¹⁴⁷

This cultural development scenario utilizes what some may consider to be part of the natural environment, and some may question whether these scenarios qualify as cultural development, but indeed, they are cultural. First, the very concepts of “nature,” “wildlife,” and “beauty” in nature are human cultural constructs projected onto physical space. As previously noted in the discussion on the definition of “culture,” virtually the entire planet today, and even outer space, is affected by human activity.¹⁴⁸ Melnick argues that it is a “flawed dichotomy” to think that there are formal categories of “natural” or “wilderness” or “historic” that can be used to describe or classify physical space. Instead, physical space will exhibit characteristics of all of these, and the boundaries between these categories are vague. The reality is that “landscapes are complex and consist of both nature and culture.” It is impossible to truly “preserve” nature because nature is always changing due to non-human and human forces. Melnick cites Yosemite Park as an example. Many open meadows in the park that appear to be “natural” have actually had their plant species altered due to human

¹⁴⁷ Imagine Kennedale 2015: Final Report of a Community-Wide Strategic Planning Process, p. 11.

¹⁴⁸ Young at 42.

intervention. A nearby river's course was altered to control flooding, and this lowered the water table which altered plant species. Also, park managers intentionally introduced non-native plant species in the meadows. What looks to the park visitor as pristine meadowland is actually a product of human intervention.¹⁴⁹

Nature, scenery and parks are “multivalent,”¹⁵⁰ but these values are not intrinsic to the place. These values are projected onto these places by people from a variety of perspectives. These places can be sources of historical, aesthetic, health, spiritual, economic, and ecological value to people. Which values are recognized depends upon the culture of the people perceiving their environment, as the following examples illustrate.

Nature and scenery can have historical value. Mason argues that at the turn of the century, from a European-American perspective, there was a “consensus belief that wilderness and sublime nature was a part of the heritage of Americans,” and states that many have argued that this was to compensate for the relatively young country's “dearth of human history,” or, more precisely, relatively recent arrival of European culture in America. This Euro-centric viewpoint ignores the history of the nations of American Indians who have lived and continue to live here and throughout the region and country.

¹⁴⁹ Robert Z. Melnick, “Considering Nature and Culture in Historic Landscape Preservation,” Chapter 1, in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, ed. by Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press 2000) pp. 22-32; 37-38.

¹⁵⁰ Mason, *The Once and Future New York*, at 35.

Parks and nature can have aesthetic value (“beauty”) and spiritual value to many people. Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Transcendentalists of the first half of the nineteenth century projected these values onto nature, as Emerson wrote that

...To the body and mind which have been cramped by noxious work, nature is medicinal, and restores their tone. The tradesman, the attorney, comes out of the din and craft of the street, and sees the sky and the woods, and is a man again. In their eternal calm, he finds himself¹⁵¹

Indeed, recent research suggests that parks and nature are good for physical and mental health. For instance, one study concludes that “hospital patients recover more quickly when they can see trees from their windows” and another study concludes that public housing residents whose apartments overlooked grassy courtyards performed better on memory retention tests and handled life challenges better than those who did not.¹⁵² However, one must keep in mind that these research subjects are experiencing nature not in a pristine state, but rather as controlled and designed by human intervention, and so in that sense, the aesthetic, medicinal, or spiritual value is created by people and their culture.

Nature has economic value from a market perspective, as a source of natural resources that can be extracted for use as inputs in a production process, and also ecological value that benefits humans. Floodplains, rivers and creeks help filter and convey water to reservoirs that are sources of communities’ drinking water, and they also help prevent flooding of communities downstream. They also function as

¹⁵¹ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature*, Chapter III, “Beauty” (1836).

¹⁵² Jonah Lehrer, “How the City Hurts Your Brain ... And What You Can Do About It.” *Boston Globe* http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/ideas/articles/2009/01/04/how_the_city_hurts_your_brain/?page=full accessed on January 2009.

receptacles and conveyors of wastewater. Wildlife also has economic value, for instance, performing “ecosystem services” when they pollinate plants that are used by humans.¹⁵³ Parks and preserves promote human interaction with the natural environment, and can both educate and provide opportunities for tourism.

The linear park and flora and fauna field guide scenario provides a good example of how multiple values are assigned to an environment by culture, and the importance of consulting a wide diversity of people in planning a project. To ensure that this project scenario is sufficiently connected to community, and is inclusive of diversity, the community would be well served to utilize Mason’s “values-centered” approach and “consult widely” and seek the views of diverse people from a variety of cultural backgrounds and occupations when developing more specific plans to implement this project. City staff and other professionals as well as community groups and individuals in the fields of parks and recreation, health and fitness, wildlife management, natural resource conservation, alternative transportation planning, and economic development should be consulted. These groups can also provide sources from which to draw community volunteers and leaders (Borup question 6).

The creeks’ history as settlement sites for a number of American Indian nations of people, including the Caddo people,¹⁵⁴ suggests that Indian nations should be consulted when researching and designing any historical interpretative materials

¹⁵³ Laura Lopez-Hoffman, Conservation of Shared Environments: Learning from the United States and Mexico, (Tucson, Ariz.: University of Arizona Press 2009).

¹⁵⁴ Donald S. Frazier, "VILLAGE CREEK, BATTLE OF," *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/btv01>), accessed June 06, 2011. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

regarding the creeks. One must be aware that discussing American Indian history only in the context of natural areas and parks is problematic for a number of reasons. It may tend to de-humanize people by equating them with wilderness. It suggests that American Indian people and culture are vanquished relics of the past, or are frozen in time, when in fact, American Indian people and governments are vibrant and actively involved in many economic, infrastructural, and other community development initiatives today. For instance, some American Indian nations are involved in the current debate on whether surface water in Oklahoma can be sold to communities in north Texas to meet this region's increasing water demand. To the extent any signage or other interpretative material is used in developing the linear park, I suggest that these materials include not only a discussion of the creeks' relation to American Indians' past, but also a discussion of present day water conservation issues and how American Indian nations today figure into the debate. To ensure that information is accurate and includes the perspective of the people being discussed, interpretative materials should involve consultation and input from American Indian communities and governments, such as the Caddo Nation.¹⁵⁵ In these ways, the proposed project responds to Borrupt's question 2 and can be inclusive of the community's diversity—past, present and future.

¹⁵⁵ <http://www.caddonation-nsn.gov/gov/council.html> , accessed in April 2011. The Caddo Nation's website states: "The Caddo Nation of Oklahoma is a federally recognized tribe with *homelands* spanning the present-day states of Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas, and *Texas*." (emphasis added). The web site speaks not only to that nation's role in preserving the past, but also states that the nation is "... committed to a sustainable future and to improving the environmental well being of the community, protecting, sustaining, preserving and replenishing all resources, both natural and historical for the betterment and benefit of the Caddo Nation." <http://www.caddonation-nsn.gov/departments/epa.html> , accessed in May 2011. Although the Caddo Nation's current *political* boundaries do not extend to Texas, I would argue that their historical and cultural homeland does, and that they are relevant stakeholders to be consulted in such a project.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

4.1 Summary of Developments in Cultural Planning and Historic Preservation Theory

In the post-industrial economy, cities competitively use culture and history as tools in place marketing and branding campaigns to try to attract people and foster economic development. Critics argue that these efforts lead to projects that are not truly connected to the community and have negative effects on the community and place it at risk. These projects may hinder people's intellectual growth and aesthetic sense because the culture and history being depicted may be false, superficial or exclude minorities or the disadvantaged. These projects may create isolated districts or "tourist bubbles" that consume community resources and not fully distribute benefits to the community at large. Communities may rely on global corporate brands and commercial entities that are highly mobile. These entities have no duty of loyalty compelling them to stay in the community or reinvest profits there, and they offer highly elastic services and goods that lack distinction and are easily found in competing, nearby locales.

Small cities and towns face additional challenges in developing cultural and historic preservation planning programs. They are perceived as lacking the so-called "high culture" and amenities associated with larger cities. They often have smaller budgets and fewer financial resources and may feel pressure to develop cultural programs as revenue generators. The primary sources of their history are often more

ephemeral, based on individuals' memories and oral history, and local history sources are not as heavily studied by academic and professional historians. Overall, there may be a public misperception that suburbs are homogenous, lack history, and are simply a product of transportation improvements and zoning decisions.

In addition to these challenges, critics of historic preservation programs in particular argue that historic preservation programs privilege the past over the present. Programs reflect the culture and history of the politically powerful and the majority segment of the population, and suppress contemporary cultural expression and the rights of minorities and the disadvantaged.

Cultural planning practitioners argue for "authenticity" in projects to counter these challenges, but that term is complex, as Zukin argues. It can refer to a community's origins, but also a community's departure from its origins ("new beginnings") in terms of innovation and uniqueness. Authenticity is a subjective term, with different meanings to different groups of people, rather than an objective standard by which to measure cultural projects. In any event, authenticity means more than mere aesthetics. Claiming authenticity is as much a political act as an objective search for truth in a community's origins or new beginnings. By claiming authenticity, marginalized groups who might not have access to political power otherwise may be able to influence how a community expresses its culture and history, and these expressions may provide a better foundation for community self-sufficiency than what global capitalism and aesthetics alone may offer.

Several concepts in the fields of cultural planning and historic preservation planning provide ways to help smaller cities, towns and suburbs overcome these challenges. The first is the practice of conducting a “cultural asset inventory” and engaging in “cultural mapping.” These practices include an initial phase of research of the community, looking for strengths and weaknesses in a community’s cultural resources and amenities, mapping the resources and considering how the resources relate with each other, and with other areas of planning, and significantly, consulting the community and obtaining public input in determining cultural resources. Recent scholarship emphasizes that “culture” is not an elite definition meaning the arts or a sense of refinement, but rather, “culture” means a community’s “way of life” and is whatever those who participate in it determine it to be. It also emphasizes that cultural planning has a dual role in unifying a community (looking “internally”) and fostering economic development (looking “externally”) and that cultural planning’s role in unifying community should act to balance against purely economic considerations. The recent scholarship also emphasizes that culture should be considered in all areas of planning, throughout all phases (cultural planning is “strategic” and “integral”), and should not be treated as a separate element in comprehensive planning because culture influences the type of infrastructure and services people require, and in turn, infrastructure and development affect people’s daily lives and routines.

The second concept in cultural planning is asset-based community building. Championed by cultural planning practitioner, Tom Borrup, this practice uses the cultural asset inventory process and cultural mapping, and emphasizes an

interdisciplinary approach and the importance of building from a community's strengths, rather than assessing weaknesses based on some comparative, hegemonic standard. In this method, a community builder recruits community members from a variety of disciplines to participate in a series of community workshops where the community members themselves identify the values of the community first. They then identify the community's cultural assets, and compile these into an inventory, and create scenarios for the utilization of these cultural assets, and choose a key asset and scenario and name an identity for the community. They are instructed to consider six key questions when evaluating assets and scenarios and choosing a key asset and scenario, to ensure that these are sufficiently connected to the community. The questions are 1) is the key asset and scenario rooted in the community's culture and values? 2) Will it be inclusive of the community's diversity? 3) Does it build upon multiple local assets? 4) Does it address the future as well as the past? 5) Can it be initiated with existing local resources? 6) Does it have appeal to draw the participation of other volunteers and leaders in the community? Focus group members are instructed to choose project scenarios utilizing strategies that promote both the social capital of the community (both "bonding" or unifying the community as a whole, and also "bridging" differences between cultural groups within that community), and also the economic development of that community.

The third and fourth concepts in cultural planning are closely related, "values-centered" preservation and "storyscape surveying." Values-centered preservation argues that places are valued from multiple perspectives of people from a diversity of

cultural backgrounds, and that planners should consult the public widely in developing preservation plans, and not limit themselves to professionals and physical conservation experts. Storyscape surveying recognizes that oral histories collected from the public are a legitimate source for historic preservation programs, and still involve physical places, as places can act as mnemonic devices to help trigger the telling of this history, even if the places are considered “ordinary” or “everyday.” Collecting these “storysites” and developing a “storyscape” of a community can be an effective and meaningful part of a community’s historic preservation program.

There are common themes in all of these concepts in cultural and historic preservation planning. First, they emphasize obtaining wide and diverse public input and community engagement, rather than relying solely on professionals and experts, when developing cultural and historic preservation programs. Also, they recognize that successful cultural projects require a connection to community, and recognize the value of contemporary culture. They respond to criticisms that cultural planning and historic preservation favor the past over the present, suppress minority expression, and favor aesthetics and economic development over the interests of disadvantaged members of a community.

4.2 The Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory Helps the Community Overcome Challenges in Cultural Planning and Historic Preservation

The Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory was created using Tom Borrup’s asset-based community building approach. The community focus group’s input in identifying the community’s values, the assets of the community, and then constructing project

scenarios utilizing those assets in light of the community's values, is consistent with Mason's values-centered approach, which advocates wide consultation and recognizes that places are valued from multiple perspectives. The Kennedale focus group's choices demonstrate that the "everyday" and "ordinary" aspects of the community can reveal a rich and diverse history and culture that, from an outsider's perspective, are unique and extraordinary. By looking internally rather than externally, the focus group and its proposed projects avoid an "overbearing sameness" (Zukin's term) to other communities' projects. Because of the concerns about place marketing described by Zukin, and because of values-centered preservation's recognition of the complexity of places, and that places have "multiple, valid meanings" and values that "come from many different sources," the working group that facilitated the community focus group's work opted not to follow Borrup's method in one key aspect. The focus group did not limit itself to choosing just one key asset out of the assets identified by the focus group, and it did not establish a single identity for the community.

With regard to "authenticity," the three scenarios help us to understand that authenticity is actually a complex, contested term, and not an objective standard by which we can grade projects. With regard to the first project scenario, the marking of the historic brickyard and the proposed use of brick in design standards, over the course of architectural and design history, brick has been variously accepted, rejected, and accepted again by communities. The decision for the Kennedale focus group to commemorate its brick manufacturing history is a subjective choice reflecting people's values at a particular time and place. Authenticity's dual meaning is also implicated

here. Proposing brick design standards as a way to celebrate Kennedale's brick manufacturing history may raise aesthetic value and property values and provide for an authenticity of "new beginnings" for the community, but those design standards may need to have exemptions for existing community members so that they are not priced out of their own community and so that the community's "authenticity of origins" is not lost.

The oral history project scenario also implicates issues of authenticity. Kaufman's storyscape concept helps us understand that places can be instilled with meaning through people's memories and stories about places, and this is a legitimate source of a sense of place just as architecture and scenery are legitimate sources. Both types of places get their significance from the meanings that are projected onto them by people. The meaning and sense of a place are not inherent in the place. In the case of a story site, people project meaning onto the place by way of memory and story, and signage or some other "magically preserved" technique marks the place for people. In the case of traditional sites, architecture or scenery acts as a marker already, but like any marker these objects are inert just as signage is inert. It is the human process of projecting meaning onto inert space, either through story, or objects, or both, that creates sense of place. Architecture and scenery are not inherently more legitimate sources of meaning than intangible sources like memories and stories.

The linear park scenario also encounters issues of authenticity. First, the project is definitely "cultural" even though a substantial portion of its value comes from its perceived "natural" quality. As Young and Melnick discuss, no landscape is truly

devoid of human influence. Second, the linear park and Kennedale Mountain landscape are a good example of how helpful Mason's values-centered approach is in creating a project that is connected to community. People project multiple values onto place, and the proposed linear park has historical, aesthetic, social, health, ecological and economic value. To assure that implementation of this project takes these multiple values into account, the city should consult a wide range of people and professions.

These project scenarios can also speak to the community's diversity and its future, and in this way they can provide for an "authenticity of new beginnings" as well as an "authenticity of origins" (Zukin's terms) and can avoid being "sterile heritage zones" that privilege the past over the present and future as described by Evans. The brickyard site could celebrate gender diversity and labor history by memorializing woman owner, Lucy Sergeant, and the lives of the men who worked in her company. It could also express community aspirations for the continuation of a manufacturing and commercial presence in the community into the future.

The oral history project proposal develops community heritage while also being inclusive of diversity and being relevant to the present and future. The project proposes to collect the stories and heritage of community members, and establish sites in the city that can act as mnemonic devices to prompt the telling of the community's history and make it more interesting and accessible to more people. It can also function to welcome newcomers and people of diverse backgrounds by encouraging them to share their stories of arrival and make them feel more connected to the community. Finally, it could utilize information technology such as digital imaging and mapping in way that

prompts people to visit physical places in the local community and economy, rather than settle for virtual places in cyberspace established by global corporate interests. Information technology can contribute to “placemaking” rather than cause the “placelessness” described by Kaufman and Mercer.

The linear park project proposal can speak to the community’s present and future and be inclusive of diversity by connecting community members from all over the city in public space, and providing recreational and park-related economic development opportunities. The project can be a site for discussion of the multiple values that people see in creeks and parkland, and discuss not just American Indian history at the site, but also current issues of natural resource management and how American Indian nations today are a part of contemporary community building.

4.3 Continuing, Wide Public Consultation and Community Engagement Are Crucial

The identification of the assets and projects scenarios identified in Kennedale’s Cultural Asset Inventory is only a first step in a cultural and historic preservation planning program. These assets and project scenarios appear well-connected to the community and can help unify and edify the community, attract visitors and newcomers, and enable locally-committed economic development that overcomes the challenges of superficiality and inaccuracy, “overbearing sameness” and footloose global capital. They also help the community overcome the challenges of small cities. They could be relatively low-cost, and do not rely on so-called “high culture” but instead, they utilize valued resources in the community that often escape the notice of

cultural and academic elites. By focusing on connection to community, these projects are place distinctive and can be attractive to people outside of the community.

What is crucial in planning and implementing these proposed project scenarios is continuing, wide community engagement and public input and consultation, for at least two reasons. The first reason is operational. Widespread community input can help establish standards for evaluation of proposed projects in situations where smaller communities such as Kennedale tend to have fewer documentary sources of local history, and fewer architectural landmarks. Planners and volunteers will not have a convenient set of published standards by which to evaluate proposed projects. Establishing whether a site or project has “meaning,” “connection,” or is “authentic” to the community will heavily rely on oral history or storyscape, or the evaluation of documentary sources that have not gone through an academic peer review process. Efforts to ensure that contributors’ statements of significance of a place are sincere and not motivated by conflict of interest or a particular cause or interest will be enhanced if project planners have numerous interviews and accounts to evaluate and draw from. The more extensive the community participation, the greater assurance that a project is connected to a complex and diverse community, and the greater likelihood that difference—difference in experience, perception, interpretation—can be included in projects.

The second reason relates to this issue of “difference,” democracy, and questions of power. Scholars and practitioners are now using a definition of culture that is more democratic and not elitist (“culture is what counts as culture for those who

participate in it”) and so public engagement is essential to defining the community’s culture and assets. Scholars and practitioners also recognize that “connection to community” or “authenticity” is a subjective term, not an objective term, and involves choices. It is not a detached, unbiased, scientific process. What a community chooses to pursue in a cultural planning program, and what it chooses to commemorate in historic preservation, reflect the cultural beliefs and values of people from a particular time and place, who have the power to make these choices on behalf of the entire community. Because of this, wide community and public input and engagement are crucial to ensuring that cultural projects reflect the racial, ethnic and socio-economic diversity of the community and also reflect the views of community members who have less access to the decision-making process in city governance.

Continuing, wide community engagement and public input and consultation in the cultural planning process is essential, and I recommend that steps be taken to obtain more inclusive community input. This can be achieved in a number of ways. First, more focus group meetings should be scheduled, and planning staff and facilitators should seek people from neighborhoods and demographic groups who are not already engaged in the community’s civic agenda. Secondly, planners and facilitators can draft and distribute written surveys, and code the surveys to determine where there may be differences in viewpoints on the values and assets of the community based on geography or demographics. Third, as recommended by Borrup, the community should post the cultural asset inventory and map in public places such as the city’s library and municipal buildings, and on the city’s internet website, and invite comment and

feedback from the public. Fourth, planners, facilitators and community members should seek input from people outside of the community and accept this as a valid and necessary part of community consultation. An outsider's perspective can help bring an appreciation for things that community members may consider "everyday" or "ordinary" but that a visitor or newcomer might consider extraordinary. We should take into account the perspectives of people who have lived in a community in the past, and those who may live there in the future. For example, I believe that consulting the Caddo Nation in designing a linear park and signage that discusses the history of the area and current issues in water resources management is appropriate and necessary to ensure that a community recognizes the diversity of its past, present, and future.

Communities can try to identify their "culture" and "values," and strive to create programs that unify the community and foster economic development. Still, there will be differences among community members. Allowing these differences to be reflected in projects can enhance the credibility of a cultural planning program as communities engage in the difficult exercise of unifying a community, while respecting diversity and acknowledging differences within the community.

APPENDIX A

VALUES OF THE COMMUNITY, SEPTEMBER 27, 2010 AND OCTOBER 18, 2010

Values of the Community, September 27, 2010

Rank	Value	Point Total*
1.	Location to surrounding area, access, transportation	19
2. (tie)	Openness to new ideas for development, growth; development to enrich the community	18
2. (tie)	Diverse community in income and housing	18
2. (tie)	City government's accessibility to residents	18
5.	Small school system	15
6.	Small, rural community	10
7.	Family-oriented; children	9
8.	Quiet life, but access to city	6
9. (tie)	Traditional education	5
9. (tie)	Small town feel	5
9. (tie)	Individualism, property rights, strong feelings about homestead	5
12.	Redevelopment	3
13.	Future possibilities	2
	Other values stated by members during discussion (nominal group process), but receiving no votes during snow card (sticker voting) process:	
	History	0
	A different feel, not usual suburb	0
	Safety and city services	0
	Faith (churches)	0
	Peaceful in midst of fast-paced city/environment	0
	Land/land use & property	0
	Pride of homeownership, widely distributed	0
	Balancing growth with quality of life	0
	Change in city governance/good interaction with citizens	0
	Friendliness; "handshake" community; welcomes newcomers	0
	People value their ties, roots to city	0
	Good food available locally (grocery stores)	0

*Red sticker = 5 points; Green sticker = 4; Blue sticker = 3; Yellow sticker = 2

Values of the Community, October 18, 2010

Rank	Value	Point Total*
1. (tie)	Openness to new ideas for development, growth; development to enrich the community	25
1. (tie)	Education; (Community-oriented (15); Traditional (10))	25
3.	Location to surrounding area, access, transportation	24
4.	Small town feel	20
5. (tie)	Access to city government	13
5. (tie)	Diverse community in income and housing	13
7.	History	7
8.	Safety and city services	6
9. (tie)	Balancing growth with quality of life	5

9. (tie)	Change in city governance/good interaction with citizens	5
9. (tie)	Faith	5
12. (tie)	Friendliness; “handshake” community; welcomes newcomers	3
12. (tie)	Quiet life, but access to city	3
14. (tie)	Family-oriented; children	2
14. (tie)	Individualism, property rights, strong feelings about homestead	2
14. (tie)	Good food available locally (grocery stores)	2

APPENDIX B

VALUES OF THE COMMUNITY
(COMBINING THE FIRST AND SECOND MEETINGS)

Values of the Community (Combining the First and Second Meetings)

Rank	Value	Point Value 9/27/2010	Point Value 10/18/2010	TOTAL Point Value
1	Openness to new ideas for development; growth; Development to enrich the community; Redevelopment (3--9/27); Future possibilities (2--9/27)	23	25	48
2	Education (small school system (15--9/27; traditional education (5--9/27); community-oriented (15--10/18); traditional (10--10/18))	20	25	45
3	Location to surrounding area, access, transportation	19	24	43
4	Access to city government; change in city governance/good interaction with citizens (5--10/18)	23	13	36
5	Small, rural community (10-9/27); Small town feel (5--9/27; 20--10/18)	15	20	35
6	Diverse community in income and housing	18		18
7	Family-oriented; children	9	2	11
8	Quiet life, but access to the city	6	3	9
9	Individualism, property rights, strong feelings about homestead	5	2	7
10	History	0	7	7
11	Safety and city services	0	6	6
12	balancing growth with quality of life	0	5	5
13	change in city governance/good interaction with citizens	0	5	5
14	Faith/churches	0	5	5
15	Friendliness; "handshake" community; welcomes newcomers	0	3	3
16	Future possibilities	2		2
17	Good food available locally (grocery	0	2	2
18	A "different feel," not the usual suburb	0		0
19	Peaceful in midst of fast-paced city/environment	0		0
20	land/land use & property	0		0
21	pride of home ownership, widely	0		0
22	people value their ties, roots to city	0		0
Point values: Red sticker=5 points; Green sticker = 4 points; Blue sticker = 3 points; Yellow sticker = 2 points				

APPENDIX C

KENNEDALE CULTURAL ASSET INVENTORY

Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory¹⁵⁶

KEY ASSETS:
Kennedale’s local history, especially its history of having a railroad running through the city, and the community’s brickyard and brick manufacturing history
The changing, improving reputation of the city
Village Creek and its proximity to Lake Arlington and the future Southwest Nature Preserve; Beautiful creeks, nature areas, wildlife City Parks (e.g., Sonora Park, and the recreational amenities available at the city parks)
Kennedale’s neighboring communities, and the ability to work with them to build a network of cultural assets
Kennedale Arts and Culture Board
Performing Arts Center at Kennedale High School
High quality, safe schools, located in neighborhoods, not on thoroughfares History of Kennedale’s schools, how the schools, their locations, and their architecture have changed over time.
Old mineral well sites in Kennedale
OTHER ASSETS OF THE COMMUNITY:
People who have extensive knowledge of Kennedale history and/or have collected documentary sources or artifacts. Also, people whose ancestors had a role in Kennedale’s early development:
Ms. Whatley: Kennedale High School principal, a lifelong resident of Kennedale, who has extensive knowledge of Kennedale history, particularly its central urban area
Mr. Delaney: a significant person in the community, a longtime principal of the elementary school; started a miniature basketball association; made an effort to know all of his students and formed a positive, lasting impression on many children who attended Kennedale Elementary School
The Middleton Family: longtime residents of Kennedale whose ancestors had a role in Kennedale’s early development
“John,” a horseman known by many residents, often seen riding his horse around town

¹⁵⁶ Excerpted from Greg Collins, Corinne Shaw, Sherrie Hubble, Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory Focus Group, Rachel Roberts, “Cultural Asset Inventory of the City of Kennedale, Texas,” December 2010.

Nursing home (people with histories to tell)
Senior Citizens Center
Art teachers in the Kennedale Independent School District
High school athletics, football and a new stadium that give a positive impression of a strong city
High school band; rigorous band program compared to other schools
Youth Advisory Council (YAC) Movie Night—movies shown publicly, outdoors
Topography/vistas/viewscapes
Kennedale's location (in relation to Fort Worth, Arlington, and Dallas)
Race car tracks (two oval tracks and a drag strip)
Cemeteries
Public Library
City Hall (resource for records and photos)
First United Methodist Church
Salvage Yard (for finding materials for artwork/fabrication)
Scouting organizations, including Troop 35, existing in Kennedale for a long time.
Local food growing, including the canning of local foods, and possibly including grape growing & winemaking (1)
Local restaurants; places to socialize
Increase in ethnic diversity
Highly specialized companies that manufacture custom products, e.g., ProFab Global Services
Craig Hester House Moving company

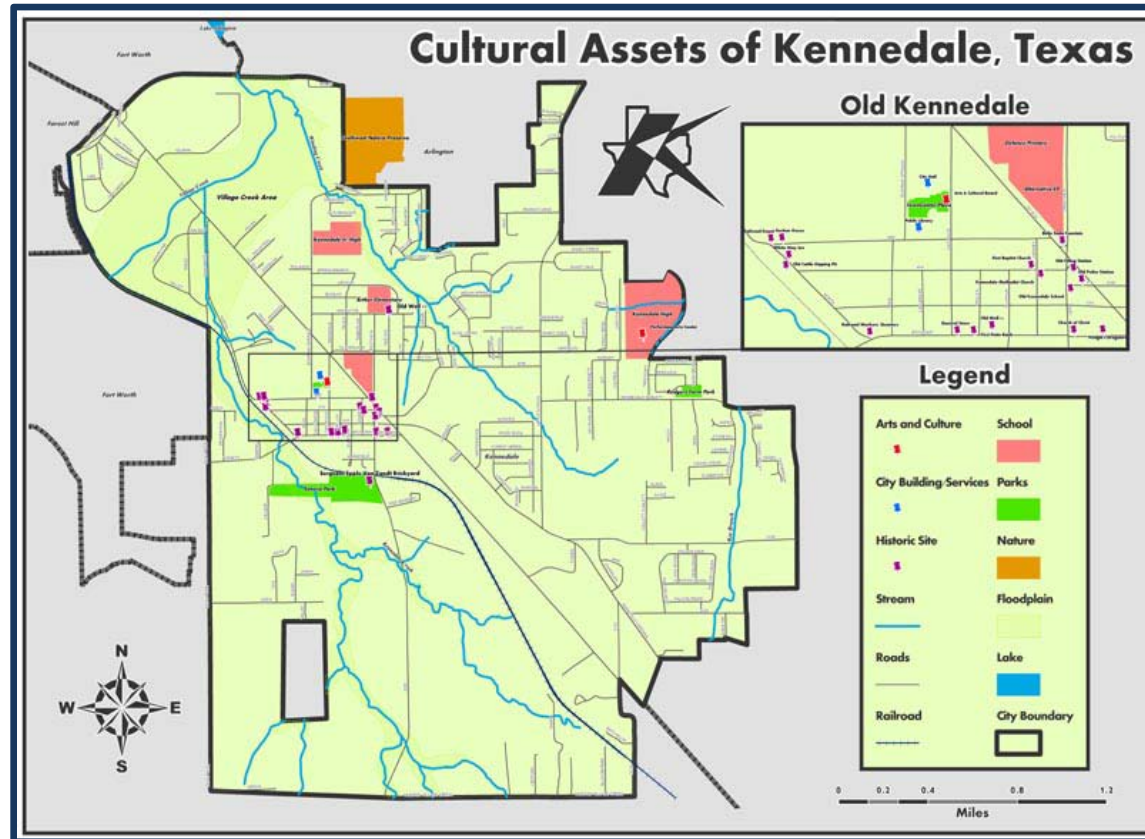
Notes:

This community attribute refers to locally growing produce such as vegetables, fruits, and nuts, and the canning of vegetables and fruits. A focus group member expressed concern that canning home grown vegetables and fruits was becoming a lost art. Another focus group member also expressed interest in facilitating the creation of a winery in Kennedale as a possible scenario for a future project. The group agreed that this proposed scenario should be listed in this appendix.

APPENDIX D

KENNEDALE CULTURAL ASSET MAP

Kennedale Cultural Asset Map¹⁵⁷



¹⁵⁷ Cultural Asset Map by Sherrie Hubble, GIS consultant, with research and input from the working group and community focus group for the Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory. Excerpted from Greg Collins, Corinne Shaw, Sherrie Hubble, Kennedale Cultural Asset Inventory Focus Group, Rachel Roberts, “Cultural Asset Inventory of the City of Kennedale, Texas,” December 2010.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Gregory S. Collins earned a Bachelor's Degree in Economics and a Jurisdoctorate from the University of Chicago. He has worked in the private sector as an investment banking financial analyst and attorney, and in the public sector as a case manager providing disaster relief loans to storm victims. His research interests include land use, historic preservation, cultural and natural resource management, regulatory compliance, and economic development. He has worked on a number of projects, including a study of Native American sacred site litigation, and has conducted oral history interviews of longtime residents of Arlington, Texas, to document that city's history, civic life and culture.